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A QUESTION OF NAMES, TITLES, AND ICONOGRAPHY. KUSHITES IN PRIESTLY, ADMINISTRATIVE AND OTHER POSITIONS FROM DYNASTIES 25 TO 26*

The first millennium BC saw plenty of foreigners ruling in Egypt: Libyans, Assyrians, Nubians/Kushites, Persians,¹ and finally Greeks and Romans. Nowadays we know that even the 26th dynasty was not really of Egyptian stock but descended from Libyans, too. On the other hand, we should keep in our mind that in Ancient Egypt “nationality” and “ethnicity” never gained the fundamental importance that these concepts developed in modern age. It is often stated that foreign rulers had just to conform to official Egyptian royal ideology in order to be accepted as good pharaohs, and certainly there is little reason to doubt this: Nearly all foreign rulers – with the exception of the Assyrians and presumably the later Achaemenid kings – had their royal titlature according to Egyptian traditions and fulfilled, at least in theory, the basic obligations of an Egyptian pharaoh, i.e. realization of Maat by doing justice to mankind and satisfying the needs of the gods (constructing temples, granting offerings and cult) etc. With regard to the Kushite kings, this attitude was expressed in a stela of Taharqa in the following exemplary manner: “Now His Majesty is

one who loves god, so that he spends his time by day and lies by night seeking what is useful for the gods, (re)building [their] temples fallen into decay (...) endowing their altars, presenting to them endowments with all things (...) This land has been overflowed (with abundance) in his time as it was in the time of the Lord-of-all, every man sleeping until dawn, without saying, ‘Would that I had!’, Maat being introduced throughout the countries, and wrong (*izft*) being pinned to the ground”.² Even in later times when Nubians had ceased to rule over Egypt and had their own independent Napatan kingdom, the knowledge about the essential functions of a pharaoh was vivid and valid.

However, to be acknowledged as a “pharaoh”, adoring Egyptian gods and being buried in Egyptian-style sarcophagi does not necessarily mean full assimilation to Egyptian civilization, it need not imply that one has become a thorough Egyptian. Take e.g. the Late Demotic story of the fight of Egyptians and Amazons. In that composition, the queen of the land of the women Sarpot fights against the Egyptians but does not forget to invoke Isis and

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For the benefit of the interested reader, all the non-Egyptian and also some less known Egyptian names are

additionally rendered in hieroglyphs. It should be noted that most vocalizations of Kushitic names used in this contribution such as “Abalo”, “Il”, “Kheril”, “Pekereslo” are artificial and sometimes a little bit arbitrary.

- 1 Cf. K. Jansen-Winkeln, “Die Fremdherrschaften in Ägypten im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.”, *Or* 69 (2000) 1-20, and my book *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*, Mainz 2003, where the Kushites have been deliberately omitted, however.
- 2 Stela Kawa 5, 1-4; cf. L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, I. The Inscriptions, London 1949, pl. 9-10; R. H. Pierce, in: T. Eide et al., *Fontes historiae Nubiorum*, I, Bergen 1994, 148f.

Osiris.³ So, adoration of Egyptian gods alone does not make an Egyptian! Given the lack of explicit sources, it seems nearly impossible to assess the degree of “strangeness” of foreign rulers as felt by an “average Egyptian” – there may have been differences according to individual position or other circumstances. But I think there are some hints which show how foreign rulers saw themselves as compared with the Egyptians.

As to the Libyans, from the groundbreaking research of Anthony Leahy and Karl Jansen-Winkeln it has become clear that assimilation was by no means complete.⁴ They must have felt something special, particularly in military matters, and on certain occasions dissociated themselves from Egyptians: *P3-t3-rš-n=s*, a wife of Shoshenk I, was officially described as “daughter of the great of the foreigners” (*h3styw*) and similarly.⁵ “Foreigner” is used here in the sense of “unassimilated (or perhaps only partially) assimilated foreigner”⁶ but obviously without the usual negative implications conveyed by this term in traditional Egyptian phraseology.

Interestingly, not only the Libyans saw themselves as “foreigners”. On a small stela, **Tabiry** (*T3-biry*), a little known queen of Piankhy, is shown adoring Isis and Osiris and given the designation “the great of the foreigners” (*t3 3t h3styw*, written *h3styw*); it is impossible to translate “the great of the foreign countries” as has happened, that being a completely different title).⁷ This epithet provoked astonishment⁸ at best, but mostly this important document, when dealing with the question of ethnocultural self-conscience of foreigners in Egypt, was paid little attention. Now,

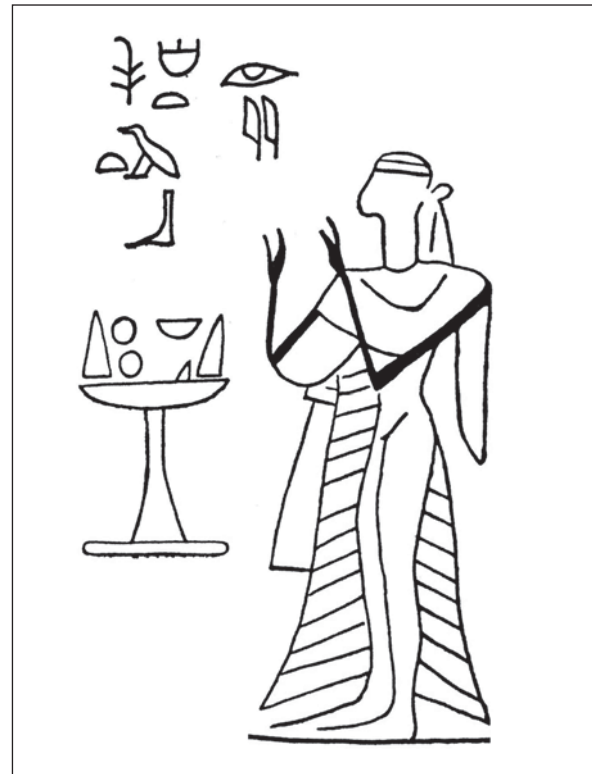


Fig. 1: Queen Tabiry (Dunham, *El Kurru*, fig. 29f).

I think it is a perfect parallel to those Libyan Period inscriptions: the Nubian royal lady is markedly non-Egyptian and non-Egyptianized, in spite of her adoring Egyptian gods in the same way as the fictional queen Sarpot of the land of women. I do not believe that the term “the great of the foreigners” is translated from the Kushitic language, it is rather coined with a knowledge of both Libyan self-confidence and Libyan-Egyptian phraseology, which in its turn, of course, harks back to older Egyptian models.⁹

3 Papyrus Vienna D 6165+6165A, II 10, cf. F. Hoffmann, *Ägypter und Amazonen*, MPER NS XXIV, Wien 1995, 40f. and pl. 2, and for my interpretation also G. Vittmann, “Zur Rolle des ‘Auslands’ im demotischen Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus”, *WZKM* 96 (2006) 315.

4 For detailed bibliographic references, cf. *Ägypten und die Fremden* (n. 1), 294; see also K. Jansen-Winkeln, “Die Libyer in Herakleopolis magna”, *Or* 75 (2006) 297–316.

5 Cf. Jansen-Winkeln, *Or* 69 (2000) 7, with references.

6 Cf. T. Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit*, Teil 2: *Die ausländische Bevölkerung*, ÄAT 42, Wiesbaden 2003, 321f.

7 Funerary stela from El-Kurru, line 5, cf. D. Dunham, *El*

Kurru, Cambridge Mass. 1950, 90 pl. 30 and fig. 29f; R.H. Pierce, in: *Fontes historiae Nubiorum*, I, 120; D. Wildung, ed., *Die Pharaonen des Goldlandes. Antike Königreiche im Sudan*, Mannheim 1998, 180 No. 173, with a colour photo.

8 Cf. K.-H. Priese in the catalogue mentioned in the preceding note, p. 180: “das eigenartige Beiwort”.

9 The well-known ambiguous expression *hq3-h3swt* “ruler of the foreign countries” (meaning both “... coming from foreign countries” and “... ruling over foreign countries”) comes immediately to the mind. Let it not be forgotten that this term was still used with reference to Philippos Arrhidaios; cf. H. De Meulenaere, “Le protocole royal de Philippe Arrhidée”, *CRIPEL* 13 (1991) 54!

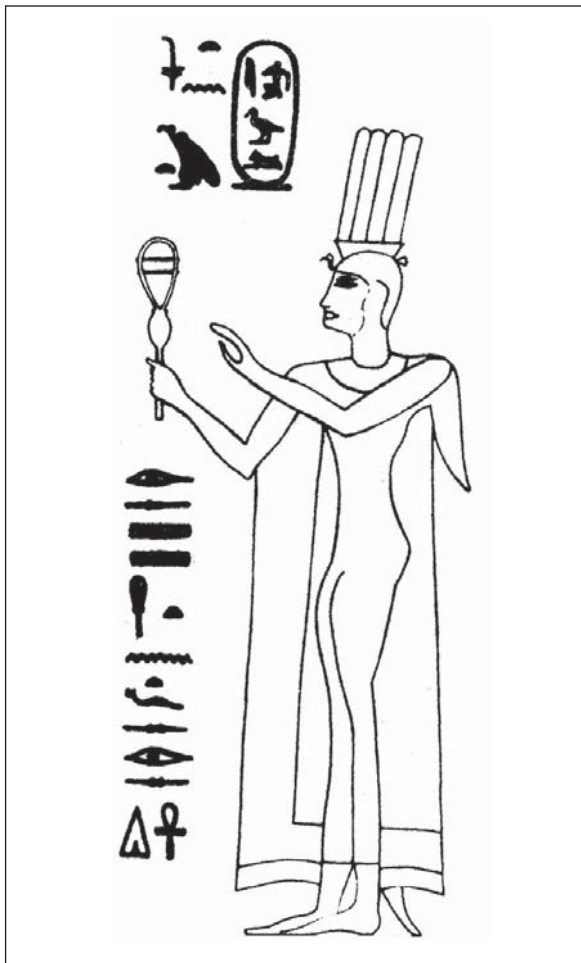


Fig. 2: Queen Abalo (stela Karwa 5; Macadam, *Karwa I*, pl. 10).

In looking at the figure of the lady (fig. 1), it is little wonder that the queen is a “Great one of foreigners”. She is dressed in typical Kushite style,¹⁰ and representations such as this one are very helpful for identifying Kushite women. With the exception of the so-called God’s wives the Kushite queens and princesses are usually represented in their native dress even when fulfilling an Egyptian religious office (e.g. Abalo, fig. 2), and this is true also of non-royal ladies (Kheril, fig. 3, with typical tail, cf. note 10). So, adhering to traditional

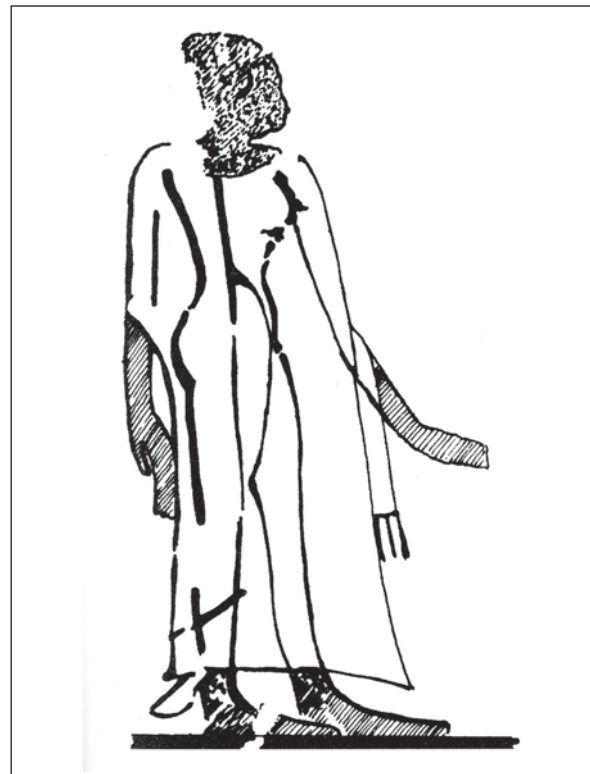


Fig. 3: Kheril (coffin from Thebes, Asasif, Tomb VII; Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs*, 291).

clothing seems to be, in Egypt as elsewhere, a means of stressing, in a conspicuous manner, the voluntarily exhibited heterogeneity of foreigners. A fine example is found on a stela from Abydos, where two Kushite and one Egyptian woman can be discerned¹¹; note the differences in complexion and clothing (fig. 4).

Men, too, are sometimes represented in their native Kushite dress, e.g. the well-known Ariketekana (fig. 5), Peke(r)tror (fig. 6) and the men depicted on another stela from Abydos¹² (fig. 8), one of them having the Libyan(!) name Shoshenk. It is perhaps not superfluous to state that various characteristic features of the Kushites were also perceived elsewhere in the Ancient Near East, as can be gleaned from Assyrian and Persian reliefs.¹³

10 For Kushite women’s dress, cf. E. R. Russmann, “Monthemhat’s Kushite Wife (Further Remarks on the Decoration of the Tomb of Mentuemhat, 2)”, *JARCE* 34 (1997) 25ff.; A. Lohwasser, “Die Darstellung der Tracht der Kuschitinnen der 25. Dynastie”, *Meroitica* 15 (1999) 586–603 (p. 589ff. on the characteristic [fox?]tail); eadem, *Die königlichen Frauen im antiken Reich von Kusch*, *Meroitica* 19 (2001) 210–225.

11 Stela Cairo T 4/7/24/9, cf. P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen*

Totenstelen, ÄF 25, Glückstadt 1973, fig. 124.

12 Stela Meux 50b, cf. Munro, *Totenstelen*, fig. 120.

13 Cf. Zencirli stela (below, note 98); Assurbanipal reliefs from Ninive, see e.g. Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden* frontispiece and pl. 2a; two reliefs from the so-called apadāna at Persepolis, described and illustrated in W. Seipel, ed., *7000 Jahre persische Kunst. Meisterwerke aus dem Iranischen Nationalmuseum in Teheran*, Bonn 2001, 195 and 198, cat. No. 111.



Fig. 4: Stela Cairo T 4/7/24/9 (Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs*, 291).

Thus, given the mixed Egyptian and non-Egyptian dresses, insignia, paraphernalia, and the ethnic background of the members of her family, it is not astonishing that a Kushite queen, the more so in this initial phase of Kushite rule over Egypt, could characterize herself as “Great one of the foreigners”. That on the part of the Egyptians, the contrast to the Nubians was felt, hardly needs documentation – we find this not only in official ideology but also e.g. in narrative literature of a much later period (cf. Setne 2) – but it is surely remarkable that this contrast is underlined by partially assimilated foreigners themselves.

By the way, there is early evidence for the presence of Greeks in Egypt disclosing perhaps a similar attitude. In the famous archaic Ionic graffito engraved in one of the colossi of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, the contingent of non-Egyptian soldiers led by Potasimto is called ἀλλόγλωσσοι,¹⁴ an expression also used by Herodotus (II 154, 4) with regard to the Greeks in Egypt. One essential difference to the Libyan and Nubian evidence, however, is that Greek and foreign mercenaries did not belong then to the ruling class, of course.

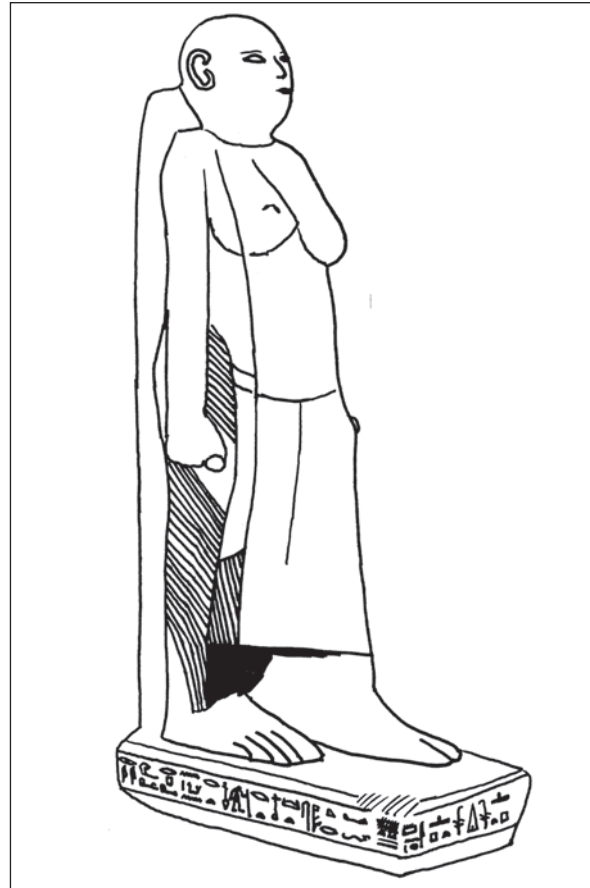


Fig. 5: Statue of Ariketkana (author's drawing).

It is often accepted that a certain indicator of strangeness is generally constituted by foreign proper names whereas partial or full assimilation is likely to be conveyed by an Egyptian name. In order to evaluate the truth of such an assumption – plausible as it may be in itself – we would need more particular information on the respective persons than we usually have. The subject I am going to tackle in this paper is of a more elementary, and practical, nature: My main concern will be simply looking out for Nubians / Kushites in Egypt during the 25th and 26th Dynasties and the possibilities of identifying them. As a firm base and starting point I will take the personal names and pedigrees of those persons who are, or could be, of Nubian descent, without neglecting the iconographical evidence, however.

14 Cf. *Ägypten und die Fremden*, 200f. and fig. 100.



1. KUSHITE NAMES

Names which can be safely determined as Kushite are far less frequently attested than one might expect.

a) Here belong the birth names of all Kushite rulers (Alara, Kashta, Piankhy,¹⁵ Shabaka, Shabataka, Taharqa, Tanwetamani) and by the way also those of the subsequent Napatan Period except Harsiotef. Needless to say, the throne names and other elements of the royal protocole of all these kings were shaped according to traditional Egyptian models.

The Kushitic/Meroitic term for the king was *qore* as evidenced also by demotic sources,¹⁶ but it is often overlooked that there is an early hieroglyphic example accompanied by an unknown name: In the so-called Piankhy-blocks from the Temple of Mut, the ship of “the qore (gwr) *P3-hgt3*” (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏)¹⁷ is depicted together with several other vessels entering Thebes, most probably on the occasion of the arrival of Nitocris, the would-be god’s wife. A more precise definition of the identity of that ruler is impossible, and one wonders if there were several *qore* at a given time.

b) The names of the *queens and princesses* are generally Kushite with the important exception of the divine consorts of Amun and certain other female members of the dynasty exercising religious functions in Egypt. As to the former, I will restrict myself in mentioning those who had some special relation to Egypt:

- Abalo (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) *I-b3-rw*), the mother of Taharqa and perhaps a wife of Piankhy, came to visit her



Fig. 6: Stela of Pekertror, upper part (Chicago 6408; author’s drawing).

son at his coronation in Memphis¹⁸ (fig. 2, note the characteristic tail!).

- Pabatma (A, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) *P-b3-t-m3*), wife of Kashta and mother of the god’s wife Amenirdis I and queen Pekereslo.¹⁹
- Paabtameri = Pabatma, Pabtomei (B, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) *P3-3bt-t3-mri*), a king’s daughter, king’s sister and mother of an unnamed divine adoratrix and the military officer Pagatterer (figs. 6 and 7),²⁰ was

15 Unless this is really Egyptian; cf. below, note 71.

16 Cf. H.-J. Thissen, in: D. Mendel–U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext. Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens*, Cologne 1991, 370. It is noteworthy that in the story of Setne 2, inspite of the negative features of Nubia, the title *kwr = qore* is always accompanied by the group *nh-wd3-snb!* Cf. also the analogous treatment of Antiochus III and the (fictional) Queen Sarpot in Demotic (G. Vittmann, in: H. Felber, ed., *Feinde und Aufrührer. Konzepte von Gegnerschaft in ägyptischen Texten besonders des Mittleren Reiches*, Stuttgart/Leipzig 2005, 199ff.).

17 M. Benson – J. Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, London 1899, pl. 21 No. 3 (and pl. 22 No. 4); cf. also D.

Meeks, Review of D. Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles*, *CdE* 69 (1994) 257; F. A. Breyer, *Tanutamani. Die Traumstela und ihr Umfeld*, *ÄAT* 57, Wiesbaden 2003, 341f., figs. 33–34 (the references to the plates in Benson and Gourlay have been mixed up). For the determinative, cf. G. Vittmann, “Zwei Priestereinführunginschriften der 25. Dynastie aus Luxor (Berlin 2096 und 2097)“, *SAK* 29 (2001) 360f. (I).

18 Stela Kawa 5, see above, note 2. The visit to Memphis is reported there in line 16.

19 Cf. Lohwasser, *Königl. Frauen*, 174ff.

20 Funerary stela Ashmolean 3922, Munro, *Totenstelen*, 262 and fig. 100; commemorative stela of her son Peke(r)tror, see below and Lohwasser, *Königl. Frauen*, 172ff.

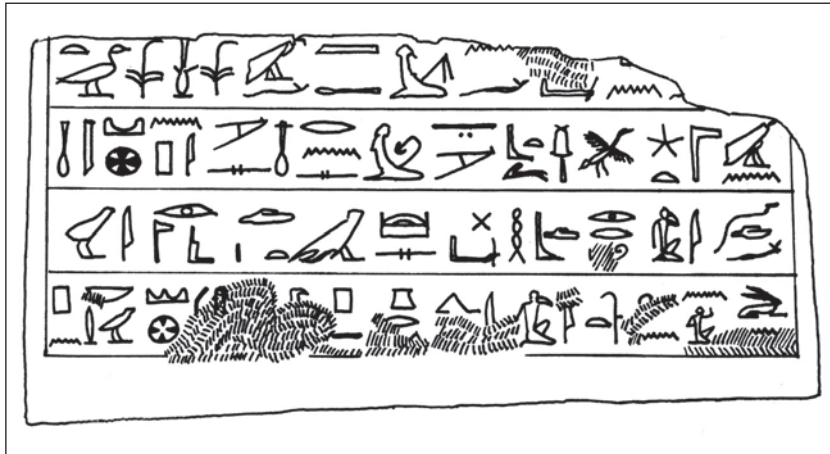




Fig. 7: Stela of Pekertror, lower part (Moscow I.1.b.37; author's drawing).


buried in Abydos, which had maintained its traditional role as a sacred, time-honoured necropolis (and was later, in the early 26th dynasty, to play a political role as the seat of several viziers!). It was probably due to her cultic office as a “songstress of Amenrasonthor” that she received – as did her son – an additional Egyptian name. The identification of this lady and her daughter (Shepenupet II?, Amenirdis II?) remains an unsolved problem, and it seems difficult to narrow down the dating on the basis of stylistic criteria.²¹

- Another queen which likewise seems to have been buried at Abydos was **Pekereslo** ( *Pk-r-s3-rw*) / **Peksater** ( *Pk-s3-tr*), daughter of Kashta, sister and wife of Piankhy.²² A stela in Bologna was erected for her funerary priest Irthorru (*ʿIr.t-ḥr-r=w*), probably in the latter half of the 7th century.²³ As far as I know this is the only explicit prosopographical piece of evidence for the posthumous funerary cult of a Kushite queen in Egypt. On the whole, the cult of queens is very rarely attested in the Late Period before the Ptolemies. A prophet of an obscure king's mother Esenkhebi was the owner of a

naophorous statue from the late 26th or 27th dynasty.²⁴

c) princes

For evident reasons, nearly all the sons of the Kushite kings – apart from those who were to become kings – had Egyptian names and will, therefore, be dealt with later.

- In a stela from Abydos broken into two parts now kept in different collections,²⁵ the “generalissimus” (*imy-r’ ms^c wr*) and “commander” (*h³wty*) **Peke(r)tror** ( *P³-g³-t-t³-r²-rw*) (fig. 7) mentions the burial of his mother Paabtameri. Usually, the inscription is understood as a commemoration of Pekertror’s presence at the burial when he was 20 years old and had just arrived – just like Taharqa at the same age – from Nubia. Another analysis seems to be more exact from the philological point of view, literally: “He said: That they asked her burial from Osiris was when there were (still) 20 years for me until [I] came from Nubia, too”.²⁶ This would mean that the general arrived in Abydos only twenty years after the burial of his mother; perhaps he was born shortly before her death.

21 Munro's dating 670-650 is biased and preconceived by his equation of the unnamed daughter with Amenirdis II!

22 Cf. Lohwasser, *Königl. Frauen*, 27f.; 175f.

23 Stele Bologna 1939, cf. Munro, *Totenstelen*, 262 and fig. 97; E. Bresciani, *Le stele egiziane del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna*, Bologna 1985, 84 No. 31 and pl. 44.

24 Berlin 10192, published by G. Vittmann, "Ein Denkmal

mit dem Namen der Königsmutter Esenchebe (Berlin 10192)“, ZÄS 103 (1976) 143-147.

25 Stela Chicago OIM 6408 + Moscow I.1.b.37, cf. A. Leahy, “Kushite Monuments at Abydos”, in: C. Eyre et al., eds., *The Unbroken Reed. Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Shore*, EES, Occasional Publications 11, London 1994, 182ff.

26 This analysis was proposed to me by Jansen-Winkeln
(email communication).



Fig. 8: Stela Meux 50b (Munro, Totenstelen, fig. 120).

- Kushitic is also the name of the father of Montemhet's Nubian wife Udjarenes. It has been proposed to analyse $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ as "king's son Piankhy-har", but the other alternative "king's son of Piankhy, Har"²⁷ (*H3-rw*) is to be preferred as the construction *s3'-nsw* / *s3t-nsw* combined with the name of the royal father is well attested (e.g. with Esenkhebi, "king's daughter of Shabaka", see below and n. 87).

d) non-royal officials and other people found in Thebes:

- **Kerrekhamani** ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ *K3-rw-r-hy-ḏmn*), whose name was formed with "Amun" as several Kushite and Napatan kings' names (e.g.

Tanwetamani, Adikhalamani, Karkamani), owner of the almost totally and irreparably destroyed Theban Tomb no. 223²⁸ and the offering table Cairo CG 23103 with the titles *rh-nsw ḏrty nsw ḥhwy bīt* ("king's acquaintance, eyes of the King of Upper Egypt, ears of the King of Lower Egypt") and *ḥq ḥ3wtj*, for which two different interpretations have been proposed: "first (priest) entering (the temple)",²⁹ or as a combination of two titles "(priest) entering (the interior of the temple); (military) commander".³⁰ It is doubtful, however, whether *ḥq* in this case really is a priestly designation.³¹

According to the inscriptions in his tomb, Kerrekhamani had a brother with the Egyptian name **Nesamenopet** (*Ns-ḏmn-ḏpt*), *arh-nsw m3' mry=f*, but the parents have never been identified.

- **Kelbasken** ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ *K3-rw-b3-s3-k-n*), owner of the very badly preserved tomb TT 391.³² He was both Fourth Prophet of Amun and Mayor of Thebes like Montemhet who probably succeeded him directly or indirectly. In addition, he held the title of a "prophet of Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep". This is interesting in so far as the presence of Kushites with priestly obligations but indigenous names is rather infrequent. A simple explanation would be that the tasks to be fulfilled by both Kerrekhamani and Kelbasken were first of all of a "secular", military or administrative respectively, nature.

As to parentage, there is no information again, and this is true also of the next:

- **Ariketekana** ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ *Iry-g3-dy-g3-nn*, better known as "Irigadiganen"): He is famous for his naturalistic statue from the Karnak

27 Offering table of Udjarenes from the tomb of her husband Montemhet, publ. P. Barguet, Z. Goneim, J. Leclant, "Les tables d'offrandes de la grande cour de la tombe de Montouemhat", *ASAE* 51 (1951) 493f. Cf. most recently and non-committally, D. Kahn, "The Royal Succession in the 25th Dynasty", *MittSAG* 16 (2005) 159.

28 Cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler Text* III 288; Porter-Moss I/1, 324; D. Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole*, Vienna 1984, 41f., pl. 20A and map 9.

29 Porter-Moss I/1, 324. Such a title would be otherwise unknown.

30 M. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens de la Basse Époque*, Antony 1985, 80.

31 For *ḥq* "enterer", cf. W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, Beirut 1982, 77f.

32 Cf. Porter-Moss I/1. 441f.; Eigner, loc. cit. 40f., pl. 14 and map 8. For Kelbasken's place in the row of Theban governors of the Third Intermediate Period and his dating cf. F. Payraudeau, "La désignation du gouverneur de Thèbes aux époques libyenne et éthiopienne", *RdE* 54 (2003) 147 and n. 89 ("seconde moitié de l'époque éthiopienne").

Cachette (fig. 5).³³ According to the inscription, he was *lry-p^ct h³ty-^c rh-^cns^w m³^c mr=f* “count, truly loved king’s acquaintance”. It was not before the 25th dynasty that the old title “king’s acquaintance”, after it had fallen into disuse for a long time, made its appearance again, occasionally even with women. At that time, and especially in the 26th Dynasty, it is abundantly attested in combination with priestly and administrative titles. The whole sequence of titles, however, corresponds more or less to the Turkish title pasha in the past. So it is impossible to define the real function of Ariketekana; we can say no more about him than that in some way or another he attended to the interests of the Kushite régime.

- Most probably a Kushite was **Kelkehetikh** (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏𓴐𓴑𓴒𓴓𓴔𓴕𓴖𓴗𓴘𓴙𓴚𓴛𓴜𓴝𓴞𓴟𓴠𓴡𓴢𓴣𓴤𓴥𓴦𓴧𓴨𓴩𓴪𓴫𓴬𓴭𓴮𓴯𓴰𓴱𓴲𓴳𓴴𓴵𓴶𓴷



is the wide cape. She was married to the priest of Amun Amenemhet, son of the Second Prophet of Amun Patjenef. On the stela, her husband is shown offering a bouquet of flowers and a plate with fruits to Mut, whereas Khikhy as a “follower of Mut” (*šmsyt n Mwt*) is presenting a mirror.

- This detail immediately leads to another Nubian lady: On a bronze mirror dedicated by the “follower of Mut” **Qeqiry** (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒 *Qqiry*) the act of presenting the object to the goddess is depicted.³⁸ The name of the dedicator is clearly non-Egyptian and reminds of *T3-biry*, one of Piankhy’s wives (fig. 1). Munro³⁹ who investigated a group of similar mirrors believed that the followers of Nut formed a kind of unofficial cult community in 25th Dynasty Thebes. Interestingly, the name of the mother is Egyptian: Menkhamun (𓄎𓄏𓄐𓄑 *Mnh-ḫmn*). From these examples, however, we learn that it was not always considered essential to have an Egyptian name in order to fulfil certain ritual functions. Another stela represents a lady in Nubian garment (fig. 9) and offering a mirror to Re-Harakhte but unfortunately there are no inscriptions.⁴⁰

e) persons without attested titles

Not stating a title does not mean that one had none. We should always bear in mind that our documentation, as is usual in Ancient Egypt, will mostly have concerned more or less well-to-do people, and this means: persons who had rank and title, even if not stated. More than once, it struck my attention that foreigners in Egypt of the first



Fig. 9: Stela Louvre E 13073 (author’s drawing).

millennium BC often do not indicate their position in their monuments. To quote just one example, in the inscriptions of the large anthropoid sarcophagus of the Egyptianized Greek Wahibre-em-akhet,⁴¹ not a single title is given, but it is clear, of course, that its owner cannot have been poor; probably he was a high-ranking officer.

- In 1971, an Austrian mission under the direction of Manfred Bietak discovered the so-called “tomb VII” in Thebes-Asasif. There, the burial equipment of two persons came to light.⁴² Noteworthy are the coffins of a woman whose

38 Mirror Cairo CG 44078, cf. *Nofret – die Schöne. Die Frau im Alten Ägypten*, Hildesheim 1985, I, cat. No. 55 (with wrong reading “Men-Amun-Re” for mother’s name).


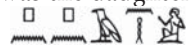
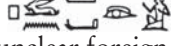
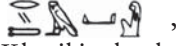
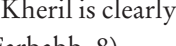
39 P. Munro, “Eine Gruppe spätägyptischer Bronzespiegel“, *ZÄS* 95 (1969) 92-109.


40 Stela Louvre E 13073, cf. Munro, *Totenstelen*, fig. 101.

41 Cf. *Ägypten und die Fremden*, pl. 21.



42 Cf. M. Bietak, Theben-West (Luqsor). *Vorbericht über die ersten vier Grabungskampagnen (1969-1971)*, Vienna 1972, 33 and pls. 19-23, and especially J. Budka, *Die Spätzeit in Theben-West: Das Asasif. Bestattungsbrauch und Friedhofsstruktur anhand der Ergebnisse der österreichischen Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1969-1977*, four volumes, unpublished doctoral thesis, Vienna 2006

(a revised version is to be edited by the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften). On p. 193, there is a comprehensive list of the manifold variants of the proper names from “tomb VII”. For tombs of Kushites in Thebes, cf. also eadem, “Kushite tomb groups in Late Period Thebes”, in: *Eleventh International Conference on Nubian Studies Warsaw 2006*, in press (I am much obliged to Julia Budka for providing me with valuable information concerning her work), “Tomb VII in the Asasif, Thebes. Its Owners, Date and Implications”, in J.-Cl. Goyon – C. Cardin, eds., *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, OLA 150, Leuven etc. 2007, 241-250.

name Kheril appears in different spellings such as  *H-ry-rw* / *Hy-r-ḳw* and others. She was the daughter of a man with both a foreign ( *Pnpn3nh*) and an Egyptian name ( *P3-wn*), and of a woman whose unclear foreign name is spelt in bewildering various manners ( ,  and similarly). Kheril is clearly represented as a Nubian (fig. 3, Farbabb. 8).

- Also the two coffins of a certain II ( (sic) *I-rw*), son of *P3-h3rw* and *Šp-3st*,⁴³ were found together with his mummy which according to the excavators⁴⁴ was that of a young man from 21 to 25 years with negroid characteristics. Certainly there was some kind of relationship between Kheril and II but its degree cannot be established.

All these finds can be dated, for stylistic reasons, in the first half of the 7th century (wings of Nut in three rows!). It is in this archaeological context that a writing board with literary texts in Hieratic and Abnormal Hieratic was found.⁴⁵ One side contains the title of the teaching of Kheti, on the other there is the beginning of a hitherto unknown story assigned – and this is very remarkable – to a well-known military officer of the Libyan period, *Dd-dḥwtj-ḳw=f-ḥnh*, son of *Imn-m-ḳnt*. Unfortunately, the text is fragmentary, and we do not know what this wooden tablet has to do with the Nubians buried in this area.

- Recently, in the Theban tomb of Senneferi, N. Strudwick discovered several objects belonging to Late Period interments, among them the remnants of the burial equipment of a woman of non-Egyptian appearance.⁴⁶ In the preliminary report, her name is read *Nynyw*, but I prefer to detach the first sign  from the rest,  *Nyḳw*, and to take the former as an abbreviated writing for the title (*sdm*-)ḥ “employee”.⁴⁷ Niu’s father Padiamun was a prophet of Amun in the far away town of *Gm-p3-ḳnt*, i.e. Kawa; that as a Nubian he bore an Egyptian name is common for a priest in the cult of an Egyptian god. As noted by the excavator, the lady was accompanied in the thereafter by ushebtis with a basket according to a type found in Kurru but not in Egypt.⁴⁸

In the same context, a linen shroud of the Fourth Prophet of Amun Udjahor,⁴⁹ dated to year 10 of Shabaka, was discovered. Udjahor, who is also known from several other objects, was among the immediate predecessors of Kelbasken and Montemhet as Fourth Prophet of Amun and Mayor of Thebes. The coexistence of the burials of Udjahor and Niu suggest a marital relation but further documentation is needed to substantiate this case.

43 For the names of the parents, cf. Budka, loc. cit., 243 and her other studies quoted in the previous note.

44 Bietak, loc. cit., 34.

45 Cf. now G. Vittmann, “Eine spätzeitliche Schülertafel aus dem Asasif”, *Ägypten und Levante* 16 (2006) 187–193.

46 N. Strudwick, *Memnonia* 11 (2000) 252ff. Photographs can be found at <http://www.newton.cam.ac.uk/egypt/tt99/finds.html>

47 For the “man with raised arm” as a writing for (*sdm*-)ḥ “servant, employee”, a clear example is found in offering table Berlin 7497, see E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*, ÄA 37, Wiesbaden 1981, I, 158 and pl.2* (P 3); pl. 1(d); II, 40. For a Kushite bearing this title, cf. Kelkehetikhly discussed above with n. 34.

48 N. Strudwick, “The Theban Tomb of Senneferi [TT. 99]. An Overview of Work undertaken from 1992 to 1999”, *Memnonia* 11 (2000) 254; Dunham, El-Kurru, pl. XLVI, D and E.

49 For the shroud dated to “year 10”, cf. N. Strudwick, “The Fourth Priest of Amun, Udjahor”, *GM* 148 (1995) 91–94; id., *Memnonia* 11 (2000) pl. 58A. A block statue belonging to Udjahor’s son *Hr-n-p* (Cairo JE 36970) has been published by R. El-Sayed, “A la recherche des statues inédites de la cachette de Karnak au Musée du Caire (I)”, *ASAE* 74 (1999) 143–149. See also F. Payraudeau, *RdE* 54 (2003) 142. Recently, fragments of a funerary papyrus of the fourth prophet of Amun Udjahor were found by a Polish mission (to be published by Edyta Kopp; a text in abnormal hieratic on the Verso is currently being studied myself).


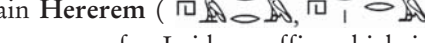


- Extremely interesting for her unusual dress is the owner of a stela from Abydos (fig. 10).⁵⁸ The hieroglyphs which constitute her name cannot be easily identified but from what can be seen it must be a foreign name  *Rbs...*⁵⁹ This lady was a so-called “songstress from the interior of Amun” (*hs(t) n hnmw n ’Imn*), and we know that, among others, Libyan chieftains from the Delta sent their daughters in this function to Thebes and Abydos to form part of the retinue of the God’s wife.⁶⁰ These girls would be adopted by adult women and given Egyptian names that implicitly expressed their loyalty to the dynasty. Occasionally, however, they retained their birth names, and this must have been the case here. It will be a task of future research to verify the provenance of this woman, the curious garment should offer a clue.
- For a certain **Hererem** ( *Hrrm*), the owner of a Leiden coffin which is datable to the 25th Dynasty,⁶¹ a Kushite origin would be the first natural option. However, when trying to analyze foreign proper names we must take into account the whole evidence: probably in the 24th Dynasty, a man with the same name whose grandfather had been vizier and was called  *Hrrm*, too, dedicated a stela for the Serapeum in Memphis.⁶² Given the geographical and chronological frame, it would seem that the assumption of a Libyan descent makes better sense (I do not expect Nubians in the position of vizier at this time and in this area). The occurrences of this name (in the spelling *Hryrm*) in a Demotic archive from Thebes⁶³ containing documents from the reigns of Amasis to Dareios I likewise fit better with a Libyan attribution: after all, the Libyan element was much stronger and more long-lived in Egyptian anthroponymy than



Fig. 10: Stela Cairo JE 46783 (author's drawing).

the Kushite. Thus, the *Hrrm* of the Leiden coffin may have had some Libyan connections. At any rate, the iconography is purely Egyptian, and so are the names of his parents.

- Another name of similar appearance is **Paherer** (*Phrr / P3-hrr*). Undoubtedly, it is not Egyptian but again we have to ask: is it Libyan or Nubian? An unpublished Theban funerary stela in Cairo Museum, dated by Munro on the basis of stylistic and typological criteria between 660-640, belonged to a god's father of Amun Pasheremnin, son of the god's father of Amun  *P3-hrr* and a woman with the Egyptian name *Ts-3st-prt*.⁶⁴ Chronological and geographical considerations seem to militate in favour of the Nubian alternative.

58 Cairo JE 46783, cf. Munro, Totenstelen, 285 and fig. 134.

59 Munro reads the third bird as the s^2 -goose.

60 The classical study is still, though unfortunately without references, J. Yoyotte, “Les vierges consacrées d’Amon thébain”, *CRAIBL* 1961, 43-52.


61 Leiden AMM 21 (unpublished, own copy).

62 Serapeum stela Louvre IM 3113, cf. M. Malinine – G. Posener – J. Vercoutter, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*, I, Paris 1968, 91 No. 114 and pl. XXXII;

Porter-Moss III^{2/2}, 790.


63 E. Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch*, Wiesbaden 1980–2000, 753 (Thebes, latter half 6th century). Cf. also P.W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, Leuven 1994, I, 5 (9): “nom hypocoristique?”.

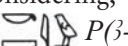
64 Thebanstela Cairo T 24/1/25/15, own copy; cf. J. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques*, Christiania – Leipzig 1871, 912 No. 2449; Munro, *Totenstelen*, 212.


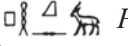
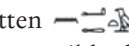

We might venture a translation “he who is longing for Egypt”, but a feminine name beginning with the masculine definite article would of course be highly unusual and unexpected.⁷³ The existence of a Kushite queen whose clearly indigenous name is written  (*P-b³-t-m³*) leads to the probable conclusion that the two names – though not necessarily the two individuals – are identical. The only difference lies in that the latter represents the conventional semi-alphabetical writing of a foreign name whereas the former is a somewhat clumsy kind of “pseudo-etymological” rendering of the latter having the great advantage of indicating the actual pronunciation.

This way of “explaining” a foreign name by a homophonous Egyptian construct reminds us of the well-known similar procedure applied to the Libyan royal name Psamtek which was occasionally written as if it were an Egyptian name “man of the mixed wine” (by the way, there is even an artificial feminine counterpart “Tsamtek”!).⁷⁴

- There are a few rare names of officials of the 25th Dynasty which can be easily translated on the basis of Egyptian but where there remain some doubts as to whether they are
 - a) Egyptianized renderings of Kushite names according to the model just described,
 - b) Egyptian names borne by (more or less) “assimilated” Nubians, or
 - c) Egyptian names of genuine Egyptians.

In this connection, let us have a look at the name **Pesdimen** ( *P³y=s-dl-mn*) for which Leclant⁷⁵ more than fifty years ago had considered the possibility of its being an adaptation to Egyptian from Kushitic. The only bearer of this name known to this day was a member of the staff of Mut in Karnak (*a k3wty n pr-Mwt*) under the reign of Taharqa. The

name means “Her donation is enduring” and belongs to a type which is not uncommon in this period, similar names being *P³y=s-šw-pr* “Her light has appeared”, *P³y=s-pr-mh* “Her house is filled” or (from a papyrus in abnormal Hieratic) *P³y=s-dl* which could well be an abbreviation of *P³y=s-dl-mn*. The possessive pronoun refers either to Mut or to the god’s wife of Amun. At any rate, there is hardly any reason to look for an underlying Kushitic name. Considering, however, the father’s name **Pekosh** ( *P(β-i)kšiw* “The Nubian”) it would seem that Leclant’s reserved suggestion of a Nubian descent for *P³y=s-dl-mn* merits support, indeed.

- In contrast to the Greco-Roman period, the evidence for the names *P³-ikš*, *T³-ikš* (Pekosh, Tekosh) in the Third Intermediate Period and the 26th Dynasty is extremely meager. A mummy case with coffin from the epoch of transition between Dynasty 25 to 26 in Petersburg (inv. 770/771)⁷⁶ belonged to a “wab-priest of Amun, chief of the doorguardians of Pharaoh” (*hry ỉry-ꜥ3(.w) pr-ꜥ3*)  *P³-kš*, his father had similar titles and was called  *P(β)-n-hqs* = probably, because of the determinative, **Pa-għs* “He of the gazelle”. This unusual name raises the suspicion of being another attempt at making sense of a foreign name, whereas the mother had an authentic Egyptian name Naatesnachte (*N³-ꜥ3-t³y=s-nht*, always curiously written ). Under these circumstances, it is possible that the name “the Kushite” alludes to corresponding descent and was used as a substitute for an indigenous name.
- A famous object often illustrated or mentioned as a work of art but rarely studied from the historical point of view is the bronze statuette of **Takushit** ( *T³-kš*) in Athens.⁷⁷ This lady was a daughter of the Libyan chief of Behbet and

73 There is very scanty evidence for such cases, however.

74 Cf. J. Quaegebeur, “Les rois saïtes amateurs de vin”, *Ancient Society* 21 (1990) 241-271; also Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden*, 15 with fig. 6. A similar case is the god Arensnuphis *Jrj-hms-nfr* / *Jrj-mšꜥ-nfr* “the good companion” (the underlying Kushite/Meroitic name is unknown).

75 J. Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces et les sanctuaires égyptiennes à l’époque dite « éthiopienne »* (XXVe

Dynastie), BdE 17, Cairo 1954, 43-72.

76 For the texts, cf. J. Lieblein, *Die ägyptischen Denkmäler in St. Petersburg, Helsingfors, Upsala und Copenhagen*, Christiania 1873, 14f. No. 13 (and pl. III,13); 38 No. 62 (and pl. VII 24); idem, *Dictionnaire des noms*, 915 No. 2461. I am much obliged to Andrey Bolshakov for a set of digital images. The wings of Nut are arranged in three rows, therefore the dating is prior to 675/650 BC.

77 Cf. O. Tzachou, *The World of Egypt in the National*

Piankhy, was able to install his daughter **Amenirdis I** as the future god's wife by inducing Shepenupet I, daughter of the Libyan pharaoh Osorkon III, to adopt her. The procedure was repeated later, *mutatis mutandis*, with regard to **Shepenupet II**, daughter of Piankhy, and **Amenirdis II**, daughter of Taharqa. All these ladies are usually represented in Egyptian garb,⁸³ although physiognomic details occasionally hint at their foreign descent.⁸⁴

- A special case is the “royal daughter” **Amenirdis** who occurs on a stela of that period where she appears as the wife of the northern vizier Mentuhotep (fig. 11).⁸⁵ Unlike the god's wives, she is represented with clearly Nubian features (note especially hairstyle). Labib Habachi, who published this object nearly thirty years ago, identified her unhesitatingly with Amenirdis II who, according to him, had not succeeded to the office of god's wife and so was free to marry. His opinion has found little acceptance, and there is also the well-founded hypothesis that Amenirdis went back to Napata. As a matter of fact, it is possible but not cogently proven that Amenirdis, after 656 – the year when Shepenupet II and Amenirdis II adopted Nitocris, daughter of Psamtek I –, really had her own term of office as a “god's wife”. We do not know when she died nor where she was buried. It cannot be excluded, however, that in the royal family there was one more Amenirdis, perhaps a daughter of Shabaka. Whoever the Amenirdis of the Cairo Stela was, she testifies to the relations maintained by the Kushites with the North.
- A comparable case is **Meritamun** (*Mr(t)-īmn*). The only monument she left is her funerary stela



Fig. 11: Princess Amenirdis (stela Cairo; Habachi, *Fs Hintze*, unnumbered plate).

from Abydos,⁸⁶ where she is depicted in Nubian dress (tail!, fig. 12) and given the title *s3t-nsw* “king's daughter” and nothing more. As she was neither royal mother nor royal wife it is futile to define her identity more precisely.

- **Esenkhebi** (*3st-n-hb*), a “great king's wife, king's sister, king's daughter of Shabaka”, was equally interred in Abydos, where her coffin has been

83 A famous example is Cairo CG 565 (Amenirdis I), which had been discovered by Mariette in 1858 and served as an inspiring model for the princess Amneris in Verdi's Aida, cf. D. Arnold, in: *Ägypten – Dauer und Wandel*, Mainz 1985, 175 and pl. 20.

84 As a well-known example, cf. the sphinx Berlin 7972 representing Shepenupet II as described and illustrated by H. Kischkewitz, in: *Nofret – die Schöne. Die Frau im Alten Ägypten*, Hildesheim 1985, II, 134, cat. No. 165; K.-H. Priese, *Das Ägyptische Museum Berlin*, Mainz 1991, 170 No. 101.

85 L. Habachi, “Mentuhotp, the Vizier and Son-in-law of

Taharqa”, in: E. Endesfelder et al., eds., *Ägypten und Kusch (Festschrift Hintze)*, Berlin 1977, 165-170; cf. Morton, *Black Pharaohs*, 288 and 301; Lohwasser, *Königl. Frauen*, 146 (and 222-224 for hairstyle!); Breyer, *Tanutamani* (n. 17), 345ff.

86 Stela Cairo T 28/6/24/5, cf. Munro, *Totenstelen*, 260 and fig. 99; A. Leahy, in: *Studies Shore* (n. 25), 171-175; Lohwasser, *Königl. Frauen*, 166; cf. A. Lohwasser, “Ein archäologischer Beleg für einen kuschitischen Kopfschmuck”, *Der antike Sudan. MittSAG 17* (2006), 123-124 mit Abb. 4.



found.⁸⁷ According to Leahy, she was sister and wife of Tanwetamani, the last Kushite ruler of Egypt, but it is perhaps more probable that she was married to Shabataka.⁸⁸

- Queen **Tabaketenamun** (*T3-b3k(t)-n-imn*), is known only from a mention in the fragment a statue of the High Priest of Amun Harmachis, son of Shabaka, found in Thebes.⁸⁹ Apart from her status as “king’s daughter, king’s wife, king’s sister”, she was a priestess of Hathor of Aphroditopolis, of Hathor of Dendera and of Neith. Unfortunately, the passage which specified the relationship of the queen with Harmachis is destroyed.⁹⁰
- In the past years, due to the profound research by Edna Russmann, the figure of **Udjarenes** (*Wd3-rn=s*),⁹¹ Montemhet’s Kushite wife, mother of Pasherenmut (statue Cairo CG 42243) and granddaughter of Piankhy, has begun to take shape. It is fascinating to see that the princess, in the tomb of her husband, was depicted both as a Nubian and as an Egyptian, according to whether the individual scene was embedded in an Egyptian religious context or not.

c) princes

The Kushite rulers followed the model of the Libyan kings who had put their sons and daughters in the most important priestly positions of the country. In typical contrast, however, to the Libyan High Priests of Amun, the Kushite holders of this office were apparently devoid of military authorities.

- **Harmachis** (*Hr-m-3ht*), high priest of Amun, son of Shabaka (*z3-nsw*, also by adding (*Š3b3k3*) *m3^c-hrw mr=f*). Among the few monuments left



Fig. 12: Princess Meritamun (stela Cairo T 28/6/24/5; author’s drawing).

by him there are an outstanding striding statue from the Karnak cachette⁹² and a hieratic papyrus with protective spells.⁹³ There is also a coffin from Thebes which unfortunately remains unpublished to this day.⁹⁴ According to its inscriptions, the mother of Harmachis was the otherwise unknown “king’s wife” Masbata (*hmt-nsw*⁹⁵ *M^c-s3-b3-t3*).

87 Coffin fragments Cairo JE 34431 = T 9/2/15/11, cf. A. Leahy, “Tanutamon, son of Shabako?”, GM 83 (1984) 43-45; Lohwasser, *Königl. Frauen*, 157.

88 Cf. D. Kahn, *MittSAG* 16, 2005, 160.

89 G. Lefebvre, “Le grand prêtre d’Amon, Harmakhis, et deux reines de la XXV^e dynastie”, *ASAE* 25 (1925) 25-33; Lohwasser, *Königl. Frauen*, 185.

90 As the mother of the Harmachis was a certain Masbata and Harmachis never became king, it is difficult to understand how Tabaketenamun could have been a wife of Harmachis (Lohwasser, *Königl. Frauen*, 185).

91 E.R. Russmann, “Mentuemhat’s Kushite Wife”, *JARCE* 34 (1997) 21-39.

92 Cairo CG 42204 (ed. Legrain). A fragment from another statue was published by G. Lefebvre, “Le grand prêtre d’Amon, Harmakhis, et deux reines de la XXV^e dynastie”, *ASAE* 25 (1925) 25ff.


93 Leiden AMS 59c = I 358, A. Klasens, “An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25th Dynasty”, *OMRO* 56 (1975) 20-28.

94 Cairo JE 55194 from unknown tomb in Thebes / Asasif; cf. literature quoted by Lohwasser, *Königl. Frauen*, 164f., and Porter-Moss I/2, 625. I am much indebted to Marsha Hill for sending me digital images of the coffins of Harmachis and his son Harkhebi.

- The case of his son **Harkhebi** (*Hr-hb*) is especially interesting. In the vignette of the famous Brooklyn Saite Oracle Papyrus (651 BC),⁹⁶ i.e. at a time when Psamtek I had already extended his influence to Upper Egypt and Kushite rule had found its end in Egypt, we see him in office being the last of 50 witnesses to this document, which is of the utmost importance for priests and officials in the early 26th dynasty. We already observed that Harmachis, as a full Nubian, is shown with dark complexion.




After his death, the post of a High Priest of Amun was not to be filled again, the god's wives of Amun, until the end of the dynasty, assuming the title and function of the high priest.

- **Nesshutefnut** (*Ns-šw-tfnwt*), son of Taharqa, was installed as second prophet of Amun.⁹⁷
- Another son of Taharqa is known so far only from the Assyrian inscriptions, where he is called *Ušanḫuru* = **Nesonuris** (*Ns-ḫnr*). He was captured by the conqueror together with other members of the royal court and deported to Assyria.⁹⁸
- An unpublished statue base in the British Museum with the cartouches of Osiris Wennefer-the-Nile in the center and of the god's wife Shepenupet II

on the left was said to contain a dedication by an otherwise unrecorded king's son Irtyertjau (*'Irty-r-ḫw*).⁹⁹ Given the chronological framework, it seemed clear that he was a member of the Kushite dynasty. However, when seeing the images kindly put at my disposal by Richard Parkinson, I noticed that Budge's reading *s3-nsw* is hardly correct. I wonder whether it is rather  *Dw3t-ntr-(m)-(wy)-ḫnsw s3 n 'Irty-r-ḫw*, which would disclose a "new" Egyptian official working in the service of the God's Adoratrix.

d) non-royal persons

It will have been quite normal that Nubian parents who had already been living in Egypt for some time gave their children Egyptian names only. This habit involves a serious problem which frequently is not perceived in research, a problem concerning the presence of foreigners in Egypt in general, not only Nubians: if in the monument of a person with an Egyptian name there are no sufficient hints as to ethnicity such as foreign names in the filiation, iconographical peculiarities or the like, it is usually impossible to identify a foreigner as such. This need not mean that such an individual had been fully assimilated to Egyptian civilization and

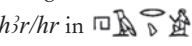

95 So clearly from the photograph MMA M.11.C.106 (see preceding note). The misleading reading  given by H. Kees, "Die priesterliche Stellung des Monthemhet", *ZÄS* 87 (1962) 61 is apparently incorrect (Lohwasser, *Königl. Frauen*, 165 rightly suspected that  was a "Verschreibung oder falsche Abschrift für ").

96 Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 9; 29 and pl. I. Parker, loc. cit., 29 also mentions Harkhebi's unpublished sarcophagus (Cairo JE 55193; cf. Porter-Moss I/2, 625 with wrong reading "Pashenkhebi").

97 Statue Cairo CG 42203 (ed. Legrain). For possible restorations of destroyed cartouche of mother, see Lohwasser, *Königl. Frauen*, 42.

98 Only attested in Akkadian rendering *Ušanḫuru*, presumably one of the two captives depicted in stela of Asarhaddon I from Zencirli (Berlin VAM 2708, cf. Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden*, pl. 1); Dallibor, *Taharqa* (n. 33), 142f. and fig. 39; D. Kahn, *MittSAG* 16 (2005) 162f. – A Kushitic priest called *Ns-jnḫr* appears in *Urḫ* III 108, 1 along with several other indigenous priests with partially Egyptian and partially Kushitic

names (tp. Aspelta)!

99 BM 713; cf. Porter-Moss VIII/2, 1062, 802-039-920 with reference to W. Budge, *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries, Sculpture*, London 1909, 220 [795], but see also J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains* (n. 33), 270 n. 3. – A king's son with an obviously foreign name and corresponding parentage is mentioned in an unpublished donation stela from Mendes(?) dated to year 55 of Psamtek I (610): According to D. Meeks, in: E. Lipinski, ed., *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, II, OLA 6, Leuven 1979, 675 (26.1.55) and esp. 636 n.123, the donator is "le fils royal *H3rk*, dont la mère est [...] *prpḳt*" (collated by myself with a copy of the inscription in the possession of H. Goedicke who does not agree, however, with this interpretation). The element *h3r/hr* in  (is the curiously shaped sign under the *r* really *q*?) reminds me of the names *Hrrm*, *Phrr* (Libyan?) and *Hr* (Kushite), see above. However, the mother's name  is most curious, and I do not know how to explain it.



therefore had ceased to be a foreigner. Each case has to be examined as far as possible. We must imagine a situation that a person, in a definite context, is represented as a foreigner, in others not, as was the case with Udjarenes. I guess in the monuments of the 25th and early 26th Dynasties a far greater number of Kushites is hidden than what is evident, but it is absolutely impossible to prove this suspicion if there are no positive data which permit any conclusions to this effect.

- Iconography is a valuable help also for non-royal persons. The garment of the owner of stela Leiden XIV 13 (fig. 13)¹⁰⁰ has the typical Kushite tail, therefore it is plausible that **Taneferher** (*T3-nfr-ḥr*), a “songstress of the interior of Amun”, was Kushite.
- Problems may arise, however, when the dress is perhaps not as unequivocal as it ought to be for a certain attribution. According to what I read in Lohwasser’s meritorious article about the dressing of Kushite women¹⁰¹ I am inclined to believe that the three women on two further stelae from Abydos¹⁰² with the “end of the sash” (“Zipfel der Schärpe”) are Kushite, too. The dress is essentially the same as that of the queens Tabiri and Abalo, only the tail is missing. The former object belonged to **Mersiamun** (*Mr-s{w}-ḥmn* “Amun loves her”), again a “songstress of the interior of Amun”. She is followed by **Tameretamun** (*T3-mr.t-ḥmn* “She who is beloved by Amun”)¹⁰³ (fig. 14), who is represented at a smaller scale, the degree of relationship with Meresamun not being indicated. The other stela was erected for **Taper(et)** (*T3-pr(.t)*) (fig. 15). Some doubts as to ethnicity of these ladies remain, however; maybe they were, after all, full-fledged Egyptians ...¹⁰⁴



Fig. 13: Stela Leiden XIV 13 (author’s drawing).

- Another stela from Abydos broken into two parts had been dated erroneously to the Middle Kingdom, but afterwards it was established that it belongs to the latter half of the 25th Dynasty.¹⁰⁵ The owner **Tani** (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *T3ny*), a “king’s acquaintance”, stood in the service of an unnamed queen and is shown in a similar habit as other Kushite women. I am not sure whether Tani is really meant to be an Egyptian name or whether it is Kushite, and this situation immediately leads us to the fifth groups of names.

100 W.D. van Wijngaarden, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, XIV, 's-Gravenhage 1932, pl. 4; cf. Munro, *Totenstelen*, 192.

101 A. Lohwasser, “Die Darstellung der Tracht der Kuschitinnen der 25. Dynastie”, *Meroitica* 15 (1999) 586ff.


102 Stelae Leiden VI 20 and Cairo JE 21789, cf. Munro, *Totenstelen*, 263 and fig. 107-108.

103 These names somehow recall the princess Meritamun (*Mrt-ḥmn*) from stela Cairo T 28/6/24/5, cf. above and fig. 12!

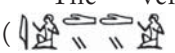

104 Matthias Seidel (oral communication) does not believe in a Kushite origin of these women.

105 Abydene stela Vienna 192 + Cairo CG 20564, H. De Meulenaere, “Retrouvaille de la dame Taniy”, in: J. Baines et al., eds., *Pyramid Studies and other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards*, London 1988, 68-72; A. Leahy, “Taniy: A Seventh Century Lady (Cairo CG 20564 and Vienna 192)”, *GM* 108 (1989) 45-56; M. Lichtheim, “The Stela of Taniy, CG 20564. Its Date and its Character”, *SAK* 16 (1989) 203-215 and pls. 1-2.



sources, and it is possible that is not Egyptian. However, neither Udjarenes nor one of the other two known wives of Montemhet can have been the mother: The rests of the name  should be restored as *(Tʒ-)šr(.t-tʒ)-ʿih.tʿ* (“the daughter of the cow”, (Ta)sher(enta)ihet), a very current Late Period name, and by this we have rediscovered a fourth spouse of Montemhet.

As to the name of the daughter, we should be careful in order to avoid hasty conclusions. Perhaps it is just a combination of the grammatical element | (vocative) with *mm*, *mmy* “dum palm” which is attested in earlier times and occasionally also in the Late Period.¹¹⁰

The very similar formation **Ididi** ( *ʿIdydy*) is found in a family of Theban wab-priests of Amun living in the 25th Dynasty with a man and his grandfather both bearing a second name **Khaenwen** ( *Hʒ-n-wn?*) which may or may not be Egyptian but I do not understand it.¹¹¹ Maybe we can trace here a new Nubian-Egyptian family.

It is perhaps surprising that for a period of approximately seventy years of Kushite rule in Egypt only a rather limited number of Kushites in various positions could be identified: the highest priestly offices in Thebes, those of the God’s wife of Amun and the high priest of Amun, were kept by Kushite princesses and princes, and quite a few individuals of either sex were in some way or another attached to the cult of Amun and Mut. As to Nubians in civil administration, there was first of all Kelbasken, mayor of Thebes, whereas in the influential family of Montemhet, which produced some Upper Egyptian viziers, the Nubian element is difficult to define in detail. What we know about military officials in that period induces us to believe that it was principally the domain of Kushites and Libyans. With other individuals such as Ariketekana, their real function is not clearly discernible.

It is remarkable that so far all the evidence of Kushites in Egypt, with the exception of the Kings themselves, concerns Upper Egypt: though the concentration on the South is not astonishing, we would expect to find some Kushites in the North of the country, too!

My hope is that future research will bring to light many more Kushites who were active in Egypt, on the one hand, and that the possibilities of recognizing and differentiating them will be refined, on the other.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der Beitrag befasst sich mit den verschiedenen Möglichkeiten, die Präsenz von Kuschiten im Ägypten der 25. und frühen 26. Dynastie individuell nachzuweisen. Während kuschitische Namengebung bei Angehörigen des Königshauses und Privatpersonen eindeutig auf den entsprechenden ethnischen Hintergrund weist (Abschnitt 1), muss in manchen Fällen erst untersucht werden, ob ein Fremddame überhaupt kuschitisch oder nicht vielleicht eher libysch ist (Abschnitt 2). Nach der Erörterung von Ägyptisierungen kuschitischer Namen (Abschnitt 3) werden die relativ häufigen Fälle besprochen, in denen Kuschiten rein ägyptische Namen tragen, wobei die Ikonographie eine Rolle spielen kann (Abschnitt 4). Schließlich werden exemplarisch Fälle vorgestellt, in denen unklar ist, ob die Namen ägyptisch oder nichtägyptisch sind (Abschnitt 5).

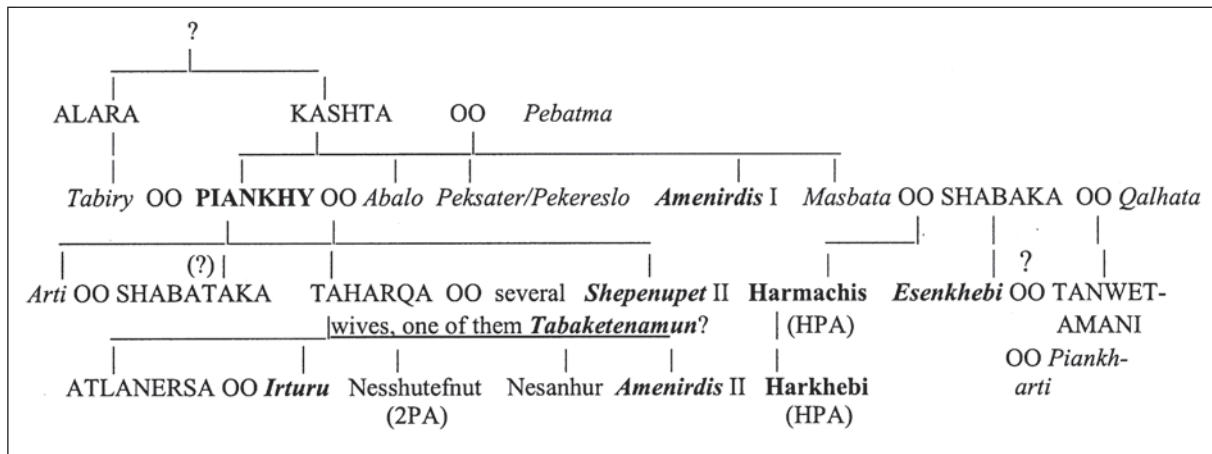
110 For proper names of the type *i* - noun / god’s name, cf. H. Ranke, *Personennamen*, 5 passim.

111 Cf. M. L. Bierbrier, „The Family of Ididi”, *CdE* 59 (1984) 234.

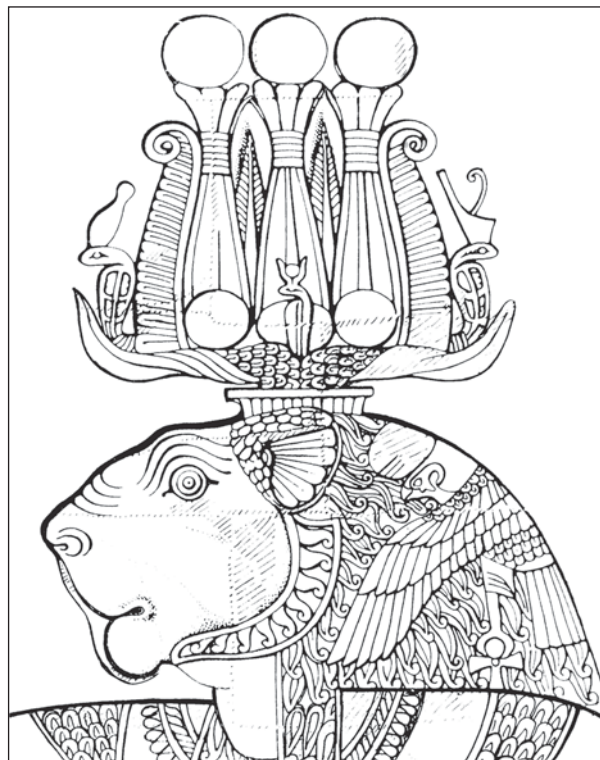


Genealogy of the 25th Dynasty (kings in capitals, Egyptian names in bold type, female names in italics; adapted from Kitchen, Third Intermediate Period, 478)

NB. King Shabataka is traditionally registered as son of Piankhy (with due question mark) although he may rather have been a son of Shabaka, cf. D. Kahn, MittSAG 16 (2005) 160! For the uncertain position of Esenkhebi (rather a further wife of Shabaka?) cf. above and again Kahn, loc. cit.



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Angesichts der Tatsache, daß die globalen wirtschaftlichen, ökonomischen und politischen Probleme auch zu einer Gefährdung der kulturellen Hinterlassenschaften in aller Welt führen, ist es dringend geboten, gemeinsame Anstrengungen zu unternehmen, das der gesamten Menschheit gehörende Kulturerbe für künftige Generationen zu bewahren. Eine wesentliche Rolle bei dieser Aufgabe kommt der Archäologie zu. Ihre vornehmste Verpflichtung muß sie in der heutigen Zeit darin sehen, bedrohte Kulturdenkmäler zu pflegen und für ihre Erhaltung zu wirken.

Die Sudanarchäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin e.V. setzt sich besonders für den Erhalt des Ensembles von Sakralbauten aus meroitischer Zeit in Musawwarat es Sufra/Sudan ein, indem sie konservatorische Arbeiten unterstützt, archäologische Ausgrabungen fördert sowie Dokumentation und Publikation der Altertümer von Musawwarat ermöglicht. Wenn die Arbeit der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin Ihr Interesse geweckt hat und Sie bei uns mitarbeiten möchten, werden Sie Mitglied! Wir sind aber auch für jede andere Unterstützung dankbar. Wir freuen uns über Ihr Interesse!

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