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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,<sup>1</sup> and finally Greeks and Romans. Nowadays we know that even the 26<sup>th</sup> 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”.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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-Winkel it has become clear that assimilation was by no means complete.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> “Foreigner” is used here in the sense of “unassimilated (or perhaps only partially) assimilated foreigner”<sup>6</sup> 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** (*𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 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 *𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏*; it is impossible to translate “the great of the foreign countries” as has happened, that being a completely different title).<sup>7</sup> This epithet provoked astonishment<sup>8</sup> at best, but mostly this important document, when dealing with the question of ethnocultural self-consciousness of foreigners in Egypt, was paid little attention. Now,

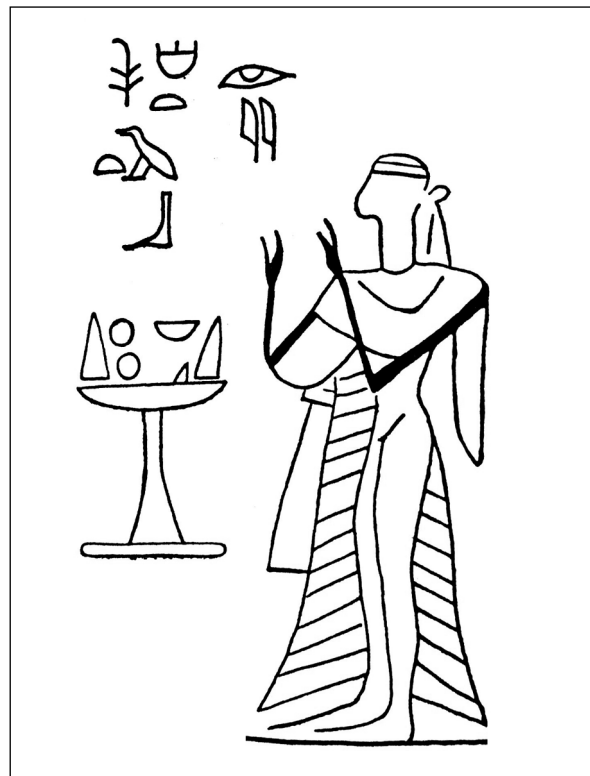


Fig. 1: Queen Tabiry (Dunham, *El Kurru*, fig. 29f).

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.<sup>9</sup>

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-Winkel, “Die Libyer in Herakleopolis magna”, *Or* 75 (2006) 297-316.

5 Cf. Jansen-Winkel, *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 *h3q3-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!

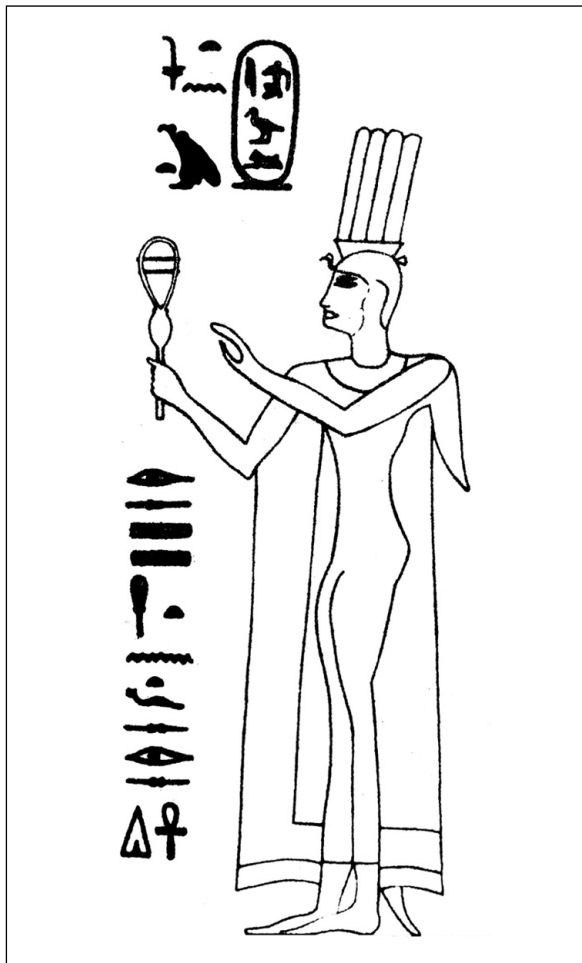


Fig. 2: Queen Abalo (stela *Karwa* 5; Macadam, *Karwa* I, pl. 10).

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,<sup>10</sup> 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 discerned<sup>11</sup>; 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 Abydos<sup>12</sup> (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.<sup>13</sup>

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,<sup>14</sup> 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.

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

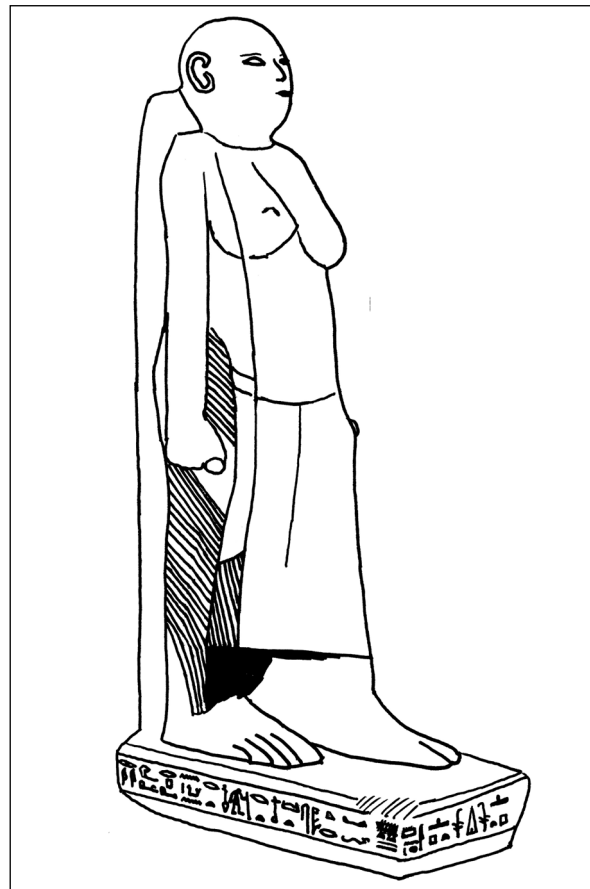


Fig. 5: Statue of Ariketekana (author's drawing).

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 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> 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.



## 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,<sup>15</sup> 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 protocols 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,<sup>16</sup> 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-hgt*” (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏)<sup>17</sup> 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

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, in spite of the negative features of Nubia, the title *kwr = qore* is always accompanied by the group 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏. Cf. also the analogous treatment of Antiochus III and the (fictional) Queen Sarpot in Demotic (G. Vittmann, in: H. Felber, ed., *Feinde und Aufrübrer. 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.



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

son at his coronation in Memphis<sup>18</sup> (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.<sup>19</sup>
- 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),<sup>20</sup> was

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 Priestereinführungsinchriften der 25. Dynastie aus Luxor (Berlin 2096 und 2097)“, *SAK* 29 (2001) 360f. (l).

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.

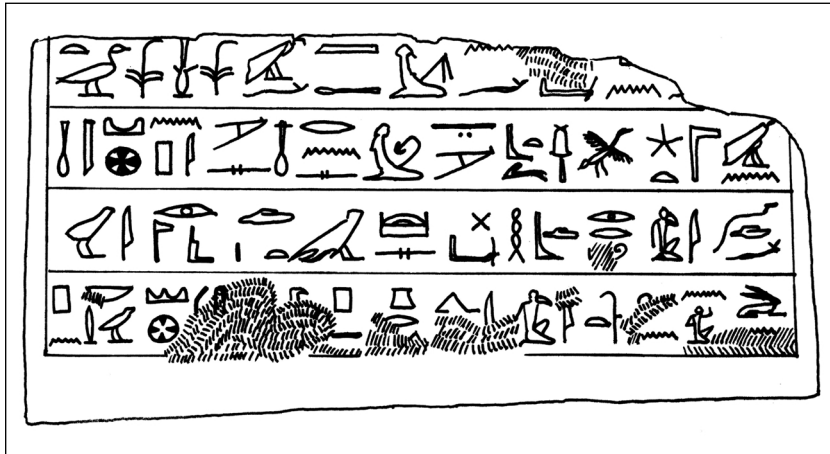

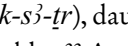


Fig. 7: Stela of Pekertor, lower part (Moscow I.1.b.37; author's drawing).

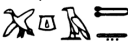
buried in Abydos, which had maintained its traditional role as a sacred, time-honoured necropolis (and was later, in the early 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty, to play a political role as the seat of several viziers!). It was probably due to her cultic office as a “songstress of Amenrasonthet” that she received – 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.<sup>21</sup>

- Another queen which likewise seems to have been buried at Abydos was **Pekereslo** ( *Pk-s3-rw-i*) / **Peksater** ( *Pk-s3-tr*), daughter of Kashta, sister and wife of Piankhy.<sup>22</sup> A stela in Bologna was erected for her funerary priest Irthorru (*Ir.t-hr-r=w*), probably in the latter half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup> 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 26<sup>th</sup> or 27<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>24</sup>

### 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,<sup>25</sup> the “generalissimus” (*imy-r' mš<sup>c</sup> wr*) and “commander” (*h3wtj*) **Peke(r)tror** ( *P3-g3-t3-r2-rw*) (fig. 7) mentions the burial of his mother Paabtameri. Usually, the inscription is understood as a commemoration of Pekertor'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”.<sup>26</sup> 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-Winkel (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  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$  as "king's son Piankhy-har", but the other alternative "king's son of Piankhy, Har"<sup>27</sup> (*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** ( $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔}$  *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. 223<sup>28</sup> and the offering table Cairo CG 23103 with the titles *rh-nsw ḏrty nsw ḥnhwy bḏt* ("king's acquaintance, eyes of the King of Upper Egypt, ears of the King of Lower Egypt") and *ḥq ḥ3wty*, for which two different interpretations have been proposed: "first (priest) entering (the temple)",<sup>29</sup> or as a combination of two titles "(priest) entering (the interior of the temple); (military) commander".<sup>30</sup> It is doubtful, however, whether *ḥq* in this case really is a priestly designation.<sup>31</sup>

According to the inscriptions in his tomb, Kerrekhamani had a brother with the Egyptian name **Nesamenopet** (*Ns-ḏmn-ḏpt*), a *rh-nsw m3ḥ mry=f*, but the parents have never been identified.

- **Kelbasken** ( $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔}$  *K3-rw-b3-s3-k-n*), owner of the very badly preserved tomb TT 391.<sup>32</sup> 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-Nefhotep". 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** ( $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔}$  *ḏry-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 25<sup>th</sup> 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).<sup>33</sup> According to the inscription, he was *iry-pꜣt ḥꜣty-ꜥ rh-nsw mꜣꜥ mr=f* “count, truly loved king’s acquaintance”. It was not before the 25<sup>th</sup> 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 26<sup>th</sup> 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** (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕 *Kꜣ-rw-kꜣ-h-t-ihy*), the owner of an unpublished coffin lid from Thebes (±650), with the obscure title “servant of the place of Hekat(?)” (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕 *sꜣm-ꜥꜣ n s.t ḥkꜣ.t*).<sup>34</sup> The beginning of the complex name recalls Kerrekhamani and Kelbasken, and the puzzling lack of a filiation is noteworthy, again.

The frequent lack of information on parentage and family relations is bewildering, especially in tombs where such information is usually abundant in the Late Period. Out of the four men just mentioned only one individual is attested with a relative (Kerrekhamani’s brother Nesamenopet), but neither

the parents nor a wife or children are ever mentioned. The point is whether this is just a pure chance – one could argue the tombs might have furnished more information if they had been completely uncovered and better documented in time – or not. Yet I believe it is more than a mere coincidence: A similar situation may also be occasionally observed with Egyptian officials. As to Harwa (*Hrwꜣ*), chief steward of the god’s wife Amenirdis I, who is not second to Irigadiganen, as far as obesity is concerned, we know his parents, but neither wife nor, until recently, children, and the same is true of his successor Akhamenrau (*ꜣh-ꜣmn-r.w*). The question seemed allowed, and I am uncertain if it has ever been asked whether the chief stewards during the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty, unlike their later colleagues, had to live celibate just as their mistresses. However, from Francesco Tiradritti I learn that the latest discoveries in the tomb of Harwa show that he must have had children, indeed!<sup>35</sup>

The scarcity of genealogical information is equally conspicuous with the lector priest Petamenophis, who owned the largest Late Period tomb in Thebes but restricted himself to mentioning his mother *Mnh-ꜣst* only.<sup>36</sup>

- **Khikhy** (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓 *Hyhyiw*; cf. Ranke 277,20) is not otherwise attested in Egyptian, neither as a name nor as a normal word. The hair-style of the woman with this name on a stela from Abydos<sup>37</sup> is obviously Nubian rather than Egyptian, and so

33 Statue Cairo JE 38018 (now exhibited in Aswan, Nubia Museum), cf. P. L. Kirwan, “A Sudanese of the Saïte Period”, in *Mélanges Maspero* I, MIFAO 66/1, Cairo 1935-1938, 373-377; J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains*, BdÉ 36, 1965, 123; idem, *L’Égypte du crépuscule*, Paris 1980, 232 fig. 225, K. Dallibor, *Tabarqo – Pharao von Kusch*, Berlin 2005, 137f.

34 Louvre E 3987 (according to own copy and images kindly provided by Musée Champollion in Figeac where it is now deposited). The wings of Nut are arranged in four rows, which points to a dating not prior to 675/50 BC.

35 Accordingly, one son was named Padimaat, in other instances the name is not preserved. A coffin in Padua (inv. No. 141) belonged to *Mr(t)-ꜣmn*, a “songstress of the interior of Amun”, daughter of the “prince and count” Harwa (unfortunately, the name of the mother is not indicated), see S. Einaudi – F. Tiradritti, *L’enigma di*

*Harwa*, Milano 2004, 191f. (colour photographs) and 216 (description and interpretation). It is certainly tempting to identify this person with the chief steward of the god’s wife but we are in urgent need of further evidence to corroborate this hypothesis.

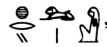




36 For the problems connected with Petamenophis, cf. especially K. Jansen-Winkel, “Zur Datierung und Stellung des ‚Vorlesepriesters‘ Petamenophis“, *WZKM* 88 (1998) 165-175; see also S. Pernigotti, “Petamenophis: un funzionario della XXVI dinastia tra l’Egitto e Siracusa“, *REAC* 5 (2003) 69-74. Recently, a French team under the direction of Claude Traunecker has resumed work in his tomb (TT 33).


37 Stela Cairo JE 46916 from Edfu, cf. F. Bisson de la Roque, “Complément de la stèle d’*ꜣmn-m-ḥꜣt*, fils de *Pꜣ-tꜣf*, époux de *Hyhyiw*, prêtre d’Amon qui réside à Karnak“, *BIFAO* 25 (1925) 47f. (with unnumbered plate).









name Kheril appears in different spellings such as  *H-ry-rw* / *Hy-r-ꜣw* and others. She was the daughter of a man with both a foreign (  *Pnpnꜣnh*) and an Egyptian name (  *Pꜣ-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 (  *I-rw*), son of *Pꜣ-hꜣrw* and *Šp-ꜣst*,<sup>43</sup> were found together with his mummy which according to the excavators<sup>44</sup> 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 7<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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-dhwtꜣ-ꜣw=f-ꜣnh*, son of *ꜣmn-m-ꜣnt*. 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.<sup>46</sup> In the preliminary report, her name is read *Nynꜣw*, but I prefer to detach the first sign  from the rest,  *Nyꜣw*, and to take the former as an abbreviated writing for the title (*sꜣm-*)<sup>ꜣš</sup> “employee”.<sup>47</sup> Niu’s father Padiamun was a prophet of Amun in the far away town of *Gm-pꜣ-itn*, 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.<sup>48</sup>

In the same context, a linen shroud of the Fourth Prophet of Amun Udjahor,<sup>49</sup> 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 (*sꜣm-*)<sup>ꜣš</sup> “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. Kelkehetikh 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, Wedjahor”, *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).







This suspicion is strengthened by the existence of an uncle of Montemhet, the double-named vizier **Harsiese Paherer**. With a view to the possible Nubian connections of the Montemhet family it would seem almost self-evident that Paherer was a Kushite with an appropriate name. This conclusion is complicated, however, by the fact that the name Paherer is also attested in a Demotic papyrus from Upper Egypt datable to the early fifth century BC<sup>65</sup>, i.e. to an epoch when Nubian names within an Egyptian cultural context in Thebes and to the north of it are most unusual. As it seems hard to believe that a man with Kushite background would have had both an Egyptian and a Libyan name but no Kushite we could propose that Montemhet's uncle was Libyan. However, such an assumption would create more new problems than it solves.

It is sometimes suggested that the non-Egyptian features in Montemhet's statuary are simply conditioned by contemporary royal iconography.<sup>66</sup> I am not at all sure that this is the whole truth. Should it be meaningless that in the vignette of the Brooklyn Saite Oracle Papyrus, the complexion of Montemhet and his son Nesptah is lighter than that of Harkhebi, the grandson of Shabaka, but darker than that of the other figures including the priests carrying the shrine of Amun-Re?<sup>67</sup>

Interestingly, in the extensive pedigree there are several non-Egyptian names such as Paherer discussed above, then **Sharshaiu** (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕) *š3-r3-š3iw*), an ancestor, perhaps also **Babai** und **Kuku**.<sup>68</sup> Bierbrier<sup>69</sup> was probably right in proposing a foreign origin for the rare name **Tabetjat** (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕 and similarly, *T3-b3t3t*) that seems to be limited, as he stated, to this family. It should

be added that Takelothis III, the Libyan ruler of Thebes, had a royal wife called **Betjat** (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕) *hmt-nsw Bt3t*),<sup>70</sup> which is obviously the same element as that contained in Tabetjat! However, if these names are Libyan, why is Montemhet, as we have seen, occasionally depicted with Nubian features and with darker complexion? The simplest solution is probably that Kushites could exceptionally bear Libyan names, indeed, just as that Shoshenk on a stela mentioned before.

### 3. KUSHITE /FOREIGN NAMES IN EGYPTIANIZED FORM

Another type is constituted by names which look Egyptian and are more or less translatable on the basis of Egyptian but conceal a foreign name.

- I shall not dwell upon the royal names **Kashta** (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕) and **Piankhy** (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕) which are mostly written in a way such as to suggest to an Egyptian reader the interpretation “Secret ka” or “Secret bull” and “The living one”. The actual reading and meaning of “Piankhy”/ “Piye” is still far from certain.<sup>71</sup> As to “Kashta”, which may have something to do with “Kush”, the Egyptianizing interpretation was achieved in a very natural manner, it obviously being no more than the automatic result of the normal and regular spelling of that foreign name.
- For the practice of Egyptianizing the spelling of foreign names there is a far better example: A stela from Abydos mentions a royal lady whose name at first sight seems to be Egyptian since it reads **Paabtameri** (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕) *P3-3bt-t3-mri*, fig. 7).<sup>72</sup>

66 E.g. M. Saleh – H. Sourouzian, *Die Hauptwerke im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo*, Mainz 1986, catalogue No. 246 (description of CG 42236, the illustration also shows the well-known head CG 647).

67 R.A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, Providence 1962, 6 (description and interpretation) and pl. I.

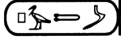
68 Cf. genealogical table below. For the first name, cf. G. Daressy, “Notes et Remarques”, *RecTrav* 23 (1901) 133.

69 M.L. Bierbrier, “More Light on the Family of Montemhat”, in: *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, Warminster 1979, 116-118, esp. 116.

70 Base of statue group published by J. Berlandini, in: *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I, BdE 81, Cairo 1979, 92ff.


71 D. Kahn, *Beiträge zur Sudandforschung* 9 (2006) 45 n. 1 is inclined to prefer the Egyptian reading and interpretation. Cf. now also K. Zibeliuss-Chen, “Zur Problematik der Lesung des Königsnamens Pi(anch)i”, *MittSAG* 17 (2006) 127-133.


72 Cf. for the first time J. Leclant – J. Yoyotte, “Notes d'histoire et de civilisation éthiopiennes”, *BIFAO* 51 (1952) 36.





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.<sup>73</sup> The existence of a Kushite queen whose clearly indigenous name is written  (*P-b<sup>3</sup>-t-m<sup>3</sup>*) 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”!).<sup>74</sup>

- 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** ( *P<sup>3</sup>y=s-d<sup>3</sup>-mn*) for which Leclant<sup>75</sup> 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 *P<sup>3</sup>y=s-s3w-pr* “Her light has appeared”, *P<sup>3</sup>y=s-pr-m3* “Her house is filled” or (from a papyrus in abnormal Hieratic) *P<sup>3</sup>y=s-d3* which could well be an abbreviation of *P<sup>3</sup>y=s-d3-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(3-i)k<sup>3</sup>iw* “The Nubian”) it would seem that Leclant’s reserved suggestion of a Nubian descent for *P<sup>3</sup>y=s-d3-mn* merits support, indeed.

- In contrast to the Greco-Roman period, the evidence for the names *P<sup>3</sup>-ik3*, *T<sup>3</sup>-ik3* (Pekosh, Tekosh) in the Third Intermediate Period and the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty is extremely meager. A mummy case with coffin from the epoch of transition between Dynasty 25 to 26 in Petersburg (inv. 770/771)<sup>76</sup> belonged to a “wab-priest of Amun, chief of the doorguardians of Pharaoh” (*hry 3ry-c3(w) pr-c3*)  *P<sup>3</sup>-k<sup>3</sup>*, his father had similar titles and was called  *P(3)-n-hqs* = probably, because of the determinative, \**Pa-g<sup>h</sup>s* “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 (*N<sup>3</sup>-c3-t<sup>3</sup>y=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** ( *T<sup>3</sup>-k<sup>3</sup>*) in Athens.<sup>77</sup> 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-mšc-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*



Sebennytyos in the Central Delta **Akanosh** (𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛 𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛 *ʿBt-k3-n-w3-š3*).<sup>78</sup> In order to justify her name it was believed that her father was married to a Kushite lady.<sup>79</sup> This is certainly a reasonable possibility, the more so since the Kushites did not fail to entertain tight relations with the North of the country.

As to Pesdimen, we do not know when his ancestors, if they really were Nubians, came to Egypt and how they acquired their position in the Mut temple. Nor do we know whether his mother *T3-hn-ḏmn*, an attendant (*šmsyt*) of Mut like Khikhy and Qeqiry, was Egyptian married to a Nubian or whether she was Nubian with an Egyptian name.

#### 4. KUSHITES WITH EGYPTIAN NAMES

Kushites, as other foreigners in Egypt ever since, could bear an Egyptian name. Foremost of all, we find Egyptian names with members of the royal family: usually not with the kings themselves – the only exception being Harsiotef of the Napatan period – but very often with royal wives and princes. In many cases bearing an Egyptian name obviously stood in connection with a religious or cultic position maintained in Egypt.

The existence of both a Kushite and an Egyptian name for the same person is rarely attested. We already discussed the case of Montemhet's uncle Harsiese Paherer, where the classification of the second name (Libyan?) is doubtful.

##### a) “beautiful names” (attested within royal family)

There are only two Kushites with so-called “beautiful names” (*rn nfr*), both being members

of the royal family and already discussed earlier: the general Peke(r)tror / **Irpaankhnenef** (𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛 𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛 *ʿIr-p3-ḥnh-qnqn-n=f*) “The Living one fights for him” and his mother, the princess Pabtomei, who had the nice Egyptian name Mersinip (𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛 𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛 *Mr-sy-nḏp*) “Napata loves her” or “She loves Napata” (fig. 7). It is remarkable that these two names could never have been applied to an Egyptian: as to the latter, this is obvious for geographical reasons.<sup>80</sup> The former is constructed with an element frequently used in Kushite names and referring to the king.

In the Late Period, especially the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, “beautiful names” were much in vogue.<sup>81</sup> Especially when used by persons distinguishing themselves in some way or another in the service of the crown they were frequently formed with the name of the king, e.g. *Psmḏk-m-ḥt*, *Nfr-ḏb-rḥ-nb-qnt* and many others of this sort. Whether these names of which now we know more than 110 were freely chosen by their bearers or whether, at least in certain instances, they were conferred as a special act of royal favour is unclear. With members of the royal family, as is the case of the two persons just discussed, they are otherwise unusual, an important exception being the Divine Consort Nitocris, daughter of Psamtek I, who had the “beautiful name” Shepenupet (III).

##### b) royal ladies (king's wives and daughters):

In the former half of the 1st millennium BC, until its abolition by the Persian conquerors, there existed in Upper Egypt the important institution of the so-called “god's wives of Amun” with their large household. Traditionally, the pharaoh sent his eldest daughter to Thebes to have her adopted by the officiating “god's wife”.<sup>82</sup> Already Kashta, father of

*Archaeological Museum*, Athens 1995, 158f. (with bibliography and coloured illustrations).

78 According to O. Perdu, “La chefferie de Sébennytyos de Piankhi à Psammétique I<sup>er</sup>”, *RdE* 55 (2004) 98f., for epigraphical reasons, probably not Akanosh A mentioned in the stela of Piankhy but rather Akanosh B who lived during the reign of Psamtek I.

79 Cf. J. Yoyotte, “Les principautés du Delta au temps de l'anarchie libyenne (Études d'histoire politique)”, in: *Mélanges Maspero*, Bd. 4, MIFAO 66, 1961, 161f.

80 The place name is *Nḏp* “Napata”, not *ʿIpḏw* as an irregular spelling for Abydos, the *ḏw*-sign being part of the

determination.

81 For “beautiful names” in the Late Period, cf. most recently H. De Meulenaere, “Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque (Deuxième série d'Addenda et Corrigenda)”, in: H. Györy, ed., *Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga*, Budapest 2001, 381-394 (altogether 110 numbers!); one more example idem, “La statue de Padibastet”, *Fayyum Studies* 1 (2004) 7-12.

82 For recent discussion, cf. A. Dodson, “The Problem of Amenirdis II and the Heirs to the Office of God's Wife of Amun during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty”, *JEA* 88 (2002) 179-186; E. Graefe, “Nochmals zum Gebrauch des Titels *ḏw3t-nḏr* in der Spätzeit”, *JEA* 89 (2003) 246-247.

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,<sup>83</sup> although physiognomic details occasionally hint at their foreign descent.<sup>84</sup>

- 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).<sup>85</sup> 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)-imn*). The only monument she left is her funerary stela



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

from Abydos,<sup>86</sup> 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.<sup>87</sup> 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.<sup>88</sup>

- Queen **Tabaketenamun** (*T3-b3k(t)-n-ḫmn*), is known only from a mention in the fragment a statue of the High Priest of Amun Harmachis, son of Shabaka, found in Thebes.<sup>89</sup> 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.<sup>90</sup>
- In the past years, due to the profound research by Edna Russmann, the figure of **Udjarenes** (*Wd3-rn=s*),<sup>91</sup> Montemhet’s Kushite wife, mother of Pasheremut (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-ḫt*), high priest of Amun, son of Shabaka (*z3-nsw*, also by adding (*Ḥ3b3k3*) *m3<sup>c</sup>-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 cachette<sup>92</sup> and a hieratic papyrus with protective spells.<sup>93</sup> There is also a coffin from Thebes which unfortunately remains unpublished to this day.<sup>94</sup> According to its inscriptions, the mother of Harmachis was the otherwise unknown “king’s wife” Masbata (*ḫmt-nsw*<sup>95</sup> *M<sup>c</sup>-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<sup>e</sup> 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<sup>e</sup> dynastie”, *ASAE* 25 (1925) 25ff.


93 Leiden AMS 59c = I 358, A. Klasens, “An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25<sup>th</sup> 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),<sup>96</sup> 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 26<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>97</sup>
- 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.<sup>98</sup>
- 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-ḫ³=w*).<sup>99</sup> 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-)ᶜ(wy)-ḥnsw s³ n 'Irty-r-ḫ³=w*, 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


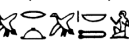
95 So clearly from the photograph MMA M.11.C.106 (see preceding note). The misleading reading  given by H. Kees, "Die priesterliche Stellung des Monthemhet", *ZÄS* 87 (1962) 61 is apparently incorrect (Lohwasser, *Königl. Frauen*, 165 rightly suspected that  was a "Verschreibung oder falsche Abschrift 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 *Urk* 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 [...] *pr³pki*" (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 25<sup>th</sup> and early 26<sup>th</sup> 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)<sup>100</sup> has the typical Kushite tail, therefore it is plausible that **Tanferher** (*T3-nfr-hr*), 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 women<sup>101</sup> I am inclined to believe that the three women on two further stelae from Abydos<sup>102</sup> 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}-imn* “Amun loves her”), again a “songstress of the interior of Amun”. She is followed by **Tameretamun** (*T3-mr.t-imn* “She who is beloved by Amun”)<sup>103</sup> (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 ...<sup>104</sup>

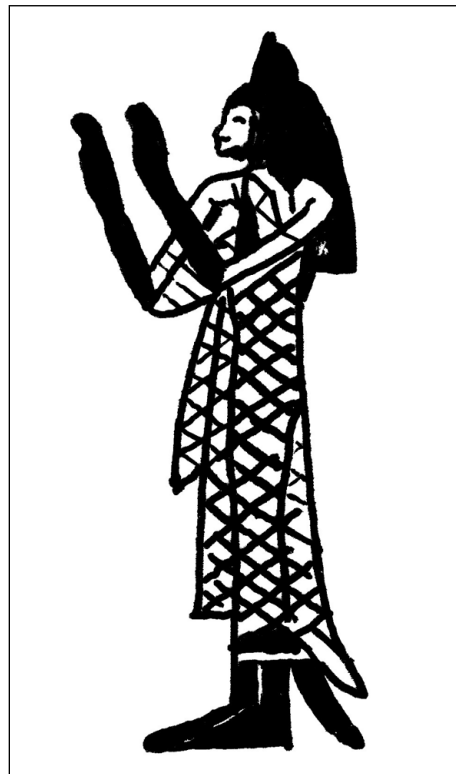


Fig. 13: Stela Leiden XIV 13 (author’s drawing).

- 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 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>105</sup> The owner **Tani** (𓆎 𓆏 𓆑 𓆒 *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-imn*) 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.



Fig. 14: Stela Leiden VI 20 (author's drawing).



Fig. 15: Stela Cairo JE 27189 (author's drawing).

#### 5. EGYPTIANS OR FOREIGNERS (KUSHITES, LIBYANS)?

In the first millennium we meet with quite a few personal names – most of them very short ones or else with reduplication of a short element – that are not translatable as of Egyptian origin and could in several instances well be foreign (Nubian, Libyan etc.) but which also might be explained as hypocoristica / abbreviations such as are attested in Egyptian anthroponymy already in the remote past.

We already spoke about *H<sub>3</sub>h<sub>3</sub>y<sub>3</sub>w* who apparently had a Nubian name. But what e.g. about **Kaka** (𓀀𓀀𓀀𓀀, 𓀀𓀀𓀀𓀀𓀀𓀀 *K3k3*, *K3k3<sub>3</sub>w*), daughter of the butcher of House of Amun *N3-mnh-<sub>3</sub>imn* and *3st-n-hb*?<sup>106</sup> I cannot detect any conclusive hints pointing to a Kushite descent, neither in the genealogy (the

parents having conventional Egyptian names), nor in iconography. All the same, a Kushite attribution cannot be fully discarded.

We have seen that the pedigree of the Montemhet family obviously contains non-Egyptian elements such as Paherer and Tabetjat. With names such as **Kakai** (𓀀𓀀𓀀𓀀) or **Kuku** (𓀀𓀀𓀀𓀀𓀀 *K3-w3-k3-w3*),<sup>107</sup> graphical variants of the name just mentioned, and **Bibi** (𓀀𓀀𓀀𓀀, 𓀀𓀀𓀀𓀀, 𓀀𓀀𓀀𓀀𓀀)<sup>108</sup> (*B3-b3t* and similarly; there is no safe way to recover the actual pronunciation) it is extremely difficult to assess whether they are revivals of older Egyptian names or not.

b) **Imimi** (𓀀𓀀𓀀𓀀𓀀𓀀 *Imymy*), a daughter of Montemhet, was not identified until 1988, when a fragmentary stela of hers was discovered in the tomb of the father.<sup>109</sup> The name is not known from other


106 Unpublished coffins Leiden M 64-65, Thebes, 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty (own copy; cf. Porter-Moss I<sup>2</sup>, 2, 827).

107 Cf. G. Legrain, “Recherches sur la famille dont fit partie Montouemhat”, *RecTrav* 33 (1911) 184 and 188 (= Cairo CG 42250); 191 (= Cairo CG 41068).

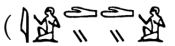

108 Cf. G. Legrain, “Recherches sur la famille dont fit partie Montouemhat”, *RecTrav* 36 (1914) 145ff., docs. 67-75.

109 M. Nasr, “The excavations of the tomb of Montuemhat at Thebes”, *Memnonia* 8 (1997) 213f., register No. 5, pl. LVIII A.



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.<sup>110</sup>

The very similar formation **Ididi** ( *ʿIdydy*) is found in a family of Theban wab-priests of Amun living in the 25<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>111</sup> Maybe we can trace here a new Nubian-Egyptian family.

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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 25<sup>th</sup> 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.

