

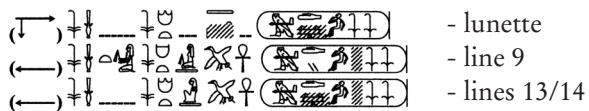


ALEXEY K. VINOGRADOV

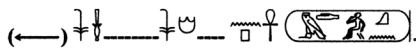
## ON THE TITULARY OF THE “KING’S SISTER” MADIQEN

An interesting piece of historical evidence is the titulary of Madiqen, one of the three female relatives of king Aspelta (4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.) mentioned in the text<sup>1</sup> and represented in the lunette<sup>2</sup> of the so-called Dedication stela.

The epithet to be discussed below is used in the caption to the relief of Madiqen in the lunette and two times in the main text of the monument. According to the fascimile which was published at the end of the 19 century and still remains the most reliable reproduction of the monument, the titulary looks as follows:<sup>3</sup>



In a slightly different variant the same titulary has been attested in the inscriptions on numerous *ushabty*-figures of Madiqen<sup>4</sup> found by G.A. Reisner in the course of his excavations of the royal cemetery of Nuri:<sup>5</sup>



The core of this designation are the well known Egyptian titles  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$  “king’s sister” and  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$  “king’s spouse”, followed by a somewhat unusual expressi-

on  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$  (var.  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ )<sup>6</sup> the presence of which greatly complicates understanding of this otherwise clear enough titulary. Several interpretations have been set forth by now in the research literature.

P. Pierret, the author of the 1873 *editio princeps* of the stela, rendered the signs  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$  in this group as substantive “life”, linking it with the word “king” in the foregoing title “the King’s spouse (lit. “spouse <of> the King”)”. He read the titulary of Madiqen as “expression servant à designer la personne du roi”,<sup>7</sup> treating its closing element as “la royale sœur et royale épouse de la Vie”.<sup>8</sup>

In 1895 H. Schäfer prepared a new (and the first *scholarly*) publication of the Dedication stela in which he rendered the title in question as “königliche Gemahlin der lebenden (Königs)”.<sup>9</sup> Thus he probably tried to overcome the ambiguity arising from the fact that *two* kings, Aspelta and his deceased predecessor Anlamani, are referred to in the text on the stela and, due to the “anonymity” of the Egyptian female titles adopted by the Kushites, it is impossible to ascertain whose namely “sister” and “spouse” Madiqen was, the same of course holding true for the titularies of the other two royal ladies, Nasalsa and Henuttakhebit,<sup>10</sup> mentioned in the text. Translating the latter title of Madiqen as “king’s spouse of the living (king)”, Schäfer must have taken it as ellipsis implying her conjugal relationship with Aspelta, the ruling king of Kush. Just like Pierret before him, Schäfer paid attention to the unusual

1 The main text of the stela is quoted with reference to the fascimile in H. Schäfer’s publication (‘Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre’, *ZÄS*, Bd. 33 (1895), Taf. IV-V) which still remains preferable to its later reproduction by the same scholar in the *Urkunden* (*Urk.* III, 101-108) in which the text has been “dressed” in order to make it more legible (*cf.* note 6 below).

2 The representation in the lunette of the stela is reproduced here after the facsimile in E.A.W. Budge, *The Egyptian Sūdān*, Vol. II (London, 1907), p. 67.

3 Schäfer, ‘Die aethiopische Königsinschrift’, Taf. IV.

4 D. Dunham, M.F.L. Macadam, ‘Names and relationships of the Royal Family of Napata’, *JEA*, Vol. 35 (1949), p. 144, pl. XVI, № 38.

5 ‘Preliminary Report on the Harvard-Boston Excavations at Nūri: The Kings of Ethiopia After Taharqa’, *Harvard African Studies* II (Varia Africana II; Cambridge, 1918), pp.12, № XXVII; *cf.* 11, № XXV.

6 A peculiarity of the Dedication stela is the writing of the consonant *n* (which conveys the genitival adjective in the present case) with the cursive sign similar to  $\text{𓆎}$  (N17: “(flat) land”) instead of usual  $\text{𓆎}$  (N35: “water”), most likely due to the similarity of these signs in the (hypothetical) hieratic original used by the scribe when carving the text on the monument.

7 P. Pierret, *Études égyptologiques comprenant le texte et la traduction d’une stèle éthiopienne inédite <...>* (Paris, 1873), pp. 101, 102.

8 Pierret, *Études égyptologiques*, p. 106, note 10.

9 Schäfer, ‘Die aethiopische Königsinschrift’, SS. 103, 107, 108, 111.

10 Some problematic aspects of Henuttakhebit’s titulary have been discussed in A.K. Vinogradov, ‘The Dedication Stela: The Name of the Kushite Princess’, *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung*, Bd. 7 (1999), SS. 119-127.



Fig. 1: Right half of the relief in the lunette of the Dedication stela (after E.A.W. Budge, *The Egyptian Sūdân*, Vol. II (London, 1907), p. 67).

expression at the end of the title and made a cursory remark about the striking similarity between its final element  $\text{𓆎}$  and the name of king Pi'ankhy, one of Aspelta's forefathers.<sup>11</sup>

The possibility of a reference to the latter king in Madiqen's titulary was questioned by M.F.L. Macadam, one of the principal experts in the Kushite royal genealogy, who argued that Pi'ankhy, the Kushite conqueror of Egypt, lived long before Madiqen and therefore is most unlikely to have been her spouse. As if developing Schäfer's observation, Macadam assumed that, in memory of Pi'ankhy, his "suspiciously Egyptian for a Sudanese" name came into use as a general appellation of native kings.<sup>12</sup>

11 Schäfer, "Die aethiopische Königsinschrift", S. 108.

12 M.F.L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, Vol. I: *The Inscriptions*, Text (London, 1949), p. 123

A prolonged discussion thus started eventually led K.-H. Priese to the conclusion that  $\text{𓆎}$  (read by him as \*pi/e) is a generic designation of native rulers in Meroitic language, which in the case of Madiqen's (*Egyptian*) titulary is introduced by the Egyptian genitival adjective *n(j)*<sup>13</sup> "of"/"belonging to", etc. This interpretation seems to have become generally accepted by scholars,<sup>14</sup> although in fact it was not without problems.

13 K.-H. Priese, 'Nichtägyptische Namen und Wörter in den ägyptischen Inschriften der Könige von Kusch', *MIO*, Bd. XIV/2 (1968), S. 167.

14 Note however, the rendering "the king's sister and king's wife of the Living One" suggested by R.H. Pierce in the most recent of the translations of the Dedication stela (T. Eide, T. Hägg, R.H. Pierce, L. Török (eds.), *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, Vol. I (Bergen, 1994), pp. 260, 262, 263.



As is well known, the first sign in  $\text{𓆎}$  (“king’s spouse”) writes the genitive (*nj*) *nsw.t* (“(of/belonging to) king”) and in the present instance, in accordance with Egyptian etiquette, is *honoris causa* placed before its subject,<sup>15</sup> the actual word order (presumably observed in pronunciation) being *hm.t (nj) nsw* (lit. “spouse (of) king”). An accumulation of another genitive  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$  (\**hm.t (nj) nsw n(j) \*pi/e*) would have made this construction “overloaded” and obscure, because the presence of *two* substantives, *nsw*-king and *\*pi/e*-king would have made it difficult to determine which of the two titles should be treated as actual designation of the (male) spouse.

No “bilingual”, or hybrid, designations like *nsw-*\*pi/e** (“king-(of-the)-*\*pi/e*(-category)”) seem to have been attested either in Egyptian or in Kushite monuments. Such a construction is all the more improbable in the Dedication stela, because both Aspelta, by whose order this monument was made, and his predecessor, *i.e.* the two kings who would have otherwise been the most probable “owners” of the aforementioned hypothetical title, are designated (the former in the same line 9, where Madiqen’s titulary is given, the latter in the next line)<sup>16</sup> by the Egyptian generalizing term *pr 3* (“pharaoh”).<sup>17</sup> It is clear that the author of this text characterises the Kushite royalties with reference to the *Egyptian* system of political categories, whereas it is well known that in Egyptian perceptions the pharaonic power was typologically *incomparable* with the regal institutions of any other peoples.<sup>18</sup> All these considerations make it doubtful that Madiqen’s title  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$  should be rendered as “king’s spouse” of *\*pi/e*, or as “spouse of the *\*pi/e*-king”, etc. It would seem that one of the two designations, the Egyptian *nsw* or the supposed Meroitic *\*pi/e*, is superfluous.

Perhaps an alternative approach might help to solve the problem? For instance one may argue that the enigmatic group before Madiqen’s cartouche is an *independent* title or epithet, rather than an “ajunct” to the word *nsw* in the foregoing title “spouse (of) king” (“king’s spouse”). Some interesting parallels may be found among the appellatives composed



Fig. 2: The representation of Madiqen in the Dedication stela.

of the genitival adjective *nj* with a substantive. As may be inferred from H. Ranke’s material,<sup>19</sup> the combinations of this kind may be further divided into two semantically opposite (sub)groups.

The names of the first group are constructed<sup>20</sup> after the pattern “The-owner-of <...> (is) <...>” (cf. H. Ranke’s “Besitzer von <...> ist <...>”). Of particular relevance is the series of appellatives which include the word *nh* in combination with a name of

15 J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 42, § 4.15; A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London, 1957), § 57.

16 *Urk.* III, 104, [16], line 9; and 105, [2], line 10 respectively.

17 In the original: (←) (𓆎).

18 A.K. Vinogradov, ‘«[...] their brother, the Chieftain, the Son of Re<sup>c</sup>, Alara [...]»’, *Cahiers de recherches de l’Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille*, vol. 20 (1999), pp. 89-90, with note 41.

19 H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Bd. I (Glückstadt, 1935).

20 The grammatical aspect see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 114, 2; Allen, § 7.5.3 (with rendering “Life belongs to”).



a deity:<sup>21</sup>  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{nj-}^{\text{c}} \text{nh-r}^{\text{c}}$  “The-owner-of-life-(is)-Re<sup>c</sup>”,<sup>22</sup>  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{ni-}^{\text{c}} \text{nh-hr(w)}$  “The-owner-of-life-(is)-Horus”,<sup>23</sup>  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{nj}^{\text{c}} \text{(t?) -nh-hthr}$  “The-owner-of-life-(is)-Hathor”,<sup>24</sup>  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{nj}^{\text{c}} \text{(t?) -nh-nhb.t}$  “The-owner-of-life-(is)-Nekhbet”,<sup>25</sup> etc. In accordance with this pattern the enigmatic designation from the Dedication stela might be rendered as “The-owner-of-life-(is)-Madiqen”. However, it should not be overlooked that none of such names in Ranke’s list-register includes the element  $\text{𓂏}$  (var.) which can be rendered as a demonstrative in the role of the definite article.<sup>26</sup> Its regular use in appellatives of the Late period (cf.  $p3\text{-}ik\text{s}$  “The Kushite”,  $p3\text{-}3m$  “The Asiatic”, or  $p3\text{-}3\text{-}tb$  “The long-footed”,  $p3\text{-}3\text{-}d3d3$  “The large-headed”, etc.)<sup>27</sup> makes one think that the group  $^{\text{c}}nh$  going after the demonstrative/article in Madiqen’s epithet is a characterisation of the person: “live”/“living”, rather than an abstraction “life”.<sup>28</sup> And yet, interpreted as “The-owner-of-the-living-(one ?)-(is)-Madiqen” the whole expression remains obscure.

This appellative looks more understandable when compared with the aforementioned second (sub)group<sup>29</sup> of names, in which *nj* plus substantive

means “Appertaining-to <...>” (cf. Ranke’s “Gehörige zu <...>”), a considerable part of these including a name or an epithet of a god:  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{nj.t-mw.t}$  “Appertaining-to-Mut”,<sup>30</sup>  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{nj.t-nb(w)}$  “Appertaining-to-Gold (i.e., Hathor. – A.V.)”,<sup>31</sup>  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{nj.t-hnm(w)}$  “Appertaining-to-Khnum”,<sup>32</sup>  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{nj.t-hpw-}^{\text{c}}nh$  “Appertaining-to-living-Apis (or: to-Apis-(the)-Living? - A.V.)”,<sup>33</sup> etc. The latter example suggests that the element  $p3\text{-}^{\text{c}}nh$  in the group before Madiqen’s cartouche might be a reference to a deity. As is well known, in Egyptian texts the epithet  $^{\text{c}}nhj$  (“Living”) was used with regard to a number of them: the Sun-god (“Sonnengott”), Horus, Thot, Osiris,<sup>34</sup> and even to a deified mortal,<sup>35</sup> whereas its feminine counterpart could imply Hathor-Isis.<sup>36</sup>

Interpreted as “Appertaining-to-the-Living-(One)” the designation of Madiqen becomes quite meaningful and probably hints at some real events in the life of its owner. The implication of this (hypothetical) epithet might be inferred from the general context of the Dedication stela. As follows

owner-of-life-(is)-Hathor” and *nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-nhb.t* “The-owner-of-life-(is)-Nekhbet” quoted above (see notes 24 and 25). As Gardiner observes in this regard: «The Egyptians were never remarkable for scholarly accuracy, and examples are not infrequent <...>, where the fem.[inine] ending is wrongly omitted” (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 511, 6).

21 Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, SS. 171, 6-9, 11-16, 18-21, 23; 172, 1-7.

22 Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, S. 171, 16.

23 Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, S. 171, 19.

24 Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, S. 171, 18.

25 Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, S. 171, 15.

26 F. Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*. Tr. by D. Waburton (Oxford, 2001), §§ 2.1.1-3; M.A. Korostovtsev, *Grammaire du néo-égyptien* (Moscow, 1973), § 37; cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 112.

27 Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, S. 102, 4, 21, 18, 20.

28 The only exclusion seem to be the group of late appellatives beginning with the subjunctive of the verb (*r*)*dj*, which follow the pattern “(May)-<...>-give-<...>”: *dj-b3st.t-p3-snb* “(May-)Bast-give-health” (Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 396, 17) and particularly *dj-mw.t-p3-<sup>c</sup>nh* “(May-)Mut-give-life” (Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 396, 20), *dj-m3<sup>c</sup>(t)-p3-<sup>c</sup>nh* “(May-)Maat-give-life” (I.A. Lapis, M.E. Mathieu, *Drevneyegipetskaya skulptura v sobranii Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* (Moscow, 1969), pl. III (№ 107 a, d), p. 104; cf. H. Wild, ‘Deux statuette d’Osiris conservées à Leningrad et à Genève’, *ZÄS*, Bd. 90 (1963), SS. 135-136, note 2), etc., comparable with Middle-Egyptian names like *dj-pt<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh* “(May)-Ptah-give-life” (Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 396, 19).

29 Cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, §§ 79-81; Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, § 6.1. The designation of Madiqen lacks the feminine ending *-t*, but this does not make a serious obstacle, for as we see this ending is missing in two out of the three instances of her title “king’s sister” (lunette and lines 13-14) whereas the *-t* in her title “king’s spouse” may in fact belong to the foregoing *nsw(t)* rather than to *hm.t*. The feminine ending is omitted in many other relevant female names, including the appellatives *nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-hthr* “The-

30 Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, S. 181, 2.

31 Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, S. 181, 4.

32 Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, S. 181, 10.

33 Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, S. 181, 6.

34 *Wb.* I, 201, 5-8.

35 As e.g. Imhotep (H. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (Wien, 1958), S. 259, 9-10, Abb. 150). A still more striking example is the name *p3-<sup>c</sup>nh(j)* (lit. “The-Living-(One)”) borne by one of the High Priests of Amun at Thebes (for the review and a bibliography see G. Vittmann, ‘Zur Lesung des Königsnamens (𓂏𓂏𓂏)’, *Orientalia*, Vol. 43 (1974), pp. 13-14). The discussion of the question whether the same name (or the Meroitic appellative *\*Pi/e*, as Priese suggested in ‘Nichtägyptische Namen und Wörter’, SS. 170-172) was borne by one of the brightest Kushite kings, the conqueror of Egypt, goes beyond the scope of the present paper (for the recent views see A.K. Vinogradov, ‘Py... Piye... Pi’ankhy... The end of the beginning of discussion?’ in Zahi Hawass and A.M. Jones (eds.), *Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists (Cairo, 28 March - 3 April 2000), Abstracts of Papers*, Supplement: *Late Abstracts* (Cairo, 2000), p. 11; the complete text in Russian in A.K. Vinogradov, *Epitet, Imya, Titul v Pis’mennykh Pamyatnikakh Kusha. Et’udy po istoricheskoi Onomastike Drevnego Sudana*, T. 1 (Moscow, 2006), pp. 65-94; English summary, p. 188; cf. a different approach in C. Rilly, ‘Une nouvelle interprétation du nom royal Piankhy’, *BIFAO*, T. 101 (2001), pp. 351-368).

36 *Wb.* I, 201, 9.



from the inscription, the monument was set up to mark the installation of the “king’s sister (and) king’s daughter”<sup>37</sup> Henuttakhebit in the Amun temple of Sanam, in the office which earlier was held by the “king’s sister (and) king’s spouse” Madiqen whom the previous king Anlamani had “installed before his father Amun, the Bull-of-the-Land-of-the-Three-Curved-Bow,<sup>38</sup> as sistrum-player <...> to appease the heart of this god” (lines 10-11).

This post of Madiqen must have been very significant, perhaps one of the highest, in the hierarchy of the Sanam temple, since the ceremony of its transfer was attended by a number of the highest officials of the kingdom along with the highest priests of the temple, the ceremony being commemorated by a special royal decree, which fact seems to have been unparalleled in the history of Ancient Sudan.<sup>39</sup> The (hypothetical) epithet “Appertaining-to-the-Living(-One)” could have been bestowed on Madiqen in order to emphasize the importance of her service to Amun, the principal god of Kush, in one of the major sanctuaries of the kingdom, this post now being ceded to her younger relative.

On the other hand, it has to be pointed out that the designation in question (be it considered, following Priese, as a part of a “biligual” Egypto-Meroitic female title or as an Egyptian(izing) appellative), which accompanies the name of Madiqen in most of her attestations, does not seem to have been found with reference to any other people. This means that *nj p3 ḥ* was her *personal* epithet or title, unless it was an “extension” of her personal name like the elements *ḥ* (“may (he/she) live”) in the names Ankh-Sheshonq,<sup>40</sup> Ankh-Shepenupet,<sup>41</sup> *sh*m in Sekhem-Senwosret (Senwosret II),<sup>42</sup> or *mrj-jmn*

occasionally included in cartouches of some Kushite kings,<sup>43</sup> etc.

As a hypothesis, one more alternative explanation could further be suggested, though of course with some reserve, based on the analysis of the historical situation as presented in this document. The text does not disclose whether the installation of Henuttakhebit as sistrum-player meant that she was to *replace* Madiqen in this office or that the post was to be somehow *shared* by them.<sup>44</sup> What is stated is that the endowments established by the previous king for Madiqen, were being passed over to her “great/elder daughter” Henuttakhebit and her (future) “posterity”,<sup>45</sup> which probably implies that by the day when this decree was issued the former of the royal ladies had become “legally incapable”.

Moreover, the fact that the epithet “Appertaining-to-the-Living-(One)” is, apart from the Dedication stela, attested on the *ushabti*-figures of Madiqen, i.e. on her *funerary* implements, might suggest that it was an euphemism implying that (despite the “evidence” of the representation in the lunette of the stela)<sup>46</sup>

37 The text does not specify whether she was daughter of Aspelta or of his predecessor Anlamani who is assumed to be Aspelta’s (elder ?) brother (Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, p. 125-129).

38 Very often this common place-name is incorrectly read as “Bow-Land”. The problems of its interpretation are discussed in some detail in A.K. Vinogradov, ‘On the Rendering of the Toponym *T3 Stj*’, *Chronique d’Égypte*, T. LXXV (2000), pp. 223-234.

39 A duplicate of the Dedication stela is reported to have been recently found in the course of excavations at Dukki Gel (D. Valbelle, ‘New Inscribed Documents from the XXVth Dynasty to the Meroitic Period in Egypt and Sudan’, *11th International Conference for Meroitic Studies (Vienna, Sept. 1 – Sept. 4, 2008). Abstracts of Papers*, p. [36].)

40 Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, S. 66, 16.

41 Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, S. 66, 15.

42 J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen (Münchener Ägyptologische Studien, Bd. 49; Mainz am Rhein, 1999)*, S. 84, № 4, P 2.

43 Von Beckerath, *Handbuch*, SS. 206-207, №№ 3, E3 (Pi’ankhy), 4, E3 (Shabaka); 208-209, №№ 5, E2 (Shabataka) and 6, E3 (Taharqa).

44 Such seems to have been the case with installation of Nitocris, daughter of Psammetichus I, as God’s Spouse in the temple of Amun at Karnak. As R. Caminos points out, “Nitocris was <...> formally established in Thebes as the successor to Amonirdis (II), who herself was Shepenwepe (II)’s heiress apparent to the office of God’s Wife of Amun” (R.A. Caminos, ‘The Nitocris Adoption Stela’, *JEA*, Vol. 50 (1964), pp. 99, cf. 78-79). It seems to follow therefrom that for a certain period of time the highest priestly office at Thebes was somehow shared by *two* and then by *three* royal ladies (cf. J. Vandier, ‘L’Intronisation de Nitocris’, *ZÄS*, Bd. 99 (1973), S. 32-33; L.-A. Christophe, ‘La double datation du Ouadi Gassous’, *BIÉ*, T. XXXV (1954), pp. 144-151).



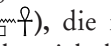

45 The term “great/elder daughter” and the mention of Henuttakhebit’s “posterity”, according to the generally accepted interpretation, implied the *adoptive* relationships (cf. explicitly in the Adoption stela, line 5: Caminos, ‘The Nitocris Adoption Stela’, p. 74, pl. VIII), the Amun service most likely demanding celibacy of priestesses (Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, pp. 119-120, 126; cf. Christophe, ‘La double datation’, p. 145).

46 The symbolism of representations on the monuments of Egypt and Kush is, of course, to be taken into consideration. On funerary stelae the deceased ancestors are often shown sitting on the throne in front of their successors who make offerings to them (e.g., S. Hodjash, O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* (Leningrad, 1982), pp. 26-27, 1:C; 66, 25 (I); 81, 35, 36; 82-83; 84, 36; 85, 38, 39, etc.). A representation of a deceased king together with his living successor might be a means to stress the legitimacy of the latter’s accession to the throne (cf. the


*she was no longer alive*<sup>47</sup> at the time of Henuttakhebit's installation, because one of the gods labelled as the "Living(-One)" was Osiris,<sup>48</sup> whom the Kushites, following the Egyptians, believed to be the Lord of the West/Netherworld, the "Land of the (real/eternal ?) Life".<sup>49</sup>

This explanation might give an answer to the question, which otherwise is difficult to respond, how it happened that the "king's sister (and) king's daughter" Henuttakhebit received the office and the allowance of her (adoptive) "mother" Madiqen, this transfer being commemorated by a special royal decree, a most important, though rather obscure, piece of evidence for the history of Ancient Sudan.

#### ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Inhalt des Artikels ist die Diskussion der Titulatur der Madiqen, die in der Adoptionsstele als  wiedergegeben ist. Der Kern der Titulatur, der ebenso auf ihrem Uschebti genannt wird, ist aus dem Ägyptischen bekannt und kann mit "Königsschwester" und "Königsgemahlin" übersetzt werden. Dahinter folgt aber die sonst unbekannt Gruppe  (var. ) , die ihre Kartusche einleitet. In der Literatur hat sich die Ansicht durchgesetzt, das Element  mit dem meroitischen Wort *pi/e*, Herr-

scher, gleichzusetzen. Problematisch ist allerdings, dass in der Titulatur der Madiqen zwei verschiedene Ausdrücke für Herrscher auftreten: *hm.t nsw <n> \*pi/e* «'Gemahlin(-des)-*nsw*(-Königs)' des *\*pi/e*(-Königs)». Grammatikalisch konnte dafür bisher keine Parallele gefunden werden.

Ein besseres Verständnis kann erreicht werden, wenn man die Gruppe nicht als zusätzliche Designation ihres vorherigen Titels, sondern als ein unabhängiges Epitheton der Madiqen versteht. Im Ägyptischen werden viele Personennamen durch eine Genitivkonstruktion mit einem Namen einer Gottheit gebildet, z.B.  "Zur-Mut-gehörig". Vielleicht ist die Gruppe bei Madiqen aufzulösen als *n(t) p3 'nh(w)* «Zum-Lebenden-gehörig», «Die-des-Lebenden»

Dieses Epitheton kann Madiqen in Bezug auf ihre Position im Tempel für Amun in Sanam gegeben worden sein. Alternativ, da "Der Lebende" auch eine Metapher für Osiris ist, kann man das Epitheto auch so interpretieren, dass Madiqen zur Zeit der Errichtung der Stele nicht mehr am Leben war. Das könnte auch das Problem lösen, warum ihr Priesteramt und die dazugehörigen Einkünfte vor 25 Zeugen an die "Königstochter" Henuttakhebit übergeben wurde.

representations of Taharqa and Tanutamani in the Osiris-Ptah chapel at Karnak (for a bibliography and an overview of the problem see A.K. Vinogradov, 'The Puzzles of the Dream Stele', *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung*, Bd. 9 (2006), SS. 125-126). The latter parallel is all the more relevant here since the Dedication stela is doubtless a legal document issued in order to confirm the legitimacy of the transfer of Madiqen's office and allowances to Henuttakhebit.

47 In Egypt some of the euphemisms for "death/dying" were *htp m 'nh* "rest in life" (*Urk.* IV, 58, 11; cf. *Wb.* I, 200, 3) with variant "rest in life in the West" (*Pyr.* 306 a), and *wd3 n 'nh* "set out for life (or: 'to the Living' ?)" (*Orb.* 19,7; cf. *Wb.* I, 200, 4; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 164, 1, 2 and 5).

48 Note the epithets *'nh.j* и *'nh.tj* (*Wb.* I, 201, 8; 205, 17) and the designation *nb 'nh* "Lord of life", used with regard to Osiris and, what is indicative, to Anubis, his "assistant" in the Netherworld, apart from Horus, Amun, Atum, Ptah and other gods (for references see *Wb.* I, 199, 11, Belegstellen, S. 35).

49 See this paradoxical allusion to the West in line 8 of the Election stela (N.-C. Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes au Musée du Caire. JE 48863-48866. Textes et Indices (Études sur la propagande royale égyptienne, T. II* (Cairo, 1981), pl. VI; cf. *Wb.* I, 205, 16). Also noteworthy is the euphemism *nb 'nh* "Lord/Owner of life (or 'living'?)" for sarcophagus (*Urk.* IV, 113, 9; 146, 17; 481, 4; cf. *Wb.* I, 199, 14; II, 228, 14; R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 43-44).