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BCE	Egypt	Levant
1400		
1390	Thutmose IV	
1380	(Ramese born)	
1370	Amenhotep III	Earthquake at Jericho
1360		
1350		
1340	Akhenaten	
1330	Smenkhare	
1330	Tutankhamun	
1320	Ay	
1310	Horemheb	1312-Exodus
1300		
1290		
1280	Seti I	
1270		
1260		
1250	Ramesses II	Habirus of the Sun
1240		
1230		
1220		
1210	Merneptah	
1200		





FROM
AKHENATEN
TO **MOSES**

ANCIENT
EGYPT
AND
RELIGIOUS
CHANGE



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PUS

JAN ASSMANN



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Moses Begat King

18th Dynasty Egypt's Influence
On the Bible and Beyond

**LOOK
INSIDE**



Michael Ferris Garrett

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© 1996-2014, Amazon.com, Inc. or its affiliates AND AKHENATEN The Secret History of Egypt at the Time of the Exodus AHMED OSMAN Bear & Company Rochester, Vermont ACKNOWLEDGMENTS A NUMBER of people have given their help and support to the preparation of this book. I should like to thank in particular Dr Eric Uphill, Honorary Research Fellow in Egyptology at University College, London, for reading the manuscript and for his valuable advice and suggestions; the French archaeologist Professor Jean Yoyotte for discussing the time of the Exodus and the location of Zarw; the French archaeologist Professor Alain-Pierre Zivie for giving details of his recent discoveries, as yet unpublished, in the tomb of Aper-EI at Sakkara; Professor Younes A. Ekbatnik, the Egyptian Cultural Counsellor in London, for arranging a discussion about the fortified city recently found at Tell el-Hebua, East Kantarah, and its possible identification with Pi-Ramesses; my friend Gerald O'Farrel for his support; Cairo Museum and its director, Mohammed Mohsen, for providing, and allowing the use of, many of the photographs to be found in this volume, and, finally, H. J. Weaver for his assistance in editing the material and making it less complex than it might otherwise have been. Map of Egypt during the time of the Empire, 16th – 12th centuries BC The Ways of Horus, the ancient road (mentioned in the Bible) between Egypt and Palestine in northern Sinai Map indicating the artificial borders of the location hitherto accepted for Pi Ramses/Avaris. As can be seen, there are no archaeological connections between the different ancient sites CONTENTS Acknowledgments Preface Introduction Chronology of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties 1 Bricks Without Straw 2 Was Moses a King? 3 The Israel Stela 4 Rebellion in Sinai 5 Sojourn – and the Mother of Moses 6 The Rightful Son and Heir 7 The Coregency Debate (I) 8 The Coregency Debate (II) 9 The Reign of Horemheb 10 A Chronology of Kings 11 The Birthplace of Akhenaten 12 Akhenaten: The Early Years 13 Horizon of the Aten 14 The Tomb of Akhenaten 15 The Fallen One of Amarna 16 Corridors of Power 17 The First Monotheist 18 The 'Magic' Rod of Moses 19 Who Was Who? – and the Death of Moses Epilogue APPENDICES A The Shasu Wars B The Amarna Rock Tombs of Huy and Meryre II C The Mos Case D Pi-Ramses and Zarw E The Body in Tomb No. 55 F Some Further Evidence of Survival G The Hebrews Index Notes Bibliography About the Author About Inner Traditions Copyright PREFACE I CAME to London from Cairo a quarter of a century ago, intending to devote most of my time to trying to establish links between the Bible and what we know, from a variety of sources, of Egyptian history. The choice of London was dictated by the far superior research facilities to be found there. Initially, while earning a living by teaching Arabic, I embarked on a course of intensive study. I enrolled in the Egypt Exploration Society and spent six years familiarizing myself with the ancient history of my country and mastering hieroglyphics. I also learned Hebrew and studied the Bible. However, when I tried to put this knowledge to use I found myself facing the same problem that had baffled scholars for more than a century – establishing a starting point by identifying a major biblical figure as a major figure in Egyptian history. Who was Joseph, the Patriarch who brought the tribe of Israel down to Egypt from Canaan? Who was the unnamed Pharaoh who appointed him as a senior minister, the virtual ruler of the country in the king's name? Who was Moses? If, as I believed, the Old Testament was fundamentally a historical work, the characters who appear in its stories had to match characters in Egyptian history. It was another fifteen years before I stumbled upon the vital clue (in what seems in retrospect a moment of inspiration) embedded in a biblical text so familiar that I found it hard to believe that its significance had not struck me years earlier. The passage in question occurs in the Book of Genesis. The brothers of the Patriarch Joseph, we are told, had sold him into slavery in Egypt where, as a result of interpreting Pharaoh's dream about the seven good years that would be followed by seven lean years, he was appointed the king's senior minister. The brothers later paid two visits to Egypt at times of famine in Canaan. On the second occasion, Joseph revealed his identity to them, but told them reassuringly that they should not blame themselves for having sold him into slavery because it was not they who had sent him 'hither, but God; and he had made me a father to Pharaoh' (Gen. 45:8). A father to Pharaoh! I thought at once – and, as I have said, could not understand why I had not made the connection before – of Yuya, minister to two rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Although Yuya was not apparently of royal blood, his tomb had been found in the Valley of the Kings in 1905. Little attention was devoted to him because he was considered comparatively unimportant. Yet Yuya is the only person in whose tomb the title it ntr n nb tawi – holy father of the Lord of the Two Lands, Pharaoh's formal title – has been found. It occurs once on one of his ushabti (royal funeral statuette No. 51028 in the Cairo Museum catalogue) and more than twenty times on his funerary papyrus. Could Joseph and Yuya be the same person? The case for this being so is argued in my first book, Stranger in the Valley of the Kings. Once this link was established, all manner of things began to fall into place: • It became possible to create matching chronologies from Abraham to Moses on the one hand, and from Tutmosis III, the sixth ruler of the Eighteenth Dynasty, to Set I, the second ruler of the Nineteenth Dynasty, on the other. It also became clear that: • Of the three periods of time given in the Old Testament – four generations, 400 years and 430 years – for the Israelite Sojourn in Egypt, four generations is correct, a view which Jewish scholars have arrived at by another reckoning. • As it is known that the Israelites were in Egypt at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and beginning of the Nineteenth, the Descent must have taken place more than two centuries later than most scholars believed, which explains why their efforts to match biblical figures with Egyptian figures has been so protracted; they focused their quest on the wrong era. • The four Amarna kings – Akhenaten, Semenkhkare, Tutankhamun and Aye – who ruled during a tumultuous period of Egyptian history when an attempt was made to replace the country's multitude of ancient gods with a monotheistic God, were all descendants of Joseph the Patriarch; • The Exodus was preceded by the ending of Amarna rule by Horemheb, the last king of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This book is an attempt to take further the story told in Stranger in the Valley of the Kings by demonstrating that Moses is to be regarded as the Pharaoh Akhenaten. INTRODUCTION IN August 1799, while French troops were repairing fortifications to the north of Rasheed – on the left bank of the Nile, thirty miles east of Alexandria – an officer engaged in demolishing an ancient wall struck a black stone with his pick. The stone, thought to have formed part of a temple in earlier times, proved to bear three inscriptions. At the top were fourteen lines of hieroglyphs; in the centre thirty-two lines of demotic, the simplified form of ancient Egyptian writing; and, at the bottom, fifty-four lines of Greek. The Greek text was translated and published, but the real importance of the Rosetta Stone, as it was called from the European name of the place where it was found, did not emerge until 1818. Then Thomas Young (1773–1829), a British physician, scientist and philologist, succeeded in deciphering the name of Ptolemy in the hieroglyphic section and in assigning the correct phonetic value to most of the hieroglyphs. Although the British scholar took the first steps, the final decoding of the stone was done three years later by a brilliant young French philologist, François Champollion (1790–1832). With his new-found knowledge Champollion was able to translate some Egyptian texts that had until that time been a complete mystery to historians. Among them were the cartouches of the king-list on the walls of the Osiris temple at Abydos in Upper Egypt. The list, which included the names of the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, made no mention of Akhenaten or the other three Amarna kings – Semenkhkare, Tutankhamun and Aye – who followed him. In the circumstances it is not surprising that when, in the middle of the last century, archaeologists came across the strangely-drawn figure of Akhenaten in the ruins of Tell el-Amarna in Middle Egypt they were not sure initially what to make of him. Some thought that, like Queen Hatshepsut, this newly – discovered Pharaoh was a woman who disguised herself as a king. Further cause for conjecture arose from the fact that Akhenaten had ascended to the throne as Amenhotep IV and later changed his name. Were they dealing with one Pharaoh or two? By the early years of this century, when the city of Amarna had been excavated and more was known about Akhenaten and his family, he became a focus of interest for Egyptologists of the period, who saw him as a visionary humanitarian as well as the first monotheist. Akhenaten was revealed as a revolutionary king, who abolished the Ancient Egyptian religious system, with its many deities represented by fetish or animal shapes. He replaced the old gods with a sole God, the Aten, who had no image or form, a universal God not just for Egypt, but also for Kush (Nubia) in the south and Syria in the north, a God for the whole world. He was a poet who wrote the hymn to Aten that has a striking resemblance to Psalm 104 of the Bible. He instructed his artists to express freely what they felt and saw, resulting in a new and simple realistic art that was different in many respects from the traditional form of Egyptian artistic expression. We were allowed to see the king as a human being with his wife and daughters, eating, drinking and making offerings to the Aten. Nor was he like the military prototype of Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Although the kings and princes of Western Asia tried hard to involve him in recurrent wars, he refused to become a party to their disputes. It is no wonder that the early Egyptologists of this century saw in him an expression of their own modern ideas. The most remarkable of all the Pharaohs and the first individual in human history are the words that James Henry Breasted, the American scholar, chose to describe him: 'It is a theme he returned to and developed in a later book: "It is important to notice ... that Akhenaten was a prophet ... Like Jesus, who, on the one hand drew his lessons from the lilies of the field, the fowls of the air or the clouds of the sky, and, on the other hand, from the human society about him in stories like the Prodigal Son, the Good Samaritan or the woman who lost her piece of money, so this revolutionary Egyptian prophet drew his teachings from a contemplation both of nature and of human life ..." The same theme finds an echo in the work of Arthur Weigall, the British Egyptologist: '... at the name of Akhenaten there emerges from the darkness a figure more clear than that of any other Pharaoh, and with it there comes the singing of the birds, the voices of the children and the scent of many flowers. For once we may look right into the mind of a King of Egypt and may see something of its workings, and all that is there expressed is worthy of admiration. Akhenaten has been called the first individual in human history; but if he is thus the first historical figure whose personality is known to us, he is also the first of all human founders of religious doctrines. Akhenaten may be ranked in degree of time, and, in view of the new ground broken by him, perhaps in degree of genius, as the world's first idealist.'² For the Reverend James Baikie, another British Egyptologist, he was '... an idealist dreamer, who actually believed that men were meant to live in truth and speak the truth.'⁴ Not all scholars, however, took such an enthusiastic and flattering view of the first of the Amarna kings. Some, like the British philologist Alan H. Gardiner, wrote of him that 'the standing colossi from his peristyle court at Karnak have a look of fanatical determination, such as his subsequent history confirmed only too fatally.'⁵ John Pendlebury, who was involved in much of the early exploration at Amarna, came to the conclusion: 'His [Akhenaten's] main preoccupation was with religion. He and [Queen] Nefertiti became devotees of the Aten. Today we should call them religious maniacs.'⁶ The controversial nature of Akhenaten's character and teachings eventually engaged the interest of Sigmund Freud, the Jewish father of psychoanalysis, who introduced a new element into the debate when he wished to see the two articles, plus a third section, written in Vienna but hitherto unpublished, make their appearance in the form of a book in English. This, he felt, would provide a fitting climax to his distinguished life. His intentions did not meet with the approval of a number of Jewish scholars, however: they felt that some of his views, and, in particular, his claim in the unpublished third section that Moses had been murdered by his own followers in protest against the harshness of his monotheistic beliefs, could only add to the problems of the Jews, already facing a new and harsh Oppression by the Nazis. Professor Abraham S. Yahuda, the American Jewish theologian and philologist, visited Freud at his new home in Hampstead, London, and begged him not to publish his book, but Freud refused to be deterred and Moses and Monotheism made its first appearance in March 1939. In his book Freud suggested that one of Akhenaten's high officials, probably called Tutmose, was an adherent of the Aten religion. After the death of the king, Tutmose selected the Hebrew tribe, already living at Goshen in the Eastern Delta, to be his chosen people, took them out of Egypt at the time of the Exodus and passed on to them the tenets of Akhenaten's religion. Freud died at the age of 83, six months after his book was published. The outbreak of the Second World War not only brought all excavations in Egypt to an end, but delayed response to the bombshell that Freud had left behind. This was not too long in being remedied once the world returned to peace. The new contestant to enter the lists was another Jewish psychoanalyst, Immanuel Velikovsky, who had been born and educated in Russia in the early years of this century and had then emigrated to Palestine before settling in the United States. In 1952 he published the first part of his book Ages in Chaos, in which he tried to use some evidence of volcanic eruptions in Sinai to date the Jewish Exodus from Egypt at the start of the Eighteenth Dynasty, two centuries before the reign of Akhenaten, in order to place Moses at a distant point in history that preceded the Egyptian King. Not only that. In a separate work, Oedipus and Akhenaten, he set out to show that Oedipus of this classic Greek myth had an Egyptian historical origin and that Akhenaten was the Oedipus king who married his own mother, Queen Tiy. The work of Velikovsky may be said to have set the tone in the post-war years for assessments of Akhenaten. Scholars have been on the whole at pains to destroy his flattering early image and to sever any connection between him and the monotheism of Moses. One of the earliest to embark on this crusade was Cyril Aldred, the Scottish Egyptologist. In his book about the first of the Amarna kings, published in 1966, he tried to explain the absence of genitalia in a nude colossus of the king from Karnak by the fact that Akhenaten must have been the victim of a distressing disease. All the indications are that such peculiar physical characteristics were the result of a complaint known to physicians and pathologists as Fröhlisch's Syndrome. Male patients with this disorder frequently exhibit a corpulence similar to Akhenaten's. The genitalia remain infantile and may be so embedded in fat as not to be visible. Adiposity may vary in degree, but there is a typical feminine distribution of fat in the region of the breasts, abdomen, pubis, thighs and buttocks. The lower limbs, however, are slender and the legs, for instance, resemble plus-fours ... There is warrant for thinking that he suffered from Fröhlisch's Syndrome and wished to have himself represented with all those deformities that distinguished his appearance from the rest of humanity.'⁷ However, we do have conclusive evidence that Akhenaten had at least six daughters by Queen Nefertiti. Aldred put forward an ingenious explanation for this apparent contradiction: 'Until recently it was possible to speculate that, though the daughters of Nefertiti are described as begotten of a king, it is by no means certain that such a king was Akhenaten, particularly if Amenhotep III was still alive two years after the youngest had been born. Though it may seem preposterous that Amenhotep III should have undertaken the marital duties of a sterile coregent, in the milieu of divine kingship such an enlargement of his responsibilities is not unthinkable.'⁸ Later in the same book, however, he tells us that Akhenaten was not, after all, impotent. The author contradicts his earlier speculation by suggesting that Akhenaten married his own eldest daughter, Merytaten, and fathered a child by her: 'On the death of Nefertiti, her place was taken by Merytaten ... It would appear that she was the mother of a Princess Merytaten-the-less, from a recently published inscription from Hermopolis [The city across the river from Amarna where Ramses II had used Amarna stones for his building], but it is impossible to say who the father was, though the inference seems to be that it was Akhenaten.'⁹ The author then goes on even to suggest that the king had a homosexual relationship with his brother/coregent/son-in-law, Semenkhkare. Aldred's attempt to destroy the earlier flattering image of Akhenaten took him down a path that a number of other scholars proved only too happy to follow. The most recent was Professor Donald Redford of Toronto University, an eminent scholar of both Old Testament studies and Egyptology, who wrote in his book Akhenaten, the Heretic King, published in 1984: The historical Akhenaten is markedly different from the figure popularists have created for us. Humanist he was not, and certainly no humanitarian romantic. To make of him a tragic 'Christ-like' figure is a sheer falsehood. Nor is he the mentor of Moses: a vast gulf is fixed between the rigid, coercive, rarified monotheism of the Pharaoh and Hebrew henothemism [belief in one God without asserting that he is the only God] which in any case we see through the distorted prism of texts written seven hundred years after Akhenaten's death. Redford summarizes his distaste for the king in the following words: 'A man deemed ugly by the accepted standards of the day, secluded in the palace in his minority, certainly close to his mother, possibly ignored by his father, outshone by his brother and sisters, unsure of himself, Akhenaten suffered the singular misfortune of acceding to the throne of Egypt and its empire.' And then: 'If the king and his circle inspire me somewhat with contempt, it is apprehension I feel when I contemplate his religion.'¹⁰ The post-war attempt to crucify Akhenaten and discredit his religion has been unanimous in the sense that any scholars who may hold less hostile views have maintained a suspicious silence. At the root of the campaign of vilification lies a desire to enhance Moses and his monotheism by discrediting Akhenaten, the Egyptian intruder, and the beliefs he attempted to introduce into his country. Ironically, those scholars who have led this ruthless campaign chose the wrong target. In attacking Akhenaten, they were, in fact, attacking their own hero – for, as Freud came so close to demonstrating, Akhenaten and Moses were one and the same person. Some of the arguments in support of this statement are of necessity long and complicated, and the ordinary reader may find them difficult to follow and somewhat wearing. Where it seemed appropriate I have therefore tried to summarize such arguments briefly, plus the conclusions to be drawn from them, and, for those who wish more detail, given a fuller account in a series of appendices. CHRONOLOGY OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY CHRONOLOGY OF THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY Source: Alan H. Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1961) These dates are given here to be helpful to the reader; the accuracy of some of them, and the question of whether there was a coregency between any of the kings mentioned, will be argued later. 1 BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW IF MOSES and the king Akhenaten were the same person, certain other things must follow. It is necessary to demonstrate that they were born of the same parents in the same place at the same time; that the monotheistic religion of Moses and the monotheistic religion of Akhenaten, which he tried to impose upon Egypt, are similar; that, on falling from power in Year 17 of his reign, Akhenaten did not meet his end but fled to Sinai, where subsequent traces of worship of his God, the Aten, are to be found; that a number of other biblical characters can be identified with characters in Egyptian history; and, finally, that a chronology can be established for the Sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt which matches the chronology of the Pharaohs who ruled at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the beginning of the Nineteenth. These, as will be seen, are complex matters. The evidence available is often contradictory and has been interpreted – and often misinterpreted – in various ways. The length of the Sojourn, the length of the reigns of various kings, whether or not Akhenaten had a coregency with his father, Amenhotep III, the precise location of the frontier fortified city of Zarw, where I believe Moses/Akhenaten was born, and various other matters have been the subject of protracted scholarly debate and disagreement. It will therefore be necessary not merely to put forward the positive evidence that points to the truth, but to expose the flaws in a variety of other theories that have been advanced. The most detailed, but not the only, source we have for information about the life of Moses is the Old Testament and, in particular, the Book of Exodus. The Book of Exodus begins with a brief repetition of the account in Genesis of the Israelite Descent into Egypt to join the Patriarch Joseph, who, having initially been sold into slavery by his brothers, had risen to the role of the country's vizier after interpreting Pharaoh's dreams about the seven good years that would be followed by seven lean years. As a result of occupying his high position, Joseph was able to obtain permission for his father Jacob (Israel) and the tribe of Israel to come down from Canaan and live in Egypt. In all, we are told, the number of Israelites, including Joseph and his family, who settled in Egypt as a result of this arrangement totalled seventy, sixty-nine of whom are named. The Israelites, who were shepherds, were not allowed to settle in Egypt proper, however, because shepherds had been looked upon as 'an abomination' to Egyptians since the century-long occupation and rule of the Eastern Delta by the pastoralist Hyksos that preceded the foundation of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Instead they were given land at Goshen, in the same area to the east of the Nile Delta, which by biblical tradition was remote from the seat of Pharaoh's power. The rest of the opening chapter of the Book of Exodus is taken up with a rather muddled summary of the story that is to follow. Almost at the very beginning of the tale, which is clearly set in the Eastern Delta, we are told that the Israelites had 'waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them' (1:7). As the tribe of Israel consisted of only seventy men, women and children at the time of their arrival in Egypt, this vast increase in numbers suggests that some years must have elapsed in the interval, a view which appears to be confirmed by the next verse, with its reference to the king 'which knew not Joseph' (1:8): until the time of Horemheb, who finally ended the Amarna era, there is no king of whom it can strictly be said that he did not know Joseph – whom I have identified as Yuya, vizier to Tutmosis IV and his successor, Amenhotep III – since all the Amarna kings were descended from Joseph. Next comes an account of the Oppression, whose motive, it is said, is that 'when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us ...'(1:10). The Egyptians set the Israelites to the task of building the treasure cities of Pithom and Raamese and made their lives 'bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field' (1:14). Then we encounter a contradiction. When the Israelites continued to multiply, the ruling Pharaoh ordered that all male children born to them were to be killed. Yet we learn that at the time – just when Moses is about to make his appearance in the story – the Israelites had only two midwives, 'of which the name of the one was Shiphrah, and the name of the other Puah'. (1:15). This argues that the

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