

Thebes in the First Millennium BC

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Edited by

Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka
and Kenneth Griffin

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P U B L I S H I N G

Thebes in the First Millennium BC,
Edited by Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka and Kenneth Griffin

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FOREWORD

“Egypt in the First Millennium BC” is a collection of articles, most of which are based on the talks given at the conference of the same name organised by the team of the South Asasif Conservation Project (SACP), an Egyptian-American Mission working under the auspices of the Ministry of State for Antiquities (MSA), Egypt in Luxor in 2012. The organisers of the conference Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka, and Kenneth Griffin intended to bring together a group of speakers who would share the results of their recent field research in the tombs and temples of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties in Thebes and other archaeological sites, as well as addressing a variety of issues relevant to different aspects of Egyptian monuments of this period.

Papers based on the talks of the participants of the conference form the bulk of this volume. However, we found it possible to include the papers of a few scholars who could not attend the conference, but whose contributions are pertinent to the main themes of the conference and could enrich the content of the present volume. Therefore, this volume covers a much wider range of sites, monuments, and issues as well as a broader chronological span. Discussions of the monuments of Abydos and Saqqara, along with the Libyan tradition, enrich the argument on interconnections, derivations, innovations, and archaism. The diversity of topics cover the areas of history, archaeology, epigraphy, art, and burial assemblages of the period.

Aidan Dodson deliberates on chronological issues of the early Kushite state by re-examining the identity of Osorkon IV and related monuments. His paper gives a historical and cultural introduction to the Kushite Period and the whole volume.

The papers of the General Director of the Middle Area of the West Bank Fathy Yaseen Abd el Karim, and Chief Inspector of the Middle Area Ramadan Ahmed Ali, open a large section in the volume dedicated to different aspects of research and fieldwork in the Theban necropolis. They concern the preservation and development of the necropolis, an incredibly important matter which assumed a new dimension after the demolition of the Qurna villages and clearing of the area being undertaken by the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) teams. Numerous tombs found under the houses need immediate safety measures to be applied as well as archaeological and research attention. The conservation, preservation, and recording of the elite tombs in the area are amongst the most relevant issues in the Theban necropolis today.

David Aston and Anthony Leahy examine the royal burials of Thebes and Abydos. Both papers present a remarkably large number of burials related to the royal families of the First Millennium BC. This time period in the Theban necropolis is traditionally associated with elite tombs, with the royal monuments often neglected. Research on the royal aspect of these sites provides a deeper perspective to the study of the elite tombs of the period.

The papers on the elite tombs of the Theban necropolis address a variety of aspects of work in this group of monuments such as archaeology, conservation, epigraphy, and burial assemblages, as well as relevant issues as archaism and innovations of the decoration and interconnections between the tombs of different parts of the necropolis. The areas of archaeology and conservation of the necropolis are presented by the papers of the Director of the SACP Elena Pischikova, and its leading conservator Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali. These papers give a summary of the re-discovery, excavation, conservation, reconstruction, and mapping work done in the tombs of Karakhamun (TT 223) and Karabasken (TT 391) over a period of eight years, with emphasis on the 2012 and 2013 seasons. This section is complemented by a paper on the fieldwork in another “forgotten” tomb of the South Asasif necropolis, Ramose (TT 132), by Christian Greco. The archaeological work in the South Asasif necropolis has resulted in the uncovering and reconstruction of a large amount of new architectural, epigraphic, and artistic information, some of which is presented in this volume for the first time.

The new project in the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), undertaken by Louise Gestermann and Farouk Gomaà, is another invaluable piece of information which, together with the work of Greco in the tomb of Ramose, and Molinero Polo in the tomb of Karakhamun, modifies our understanding of Kushite and early Saite burial compartments and their semantics within the tomb complex. The paper on the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty tombs of el-Khokha by Gábor Schreiber widens our perception of the geographic disbursement of Kushite tombs in the Theban necropolis. The amount of intrusive Twenty-fifth Dynasty burials within the primarily New Kingdom site of el-Khokha gives confidence that we may expect similar results from the numerous Qurna missions. Special attention paid to such intrusive burials in different areas may build a solid basis for our better understanding of Kushite presence and activities in Thebes in the future.

The epigraphical studies of Kenneth Griffin, Miguel Molinero Polo, and Erhart Graefe within the tomb of Karakhamun, and Isabelle Régen in the tomb of Padiamenope, concern the reflection of tradition and innova-

tions in the texts of the Book of the Dead, the Amduat, the Book of the Gates, and the Ritual of the Hours of the Day, as well as their new architectural and contextual environment. The comparative research of these texts in different tombs will eventually lead to a better understanding of the reasons for selections of certain traditional texts, reasons for their adjustments, as well as their interpretations in the new contexts of temple tombs of the period.

Although Kushite and Saite tombs demonstrate a rich variety of architectural, textual, and decorative material they are all interconnected by certain aspects and concepts. The next group of papers by Silvia Einaudi, Filip Coppens, Robert Morkot, Aleksandra Hallmann, and Carola Koch concern such aspects, relevant to most of the monuments. Silvia Einaudi raises the incredibly important question of interconnections and inter-influences between the tombs of the Theban necropolis, origins of certain patterns and traditions within the necropolis, and their transmissions from tomb to tomb. Filip Coppens and Aleksandra Hallmann concentrate on smaller elements of the tomb complexes, such as a piece of garment or a single architectural feature, to track it within a group of monuments. Thus, Coppens traces similarities and differences in the Sun Court decoration in different tombs, its connection with the temple concept, and discusses its symbolic and ritual meaning in temple tombs. Robert Morkot discusses the sources and chronological developments of archaism in royal and elite monuments. Carola Koch addresses the Saite approach to Kushite monuments by re-examining the phenomenon of the erasure of Kushite names during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

A large group of papers on the burial assemblages and other finds in elite tombs enrich and expand the discussion of the burial complexes of the First Millennium BC. Eltayeb Abbas, Simone Musso and Simone Petacchi, Cynthia Sheikholeslami, and Alessia Amenta discuss the issues of construction techniques, workshops, and iconography of coffin decoration and its ritual meaning. Julia Budka and Salima Ikram discuss finds in the tomb of Karakhamun. Budka analyses Kushite pottery found in the burial compartment and its usage in a Twenty-fifth Dynasty temple tomb, while Ikram remarks on the faunal material from the First Pillared Hall. Kate Gosford broadens the boundaries of the discussion with some burial assemblages from Saqqara.

The last section of the volume is dedicated to the new archaeological research at Karnak presented by Nadia Licitra, Christophe Thiers, Pierre Zignani, Laurent Coulon, Aurélia Masson, Stéphanie Boulet, and Catherine Defernez. Their papers concern different areas of the temple complex such as the temple of Ptah, the Treasury of Shabaqo, the “palace”

of the God's Wife Ankhnesneferibre in Naga Malgata, and offering magazines as well as the new evidence of ceramic production at Karnak in the chapel of Osiris Wennefer. Another Karnak paper introduces a new technology, with Elizabeth Frood and Kathryn Howley describing the use of Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) as a means of studying graffiti at the site.

Most of the information included into this volume is being published for the first time. We feel that the research presented here brings together a range of current studies on royal and elite monuments of the period, putting them into a wider context and filling some gaps in First Millennium BC scholarship. This time period is still one of the least researched and published area of study in Egyptology despite the numerous recent developments in field exploration and research. The present volume offers a discussion of the First Millennium BC monuments and sites in all their complexity. Such aspects of research as tomb and temple architecture, epigraphy, artistic styles, iconography, palaeography, local workshops, and burial assemblages collected in this publication give a new perspective to the future exploration of these aspects and topics. We hope that the present volume will inspire new comparative studies on the topics discussed and bring First Millennium BC scholarship to a new level.

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We would like to thank the Minister of Antiquities Mohamed Ibrahim and the Ministry of State for Antiquities for their support in organising the conference “Thebes in the First Millennium BC” in Luxor in October 2012 and permission to work in the South Asasif necropolis. We are grateful for the support our Egyptian-American team, the South Asasif Conservation Project, has received over the years from Dr. Mohamed Ismail Khaled, Director of the Department of Foreign Missions MSA, Dr. Mansour Boraik, Director General of Luxor Antiquities until 2013; Ibrahim Soliman, Director of Luxor Antiquities; Dr. Mohamed Abd el Aziz, General Director for the West Bank of Luxor; Fathy Yassen Abd el Kerim, Director of the Middle Area; Ramadan Ahmed Ali, Chief Inspector of the Middle Area; Ahmed Ali Hussein Ali, SCA Chief Conservator and Director of the Conservation Department of Upper Egypt; Afaf Fathalla, General Director of the Conservation Department of Upper Egypt; the MSA conservation team; and all our team members and volunteers. We are very grateful to our sponsors, IKG Cultural Resources, directed by Anthony Browder (USA), and the South Asasif Conservation Trust, directed by John Billman (UK). Without all this help and support we would not have been able to accomplish the field work and research included in the present volume.

Special thanks to the participants of the conference, particularly to our Luxor colleagues Nadia Licitra, Christophe Thiers, Pierre Zignani, Laurent Coulon, Claude Traunecker, Isabelle Régen, Louise Gestermann, and Farouk Gomaà who showed their sites to the participants.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

ALL IN THE DETAIL: SOME FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON “ARCHAISM” AND STYLE IN LIBYAN-KUSHITE-SAITE EGYPT

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Abstract: The issue of “archaism” in the artistic production of Libyan-Kushite-Saite Egypt has been widely debated, and its complex sources and developments are now being more closely charted. Three details—the shape of the cartouche base, ear tabs, and the “reeded” lines on the red crown—are presented here as further features for discussion which might enable further understanding of models, sources, and chronological and geographical use of elements.

The use of earlier models by the artists of the late Libyan, Kushite, and early Saite periods is well known and has been extensively discussed.¹ The appearance of copies and adaptations of specifically Old Kingdom features, some with identifiable models, in the artistic production of these periods can now be dated more precisely to the 26 years between the Apis burial of year 28 of Sheshonq III and that of year 2 of Pami.² Before that, models appear to have been largely derived from the Thutmosid Period. The whole issue of “archaism” is somewhat debateable, and our current understanding is based on a limited range of source materials. Indeed, the recent discoveries at Tanis³ show only too clearly how newly excavated material can be of major significance to our understanding and interpretation. In this paper, “archaism” is used specifically to refer to the copying of specific features of regalia, iconography, proportion, and style from much earlier periods.

¹ See Morkot 2003, 79; Kahl 2010 for a brief survey of the principal studies. See also Bothmer 1960; Aldred 1980; Der Manuelian 1983; Der Manuelian 1994; Fazzini 1997; Morkot 2006; Morkot 2007; Jurman 2009.

² Morkot and James 2009.

³ Brissaud and Crançon 2010.

What is (and has long been) clear, is that many features of archaism derive from Old Kingdom work of the Memphite region and some specific sources can be identified: the reliefs in the subterranean rooms of the Djoser complex at Saqqara, and the Fifth Dynasty Pyramid temples (particularly that of Sahure) at Abusir. The issue is complicated by the early Twelfth Dynasty reuse and copying of Old Kingdom material.⁴ Archaism in later Libyan-Kushite-Saite periods was probably influenced by Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasty, and possibly early Eighteenth Dynasty, as well as the Old Kingdom monuments, but it is difficult to know which ones were available to the artists of the period.

Once, both archaism and the “Saite” canon of proportion were considered to be a Twenty-sixth Dynasty innovation, but now can be recognised as much earlier. The “Saite” 21-square grid was certainly being used at Thebes during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the earliest known example being in the tomb of Karakhamun, although the precise dating is still uncertain.⁵ The grid may have developed as a copyist’s grid: it is found on the Djoser reliefs at Saqqara—again undated, although the similarity with blocks from Tanis (discussed below) would suggest a Twenty-fifth Dynasty contemporaneity. Copyists’ grids are also found on reliefs in the Sahure complex at Abusir, although these are neither 18 nor 21 squares.⁶

Although the Old Kingdom origins of many of the principal features of archaism have been examined, a number of significant details appear to have gone without comment so far. These features may help to elucidate development and perhaps dating of individual monuments. I emphasise that the comments here are observations intended to serve as points for discussion rather than as any final word.

1. The Cartouche Base

The cartouche, *šn* (*shen*), is shown as a loop of rope tied, creating a loop and a horizontal base. From the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty to the monuments of Sheshonq III the cartouche base is generally a flat, broad line with rounded ends. There is considerable variation according to the scale of the monument or artefact; whether raised or sunk relief, incised or modelled; and the materials used. Sometimes the rope tie in the centre of the base is shown, and sometimes the rope-work detailing around the car-

⁴ Cf. Silverman, Simpson, and Wegner 2009.

⁵ Pischikova 2009.

⁶ Borchardt 1913, pls. 28–29.

touche. Sometimes, even if the rope-work is not shown, it is alluded to by a further central line: the base too can have this line. There are, of course, numerous variants, but throughout, the base is essentially a flat line, or when broader, a “cushion” of two parallel lines. This contrasts with many examples of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. It is true that the simple line can be found in those periods as well, but the larger-scale renderings which appear to have served as models for the later archaising (in the early Eighteenth Dynasty and the late Libyan Period) have a distinctive base in which the upper side tapers to the ends.

On the monuments of the late-Libyan, Kushite, and early Saite periods, when cartouches are shown on a large scale, and with detail, this tapering feature of the cartouche base can be quite prominent.⁷ The rope detailing and the tapering, slightly triangular, shape of the two sides of the base is a characteristic of very detailed Old and Middle Kingdom work, and carries through to very large-scale sunk relief such as the architrave blocks of the Khufu and Sahure temples. The rope-work can be clockwise (usual) or anti-clockwise, and the tie often fills the width of the cartouche loop. However, it should be emphasised that the Egyptian sculptors were inconsistent: in the White Chapel of Senwosret I from Karnak, where the cartouche frames are usually detailed rope-work, the base is not always tapered. The following list (which is certainly not intended to be exhaustive), gives some good examples which show the variants:

1. Sneferu: Dahshur, Arnold 1999, 86, fig. 50, most are clearly tapered with an incised line.
2. Khufu: Arnold 1999, 223 [cat. 38]; 226 [cat. 41] both have elaborate rope-work cartouches and tapered bases; architrave block Arnold 1999, 263 [cat. 65] incised rope work ties, plain frame, tapered base.
3. Userkaf: Arnold 1999, 319 [cat. 103] internal lines; 327 [cat. 108] incised lines ties, tapered.
4. Sahure: Abusir temple: Borchardt 1913, *passim*. The cartouches display a double line and tapered base throughout, but not necessarily with the smaller rope-work details (in the line copies).
5. Neferirkare: Arnold 1999, 345–347, on 346, fig. b, faience inscription.
6. Unas: Arnold 1999, 361 [cat. 123] incised internal lines.
7. Meryre: fragment from Pyramid Text, simple triangular base incised Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge, Arnold 1999, 134, fig. 78.
8. Pepy II: Arnold 1999, 444 [cat. 176].
9. Montuhotep III at el-Tod: Aldred 1980, 115, fig. 73.

⁷ Two very good clear examples, employing the *shen* emblem as inkwells, are Louvre E.10482 attributed to the Third Intermediate Period and Louvre N.3035 attributed to the Late Period, Friedman 1998, 124, 224 [nrs. 111–112].

10. Senwosret I: Karnak, White Chapel. Although many scenes have detailed rope-work cartouches, not all bases taper.
11. Sobekemsaf I at Medamud: Robins 1997, 121, fig. 134.
12. Ahmose (Nebpehtyre): Abydos stela dedicated to Tetisheri, Aldred 1980, 148, fig. 105.

Although rarer, there are some instances in Hatshepsut's reign. The tapered base seems to fall out of use by the sole reign of Thutmose III. For the remainder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and continuing through the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, the base is a flat cushion, with or without ties, even on the largest scale work.

There is, so far, considerably less relief sculpture surviving from the earlier Third Intermediate Period. Cartouche examples generally display flat single lines when incised:

13. High Priest of Amun Menkheperre: Myśliwiec 1988, pl. IXc.
14. Psusennes: metalwork, Anonymous 1987, 256–257 [nr. 91]; 260–261 [nr. 94] and sarcophagus.
15. Amenemope: metalwork, Anonymous 1987, 208–211 [nrs. 61–64].
16. Siamun: lintel from Memphis, Myśliwiec 1988, pl. Xb; pl. XIIIb with ties.
17. Sheshonq I: Karnak, Bubastite Gate, Myśliwiec 1988 pls. XIVb, XVI.
18. Osorkon I: sphinx, Myśliwiec 1988, pl. XVIIIa, d; statue from Byblos, Anonymous 1987, 166–167 [nr. 43].
19. Osorkon II: Anonymous 1987, 168–171 [nrs. 44–45] (granite blocks from temple at Bubastis); 172–176 [nr. 46] (jewellery).
20. Takeloth II: Karomama bronze, Anonymous 1987, 177–179 [nr. 48].
21. Sheshonq III: relief sculptures at Tanis, Anonymous 1987, 71; lintel from Bubastis, Payraudeau 2009a.
22. Pami: Apis stela of year 2, although there are archaizing features in the human figures.

In the Kushite Period, the single flat incised line, with or without tie, is very common in sunk relief inscriptions on Theban monuments of the reign of Taharqo, even those which are otherwise strongly archaizing. In some cartouches there is a clear emphasis on the vertical rope tying the two elements. This is, for example, a significant difference in the notorious Wadi Gasus inscription which has played such a role in the discussions of the chronology of the period: the cartouche of Shepenwepet has no indication of a tie, whereas that of Amenirdis clearly does have it, even though

these are simply incised and the bases a single line.⁸ The original publication, on which so many theories were based, was completely inaccurate. These inscriptions were certainly carved at different times and cannot be used in chronological discussions.⁹

23. Coffins, Twenty-first Dynasty: Myśliwiec 1988, pls. I, II, VIb without ties.
24. Osorkon I: Karnak, Bubastite Gate, Myśliwiec 1988, pl. XIVd with ties.
25. Sheshonq I: el-Hiba, Myśliwiec 1988, pl. XVa base with central double line and ties.
26. Osorkon III: Myśliwiec 1988, pls. XXIIIc–d.
27. Takeloth III: Myśliwiec 1988, pl. XXIVc chapel of Osiris *Heqa-djet* with strongly archaising figure of the king.

This flat cushion also appears in the Karnak chapel of Osiris *Heqa-djet* (reliefs of Shebitqo) and monuments of Taharqo (e.g. the Kawa shrine).

The earliest revivals of the elaborate form with tapered base, some with detailed rope-work, are dateable to the reign of a king Usermaa(t)re Osorkon at Tanis.¹⁰ Despite the lack of a full titulary, this king has been designated Osorkon “IV” by some commentators purely on the grounds that he “cannot” be Osorkon III (on chronological arguments). The tapered base might also appear on cartouches of Osorkon III and Takeloth III in the Osiris *Heqa-djet* chapel at Karnak: the published line drawings seem to indicate it.¹¹ This elaborate cartouche form is typical of very fine work of Shabaqo. The monument is significant for its archaising figures of the co-rulers Osorkon III and Takeloth III, and its use of simple Old Kingdom titularies.¹² The Shebitqo reliefs in the Osiris *Heqa-djet* chapel have cartouche-bases that are distinctly flat and parallel, but in the first court those of Amenirdis I have a tapering base, but with no clear indications of rope or tie.¹³ Cartouches with tapered bases appear on:

28. The newly discovered blocks of a king Osorkon from Tanis (Brissaud and Crançon 2010; see fig. 19-1). Block 49 has two cartouches with

⁸ Broekman 2009, 95, fig. 1.

⁹ As Jurman 2006 has already argued. It is possible that the inscription of Shepenwepet is Shepenwepet II rather than I and the year 19 is that of Taharqo.

¹⁰ Brissaud and Crançon 2010.

¹¹ Redford 1973, 22, fig. 3.

¹² Payraudeau 2009b. See Jurman 2006.

¹³ Myśliwiec 1988, pl. XXVIIb.

very simple writings of Usermaa(t)re and Osorkon without any epithets. Block 18 has one broken cartouche with Usermaa(t)re, and an adjacent block has part of the frame of an extremely large cartouche with elaborate rope-work. Block 18 also has the archaizing feature of reeding on the red crown, and ear tabs (see below). The profile of the king is a direct parallel to Montet (1966) blocks 241 and 242 and another block from the recent excavations in which the red crown is hatched rather than reeded. The profile could be considered “Kushite” but like other Tanis blocks could equally be derivative of the Djoser reliefs in the Step Pyramid.



Fig. 19-1: Line drawing of cartouches from new excavations at Tanis.

29. The Louvre stela C.100 recording the installation of Mutirdis and variously attributed to “Iny” or Piye¹⁴ has tapering cartouche bases along with other archaizing features, notably the dress and prominent forward thigh of the figures of the goddess and princess.
30. Shabaqo: Berlin Inv. 39/66 (from Memphis): elaborate rope-work cartouche with bold detailed hieroglyphs (see fig. 19-2); Kaiser 1967, 96 [957], and figure.
31. Shabaqo: blocks from the area of the chapel of Seti I at Memphis (Berlandini 1984–1985, fig. 1). The red crown has the reeding found

¹⁴ Yoyotte 1989 (Iny); Morkot 2000, 186–187 (Piye). Dodson 2012, 138, with references in note 160 (e.g. Jansen-Winkel 2007–2009; Ritner 2009).

on the Osorkon III/IV and Gemenefkhonsubak blocks from Tanis. The relief preserves only the double crown and some text: part of the Horus name, and epithet of deity. The crown parallels the Tanis blocks 239A, 242 (Montet 1966, pl. LXXVII) and new Tanis blocks (Osorkon III/IV).

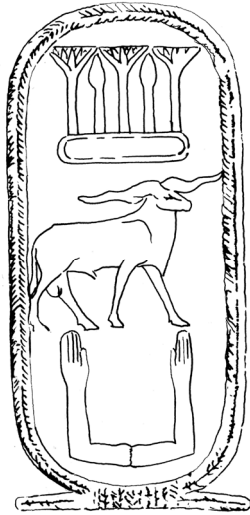


Fig. 19-2: Line drawing of cartouche of Shabaqo, Berlin Inv. 39/66.

32. Shabaqo: the Luxor pylon (see fig. 19-3): Myśliwiec 1988, pls. XXVIII–XXIX.
33. Blocks from the Sacred Lake at Tanis published by Montet 1952, 1966. Some of these carry the name of Gemenefkhonsubak, others are very similar to the blocks of Osorkon III/IV recently discovered at Tanis. The Gemenefkhonsubak blocks also display the reeding on the red crown and ear tabs (see below). Blocks 252–254 do not have the base preserved, but one has detailed rope-work and all three carry elements of the throne name Neferkare, apparently accompanied by an epithet. Various suggestions for the identity of the ruler have been made, although stylistically Shabaqo would seem possible.¹⁵
34. The relief block in the Cleveland Museum of Art 1920.1979, usually ascribed to the late Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Bothmer 1960, 42–43 [nr.

¹⁵ A block (unnumbered) from the French excavations in the Sacred Lake of Mut has a profile very similar to that of Shabaqo, with “Kushite fold”, but no cartouche.

35], pl. 33, fig. 77). A carefully detailed rope-work cartouche with tapered base, no hieroglyphs preserved.

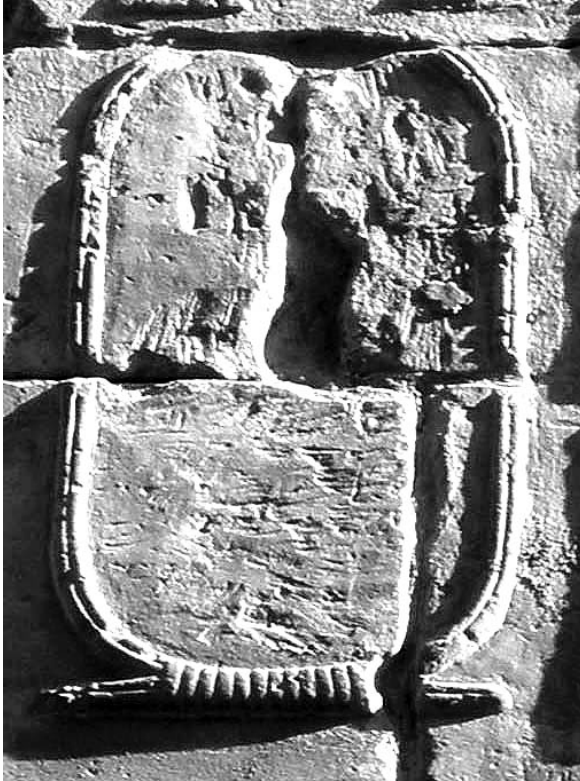


Fig. 19-3: Cartouche of Shabaqo, Luxor Pylon (author's photo).

Outline forms in sunk relief vary according to scale. When relatively small, the bases can appear emphatically triangular. This is how they appear on:

35. The Paserhor stela of year 37 of the reign of Sheshonq V: Anonymous 1987, 152 [nr. 35]. The horizontal cartouches have triangular bases.
36. A block from Memphis also attributable to Sheshonq V (Fazzini 1997, 137, fig. 4; Jurman 2009, 134, figs. 3–4). Here the base is emphatically triangular.

37. The donation stela of Shebitqo and Patjenfy MMA Rogers Fund 1965, 65.45.
38. Menat of Piye (Berlandini 1979, pl. XVIIa), the cartouche on the “perle” of Shabaqo also seems to have the same form.
39. Leahy 1994, 178–179, pl. XXIV, Cairo JE 32022 with fig. 2. Peksater jamb from Abydos, narrow joining rope but distinct taper, names Kashta and Pebatjma and her husband Piye. The lintel block Cairo JE 32023 (Leahy 1994, pl. XXV) has a cartouche of Kashta with a broad triangular base similar to, but not the same as, the Sheshonq V block (nr. 36 above).

Rather larger and more carefully carved, the form also appears on:

40. A block with the part of the name of Necho in the Walters Art Gallery Baltimore 22.135, Bothmer 1960, 49 [nr. 42], pl. 39, figs. 92–94.
41. A comparable block of Necho, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen ÆIN 46 (Myśliwiec 1988, 47, Necho II nr. 3);¹⁶—almost certainly from the same monument—the tapering cartouche base has a prominent tie. The Baltimore block carries a reference to *Hut-ihet*, the Third nome of Lower Egypt. Bothmer reasonably suggests that the piece originated in Kom el-Hisn, *Imau*. This town was certainly controlled by Necho I, as is clear from Assyrian texts. The Copenhagen block was bought in Cairo in 1892, and is without further provenance. Both images of the king have the “valanced” wig with diadem and entwined uraeus. The carving of the curls on the wig is achieved through horizontal incised lines with vertical incisions, unlike the elaborate carving of the Cleveland relief. This has parallels in numerous Kushite Period reliefs, particularly stelae of Delta origin. The face of the goddess is reminiscent of Twenty-fifth style and Old Kingdom reliefs such as those of the Sahure temple at Abusir. Similarly the head of Necho has parallels with the block depicting Sheshonq V from Memphis, and with contemporary donation stelae from the Delta region. All of these features together suggest that these blocks may come from a monument of Necho I, rather than II to whom it is more usually attributed.

On some larger scale raised relief, or painted, cartouches, the base forms a cushion of two parallel lines with a central incised line and ties.

¹⁶ My thanks to Dr Ann Russmann for her help and supplying information and picture from the Brooklyn Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture.

Perhaps significant in the discussion is the “Talisman of Osorkon” (Louvre E.10943: Andreu et al. 1997, 182–183), which frames a new-born sun-god within the *shen*: the base has a slight taper, but significantly emphatic triangular inner lines—gives the impression of a slightly misunderstood or poorly executed central line of the rope-work and the gap.

Cartouches in the chapel of Osiris Wennefer in the Heart of the Persea (Leclant 1965, pl. XIX) seem to have a slight taper. The cartouche base form thus seems to continue into the reign of Taharqo, although it is not consistent and sometimes rather difficult to know whether it is intentional.¹⁷

From this brief survey we can conclude that the cartouche modelled on earlier (probably Old Kingdom Memphite) examples appears on a conventional ordering of rulers first with some monuments of Sheshonq V (one dated to year 37), and the stela of “Iny” (or Piye); is found on major archaising monuments of a king Osorkon (III or “IV”) and Gemenefkhon-subak from Tanis; extensively in the early Twenty-fifth Dynasty, but most elaborately in the reign of Shabaqo; and on early Saite monuments of Tefnakhte (whether “I” or “II”). It is much less frequent on Theban monuments of the reign of Taharqo and seems to disappear by the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. For these reasons, along with other stylistic features, it would seem that the blocks in Baltimore and Copenhagen carrying the name “Necho” should be ascribed to Necho I (c. 673–664 BC) rather than Necho II (610–595 BC).

From the evidence reviewed here, the tapered cartouche base seems to appear first on Lower Egyptian monuments, and is clearly closely connected with the emergence of a new style based on Old Kingdom Memphite models. It is intriguing that it is a feature of the Osorkon blocks from Tanis, but does not appear prominently (if at all) in the chapel of Osiris *Heqa-djet* at Karnak, even though the relief sculpture there has some distinctly Old Kingdom and Memphite characteristics. The stylistic details of the Tanis blocks—cartouche base, reeding on crown—would suggest that the Osorkon (whether III or “IV”) should be placed close to the Kushites, and that he is therefore to be identified with the Osorkon of Per-Bastet of the Victory Stela of Piye.

¹⁷ See Leclant 1965, pl. LXII where the horizontal erased cartouche of Piye, standing cartouches of Shepenwepet and Piye are equivocal; also pl. LXXIIIc Shepenwepet; and LXXIVa in which one side tapers but the other is flat!

2. Ear Tabs

Myśliwiec discusses the “tab” that is a feature of crowns of both rulers and deities in the Kushite Period.¹⁸ It appears on the red, white, double, and *atef*-crowns, and on the crown of Amun. This tab is rounded and fits around the lower part of the ear. Myśliwiec notes the appearance of this in images of Shabaqo. He comments on the appearance of a similar, although not quite so rounded tab, on a block of Osorkon III, apparently from a gate of the chapel of Osiris *Heqa-djet*.¹⁹ It occurs within the same chapel and on the recently recovered Tanis blocks of an Osorkon.²⁰ A relief from the area of the Khonsu temple that carries images of Osorkon III with his son Takeloth still as High Priest of Amun (hence earlier than the Osiris *Heqa-djet* reliefs)²¹ has no tab extending around the ear, although the crown fits quite closely to the ear. This would date the appearance of this distinctly “archaising” feature to the period of co-rule. Myśliwiec does not include the blocks excavated by Montet from the Sacred Lake at Tanis, which also have this feature: some of these belong to Gemenefkhonsubak and are probably contemporary with the reign of Shabaqo. The tabs are found on major monuments of Shabaqo, a stela of Shebitqo, monuments of Taharqo, and appear for the last time with Psamtek I in the tomb of Pabasa. They are not typical of later Twenty-sixth Dynasty sculpture, and do not appear even on such a strongly archaising monument as the “Gate of Apries” from Memphis.

The feature is characteristic of Old Kingdom statuary²² and relief, reappearing with the Eleventh Dynasty and Senwosret I, and again on the stela of Ahmose dedicated to Tetisheru. It continues to appear in a less rounded form into the reign of Hatshepsut.

1. Tanis blocks: Osorkon III/“IV” new block red crown (see fig. 19-4).
2. Chapel of Osiris *Heqa-djet*: Myśliwiec 1988, pls. XXIVa, XXVb.
3. Osiris *Heqa-djet* block: Myśliwiec 1988, pls. XXIIIa–b: this block has an unusual profile, thick straight beard rather broad, very tall red crown cf. pl. XXIIIc.

¹⁸ Myśliwiec 1988, 38.

¹⁹ Myśliwiec 1988, 38, pls. XXIIIa–b: he comments on the late date of this relief and seems to suggest that the relief was carved after the death of Osorkon III. The profile certainly differs from that within the chapel.

²⁰ Myśliwiec 1988, pls. XXIVa, XXVb: Osiris *Heqa-djet* chapel.

²¹ Myśliwiec 1988, pl. XXVa.

²² Arnold 1999, 260 [62] red crown, Khafre; 261 [63] white crown, Khafre; 273 [69] white crown, Menkaure.

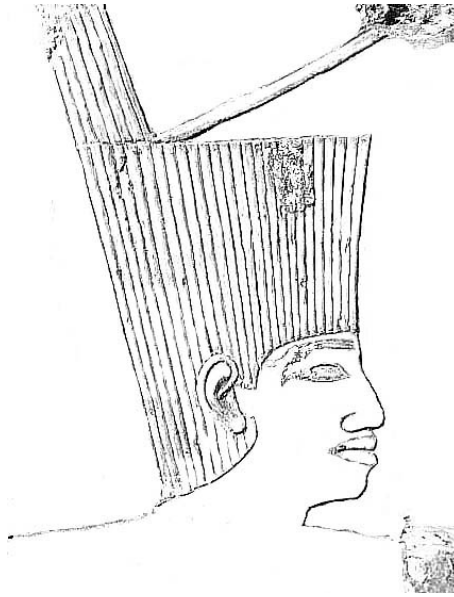


Fig. 19-4: Line drawing of king Osorkon from new excavations at Tanis.

4. Blocks recovered from the first court of the temple of Edfu. The cartouches have been erased and replaced with those of Psamtek II; alterations to double *uraeus* and other typically Kushite regalia, although cap-crown retained.
5. Blocks built into the foundations of the walls of the hall in the temple of Djeme at Medinet Habu: Jacquet 2006. These have cartouches erased (but not apparently replaced).
6. Shabaqo e.g. Sacred Lake block, white crown: Leclant 1965, pl. XLI § 17 (see fig. 19-5).
7. Shabaqo Luxor: Myśliwiec 1988, pls. XXVIII–XXIX, red and white crowns.
8. Shabaqo: goddess Amunet in red crown. Ptah temple: Leclant 1965, pl. XVa, §10; large figures of king, pl. XVI.
9. Shebitqo: donation stela, New York MMA 65.45 (Rogers Fund 1965).
10. Taharqo: Karnak East Temple.
11. Taharqo: Montu enclosure, Leclant 1965, pl. LIa, § 22; LIIIb–c large tabs.
12. Taharqo: edifice by Sacred Lake large tabs, see Leclant 1965, pl. XL §17, quite tall red crown: Myśliwiec 1988, pl. Xa.

13. Taharqo: relief in doorway of Pedubast I by Tenth Pylon Karnak: Myśliwiec 1988, pl. XXIIIc.

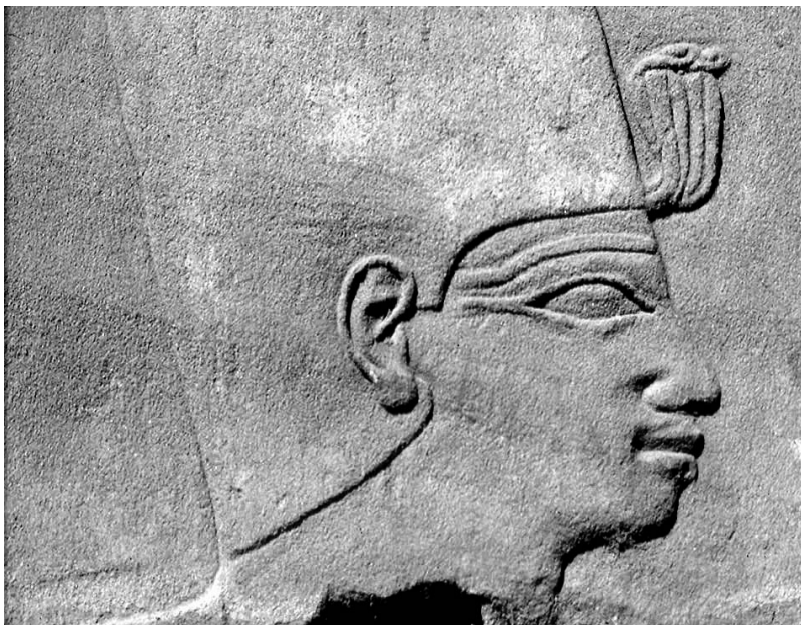


Fig. 19-5: Shabaqo, block near Sacred Lake at Karnak (author's photo).

14. Taharqo: Medinet Habu, Myśliwiec 1988, pl. XXXIb.
 15. Necho (“II”): jamb in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California, Berkeley. Myśliwiec 1988, 47 [Necho II nr. 4], 55–56. This jamb is generally attributed to Necho II. There is no prenomen. The style (even the profile) is very similar to that of Taharqo, so this could be a recut jamb.
 16. Psamtek I: Thebes, tomb of Pabasa, Myśliwiec 1988, pls. LIIa–b: this has the ear tabs, but the Edfu relief of Psamtek, Cairo JE 38997, Myśliwiec 1988, pl. LIc lacks ear tabs, the rear of the crown curving up to a point just above the earlobe.

Not a full tab in the Old Kingdom style, but mid-way:

1. Sheshonq I: el-Hiba, Myśliwiec 1988, pl. XVa.
2. Sheshonq I: Bubastite Gate, Myśliwiec 1988, pl. XVI.
3. Osorkon I: Bubastite Gate, Myśliwiec 1988, pl. XIVd.
4. Osorkon III: Khonsu relief, Myśliwiec 1988, pl. XXVa.

This feature does *not* appear on:

1. Osorkon II reliefs from Bubastis, Myśliwiec 1988, pl. XIXc (well behind ear).
2. The reliefs of the Gate from “Palace of Apries” (which are widely regarded as Twenty-sixth Dynasty), Petrie 1909, pls. II–IX.

3. “Reeded” Crown

In this feature the red crown on its own and in combination as the double crown has incised vertical reeding. It is found in Old Kingdom relief sculpture, but is not a feature of the New Kingdom or early Third Intermediate Period. It occurs in the later Libyan Period with the rounded ear tabs discussed above:

1. Montet 1952, 1966: Tanis blocks 239A (Horus Sankhtawy Gemenefkhonsubak) 242.
2. Newly excavated Tanis block of Osorkon (see fig. 19-4).
3. Shabaqo block from Memphis: Berlandini 1984–1985.

These three stylistic features—cartouche bases, ear tabs, and reeded crowns—are not the only ones that are characteristic of the late Libyan Period. Others that have received some discussion are:²³ attenuated female figures with a long torso and prominent forward thigh clearly derive from Old Kingdom models, notably the temple of Sahure at Abusir; rather “top heavy” figures with apparently short legs and long torso, as found on the plaque of Iuput and the stela of Tefnakhte, have close parallels in the Kawa reliefs of Taharqo, but not in work of the reign of Shabaqo; the musculature of legs and upper torso; and types and lengths of kilt, which also have Old and Middle Kingdom precedents.

Such details are significant in establishing the period of models, even if not the actual monuments (although the Sahure and Djoser reliefs were certainly used). They may also, by closer examination, be able to resolve some of the issues of artistic development, and perhaps even of the internal chronology, of this controversial period.

²³ All of these are considered in Morkot 2003; Morkot 2006, with references to other discussions.

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