

Thebes in the First Millennium BC

Thebes in the First Millennium BC

Edited by

Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka
and Kenneth Griffin

**CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS**

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

This book first published 2014

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2014 by Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka, Kenneth Griffin and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-4438-5404-2, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-5404-7

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Forewordxi

Acknowledgementsxv

Part A: Historical Background

Chapter One3
The Coming of the Kushites and the Identity of Osorkon IV
Aidan Dodson

Part B: Royal Burials: Thebes and Abydos

Chapter Two15
Royal Burials at Thebes during the First Millennium BC
David A. Aston

Chapter Three61
Kushites at Abydos: The Royal Family and Beyond
Anthony Leahy

Part C: Elite Tombs of the Theban Necropolis

Section 1: Preservation and Development of the Theban Necropolis

Chapter Four101
Lost Tombs of Qurna: Development and Preservation of the Middle Area
of the Theban Necropolis
Ramadan Ahmed Ali

Chapter Five111
New Tombs of the North Asasif
Fathy Yaseen Abd el Karim

Section 2: Archaeology and Conservation

Chapter Six	121
Kushite Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: Conservation, Reconstruction, and Research Elena Pischikova	
Chapter Seven	161
Reconstruction and Conservation of the Tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali	
Chapter Eight	173
The Forgotten Tomb of Ramose (TT 132) Christian Greco	
Chapter Nine	201
The Tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34) in the Theban Necropolis: A New Approach Louise Gestermann and Farouk Gomaà	
Chapter Ten	205
The “Funeral Palace” of Padiamenope (TT 33): Tomb, Place of Pilgrimage, and Library. Current research Claude Traunecker	
Chapter Eleven	235
Kushite and Saite Period Burials on el-Khokha Gábor Schreiber	

Section 3: Religious Texts: Tradition and Innovation

Chapter Twelve	251
The Book of the Dead from the Western Wall of the Second Pillared Hall in the Tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) Kenneth Griffin	
Chapter Thirteen	269
The Broad Hall of the Two Maats: Spell BD 125 in Karakhamun’s Main Burial Chamber Miguel Angel Molinero Polo	

Chapter Fourteen	295
Report on the Work on the Fragments of the “Stundenritual” (Ritual of the Hours of the Day) in TT 223 Erlhart Graefe	
Chapter Fifteen	307
The Amduat and the Book of the Gates in the Tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33): A Work in Progress Isabelle Régen	
Section 4: Interconnections, Transmission of Patterns and Concepts, and Archaism: Thebes and Beyond	
Chapter Sixteen	323
Between South and North Asaf: The Tomb of Harwa (TT 37) as a “Transitional Monument” Silvia Einaudi	
Chapter Seventeen	343
The So-called “Lichthof” Once More: On the Transmission of Concepts between Tomb and Temple Filip Coppens	
Chapter Eighteen	357
Some Observations about the Representation of the Neck-sash in Twenty-sixth Dynasty Thebes Aleksandra Hallmann	
Chapter Nineteen	379
All in the Detail: Some Further Observations on “Archaism” and Style in Libyan-Kushite-Saite Egypt Robert G. Morkot	
Chapter Twenty	397
Usurpation and the Erasure of Names during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty Carola Koch	

Part D: Burial Assemblages and Other Finds in Elite Tombs

Section 1: Coffins

Chapter Twenty-one	419
The Significance of a Ritual Scene on the Floor Board of Some Coffin Cases in the Twenty-first Dynasty Eltayeb Abbas	
Chapter Twenty-two	439
The Inner Coffin of Tameramun: A Unique Masterpiece of Kushite Iconography from Thebes Simone Musso and Simone Petacchi	
Chapter Twenty-three	453
Sokar-Osiris and the Goddesses: Some Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty Coffins from Thebes Cynthia May Sheikholeslami	
Chapter Twenty-four	483
The Vatican Coffin Project Alessia Amenta	

Section 2: Other Finds

Chapter Twenty-five	503
Kushite Pottery from the Tomb of Karakhamun: Towards a Reconstruction of the Use of Pottery in Twenty-fifth Dynasty Temple Tombs Julia Budka	
Chapter Twenty-six	521
A Collection of Cows: Brief Remarks on the Faunal Material from the South Asasif Conservation Project Salima Ikram	
Chapter Twenty-seven	529
Three Burial Assemblages of the Saite Period from Saqqara Kate Gosford	

Part E: Karnak

Chapter Twenty-eight	549
A Major Development Project of the Northern Area of the Amun-Re Precinct at Karnak during the Reign of Shabaqo Nadia Licitra, Christophe Thiers, and Pierre Zignani	
Chapter Twenty-nine	565
The Quarter of the Divine Adoratrices at Karnak (Naga Malgata) during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Some Hitherto Unpublished Epigraphic Material Laurent Coulon	
Chapter Thirty	587
Offering Magazines on the Southern Bank of the Sacred Lake in Karnak: The Oriental Complex of the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty Aurélia Masson	
Chapter Thirty-one	603
Ceramic Production in the Theban Area from the Late Period: New Discoveries in Karnak Stéphanie Boulet and Catherine Defernez	
Chapter Thirty-two	625
Applications of Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) in the Study of Temple Graffiti Elizabeth Frood and Kathryn Howley	
Abbreviations	639
Contributors	645
Indices	647

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.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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, ASA Restoration Project, directed by Anthony Browder (USA), the South Asasif Conservation Trust, directed by John Billman (UK), the American Research Center in Egypt in Egypt (ARCE), Jack Josephson, and Magda Saleh. 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.

PART A:

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND



Fig. A-1: Osorkon IV
(© Mission française des fouilles de Tanis / Christelle Desbordes).

CHAPTER ONE

THE COMING OF THE KUSHITES AND THE IDENTITY OF OSORKON IV

AIDAN DODSON
University of Bristol

Abstract: This paper considers two issues: the chronology of the “ancestral” cemetery at el-Kurru and its implications for the foundation of the post-New Kingdom Kushite state, together with the identification of the titulary of the king Osorkon mentioned in the Piye Victory Stela. It concludes that the first independent Kushite kings were probably the so-called “Neo-Ramessides”, for long placed in Meroitic times, who lived during the tenth/ninth century transition. Apropos Osorkon IV, it seems clear that he was the Usermaatre Osorkonu who is represented on archaising blocks from the sacred lake of the temple of Mut at Tanis.¹

The Origins of the Kushite Royal House

The cemetery of el-Kurru contains a series of tombs extending back from the mid-seventh century, which has usually been assumed to represent the ancestors of the kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (fig. 1-1).² Typologically, there is a clear sequence from simple tumuli (KuTum1–6, Ku19), through mastabas (Ku9–14) to pyramids (Ku15–18, Ku51–55), but far less clear is how the pre-pyramid monuments should be spread through time.³ For a long time the “conventional” view assumed pairs of husband/wife tombs of a single royal line. On this basis, a simple generation-count would take the sequence back to the mid-ninth century BC.⁴ However, other views have assumed that all tombs belonged to a single line of

¹ See also the paper by Aston in this volume.




² Dunham 1950. There are also a pair of pyramids (Ku1 and 2) of uncertain, but probably fourth century, date.

³ For discussions of the chronology of the el-Kurru cemetery, see Kendall 1999a; Kendall 1999b; Török 1999.

⁴ Dunham 1950, 1–3. See also Kendall 1999a.

males, thus doubling the number of generations and allowing the series to be taken back to the early eleventh century.⁵ A further suggestion has been that the cemetery is chronologically discontinuous, with at least some of the tumulus-tombs potentially contemporary with the mid-New Kingdom.⁶

However, the limited analysis to date of the ceramic material apparently points to a date no earlier than the late tenth/early ninth centuries for sherds from Ku19, typologically seemingly one of the latest of the el-Kurru tumuli. There also seem to be no unequivocal New Kingdom pieces.⁷ Accordingly, it seems unlikely that an ultra-long “divided” chronology can be supported, with the earliest tumulus—assuming a single line of owners—to be placed around the beginning of the tenth century, i.e. somewhere in the middle of the Twenty-first Dynasty.

If the sequence of mastabas at el-Kurru then began during the ninth century, it is interesting that this coincides broadly with the radiocarbon evidence for the start of fortification work that was begun at the hilltop redoubt of Qasr Ibrim sometime during the tenth/ninth centuries.⁸ This could potentially be seen as an indication that this point in time marked a key point in the emergence of the Kushite monarchy. Probably to be placed around this time are the so-called “neo-Rameside” kings—so-called by virtue of their prenomen—who were long placed in the Meroitic Period, but on multiple grounds should be placed much earlier.⁹ Usermaatre-setepenre Iry-meryamun () had three stelae at Kawa,¹⁰ while Menmaatre-setepenamun, $\text{r}Q^3\text{ti}^c\text{r}^T$ or *Gtsn*¹¹ () () is known from Gebel Barkal¹² and Nuri.¹³

⁵ Kendall 1982, 22–23, a view later recanted; Hakem 1988, 253–255; Török 1995. Cf. Lull 2002, 197–210.


⁶ Cf. Morkot 2000, 143.

⁷ Heidorn 1994; Budka forthcoming. Some incised pottery reminiscent of Nineteenth Dynasty examples were, however, found in mastaba Ku13.

⁸ Horton 1991, 264–265.

⁹ See Morkot 2000, 145–150 for the gross unlikelihood of a Meroitic date, although rejecting his associated ultra-low chronology. Zibelius-Chen 2011, 264 continues to espouse the “traditional” Meroitic date.

¹⁰ In situ, BM EA 1777, and Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 1709 (PM VII, 181 [3–4], with latter number mis-quoted as 1708).

¹¹ Zibelius-Chen 2011, 263–164 reads the nomen as ; cf. Morkot 2000, 147.

¹² Khartoum 5225, 5227 (PM VII, 216 [18], 222); Dunham 1970, 34, pl. xxxvii.

¹³ Priese 1977, from an unpublished Lepsius expedition copy.

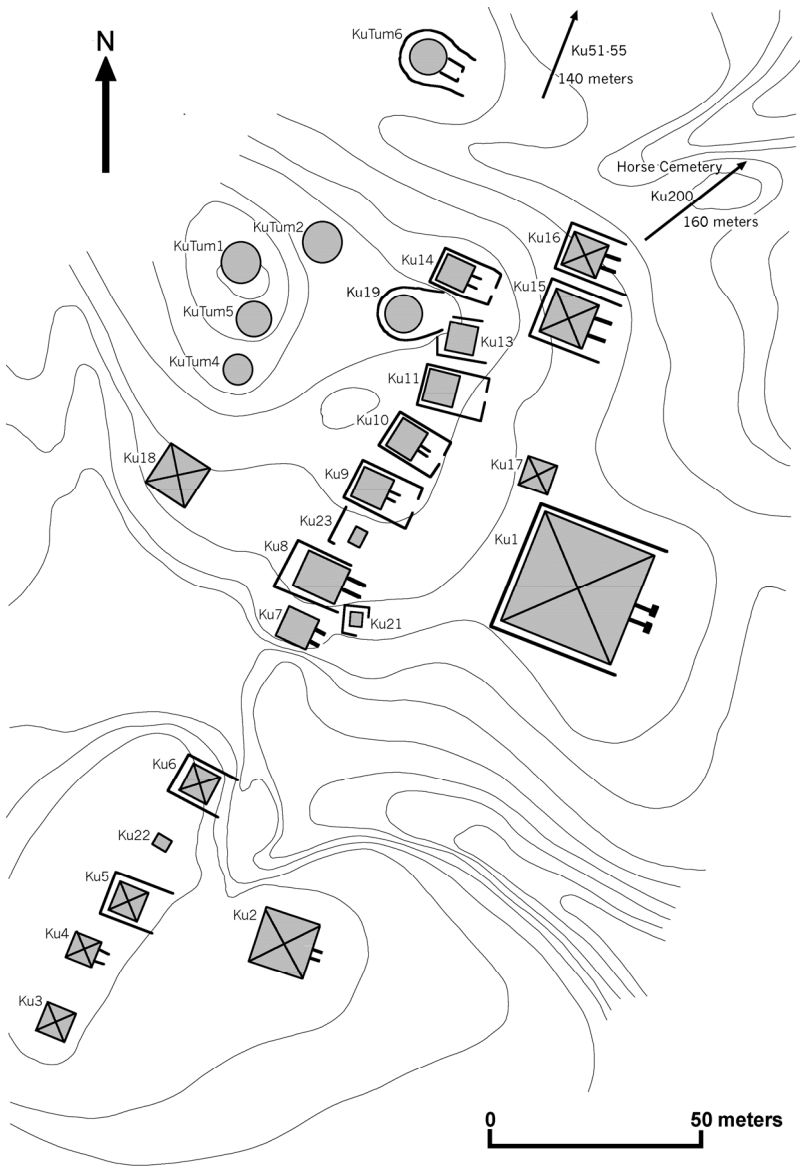


Fig. 1-1: Plan of the site of el-Kurru (author's map).

As such, one or other of them may have been the spouse of the King's Great Wife Katimala,¹⁴ depicted on the façade of the temple at Semna-West with a text dated to a year 14 and recording the events resulting from a rebellion against an un-named king.¹⁵ The style of the figures and language of the text suggest that it was carved in parallel with the Egyptian Twenty-first/early Twenty-second Dynasty¹⁶—i.e. again lying in this crucial tenth/ninth century window.

The Identity of Osorkon IV

The king Osorkon who submitted to Piye and is depicted in the lunette of his Victory Stela from Gebel Barkal¹⁷ has hitherto been a somewhat wraith-like figure since, unlike his compatriots on Piye's stela, no substantive monuments could with any degree of confidence be attributed to him, save a bronze aegis.¹⁸ This named an Osorkon (IV) whose mother was a certain Tadibast, and appeared the best candidate for the role, given that the previous kings Osorkon were known to have differently-named mothers and were apparently ruled out on chronological grounds.

For many years, two items naming an Aakheperre Osorkon—a block and a faience seal¹⁹—were potentially associated with Osorkon IV. However, as this combination of names is now known to have been affected by the Twenty-first Dynasty Osorkon the Elder—to whose period the block seems best associated on stylistic grounds²⁰—Osorkon IV was seemingly left without any extant known prenomen.

In light of this, a number of scholars, going back to Breasted, have attempted to equate Piye's Osorkon with the well-known Usermaatresetepenamun Osorkon III, but as all conventional chronologies place him on independent ground significantly earlier than Piye, this has generally been rejected. In addition, Piye places Osorkon in Bubastis and the district

¹⁴ Or possibly Karimala. See Darnell 2006, 12–14; Zibelius-Chen 2011, 247–248.

¹⁵ Caminos 1998, I, pls. 15, 18–19; Eide et al. 1994–2000, I, 35–41; Darnell 2006.

¹⁶ Darnell 2006, 45–48; cf. Morkot 2000, 153.

¹⁷ Cairo JE 48862+47086–9 (Eide et al. 1994–2000, I, 62–118 [9]; Jansen Winkeln 2007, 337–350 [35. 1]; Ritner 2009a, 465–492 [145]).

¹⁸ Louvre E.7167 (Jansen-Winkeln 2007, 369 [38. 3]).

¹⁹ Leiden F.1971/9.1; AO 10a (Jansen-Winkeln 2007, 369 [1–2]; Ritner 2009, 411–412 [107]).

²⁰ Cf. Payraudeau 2000; Payraudeau 2008, 305

of *R^c-nfr*,²¹ while Osorkon III has since the 1980s been generally regarded as a Theban king,²² all but ruling out his equation with Piye's Osorkon.



Fig. 1-2: Block 18 from the sacred lake of the temple of Mut at Tanis
(© Mission française des fouilles de Tanis / Christelle Desbordes).

However, the discovery in 2010/11²³ of two blocks naming an *Wsr-m3^c<t>-R^c Wsrknw* in the sacred lake of Mut at Tanis (numbered 18 and 49; our figs. 1-2–3) led to it being proposed that these were representations of Osorkon III in the territory of Piye's king Osorkon, thus equating the two.²⁴ However, although a simple “Usermaatre” prenomen is known for Osorkon III with a similar orthography to the Tanis example (using a phonetic spelling for *m3^ct*, albeit with the *t* that the Tanis one lacks),²⁵ this

²¹ The latter centred on what is now Tell Tebilla some 50 kilometres to the north and generally regarded as embracing the area to the east, including Tanis, see Kitchen 1996, 366, n. 710.

²² Aston 1989, although Kitchen (2009, 176–185) still advocates his having been primarily a king of Leontopolis.

²³ Brissaud 2010.

²⁴ Porter 2011.

²⁵ Although Osorkon III generally preferred a more “Ramesside” titulary on most of his surviving memorials (von Beckerath 1999, 194–195).

seems more likely to be linked to the overall style of the blocks than something specific to Osorkon III.



Fig. 1-3: Block 49 from the sacred lake of the temple of Mut at Tanis
(© Mission française des fouilles de Tanis / Christelle Desbordes).

The depiction of the king in fig. 1-3 is quite unlike the New Kingdom-based images that are the staple of Third Intermediate Period monuments down to at least the earlier years of Osorkon III and seen under him in the temple of Osiris *Heqa-djet* at Karnak (e.g. fig. 1-4). Rather, the Tanis blocks are carved in a style that is heavily influenced by the art of the Old Kingdom, in particular the Third Dynasty,²⁶ and the use of a phonetic spelling for *m³t* was almost certainly intended to match the artistic style by imitating pre-New Kingdom practice apropos the writing of *m³t* (cf. the prenomen of Amenemhat III, vs. those of Hatshepsut, Amenhotep III,²⁷ Ramesses VI and the various Usermaatre-kings).

The prenomena of Takeloth III, Rudamun, and Piye all but universally use the phonetic spelling for *m³t*,²⁸ paralleling the on-going switch from Ramesside-style titularies, with extensive epithets incorporated into each of the names, to simple unadorned names and mottos derived from Old and Middle Kingdom mottos, which was completed by the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The phonetic spelling of *m³t* on the Tanis blocks cannot thus be used to equate their owner with Osorkon III; indeed, given their careful *faux*-Third Dynasty style, any *m³t*-spelling other than a phonetic one would have been incongruous on these blocks.

²⁶ Cf. Smoláriková 2006.

²⁷ Except during the reign of Akhenaten.

²⁸ von Beckerath 1999, 194–197, 206–207; only Takeloth III on occasion used the seated-*Maat* hieroglyph.



Fig. 1-4: Osorkon III in the temple of Osiris *Heqa-djet* (author’s photo).

No exact parallel is known of the nomen, the terminal *nw* being all but unique here. Osorkon III is referred to once with a cartouche including this sign in the Osiris *Heqa-djet* temple,²⁹ but here it has terminal epithet *s3-3st*, while also coming, not from a label-text of the king, but from a genealogy of Shepenwepet I in a part of the temple where the only king represented is Takeloth III. Thus, there is no indication that Osorkon III used the sign during his lifetime, nor a “plain” *Osorkonu* cartouche at a time when apparently minor variations in orthography and epithets could be highly significant.

Given his localisation and the archaism of the art and royal names, it is thus difficult to doubt that the Tanis blocks provide us with both representations and the cartouche-titulary of Piye’s Osorkon, i.e. our Osorkon IV. It seems likely that Osorkon IV survived as ruler of *R^c-nfr* for some two decades after Piye’s invasion, as he is most likely to have been the “So, king of Egypt” to whom the Israelite king Hoshea sent (unsuccessfully) for aid against Shalmaneser V of Assyria in 726/5.³⁰ The equation works both chronologically and geographically—Osorkon IV’s realm was the easternmost of the era and thus best placed to intervene in the Levant—while “So” is a credible abbreviation of (O)so(rkon).³¹ Osorkon was probably also the ruler who sent his army commander “Re’u” to aid a Palestinian rebellion against the new Assyrian king, Sargon II, in 720. A few years later, in 716, Osorkon IV was probably the “Shilkanni, king of

²⁹ Legrain 1900, 130–131.

³⁰ II Kings 17. 4.

³¹ Kitchen 1996, xxxiv–xxxix, 372–375, 582–583.

Egypt” who sent a gift of horses to Sargon II of Assyria.³² His death thus would have occurred during the reign of Shabaqo at the earliest and possibly significantly later, his successors probably being Gemenefkhonsubak and Padibastet (III), both known from items at Tanis,³³ the latter apparently³⁴ being the individual of that name cited by the Assyrians as ruling Tanis during 671–667/6.³⁵

Bibliography

- Aston, David A. 1989. “Takeloth II: A King of the ‘Theban Twenty Third Dynasty’?” *JEA* 75: 139–153.
- Beckerath, Jürgen von. 1999. *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*. MÄS 49. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern. 2nd edition.
- Brissaud, Philippe. 2010. “Mission française des fouilles de Tanis: campagne d’automne 2010.” *BSFET* 24: 5–32.
- Budka, Julia. Forthcoming. “Egyptian Impact on Pot-breaking Ceremonies at Kurru? A Re-examination.” In *Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies, British Museum London, 1st August–6th August 2010*, eds. Derek A. Welsby, and Julie R. Anderson. OLA. Leuven: Peeters.
- Caminos, Ricardo. 1998. *Semna Kumma*. 2 vols. ASEg 37–38. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Darnell, John C. 2006. *The Inscription of Katimala at Semna: Textual Evidence for the Origins of the Napatan State*. YES 7. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar.
- Dunham, Dows. 1950. *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush, I: El Kurru*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . 1970. *The Barkal Temples: Excavated by George Andrew Reisner*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Eide, Tormod, Tomas Hägg, Richard Holton Pierce, and László. Török. eds. 1994–2000. *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD*. 4 vols. Bergen: Institutt for klassisk filologi, russisk og religionsvitenskap, Seksjon for gresk, latin og egyptologi, Universitetet i Bergen.

³² Sargon’s Annals; prism Assur 16587 (Pritchard 1969, 285–286).

³³ Jansen-Winkel 2009, 252–255 [50. 11–14. 16]; also of this group may be a king Neferkare (Jansen-Winkel 2009, 256 [50. 17–19a]).

³⁴ The identity of this individual has been much debated; cf. Kahn 2006.

³⁵ Cylinder E (Pritchard 1969, 296 [2]); cf. Verreth 1999, 239–43.

- Hakem, Ahmed M. A. 1988. *Meroitic Architecture: A Background of an African Civilization*. Khartoum: Khartoum University Press.
- Heidorn, Lisa. A. 1994. "Historical Implications of the Pottery from the Earliest Tombs at El Kurru." *JARCE* 31: 115–131.
- Horton, Mark. 1991. "Africa in Egypt: New Evidence from Qasr Ibrim." In *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, ed. W. Vivian Davies, 264–277. London: British Museum Press.
- Jansen-Winkeln, Karl. 2007. *Inschriften der Spätzeit II. Die 22.–24. Dynastie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2009. *Inschriften der Spätzeit III. Die 25. Dynastie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Kahn, Dan'el. 2006. "A Problem of Pedubasts?" *Antiquo Oriente* 4: 21–40.
- Kendall, Timothy. 1982. *Kush: Lost Kingdom of the Nile. Exhibition from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. September 1981–August 1984*. Brockton, MA: Brockton Art Museum/Fuller Memorial
- . 1999a. "The Origin of the Napatan State: El Kurru and the Evidence for the Royal Ancestors." In *Studien zum antiken Sudan. Akten der 7. Internationalen Tagung für meroitische Forschungen vom 14. bis 19. September 1992 in Gosen/bei Berlin*, ed. Steffan Wenig, 3–117. Meroitica 15. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 1999b. "A Response to László Török's 'Long Chronology' of el-Kurru." In *Studien zum antiken Sudan. Akten der 7. Internationalen Tagung für meroitische Forschungen vom 14. bis 19. September 1992 in Gosen/bei Berlin*, ed. Steffen Wenig, 164–76. Meroitica 15. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Kitchen, Kenneth A. 1996. 1996. *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips. 3rd edition.
- . 2009. "The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview of Fact and Fiction." In *The Libyan Period in Egypt. Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties. Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007*, eds. Gerard P. F. Broekman, Robert J. Demarée, and Olaf E. Kaper, 161–202. EgUit 23. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Legrain, Georges. 1900. "Le temple et les chapelles d'Osiris à Karnak I. Façade." *RecTrav* 22: 125–136.
- Lull, José. 2002. *Las tumbas reales egipcias del Tercer Periodo Intermedio (dinastías XXI–XXV)*. BAR-IS 1045 Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Morkot, Robert. 2000. *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers*. London: Rubicon.
- Payraudeau, Frédéric. 2000. "Remarques sur l'identité du premier et du dernier Osorkon." *GM* 178: 75–80.

- . 2008. “Des nouvelles annales sacerdotales des règnes de Siamon, Psousennès II et Osorkon I^{er}.” *BIFAO* 108: 293–308.
- Porter, Robert M. 2011. “Osorkon III of Tanis: The Contemporary of Piye?” *GM* 230: 111–112.
- Priese, Karl-Heinz. 1977. “Eine verschollene Bauinschrift des frühmeroitischen Königs Aktisanes (?) vom Gebel Barkal.” In *Ägypten und Kusch: Fritz Hintze zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Erika Endesfelder, Karl-Heinz Priese, Walter F. Reineke, and Steffen Wenig, 343–367. SGKAO 13. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Pritchard, James B. ed. 1969. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 3rd edition.
- Ritner, Robert K. 2009. *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*. Writings from the Ancient World 21. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Smoláriková, Květa. 2006. “The Step Pyramid: A Constant Inspiration to the Saite Egyptians.” In *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague (June 27–July 5, 2005)*, eds. Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí, 42–49. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague.
- Török, László. 1995. “The Emergence of the Kingdom of Kush and Her Myth of the State in the First Millennium BC.” In *Actes de la VIII^e conférence internationale des études nubiennes, I: Communication principales*, CRIPPEL 17, 1: 203–228.
- . 1999. “The Origin of the Napatan State: The Long Chronology of the El Kurru Cemetery. A Contribution to T. Kendall’s Main Paper.” In *Studien zum antiken Sudan. Akten der 7. Internationalen Tagung für meroitische Forschungen vom 14. bis 19. September 1992 in Gosen/bei Berlin*, ed. Steffen Wenig, 149–159. Meroitica 15. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Verreth, Herbert. 1999. “The Eastern Egyptian Border Region in Assyrian Sources.” *JAOS* 119: 234–247.
- Zibelius-Chen, Karola. 2011. “Nubisches” *Sprachmaterial in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten: Personennamen, Appellativa, Phrasen vom Neuen Reich bis in die napatantische und meroitische Zeit*. Meroitica 25. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

PART B:

ROYAL BURIALS: THEBES AND ABYDOS



Fig. B-1: Stone fragment Edinburgh NMS 1901.429.11
(© National Museums Scotland).

