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## Study of Kushite architectural programmes: the Taharqa's columned porches at Thebes

Jérémy Hourdin

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TRAVAUX DE L'INSTITUT DES CULTURES MÉDITERRANÉENNES ET ORIENTALES  
DE L'ACADÉMIE POLONAISE DES SCIENCES

TOME 6

# ANCIENT EGYPT 2017 PERSPECTIVES OF RESEARCH



edited by

MARIA HELENA TRINDADE LOPES

JOANNA POPIELSKA-GRZYBOWSKA

JADWIGA IWASZCZUK

RONALDO GUILHERME GURGEL PEREIRA

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# Study of Kushite architectural programmes: the Taharqa's columned porches at Thebes\*

Jérémy HOURDIN

**Abstract:** This paper focuses on the study of the Taharqa's columned porches built in front of Theban temples, in particular the colonnades of the Karnak eastern temple and Montu temple at North Karnak. The decoration of their intercolumnar screen walls can be decomposed mainly in two successive phases: the royal introductory rites following by the coronation rites. The decorative programme stages the crowning of the Kushite king within an accessible area of sacred precincts by people. It could be possible to see also the porches of Taharqa as a monumentalisation of the ancestral shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt.

**Keywords:** Taharqa, columned porches, coronation, Kushite kingship, Thebes

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During the Kushite period, and more especially under the reign of Taharqa, many colonnades were built in the Theban area. The most numerous columned monuments are the “colonnades propylées” erected in front of many Theban sanctuaries: the eastern temple of Amun and the temple of Khonsu in the precinct of Karnak, but also at North Karnak in front of the Montu temple, and at South Karnak before the Mut temple.<sup>1</sup> Unlike the Kushite kiosks,<sup>2</sup> the columned porches were not independent constructions but extensions of the temples directly attached to the entrance. An important part of the decoration of these monuments focuses on the coronation of the Kushite king Taharqa and its staging.<sup>3</sup>

## The columned porches of Taharqa in the Theban area

### The colonnades of Karnak eastern temple and North Karnak

Among the “colonnades propylées” of Taharqa in Thebes, only the porch built in front of the Eastern temple at Karnak is still partially well preserved *in situ*.<sup>4</sup> The monument was appended to the mud brick

<sup>1</sup> Leclant 1965: 200–216, Fig. 32; Dallibor 2005: 107–109.

<sup>2</sup> Hourdin 2018: 255–270.

<sup>3</sup> This paper presents some conclusions of my PhD study about the Kushite monuments at Thebes (“Des Pharaons kouchites aux Pharaons saïtes: identités, enjeux et pouvoir dans l'Égypte du VII<sup>e</sup> av. J.-C.”, defended in January 2016 under the supervision of Prof. D. Devauchelle, University Lille 3, France).

<sup>4</sup> The colonnade of Karnak eastern temple (KIU 1131) will be published online as part of the Karnak project: CNRS, USR 3172 – CFEETK / UMR 5140 – Équipe ENiM - Programme « Investissement d'Avenir » ANR-11-LABX-0032-01 LabEx Archimede.

References to the monuments of Karnak are given with their KIU numbers (Karnak Identifiant Unique) which allow to access the full entrees (hieroglyphics texts, photographs, bibliographical references, etc.) from the Karnak project at the address: *Karnak*.

pylon of Ramesses II's temple.<sup>5</sup> It stands now in the forecourt closed by the great enclosure wall of Karnak and the eastern gateway of Nectanebo I. However, this area between the temple and the two destroyed granite obelisks of Ramesses II, whose bases are still visible in front of the gateway, was probably already enclosed when Taharqa added his colonnade.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, during the Ptolemaic chapel of Osiris of Koptos' excavations, Frédéric Leclère found traces of a large mud brick wall that has probably delimited the north part of the temple forecourt.<sup>7</sup> Today, about half of the intercolumnar screen walls of the colonnade are partially preserved and two columns of the northern row still stand complete after the renovation by Henri Chevrier in 1952.<sup>8</sup> Jean Leclant published this monument in 1953.<sup>9</sup>

Sandstone blocks of Taharqa's colonnade erected at North Karnak were discovered well preserved inside the foundations of the destroyed Ptolemaic porch. Jean Leclant and Paul Barguet firstly studied this dismantled monument in the 1950s and proposed the reconstruction of a similar colonnade appended to the façade of Amenhotep III's temple, with some variation partly because the two obelisks of Amenhotep III towered in front of his temple.<sup>10</sup>

This discovery enables a comparative study of the Kushite decoration with the one of the colonnade of the Karnak eastern temple.

These two "colonnade propylées" are composed of four parallel rows of five open papyriform columns. The columns of each row are linked together by intercolumnar screen walls decorated on the two faces.<sup>11</sup> These walls divide the monuments into three separate spaces, the central way being aligned with the temple gateway.<sup>12</sup> Transversal doors could link these spaces, as we can still see in the eastern colonnade with a door between the central and south ways (Fig. 24). These two buildings present a lot of similarities. The architectural layout and the organisation of the decoration are quite closed with a similar purpose: the staging of Taharqa's coronation by the gods within an open space of the temples.

### The colonnades of the Khonsu and Mut temples

Another similar colonnade was built in front of the Khonsu temple at Karnak. The layout of the porch and the discovery of a foundation deposit with the names of Taharqa<sup>13</sup> support the link with the two previous monuments. However, only few column drums of this colonnade have been found during the excavations of the Khonsu forecourt. A mention of Hathor of Benenet confirms a connection between the Kushite building and the temple, but it is not possible to study further the decoration of the portico, which had similar proportions with the one of Eastern temple.

A colonnade was also erected in front of the Mut temple at South Karnak. It was partially dismantled and modified during the Ptolemaic period.<sup>14</sup> Despite first appearances, it seems that this Kushite porch of Mut temple must be distinguished from the three previous "colonnades propylées" of Karnak and North Karnak because of the number of columns (24 against 20 for the other porches), the decoration elements known,<sup>15</sup> the testimony of Montuemhat and the chronology of the works at Thebes during the reign of Taharqa.<sup>16</sup> In the same temple of Mut, we must mention another colonnade – probably Kushite because of the style of engraving and the typology of the columns – with only two rows of columns built inside the first court, between the two pylons. This colonnade can be compared with the addition of Shabaka and

<sup>5</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>: 211–213; Carlotti, Gallet 2007: 271–282; Gallet 2013.

<sup>6</sup> Barguet 1962b: 223–224; Blyth 2006: 160.

<sup>7</sup> See the mission report of 2009: *Cfeetk*.

<sup>8</sup> Chevrier 1952: 237–240.

<sup>9</sup> Leclant 1953: 113–172.

<sup>10</sup> Barguet, Leclant 1954: 68–105, Pls LXI–XC.

<sup>11</sup> For the Kushite intercolumnar screen walls, see: Ubertini 2005: 70.

<sup>12</sup> In this paper, we will not study the distinctive features of the central way's decoration of these colonnades, which were more directly linked to a cult of the main god of the sanctuary. At North Karnak, in the central way, the emblem of Waset is depicted (Barguet, Leclant 1954: 82, Pl. LXIX) probably because of its cult in the forecourt of the temple.

<sup>13</sup> Laroche-Traunecker 1982: 319.

<sup>14</sup> Fazzini 2015: 5–18.

<sup>15</sup> In particular Kushite and Ptolemaic images of Bes-deities and a Kushite Hathor quadrifons capitals, Richard A. Fazzini prefers to link these elements with the "Distant goddess" (Fazzini 2015: 9–10).

<sup>16</sup> In the list of his works in the "crypt" of Mut temple, Montuemhat did not mention the colonnades of Karnak and North Karnak (Leclant 1961: 193–238, Pls 66–70; Jansen-Winkel 2009: 197–203). The other monuments studied in this paper must have been built during the first years of the Taharqa's reign when Montuemhat was probably not yet the mayor of Thebes and director of Upper Egypt. We know that he held this position at least from the year 17 of Taharqa (pall Moscow I.1.a.6496; Jansen-Winkel 2009: 208–209).

Taharqa to the small temple of Medinet Habu where the new Kushite pylon was originally linked to the sanctuary by a similar colonnade.<sup>17</sup> In Mut temple, the under part of the southeast screen wall is partially preserved with a relief showing a king going outside his palace.<sup>18</sup> As we will see below, this scene is the first step of a decoration programme that can be justified if it is engraved at the beginning of an area. When this monument was built, the “colonnade propylée” mentioned by Montuemhat probably did not yet exist. In this way, the colonnade inside the court of Mut temple could be a Kushite construction built prior to the porch erected under the direction of the mayor of Thebes in the second half of Taharqa reign.

### The decoration programme of the colonnade of Karnak eastern temple and North Karnak

Because of the state of preservation of the Khonsou and Mut temples' colonnades, it will not be possible to compare their decoration with the one of the porches of Karnak eastern temple and North Karnak. It is also impossible to study in detail the decoration programme of the columns. For the Eastern colonnade, the scenes of five columns are partly or completely visible, but the identity of the gods is only known on the two preserved columns (with three times Amun-Ra and one time Montu). Numerous column drums were found reused at North-Karnak, but they were only partially presented;<sup>19</sup> Leclant and Barguet recorded the presence of Amun-Ra, Montu or Rattawy. The decoration of the preserved intercolumnar screen walls was therefore fully published. In both monuments, the similar scenes which composed the decoration program of these screen walls – especially in the lateral ways – can be decomposed in two successive ritual sequences (**Fig. 24**).

#### *Phase (1): the Kushite introductory rites of the king*

Firstly, a set of three scenes together forms the royal introductory rites that start in each case the decoration of the rows of screen walls.

(1.1) The first scene depicts the appearance of the king from his palace. The royal emblems precede Taharqa. The king wears the red, the white or the double crown.<sup>20</sup>

(1.2) This introduction is always followed directly by the purification of the pharaoh with (Horus)-Behedety and (Thot) the Lord of Hermopolis (**Fig. 25**). The divinities pronounce in each case the same sentence, *w<sup>c</sup>b=k w<sup>c</sup>b=j ts-phr*, “your purification is my purification, and vice-versa”. The main god of the temple – Amun-Ra or Montu(-Ra) – may be present.

A purification scene is engraved on an unpublished loose block of the Eastern colonnade (**Figs 26-27**).<sup>21</sup> It was originally part of the first intercolumnar screen wall of the rows of columns a, b or c. The decoration is preserved on only one side of the block. The king, who is surrounded by Horus (*Bḥdty ntr ʕ nb pt nb Msn*) and Thot (*Nb ḥmnw nb mdw ntr*), moves towards the right, so the scene took place on the south side of one of three ways of the porch. The formula *dj=f ʕnh w3s nb* on the right part of the block and the visible part of a *w3s*-scepter confirm the presence of Amun-Ra. The head of the king is not engraved in high relief, but the form of the head is deeply dug, with a second smaller hole at the place of the uraeus. In this case, the image of Taharqa was possibly inlaid with precious metals and gems.

(1.3) After these preliminary steps, Taharqa can be finally introduced by divinities inside the temple and presented to the main god. In the royal introductory rites of the porches, two versions of the third scene are attested. In the first one, at Karnak, the king is conducted by Montu and Atum (**Fig. 28**, left part),<sup>22</sup> or by Montu-Ra, only in the central way at North-Karnak.<sup>23</sup> In the second one, he is introduced

<sup>17</sup> Jacquet 2006: 17–24.

<sup>18</sup> Fazzini 2015: 17, 84 (Pl. 4, down), 146 (Pl. 66).

<sup>19</sup> Barguet, Leclant 1954: 102–105, Pls 88–90.

<sup>20</sup> For plans and a list of each mentioned scene types of the Taharqa's columned porches at Karnak and North Karnak in this paper, see: Leclant 1965: 213–214, Fig. 32.

<sup>21</sup> KIU 6053.

<sup>22</sup> This version of the scene is also attested at North Karnak, but only after the crowning of the king. The layout of the three royal introductory scenes is slightly different because of the Amenhotep III's obelisks, which towered at the place of the second screen wall of both central rows. We must also switch the position of the two first screen walls of the second row of columns, proposed by Leclant and Barguet (Barguet, Leclant 1954: 78–82), to respect the correct sequence of scenes in the east way.

<sup>23</sup> Barguet, Leclant 1954: Pl. LXVIII: in this case, the three scenes of the introductory rites are engraved on the same screen wall.

by a college of divinities: Nekhbet and the *bau* of Nekhen, before Taharqa, and Wadjet and the *bau* of Dep and Pe, behind him. We will describe this scene in detail later.

These three introductory scenes are not a specific Kushite decorative sequence, they are commonly found in the decoration of the temples, with a lot of variations.<sup>24</sup> However, the sequence is strictly duplicated in each row of the Taharqa's colonnades and forms a regular and coherent set. Offering scenes can complete sometime the depiction of the three steps (Fig. 28, right part), especially at North Karnak where the screen walls were wider. There are all engraved on the first two decorated screen walls to introduce the second part of the decoration, in particular the coronation program.

Nonetheless, this Kushite sequence can also introduce other types of decoration, as in the central way of the Eastern colonnade dedicated to the cult of Amun-Ra. It can be found in other Kushite monuments. On the external northern wall of the Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake, the scenes precede a sequence of offerings or rites by the king to Theban or solar gods linked to the temple.<sup>25</sup> In the birth temple of Khonsu-pa-khered at South-Karnak, probably firstly built and decorated by Shabaka,<sup>26</sup> we can find these scenes on the northern wall of the first hypostyle hall,<sup>27</sup> at the beginning of the temple decoration program (before being extended by Taharqa with a new court decorated with his mythic birth<sup>28</sup>). On the first screen wall of the colonnade inside the court of Mut temple, we have already mentioned a scene with the king going outside the palace; his purification and introduction in the temple might have been engraved after.

This Kushite sequence – appearance, purification and introduction of the Pharaoh – could be a previous version of the introductory scenes frequently found in Graeco-Roman temples,<sup>29</sup> which nevertheless include also the coronation of the king before his introduction to the main divinity of the sanctuary. The modification could have possibly taken place in the thirtieth dynasty.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, the pattern of the Taharqa's colonnades – introductory rites followed by coronation rites<sup>31</sup> – was accurately copied by Nectanebo I (maybe directly from the colonnades of Taharqa) in his porch of Medinet Habu small temple, which is appended to the Kushite pylon.<sup>32</sup> The two rites were therefore mixed in his porch on Philae Island,<sup>33</sup> as during the Graeco-Roman period.

<sup>24</sup> The Great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak (KIU 859; Nelson, Murnane 1981) contains several sequences of the introductory rite. The purification and the introduction of the Pharaoh precede the crowning each time (south wall, with also the appearance of the king from the palace in this case: Nelson, Murnane 1981: Pl. 259; west hall, north half: Nelson, Murnane 1981: Pl. 262; north wall: Nelson, Murnane 1981: Pl. 283), except on the south half of the eastern wall (Nelson, Murnane 1981: Pl. 260) where Ramesses II is crowned by Khonsu after his purification and before being introduced by Hathor. In the temple of Khonsu at Karnak (KIU 4876), in the court and in the Hypostyle Hall, the purification and the introduction of the pharaoh is engraved in the west side of the rooms (Ramesses XI: KIU 8685, 8692; Herihor: KIU 8747, 8764). In Luxor temple, the three scenes are engraved on the east wall of the room XVII: Brunner 1977: 43–44, Pls 72–74. The appearance of the king from his palace is logically often missing in the decoration programmes of inside part of a temple. In this way, on the east wall of the court of the Eastern temple at Karnak (KIU 4666), only the purification and introduction are represented (KIU 6120–6121), but on the doorway Ramesses II is depicted entering inside the temple (KIU 6098–6099).

<sup>25</sup> KIU 2443–2445; Parker, Leclant, Goyon 1979: 12–14, Pls 7–8.

<sup>26</sup> Fazzini, Peck 1981: 122–125; Fazzini 2015: 5–6.

<sup>27</sup> If the scenes of the appearance of the king (with, in front of him, an Iunmutef priest and a god, maybe Amun-Ra) and of his purification are clearly recognisable, only the feet of the king and a god behind him are still visible today on the third scene.

<sup>28</sup> Pillet 1952: 77–104; Fazzini 2015: 6.

<sup>29</sup> Moret 1902: 213–222, see bibliography in Traunecker, Le Saout, Masson 1981: 121, n. 141. For some Greco-Roman examples engraved on intercolumnar screen walls, see the external screen walls of Philae mammisi (Junker, Winter 1965: 224–235). At Esna, the scenes are engraved on the frontage of the pronaos (Sauneron 1963: 114–188, with the scenes 52, 67, 70, 74, 88 and 91). At Tod, there is less space on the façade of the pronaos, so the coronation and the introduction seem to be combined in one scene with the king conducted by Wadjet and Nekhbet while they are crowning the pharaoh (Drioton, Posener, Vandier 1980: 28–31 (17); Thiers 2003: 6, 8, 11, 13). At Karnak, the two first Ptolemaic scenes (appearance and purification of the king: KIU 3704, 3721) are still partially preserved on the first northwest screen wall of the Taharqa's kiosk.

<sup>30</sup> In the Karnak chapel of Akoris built in the twenty-ninth dynasty (KIU 550), if a crowning scene was engraved, it would be after the introductory rites.

<sup>31</sup> This pattern is also used on the columned monument of the Saite god's wife Nitocris at Naga Malgata, see: Coulon, Laisney 2015: 135–150.

<sup>32</sup> The sequence of the scenes read by Traunecker, Le Saout, Masson 1981: 120–121, have to be rectified because the coronation is in fact depicted on the second screen wall of the north side (we can see clearly the king surrounded by Thot, Horus, Wadjet and Nekhbet), and the largely destroyed scene of “montée royale” is on the first screen wall of the southern side (only the feet of the king and of a god behind are still visible). More generally, the decoration of the Nectanebo I's porch is really similar to the scenes of Taharqa's Theban porches and Kushite pylon of Medinet Habu (with the smiting scenes).

<sup>33</sup> Lombardi 2013: 101–102.

*Phase (2): the coronation rites of Taharqa*

In the “colonnade propylées”, except in the central way of the monument of Karnak, the second decoration phase focuses specifically on the coronation of the king Taharqa. The ceremony is presided by Amun-Ra at Karnak and Montu(-Ra) at North Karnak. A similar decoration could be engraved inside the colonnade of Khonsou temple; the son of Amun probably crowned Taharqa in this case.<sup>34</sup> The rites of the Taharqa's coronation must be decomposed in two main steps, which may also have been completed by some more classical scenes.

(2.1) Each time, the scenes that form the first step of the crowning have the same feature (**Fig. 29**, left part). The king received the double-crown, which is named as *shmty* or *nbtj*, by Thot and Horus-Behedety, under the protection of the royal goddesses Nekhbet (with the epithets *hdt Nhn*, *3wt ʕ*, *nbt Fʕg* and/or *nbt pt*) and Wadjet (*nbt dp P*, and/or *nbt Pr-nw nbt Pr-nsr*). This scene is always engraved on the screen walls of both colonnades with minor variations.<sup>35</sup>

(2.2a) The second part of the coronation rites differs on the different rows of screen walls. If the main god was not represented in the previous scene, Amun-Ra or Montu(-Ra) is always depicted in the final scene. We can find two possibilities for the crowning of Taharqa. In the first case, he is crowned by the main god and Wadjet stands in front of them; this scene is only attested at Karnak. In the second case, he is crowned by the main god in front of the Iunmutef priest and the *bau* of Nekhen and Pe; this scene is attested at North Karnak.

(2.2b) Instead of the last scenes, in both porches, the first crowning step can be completed by another scene with the proclamation of the new king, who stands next to his divine father, by Thot in the presence of the Great Ennead of Thebes and the *bau* of Nekhen and Pe (**Fig. 30**). This scene can be understood as the conclusion of the entire royal decoration programme.

**The colonnades of Taharqa and the staging of a coronation place**

Except in the central way of the Eastern colonnade of Karnak exclusively dedicated to Amun-Ra, the coronation of Taharqa is depicted on all inner spaces of the two porches. These columned monuments could be a symbolic and cultic place of the royal crowning and could be also linked to the Kushite archaism. Indeed, various elements point out that the different parts of the buildings can be interpreted as the mythic sanctuaries of the South and North Egypt, namely the Per-wer and the Per-nu/Per-neser.

On the lower frieze of the Karnak eastern temple's columns there is a clear distinction between the south half, where the royal names of Taharqa are accompanied only by Nekhbet (with the epithets *hdt Nhn*, *nbt pt* and/or *hnwt T3wy*), and in the north half by Wadjet (*Dp(yt) P(yt)*, *nbt pt*, *hnwt T3wy*, and/or *nbt pr-nw nbt pr-nsr*). The geographical separation is confirmed by the geographical processions on the external parts of the colonnades.<sup>36</sup>

If this distinction South/North is common in the Egyptian temples, one scene could explain the finality of these porches, their layout and the choices for the decoration. This scene depicts a “great introduction” of the king by the goddesses Nekhbet, Wadjet, but also by the *bau* of Nekhen and Pe (**Fig. 31**). Few parallels are known. It is attested in the Great Hypostyle Hall from Karnak<sup>37</sup> and in Ramsesses III's temple at Medinet Habu.<sup>38</sup> The decoration of one block from Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek found at Memphis<sup>39</sup> belongs probably to a similar scene that could have taken part in a comparable decoration programme because of the inscription preserved is analogous to Taharqa's. Despite the similarities of the patterns of Ramesses II and III's scenes, the context seems to be slightly different, even if the scene of Ramesses II is part of a decorative programme enlightening his kingship.

<sup>34</sup> The forecourt of Khonsu temple was already linked closely to the royal legitimisation since the twenty-second dynasty, as we can see it with the blocks of a Osorkon III's kiosk/porch found inside the foundation of the Taharqa's colonnade, see recently: Goyon 2017: 227–252.

<sup>35</sup> At Karnak, in each case, Wadjet is depicted in front of the king, whereas she is behind him at North Karnak, and inversely for Nekhbet.

<sup>36</sup> Leclant 1953: 150–158; Barguet, Leclant 1954: 91–100, Pls LXXXI–LXXXVII.

<sup>37</sup> Nelson, Murnane 1981: Pl. 62.

<sup>38</sup> The Epigraphic Survey 1940: Pl. 235.

<sup>39</sup> Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, AEIN 1511, see: Engelbach 1935: 32, Pl. LV (11); Jorgensen 2009: 100–101 (with a twenty-sixth dynasty datation).

In the case of Taharqa's colonnades, these reliefs were located one time in each lateral way of the two colonnades of Karnak and North Karnak. Three examples of the scene are still partly preserved, one in the southern way of the Karnak eastern colonnade, and two for the North Karnak colonnade. They had the same pattern and, in each case, took place as the third step of the royal introductory rites instead of a more classical introduction of the king (by Montu and Atum for example). The scene at Karnak eastern temple is the most comprehensive example and the inscriptions of the *bau* are still preserved.<sup>40</sup>

- *Bau* of Nekhen, before Nekhbet:  $\text{ḫ} \text{pr}(t) \text{ b}3\text{w} \text{ Nḥn} \text{ ḫ} \text{ Šm}^{\text{w}} \text{ pr-wr} \text{ snwt} \text{ jtrty} \text{ Šm}^{\text{w}} \text{ Mḥw}$
- *Bau* of Pe, behind Wadjet:  $\text{ḫ} \text{pr}(t) \text{ b}3\text{w} \text{ P} \text{ pr-nw} \text{ pr-nsr} \text{ snwt} \text{ jtrty} \text{ Šm}^{\text{w}} \text{ Mḥw}$

In both cases, the *bau* are associated with the ancestral shrines of the South – “the palace of South Egypt and the Per-wer” – and of the North – “the Per-nu and Per-neser” –, but also in each case with the archaic *snwt*, which is linked to the double-sanctuary (*jtrty*) of Upper and Lower Egypt (as on the block of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek mentioned above). With these two inscriptions, we could conclude that the Kushite *snwt* and *jtrty* are here the combination of the southern Per-wer and the northern Per-nu/Per-neser. These shrines are directly associated with the coronation. In the colonnades, the Per-nu and Per-neser are always mentioned in the epithets of Wadjet, especially in the first crowning scene. The Per-wer is also the place of the crowning: on the north wall of the coronation room (H) of Kawa temple, Taharqa is introduced in the Per-wer where he is then crowned by Horus and Thot.<sup>41</sup> The *snwt* (or *snwtj*) dates back to the first dynasties.<sup>42</sup> For example, it is mentioned many times in the Palermo stone in conjunction with solar deities, the southern and northern shrines and rites that took place at the beginning of a reign.<sup>43</sup> In the complex of Sahure and Pepi II, the *snwt* was also linked to the same chapels.<sup>44</sup>

Finally, the eastern colonnade at Karnak could have been built on the site of an older construction.<sup>45</sup> Barguet had already proposed a connection of the *snwt* (usually translated as “flag poles”) erected by the high priest of Amun Bakenkhonsu in the forecourt (*wb3*) of the renewed eastern temple of Ramses II with the *snwt(y)* of Heliopolis.<sup>46</sup>

## Conclusions

Considering this study into the Taharqa's colonnade, the depictions of the crowning in the two lateral ways, the inscriptions of the “great introduction” of the king and, at Karnak, the geographical distinction between the southern columns associated with Nekhbet, and the northern columns with Wadjet, lead us to see these monuments not as a single portico but as a combination of two porches composed of two rows of five columns. Thus could be the result of a Kushite monumental interpretation to erect the archaic shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt in view to stage the coronation of Taharqa at Thebes.<sup>47</sup>

Moreover, the choice of the locations is interesting since the forecourts are the most accessible areas of the temples by people. With these Kushite adjunctions, at the entrance of the sanctuaries, the new decoration does not focus mainly on the cult of the gods, but on the symbolic representation and, even more, the staging of the crowning and the confirmation of the new king by the god himself. The construction of the Taharqa's columned porches can be understood more generally as the part of

<sup>40</sup> KIU 1136; Leclant 1953: 124–126, Fig. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Macadam 1955: Pl. XXIIc (vol. 2).

<sup>42</sup> See: Kees 1921: 120–136.

<sup>43</sup> *Urk.* I: 235–249.

<sup>44</sup> See: Borchart 1913: Bl. 19, 67 (where a “Schlangensteine” is depicted next to a shrine in each case) and Jéquier 1938: Pl. 50. Despite these mentions, I do not have identified Old Kingdom monument similar to the architectural layout of Taharqa's colonnades.

<sup>45</sup> About the possibility of an older colonnade in front of the eastern temple at Karnak, see above, n. 7.

<sup>46</sup> Barguet 1962b: 300–303. For the inscription of Bakenkhonsu statue at Munich, see: Plantikow-Münster 1969: 117–131; Kitchen 1980: 292–299; 2000: 213–215. Bakenkhonsu mentioned the construction of a  $\text{ḫ}3\text{ḫ}3(t)$  in front of the eastern temple: Barguet 1962b: 301–302. A link between the colonnades and the  $\text{ḫ}3\text{ḫ}3(t)$  was discussed by Barguet 1962a: 39–41; Cooney 2000: 17, n. 17; Blyth 2006: 201–202. However,  $\text{ḫ}3\text{ḫ}3(t)$  could refer to platforms or terraces, not to porches, see: Cabrol 2001: 565–567, 579–580 (East Karnak); Azim, Gabolde 2015: 21, n. 51 (with bibliography). The colonnade of Mut temple is merely called *h3yt* by Montuemhat (Jansen-Winkel 2009: 201, l. 12). For the Kushite porch *h3yt*, see also Shabaka at Karnak (inscription of the IVth Pylon: Jansen-Winkel 2009: 5 [46.16]) and Tanwetamani at Napata (“Dream Stela”: Jansen-Winkel 2009: 238, l. 19).

<sup>47</sup> At Medinet Habu, the north scene of the façade's inner side of the Nectanebo I's porch, which scenes could be a copy of the Taharqa's colonnades, depicts the king in front of shrines of South and North Egypt.

a legitimating attempt of the Kushite kingship over Thebes and Egypt.<sup>48</sup> As well, this architectural politic could be linked to the development of the Theban birth temples (Khonsou-pa-khered at South Karnak, and possibly Harpre at North Karnak<sup>49</sup>) since the reign of Shabaka.

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<sup>48</sup> This architectural programme enlightening the Kushite kingship can be linked with the jubilee gateways built by Shabataka at Edfu (Hourdin 2017: 191–200) and Shabaka in Karnak Ptah temple (Biston-Moulin, Thiers 2016: 73–97 (vol. 1); 42–59, Ptah n° 38–64 (vol. 2)).

<sup>49</sup> If the datation of the Harpre temple is still opened, the layout of its rear part has similarities with the Shabaka's part of Khonsou-pa-khered temple. About the Harpre temple's foundation deposits, see: Schmitt 2017: 369. Before, or at the same time, the east part of Montu temple (next to Harpre temple) was also possibly rebuilt (Gabolde, Rondot 1993: 245–264) by Shabaka or at least prior to the construction of the Taharqa's porch. Harpre is firstly attested at Thebes and North Karnak on the gate of the Taharqa's small kiosk (Barguet, Leclant 1954: Pls XCIV–XCV). In any case, the rear part of Harpre temple must have been built before the reign of Akoris, because his names are inscribed in the first hypostyle hall, which was an extension of the temple (Varille 1943: 29–31).

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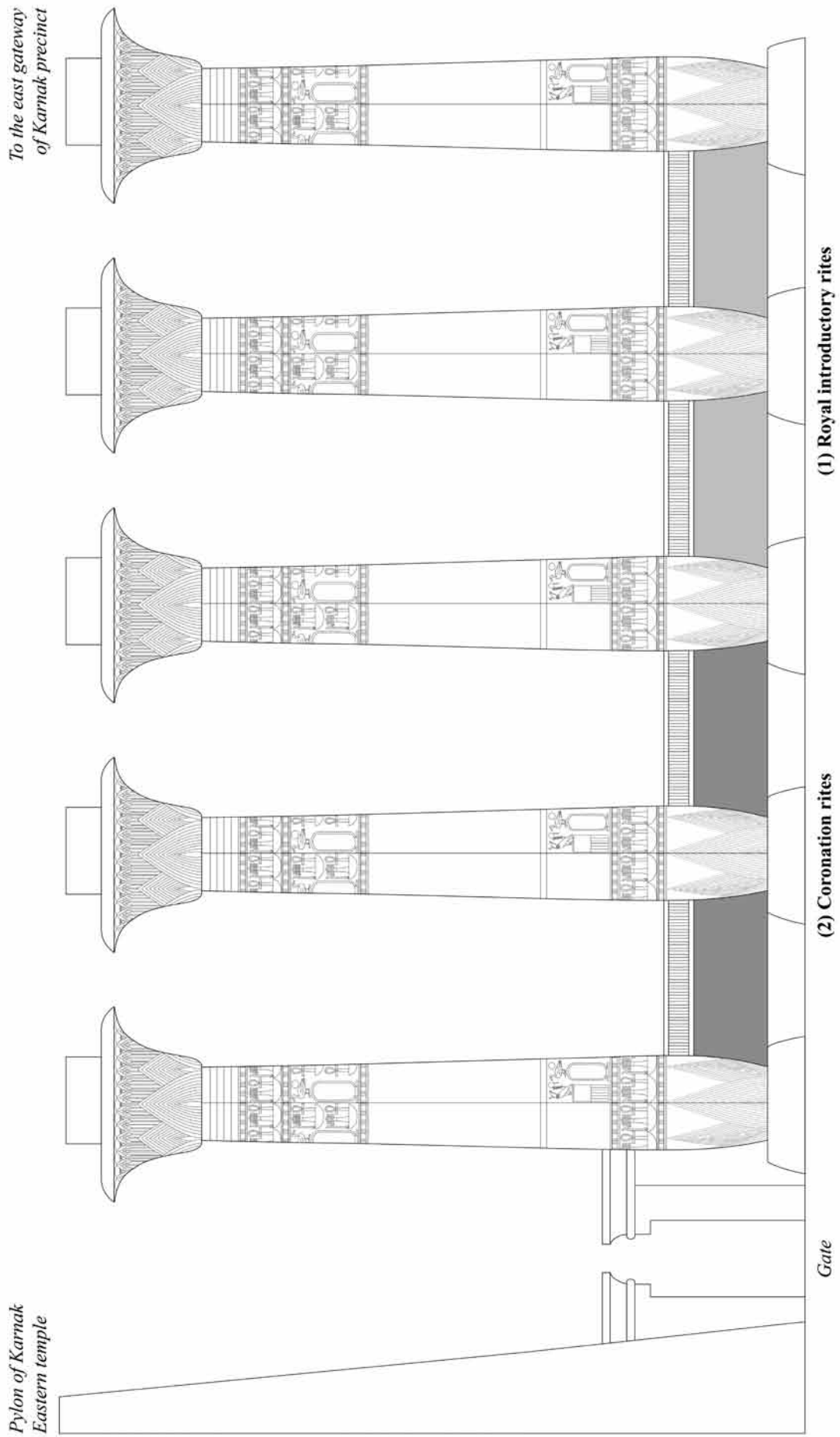


Fig. 24. Hypothetical restitution of the Karnak eastern colonnade, south way, north side (drawing by Fl. Pirou)



Fig. 25. Eastern colonnade, north way, north side, second screen wall (© CNRS-CHEITK/photo by É. Saubestre)



Fig. 26. Loose block of the Eastern colonnade, Karnak (© CNRS-CFEETK/photo by É. Saubestre)

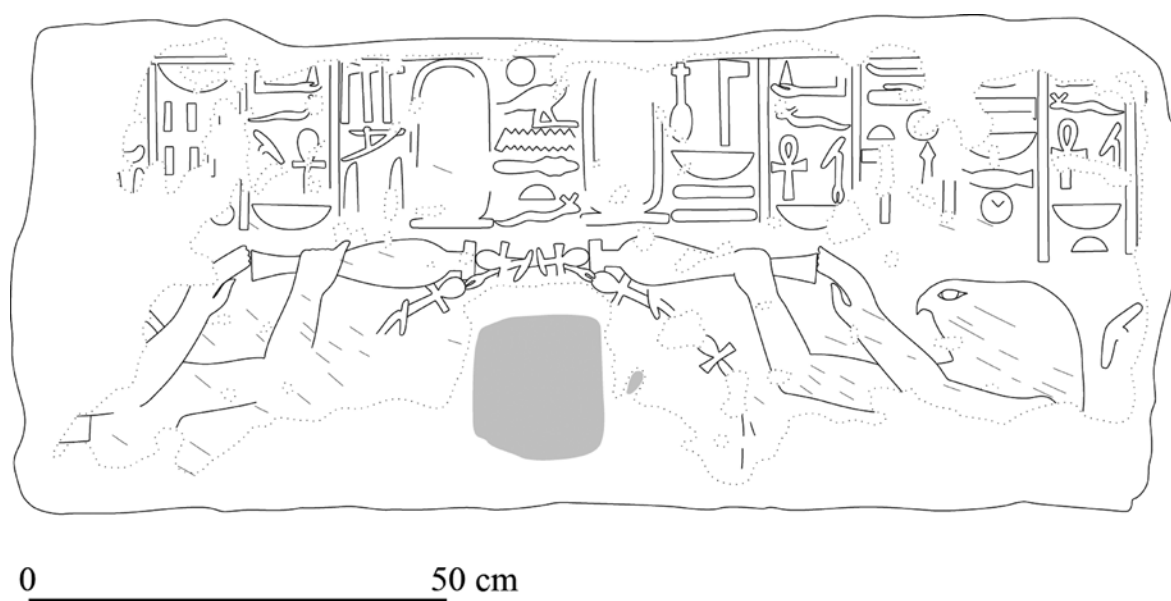


Fig. 27. Loose block of the Eastern colonnade, Karnak (drawing by Fl. Pirou)



Fig. 28. Eastern colonnade, central way, south side, second screen wall (© CNRS-CFEETK/photo by É. Saubestre)



Fig. 29. Eastern colonnade, south way, south side, fourth screen wall (© CNRS-CHEETK/photo by F. Saubestre)



Fig. 30. Eastern colonnade, south way, south side, fifth screen wall (© CNRS-CFEETK/photo by É. Saubestre)



Fig. 31. Eastern colonnade, south way, south side, second screen wall (© CNRS-CHEETK/photo by É. Saubestre)