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# The Kushite Kiosks of Karnak and Luxor: A Cross-over Study

Jérémy Hourdin

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Jérémy Hourdin. The Kushite Kiosks of Karnak and Luxor: A Cross-over Study. Elena Pischikova; Julia Budka; Kenneth Griffin. Thebes in the First Millennium BC: Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond, Golden House Publications, pp.255-270, 2018, 978-1-906137-59-5. <hal-03838005>

**HAL Id: hal-03838005**

**<https://hal.science/hal-03838005v1>**

Submitted on 12 Dec 2022

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**Thebes in the First Millennium BC:  
Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond**

**Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka, Kenneth Griffin (editors)**

Published by Golden House Publications  
London 2018

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Cover front

Vignette of the Seventh Hour of the Night in the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) depicting Khonsu (photo: K. Blakeney)

Printed in the United Kingdom

ISBN 978-1-906137-59-5

Printed by  
CPI Group (UK) Ltd.  
Croydon  
CR0 4YY

## Table of Contents

Abbreviations	vii
List of contributors	x
Introduction	1
Acknowledgements	6
<b>Part A: South Asasif</b>	
Elena Pischikova <i>Recreating Kushite Tombs: Ten Years of the South Asasif Conservation Project</i>	9
Elena Pischikova <i>Recording the Art of Karakhamun</i>	25
Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali <i>Conservation and Reconstruction of the Second Pillared Hall of the Tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223)</i>	49
Kenneth Griffin <i>A Preliminary Report on the Hours of the Night in the Tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223)</i>	59
Miguel Á. Molinero Polo & Andrea Rodríguez Valls <i>Palaeographical Peculiarities and Scribal Handwriting in the Burial Chamber of Karakhamun (TT 223)</i>	71
Erhart Graefe <i>Preliminary Report on the Usurpation of the Tomb of Karabasken (TT 391) by the High Steward of the God's Adoratrix, Padibastet</i>	97
John Billman <i>A Brief Note on a Rare Find of Ivory from the Tomb of Karabasken (TT 391)</i>	108
<b>Part B: North Asasif</b>	
Silvia Einaudi <i>Combination of Tradition and Innovation in the Decorative Programme of the Tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33)</i>	117
Claude Traunecker <i>Abydenian Pilgrimage, Immortal stars and Theban Liturgies in the Tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33)</i>	126
Louise Gestermann & Farouk Gomaà <i>Remarks on the Decoration and Conception of the Theban Tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34)</i>	152

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Isabelle Régen

*The Book of Nut in the Late Period Tombs of the Asasif Necropolis: With a Focus on the Decorative Layout in the Tombs of Padiamenope (TT 33) and Montuemhat (TT 34)* 162

Mareike Wagner

*New Research in the Tomb of Ibi (TT 36)* 177

### **Part C: West Bank**

Benoît Lurson, with a contribution by Franck Mourot

*From the Foundations to the Excavation: A Stratigraphy-based History of the Temple of Tuya* 193

Marta Kaczanowicz

*The Third Intermediate Period and Late Period Burials to the West of the South Asasif Necropolis: Polish Excavations in the Tombs MMA 1151 and 1152* 214

Gábor Schreiber

*The Reuse of New Kingdom Tombs during the Kushite/Saite Period: The Case of Theban Tomb -400-* 231

### **Part D: Luxor and Karnak**

Mostafa Waziry, Ahmed Araby, Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali

*Luxor Temple: The Conservation and Restoration of the Standing Colossus of Ramesses II in Front of the First Pylon of Luxor Temple* 247

Jérémy Hourdin

*The Kushite Kiosks of Karnak and Luxor: A Cross-over Study* 255

Laurent Coulon, Aleksandra Hallmann, Frédéric Payraudeau

*The Osirian Chapels at Karnak: An Historical and Art Historical Overview Based on Recent Fieldwork and Studies* 271

Essam Nagy

*The Chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-anhk: A Report on the Fourth Season of Work* 294

### **Part E: Art**

Eltayeb Abbas

*Iconography and Rituals in the Decorations of Bab el-Gusus Coffins: A Work in Progress* 307

Dietrich Wildung

*Afrikanisches in der ägyptischen Kunst?* 323

**Part F: Ceramics**

Stéphanie Boulet

*Ceramic Industry Developments in the Theban Area during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty: Between Traditions and Innovations* 335

Julia Budka

*Kushite Pottery in Egypt: An Update from Thebes and Abydos* 357

**Part G: Religion and Cults**

Cynthia May Sheikholeslami

*Montu Priests in Third Intermediate Period Thebes* 375

Angelika Lohwasser, Meike Becker, Anke Ilona Blöbaum

*Relationship between Religion and Politics in First Millennium BC Thebes: A Case Study on the Original Location of the Triumphal Stela of Piankhy* 394

## Abbreviations

Abbreviations follow the standard used by the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO). MATHIEU, B. *Abréviations des périodiques et collections en usage à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, 6th ed (Cairo: Divers 4, 2017) Available from <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/uploads/publications/enligne/IF1098.pdf>

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
AAALiv	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament: Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments
AAWB	Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
Achet	Achet: Schriften zur Ägyptologie
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo
AegHelv	Aegyptiaca Helvetica
AegLeod	Aegyptiaca leodiensia
AegMonast	Aegyptiaca monasteriensia
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen
AHAW	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
Ä&L	<i>Ägypten und Levante. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete</i>
ÄMPB	Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin
AnOr	Analecta orientalia
AOB	Analecta orientalia belgica
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
ASEg	Archaeological Survey of Egypt
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo
BAÄ	Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten
BABA	Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde
BACE	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
BAR-IS	British Archaeological Reports (International Series)
BCE	<i>Bulletin de liaison du Groupe international d'étude de la céramique égyptienne</i>
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'étude
BeitrÄg	Beiträge zur Ägyptologie
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
BESud	Brown Egyptological Studies
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca orientalis</i>
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
BMOP	British Museum Occasional Papers
BMSAES	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>
BollSer	Bollingen Series
Boreas	Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations
BSF	Beiträge zur Sudanforschung, Beiheft
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i>
BSGA	Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology
CAENL	Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant
CahKarn	<i>Cahiers de Karnak</i>
CCE	<i>Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne</i>
CCE (S)	<i>Cahiers caribéens d'égyptologie</i>

CCEM	Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean
<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CEA	Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne
CENiM	Cahiers de l'Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne
CGC	Catalogue général des du Musée du Caire
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CNIP	The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near East Studies, Publications
<i>CRIPEL</i>	<i>Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille</i>
CSEG	Cahiers de la Société d'égyptologie de Genève
<i>CT</i>	DE BUCK, A., <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> , 7 vols. (Chicago: OIP 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, 87, 1935–1961).
<i>CTA</i>	<i>Les Cahiers techniques de l'art</i>
D3T	Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives
<i>DE</i>	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>
<i>Description</i>	COMMISSION DES MONUMENTS D'ÉGYPTE, <i>Description de l'Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'Armée française</i> (Antiquités) 9 vols (Paris, 1809–1822).
DÖAW	Denkschriften der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>EA</i>	<i>Egyptian Archaeology: The Bulletin of the Egyptian Exploration Society</i>
EgMem	Egyptological Memoirs
EgUit	Egyptologische Uitgaven
<i>EAO</i>	<i>Egypte. Afrique et Orient</i>
<i>Enchoria</i>	<i>Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie</i>
<i>ENiM</i>	<i>Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne</i>
ERA	Egyptian Research Account
ERTR	Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations
EtudEg	Études d'égyptologie
<i>ÉtudTrav</i>	<i>Études et travaux: Travaux du Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie polonaise des sciences</i>
<i>EVO</i>	<i>Egitto e Vicino Oriente</i>
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
<i>Geneva</i>	<i>Geneva, nouvelle série</i>
GHPE	Golden House Publications: Egyptology
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miscellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion</i>
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen
HAT	Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches
HbOr	Handbuch der Orientalistik
<i>HistArch</i>	<i>Histoire et archéologie. Les Dossiers</i>
IBAES	Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie
IcRel	Iconography of Religions
<i>JACF</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum</i>
<i>JANER</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JSSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society of the Studies of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
<i>JWIS</i>	JANSEN-WINKELN, K., <i>Inschriften der Spätzeit</i> , 4 vols (Wiesbaden: 2007–2014).
<i>Kêmi</i>	<i>Kêmi: Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes</i>
<i>KRI</i>	KITCHEN, K.A., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical</i> , 8 vols (Oxford, 1968–1991).
<i>Kyphi</i>	<i>Kyphi. Bulletin du Cercle lyonnais d'égyptologie Victor Loret</i>

## ABBREVIATIONS

LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
LD	LEPSIUS, K.R., <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien: nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition</i> , 6 vols (Berlin, (1849–1859).
LD Text	LEPSIUS, K.R., <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, Text herausgegeben von Eduard Naville</i> , 5 vols (Leipzig, 1897–1913).
LGG	C. LEITZ, D. BUDDE, P. DILS, L. GOLDBRUNNER, D. MENDEL, F. FÖRSTER, D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN, B. VENTKER (eds.). (2002–2003). <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> , 8 vols (Leuven: OLA 110–116, 129, 2002–2003).
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
MEEF	Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund
MEES	Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society
Memnonia	<i>Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum</i>
Memnonia. CS	Memnonia. Cahier Supplémentaire
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
MittSAG	<i>Der Antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i>
MMAES	Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Studies
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
MonAeg	Monumenta aegyptiaca
MRE	Monographies Reine Élisabeth
OA	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications
OIMP	Oriental Institute Museum Publications
OINE	Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
Op. Ath.	<i>Opuscula Athenensia</i>
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike. Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient
OUEN	Oxford University Excavations in Nubia
PalHiero	Paléographie hiéroglyphique
PALMA-Eg	PALMA. Papers on Archeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities. Egyptology
PAM	<i>Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean</i>
PAM Supplement	Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Supplement Series
PdÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
P.L.Bat.	Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava
PM I/1 <sup>2</sup>	PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I: The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1960).
PM I/2 <sup>2</sup>	PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I: The Theban Necropolis, Part 2: Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1964).
PM II <sup>2</sup>	PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings II: Theban Temples</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1972).
PM III/2 <sup>2</sup>	PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings III: Memphis, Part 2: Šaqqâra to Dahshûr</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1981).
PM VII	PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings VII: Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt</i> (Oxford, 1951).

PMMA	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
<i>PN</i>	RANKE, H., <i>Die ägyptischen Personennamen</i> , 3 vols (Glückstadt, 1935–1952).
PT	SETHE, K.H., <i>Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums</i> , 4 vols (Leipzig, 1908–1922).
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen
RAPH	Recherches d'archéologie, d'philologie et d'histoire
<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>
<i>RLMF</i>	<i>Revue du Louvre et des musées de France</i>
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
SAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SARS Publication	Sudan Archaeological Research Society Publication
SASAE	Suppléments aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
SAT	Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch
SDAIK	Sonderschrift des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
ShirEgypt	Shire Egyptology
<i>Sokar</i>	<i>Sokar. Die Welt der Pyramiden</i>
SRAT	Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel
<i>ŚSA</i>	<i>Śląskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne</i>
SSR	Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion
StudEgypt	Studies in Egyptology
<i>SudNub</i>	<i>Sudan &amp; Nubia</i>
TbT	Totenbuchttexte
<i>TrabEg</i>	<i>Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt</i>
TTS	Theban Tombs Series
<i>UEE</i>	<i>UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology</i>
<i>Urk. IV</i>	SETHE, K.H., H.W. HELCK, <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> (Leipzig, Berlin: Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, 1906–1958).
USE	Uppsala Studies in Egyptology
UZK	Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes
<i>VicOr</i>	<i>Vicino Oriente. Annuario del Dipartimento di scienze storiche archeologiche e antropologiche dell'Antichità</i>
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>Wb</i>	ERMAN, A., H. GRAPOW, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 7 vols (Leipzig, 1926–1963).
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>ZÄS Beiheft</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde – Beiheft</i>
ZBA	Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie

## List of Contributors

Eltayeb Abbas: Minya University, Egypt  
Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali: Ministry of Antiquities, Egypt; South Asasif Conservation Project  
Ahmed Araby: Ministry of Antiquities, Egypt  
Meike Becker: Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Germany  
John Billman: Thames Valley Ancient Egypt Society, UK; South Asasif Conservation Project  
Anke Ilona Blöbaum: Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Germany  
Stéphanie Boulet: Université Paul Valéry Montpellier 3; LabEx Archimède, France  
Julia Budka: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Germany; South Asasif Conservation Project  
Laurent Coulon: EPHE, PSL Research University, EA 4519, Paris, France  
Silvia Einaudi: École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France  
Louise Gestermann: Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany; Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Germany  
Farouk Gomaà: Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany  
Kenneth Griffin: Swansea University, UK; South Asasif Conservation Project  
Erhart Graefe: Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Germany; South Asasif Conservation Project  
Aleksandra Hallmann: Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences; Oriental Institute, Chicago, USA.  
Jérémy Hourdin: CNRS, USR 3172; CFEETK; LabEx Archimède, France  
Marta Kaczanowicz: Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland  
Angelika Lohwasser: Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Germany  
Benoît Lurson: Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium; Universität Leipzig, Germany  
Miguel Á. Molinero Polo: Universidad de La Laguna, Tenerife, Spain; South Asasif Conservation Project  
Franck Mourot: Archéologue, attaché de conservation du patrimoine. Chef des services culturels de la ville de Bar-le-Duc, France  
Essam Nagy: The Egypt Exploration Society, Egypt; Ministry of Antiquities, Egypt; Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Germany  
Frédéric Payraudeau: Université Paris-Sorbonne, UMR 8167, Paris, France  
Elena Pischikova: South Asasif Conservation Project; American University in Cairo, Egypt  
Isabelle Régen: Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier, France  
Andrea Rodríguez Valls: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain; South Asasif Conservation Project  
Gábor Schreiber: Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary  
Cynthia May Sheikholeslami: Independent Scholar, Cairo, Egypt  
Claude Traunecker: Université de Strasbourg, UMR 7044, France  
Mareike Wagner: Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany  
Mostafa Waziry: Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Egypt  
Dietrich Wildung: Naga Project, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst München, Germany

# The Kushite Kiosks of Karnak and Luxor: A Cross-over Study

Jérémy Hourdin

## Abstract

The sandstone kiosk built in the open court of the great temple of Amun at Karnak is one of the characteristic monuments of the architectural program of Taharqo. It is composed of two rows of five columns, which are connected by low intercolumnar screen walls and four doors. The names of Taharqo were usurped by Psamtik II, while some parts of the kiosk decoration and structure were modified during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator.

The construction of the kiosk of Taharqo follows on from the works of Shabaqo in the main Theban temples. In the early 1950s, the discovery of column drums at Luxor Temple were attributed to a ‘colonnade’ of Shabaqo, although it would later be identified as a kiosk by van Siclen III and Loeben. Its decoration can be determined thanks to a number of blocks reused in the gates of the Roman Fortress at Luxor Temple.

Both of these kiosks have many similarities with regard to their decorative programme, particularly the friezes of prisoners on the main doors. With the cross-over study of these monuments, we can analyse an aspect of the construction programmes of Kushite kings in the Theban region. The kiosks fall within the development of the Theban processions and the display of a Kushite imperialist discourse inspired by models of the New Kingdom.

## Introduction

The kiosk built in the first court of Karnak Temple is an emblematic construction of the Kushite Period in Thebes. If the decoration of this monument had been executed during the reign of Taharqo, it was clearly modified on numerous occasions: Firstly, with the usurpation of the Kushite constructions by the Saite pharaoh Psamtik II and, secondly, during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator.<sup>1</sup>

The kiosk of Karnak<sup>2</sup> is one of the many columned monuments built in the Theban area during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.<sup>3</sup> However, a distinction has to be made between this kiosk and the buildings named by Leclant ‘colonnades propylées’ in Karnak (Eastern Temple and Khonsu Temple), Karnak-North (Montu Temple), and also in the precinct of the Mut Temple.<sup>4</sup> The structure and functions of these monuments are different. The kiosk is notably composed of only two rows of five columns, as opposed to four rows of five (or six) columns for the ‘colonnades propylées’. Moreover, the kiosk is not directly attached to the temple entrance: it is a separate and a semi-independent construction whereas the ‘colonnades propylées’ are extensions of the temples.

The study of the Taharqo kiosk should not be isolated from that of the older monument of Shabaqo in front of Luxor Temple. Indeed, the discovery of several blocks in different Roman structures at Luxor Tem-

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<sup>1</sup> This study is part of the project dealing with the publication of the Taharqo kiosk led by R. Preys (UNamur-KU Leuven) and M. Broze (ULB). This paper presents one aspect of my PhD, which was defended in January 2016: *Des Pharaons kouchites aux Pharaons saïtes: identités, enjeux et pouvoir dans l'Égypte du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.*, under the supervision of Prof. D. Devauchelle (University Lille 3).

<sup>2</sup> The Kiosk of Taharqo (KIU 2577) 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 Archimède. References to the monuments of Karnak are given with their **KIU** numbers (**K**arnak **I**dentifiant **U**nique), which allows to access the full entries (hieroglyphic texts, photographs, bibliographical references, etc.) from the Karnak P, available at: <http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak>.

<sup>3</sup> For the Kushite columned monuments inside the enclosure of Karnak, see LAROCHE-TRAUNECKER, *CahKarnak* 16 (2017).

<sup>4</sup> The colonnade of the Eastern Temple in Karnak (KIU 1131): LECLANT, *BIFAO* 53 (1953), 113–72. The colonnade of Khonsu Temple: LAROCHE-TRAUNECKER, *CahKarnak* 7 (1982), 318–25. The colonnade of Karnak-North: BARGUET, LECLANT, *Karnak-Nord* IV, 68–105. The colonnade of Mut Temple: FAZZINI, in FAZZINI, VAN DIJK (eds.), *The First Pylon of the Mut Temple*, 7–8. For the ‘colonnades propylées’, see LECLANT, *Recherches*, 200–16; LECLANT, *CTA* 10 (1957), 27–45.

ple allowed for the identification of a colonnade decorated in the name of this pharaoh, which was probably also a kiosk. In this paper, I would like to underline the architectural and decorative problems concerning the two Kushite kiosks in Thebes.

### The Kiosk of Taharqo in Karnak

The kiosk of Karnak has a simple rectangular plan measuring 29 x 20.5 m with two rows of five open papyrus columns.<sup>5</sup> It is oriented along the main axis of the Karnak temple—from west to east—and had two main entrances. The first western Kushite gateway is still partially preserved whereas the second, the eastern, was rebuilt in the Ptolemaic Period and is now dismantled.<sup>6</sup> At the north and south, two ‘secondary’ doors are fitted between the second and third columns of each row. The remaining spaces between the columns are filled with intercolumnar screen walls, which are only well preserved for the northern part.

This kiosk also differs from other buildings of Taharqo by the monumental scale of its columns. In the Great Court, the last preserved column peaks at 19.75 m,<sup>7</sup> almost as high as the central columns of the Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak. In comparison, the Taharqo columns of the Eastern Temple peak at 9.65 m.<sup>8</sup> This difference can be explained by the respective nature of these buildings and probably by the size of the structures around the kiosk: the huge size of the Second Pylon of Karnak (14.5 x 99.88 m),<sup>9</sup> the columns of the Great Hypostyle Hall, and scale of the Bubastite forecourt.

#### *The Phases of Work on the Kiosk of Karnak*

After the reign of Taharqo, two different phases of work on the kiosk are clearly identifiable. Firstly, as with many Kushite monuments in Egypt, the royal names of Taharqo were almost all erased and usurped by Psamtik II during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.<sup>10</sup>

The kiosk was also heavily marked by the work of Ptolemy IV Philopator, whose names were inscribed on restored parts of the kiosk or on strategic locations. Unlike Psamtik II, the substitution of the older name by the ones of Ptolemy is not a systematic (or almost) usurpation. On the lower frieze of names, on the south-western preserved column, his names are only located on the northern side, which is the side of the eastern gate rebuilt during his reign. The other Saite names on the columns were not usurped even if they were accessible. Ptolemy’s names were also engraved on the abacus of the same column, on a part visible from a distance but hardly accessible.<sup>11</sup>

The decoration of the northern and southern intercolumnar screen walls dates from the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator. Those in the northern part are the best preserved. Inside the kiosk, a geographical procession with the first seven nomes of Lower Egypt is led by the king in front of the goddess Waset.<sup>12</sup> However, it should be noted that some of the outer faces of the walls are also decorated; it seems that it is

<sup>5</sup> See, in particular, the study of LAUFFRAY, *Kémi* 20 (1970), 111–64.

<sup>6</sup> THIERS, *CahKarnak* 14 (2013), 472–6.

<sup>7</sup> Several other columns of the kiosk lay on the ground until 1860. See AZIM, in GABOLDE (ed.), *Hommages*, 43–4.

<sup>8</sup> LAROCHE-TRAUNECKER, *CahKarnak* 16 (2017); ‘la hauteur totale est légèrement supérieure à 9 m. 50’ in LECLANT, *BIFAO* 53 (1953), 159.

<sup>9</sup> CARLOTTI, *CahKarnak* 10 (1995), 84.

<sup>10</sup> The hypothesis of a *damnatio memoriae* of the Kushite kings under Psamtik II (widely accepted since YOYOTTE, *RdE* 8 (1951), 215–39) has recently been discussed controversially by KOCH, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 396–413, and JANSEN-WINKELN, in LIPPERT, SCHENTULEIT, STADLER (eds.), *Sapientia Felicitas*, 279–80.

<sup>11</sup> There is no evidence concerning previous Kushite or Saite names on the abaci of the kiosk. At Karnak-North, some abaci of Taharqo’s colonnade were inscribed (BARGUET, LECLANT, *Karnak-Nord* IV, 105) whereas there is no inscription on the two preserved abaci of the eastern colonnade at Karnak. LECLANT, *BIFAO* 53 (1953), 164.

<sup>12</sup> Above the geographical procession, Ptolemaic scenes were also carved, although they are almost entirely lost. For traces of writing of an annals scene, see PREYS, in ZIVIE-COCHE (ed.), *Offrandes, rites et rituels*, 155, 181, fig. 7.

also a Ptolemaic representation of Egyptian regions.<sup>13</sup> Due to the state of preservation, it is not possible to know if these screen walls had already been decorated during the reign of Taharqo, as was the case for the different ‘colonnades propylées’ of this king.<sup>14</sup>

### *The Western Gate of the Kiosk*

The different phases of intervention in the western gateway are more difficult to establish. This part of the monument is preserved to a maximum height of 1.67 m in its northern part. The decoration of the external façade dates to the reign of Taharqo. However, the inside part has been modified on several occasions. Originally, the entrance was not composed of two massive structures, but by walls that formed two niches inside the kiosk that had subsequently been closed. This is clearly visible on the south side where we can still partially see the Kushite decoration with a procession of gods inside the structure (fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Previous Kushite decoration of the western gateway's south inside part (author's photo)

The two newly formed walls received decoration that can still be seen on the northern part (fig. 2). These new reliefs, with three fecundity figures, must be distinguished from those of the left. The first two figures may date from the reign of Taharqo according to the style of the carving. However, the three new figures—Hetepu, Djefau, and Shepesu—have a different style and nature.

The decoration of this new part of the kiosk is problematic. In the inscriptions of these three fecundity figures, we can read only one royal name very partially preserved: [Ptwl]mys[-*nh-dt*]-mr(y)-3st, which is the name of Ptolemy IV Philopator. However, the style of the writing and of the carving of the deities clearly differs from the decoration of the intercolumnar screen walls of this king. Moreover, the nature of the group of fecundity figures differs from the northern geographical procession led by the pharaoh.<sup>15</sup> It is possible that these three other divinities of the western door do not date from this reign but precede it. The names of Ptolemy IV could only have been added over a previous inscription.

<sup>13</sup> KIU 6478-6483. Some loose blocks published by Thiers probably come from the southern intercolumnar south walls decorated by Ptolemy IV Philopator. See blocks 84CL317 and 94CL1241 published in THIERS, *CahKarnak* 14 (2013), 472.

<sup>14</sup> For Lauffray, the intercolumnar screen walls have not been worked by Taharqo. See LAUFFRAY, *Kêmi* 20 (1970), 148–9. For the Shabaqo kiosk at Luxor, two blocks could come from screen walls (blocks 14 and 15 of Gate II) but we cannot establish a parallel with the Taharqo kiosk through only these elements. See EL-SAGHIR *et al.*, *Le camp romain*, 45, 54.

<sup>15</sup> These three gods can follow the Nile god Hapi, like in the chapel of Osiris Neb-anh/pa-wesheb-iad (KIU 1572, 425-427; COULON, in RICKERT, VENTKER (eds.), *Altägyptische Enzyklopädien*, 979, 981, 984, pl. 12b).



Fig. 2: Decoration of the western gateway's north inside part (author's photo)

Two names of Taharqo were not erased on the first northern column—one on the lower frieze and the second one on the south scene in which the king's double *uraeus* is also intact (fig. 3)<sup>16</sup>—while they have been erased and carved again on the rest of this column. If we imagine the structure of the northern massif of the gate, it can be noticed that these Kushite names and double *uraeus* in question would have been hidden. The fact that they were not defaced suggests that they were already inaccessible during the reign of Psamtik II.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the architectural modification of the interior part of the western gateway should be dated between the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and the usurpation of the monument under Psamtik II. It was then decorated at an unknown moment. The names of Ptolemy may have been carved during a third phase,<sup>18</sup> perhaps at the same time as the new decoration of the intercolumnar screen walls and the kiosk.<sup>19</sup>

### *Blocks from the Kiosk of Taharqo*

Many blocks from the kiosk were discovered by the Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (CFEETK) around the monument during the excavations for the Sound and Light at Karnak. Unlike the northern gate, the now destroyed south one had been rebuilt, probably during the Ptolemaic Period. Inside its sandstone foundation, reused Kushite blocks of the original gate were also discovered. Through them, and with the parallel of the Taharqo's north gate partially preserved, it is possible to have an idea of the Kushite decoration of this part of the kiosk. A first presentation of this decoration has been proposed, but no photography of the reused blocks has been published thus far.<sup>20</sup> With the archives of the CFEETK, it will be possible to refine this reconstruction in a later publication.

<sup>16</sup> KIU 6033, 6029. For the north scene of Taharqo usurped by Psamtik II, see KIU 6030.

<sup>17</sup> Koch noticed that, on the southern preserved column, 'the names of Taharqo and Psamtek II [are] side by side'. KOCH, in PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds), *Thebes in the First Millennium*, 403. However, there is only one name of Taharqo not erased (against four names of Psamtik II, see KIU 6076), which is the one less easily accessible. The other Kushite names in the two scenes and in the lower frieze of titulary are all usurped.

<sup>18</sup> The western gateway was also restored maybe during Ptolemaic times. It is especially visible on the northern side of the passage that is partially reconstructed with blocks without decoration whereas it has been decorated during the Kushite Period (we can still read *phw* above the offering platter of the god Hapi: KIU 6072).

<sup>19</sup> The inner side of the north-western column had probably been restored in antiquity (it is clearly visible on the photo CFEETK nr. 96396). The damaged part (perhaps because of a fire) was repaired with small blocks. This restoration is later because it does not concern the part of the column hidden by the filling of the western gateway's north niche.

<sup>20</sup> LAUFFRAY, *CahKarnak* 3 (1970), 145; SAAD, TRAUNECKER, *Kémi* 20 (1970), 180–2.





Fig. 3: First northern column, localisation of Taharqo's intact names and *uraeus* (author's photo)

Among the loose blocks, three, easily identifiable, have a similar decoration to the lists of prisoners engraved on the western façade of the kiosk (fig. 4). Concerning the northern part of this façade, the reliefs of the lower section are relatively well preserved. The right side, representing the left doorjamb of the gate, is decorated with two figures of Hapi moving towards the interior of the kiosk. The most important part of the façade is decorated with two lines of prisoners. Leclant and Lauffray dated it to the Ptolemaic and the Saite Periods,<sup>21</sup> but these reliefs were more probably engraved under the reign of Taharqo. The identification of the prisoner lists in Luxor, dating from the reign of Shabaqo, supports this Kushite dating. If the southern part of the western gateway is badly preserved, the visible elements of the prisoner lists allow us to see that the north was dedicated to Asia and the South to Africa, a classic organisation in Egyptian temples. Each part was decorated with two sets of sixteen prisoners, differently oriented: the first three in the opposite direction to the central gate and the other thirteen in the other direction. This organisation reflects in fact the scenes that have been engraved above these prisoner lists: the first ones follow the direction of Amun and the second ones the direction of the pharaoh smiting his foes in front of the god.<sup>22</sup>



Fig. 4: Western façade of the kiosk of Taharqo, north part (© CFEETK/CNRS, E. Saubestre)

The three loose blocks belong to the African lists of Taharqo. On the first one (fig. 5), names of the southern peoples are partly preserved and written to the left. Like all the prisoners on the kiosk of Taharqo, this sequence corresponds to the African lists of Thutmose III, which are engraved on the Sixth and Seventh pylons<sup>23</sup> of Karnak, here the peoples 9 and 10.<sup>24</sup>

<b>Taharqo</b> (←)		
	[Br]brt	[Tk]rw
<b>Thutmose III</b>	Nr. 9	Nr. 10

Block 1: African List

<sup>21</sup> LAUFFRAY, *Kémi* 20 (1970), 151; LECLANT, *Recherches*, 14 (§4.B).

<sup>22</sup> KITCHEN, in BRAND, COOPER (eds.), *Causing His Name to Live*, 128–9.

<sup>23</sup> Sixth Pylon of Karnak Temple: KIU 3437; Seventh Pylon: KIU 2026. The decoration of the Seventh Pylon in Karnak is currently being studied by C. Labarta (CNRS-CFEETK, LabEx Archimede).

<sup>24</sup> *Urk.* IV, 796, 11–3.



Fig. 5: Block 1 (© CFEETK/CNRS, E. Saubestre)

The second block (fig. 6) gives us the prisoners 55 to 59<sup>25</sup> facing right.

<b>Taharqo (→)</b>					
	<i>Hm[r]t[t]</i>	<i>Mb[t]</i>	<i>Mm̄t</i>	<i>J̄d[m]</i>	<i>ḥ[hr]</i>
<b>Thutmose III</b>	Nr. 59	Nr. 58	Nr. 57	Nr. 56	Nr. 55




Block 2: African List



Fig. 6: Block 2 (© CFEETK/CNRS, E. Saubestre)

<sup>25</sup> *Urk.* IV, 798, 4–11; parallel of Shabaqo list: FAKHRY, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 53–4 (figs. 12–3).

The third block (fig. 7) gives us the prisoners 73 to 75, mirroring those on the southern list of Thutmose III.<sup>26</sup>

<b>Taharqo (→)</b>			
	<i>M3[t]</i>	<i>J[ft]</i>	<i>J[33]</i>
<b>Thutmose III</b>	Nr. 75	Nr. 74	Nr. 73

Block 3: African List



Fig. 7: Block 3 (© CFEETK/CNRS, E. Saubestre)

Blocks 2 and 3 are of particular interest because of the orientation of the prisoners. They both face right whereas, on the south part of the western gateway, most of the African people face left, except the first three. On block 2, five prisoners are facing right, so this one cannot belong to the western gateway. On the southern list of this gateway, only four people of the second line are partially preserved, they correspond to the prisoners 76 to 78 and 11 of Thutmose III.<sup>27</sup> If, on the block 3, we have the prisoners 73 to 75, the two sequences cannot be adjoining because, for the prisoners of the western entrance, the arms of the previous one—certainly that of number 75—are still preserved. It is quite unlikely that the same name was used twice in the same list. Therefore, block 3 also comes from another list of Taharqo. If these elements belonged to another part of the kiosk,<sup>28</sup> they probably come from the eastern Kushite gateway dismantled after the work of Ptolemy IV Philopator.

<sup>26</sup> *Urk.* IV, 799, 13–7; parallel of Shabaqo list: FAKHRY, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 55 (fig. 16).

<sup>27</sup> KIU 3707.

<sup>28</sup> Block 1 possibly comes from the same second African list of Taharqo because of the orientation of the prisoners. Indeed, in the parallel southern list of Shabaqo at Luxor, studied by FAKHRY, *ASAE* 51 (1937), 51–7, we can only replace prisoners 9 and 10 in the left part of the upper line (that is the side of the divinity). For the people names of Shabaqo, see n. 40 below.

The Asian and African lists of Taharqo are partial copies of those of Thutmose III at Karnak. However, it is not the first copy by the Kushite kings. Indeed, a direct parallel can be found at Luxor with the kiosk of Shabaqo. One example illustrates the similarity of the African lists. The same sequence of prisoners 73 to 78 immediately followed by prisoner 11 can be found at both Karnak and at Luxor.<sup>29</sup> For the Asian lists,<sup>30</sup> prisoners 50 to 51 are directly followed by prisoners 76 to 79 in both cases. The same selection from the lists of Thutmose III can therefore be found in both lists. Taharqo's lists of prisoners are in fact shorter versions of Shabaqo's.

### The Kiosk of Shabaqo in Luxor

The kiosk of Karnak is not the first monument of this type built by a Kushite king in Thebes. The so-called colonnade built by Shabaqo at Luxor Temple was probably also a kiosk, most likely located in the forecourt, directly in front of the Ramesside pylon.<sup>31</sup>

Many sandstone column drums were discovered in the Roman pavement of Room V at Luxor Temple, the Imperial Cult Chamber.<sup>32</sup> The decoration of these blocks has a typology quite close to the columns of Taharqo at Karnak, while the names of Shabaqo can still be read in a few erased cartouches (figs. 8–9). Granite blocks have also been reused with these column drums; they can still be seen in the Roman pavement. Leclant associated them with the same colonnade because of the comparison with the granite pavements of Taharqo's colonnades.<sup>33</sup>



Fig. 8: Column drum of Shabaqo, Luxor Temple (author's photo, courtesy of the Epigraphic Survey/Chicago House, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

<sup>29</sup> FAKHRY, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 55–6, fig. 16.

<sup>30</sup> FAKHRY, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 47–9, fig. 6; SIMONS, *Handbook*, 127–8 (with Ptolemaic date).

<sup>31</sup> VAN SICLEN III, *VA* 6: 3 (1990); 'Einer Kolonnade oder eines Kioskes' in *JWIS* III, 12 (46.26).

<sup>32</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 302, 321; HEIDEL, JOHNSON, in JONES, MACFADDEN (eds.), *Art of Empire*, 41; LECLANT, *Orientalia* 20 (1951), 456–7, pl. 48–9, figs. 6–7.

<sup>33</sup> LECLANT, *Recherches*, 139.



Fig. 9: Column drum of Shabaqo, Luxor Temple (author's photo, courtesy of the Epigraphic Survey/Chicago House, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

A second set of blocks comes from the sandstone gates of the Roman Fortress, more precisely, gates II and IV (and few from the Gate I), which are located around the forecourt of Luxor temple. These blocks were published in 1986 in *Le camp romain de Louqsor* and have been divided into three groups by the publishers.<sup>34</sup> The first one was dated to the reign of Shabaqo by his names, with 'the passage of the pylon', which was decorated by this Kushite king,<sup>35</sup> proposed as its provenance. A second group, already partially published by Fakhry,<sup>36</sup> corresponds to a 'monument aux frises de Nils et de prisonniers', which had a 'late datation' or 'probablement de la XXV<sup>e</sup> dynastie'.<sup>37</sup> A last group of blocks perhaps comes from another late monument. In my opinion, all these elements could come from a single monument: a kiosk of Shabaqo.<sup>38</sup>

### *The Identification of the Kiosk by van Siclen III*

Following the publication of the blocks of the Roman Fortress, and based on the theory of a colonnade of Shabaqo by Leclant, van Siclen III proposed a partial reconstruction of this monument. He has been able to reconstruct a right doorjamb belonging to a gate of Shabaqo, which was composed of two representations of the king with Amun and Mut. He associated these door blocks with the lists of prisoners reused in the Roman gates in order to reconstruct the façade of a colonnade.<sup>39</sup> Additionally, he made two successive proposals of the architectural reconstruction of the monument. After a first proposal, based on the 'colonnades propylées'

<sup>34</sup> EL-SAGHIR *et al.*, *Le camp romain*.

<sup>35</sup> JWIS III, 14–7 (46.27).

<sup>36</sup> FAKHRY, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 39–57.

<sup>37</sup> EL-SAGHIR, *HistArch* 101 (1986), 79; with a proposition of location to the north-east of the temple, near Gate IV of the Roman Fortress.

<sup>38</sup> The hypothesis of a kiosk of Shabaqo is also accepted by HEIDEL, JOHNSON, in JONES, MACFADDEN (eds.), *Art of Empire*, 50–2.

<sup>39</sup> VAN SICLEN III, *VA* 3:2 (1987), 161–4.

of Taharqo in Thebes, in 1990 he identified this monument as a kiosk that has been built in the open court in front of the Luxor Temple.

Indeed, the blocks of the Roman Fortress allow for a reconstruction of two lists of prisoners—one from Asia and one from Africa—oriented face to face. These blocks were first studied by Fakhry.<sup>40</sup> Another element with the same type of decoration was also reused during the Roman Period inset into the western part of the pylon of Luxor.<sup>41</sup> The two lines of prisoners belong to a list of African people (but with Asiatic heads). However, the sequences of names do not fit with the previous southern list.<sup>42</sup> Based on this observation, van Siclen III proposed that this block would come from a different façade with a similar decoration. Therefore, the colonnade of Shabaqo would not have one main entrance, but probably two. This possibility has been previously observed with the kiosk of Karnak in this paper: the prisoners of the loose blocks probably come from a second gateway with a similar decoration.

This conclusion by van Siclen III is reinforced by the granite pavement discovered during the excavations in the centre of the forecourt of Luxor during the late 1950s.<sup>43</sup> The granite blocks reused inside the temple, in the Roman Chapel (with the column drums of Shabaqo) could come from this incomplete pavement. The length of the Luxor pavement can be compared with the one of Taharqo's kiosk in Karnak, measuring about 29 m in length and composed mainly of granite blocks.<sup>44</sup> These similarities in the two forecourts of the temples of Karnak and Luxor cannot be a simple coincidence. Leclant already underlined the parallel between these pavements in Luxor and Karnak.<sup>45</sup>

The hypothesis concerning a kiosk of Shabaqo at Luxor by van Siclen III, therefore, seems likely. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen if Shabaqo's kiosk had a plan similar to the monument of Taharqo in Karnak. It is also important to take into account the chronology of these monuments. The Kushite architectural programme of the Theban kiosks began under the reign of Shabaqo, probably in accordance with the Theban religious processions.

### *The Identification of a Smiting Scene of Shabaqo*

Some blocks reused inside the doors of the Roman Fortress can improve our knowledge of the decoration of the kiosk of Shabaqo, as well as the one of Taharqo. Actually, the prisoner lists of the Karnak and Luxor kiosks are a strong indication to reconstruct the scene engraved above the lists of prisoners.

The inscription of Shabaqo's Asian prisoners is a characteristic legend commonly found in the temples of Thebes.<sup>46</sup> It describes the act of the king bringing his defeated enemies and their tributes to his father Amun-Re.<sup>47</sup> Generally, those lists and the legend are surmounted by a scene showing a king smiting his foes in front of Amun-Re. At Luxor, several blocks reused in the Roman gates confirm this hypothesis.

<sup>40</sup> Nine blocks with southerners, studied by Fakhry, fit together and allow to reconstruct two lines of prisoners: the first one with African names (51 to 67, facing left) and Asian heads, and the second (nrs. 14–16, facing right, and 71, 73–78, 11–12, 81–85, 88, 90–94) with Nubian head. Fakhry, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 51–7. The same difference of heads can probably be recognised in the African lists of Karnak.

<sup>41</sup> VAN SICLEN III, *VA* 6: 3 (1990), 177–9, fig. 2.

<sup>42</sup> On the block inside the pylon, we appear to have the southern peoples 63 to 69 in the first line, and in the second line, perhaps the peoples 86 to 88 (?). The superposition of the two lines is similar to the previous African list that already contains these people names.

<sup>43</sup> Pavement is described in LECLANT, *Orientalia* 20 (1951), 455; VAN SICLEN III, *VA* 6: 3 (1990), 179.

<sup>44</sup> According to Lauffray, the granite pavement of the Taharqo kiosk would be a late renovation. LAUFFRAY, *CahKarnak* 3 (1970), 141. This does not affect the comparison between the monuments. Moreover, the Kushite pavement at Karnak was perhaps already composed of granite blocks and completed during the Ptolemaic renovation of the Eastern Gateway. See LAROCHE-TRAUNECKER, *CahKarnak* 7 (1982), 324.

<sup>45</sup> See above n. 33.

<sup>46</sup> JWIS III, 12; VAN SICLEN III, *VA* 3:2 (1987), 163, fig. 5.

<sup>47</sup> For examples of New Kingdom, see *Urk.* IV, 780, 795–6.

The first one is the block 27 from Gate II.<sup>48</sup> The inscription contains two words, initially read as [...] *št3* *Stt* [...]. However, it likely mentions two regions: one ‘inaccessible’ (*št3*) and the second being ‘Asia’ (*Stt*), belonged to an inscription written on several columns (fig. 10).

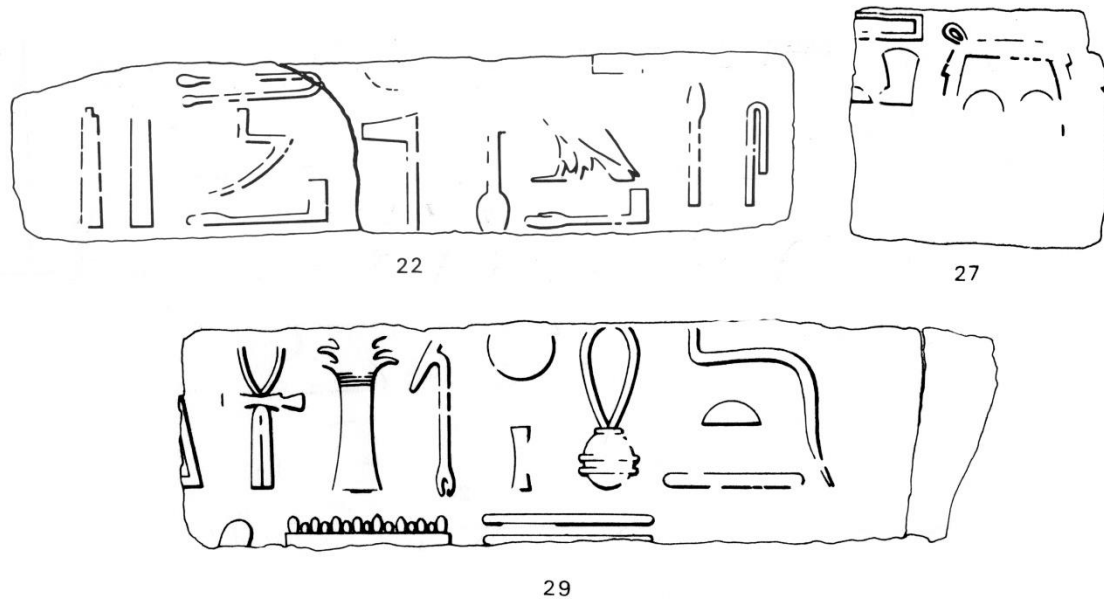


Fig. 10: Blocks 22, 27, and 29 from Gate II, Luxor Temple (EL-SAGHIR *et al.*, *Le camp romain*, 55–6 © IFAO)

Block 22 from Gate II has been dated to the reign of Nectanebo I because of the presence of the word *tm3-ꜥ*, which can be the Horus name of this king.<sup>49</sup> However, more generally, and probably here too, it is a recurrent epithet of the pharaohs especially associated with a smiting scene.<sup>50</sup> In the first column, given the context, it seems that the two *jwn* pillars can be read *Jwnty[w]*, the “Nomads”.

Block 29, from Gate II, provides the best evidence for the identification of a smiting scene of Shabaqo.<sup>51</sup> Because of the style, the publishers of the blocks from the Roman Fortress had clearly dated it to the reign of the Kushite king Shabaqo, although they did not identify the exact nature of the inscription. On the upper part, a classic formula *dj ꜥnh ꜥdd w3s mj Rꜥ dt* can be read. Below, it is not a second line, but the top of three columns of text: the hieroglyph *mn* and two signs *t3* are clearly readable. The inscription of the smiting scene of Taharqo at Medinet Habu provides a direct parallel.<sup>52</sup> The upper part of the second and third columns begin with the word *Mntyw* (for *Jwntyw-Mntyw*) and *t3w* (for *t3w nbw*) (fig. 11). Without doubt, we have at Luxor the same words and the same organisation of the scene. The hieroglyph fragment of the first column was in fact the hieroglyph *skr*, ‘to strike’. Therefore, the inscriptions refer to two distinct elements: above, the gift of life probably from a protective winged goddess over the king’s representation, and, below, the beginning of three columns of text with a similar organisation and content as in Medinet Habu. Block 27 from Gate II, with the words *št3* and *Stt*, corresponds to the lower part of an inscription from a similar, or maybe the same, smiting scene.

These blocks prove the existence of smiting scenes of Shabaqo, which were probably carved onto the façade of the kiosk at Luxor Temple, above the lists of Asian and African prisoners.

<sup>48</sup> EL-SAGHIR *et al.*, *Le camp romain*, 48, 56 (27). Gate II is to the west of the pylon, near the forecourt of the temple.

<sup>49</sup> EL-SAGHIR *et al.*, *Le camp romain*, 47, 55 (22).

<sup>50</sup> See especially the examples of the New Kingdom: HALL, *Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, figs. 28–72.

<sup>51</sup> EL-SAGHIR *et al.*, *Le camp romain*, 49, 56 (29).

<sup>52</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 465 (35); JWIS III, 117.



Fig. 11: Inscription of the Kushite smiting scene at Medinet Habu (photo: T. Fignon)

### *Smiting Scenes of Taharqo at Karnak*

Concerning the kiosk of Taharqo in Karnak, we have seen that the bottom of the western façade is also engraved with two lines of prisoners, which are shorter versions of the lists of Shabaqo. Based on the parallels of the New Kingdom and also of the Kushite dynasty at Luxor, it is very likely that two smiting scenes decorated the façade of the Karnak kiosk on each side of the central gateway.<sup>53</sup> The approximate size of the western scenes of Taharqo can be restored thanks to the traces of the walls on the first northern column studied by Lauffray (fig. 12).

### **Conclusion**

After this preliminary study concerning the Kushite kiosks at Karnak and Luxor, a systematic review of the blocks will be necessary to improve our knowledge of these two buildings, their architecture, decoration, and function(s). However, this first examination allows us to compare the constructions of Shabaqo and Taharqo.

The architectural work of Taharqo is in line with that of Shabaqo. This continuity was already visible at Medinet Habu where the king claimed to be completing the work of his predecessor.<sup>54</sup> We can even question

<sup>53</sup> According to Lauffray and the marks on the two eastern columns, the height of the eastern gate was lower. LAUFFRAY, *Kêmi* 20 (1970), 150–1. Thus, it was possibly not decorated by smiting scenes, unless these ones were smaller.

<sup>54</sup> For decoration and inscriptions of the Kushite pylon in Medinet Habu (with bibliography), see JWIS III, 17–8 (46.28), 115–8 (48.50). The works of the reign of Taharqo took place during the very first years; two stelae celebrating the construction of the enclosure wall are dated to year 3. DALLIBOR, *Taharqo*, 46–9. The continuity of the works under the reigns of Shabaqo and Taharqo is an element in favour of the hypothesis of a direct succession between these two

the origin of the large kiosk of Karnak: if the first step of the decoration clearly dates from the reign of Taharqo, the possibility that he was not the initiator of this construction cannot be fully excluded.

The decorative programme chosen for these two monuments of Karnak and Luxor is also of particular interest.<sup>55</sup> Very probably, the façades were decorated by representations of the triumphant king smiting his foes, as on the Kushite pylon at Medinet Habu.<sup>56</sup> This classic representation of the triumphant pharaoh could have a link with military actions of the Kushite kings in Asia. However, we have to be very cautious about the historical value of these reliefs based on New Kingdom models, especially of Thutmose III. Moreover, the main gateway of the Kushite kiosks formed new façades for these temples whose entrances have already been decorated with historical battle or also semi-symbolic Ramesside smiting scenes.<sup>57</sup>

Finally, the links between Medinet Habu and the kiosks are significant since the Small Temple of Djeme, which was extended during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty,<sup>58</sup> is directly associated with the temples of the East Bank, especially during the Theban processions.

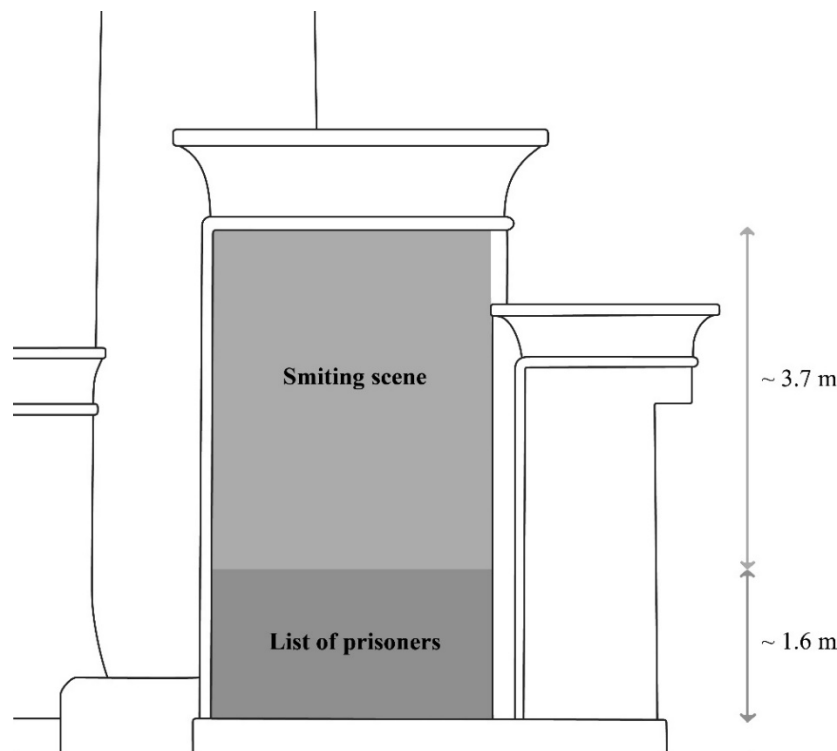


Fig. 1: Taharqo kiosk, reconstruction of the western façade (after LAUFFRAY, *Kémi* 20 (1970), 157, fig. 33).

Kushite kings. PAYRAUDEAU, *Nehet* 1 (2014), 125, n. 68. See now JURMAN (2017).

<sup>55</sup> For the reign of Taharqo, in Nubia, we can also mention the symmetrical smiting scenes in Sanam and Kawa, opposite to the famous and archaic representations of Taharqo as a griffin trampling his foes, which is engraved in the court in order to 'protect' the inside areas of the temples. GRIFFITH, *LAAA* 9 (1922), 105, pl. 41; MACADAM, *Kawa* II, pls. 9, 11. In Karnak, the smiting scene on the Kushite pylon of the Opet Temple (KIU 4131) could be dated to this reign, even if the representation of the king has possibly been carved again during the Ptolemaic Period (like the northern scene of the pylon's outer face, KIU 4130). AZIM, *CahKarnak* 8 (1987), 67, n. 107.

<sup>56</sup> In Medinet Habu, the Kushite smiting scenes were copied by Nectanebo I on the façade of his porch built in front of the pylon. HÖLSCHER, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu* II, 28, pl. 31. The decoration of the façade of this porch is probably similar to that of the Karnak and Luxor kiosks. The decoration of the intercolumnar screen walls of Nectanebo's porch is also directly inspired by the decorative program of Taharqo's colonnades in Karnak and Karnak-North (ongoing study by the author).

<sup>57</sup> For the smiting scene of Ramesses II and Ramesses VI on the second pylon at Karnak, see KIU 6731-6733; KITCHEN, *ZÄS* 96 (1969), 23-8, pl. 7. See also the smiting scenes on the pylon of the temple of Ramesses III next the kiosk of Taharqo: KIU 4325, 4328; THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon, Part I*, pls. 2, 4-5.

<sup>58</sup> JACQUET, *CdE* 81 (2006), 17-24.

## Acknowledgments

I would like to thank R. Preys (UNamur-KULeuven), W.R. Johnson, J. Heidel (The Epigraphic Survey/Chicago House, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago), C. Thiers, S. Biston-Moulin (CNRS-CFEETK), and C. Labarta (LabEx Archimede/CNRS-CFEETK) for their help and advice.

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