

CLD300: Classics, Ancient History, Egyptology Dissertation

Archaising tendencies in early Late Period Egyptian art and architecture: A case study of Mentuemhat, Mayor of Thebes

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Introduction

This dissertation aims to highlight and explain the archaising tendencies, as seen in the art and architecture of the early Late Period of Egyptian history.¹ Focussing on a small sample of primary sources from the corpus of Mentuemhat, comparisons will be discussed, regarding the style and iconography of the objects, as well as attention being drawn to their materiality. This will be done in order to exemplify the archaising that was so prevalent during the Late Period, especially during the late 25th and early 26th dynasties. These archaising tendencies will be met with a theoretical approach in which the symbolism behind them will be examined. Regarding the architecture of Mentuemhat, the plan of his tomb (TT34) will be used, as can be seen in PM I.² This introduction briefly examines the person that was Mentuemhat,³ — who was he, and why are his examples being used as the focus of this case study? — the concept of archaism (and the choice of terminology used), and finally, a brief explanation of the theory of ‘cultural memory,’ as coined by Jan Assmann.

Mentuemhat was an extremely prominent character during the 25th and 26th dynasties,⁴ holding office during the reigns of Taharqa and Psamtek I.⁵ Born into a great Theban family, Mentuemhat’s father, Nesptah, held the titles that he (Mentuemhat) would later come to achieve.⁶ Mentuemhat was known as the Fourth Prophet of Amun in Thebes, Prince/Mayor of Thebes, Governor of the South, Chief

¹ As the Late Period can be dated from the 25th dynasty through to the Ptolemaic Period, the

² PM I, 52.

³ The purpose of this dissertation is not to form a biography of Mentuemhat, but to focus on the archaism that can be seen in the craftsmanship of his corpus of art and architecture. The character of Mentuemhat is an interesting one whom should be acknowledged, if not for the purpose of better understanding the dissertation, for understanding one of the most important characters during the turbulent times of the 25th–26th dynasties. For more information on Mentuemhat, again, see: Pischikova, E. (2013). Mentuemhat. In R. S. Bagnall et al (eds). *The encyclopedia of ancient history*; Hegazy & Weilittner (1990/91), 55–57.

⁴ For an overview of the socio-political history of these dynasties see: Taylor, J. (2003). The Third Intermediate Period. In I. Shaw (ed.). *The Oxford history of ancient Egypt* (345–354); Lloyd, A. B. (2003). The Late Period (664–332 BC). In I. Shaw (ed.). *The Oxford history on ancient Egypt* (364–374).

⁵ Nasr (1997), 211.

⁶ Kemp (2007), 346; Ibid.; Russmann (1994), 1.

of the City, and Priest of the Offering Table in the Domain of Amun.⁷ It is during the period of turmoil, between the Kushite (25th dynasty, during which there was also an Assyrian invasion, resulting in the sack of Thebes 664 BCE),⁸ and Saïte Periods (26th dynasty) that Mentuemhat was considered one of the most powerful officials in Upper Egypt, acting as *de facto* ruler,⁹ recorded by the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal as ‘King of Thebes.’¹⁰ The corpus of Mentuemhat’s artefacts is one that offers a large and varied sample from which specific objects can be chosen, best exemplifying the archaising tendencies so commonly seen in the art and architecture of the early Late Period. It is for this reason, along with the interesting person that was Mentuemhat, which gives reason to choose the Fourth Prophet of Amun as the topic of a case study.

The phenomenon of archaism is one that is best understood through exemplification. However, it is important to understand the concept and theoretical approach of archaism in order to identify it in such examples. Archaism can be described as the conscious return to styles and models from earlier time periods, which have been out of use for a significant span of time.¹¹ This is not to be confused with cultural continuity in which the style of the directly previous period is replicated in the next. The terminology used regarding archaism is important to the time period in question. For example, the term archaising is appropriate for the 25th and 26th dynasties, which take inspiration from the pinnacles of Egyptian craftsmanship (the Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and the New Kingdom). The term archaistic, however, is better suited to the 29th and 30th dynasties, which archaised the already

⁷ Fay (2002), 23; Nasr (1997), 211 (Of the titles of Mentuemhat and his family, many are documented on the funerary cones as found in the excavations of his tomb [TT34]. See 218–222.); Russmann (1994), 1; Hegazy & Weilltner (1990/91), 55; Smith (1961), 413.

⁸ Kemp (2007), 346; Russmann (1994), 1; Hegazy & Weilltner (1990/91), 55.

⁹ Pischikova (2008), 83; Russmann (1994), 1.

¹⁰ Kemp (2007), 346; Hegazy & Weilltner (1990/91), 55. This reference to Mentuemhat as ‘king of Thebes’ is documented in Akkadian, upon the so-called Rassam Cylinder, which can be seen in the British Museum. See BM EA91026.

¹¹ Kahl (2010), 1; Pischikova (2008), 83.

archaised models of the 25th and 26th dynasties.¹² The phenomenon of archaism can be applied to a multitude of media, including: art, architecture, names, titles, literature and writing.¹³ Only archaism evident in the art and architecture of Mentuemhat will be of importance for this study, however.

Archaism needs to be understood as a continuum through Egyptian culture, spanning from the Old Kingdom to the culmination of the artistic *zeitgeist* of the Late Period's 26th dynasty.¹⁴ Another point to acknowledge is the geographical aspect of archaism i.e. the focus of Theban archaism derives from models primarily from the New Kingdom, whereas, Memphite archaism focuses of Old and Middle Kingdom models.¹⁵ Both the Kushite (25th) and Saïte (26th) dynasties are considered to be the 'Egyptian Renaissance',¹⁶ the latter developing from the stylistic archaisms of the former.¹⁷ The Kushite renaissance favoured the archaising of models from the Old Kingdom, whereas the Saïte renaissance favoured the Theban art of the Middle and New Kingdoms.¹⁸ Both the archaisms of the Kushite and Saïte renaissances are those that will be drawn from the examples used. As it is well known, both the 25th and 26th dynasties demonstrate the phenomenon of archaism. Mentuemhat, used in the case study, exemplifies the artistic fusion of both renaissances during his position of state power through these periods. But, the question is, *how far* does Mentuemhat exemplify these archaising tendencies?

Although not imperative to this dissertation, Jan Assmann's theory of cultural memory must be explored, a theory that is arguably intrinsically linked to the phenomenon of archaism. From the Egyptian pharaohs who "set the morrow before

¹² Bothmer (1960), XXXVII.

¹³ Kahl (2010), 2–3; Assmann (2002), 339.

¹⁴ Kahl (2010), 5.

¹⁵ Ibid. 6.

¹⁶ Tiradritti (2008), 18.

¹⁷ Pischikova (2008), 81.

¹⁸ Ibid. 85–86.

their eyes” and “place into their hearts the demands of eternity,” Assmann states that this is how the past is reconstructed through memory — he, whom today looks to tomorrow, must preserve the past through his memory.¹⁹ In order to recreate this past, two things must be taken into account: firstly, the past must be documented, and secondly, the documentation of the past must differ from the temporal present.²⁰ When applying Assmann’s theory of cultural memory to the material culture of ancient Egypt, the objects will be referred to as ‘cultural memorials.’²¹ It is through these cultural memorials that I believe that the interpretation of the Late Period archaisms will be better perceived, as well as the position that archaism places the individual (Mentuemhat) within Egypt’s cultural memory.

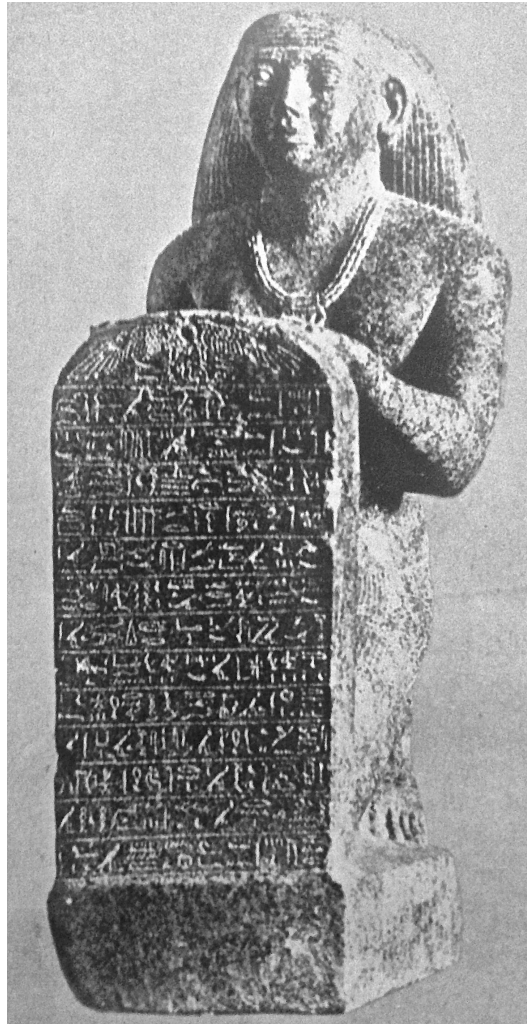
¹⁹ Assmann (2011), 17.

²⁰ Ibid. 18. Although Assmann’s theory applies only to the written culture of ancient Egypt, this same theory can be applied to the material culture of ancient Egypt. There have been no scholarly publications regarding the cultural memory of material culture, besides an article written by Maria Luiselli (see bibliography for details of).

²¹ The concept of cultural memorials is not one that has been explored with regards to Egyptology. Edward Chaney coined the term, see: Chaney, E. (2006). Egypt in England and America: the cultural memorials of religion, royalty and revolution. In M. Ascari & A. Corrado (eds), *Sites of exchange: European crossroads and faultlines* (39–69).

CHAPTER I

The statuary of Mentuemhat and the archaising tendencies of the early Late Period



Cairo Museum CG 42237: Stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat. Leclant (1960), pl. VI.

Mentuemhat commissioned the production of a large amount of statuary, many of which still survive,²² but to which earlier period of Egyptian history do they refer? These statues reflect both the political and religious roles that were held by the Fourth Prophet of Amun, and Mayor of Thebes.²³ The main focus of this chapter is a

²² Leclant (1961), list of plates.

²³ Morkot (2003), 90.

kneeling stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat, found in the Cairo Museum (CG 42237).²⁴ The form of the statue will be analysed, paying attention to the structure of the anthropoid aspect, the iconography of the statue as a whole and the symbolism that is incorporated into its design. The stylization and composition of the statue will be compared with examples of stelophorous statues from earlier periods, in order that the origin of the archaising can be identified. Why were the archaising tendencies applied to the statue, and to what benefit?

The stelophorous statue was an innovative new design in statuary of the New Kingdom, primarily the 18th–19th dynasties, depicting the owner kneeling behind a stela, incorporating a textual hymn to the sun.²⁵ *In situ*, but not exclusively, the statues were included in the chapel of the owner's tomb, sitting in the niche above the entrance of the tomb, or, set in the pyramidion topping the tomb chapel.²⁶ Evidence from the 19th dynasty supports this, in the form of tomb paintings, depicting the stelophorous statues within the niche of private Theban tomb architecture.²⁷ Even so, stelophorous statues were also presented in temples. During the Late Period, all statuary was destined for placement in temples,²⁸ giving further evidence to the position of the stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat above the entrance of the tomb chapel, or, elsewhere within the mortuary complex. Alongside the deposition of the statue within the mortuary complex of the patron, in theory, the statue could be deposited in Karnak temple, as the find spot of CG 42237 demonstrates. These statues were, however, models for the archaising of the early Late Period, as exemplified by CG 42237. The Kushite renaissance saw the revival of Egyptian

²⁴ See App. I for a catalogue entry about the object. Alongside this statue, another two will be discussed in order to demonstrate the range of archaising tendencies used by Mentuemhat. The statues in question are: Cairo Museum C. G. 42236: Standing statue of Mentuemhat, Cairo Museum C. G. 893: Bust of Mentuemhat. See appendix 1.17 and 1.18.

²⁵ Robins (1997), 144.

²⁶ *Ibid.*; Friedman (1985), 93–94; Stewart (1967), 36.

²⁷ Friedman (1985), 93–94; figs. 11 & 12.

²⁸ Bothmer (1960), XXXIII.

statuary, which before that period had not been in use for centuries, and from this period, the revived statuary remained in production.²⁹ Examples of which include the standing statue, seated statues, kneeling statues, block statues, asymmetric squatting statues and squatting statues.³⁰ Of the principle forms of statuary revived during the Late Period, the stelophorous statue falls under the category of kneeling statues.³¹ Four stages have been identified in the development of the New Kingdom stelophorous statue:

1. Early 18th dynasty: inscription on a filling between the arms with no stela.
2. Circa the reign of Thutmose III: inscription extended to the thighs.
3. Thutmose III-IV: stela resting upon the knee, hands behind it.
4. From circa the reign of Amenhotep II onwards: full sized stela resting on the ground.³²

It is evident from the form of the stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat that it follows the criteria of the fourth stage of New Kingdom stelophorous statues — combining a full sized stela that rests on the ground. From this evidence, it can be ascertained that the archaising of the form of the statuary that has been subsumed into the style of the stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat, was inspired by the New Kingdom, ca. late 18th dynasty–19th dynasty.

Although the form of the stelophorous statue is ascertained as archaising the form of New Kingdom statuary, there are aspects of the statue that draw inspiration from the Old Kingdom, such as the musculature of the leg.³³ During the Old Kingdom, strong musculature of the leg was symbolic of the perfect body type, from

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid. XXXV–XXXVI.

³¹ Bothmer (1960), XXXVI. See App. 1.2–15; Tiradritti et al (2008), 160, fig. 57; Page (1976), 67–68, fig. 72 for a list of comparative stelophorous statues.

³² Stewart (1967), 34.

³³ See App. 1.1.6, 1.1.7.

which strength was conveyed. In both the revival of the standing and kneeling statue types of the early Late Period, this musculature was incorporated into the stylisation,³⁴ bestowing upon the statuary the idealised form of the Old Kingdom leg, and the symbolism that it represented. So to speak, the stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat (CG 42237) knelt on the strong legs of Old Kingdom culture. Contemporary statues, such as that of Amenemope-em-hat,³⁵ exhibit the evolution of this stylistic trend, rendering the calf muscle as an entity of its own, marking an innovation of the 25th–26th dynasties.³⁶ Again, the detail of the gastrocnemius muscle is apparent in statuary of Psamtek I, under whom Mentuemhat held office.³⁷

Of the comparative stelophorous statues, the statues Brooklyn 37.48E, MMA 66.99.94, ÄM 2314 and National Archaeological Museum Λ76 share the most structural similarities with the statue of Mentuemhat.³⁸ These comparative pieces fit into the fourth style of stelophorous statue development, much like that of Mentuemhat. The stelae bear resemblance regarding their stylistic features, in which they are resting upon the ground, are round-topped and have the hands of the owner supported on the top. The horizontally striated wig, which is worn by Mentuemhat, is not seen in these comparative pieces. The wigs worn by those are typical of the 18th dynasty — ringlet wigs. However, objects ÄM 2314 and National Archaeological Museum Λ76 wear a double wig consisting of, on the top, the striated wig and on the bottom, the ringlet wig. The latter type of wig, although not archaised in the stelophorous statue, can be seen on other examples of Mentuemhat's statuary.³⁹ In only two of the comparative examples do the statues wear the same wig as is seen on

³⁴ Russmann (1973), 41.

³⁵ Ibid. 34, figs. 1–3.

³⁶ Ibid. 42.

³⁷ Ibid. 42–43, fig. 6.

³⁸ See App. 1.10, 1.13, 1.14, and 1.15.

³⁹ Fay (2002), fig. 7.

CG 42237.⁴⁰ Although there are similarities between the stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat and the earlier New Kingdom examples, there is certainly not enough evidence to provide a cogent argument in support of any of the comparative pieces as being the model from which the stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat was created.⁴¹ When attempting to attribute a model to a later work of art, the dating is imperative. A work of art dated to the 25th–26th dynasties, drawing archaisms from the Old, Middle or New Kingdoms would exhibit *archaising*, whereas, a work of art dated to the end of the Late Period-Ptolemaic Period, referring to early Late Period craftsmanship would be *archaistic*.⁴²

As seen from the stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat, the archaising attributed to the craftsmanship dates back to the New Kingdom. The second example of statuary is the Cairo Museum standing statue of Mentuemhat (CG 42236).⁴³ CG 42236 perfectly exemplifies the archaising tendencies of the early Late Period, exhibiting styles from the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms.

The form of the statue is one that can be seen from the 1st dynasty through to Greek sculpture in the form of Kouroi — erect in the frontal pose, left leg advanced and hands clenched at their side — thus beginning western sculpture, as we know it.⁴⁴ Combined in this statue of Mentuemhat, there is a fusion of both political and religious influence, reflected through the idealised, youthful body combined with a mature face. Both the head and the musculature of the body are demonstrating the stylistic trends of the Middle Kingdom.⁴⁵ Towards the end of the Middle Kingdom, under the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, portraiture representing them

⁴⁰ See App. 1.2 & 1.6.

⁴¹ Identifying a model from which archaising tendencies were based would be beneficial to the understanding of the later piece, especially with regards to the reasoning behind doing so. See Baines & Riggs (2001).

⁴² Kahl (2010), 1; Pischikova (2008), 83.

⁴³ See App. 1.17.

⁴⁴ Bothmer (1960), XXXII.

⁴⁵ Morkot (2003), 90.

as rulers depicted an aged face. It is through this iconography that the Middle Kingdom kings deviated from divinity, emphasizing their mortality.⁴⁶ This iconography is therefore assimilated with Mentuemhat and the way in which he chose to be represented, as mortal. The ringleted wig worn by Mentuemhat also shows features of archaising, this time from the 18th dynasty.⁴⁷

The 12th dynasty saw the evolution of the form of the male torso. The musculature, which was before this point bipartite, now develops to tripartition, in which there are three main parts of the torso: the chest, rib cage and abdominal region. These three parts of the 12th dynasty torso are modelled in such a way that they could almost be considered separate entities.⁴⁸ The tripartite musculature evident in CG 42236 complies with the stylisation of 12th dynasty sculpture and is thus another aspect of early Late Period archaising. It is the art of the Middle Kingdom that influenced later periods, in particular, 12th dynasty sculpture, relief, and painting provided the models from which artisans focused upon through to the Ptolemaic Period.⁴⁹

The stylisation of Old Kingdom sculpture is the final example of archaising tendencies that can be applied to the standing statue of Mentuemhat (CG 42236). The stylistic similarities between the statue of Mentuemhat and a 4th dynasty dyad statute of Menkaure with a queen (MFA Boston 11.1738) are striking.⁵⁰ The anthropomorphic form of both statues is almost identical, including the pose, attire, and even the square, mature face of Menkaure with its firm lips,⁵¹ can be identified in the craftsmanship of the statute of Mentuemhat. Both statues wear a *šndyt* kilt with a

⁴⁶ Schoske (2008), 188.

⁴⁷ Morkot (2003), 90.

⁴⁸ Bothmer (1960), XXXV.

⁴⁹ Wildung (2003), 62.

⁵⁰ See App. 1.19.

⁵¹ Arnold (1999), 271.

wide belt (although that of Menkaure is not striated like the kilt worn by Mentuemhat, which could be attributed to the statue being unfinished below the waist),⁵² and hold enigmatic items in each clenched hand.⁵³ The king was the key element in the structured society, not only in a political context, but also a religious one, making the king an icon of Egyptian ideology; without the king, there would be no state, no society and most importantly, no *mnw*.⁵⁴ Through association of the similarities between both examples of standing statuary, it could be inferred that CG 42236 incorporates the formal symbolic iconography of the earlier statue MFA Boston 11.1738, thus, bestowing upon Mentuemhat aspects of rulership. Although Mentuemhat was not a king, as has previously been mentioned,⁵⁵ he was considered *de facto* ruler. The archaising demonstrated in this piece of Mentuemhat's statuary exemplifies the theoretical approach of archaism which met the craftsmanship of early Late Period art. Archaising of the Old Kingdom royal statuary elevates the status that was held by Mentuemhat, equating him with the power and control that was customary to the role of kingship. This is imperative to the position of Mentuemhat as Mayor of Thebes, essentially making him ruler, and the role that he assimilated through the archaism.

As has previously been discussed, the allocation of a model from which a later piece of art has been commissioned is one that is difficult. The form of the 4th dynasty statue of Menkaure could however, be attributed to the archaising of the 25th–26th dynasty statue of Mentuemhat. From a comparative example, it is clear that Mentuemhat models the form of another of his statues (ÄM 17271: Granite seated statue of Mentuemhat. Karnak Temple, Thebes. 26th dynasty). The model from

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid. 269.

⁵⁴ O'Connor & Silverman (1995), XVIII–XIX; Grzymski (1999), 51.

⁵⁵ See introduction.

which it is based is dated to the 12th dynasty of the Middle Kingdom, in the form of a seated statue of Khertihotep (ÄM 15700).⁵⁶ Also in favour of the use of a specific model, Baines and Riggs exemplify the Ptolemaic period BM EA 941 as archaising the 3rd dynasty *serdab* statue of Djoser.⁵⁷ They argue that, due to very little comparative Late Period examples, the function of the statue is unable to be understood, thus, only the symbolic iconography can be interpreted,⁵⁸ as is the case with the statuary of Mentuemhat.

The third and final example of Mentuemhat's statuary, is a bust (CG 893), which unlike the previous two examples is only fragmentarily preserved.⁵⁹ Of the statuary of Mentuemhat, this is the closest to portraiture as is seen. However, even with the survival of at least ten heads of Mentuemhat's statuary, all the works, including the so-called bust of Mentuemhat, bear no discerning resemblances to one another, therefore, CG 893 cannot be considered a true work of portraiture.⁶⁰ Contrary to the former, an interesting aspect of Late Period sculpture is that from the end of the 25th dynasty and the beginning of the 26th dynasty (under the reign of Psamtek I), there began a distinction of the human face which Bothmer describes as a trend of almost brutal realism, referred to as a 'likeness.'⁶¹ This is reflected in the features of the statuary destined for the temple domains, no longer depicting an idealised characterisation, but a definite personification of the patron.⁶² CG 893, much like CG 42236 shares an archaising of the human features. As previously discussed, the stylisation of the human face depicting the person as aged derives from

⁵⁶ Wildung (1999), 65; Ibid. fig. 4:7.

⁵⁷ Baines & Riggs (2001), Pl. XIII–XIV.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 115.

⁵⁹ See App. 1.18.

⁶⁰ Bothmer (1960), 15.

⁶¹ Ibid. XXXVIII. With no relevance to this dissertation, it is still an interesting thought that the Late Period statues, depicting a likeness to their patron, could possibly be considered a precursor to true Roman portraiture.

⁶² Ibid. XXXIII.

the 12th dynasty of the Middle Kingdom under the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, emphasizing the mortality of the patron.⁶³ Mentuemhat, in incorporating this motif into his bust, demonstrates a desire to be viewed as a powerful character, but also emphasizing that even though powerful, his mortality was known. During the Middle Kingdom, a new sense of ‘self’ was developed,⁶⁴ apparent in both art and literature, which is reflected in the self-thematization in both media. Textually, concepts are added to the language, such as ‘character,’ ‘virtue,’ knowledge,’ ‘self-control’ and importantly, ‘heart’ as the embodiment of character.⁶⁵ It is from this self-thematization through language that was incorporated into the art of the Middle Kingdom, in order that the patron of the artistic work expressed an innovative sense of ‘inner-personality.’⁶⁶ The archaising of Middle Kingdom art during the early Late Period therefore incorporates an ideological form of self-thematization and personality. The craftsmanship of the early Late Period deviates away from the standardized norm of idealisation in the production of its statuary, now, depicting patrons in a way which represented them as an individual, no doubt conveying a theological message.⁶⁷ The examples of Mentuemhat’s statuary used here, although all differing in physical appearance, exhibit this phenomenon of self-thematization, archaised from an innovation of the Middle Kingdom.

The differentiation between portraiture and idealisation is evident in the examples of Mentuemhat’s statuary. The aspect of portraiture evident in CG 893 depicts Mentuemhat as a specific individual, rendering the patron in an objective reality, whereas both examples CG 42236 and CG 42237, are examples of idealisation in which Mentuemhat is depicted in a way that shows an ideal image,

⁶³ See fn. 46.

⁶⁴ Assmann (1996), 73.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 74.

⁶⁷ See fn. 28.

intended by the craftsman to portray particular symbolisms in the iconography.⁶⁸ This portrayal is the premise behind the phenomenon of archaism, exemplified by the art and architecture of the early Late Period. For the ancient Egyptian, the desire to preserve their identity was fundamental to the logic behind the creation of works of art and architecture.⁶⁹

As the stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat (CG 42237) is the main focus of this chapter, it is only this statue that will be analysed theoretically in order to assess the reasoning behind the use of archaising. A brief application of Jan Assmann's theory of cultural memory will also be applied.

As previously discussed, the form of the stelophorous statue is archaised from the 18th–19th dynasty of the New Kingdom, most likely from the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina.⁷⁰ Tomb chapels of Deir el-Medina began re-using the architecture of Old Kingdom pyramids, but somewhat more steep, housing a niche facing the rising sun in the east.⁷¹ Within the niche was placed the *ꜥḥ iḳr* bust, which later developed into the stelophorous statue.⁷² It is interesting that even though Mentuemhat archaised the form of the stelophorous statue, the find spot for CG 42237 was not within the niche of his tomb chapel, but the cachette of the Great Temple, Karnak,⁷³ suggesting a possible reinterpretation of the stelophorous statue during the early Late Period. This is not to say that the stelophorous statue was not housed in the tomb chapel niche of Mentuemhat's mortuary complex, during his lifetime.

⁶⁸ Laboury (2010), 1.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 3.

⁷⁰ Friedman (1985), 82.

⁷¹ Ibid. 92.

⁷² Ibid. 93.

⁷³ See App. 1, fn. 198.

From the textual evidence found on the stela of Mentuemhat's statue, it is evident that the hymn is addressed to Amun,⁷⁴ the god whom Mentuemhat was the Fourth Prophet of. As has previously been stated, statuary of the Late Period was destined for the temple, contrary to the original purpose of the stelophorous statue. As the Fourth Prophet of Amun, Mentuemhat's prayer to the god served the purpose of the original New Kingdom stelophorous statues, used in the ancestor cult.⁷⁵ One possible explanation for the archaising of the stelophorous statue could be purely religious. During the 18th dynasty, a particular focus on the worship of the sun became prevalent,⁷⁶ with the cult of the god Amun being precedent. During the reign of Akhenaten, there was a complete reversal in traditional religion, in which the Aten became the sole, life-giving god, mediated by the king.⁷⁷ Abolition and the demolition of the cult of Amun resulted from the actions of Akhenaten. Post the reign of Akhenaten, his son Tutankhamun, restored religion back to the traditional norm, bringing the cult of Amun back to the forefront of Egyptian polytheistic religion. This restoration was documented on the so-called 'restoration stela' of Tutankhamun.⁷⁸ The archaising of the stelophorous statue therefore may be an attempt by Mentuemhat (especially considering his role as Fourth Prophet of Amun), to convey the idealisation of a period in which state religion became stabilised, providing order and upholding the concept of *ma'at*. During the turbulent periods of the 25th–26th dynasties, it is clear that in order to preserve past culture and identity as Egyptian,

⁷⁴ See App. 1.

⁷⁵ Friedman (1985), 86.

⁷⁶ Bryan (2003), 254. For a more thorough analysis of New Kingdom solar religion, see Assmann, J. (1995). *Egyptian solar religion during the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the crisis of polytheism*.

⁷⁷ Hornung (2001), 54.

⁷⁸ See Cairo Museum CG 34183.

there was an urgent need for the phenomenon of archaism, drawing from the greater periods of Egyptian art and culture.⁷⁹

The examples of Mentuemhat's archaising statuary used here, well exemplify the concept of *culturalis monumentum*.⁸⁰ Described as cultural memorials, the statues CG 42237, CG 42236 and CG 893 are all high quality iconographic examples of the archaising so prominent during the early Late Period. Through these archaisms, the memory of the cultural pinnacles of Egyptian society and art (Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom), are rejuvenated and preserved via the high quality craftsmanship of the Late Period. Not only do the archaising tendencies present in the examples demonstrate a memory of past Egyptian culture, effectively elevating Mentuemhat to a preserver of the past,⁸¹ it also places Mentuemhat within the cultural memory. Again, seen from the textual evidence present on the stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat (CG 42237), Mentuemhat strives for continuation within cultural memory through his statue.⁸²

It can be ascertained, from the examples used, that the statuary of Mentuemhat exemplifies the archaising tendencies of the early Late Period. CG 42237 is highly representative of the New Kingdom, but also shows aspects of the Old Kingdom, notably in the musculature. CG 42236 is the perfect embodiment of archaising, conglomerating stylistic trends of the Old, Middle *and* New Kingdom,

⁷⁹ Tait (2003), 11.

⁸⁰ Introduction, 3–4.

⁸¹ Mentuemhat, through the incorporation of archaising in his works of statuary (among other forms of art and architecture, seen in chapters 2 and 3), preserves the cultures of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms, thus keeping Egyptian culture as they saw it alive. This was particularly important during periods of non-Egyptian rule, which was effectively employed by Mentuemhat during both Kushite occupation and Assyrian invasions.

⁸² See App. 1.

‘. . . May he make my name last like heaven's stars,
My statue endure as one of his followers.
May my *ka* be remembered in his temple day and night,
May I renew my youth like the moon
May my name not be forgotten in after years ever,
The name of Amun's fourth prophet, count of the city,
Montemhet, in health.’

representing the three cultural pinnacles of ancient Egyptian civilisation. Finally, CG 893 gives further evidence to the archaising of Middle Kingdom works of art, almost projecting true portraiture. The main focus of this chapter, the stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat (CG 42237) refers best to the New Kingdom. From the sample of Mentuemhat's statuary, however, a combination of Middle and New Kingdom archaisms are most represented.

CHAPTER II

Archaism and recycled reliefs from the tomb of Mentuemhat (TT34)



© Cleveland Museum of Art 1949.492: Mentuemhat as Priest with Staff and Scepter c. 667–647 BC.

Of the vast quantity of fragmentary relief from the tomb of Mentuemhat, pieces can be found in both private and public collections all around the world.⁸³ An important feature of these reliefs is the number of vignettes that have been replicated from New

⁸³ Russmann (1994), 2.

Kingdom Theban tombs,⁸⁴ a feature of archaising which will be analysed in this chapter. The iconography and symbolism behind it will be analysed, identifying aspects that refer back to the Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and/or New Kingdom. By doing so, comparisons will be made with examples of similar relief from these earlier periods, exemplifying to use of archaism. The focus of this chapter is a relief found in the Cleveland Museum of Art (1949.492), in which Mentuemhat is depicted as a priest holding a staff and sceptre.⁸⁵ A selection of other reliefs from the tomb of Mentuemhat will be discussed, so that a broader image is created of the archaising tendencies demonstrated through this medium. Unlike Chapter I, the archaisms present in the examples of Mentuemhat's reliefs will be explored by using a large sample.

The large funerary complexes of the high officials at Thebes are the most demonstrative of containing direct copies of works of tomb art from the earlier, Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom tombs and temples.⁸⁶ The tomb of Mentuemhat (TT34) in the south Assasif is no exception in these phenomena of archaising tendencies. The modelling of earlier works of sculpture and relief are best exemplified through the productions of the late 25th–early 26th dynasties Theban workshops.⁸⁷ The historical consciousness of both dynasties, although referring frequently to the past, exhibited a qualitative and quantitative evolution in the reproduction of earlier models that were central to both the cultural and political rejuvenation post break with Egyptian tradition.⁸⁸ Saïte Period art archaised, to perfection, the earlier models

⁸⁴ Morkot (2003), 90.

⁸⁵ See appendix 2 for a catalogue entry of the piece.

⁸⁶ Morkot (2003), 79.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 80.

⁸⁸ Assmann (2002), 339–340.

of the Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom, in such a way that the archaising followed stricter rules, producing an innovative form of ritualised art.⁸⁹

Cleveland 1949.492 is no different in its formal composition, archaising iconographies from the earlier periods of the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom. During the New Kingdom, male figures (and only male figures)⁹⁰ are frequently depicted carrying a staff, folded cloth and a sceptre. The figure of a standing male holding a staff and cloth is the determinative for the Egyptian word *sr* — “official.” In its hieroglyphic form, the image of the sceptre determines *shm* — “power” and *hrp* — “to control.”⁹¹ This iconography displays the symbolic attributes incorporated into the roles of the elite male during the New Kingdom, displaying an authority that was vested to them by the king and high officials.⁹² It is interesting that aspects of the male figure archaised in Cleveland 1949.492 have been transferred from one medium to another. The New Kingdom standing male figure has been applied, in the style of the early Late Period, to the relief of Mentuemhat. The symbolic iconography of the staff and sceptre exemplifies the archaising tendencies of the period, bestowing upon Mentuemhat the power, control and office of the New Kingdom elite. Holding the title of Fourth Prophet of Amun, the archaising of the New Kingdom symbolic objects in the relief of Mentuemhat, depicted as priest, could serve to reiterate the power of the cult of Amun during the 18th dynasty and incorporate that iconographic power into his role during the late 25th–early 26th dynasties.⁹³ Further evidence for the archaising of New Kingdom styles is evident in the ringleted wig worn by Mentuemhat in the relief, stylistically prominent again in the 18th dynasty. Two further reliefs from the tomb of Mentuemhat also depict such a wig, both reliefs

⁸⁹ Ibid. 343.

⁹⁰ Robins (2008), 212.

⁹¹ Ibid. 211.

⁹² Ibid. 212.

⁹³ Ch. I, 15.

adorning Mentuemhat in ecclesiastical attire, emphasising his role of Fourth Prophet of Amun.⁹⁴ Not exclusive to relief, the 18th dynasty ringleted wig was also adorned by the statuary of Mentuemhat, demonstrating the crossover of archaised media.⁹⁵

The double heart amulet worn by Mentuemhat in Cleveland 1949.492 is another aspect of symbolic iconography that exhibits archaising tendencies of the early Late Period. First known from the 11th dynasty, the heart amulet was worn by Theban royalty, yet, first depicted during the beginning of the 18th dynasty on the Donation Stelae.⁹⁶ Found at Deir el-Bahari, the queen Hatshepsut is depicted as wearing the heart amulet during a ritual in which she makes offering to the god Amun.⁹⁷ Mentuemhat archaised reliefs from the mortuary complex of Hatshepsut, copying scenes directly from the Southern Hall of Offerings on the upper terrace of Hatshepsut's temple.⁹⁸ The archaising of such reliefs will be discussed further. With the evidence of Mentuemhat's copying of reliefs from the mortuary complex of Hatshepsut, it could be inferred that the incorporation of the heart amulet into the iconography of his reliefs derives again from the same location. By doing so, Mentuemhat, as Fourth Prophet of Amun, equates himself with queen Hatshepsut and the role that she played within the cult of Amun during her reign, giving further evidence to Mentuemhat's power during his time in office.⁹⁹ Of the many depictions of the heart amulet during the 18th dynasty, the double heart amulet, as depicted on Cleveland 1949.492, is seen in the tomb of Sennefer (TT96), governor of Thebes during the reign of Amenhotep II.¹⁰⁰ The depiction of a double heart amulet worn by

⁹⁴ See App. 2.2, 2.3.

⁹⁵ See App. 1.8, 1.11, 1.14, 1.15, 1.17

⁹⁶ Sousa (2007), 59.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 60.

⁹⁸ Morkot (2003), 90; Der Manuelian (1982), 185.

⁹⁹ Not only can the reliefs of Mentuemhat exemplify this, but also, the stylistic incorporation of royal iconography is evident in the statuary of Mentuemhat. See Ch. I. The royal iconography incorporated into the style of Mentuemhat's reliefs will be further discussed.

¹⁰⁰ Sousa (2007), 60.

a governor of Thebes (a title that was also held by Mentuemhat), may also have provoked the archaising of the iconography from the depiction which was found in the tomb of Sennefer, further solidifying the role that Mentuemhat held. The symbolism of the amulet, before the beginning of the 18th dynasty, can be attributed to royalty and a divine status.¹⁰¹ From the reign of Amenhotep II to the Amarna Period, the heart amulet was most often depicted on the highest officials of the king in the Theban necropolis, used to distinguish those who were of high rank, bestowed with royal favour from the virtue of the king who could make offerings of the golden heart amulet, which was symbolic of wisdom.¹⁰² As an iconographical expression, the double heart amulet is also *ibwī*, meaning “icon” or “image” of a god.¹⁰³ At Karnak, the king held an *ibwī* image as part of a cult, in which it is possible that the members of the king’s office who were given the double heart amulet were in turn an image of the king himself, also upholding *mꜣꜥt*.¹⁰⁴

The incorporation of the heart amulet into Mentuemhat’s iconography is thus representative of the position he held under the king, as well as the aspect of divine kingship (upholding *mꜣꜥt*), which he was assimilated with through the symbolic iconography of the amulet. This same concept is present in the statuary of Mentuemhat, however, from the examples used, Mentuemhat depicts himself in a way in which he is attributing himself to kingship and rulership directly through the archaising tendencies being employed.¹⁰⁵ Again, referring back to the statuary of Mentuemhat, Cleveland 1949.492 exhibits the same form of leg musculature as is seen during the Old Kingdom.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 61.

¹⁰² Ibid. 63.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ See Ch. I, 11.

¹⁰⁶ See Ch. I, 7-9.

Cleveland 1949.492 exemplifies the archaising tendencies prevalent during the early Late Period, exhibiting both styles of the Old Kingdom and New Kingdom. This is most evident in the symbolism behind the iconographies used, which depict Mentuemhat as a powerful and important official during the late 25th–early 26th dynasties.

Many features of the phenomenon of archaism derive from the Old Kingdom. The subterranean rooms of the Djoser mortuary complex at Saqqara, as well as the 5th dynasty temples of Abusir were used as the locations of models from which early Late Period artistic productions were derived.¹⁰⁷

By comparing a sample of reliefs from the tomb of Mentuemhat with reliefs from the 6th dynasty tomb of Mereruka, the archaising tendencies drawn from the Old Kingdom will be exemplified. The fragmentary relief Florence 7635h,¹⁰⁸ the original location of which, is the west wall of Chapel C of the tomb of Mentuemhat, second subregister from top, second bearer from right, fragmentarily depicts the right arm of a seventh bearer who supports the head of a goose in his palm. Also preserved is the shoulder of the bearer in front whom, although no longer preserved, held a goose in the same manner.¹⁰⁹ The lengthy processions of bearers seen here in the reliefs of Mentuemhat's tomb reached their height of stylistic use during the Old Kingdom, specifically the late 5th dynasty and 6th dynasty,¹¹⁰ suggesting that, from the whole scene, which is no longer preserved, archaising was applied from models of this period. Further evidence to support this can be taken from the 6th dynasty tomb of Mereruka, in which a scene depicts two *hem kꜥ* priests in procession, carrying geese as

¹⁰⁷ Morkot (2014), 380.

¹⁰⁸ See App. 2.9.

¹⁰⁹ Kethcley (2011–2012), 86.

¹¹⁰ Lesko (1971–1972), 85.

offerings.¹¹¹ By comparison, the Florence relief shares the same formal qualities as the earlier 6th dynasty example, but differs stylistically. In both reliefs, the same short wig adorns both priests, and the depiction of the goose being held facing towards the priest is also evident. Compared with Brooklyn Museum 48.74 and its earlier model from the tomb of Menna,¹¹² it is evident that the earlier models from which the reliefs in the tomb of Mentuemhat were archaised can be identified.¹¹³

Although the evidence to support the earlier scene from the tomb of Mereruka as a model for the Florence relief is intangible, further evidence from the tomb of Mentuemhat could be used to support such a hypothesis. Depicted on the bottom register of the north side of the western wall of the second court is depicted a small fishing scene.¹¹⁴ In the scene, Mentuemhat is depicted as wearing a short curled wig, a style frequently seen in Old Kingdom tombs but seldom in those of the Late Period Thebes.¹¹⁵ The chair in which Mentuemhat is seated also originates from the iconography of the Old Kingdom, with leonine legs, high arms and the back taller than that of the human figure. Again, from this seat, Mentuemhat is depicted in a pose seen frequently in Old Kingdom tombs.¹¹⁶ The combination of both Mentuemhat and his smaller wife, Wedjarenes, positioned behind him is an exceptional representation of this period as most examples are dated to the Old or

¹¹¹ See App. 2.10.

¹¹² See App. 2.7, 2.8. The details of which will be discussed further in order to exemplify the archaising tendencies deployed during the early Late Period.

¹¹³ With regards to the dating of Late Period pieces of art, there can often be difficulties, especially when the pieces are fragmentary and the consideration of the Saïte archaising of many forms and styles of the previous periods of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. This can be made more difficult by the eclecticism present in many pieces such as in the tomb of Mentuemhat in which, for example, relief has been taken from the 18th dynasty tomb of Rekhmire but is stylized with aspects of Old Kingdom design which is absent from the works of the 18th dynasty. The misdating of works such as that of the calving scene, common to both the Old and Middle Kingdoms, when in fact, the formal iconography has been archaized in the tomb of Mentuemhat. See Der Manuelian (1982), 185–188.

¹¹⁴ See App. 2.5.

¹¹⁵ Russmann (1997), 28.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

Middle Kingdoms.¹¹⁷ This is due to the iconography's loss of favour during the New Kingdom, a period in which the wife was equal to her husband in depiction.¹¹⁸ The iconography of the standing figure of Mentuemhat's wife, Wedjarenes, could be used to further evidence the archaising of the 6th dynasty tomb of Mereruka. Wedjarenes' hair bears resemblance to the close-cropped wig that was associated with the high-ranking women of the Old Kingdom.¹¹⁹ An example of which can be seen in the tomb of Mereruka, detailing Mereruka's wife, the king's daughter, Sesheshet. In the depiction, Sesheshet wears the aforementioned short wig as well as sharing the same form with the later depiction of Wedjarenes, wearing also the broad collar and holding a lotus flower.¹²⁰ The lotus flower is one of the most frequently depicted flowers of the 25th–26th dynasties, symbolic of both the resurrection of the deceased in the Hereafter, and in the Afterworld where the deceased is resurrected and justified before Osiris.¹²¹ The symbolism of resurrection associates the flower with Osiris,¹²² an aspect of the archaising tendencies that will be explored in Chapter III.

The archaising tendencies applied to the depiction of the wife of Mentuemhat here is interesting. The emphasis on the resemblance of Mentuemhat's Kushite wife to the great women of the Old Kingdom is a conscious deliverance, connecting the image of his wife (a Kushite, who was 'not part' of Egyptian traditional norms), with the women of the Old Kingdom (who were most definitely considered an aspect of traditional norms). The inclusion of Mentuemhat's wife Wedjarenes in the archaising tendencies, solidifying Mentuemhat within the Egyptian past, demonstrates the status of his wife during the early Late Period. Although the patron of the reliefs was

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. 29.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ See App. 2.6.

¹²¹ Pischikova (1994), 70.

¹²² Ibid.

Mentuemhat, a conscious decision would have been made in regards to which aspects were archaised. During a period in which Egypt was under Kushite rule, Mentuemhat's archaising of his wife's iconography demonstrates the attempt to normalise the Kushite rule as part of the Egyptian cultural history, as well as portray himself in the role of Old Kingdom royalty through the association of his wife's archaised iconography.

Further archaising of the female form can be seen from reliefs in the tomb of Mentuemhat. A selection of reliefs depict the figure of the female form in the same way, – long straight hair tucked behind the ear, small collar necklace, simple sheath dress held by wide straps which expose the breast,¹²³ – exemplified by the De Young relief 51.4.2,¹²⁴ Seattle 53.Eg.II.34,¹²⁵ and Seattle 53.80. These styles of iconography are features most commonly associated with costumes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms.¹²⁶

As previously mentioned, during the New Kingdom, the craftsmen of Mentuemhat's mortuary complex copied scenes directly, in particular from the mortuary complex of Hatshepsut, the tomb of mid 18th dynasty Menna (TT69) as well as the tomb of Rekhmire (TT100).¹²⁷ Scenes from the mortuary complex of Hatshepsut include offering bearers carrying oils and scenes of cattle being slaughtered. Not only are these scenes replicated in TT34 but also in the tombs of Mentuemhat's contemporaries, Basa, Ibi and Pabasa, all dated to the reign of Psamtek I.¹²⁸ This gives evidence to the use of specific models for the archaising tendencies of the early Late Period, all copying scenes from the 18th dynasty.

¹²³ Lesko (1971–1972), 87.

¹²⁴ Ibid. fig. 1.

¹²⁵ Ibid. fig. 2.

¹²⁶ Ibid. 87.

¹²⁷ Morkot (2003), 90; Der Manuelian (1994), 18, 21.

¹²⁸ Morkot (2003), 90.

The most compelling evidence of the archaising of 18th dynasty relief can be seen through Brooklyn Museum 48.74.¹²⁹ The fragmentary piece of relief consisting of two registers has archaised the same scenes from paintings found in the 18th dynasty tomb of Menna.¹³⁰ In the tomb of Menna, both scenes (a girl pulling a thorn from another's foot and a woman holding a child in a sling, sat besides a shrub) are found apart, whereas in the tomb of Mentuemhat, the reliefs are found together.¹³¹ Stylistically, the reliefs found in the tomb of Mentuemhat differ from those of Menna, in that they have the proportions of Old Kingdom relief.¹³² This is no doubt due to the eclecticism so prevalent in the archaising of the early Late Period. Comparatively, the reliefs of Mentuemhat conform to the stylisation of Saïte Period art, translating the 18th dynasty paintings into the crisp, raised relief.¹³³ The craftsman of the relief, whilst still retaining the composition of the earlier painting in the tomb of Menna, adapts the stylisation of the relief found in the tomb of Mentuemhat to fit the archaising tendencies of early Late Period.¹³⁴ The stylistic depiction of the woman's aristocratic face with the fine detail of the eyebrows and ear may also be a reflection of the archaising of Middle Kingdom relief style.¹³⁵ The preservation of the earlier 18th dynasty painting allows the differences to be drawn between both pieces of art, allowing us to see the Saïte craftsman's rejuvenation and reinvigoration of an archaic composition.

Another example of the archaising of reliefs from the tomb of Menna is seen through a fragmentary piece in the Oriental Institute Museum.¹³⁶ The scene,¹³⁷

¹²⁹ See App. 2.7.

¹³⁰ See App. 2.8.

¹³¹ Morkot (2003), 90.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.; Der Manuelian (1994), 18, 21.

¹³⁴ Cooney (1950), 195.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Kantor (1960), Pl. V.

¹³⁷ Ibid. Pl. VI.

depicting two girls pulling each other's hair, exemplifies the same style of archaising as seen in the Brooklyn Museum 48.74 relief and is of the same agricultural theme exhibited in the tomb of Menna.¹³⁸ The model again has been translated into raised relief of the Saïte Period. During the late New Kingdom, tomb scenes depicting daily life were surpassed by themes of a funerary context.¹³⁹ It is evident from this that Mentuemhat made a conscious decision to revert back to this style of imagery. Erman has suggested that the archaising of such scenes, including those that were archaised from the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, is indicative of the ancient Egyptians expression of piety.¹⁴⁰ In favour of this theory, Assmann proposes that the archaising could be interpreted as, contrary to earlier Egyptian art, a ritualised production.¹⁴¹

When considering the patrons of the use of archaism in the production of their art, there can be no argument against a ritualistic, even pious use. As the sphere of archaism contained the royalty and high elite, including priests and high officials,¹⁴² the logic behind the use of the archaism, even if not in a religious context, were connected to the members of ancient Egyptian society who headed the state and the symbolism of divine kingship. Mentuemhat, as Fourth Prophet of Amun and *de facto* ruler of Thebes, perfectly exemplifies the demographic powerful enough to exhibit such ritualistic production through the archaising of earlier works of both royal and non-royal (but still the works of high officials) models. In the context of 18th dynasty works, by archaising the reliefs from the mortuary complex of Hatshepsut and the

¹³⁸ Kantor (1960), 213.

¹³⁹ Ibid. 215.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. 215–216.

¹⁴¹ See fn. 89.

¹⁴² Kahl (2010), 2.

tomb of Menna, Mentuemhat is in fact equating himself with both the king and high official, solidifying the roles in which he was positioned.¹⁴³

As was concluded by the examples used to illustrate the archaising tendencies of early Late Period art through the medium of statuary, the archaisms stood to represent the cultural memory in which Mentuemhat wished to be part.¹⁴⁴ From the sample of reliefs used to highlight these archaising tendencies, similar results followed. The main focus of this chapter, Cleveland 1949.492 in both its composition and iconography depict the archaising of the Old and New Kingdoms. The other examples of relief used exhibit the same style of archaising, with much less attention being drawn to the styles of the Middle Kingdom.

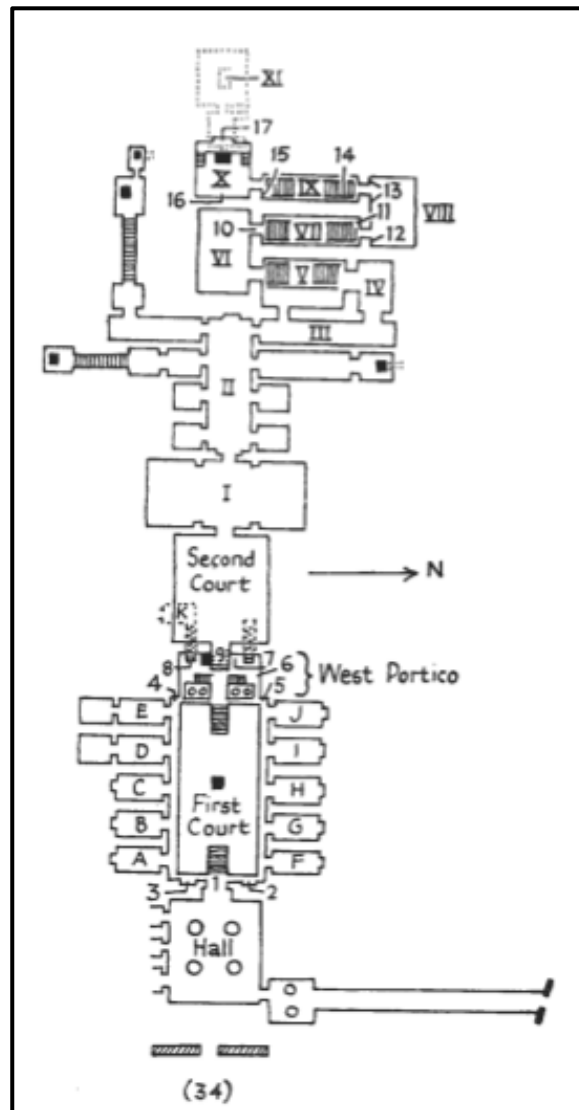
The archaising of the reliefs found in TT34, similarly to the archaising of Mentuemhat's statuary, represented Mentuemhat's desire to equate himself with both royalty and power. This is particularly prevalent in the iconography of the relief Cleveland Museum of Art 1949.492. From the example of relief, this was not only carried out through the imagery of Mentuemhat himself but, also through his Kushite wife through whom he assimilated the same power. From the examples used, it can be ascertained that the reliefs of Mentuemhat best exemplify the style of the Old Kingdom and New Kingdom.

¹⁴³ As has already been discussed, Mentuemhat was not king but, essentially acting as. Therefore, by archaising works of relief that are attributed to the mortuary complex of Hatshepsut, that association of rulership could be realised.

¹⁴⁴ See Ch. I.

CHAPTER III

Archaised architecture and the tomb of Mentuemhat



Tomb of Mentuemhat (TT34) in the South Assasif, Thebes. PM I, 52.

The tomb of Mentuemhat (TT34)¹⁴⁵ is arguably the most impressive of all his surviving monuments, which is one of the largest and most well decorated tombs in the South Assasif, but how far does TT34 exemplify archaism in both the

¹⁴⁵ The plan of which will be taken from PM I, 52. See also Kemp (2007), 347, fig. 120 for a view of the tomb plan *in situ* with the surrounding contemporaries.

architectural and funerary spheres? The mudbrick pylon that formed part of Mentuemhat's superstructure still dominates the landscape,¹⁴⁶ behind which the remains of the substructure still remain.¹⁴⁷ Both the superstructure and substructure will be analysed in order to identify the architectural elements that demonstrate Late Period archaising. Alongside the architecture, the funerary aspects of the mortuary complex will also be analysed in relation to archaising. The conclusions from Chapter II regarding the decoration of the tomb of Mentuemhat, and to which earlier period the archaising tendencies most refer, may provide evidence for the time period most archaised by Mentuemhat in the modelling of his funerary complex. The analysis of Theban Tomb 34 aims to draw the conclusions from the analysis of Mentuemhat's reliefs together with the conclusions of its own analysis, in order to best contextualise the sample from an archaising perspective.

The rock-cut tomb of Mentuemhat (TT34) is located in the South Assasif of the Theban necropolis and is one of the largest private tombs of its time. Cut into the limestone, the tomb has a length of 228m. It lays roughly 300m east of Hatshepsut's mortuary complex and to the west of the tomb of Pabasa (TT279).¹⁴⁸ The tomb can be dated to the 25th–26th dynasties, contemporary with the reigns of Taharqa or Psamtek I. The superstructure of the tomb is still preserved, containing two mud brick pylons, funerary chapels and leading to the entrance, a ramp that is surrounded by high, mud brick walls. The substructure of the tomb consists of a staircase, antechamber, two pillared halls, two open courts, five corridors and six burial chambers. The tomb has not fully been excavated, but ongoing work is being carried

¹⁴⁶ See Dodson & Ikram (2008), fig. 320.

¹⁴⁷ Russmann (1994), 2.

¹⁴⁸ Nasr (1997), 211.

out.¹⁴⁹ The first court of Mentuemhat's tomb has ten chapels attached, five to the north, and five to the south.¹⁵⁰

The constructed form of the tomb of Mentuemhat conforms to the new stylization of Theban funerary architecture of the Late Period — the temple tomb — with entrance pylons, large open roofed courts and shrines.¹⁵¹ This type of funerary architecture is attested from the 25th–26th dynasties, representing the return to monumental funerary architecture, not seen during the Third Intermediate Period, combining mudbrick and rock-cut elements of architectural structure.¹⁵² This type of funerary architecture is also seen in the contemporary tomb of Karabasken and Karakhamun in the Assasif.¹⁵³ Unlike the archaising tendencies present in both the statuary and reliefs of Mentuemhat,¹⁵⁴ the temple-tomb style of funerary architecture is one that veers away from the style of the New Kingdom's tomb with transverse hall.¹⁵⁵ Again, sharing similarities with the tomb of Karabasken, the tomb of Mentuemhat also lies along a single east–west oriented axis, contains an open court, pillared hall and cult chambers.¹⁵⁶

It was during the late 25th dynasty that high Theban officials built their monumental sepulchres in the Assasif, near Deir el-Bahri.¹⁵⁷ The geographical location of such mortuary architecture is by no mistake. The area of Deir el-Bahri was prominent in its use of architectural archaism, most notably the terraced temple of Hatshepsut, which archaised the architectural design of the temple of 11th dynasty

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. 212.

¹⁵⁰ Gomaà & Babón (2007), 7. For a full description of the tomb of Mentuemhat, see Gomaà & Babón (2007).

¹⁵¹ Snape (2011), 253; Pischikova (2009), 14; Dodson & Ikram (2008), 279; Taylor (2008), 97.

¹⁵² Dodson & Ikram (2008), 278.

¹⁵³ Pischikova (2009), 14.

¹⁵⁴ See Ch. I for statuary and Ch. II for the reliefs.

¹⁵⁵ Pischikova (2009), 14.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Dodson & Ikram (2008), 278; Taylor (2008) 96.

Nebhepetre Mentuhotep beside it.¹⁵⁸ Hatshepsut's complex stood as an important architectural element of the Assasif, focused on during the annual Festival of the Valley, in which the cult statue of Amun was brought to the temple.¹⁵⁹ As the processional route passed through the Assasif, the high officials' building of their sepulchres in that location, allowed them to symbolically incorporate themselves into the cultic activities of the god Amun.¹⁶⁰ As the Fourth Prophet of Amun, it is not surprising that Mentuemhat built his tomb in this symbolic and sacred space, assimilating his tomb with the processional route of the god Amun. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the close proximity of the monumental funerary architecture to the tombs and temples of Deir el-Bahri is demonstrative of a desire to link their, (high officials of the early Late Period), sepulchres to the temporal past, which is further reiterated in the decoration of the tombs.¹⁶¹ The consciousness behind the construction of the mortuary complexes of the Assasif may exemplify cultural memory, in the form of monumental cultural memorials. This theory will later be explored with regards to the tomb of Mentuemhat.

Harkening back to the Old Kingdom, the production of monumental funerary architecture during the 25th–26th dynasties exemplifies the archaising tendencies of the early Late Period. In assimilation to the pyramids of the Old Kingdom, the monumental mudbrick pylon, which served as part of Mentuemhat's tomb superstructure, is still an architectural element that dominates the landscape of the southern Assasif.¹⁶² In addition, the huge shaft tombs of the Old Kingdom, concentrated around the Djoser complex at Saqqara, may have acted as models on

¹⁵⁸Kahl (2010), 2; Smoláriková (2010), 431.

¹⁵⁹Taylor (2008), 96.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

¹⁶¹Dodson & Ikram (2008), 278–279.

¹⁶²Rusmann (1994), 2.

which early Late Period funerary architecture was derived.¹⁶³ As the prototypal monumental funerary architecture built of stone, later examples of private funerary architecture may have been modeled upon them.¹⁶⁴ As a unique aspect of Late Period sepulchres, the layout of the huge shaft tomb is indicative of the experience and knowledge that the architects and artists of the Saïte Period had acquired from the substructure of the step pyramid.¹⁶⁵ In support of this, the increase in archaism in the art of the early Late Period was intrinsically linked to the decoration of the tomb, in which the artists referred back to scenes from the Old Kingdom and New Kingdom.¹⁶⁶ Evidence from the decoration of the tomb of Mentuemhat supports this. As concluded in Chapter II, from the sample of reliefs used, the periods to which they most referred were both the Old Kingdom and New Kingdom.¹⁶⁷

The archaising tendencies of the early Late Period were not exclusive to the Theban workshop, although production was increased during the reign of Taharqa,¹⁶⁸ under whom Mentuemhat held office during the 25th dynasty.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, the archaising tendencies exhibited during the early Late Period, and in particular, those of Old Kingdom and New Kingdom modeling, were not exclusive. The sepulchre of Mentuemhat also demonstrates the archaising of Middle Kingdom funerary concepts in its design. At Abusir, the Saïte-Persian cemetery houses a mortuary complex to the east of the enclosure wall of Iufaa.¹⁷⁰ In said complex, the rooms are arranged into two sections. In the south, a small number of chambers are concentrated around a square light well. In the north, a considerably larger group of rooms surround an open

¹⁶³ Smoláriková (2010), 431.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. 432.

¹⁶⁶ Dodson & Ikram (2008), 279.

¹⁶⁷ See Ch. II, 30.

¹⁶⁸ Smoláriková (2010), 431.

¹⁶⁹ Nasr (1977), 211.

¹⁷⁰ Smoláriková (2010), 436.

courtyard, indicative of cultic activity,¹⁷¹ which could represent an increased interest in the cult of Osiris during the Late Period. Comparatively in the tomb of Mentuemhat, as previously mentioned, ten chambers surround the first court. The Osireion is a cenotaph-tomb connected to the 19th dynasty sepulchre of Seti I in the Valley of the Kings.¹⁷² The Osireion was connected to the tomb via a series of rooms and passages. Its roof was supported by pillars and formerly, by an earthen mound and foliage. Within the central part of the hall, a channel, intended to be filled with subsoil water, surrounds an island, which symbolically linked Seti I with the god Osiris who was thought to be buried at Umm el-Qaab.¹⁷³

Several early Late Period tombs develop themes that are seen in coffins of the Late Period, incorporating into the architectural structure Osirian elements.¹⁷⁴ Mentuemhat's contemporary, Harwa demonstrates this in his tomb (TT37), in which a corridor surrounds the substructures apartments, isolating the burial chamber. In doing so, a demarcated sacred space is created, reminiscent of the island on which Osiris was mythically buried at Abydos.¹⁷⁵ The complexity of the substructure layout may have attempted to recreate the mythical tomb of Osiris.¹⁷⁶ The tomb of Mentuemhat is no exception to the incorporation of Osirian elements into the architectural structure. A striking addition to the architectural decoration of TT34 is present in the first court, in which colossal pairs of bound, double papyrus stalks are carved in bold, raised relief, which cannot be considered as papyrus columns due to their unique scale.¹⁷⁷ From these observations, Eigner suggests that the papyrus plants

¹⁷¹ Ibid. 437.

¹⁷² Dodson & Ikram (2008), 256.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Taylor (2008), 97.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Snape (2011), 253.

¹⁷⁷ Russmann (1995), 117.

are evocative of a symbolic pool for the Osiris cult.¹⁷⁸ When considering the similarities between the structural compositions of the first court of the tomb of Mentuemhat with the Osireion, it is understandable how this was theorized. Russmann however, offers a more cogent argument.

The motif of the bound papyrus plants served to indicate openings in the elaborate relief patterns of niched palace façades, seen as early as the 1st dynasty,¹⁷⁹ the design of which entered the repertoire of ancient Egyptian funerary relief and were found on representations of the palace façade.¹⁸⁰ This includes Old Kingdom tombs, Old Kingdom sarcophagi and Middle Kingdom coffins.¹⁸¹ The motif of the bound papyrus plants, although always symbolic of growth and regeneration, acquired Osirian associations when the papyrus was incorporated into the funerary lunettes found in Theban tombs, which may have been the equivalent of more obvious motifs such as tayet-knots, sa-signs, simple false doors/niches as well as the omnipresent djed-signs.¹⁸² Osirian iconographic symbolisms developed from as early as the Old Kingdom, but by the Middle Kingdom, they were well established, especially regarding the djed-pillar, which was introduced alongside the bound papyrus motif.¹⁸³ In the contemporary tomb of Tjery at Giza, papyrus iconography is depicted on a dado under the image of Osiris, showing four pairs of bound plants, complementing the representation of Osiris,¹⁸⁴ thus causing an intrinsic link. Two façades also depict the motif, highlighting the main components: a wall high series of paired papyrus plants, an alternating series of chapels and a dado-like base, all of

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. See Eigner, D. (1984). *Die Monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole*, 17.

¹⁷⁹ Russmann (1995), 118.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. 119.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. 122.

which can be seen on at least three *qsrw* coffins,¹⁸⁵ stylistic of the Third Intermediate Period.¹⁸⁶ Depicted on most *qsrw* coffins are textual columns but the replacement of these with the bound papyri associated with Osiris, is representative of the cosmic aspect of the mythical tomb of Osiris.¹⁸⁷ This coffin composition is replicated in relief in the first court of Mentuemhat in which the bound papyri flank the actual entrances of chapels as opposed to the shrines depicted to represent doors on the coffin decoration. Russmann concludes that the first court is a symbolic *qsrw* coffin, with the open roofed court replacing the arched lid of the coffin, which represented the sky. To support this further, the symbolic orientation of the coffin was east–west,¹⁸⁸ as previously mentioned, is the axis of the tomb of Mentuemhat.

With regards to cultural memory, the tomb of Mentuemhat exemplifies the theory well. The monumental funerary superstructure is documented in the past form of Old Kingdom pyramids,¹⁸⁹ and secondly, the form of the earlier architectural element differs from the temporal past,¹⁹⁰ in which the resurgence of monumental sepulchres is evident from the late 25th dynasty–26th dynasty.¹⁹¹ Second to the superstructure of TT34, the substructure also takes on archaic form of the Old Kingdom, reminiscent of deep shafted tombs surrounding the 3rd dynasty complex of Djoser.¹⁹² This archaising of Old Kingdom architecture positions Mentuemhat within Egypt's cultural memory, equating him with the kings of the Old Kingdom who introduced monumental funerary architecture. Much like the archaising of Mentuemhat's statuary and reliefs, the archaising tendencies apparent in the

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. 122–123. See Russmann (1995), figs. 4 & 5.

¹⁸⁶ Robins (1997), 219.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. 124.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. 125.

¹⁸⁹ Assmann (2011), 18.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Dodson & Ikram (2008) 278.

¹⁹² See fn. 163, 164 & 165.

architecture of his sepulchre further reiterate the powerful role in which he was positioned as Mayor of Thebes.

Of the archaising aspects of the tomb of Mentuemhat, the first court is arguably one of the most fascinating. The formal structure of the court, which is comparatively Osirian in style, incorporates the Osirian elements that transform the symbolism of the court into that of a coffin, inferring the pronounced interest in the cult of Osiris during the Late Period. Through this symbolic iconography, the archaising of cultic traditions is present. Mentuemhat, by assimilating parts of his funerary architecture with Osiris, effectively revives the prominence of the cult of Osiris, which during the Middle Kingdom reached its peak at Abydos.¹⁹³ The similarities between the TT34 and the 19th dynasty Osireion may again allude to archaising. This funerary architecture, as can also be seen in the contemporary tomb of Harwa (TT37), could demonstrate Mentuemhat's desire to associate himself with the 19th dynasty pharaoh, Seti I, who constructed the Osireion at his mortuary complex in order to link himself with the god Osiris.¹⁹⁴ Through Mentuemhat's association with Seti I, he in turn created a link for himself with Osiris.

In addition to the evidence for the archaising of the Old Kingdom and New Kingdom in the formal structure of Mentuemhat's sepulchre, the decoration of his tomb also supports this. The sample of reliefs used in Chapter II was exemplary of archaising scenes and styles of the Old Kingdom and New Kingdom. It can be concluded that the architecture of TT34 refers most to the Old Kingdom with regards to its monumental superstructure and deep-shafted substructure. The archaising tendencies deployed in the funerary sphere would, with such a strong Osirian influence, suggest funerary elements of the Middle Kingdom.

¹⁹³ Kemp (2007), 140.

¹⁹⁴ See fn. 173.

Conclusion

The archaising tendencies present in Mentuemhat's art and architecture have produced a varied conclusion as to which earlier period of Egyptian history was most referred to through archaising. Chapter I, concerning the statuary of Mentuemhat, in a broader sense exhibited a combination of both the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom. Cairo Museum CG 42237, the main focus of the chapter was however, a perfect example of the eclecticism of the early Late Period in which all three previous pinnacles of ancient Egyptian culture — Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom — were present in its formal and iconographic composition. The reasoning being the archaising would seem to suggest Mentuemhat's desire to be portrayed in a way which depicted power and rulership, both which were aspects of the roles he played in the Egyptian Late Period's history. The archaising of his statuary further placed Mentuemhat within Egypt's cultural memory, solidifying his personage as an imperative official whom was equated with earlier figures of royalty and clergy.

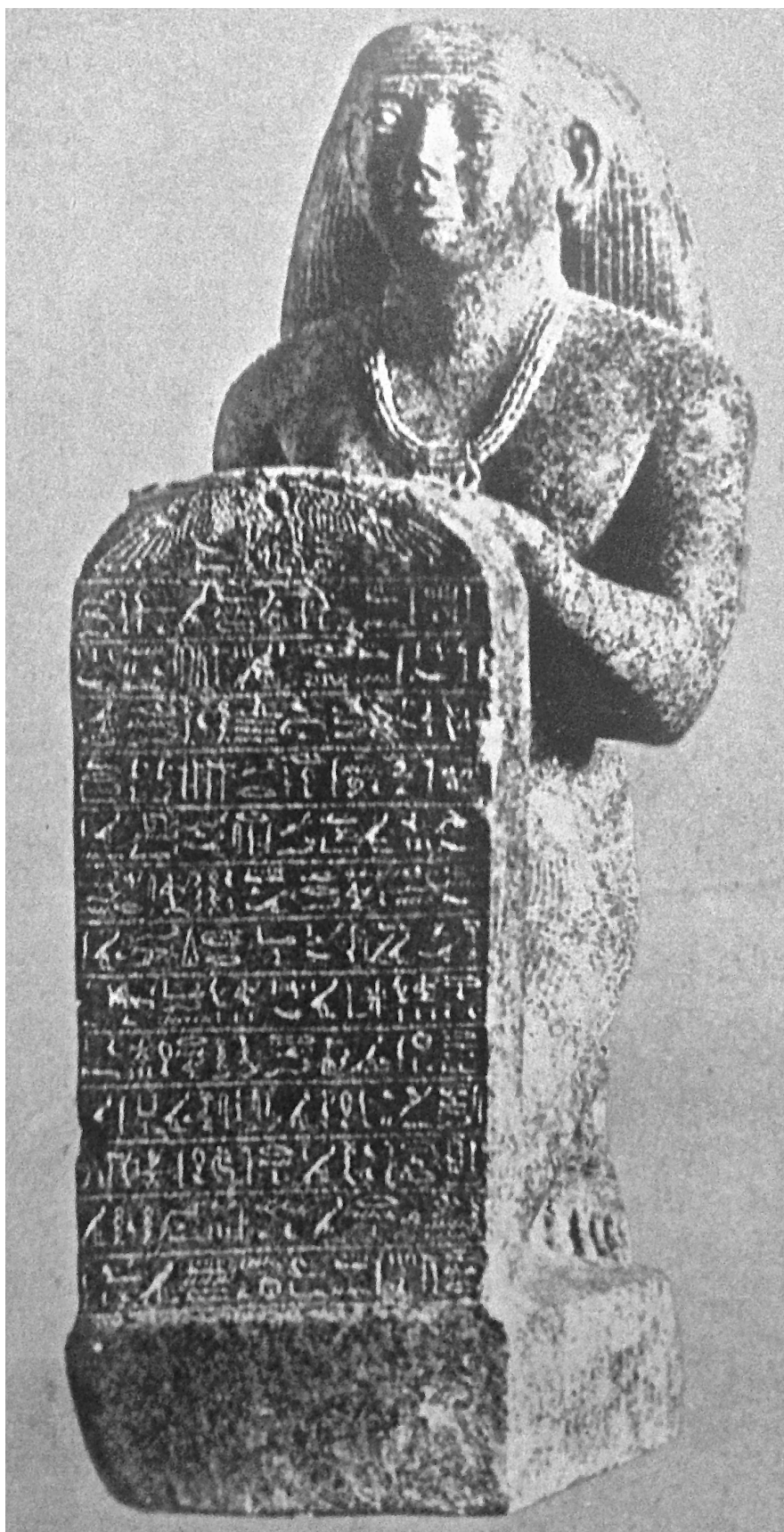
In similar fashion, the reliefs used to demonstrate the archaising tendencies present in the art of the early Late Period represented again, the desire for depictions of power and rulership. Interestingly, the archaising present in the reliefs of Mentuemhat were not solely focused on himself in such a way as the statuary but, also archaisms were applied to depictions of his wife in both symbolic iconography and formal composition. This archaising was, however, cleverly deployed to represent Mentuemhat in a powerful light, equating him with the kingship of the Old Kingdom. The ecclesiastic imagery used in the relief of main focus, Cleveland 1949.492, demonstrated a referral to the New Kingdom with particular significance being channelled through his iconography.

Finally, the archaising tendencies found in the architectural elements of the tomb of Mentuemhat (TT34) were also drawn from the Old Kingdom and New Kingdom, elevating the status and role of the Fourth Prophet of Amun to that of the Old Kingdom king, which was supported by the decoration of the tomb in the form of relief. When considering the funerary sphere, it can be inferred that Mentuemhat's sepulchre archaised the cultic and religious beliefs that were most prominent during the Middle Kingdom.

To conclude, the case study of Mentuemhat, Mayor of Thebes revealed that of the early Late Period, it was highly representative of the archaising tendencies. Through the examples used, elements of archaising from the Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and/or New Kingdom were all prevalent in at least one medium of the art and architecture. Behind each archaising, there seems to have been a conscious decision to select certain aspects of each of the pinnacles of Egypt's greatest culture, in order to further demonstrate the role in which Mentuemhat held power. Conversely, the archaising may have reflected the personal antiquarian interests of the patron.¹⁹⁵ Either way, by doing so, Mentuemhat enabled himself to be entered into Egypt's cultural memory and demonstrated the plethora of archaising tendencies prominent in the early Late Period of Egyptian history.

¹⁹⁵ Morkot (2003), 99.

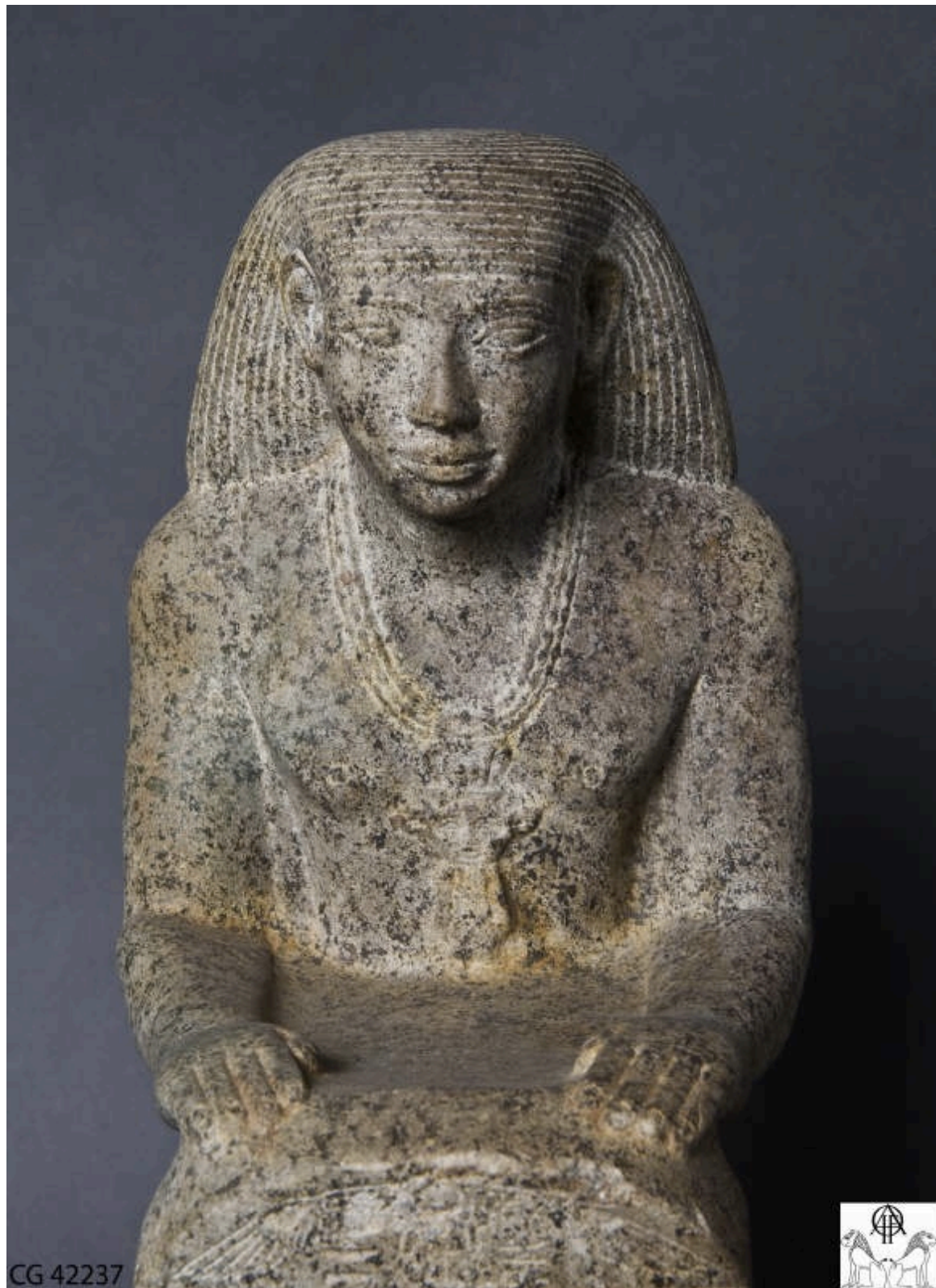
Appendix 1



1.1. Cairo Museum CG 42237: Steloportous statue of Mentuemhat. Leclant (1960), pl. VI.



1.2. Cairo Museum CG 42237: Stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat. Ihab Mohammad Ibrahim, © IFAO – SCA.



1.3. Cairo Museum CG 42237: Close-up of steloportous statue of Mentuemhat. Ihab Mohammad Ibrahim, © IFAO – SCA.



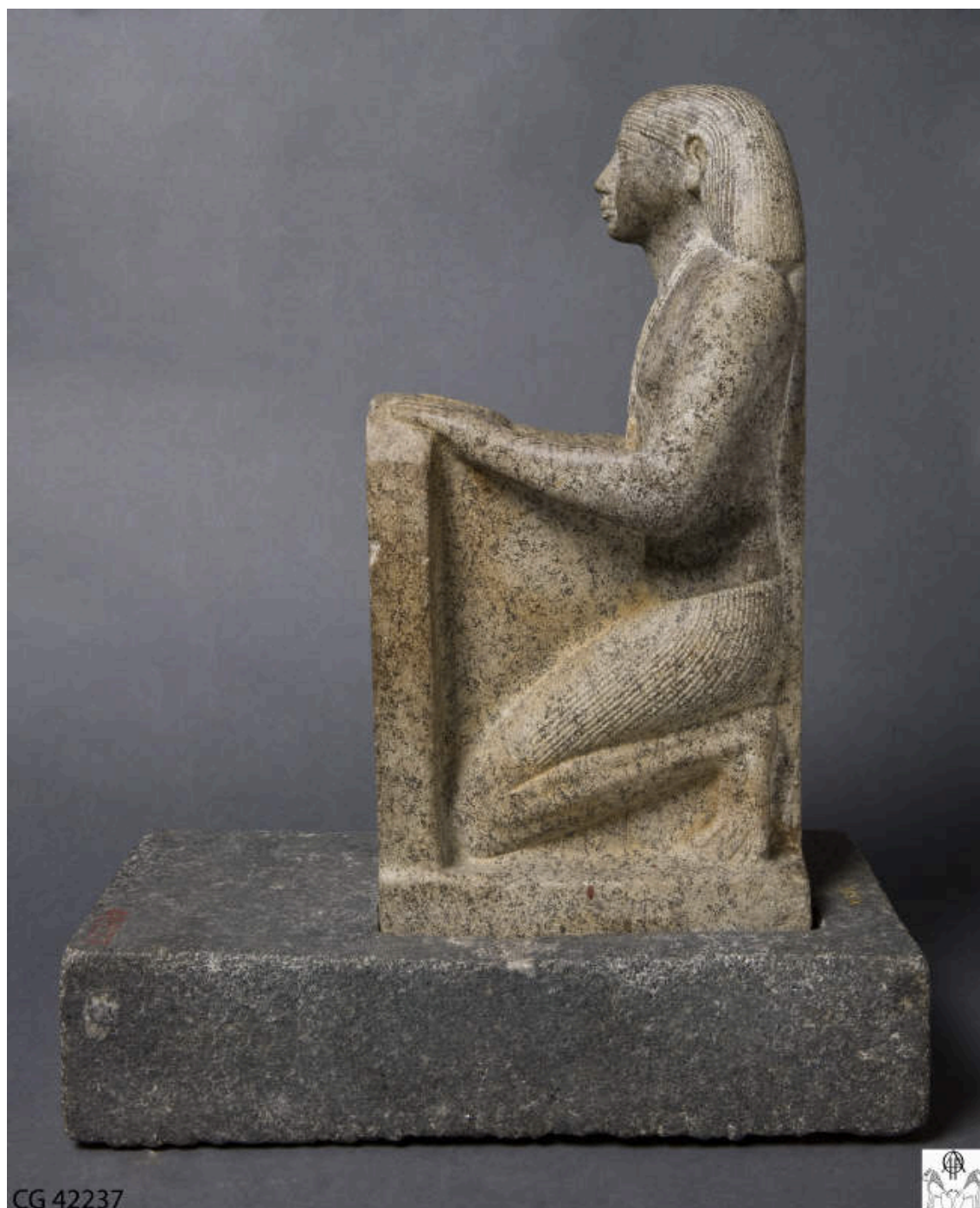
1.4. Cairo Museum CG 42237: Stela of stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat. Ihab Mohammad Ibrahim, © IFAO – SCA.



1.5. Cairo Museum CG 42237: Back of stelo-phorous statue of Mentuemhat. Ihab Mohammad Ibrahim, © IFAO – SCA.



1.6. Cairo Museum CG 42237: Right side of stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat. Ihab Mohammad Ibrahim, © IFAO – SCA.



1.7. Cairo Museum CG 42237: Left side of stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat. Ihab Mohammad Ibrahim, © IFAO – SCA.

Cairo Museum object CG 42237 is a stelophorous, anthropoid statue of Mentuemhat, dated to the late 25th dynasty. The statue depicts the Fourth Prophet of Amun in a kneeling position behind a stela that rests upon the ground. Mentuemhat's hands rest upon the top of the lunette. The condition of the statue is very good, still retaining its detail and high quality of craftsmanship. Mentuemhat is depicted with a youthful

demeanor, wearing a horizontally striated wig that falls to the shoulder, behind large ears. Although a youthful demeanor, the face of Mentuemhat is almost expressionless. The lips are full and protruding, and the eyes are almost almond-like in their shape, surrounded by a prominent set of eyelids. Around his neck he wears a pendant on a triple beaded necklace, depicting a Bat emblem. This emblem can be seen on a number of examples of statuary produced by Mentuemhat.¹⁹⁶ Although the iconography of Bat was detrimental to the influence on the cult of Hathor, iconographic representations in Egyptian art are scarce, due to being absorbed by representations of Hathor during the Middle Kingdom. It is also possible that Bat could be seen on the Narmer Palette.¹⁹⁷ If this is the case, the archaising of the iconography of the Bat emblem must precede the Middle Kingdom. Mentuemhat wears a vertically striated kilt with a wide belt, which falls just above the knee. This style of attire is similar to that of the New Kingdom. Stelophorous statues are first produced during the 18th dynasty of the New Kingdom and often, they are incorporated into the niche of the entrance of Theban tomb chapels.¹⁹⁸ This phenomenon of adopting the earlier styles of the 18th dynasty exemplifies the archaising most frequently seen during the Late Period, in particular the 25th (Kushite), and 26th (Saïte) dynasties. The provenance of the object is the cachette of the Great Temple, Karnak.¹⁹⁹ The height of the object is 40 cm and the material used is a green breccia. The round-topped lunette of the stela depicts, under the winged sun-disk (reading “[Horus] of Behdet, the great god, lord of heaven.”),²⁰⁰ a hymn to the god Amun, consisting of 13 horizontal registers. The inscription reads as:

¹⁹⁶ Fay (2002), figs. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8.

¹⁹⁷ Wilkinson (2003), 172.

¹⁹⁸ Robins (1997), 144; Friedman (1985), 93-94; Stewart (1967), 36.

¹⁹⁹ *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, statues, reliefs and paintings*. <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/3cairo.pdf>

²⁰⁰ Lichtheim (2006), 30.

The Fourth prophet of Amun, the count, governor of Upper Egypt,
 Montemhet, in health; he says:
 Hail to you Amun,
 Maker of mankind,
 God who created all beings!
 Beneficent king,
 First one of the Two Lands,
 Who planned the eternity he made.
 Great in power,
 Mighty in awe,
 Whose forms are exalted above other gods.
 Mighty of strength,
 Who smites the rebels,
 Whose horn attacks the evildoers.
 I bow down to your name,
 May it be my physician,
 May it remove my body's illness,
 May it drive pain away from me,
 May your horn be aflame, the arm moving.
 May he put love of me in people's hearts,
 That everyone be fond of me.
 May he grant me a good burial
 In the graveyard of my city, the sacred land is in his grasp.
 May he make my name last like heaven's stars,
 My statue endure as one of his followers.
 May my *ka* be remembered in his temple night and day,
 May I renew my youth like the moon.
 May my name not be forgotten in after years ever,
 The name of Amun's fourth prophet, count of the city,
 Montemhet, in health.²⁰¹

From the textual inscription on the stela, it is possible to identify the roles and titles that were held by Mentuemhat, including Fourth Prophet of Amun and Count of the City. It is important to acknowledge that the back pillar is an addition that is specific to Egyptian sculpture. The style of the back pillar is also a determinative of the period from which the work of art originates. In the case of the stelophorous statue of Mentuemhat, the pillar terminates in a squared off top, stylistically distinctive of the Late Period.²⁰² There is no break between the bottom of the wig and the back pillar, which is incised with a solitary, vertical register of text.

²⁰¹ Ibid. 30–31.

²⁰² Bothmer (1960), XXXIV.



2. BM EA480: Stelophorous statue of Amenwashu. 18th dynasty.



3. BM EA1305: Stelophorous statue of Khaemwaset. 19th dynasty.



4. BM EA1382: Stelophorous statue of Ashamira. Ramesside period.



5. BM EA24430: Stelophorous statue. 18th dynasty.



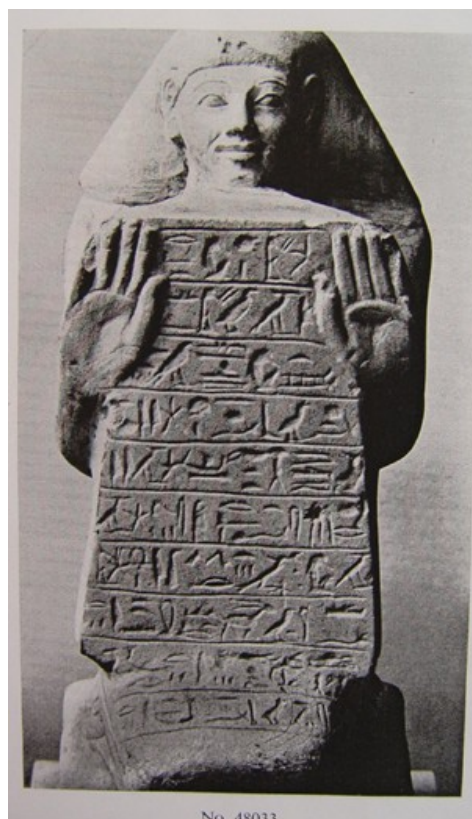
6. BM EA26270: Stelophorous Statue. Late Period.



7. BM EA29279: Stelophorous statue. 18th dynasty.



8. BM EA56349: Stelophorous statue of Sennetjer. 18th dynasty.



9. BM EA48033: Stelophorous statue. 18th dynasty.



10. © Brooklyn Museum 37.48E: Stelophorous statue of Khaemhat. 18th dynasty.



11. BM EA1387: Stelophorous statue of Khaemwaset. 18th dynasty.



12. MFA Boston 1986.747: Stelophorous statue of Nentowaref. 18th dynasty.



13. MMA 66.99.94: Stelophorous statue of Bay. 19th dynasty.



14. ÄM 2314: Stelophorous statue of Sa-Iset. 18th dynasty.



15. National Archaeological Museum A76: Stelophorous statue of Turai. 18th dynasty.



16. BM EA22557: Stelophorous statue of Amenemhab. 18th dynasty.



17. Cairo Museum CG 42236: Standing statue of Mentuemhat. 25th-26th dynasty.



18. Cairo Museum CG 893: Bust of Mentuemhat. 25th-26th dynasty.



19. MFA Boston 11.1738: Dyad statue of king Menkaure and queen. 4th dynasty.

Appendix 2



1. © Cleveland Museum of Art 1949.492; Mentuemhat as Priest with Staff and Scepter c. 667–647 BC.

Cleveland Museum of Art object 1949.492 is a relief depicting Mentuemhat in ecclesiastical attire, showing his position of office as the Fourth Prophet of Amun. The

relief has been dated to the late 25th dynasty–early 26th dynasty. The material used is limestone and has been carved in raised relief, in the style of the period. The relief has been described as containing stylistic features of the Middle Kingdom, another example of the archaising tendencies carried out by the craftsmen of the Late Period. The condition of the relief is good with traces of red paint still visible. Even so, there is a substantial amount of damage to the piece, mainly on the torso area of the body. Mentuemhat is depicted in the relief with priestly symbols. In the left hand is a staff and in the right hand is a scepter. Mentuemhat wears a leopard cloak on which three paws and the tail are depicted, secured by an archaising shoulder knot of the Old Kingdom. His left breast is exposed, which can be seen in similar, ecclesiastical reliefs of his.²⁰³ Around the neck, Mentuemhat is depicted wearing a necklace with a double heart amulet upon it.²⁰⁴ The ringleted wig worn by Mentuemhat is stylistically dated to the 18th dynasty of the New Kingdom. The large horizontally set eyes and mouth with drilled corner are indicative of Kushite relief, seen at both Karnak and Medinet Habu,²⁰⁵ although, the face is almost Thutmosid in style. Remnants of a horizontal register of large, crisp, hieroglyphic text in raised relief can be seen at the top of the relief. The height of the relief is 85.2 cm and the width is 46 cm.

²⁰³ See App. 2.2, 2.3.

²⁰⁴ See Sousa (2007).

²⁰⁵ Russmann (1997), 22–23.



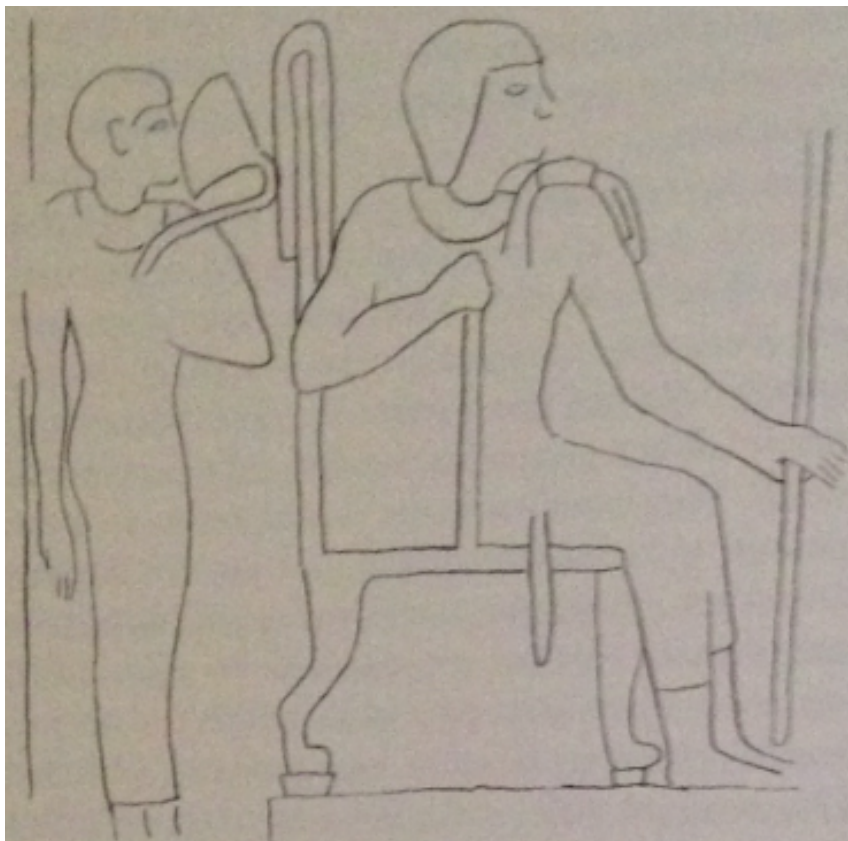
2. © Cleveland Museum of Art 1951.281: Mentuemhat in Ecclesiastical Dress, c. 667–647 BC.



3. © Cleveland Museum of Art 1951.280: Mentuemhat in Ecclesiastical Dress, c. 667-647 BC.



4. Seattle 53.80: Sunk relief fragment representing Mentuemhat and Shepenmut. Russmann (1997), fig. 1.



5. Tomb of Mentuemhat, second court, south end of west wall, bottom register: raised relief representation of Mentuemhat and Wedjarenes (sketch by the author). Russmann (1997), fig. 4.



6. Saqqara, tomb of Mereruka (Sixth Dynasty), detail of wall relief: Mereruka's wife, the King's daughter, Sesheshet. Russmann (1997), fig. 5.



7. Brooklyn Museum 48.74: Tomb Relief Fragment.



8. Two painted details from the tomb of Menna (18th dynasty). Cooney (1950), Plate XV.

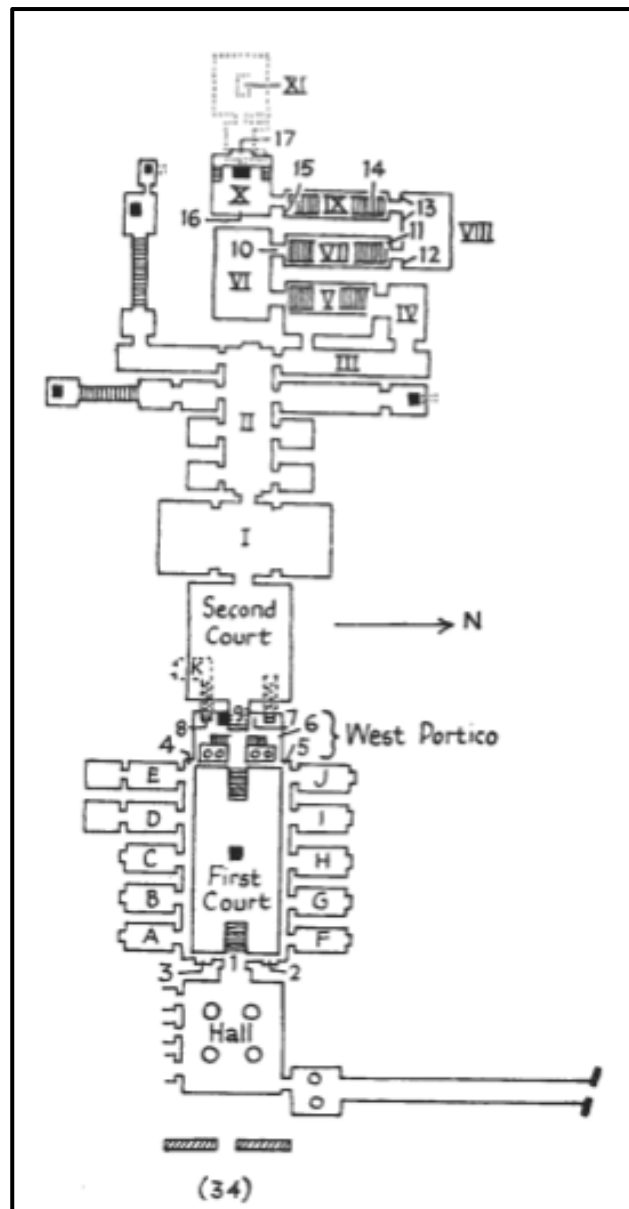


9. Florence 7635h. Ketchley (2011–2012), fig. 3.



10. © Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Two *hem k* priests. Tomb of Mereruka, Saqqara. 6th dynasty.

Appendix 3



1. Tomb of Mentuemhat (TT34) in the South Assasif, Thebes. PM 1, 52.

Abbreviations

AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
BMSAES	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
JACF	<i>Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society of the Studies of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
Memnonia	<i>Memnonia. Assoc. pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum</i>
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>

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