

Kushite Kings' Artistic Features during Twenty-fifth Dynasty (685- 664 B.C)

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Abstract

Due to the long time of interaction between Egypt and Kush, we can notice that the Kushite royal costumes reveal the Egyptian influences. The costumes of the Kushite kings had been characterized by mingled and overlapped style, it showed up various types of crowns, ornaments, and clothing. Kushite costumes were distinguished from Kushite ethnic features, besides the traditional Egyptian. This paper deals, with the interconnections between the Egyptian and Kushite costumes during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Did the Kushite adopt all the costumes and designs of Egyptians without adding their own Nubian identity? On the other hand, they may have adopted a new style that combines two identities the Egyptian and Kushite, attempting to appease the Egyptians, as well as the Kushite, The article concludes that, Kushite did not imitate Egyptian art director or excessive, but rather they could join between the Egyptian custom and Kushite character.

Keywords: Costumes- Egyptian- interconnections- Kushite- Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

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Many scholars, who study the relation between Egypt and Nubia, focus on the mutual culture influences,

¹costumes come as one of the important branches of art, which make us know more about the co-relation between Egypt and Nubia, especially during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty after the Kushite kings domination.² By the end of the New Kingdom, a new Dynasty emerged in the region of *JabalBerkel* and the fourth Cataract in the mid-ninth century.³ During the reign of King Kashta (c.750 B.C.E) they became powerful enough to invade Upper Egypt and control *Thebes*, a process continued by *Piya* (ankh) and confirmed by *Shabako*.⁴ This is not the place to discuss the history of Kush or issues relating to the formation of Kushite state. Whether the Kushite adapted all Egyptian costumes during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty or copied the Egyptian royal costumes; they were keen to add the Kushite ethnic identity on their costumes.⁵ Kushite kings associated with the memory keeping the order and restore the past glory, and Egyptian had kept in mind their piety towards the gods of the country, so Kushite less hat, they saw themselves as legitimate rulers of Egypt.⁶ The study of the Kushite art, in general, may emphasize the archaizing tendency of Egyptian art,⁷ that the traditionalism of the Kushite had its root in the attempt to gain the legitimacy by appearing more Egyptian than Egyptian themselves⁸, and by showing more reverence towards the past glory of Egypt than the Egyptian did. This applies also to the costumes, which appeared during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty for the Kushite kings, and it had remarked with stereotypes of the Egyptian style. It is not surprising that, Kushite kings appear wearing all Egyptian costumes⁹ as a part of artistic programs, carried out after conquered Egypt;¹⁰ the Kushite art is used as a tool of propaganda to cloak their regimes with the legitimacy of rule and to camouflage their foreignness.¹¹

*Russmann*¹² pointed out that Kushite was no foreigners in Egypt, they were coming to restore the glorious past of Egypt, so they tried to convince the Egyptian with their role in restoring the unity of Egypt. The Kushite royal costumes during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty indicate the conservative nature of Egyptian traditional costumes. Initially, they had copied all the royal Egyptian costumes from the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom, the late Eighteenth Dynasty;¹³ there are many conceptions, which describe the Kushite costumes during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty such as; archaism,¹⁴ Renaissance or revival of the Egyptian style. But the most important question that needs an answer, had Kushite rulers adopted all Egyptian costumes and had copied without adding any Nubian identity on their costumes? By studying the majority representations of the Kushite Kings like *Shabako*, *Piya*, and *Taharqa*, it is clear that Kushite artistic production had been combined with the Egyptian traditional style of the New Kingdom and Kushite facial features such as; blunt nose, prominent lips and slanted chin line (pl.1), but little or no trace of his modified '*Kushite fold*'.¹⁵ A

representation of *Taharqa*¹⁶ shows good facial features, which carved in the Egyptian tradition.¹⁷(pl.2) It is notable that sculptors, who portrayed the kings of Twenty-fifth Dynasty imitates the models of the Old Kingdom, this is particularly evident in reliefs¹⁸ from bluntness facial features, which may owe as much to the material and the workmanship as to Kushite prototypes. *Russmann* points out that the representation of *Taharqa* in Brooklyn Museum¹⁹ is characterized as a typical Kushite feature, which appeared in costumes and the round head;²⁰ (Pl. 1, 2) so we are surprised to see this prominence face²¹ of foreigners, who now ruling Egypt.²² The Kushite kings had set forth their ethnic identity, and they had succeeded in combining with the traditional Egyptian style and innovative Kushite elements.²³

Kushite kings in distinguishing headdress & crowns

The Kushite kings appear wearing crowns that consisted of two parts, a closely fitted skull cap which came down low on the forehead with rounded tabs in front of the ears, and a cloth band which could be plain or decorated with a row of cobras along its upper edge²⁴(pl. 3). The bandeau was tied up at the back and the ends fell free from the shoulders. The author has to mention that the majority of the Kushite cap-crown were with double uraei and were attached to the front of the band, with their tails extending up over the top of the cap and down behind the streamers²⁵(pl. 4). Debatable issue is about the rooting of this *cap-crown*; the question is raised to answer: is this cap-crown belongs to the Kushite or Egyptians? So the author displays different opinions tried answering this question, *Russmann* assumed that this *cap-crown* may replace the white crown of Upper Egypt,²⁶ but the author does not prefer this opinion because there are examples of white crowns for Kushite kings.²⁷

The earliest appearance of a close-fitting head was on the head of *Shepseskaf* in the Old Kingdom,²⁸ and then it disappeared during the Middle Kingdom²⁹ and beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty probably due to the kings avoid any form of close-fitting head covering at that time.³⁰ By the Nineteenth Dynasty the cap head covering spread wider starting the reign of king *Seti I* and his son *Ramses II*,³¹ but during the Twentieth Dynasty the skullcap retained its popularity and became again close-fitting head covering and more rounded in shape.³² Some scholars argued that this Kushite cap-crown was not a Nubian's invention, but this royal headdress has a long history in Egypt, certainly older than the blue crown. It is probably that the cap-crown of Kushite kings was distinguished than the Egyptian one and the artists during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty developed the old shape of this crown to fit with Kushite kings.³³ This distinguished cap-crown continued during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty through the slab of *Psmatki I* in the British museum,³⁴ the same crown was copied during the reign of king *Nechtanbo I*.³⁵

Overall, the author points out that the originality of this cap-crown will still ambiguous, but the Kushite kings could achieve the remarkable features of this *cap-crown* as two parts and two uraei on the forehead³⁶ in addition to the Nubian bluntness facial features. The Kushite kings assure their remarkable features through combinations of two different elements of a *cap-crown*, which may had its deep rooting in Egyptian civilization, which was worn as one crown with double uraei. Kushite kings appear wearing another unusual crown, consisting of four tall plumes. (pl. 5) It is believed that this crown belongs to god *Onuris*.³⁷ We did not have any evidences of that Egyptian kings wore this crown except *Akhenaton* who appear wearing what has been called crown of *Onuris-Shu*, but pictures of this headdress show little similarities to those of Kushite.³⁸ Other Kushite headdresses were worn by king *Shabako* are exhibited in Munich and Louvre museum,³⁹ which look like he plumes of *Onuris*. It was known along the ancient Egyptian history that the solar disk was worn by gods, not by kings who are alive, so this is considered as a kind of innovation by Kushite kings;⁴⁰ they also added two horns on different types of their crowns (pl. 6) seemingly reflecting the combination of overlapping elements dating back to those of the Egyptian previous period as a kind of archaism (fig. 1).

The Kushite kings tried to create a distinguish headdress by placing two uraei on the forehead (pl. 1), (fig.1). *Russmann*⁴¹ believes that whatever the headdress of the Kushite kings they by no means always wore over his forehead two uraei side by side. *Leclant* remarks that the earliest Kushite representations of the double uraeus which we have are those of *Shabako*.⁴² The double uraeus is associated with the skull-cap and fillet during Kushite Period, the author have to revise the royal representation from earlier times to trace the idea of the double Uraeus. It is obvious that the idea of double uraeus in Egyptian beliefs spread on cartouches of kings and jewelry.⁴³ *Von Bissing* points out to the double uraeus on the forehead but for royal Egyptian women,⁴⁴ *Leclant* and *Schafer* argued that the double uraeus appears through the canopic jars of *Amenhotep II* and *Horemhob*.⁴⁵ But *Russmann* mentions that all these Egyptian representations were, in fact, those of

cobra and vulture, but the same double uraeus dates back to the reign of king *Akhenaton*, this is the only pre-Kushite example.⁴⁶ Overall, the double uraeus was associated in the Pre-Kushite with a headdress consisting of a disk placed in front of two tall feathers; it can be noted that this headdress was worn by god *Monthu* in the Middle Kingdom and Later. Kushite kings appear wearing the double uraeus with different types of crowns and headdresses which were a part of their program including other ornaments and overlapping elements on the Egyptian costume to satisfy the Egyptians and to justify their authority on the throne of Egypt.⁴⁷

Kushite Ornaments on Egyptian Costumes

The personal ornaments of Kushite kings were somewhat less orthodox than their costumes. Although they continued wearing the broad collar, shaped necklace of ancient tradition, they preferred an abundance of armlets and bracelets which may reflect the foreign taste.⁴⁸ Although the Kushite kings appear wearing the Egyptian traditional costumes (e.g. Red, white and double crowns), they added many innovations,⁴⁹ especially jewelry which may be a Kushite importation. The Kushite kings added other ornamental devices to Egyptian costumes; the ram's head played an important role in their jewelry,⁵⁰ such as ear rings and neck cords. Also they appear wearing a ram's horn curled around the ear, and they are keen on ram's amulet around their neck⁵¹ (pl. 3). Thus the ornaments are rare in Karnak representations, but they appear worn around rounds and reliefs.⁵² Beside ram's head ornaments the Kushite kings have also seen with the identification of the king with the young Horus, it would not be without precedent for an Egyptian king to appear in divine accessories. It should be noted that all these devices are connected with the deified king.⁵³

Egyptian Tradition Clothing with Kushite Innovation

It is natural that the Kushite rulers after ascending the throne of Egypt⁵⁴ are shown wearing the Egyptian royal kilt, which was the favorable cloth of Egyptian kings from Predynastic period;⁵⁵ *Shabako* is shown wearing the identical Egyptian royal kilt of the Old Kingdom⁵⁶ which reflects the skills of artists who were ordered by the royal court at that time⁵⁷ (pl. 7), all the Kushite kings without exception preferred wearing the Egyptian royal kilt without and modification.⁵⁸ *Taharqa* imitated king *Pepi I*⁵⁹ (pl. 8, 9); he appeared in a kneeling position with a pleated short kilt and an apron between thighs.⁶⁰ It is noteworthy that Kushite kings deliberated wearing the clothing of Egyptian individuals; *Shabako*⁶¹ appeared wearing a starched kilt with a double edge⁶² (pl. 10). This dress was copied from the Old Kingdom with its Egyptian traditional design,⁶³ which might reflect the conservative nature of the Kushite kings whose clothing are remarked with the orthodox Egyptian style⁶⁴ (Fig. 2). *Taharqa* continued wearing the Egyptian traditional royal clothing, throughout his reliefs from the shrine at *Kawa* temple;⁶⁵ the artists of King *Taharqa* began a combination between the clothing of Egyptian Kings that depended on the Old, Middle Kingdom style from one side, and the clothing of the New Kingdom kings on the other side;⁶⁶ such a combination might create a complicated design.

Another Egyptian clothing were worn by Kushite kings; an archaic dress with two clasp straps on the shoulder, and a kilt covering the lower part; *Taharqa* is shown wearing the upper part dress with two straps upon the shoulder and a starched kilt with a triangle apron covering the lower part (pl. 11), According to *Vogelsang*,⁶⁷ it is difficult to consider that this costume is an 'archaic wrap-round dress', because it seems tailored cloth with two straps were fixed upon the shoulder, but by comparing the scene with another one of King *Sahure* from his temple at *Abu Sir* (fig. 3),⁶⁸ concludes its Egyptian root as composite dress. Also, King *Skhemkhet* from *Wadi el-Maghara's* relief is shown wearing the same costume but with one strap.⁶⁹ This costume continued in ancient Egypt during the New Kingdom with little innovation represented in a simple kilt with a broad apron ending with fringes.⁷⁰ After reviewing all these examples, it becomes easy to define this costume as an Egyptian one that seemingly began to be worn during the Old Kingdom then continued to the New Kingdom, and then it was imitated by Kushite rulers during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Nevertheless, the Kushite rulers cared to add a little innovation on their costumes, for example on the costumes of Kushite rulers, there is an innovation as clasp straps upon the shoulder, which it appeared remarkably with a knot or ribbon, looking like the head of ram symbol of god *Amun*.⁷¹ *Russmann*⁷² pointed that: 'This amulet or ribbon had peculiarly southern connotation related to the ram-headed *Amun* worshiped in *Nubia*.' *Török*⁷³ added that: 'It is thus particularly interesting that the image of the deity who plays a special role in the Kushite kingship ideology would appear as a protector of the ribbons that fasten the Kushite costumes.' *Vogelsang*⁷⁴ suggested that all the straps of female dress which appeared from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom (fig.

4), confirms the difference between the straps and its knots during ancient Egypt and other clasp straps in the Kushite period with remarkable ribbons.

A character device in reliefs, especially at Kawa⁷⁵ is the depiction of King Taharqa shown wearing unique clothing, it begins with a short kilt over a long one and two crossed falcons on his chest (pl.12), ending with the *Sn* sign between its claws. *Russmann*⁷⁶ suggested that it is hard to account for, as a kind of cuirass or jacket, but *Hofmann*⁷⁷ believes that this garment with the winged falcon decoration originated with Kushite kings, *Borchardt*,⁷⁸ it to the Old Kingdom. In my point of view, this costume of Taharqa and other Kushite rulers with crossed falcon upon his chest looks like the costume of King *Amenhotep II*⁷⁹ (fig. 5), so its root is puzzling and it needs to evidences, specially that there is a statue of *Karomama*⁸⁰ with falcon wings on her costumes, whether Kushite rulers imitated this Egyptian costume or vice versa? This costume will still hold many symbols, it needs much more research. The shrine of Taharqa⁸¹ is still carrying us new styles of clothing, which combine Egyptian tradition and Kushite innovation, Taharqa is shown wearing priestly costume which consists of panther garments with one shoulder strap ending with a head of panther and diagonal strap, and the upper shawl on the left shoulder. This costume certainly was copied from Egyptian costumes, but here Taharqa combined in his costumes the two shapes of priestly costumes of the Old and New Kingdom.

One of the most enigmatic parts in the Kushite rulers' clothing is a long cord with tassels fixed to its ends, According to *Török*⁸² the cord is whenever discernible or circular; the tassels are usually, but not always, suspended by means of loitform devices fixed to the ends of the cord (fig. 6). *Shabitku*⁸³ is shown wearing the Egyptian kilt with a broad apron ending with a row of a serpents, and the tasseled cord is on right side (fig. 7). *Taharqa* also is shown with this tasseled cord⁸⁴ twined in the belt of the cloth, it has one tassel at each side end (fig. 8); to originate this tasseled cord to Kushite or Egyptian, we have to follow its development in both civilizations, *Török*⁸⁵ referred that may this Kushite tasseled cord is copied from Egyptian costumes and then developed by Kushite during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, he pointed to the representation of *Ramses III* and his son with looped ribbons (fig. 9). But we find out that this tasseled cord is worn by Egyptian priests during the New Kingdom in a simple manner (fig. 10), as long ribbon hangs down.⁸⁶ *Török*⁸⁷ argued another view concerning the origin of this cord, he pointed out that the tasseled cord was introduced at Thebes by Kushite princess who installed there as *Amun*'s first Prophets, then it was worn by Theban priests. The author adopt the same view of *Török*, i.e. the tasseled cord is one of the Nubian costumes which already existed in Kush several decades earlier than the Egyptian; thus in the relief of one Nubian prisoner we can see this tasseled cord behind him,⁸⁸ so we can conclude further that the tasseled cord was exclusively associated with the robe of high priests of *Amun of Gematon* at Kawa and somewhat later also of *Amun of Thebes* at Thebes, So the tasseled cord in this early periods a distinctive feature of the robe of the high priest, then it became accessories of the ruler as the high priest only at later date in the course of Kushite Period.⁸⁹ The last Kushite king *Tanutamani*⁹⁰ is shown wearing a coat or a cloak (fig. 11) fastened to his right shoulder and with remarkable narrow ribbons decorated with a small rosette and following the line of the folds of the coat running across the chest.⁹¹ *Török*⁹² suggested that the asymmetrically fastened coat was introduced in ancient Egyptian society in a female fashion during the reign of king *Amenhotep II*, and as a male dress in the reign of king *Amenhotep III*. *Vogelsang*⁹³ pointed that this type of coat appeared as a developed style of coat during the New Kingdom, she named it 'knotted cloak', on one shoulder. In our point of view, this fastened cloak appeared from the Middle Kingdom on the individuals as we can notice through the scenes of *Ukhhotep* tomb, the draped cloak on one shoulder centimeter shorter than the tunic worn underneath; and as usually in changing fashion this draped cloak transited to kings during the New Kingdom, and king *Amenhotep III*⁹⁴ was the first king who wore this type of cloak; he wore a shawl draped over his left arm and a fringed tunic beneath. The narrow ribbons on the coat of *Tanutamani* remind us of the decoration of the coat of the Old Kingdom style for high priests.⁹⁵

Conclusion

In the beginning the artists tried hard to Egyptianize the Kushite kings, this attempt carried out by combining the classicism of ancient Egyptian royal images with just hints of the typically Kushite facial features and other ornaments on their crowns, clothing (e.g. Tasseled cord, dot of rosettes, clasp straps) which led to artistic eclecticism, which did not miss elegance and harmony. After reviewing the majority of

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Kushite kings during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, it is inaccurate that the costumes of Kushite kings were copied completely from the Egyptian one; they selected specific costume items to wear to look like Egyptian kings in glory of the Old Kingdom. At the same time, they had maintained some little details in their costumes to integrate into their ethnic identity. It is clear that there was interconnection between Egyptian and Kushite costumes, this interconnection became clear after investigation of the Kushite costumes of rulers, as they are shown wearing the Egyptian costumes of kings and individuals such as traditional crowns, headdresses, kilts and skirts, cloaks and garment, but the artists added the Nubian identity.

So the author can conclude that the costumes of Kushite kings can be characterized as a third hybrid entity as a combination of different mingled styles. We should know that Kushite kings easily adapted and used these Egyptian costumes for many reasons such as; attempts to reconnect themselves with the Egyptian past, also the direct influence of Egypt on Kushite elite during the Egyptian expansion which created cultural interconnections between Egypt and Kush that remained unbroken. So it is possible to assume that the Kushite kings' costumes were not the deliberate choice of them, but a result of the longtime interconnection between the two cultures. Although the Kushite kings adhered to the Egyptian traditional costumes, they emphasized their distinctive African physiognomy through various features. The innovations of Kushite kings' costumes are represented as decoration items add to their costumes, such as the tasseled cord found in Kushite costumes, and the knotting straps of their dress that took the shape of ram-headed, symbol of God *Amun*, also the tripartite costumes became a clear phenomenon during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty for the Kushite kings as this clothing gathered the ankle-length garment and cloak then shawl, very ornate aprons with uraei fringes. The Kushite kings did not abandon their identity as it is known; they adapted the Egyptian costumes to achieve some political purposes after invading Egypt. The Kushite costumes during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty was characterized by the '*duplication appearance*', they had succeeded in doing a balance between their relations with Egyptians on one hand and their Kushite identity in their homes.



Plate 1: Head of Shabako with distinguished facial features, Brooklyn Museum, 60.74, after Russmann, E. (1974). *Op.cit.*, fig. 5



Plate 2: A relief of Taharqa with distinguished facial features, Brooklyn Museum, 70.1, after Russmann, E. (1974). *Op.cit.*, fig. 5



Plate 3: A relief of Shabitu from the chapel of Osiris Karnak temple with a Cap-crown, after Mykliwiec, K. (1988). *Op.cit.*, pl. XXXVIa



Plate 4: Taharqa wearing a royal kilt identical to that of the Old Kingdom, Louvre Museum, E.25276, after <http://www.louvre.fr/oeuvre-notices/statuette-de-taharqa>

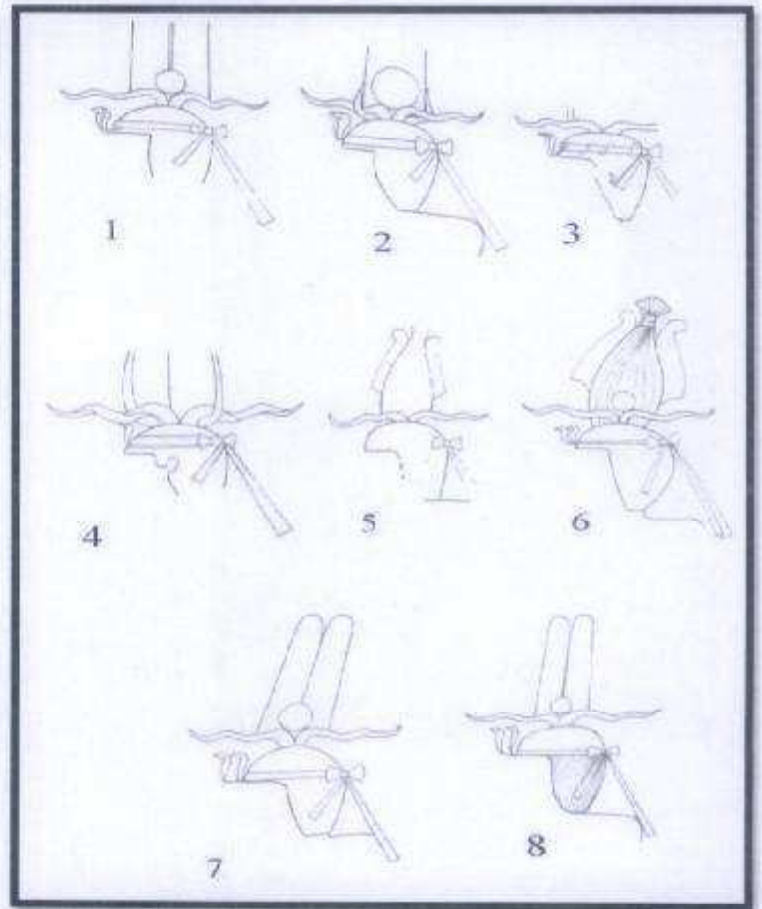


Plate 5: A relief of Taharqa from the chapel of Amun, Gebel Berkel with four tall plumes, after Mykliwicz, K. (1988). *Op.cit.*, pl. XLVc



Plate 6: A relief of Taharqa from Karnak, eastern colonnade, with two horns and a cap-crown, after Mykliwicz, K. (1988). *Op.cit.*, pl. XLVIIa

Fig 1: Different type of crowns during the Kushite Period, after Mykliwee, K. (1988). *Op.cit.*, pp.95, pl.C



Pl. 7: A Bronze statue of Shabako, Athens National Museum ANE 632 shows him wearing a royal kilt identical to that of the Old Kingdom, after Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa, II*, pl. LXXIX.



Pl. 8: Taharqa wearing a royal kilt identical to that of the Old Kingdom, Louvre Museum, E. 25276. Louvre Museum website.



Pl. 9: Pepy I wearing a pleated royal kilt. Brooklyn Museum 39.121, after Romano, "A *Sed*-Festival Statuette of Pepy II in the Brooklyn Museum", fig. 1.



Pl. 10: Shabako wearing a starched kilt and an apron with a pointed edge, the south wall of the second gate of Ptah Temple, Karnak, Berlin no.2103, after Mykliwicz, K. *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI-XXX*, Pl. XXXIII (d).

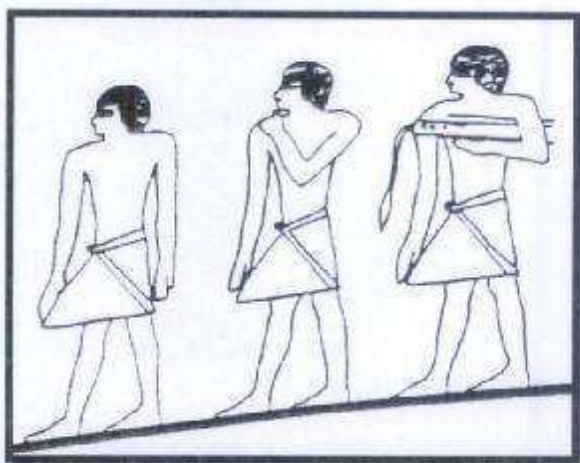
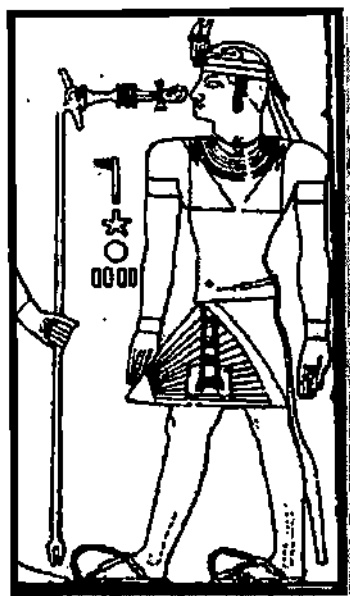


Fig. 2: Representations of starched kilts with an apron and a long sash at the Mastaba of Idut, after Macramalla, *Le Mastaba d'Idout*, pl. VII).



Pl. 11: Taharqa wearing an archaic dress with clasp straps and a short kilt and a broad apron, Kawa Temple, at Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, after Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, I, pl. LXVIIa-c.

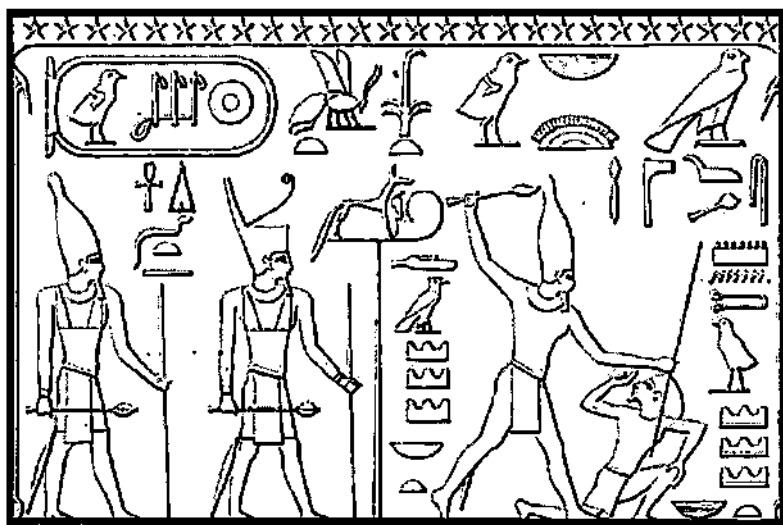
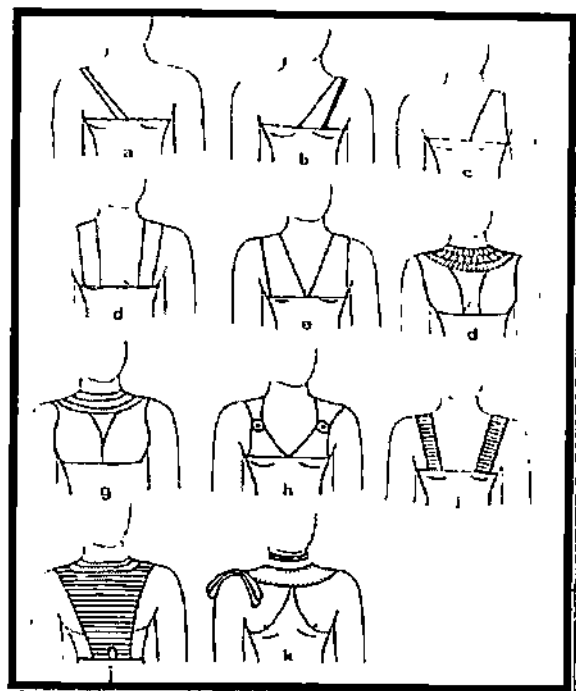


Fig. 3: Sahure at Abu Sir wearing clothing draped with straps and a short kilt with broad apron, after Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Aethiopien*, II, Bl.39.f.

Fig. 4: Various kinds of straps for female dress from the Old to New Kingdoms, after Vogelsang-Eastwood, G. Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing, fig. 7:7.



Pl. 12: Taharqa wearing two falcons with wings crossed upon his chest and a short kilt, Kawa temple, Ashmolean Museum, after Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, pl. XVII(e).

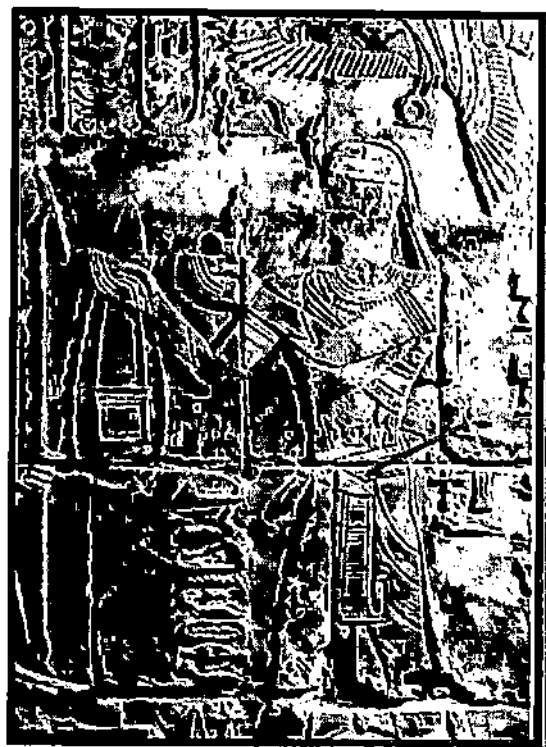


Fig. 5: Amenhotep II wearing two winged falcons upon his chest and different decoration TT 13, after Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Aethiopien*, III. Bl.63.A.



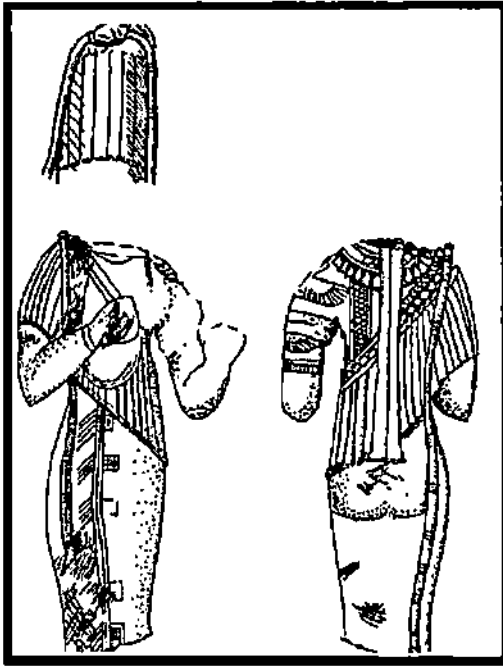


Fig. 6: The tasseled cord in Kushite royal clothing, after Török, L. 'The Costume of the Ruler in Meroe', 1990, fig. 37.



Fig. 7: Shabitku wearing the kilt and a broad apron with a tasseled cord at the right side, after Török, L. 'The Costume of the Ruler in Meroe', 1990, fig. 6.

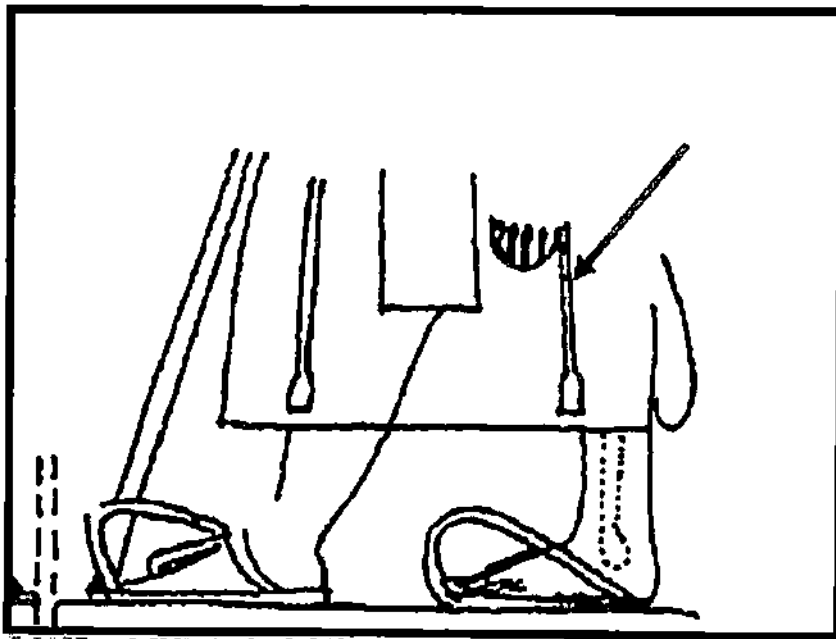


Fig. 8: Taharqa wearing a long kilt with a tasseled cord at the left side from Kawa temple, Temple T, hypostyle hall, south wall after Macadam, 1949, pl. XV (b).

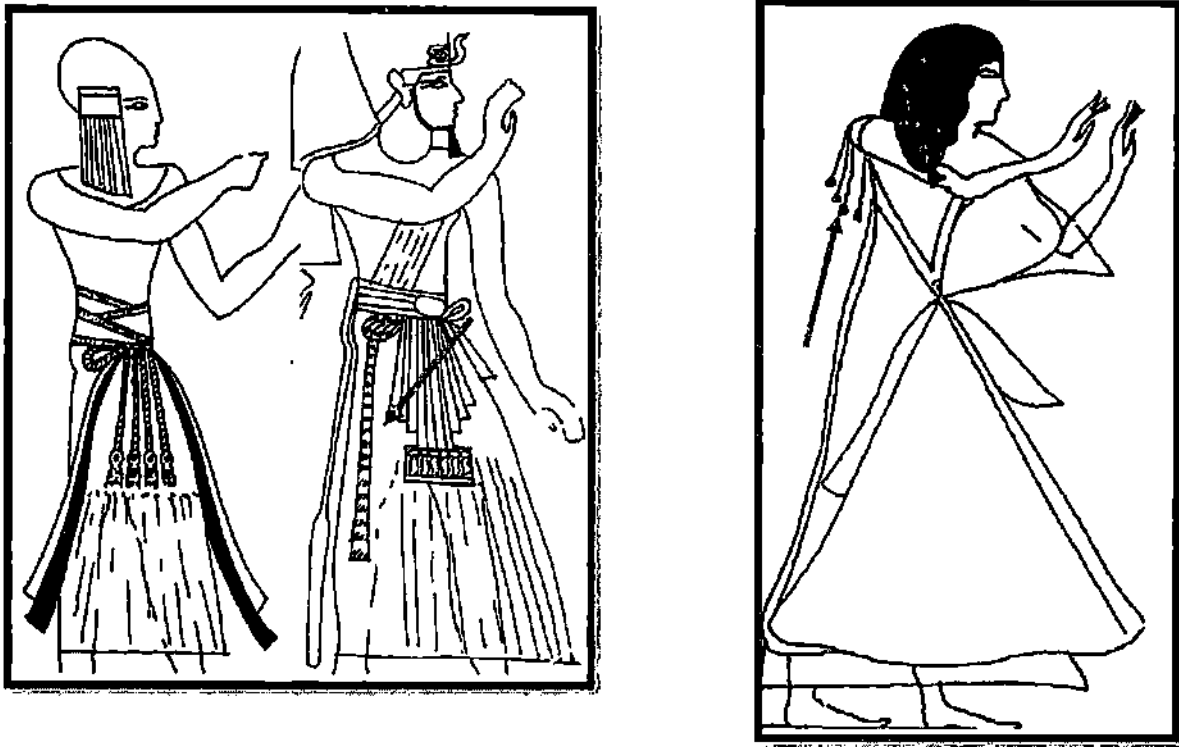


Fig. 9: A Relief of Ramses III and his son in front of Duamutef after Hassanein and Nelson, 1976, pl. XVII.

¹Egyptologists and others scholars studied the relationship between Egypt and Nubia many years ago, for more information see: Adams, William Y.(1977). *Nubia: Corridor to Africa*, Princeton.

²Taylor, J. (2001). 'The Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BQ)' In: Ian Shaw (ed.), *theOxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 330-368.

³The Kingdom of Kush is the name given to a period of Nubian history during which had two successive capitals, Napata and Meroe, according to Adams, '*Kush*' as well as its geographical association first appeared during the reign of Sesostris I (Wenig 1982, 527) and was used by the Egyptians and Kushites as a toponym and in such titles as 'the king's son of Kush', 'king of Kush' and in such descriptive labels as 'Wretched Kush', (Adams,1977) Napata extended from ca. 900 to ca. 350 BCE., and Meroitic period is generally agreed to extend from the sixth century BCE to the beginning of the fourth century CE (Dunham, 1947, 10), for more information see: Adams, William K.(1977). *The kingdom and Civilization of Kush in northeast Africa* In: A.J. Arkell (Ed), *Nubia Corridor to Africa*, London, pp.775-789; Török, L. (1995). 'Kush: An African State in the 1st Millennium', *PBA* 87, pp. 1-38; Dunham, D. (1947). 'Outline of the Ancient History of the Sudan: PART V. The Kingdom of Kush at Napata and Meroe(750 B.C. To A.D. 350)', *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. 28, pp. 1-10; Dunham, D. (1946). 'Notes on the History of Kush 850 B. C.-A. D. 350', *AJA* 50/3, pp. 378-388.

⁵According to Morkot the Kushite domination can be divided into 3 phases beginning with Kushite expansion into Upper Egypt, then the domination of the whole Egypt with major residence at Memphis, and the last phase is Assyrians invasion of Egypt, for more information see: Morkot, R.(2006). *The Egyptian Empire in Nubia in the late Bronze Age*, In: University of Exeter, and Morkot, Robert., *Egypt and Nubia*, Cambridge, pp.227-251.

⁶Taylor, J. (2001). 'The Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BQ)', In: Ian Shaw (ed.), *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, pp.330-368.

⁵Many scholars tried much more to answer this question not in the Kushite costumes but in adapting the Egyptian art by Kushite in general, *Redford* mentioned that by the beginning of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the older pre-dating mechanism had been reintroduced, then *Yoyotte* added that archaism of Kushite art style began before the Kushite period. *Morkot* went a step further that he pointed out that the Napatan-Meroitic periods, rulers (male and female)

continued to use the Egyptian Pharaonic styles but combined with some indigenous forms. Török confirmed that studies on the third intermediate period first of all (Kitchen, 1973, and on Ethiopian Dynasty in particular (V. Zeissl, 1955; Leclant, 1965; Russmann, 1974; Trigger 1876) emphasize the archaizing tendency of Egyptian art of the period as a trend initiated by the Kushite rulers. He added that the Kushite rulers resorted to imitation of the majority of Egyptian costumes to gain the legitimacy. But we should keep in our mind that the Kushite rulers deliberate to imitate the Egyptian art styles, and they tried to satisfy the Egyptian people after conquered but with keeping the Nubian identity. So we are in front of duplication for the Kushite rulers, it will be clearly after reviewing their costumes to compare with Egyptian costumes during the 25th Dynasty to confirm the duplication theory.

⁶Russmann, E.(1974). The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty, *MRE*, Bruxelles, pp.24-25

⁷It became known, that the Kushites rulers are responsible for 'Egyptian Renaissance', and the revival of the past or archaism, Kushite rulers' costumes derived from the Old kingdom costume styles, and also the Kushite renaissance cannot be separated from the traditions of the Ramesside and third intermediate period.

⁸Török, L.(1984). 'Kush and the External world', *Studia Meroitica*, Berlin, pp. 55-211; Russmann, E.(1974), *Op.cit.* Bruxelles, pp. 12-14.

⁹Török, L. (1988). 'Kush and External World', *Studia Meroitica* 84, 10, Berlin, pp.51-211.

¹⁰Adams, William K. (1977). *Op.cit.*, pp.775-789; Török, L. (1995). 'Kush: an African state in the 1st Millennium', *PBA* 87, pp.1-38

¹¹Wlesby, Derek A. (1996). 'The Arts and the Art of Writing', Kingdom of Kush: the Napatan and Meroitic Empires, London, pp.177-195.

¹²This is clear in their inspiration; Zyhlarz, E. (1961). 'Sudan Ägyptische im Antiken Äthiopenreich von käsh', In: *Kush* IX, pp.228-30; Russmann, E.(1974). *Op.cit.*, pp.10-12.

¹³Török, L.(1988). *Op.cit.*, pp.55.

¹⁴Archaism is sometimes seen as characteristic of the Late Period in Egypt, to compare the archaism of the Late Period with its antecedents, archaism can be found in copying or adoption of the former style, Morkot pointed that the origin of the archaism dated back to the Libyans period then continued in the Kushite period and Saite period, for more information see; Morkot, R. (2007). 'Tradition, Innovation, and Researching the Past in Libyan, Kushite, and Saite Egypt', In: Crawford, Harriet E. W (ed.), *Regime Change in Ancient Near East and Egypt*, Proceedings of the British Academy, pp. 141-164.

¹⁵For more reliefs for Taharqa on Kawa temple and Karnak temple revise; Russmann, E.(1974). *Op.cit.*, pp. 21-22.

¹⁶M. Abdul-Qader Muhammed.(1968). A'Preminilary Report on the Excavations Carried out in the Temple of Luxor' *ASAE* LX, pp. 247-48, pl. XIX and the excavator believes that the slab with this representation comes from Taharq's chapel. The facial features are idealized and nothing about them appears specifically Kushite.

¹⁷The Negroid physical appearance of the king is always suggested by the shape of nostrils and what is known the Kushite fold beside nostril and prominent cheekbones, this portrait is perhaps the best example of a harmonious equilibrium achieved in combining Egyptian formal canons with the physical type of the Kushite rulers, see; Mykliwiec, K.(1988). Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI-XXX, Mainz, pp. 37; Bothmer, B.V.(1960). Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, Brooklyn Museum, pp.4-5, 13-14,

¹⁸At Kawa, where Taharqa is known to have used workmen from Memphis, they inspired some important features such as calf muscles and kneecap behind which grooves continues; is quite similar to some Fifth Dynasty relief modeling for more information see.; Borchardt, L.(1907). Das Grabdekmaler des Königs Ne-user-re, Leipzig, pl.16; Mykliwiec, K.(1988). *Op.cit.*, pp. 37-8; Russmann, E.(1974). *Op.cit.*, pp. 23-30.

¹⁹Temple Relief of King as a Child Protected by Goddess, sandstone dates back to the reign of king (ca. ca. 700-670 B.C.E), late Twenty-fifth Dynasty, Brooklyn Museum, Accession number 70.1.

²⁰It have to be noted that the round line of nose and very short upper lip and the large cheek area and the slant of the chin may be reminiscent of the Fifth Dynasty examples- Old Kingdom, for more information see; Russmann, E.(1974). *Op.cit.*, 1974, pp. 23

²¹A Long familiar scene of Nubia as a tribute provider and prisoners and mercenaries carved on the Egyptian tomb of kings and high official, the Kushite kings did not follow these lowly models, but they followed some Nubian and other foreigners' facial features such as fold from nostril to mouth, this can be seen from earliest representations of Nubian prisoners to survive from the Old Kingdom, for more information see; Borchardt, L.(1907). *Op.cit.*, pp.42, fig. 24; Lauer J.Ph and J. Leclant, (1969). 'Découvertes de statues de Prisonniers au Temple de la Pyramide de Pepi I', *RdE* XXI, fig. 3, 4, pl. 10A; Jequier, G.(1940). Le Monument Funeraire de Pepi II, III, Cairo, pl.47; Borchardt, L.(1913). Das Grabdekmalerdes Königs Sahure, II, Leipzig, pl.7; Russmann, E.(1974). *Op.cit.*, pp. 23-4.

²²It appears from the beginning of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty that representations of Kashta become progressively fainter with Shabtitku, as on Cairo CG.460; and Cairo CG.1291 remarked with S-shaped folds.

²³This conservative nature of Kushite kings can be seen through their orthodox costumes such as crowns and clothing, we can assure from their earliest reliefs at Karnak, for more information.

²⁴We can notice all these features of the Kushite cap-crown through statues and reliefs of Kushite kings in different museums like, the statue of Shabako made out from Bronze, in Athens Museum ANE 632, N.168, see; Cavvadias, P.(1894). Musée National, Athens, p.35, n.168; Relief of king Shabitu from great temple of Amun at Karnak, in Osiris-Hekhdjet chapel, east side of façade, for more details see; Schwaller de Lubicz, R.A.(1982). Les temples de Karnak, II, Paris, , pl.233; see also, Török, L.(1990). *Op.cit*, pp. 155, fig 6; Relief of king Taharqa in a procession from Kawa temple, T temple, hypostyle hall, south wall, for more details see; Macadam, L.(1955). The Temples of Kawa, II, London, , Pl.XV a, b, also Griffith, F.LI., Oxford Excavation in Nubia, LAAA 9, Pl. XXVII; Mykiewicz, K. (1988). Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI-XXX, Mainz, pp. 34-5.

²⁵There are more decorations on Kushite bronze statues, consisting of a pair of falcon wings engraved on the back of the cap, it can be noted on Copenhagen N.C.G1595 and Boston statue 1970.443, Athens ANE 632.

²⁶On the stela of Piankhy where Amun is shown presenting the double crown to Piankhy, one of them was the red crown and the other was the cap, Russmann, E. (1974).*op.cit*, pp.29-30.

²⁷Shabako's relief in Luxor temple shows him with a white crown; see Mykiewicz, K. (1988). *Op.cit*, pl. XXVIII c,d, another relief for Shabako with white crown from Osirian of Taharqa reused during his reign, Mykiewicz, K. (1988). *Op.cit*, pl. XXXI d.

²⁸Head of king Shepseskaf in Boston Museum 90.203; illustrated by Aldred, C.(1949). Old Kingdom Art of Ancient Egypt, London, fig.29; and this head may be similar to other heads in Brussels museum E.7117, see; Smith, W.S., (1949). A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Paintings in Old Kingdom, London, pp. 52-3; Russmann, E.(1974). *Op.cit*, pp. 29.

²⁹During Twelfth Dynasty King Sensuert I appears wearing a crown similar to a close-fitting cap but this steal comes from Buhen, Sudan, Ashmolean Museum 1893.175, Moorey, P.R.S., (1970). Ancient Egypt, Oxford, pp.73-4, fig. 37

³⁰At the beginning of the Dynasty Kamose appears wearing the skullcap with an uraeus, Cairo CG52705, more details see; Von Bissing, F.W., EinThebanisher Grabfund Aus dem Anfang des Neuen Reiches, Berlin, 1900, pl. IV, fig. 8a-b, other representation of skullcap dated back to the reign of king Amenhotep III at Luxor, Russmann, E. (1974).*Op.cit*, pp.31-2.

³¹Examples from Abydos temple and King Ramses II appears wearing the cap at Derr and Karnak temple, for more information see; Calverley, A.M., The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, I, London, 1933, pls. 4, 6, 10, 13, 17, 18; Shorter, A.W. (1934). 'Reliefs showing the Coronation of Ramses II', *JEA* XX, pl. III; Habachi, L.(1969). Features of the deification of Ramses II, Gluckstadt, fig. 10, 11; Michalowski, K.(1970). Karnak, London, pl.17.

³²At Medinet Habu temple king Ramses III appear wearing this skullcap as close-fitting head covering, see, Holscheir, O.(1790). Medinet Habu, III, Chicago, pl.607; Bruyere, B. (1930). 'MertSegeer a Deir el Medineh', *MIFAO* LVIII, Cairo, pl.IV

³³Fazzini, R. (1972). 'Some Egyptian Reliefs in Brooklyn', *MW* 1, Brooklyn, pp.64-66, fig.36.

³⁴A Relief representation of Psamatik I on a slab at the British Museum, EA. 20, it can be seen this crown as a close-fitting skullcap with a large single uraeus.

³⁵Relief representation of Nechtanbo, British Museum EA 22, Muller, H.W. (1970). 'Bildniess König Nechtanbo I, Pantheon XXVIII, pp.91-6, fig. 3.

³⁶Other crowns could be seen by Kushite kings, and may be remarked them because this crown was unusual appearing, such as a headdress consisting of four tall plumes, each with a central quill, standing side by side on a cylindrical base, which joined a hemispherical cap, examples of this headdress date from late period of Kushites in round and reliefs, Cairo CG. 560 and Khartoum 1841, and Gabel Berkel reliefs of Taharqa, see; Török, L. (1990)*Op.cit*, pp. 155, fig. 6; A Relief of king Taharqa in a procession from Kawa temple, T temple, hypostyle hall, south wall, for more details see; Macadam, L. (1955). *Op.cit*, II, London, Pl. XV a, b, also Griffith, F.LI., Oxford Excavation in Nubia, LAAA 9, Pl. XXVII.

³⁷Both Taharqa and the god wear the same crown at Gebel Berkel see; Kawa, I, 1949, p.45; Drioton, E. (1949). Le Musée de Caire: Encyclopedie Photographique de l'Art, pp.44-5; Russmann, E.(1974). *Op.cit*, pp. 33-4.

³⁸Abdel-Rahman, M.H.(1959). 'The Four Feather Crown of Akhenaten', *ASAE* LVI, pp.247-49.

³⁹Munich statue, AS.4859 and Louvre statue, A.F. 6639.

⁴⁰Kings Ramses II and Ramses III appear wearing this crown at least one time as a tool of defied king, statue was found at Tanis where the disk is set on the wig Cairo CG 575, Borchardt, L. (1934).Statuen und Statuetten, II, pl. 98; Wildung, D.(1972). 'Ramses die Grosse Sonne Ägypten', *ZAS* XCIX, pp.37-40; Habachi, L., *Op.cit*, pp.38-9, fig. 29.

⁴¹We can investigate the two uraei through rounds of Kushite kings, Boston 1970.443, Brussels.6940 and also through reliefs of Kawa temple, Kawa, I, pls. 8, 10; Kawa, II, pls. XVII d- XVII a, b, c, e; for more information see; Macadam, L. (1949). *Op.cit*, I, II, 1955; Russmann, E. (1974).*Op.cit*, pp. 35.

⁴²Shabako's relief at Luxor temple, Russmann, E. (1974).*Op.cit*, pl. LXXIX, there are a variation of double uraeus on a Red and White crown, Kawa, II, pl. XXIII, and also by the double crown, Kawa, II, pl. XVII a, also it can be noted that Kushite kings appear wearing the headdress with single uraei like the head of Brooklyn Museum 70.1.

- ⁴³As on the woven tapestry of Amenhotep II two snakes protecting his cartouche, see; Carter, H and Newberry, P.(1904). The Tomb of Thutmosis IV, CG, Cairo, another piece is a gold leaf plaque with two cartouches of Tutankhamen, see; Davies, M.(1912). The tombs of Harmhabi and Toutankhamun, London, no.9, p.131, fig. 9
- ⁴⁴The First appearance of the two uncrowned uraeus by Queen Ahmose in the tomb of Tetiky 15, and the first appearance of two uraeus on the round belonging Queen Isis, Cairo CG 42072, then during the reign of king Amenhotep III It is very rare to see women wearing the double uraeus, Queen Tiye appears through many heads with two and three uraeus, Fakhary, A.(1943). 'A note on the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes', *ASAEXLII*, pp. 492-98, fig. 40; Legrain, G. (1906). Statues et Statuette de Rois et de Particuliers, CG, Cairo, pl. XLII; Winlock, H.E.(1948). The Treasures of Three Egyptian Princesses, New York, pl.VI; Quibell, J.E.(1908). Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu, CG, Cairo, pls. XXXVIII, XL.
- ⁴⁵Leclant, J. (1918). 'Die Angeblichen Kanopen bildnisse König Amenophis des IV', *ZAS LV*, pp. 45-60; Daressy, G., (1902). Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois, Cairo, pp.244-45, pl. L, no.5030.
- ⁴⁶Cairo CG 42059, Legrain, G., statues et statuette de Rois et de Particuliers, CG, Cairo, 1906, pl.IV, Leclant points to another example with a double uraeus for Harihor on unpublished papyrus from Louvre Museum, see; Evers, H.G.(1929). Stadt aus dem Stein, Munich, pp. 27-9, Arkell, E. *Op.cit*, A History of the Sudan, pp. 108-9.
- ⁴⁷Kushite kings succeeded in combining Kushite physiognomy and Egyptian royal regalia, this is a part of speech of the king Piankhy on his stela, revise line 22-23, see; Breasted, J. H. (1906). The Piankhy Stela, Ancient Records of Egypt, Chicago, IV, 816 ff; Reisner, G.A. (1931). 'Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal' *ZAS 66*, pp. 93-5.
- ⁴⁸The Kushite kings wanted to make a balance through their appearance wearing the traditional Egyptian clothing such as kilts and skirts and add their Nubian ornaments such as cap-crown and two cobras with distinguished facial features, see this features through statues of king Shabako, Shabitku, Piya and Taharqa also reliefs at Karnak and Kawa temples, for more detail revise; Russmann, E. (1974). *Op.cit*, pp. 25.
- ⁴⁹Muller, H.W. (1955). 'Ein Königs Bildniess der 26: Dynastie mit der Blauen Krone', *ZAS LXXX*, pp.53-69.
- ⁵⁰Although we have earlier examples of the ram's head amulets in Egypt dated back to the Middle Kingdom, but these types, of collar and earrings and neck-cords which appear for Kushite kings coming from the Sudan dating to Kerma C civilization, for details revise the statues and reliefs of Kushite kings, Bronze statue of Shabako, Athens National Museum ANE 632, Taharqa at the left side from Kawa temple, Temple T, hypostyle hall, south wall after Macadam, L.(1949), *Op.cit*, pl. XV (b).
- ⁵¹The ram with the sun disc is the image of Amun, ever since Twenty-fifth Dynasty the ribbons and other accessories took the shape of ram head to express the god Amun, for more details see; Török, L. (1990). *Op.cit*, pp. 161.
- ⁵²Daumas, F. (1958). Les Monuments des Temples Égyptienne, Paris, pp.500-1; Russmann, E. (1974). *Op.cit*, pp. 43.
- ⁵³Russmann, E. (1974). *Op.cit*, pp. 24-25
- ⁵⁴Kitchen, A. (1986). The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt, Warminster, pp.378.
- ⁵⁵The Egyptian Kilt was a simple cloth wrapped around the waist and covering part or all of the lower half of the body, with an apron under to cover the genital region, for more information see; Vogelsang-Eastwood, G.(1993). Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing, New York, pp.54-6
- ⁵⁶Statue of Shabako made out of Bronze, in Athens Museum ANE 632, N.168; see Cavvadias, P., Musée National, Athens 1894, p.35, n.168.
- ⁵⁷Riefstahl, E. (1994). Patterned Textiles in Pharaonic Egypt, Brooklyn, pp.3-5.
- ⁵⁸The Kushite rulers wanted to keep the mental image of the Egyptian Pharaoh in mind of all Egyptians with his divinity and power.
- ⁵⁹King **Pepi I** is the second king of the 6th Dynasty, he had a statue in Brooklyn Museum in a kneeling position with a short striped kilt and an apron, Accession number 39.121, and **Taharqa**, born in the Sudan but crowned in Memphis. His power and dual reign over Egypt and Nubia is affirmed by the two uraeus cobras on his forehead. His birth name is engraved on his belt: 'The perfect god, Taharqa alive for eternity'. Taharqa was the most famous pharaoh of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, also known as the reign of the Kushites. He renovated old temples, constructed new shrines, and had official inscriptions written throughout his large empire. A monumental column in the first court of Karnak, he is shown in a statue as the same of Pepi I statue with identical costumes, Louvre Museum.
- ⁶⁰Vogelsang-Eastwood, G. (1993). *Op.cit*, pp.54-55.
- ⁶¹A Relief of king Shabako from Ptah temple, Karnak, south wall of the second gate, Shabako is shown wearing starched kilt with pointed edge and the popular Kushite-cap, see; Russmann, E. (1974). *Op.cit*, pp.10-12.
- ⁶²According to Vogelsang, the starched kilt is a simple cloth starched with an apron in a double edge, and its origin dates back to the Old kingdom to the Individuals, then it became to Kings as a change of mode, for more information see: Vogelsang- Eastwood, G. (1993). *Op.cit*, pp.56-57, fig. 4:7.
- ⁶³Vogelsang reviewed the kind of kilt and apron, and their development from the Old kingdom to the New kingdom for individuals, and she indicated that the starched apron which may be fixed with simple kilt with a belt on the waist, one of the creative shape of apron for individuals. Many scholars tried to interpret how Egyptian people made this apron in a starched manner and the material which was used to made it blown, see the representations of starched kilt with

apron, Mastaba of Idut, 6th dynasty for more information see; Macramalla, R.(1935). *Le Mastaba d'Idout*, Cairo, , Pl. VII; cf. Vogelsang-Eastwood, G. (1993). *Op.cit*, pp.58-60, fig. 4:7.

⁶⁴Russmann's view is largely correcting concern the majority of the costumes of Kushite rulers, but there are a little innovations on their costumes, presented as decorations, and weaving techniques; Russmann, E. (1974). *Op.cit*, pp.25-26.

⁶⁵The King Taharqa and His wife, Queen Takahat Amani, making adorations and offerings to Amon-Ra and Mut; Taharqa offers wine, and Takahat Amani plays the sistrum pouring a libation. Amon-Ra and Mut are represented inside a Shrine that is the "Pure Mountain" of Napata: on the top of it, is depicted the Uraeus that is the pinnacle of the sacred Mountain. A Scene from the Temple of Mut at Napata; drawing from Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Aethiopien*, see also; Macadam, L. (1949). *The Temples of Kawa: I. the Inscriptions. Plates*, London: Oxford University Press.

⁶⁶A Relief of king Thutmosis I with a starched kilt and a triangulas apron, Habu temple, for more information see; Hölscher, O. (1929). *Medinet Habu 1924-1928, II, the Architectural Survey of the Great Temple and Palace of Medinet Habu (season 1927-28)*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press..

⁶⁷Vogelsang suggested that the archaic wrap-round dress is a single rectangular cloth which top corner was draped over the left shoulder, then wrapped around the body, for more information about this costumes see; Vogelsang- Eastwood, G. (1993). *Op.cit*, pp. 88-90, fig. 6:1.

⁶⁸A Relief of king Sahure with Composite costumes, from his temple at Abu sir, for information see; Stadelmann, R. (1985). *Die Ägyptischen Pyramiden: Vom Ziegelbau zum Weltwunder (Kultur geschichte der Antiken Welt)*, pp. 164-174, see also; Hawass, Z and Verner, M. (1995). 'Newly Discovered Blocks from the Causeway of Sahure: Archaeological Report', *MDIAK*. 51, Wiesbaden, pp. 177-186.

⁶⁹A Relief of king Skhemkhet wearing a dress with one strap on the left shoulder, Wadi el Maghara, 3rd dynasty, Old kingdom, see; Toby A. H. Wilkinson.(1999). *Early Dynastic Egypt*. Rutledge, London/New York, pp. 98-100.

⁷⁰King Thutmosis I is shown wearing an identical dress of the Old kingdom with two straps upon the shoulder, and a simple kilt with a broad apron, New Kingdom, Asassif Temple, Thebes, for more details see; Breasted, J.H.(1906). *Ancient Records of Egypt, II*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp.25-27; Tyldesley, J. (1996). *Hatshepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, Penguin Books, hardback, pp.121-25.

⁷¹The ram with the sun disc is the image of Amun, ever since the 25th Dynasty the ribbons and other accessories took the shape of ram head to express the god Amun, for more details see; Török, L.(1990). *Op.cit*, pp. 161.

⁷²Russmann, E. (1974). *Op.cit*, pp.26-7.

⁷³Török, L.(1990). *Op.cit*, pp.161-62.

⁷⁴Vogelsang-Eastwood, G. (1993). *Op.cit*, pp.105, fig. 7:7.

⁷⁵Russmann, E. (1974). *Op.cit*, pp.25, pl.Xb, Xia, LXIX (b), see also; Macadam, L.(1949 & 1955). *The Temples of Kawa, I & II*, London; the reconstruction of the Shrine in the Ashmolean was described by Leeds, E.T. (1942). In *The Museums Journal* 41, pp. 228-30.

⁷⁶Russmann pointed out to the costume belonging to king Tanuwetamun last Kushite king during the 25th Dynasty at Kawa temples, for more details see; Russmann, E. (1974). *Op.cit*, pp. 26; Kawa, II, pls. XVIIa, c, e; XVIIIa; XXIIa.

⁷⁷Hofmann, I. (1971). *Studien Zum Meroitischen Königtum*, Bruxelles, pp.48.

⁷⁸Borchardt, L. 1993. 'Die Königsjacke', *Allerhand Kleingkeiten*, Leipzig, pp.13-18.

⁷⁹A Relief of king Amenhotep II inside a shrine with an ornamented kilt and two crossed falcon upon his chest, tomb 13, Qurna, Thebes, New kingdom; after Lespus, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten*, V,III, Bl.63a

⁸⁰Karomama is a daughter of Osorkon II, she served as God's Wife of Amun under Osorkon II and his successors, for more information see; Dodson, A. (2002). 'The Problem of Amenirdis II and the Heirs to the Office of God's Wife of Amun during the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty', in: *JEA* 88, pp.179-186, see also; Lohwasser, A.(2001). 'Queenhip in Kush: Status, Role and Ideology of Royal Women', *JARCE*38, pp.61-76.

⁸¹The shrine of king Taharqa in Ashmolean museum, Oxford, for details see; Macadam, L., *The Temples of Kawa, I & II*, London, 1949 & 1955; the reconstruction of the Shrine in the Ashmolean was described by E.T. Leeds in *The Museums Journal* 41, 1942, pp. 228-30.

⁸²Török, L. (1990). 'The Costume of the Ruler in Meroe: Remarks in its Origins and Significances', *Archéologie Du Nil Moyen*4, pp.151-201.

⁸³A Relief of king Shabitku from the great temple of Amun at Karnak, in Osiris-Hekhdjet chapel, east side of façade, for more details see; Schwaller de Lubicz, R.A. (1982). *Les temples de Karnak, II*, Paris, pl.233; see also, Török, L. (1990). *Op.cit*, pp.155, fig 6.

⁸⁴A Relief of king Taharqa in a procession from Kawa temple, T temple, hypostyle hall, south wall, for more details see; Macadam, L. (1955). *The Temples of Kawa, II*, London, ,Pl. XVa, b, also Griffith, F.LI., *Oxford Excavation in Nubia*, LAAA 9, Pl. XXVII .

⁸⁵Török, L. (1990). *Op.cit*, pp. 151-202, fig 4, 5, A relief of king Ramses III and his son before Duamutef, Valley of the Queen, N.55,Vestibule, see; Hassanein, F and Nelson, M. (1976). *La tombe du prince Amon Her Khepheshf*, Le Caire, Pl. XVII.

⁸⁶A Relief of royal scribe *Paremb* from his funerary papyrus, see; Mathieu, B.(1986), 'Un Nouveau Fragment de Papyrus de Paremb', *RdE* 37, pp. 155-159, fig. 156.

⁸⁷Török tried to prove his theory through reliefs of priests of Amun at Karnak and priests of Amun at Kawa, see; Török, L. (1990). *Op.cit*, pp.151-202.

⁸⁸A Relief of Nubian prisoner with a tasseled cord as long cord behind him, detail from Tutankhamen's chariot, after Desroches, Noblecourt, Ch. (1963). Tutankhamen, London, Pl. LXIXB. For more information about the tasseled cord during Meroitic period see; Török, L.(1990). *Op.cit*, pp.151-202, see also; Wenig, S. (1964). *Untersuchungen Zur Ikonographie der Darstellungen der Meroitischen Königsfamilie und Zuden Fragen der Chronologie des Reiches von Meroe*; PhD, Thesis, Berlin.

⁷⁸Török, L., *op.cit*, 1990, p. 151-202.

⁹⁰A Relief of Tanutamani with a cloak or a coat from his tomb No 16, at Kurru, the Sudan, The tomb is of the traditional structure for the site of el-Kurru, it was decorated with various scenes of Tanutamani with different costumes such as; coat and garment and kilt, for more information see; Dunham, D. (1950).*Royal Cemeteries of Kush- El Kurru*, Dows Dunham, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

⁹¹Fully preserved representation of this coat type that was ankle-length, but usually some centimeter shorter than the tunic worn underneath, this type of the coat spread also among individuals during the 25th dynasty, for more information see; Török, L. (1990). *Op.cit*, pp. 151-202, fig. 13.

⁹²*Ibid*, 1990, p.151-202.

⁹³Vogelsang pointed out that the Egyptian cloak as a large oblong or square piece of cloth was generally worn over other garments, there are various types of Egyptian cloak such as (a) *wrap-around* (b) *knotted version*, for more details for the coat see; Vogelsang-Eastwood, G. (1993). *Op.cit*, pp.164-166, fig. 9:9

⁹⁴Serpentine statue of king Amenhotep III, with a fastened cloak on his right shoulder, New kingdom, the reign of king Amenhotep III, Metropolitan Museum, 30.8.74

⁹⁵The leopard skin of the high priests during Old kingdom was fastened by means of ribbons on the upper corners, then it was imitated during late period in the same manner, see; Hofmann, I. (1978). *Op.cit*, pp.20, 43; Vandersleyen, C. (1975).*Das Alte Ägypten*, Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, fig 241, 243, 245, 246.