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Labib Habachi

Athribis in the XXVIth Dynasty [avec 7 planches].

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ATHRIBIS IN THE XXVITH DYNASTY

by Labib HABACHI

To the Memory of K. Michałowski who tried to save what remained of Athribis, this study is dedicated.

During the unsettled reign of the XXVth Dynasty, the nomarchs of Athribis seem to have played an important political role. Petesis, for example, was quite friendly with the Ethiopian invader, but his son and successor, Bakennifi seems to have resisted the subsequent Assyrian conquerors with vigour. We find support for this in the facts that Bakennifi was not, as was usual, succeeded by his son, and that he was deified after his death, most probably for his antagonism towards the Assyrian invader [1].

Psammetikhos succeeded Bakennifi in his post as nomarch. Later he got rid of the invader and started the prosperous reign of the XXVIth Dynasty. It was natural, therefore that he and his successors should direct special attention to Athribis. Unfortunately the monuments of this town suffered greatly during the succeeding periods and up until the present century, when the buildings of Benha, the capital of the Qaliubiya province, and its suburbs were erected in the neighbourhood of its ruins [2].

In his exhaustive study of Athribis, Pascal Vernus enumerated eight royal objects or buildings for the XXVIth Dynasty (there referred to as doc. 89-96), only one of which mentions the name of the town (Doc. 90), while a second represents its main divinity (Doc. 93) [3].

[1] For this, see our study on « A Statue of Bakennifi, Nomarch of Athribis during the Invasion of Egypt by Assurbanipal », in *MDAIK* 15, 68 sq. Yoyotte spoke of the same person and his father in his article on « Principautés du Delta au temps de l'Anarchie Libyenne », in *Mélanges Maspero*, I [*Orient Ancien* IV fasc.] p. 173 sq. relating them to the Libyan royal families.

[2] During the Persian occupation, this town may have suffered, as did many towns in Egypt. It is also sure that many modifications were made to the town during the Roman period, see Barbara Ruszczyc, « Le temple d'Amasis à Atrib », in *Etudes et travaux*, 9, p. 117 sq., cf. p. 127. Like many ancient sites in the Delta, where modern important towns exist on ancient sites or near them, Athribis has suffered greatly. Many parts of the ruins were most probably used in erecting buildings or for cultivation.

[3] Vernus, *Athribis : Textes et Documents Relatifs à la Géographie, aux Cultes et à l'Histoire d'une Ville du Delta Egyptien à l'Epoque Pharaonique*. For the monuments of the XXVIth Dynasty, see p. 83 sq.

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Athribis, as happened with many other ancient sites in the Delta, was used as a quarry to supply stones for newly flourishing towns. Cairo took stones from monuments of many places; two of these, dating from the Saitic periods, came from Athribis. In addition to the monuments enumerated by Vernus, six more royal monuments, coming from Athribis, will be presented here; with the aid of these, we shall try to review the history of the town.

PSAMMETIKHOS I. The only object mentioned by Vernus as belonging to the reign of this king is a scarab found amongst the funeral equipment of Queen Takhuti (Vernus, doc. 89). This scarab bears the name *'Uahibre'*; according to Drioton and as reported by Leclant, the name stands for the prenomen of Psammetikhos I. Wild, on the other hand, took it as the nomen of Apries, since, according to him, the queen was buried in Athribis during his reign. Quite possibly the scarab commemorated Psammetikhos I as the nomarch of this town and as the founder of the dynasty [1].

Egyptologists also differ about attributing a second monument from Athribis to this king. It was taken to be a part of a naos, having the cartouches of Uahibre and Neferkare on one side, The cartouches of Neferkare, and not those of Uahibre, were taken to be intentionally erased (Vernus, doc. 85), a fact which led some Egyptologists to attribute them to Shabako or some other king who had fallen into disgrace. Finally Kitchen stated that : « The alternate prenomens Neferkare and Wahibre have been cited for Shabako from a cornice-fragment from Athribis and a sistrum-handle from Bubastis ... these two pieces indicate an association between two local kings, Psammetichus I in his earliest years, and a kinglet of Tanis/Bubastis, who was very possibly the Neferkare of Tanis, whom Montet isolated for this general period. Erasure of Neferkare subsequently might indicate the suppression of such a possible rival by Psammetichus I. Alternate prenomens of Shabako remain a possibility, but this other explanation is perhaps preferable » [2].

Many of the ideas expressed by Egyptologists about this object were due to the fact that it was believed that the cartouches of Neferkare, and not those of Uahibre, were intentionally erased. During more than one visit to the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria, where the monument is now kept, I was able to examine the block. It was

[1] When one cartouche only is recorded for a king, it is usually the prenomen, rather than the nomen, which is meant; the prenomen usually identifies the personality of the king.

[2] *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, p. 152 f. Kitchen also refers to the two monuments on p. 98.

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clear to me that it was an intercolumnar screen, having been decorated on one side by uraei and on the other by vultures. Not only the cartouches of Neferkare are erased, but *all* the cartouches on both sides, together with the vertical lines separating them. This condition of the screen, as suggested to me by Nabil Swelem, may have resulted from the using of ropes under the cornice to remove the heavy block from Athribis to Cairo, where it remained for some time, before its despatch to Alexandria [1]. (fig. 1 *a*).

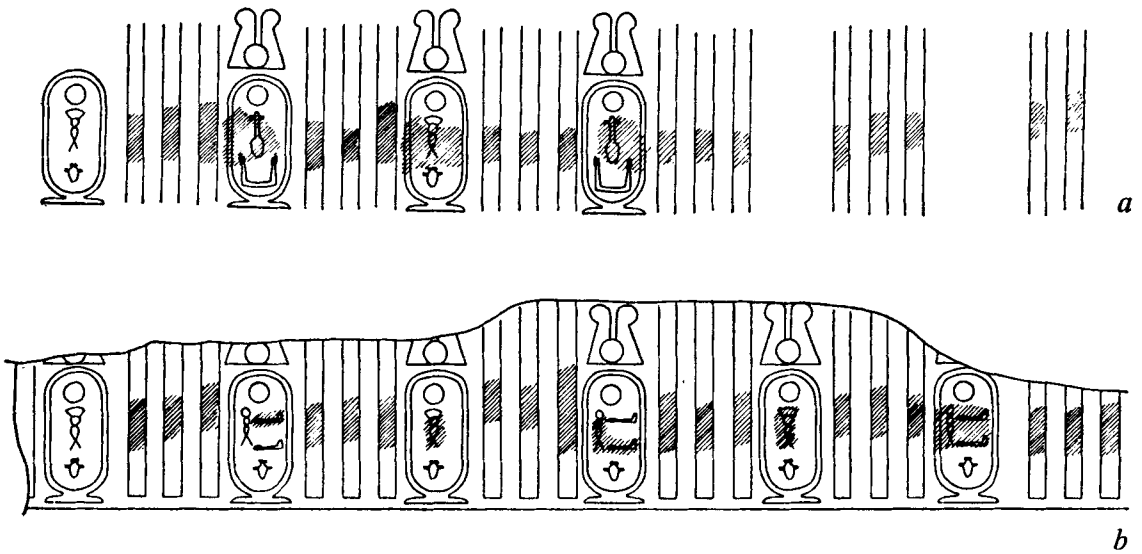


Fig. 1. — Intercolumnar screen with Neferkare and Uahibre, on one side (*a*) and with the two cartouches of Apries on the other side (*b*).

The cartouches of Neferkare were therefore never intentionally erased, but were left intact, as was the case with the sistrum handle of the Berlin Museum [2]. Quite possibly, the cartouches on both objects represent, as proposed by Kitchen and approved by Vernus, Psammetikhos I before he ascended the throne, and also a vassal in Bubastis, who was perhaps in charge of Tanis as well. This nomarch did not fall therefore into disgrace, and cannot be identified with Shabako.

In enumerating the royal monuments of Athribis, Vernus mentioned the Adoption Stela of Nitocris, daughter of Psammetikhos I (doc. 90). This stela has little to do with

[1] Only a cartouche of Uahibre on each of the two sides, having been close to the edge of the screen, was not damaged; the ropes did not lay stress on it.

[2] For the screen when still in Cairo Museum, see n° 9273, in Mariette, *Notice Boulaq's*, 1864, (*PM* IV, p. 66) and references to the Berlin sistrum handle, see G.*LR* IV, p. 16 (XV).

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Athribis; it was found in the Great Court of the Great Temple of Amenre at Karnak (Cairo J.E. 36327). Athribis was simply mentioned, because it was among the numerous important towns, which gave a gift to the princess on her appointment as god's wife, this being 200 *deben* of bread.

A second daughter of the king seems to have been related to the town and its deified architect. A statue representing Amenophis, son of Hapu, was erected by princess Merneith in the 37th year of the reign of her father, in the hope that Amenophis would help in curing her suffering eyes. Such a statue would most probably have been placed in Athribis, not far from Saïs, where the princess was supposed to have lived [1].

NECHO AND PSAMMETIKHOS II. The only monuments of Psammetikhos II left in Athribis are those usurped by him from earlier kings. Recently two blocks were found in the ruins; they were first attributed to Psammetikhos II, but later proved to be usurped from Taharka, for whom he had a bitter hatred.

More important is a naos, which bears his five names, all engraved on earlier ones. While still working in the Eastern Part of the Delta, the discovery of this naos was reported to me by the workmen engaged in building the road from Cairo to Alexandria, which passed through the ruins. I immediately inspected the place of the discovery, which proved to be south of the road and not far from the tomb of Pefteuamen. On clearing around it, we found no trace of any building, but, according to the inscription on the naos, there is no doubt that it was originally standing in this town.

The naos is round-topped and is made of quartzite (*CGC* 88205). It is 105 cm. high, 55 cm. broad and 52 cm. wide. It had a door with two leaves; the holes where they were fixed can be still seen on the sides. The front is decorated with a sun-disk with wings parallel to the round top, and with an uraeus hanging on each side. Two identical inscriptions appear beneath; they read : « *The One of Behdet, the great god, lord of heaven* » (the last two words are common for both inscriptions) (Pl. XL and fig. 2).

Two inscriptions are engraved around the cavity; these start in the middle of the top (an *ʿnḫ*-sign being common to both inscriptions), and run in opposite directions.

[1] H. Wild, *MDAIK* 16, 406 sq. Wild suggests that this statue was standing in the temple of Khentikhati in Athribis; Amenhotep, son of Hapu, came originally from Athribis (see p. 412). Vernus mentioned the statue when speaking of Khentikhati as a god capable of curing diseases; Amenhotep was invoked in that case as the intermediary between the princess and the god (see p. 399 sq.).

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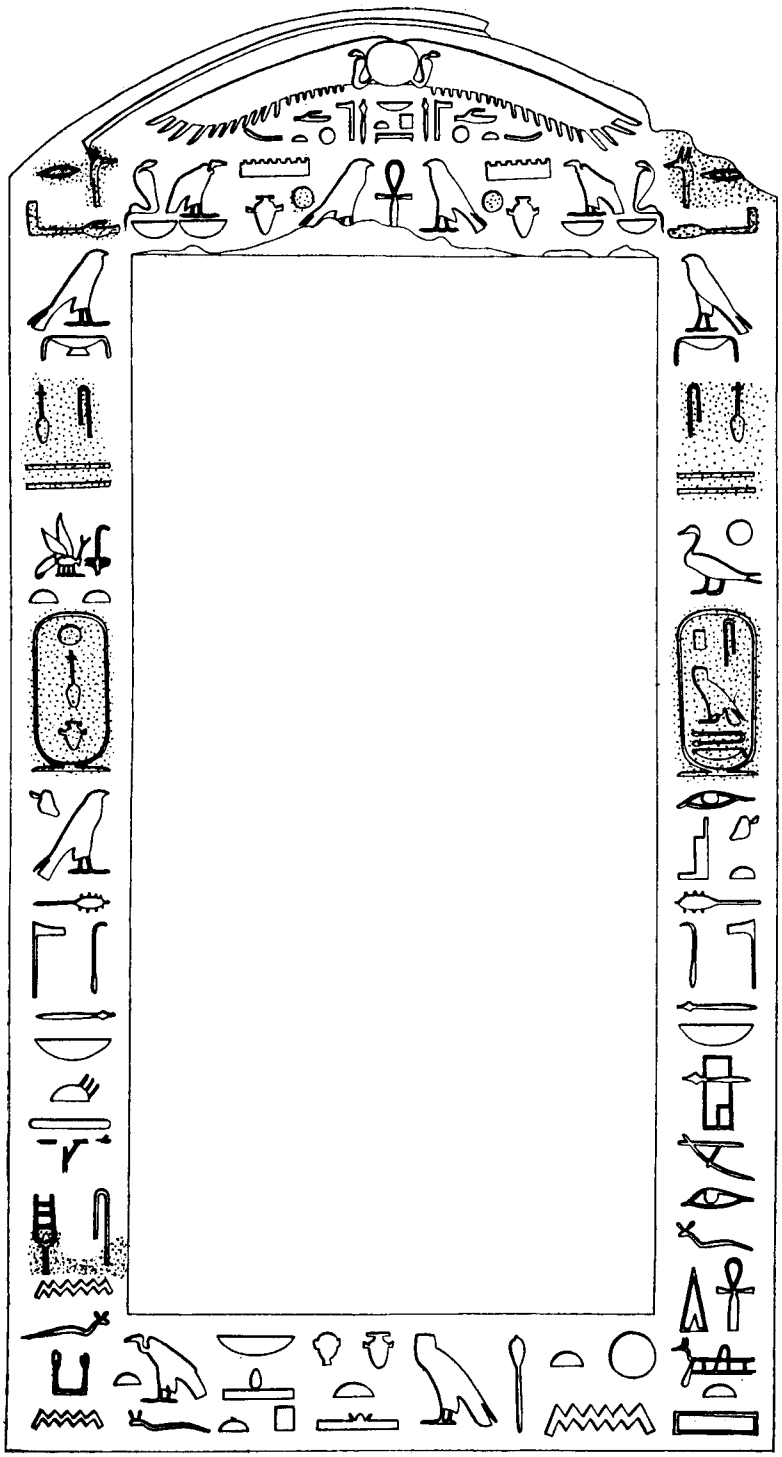


Fig. 2. — Naos of Necho, usurped by Psammetikhos II.

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The one to the (spectator's) left (a) continues down the side and ends in a horizontal line at the bottom of the naos; the other (b) ends on the right hand side. They read :

(a) « *May live the Horus 'Excellent-of-Heart', the Two Mistresses 'Strong-of-Arm', the Golden Horus 'Who-Beautifies-the-Two-Lands', King of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Neferibre', beloved* [1] *of Horus-Khentikhati lord of Athribis; he erected a shrine for his mother Nebet-hetepet-heret-ib* (?) *in white quartzite.* »

(b) « *May live the Horus 'Excellent-of-Heart', the Two Mistresses 'Strong-of-Arm', the Golden Horus 'Who-Beautifies-the-Two-Lands', son of Re 'Psammetikhos', beloved of Osiris-Khentikhati, lord of the Great Mansion, he made (this) to be given life.* »

It is clear that it was not Psammetikhos II who ordered this naos to be erected. It can be clearly seen that the Golden-Horus name, and the two cartouches were completely erased and recarved with names of Psammetikhos II. He managed to engrave his first two names on those of the king who ordered the naos to be made. In the former case, he changed the *s*-sign to a *mn*-sign, adding a *ḥ* to change the name from *s-ib* to *mnḥ-ib;* in the latter, he changed the *ḥrw*-sign to the arm, and carved on the *m-sign* the *wsr*-sign. Thus the names were changed from those of Necho to his own (fig. 3 *a, b*). Eric Winter published a statue of a priest, now in Ephesus, where a similar change is clear; this may be explained by the fact that the owner served both kings. But our case seems unique; Psammetikhos usurping a monument of his own father [2].

On the naos, the king is described as « *beloved of Horus and Osiris* »; both of whom are assimilated with Khentikhati, main god of Athribis. But the naos itself is dedicated to Nebet-Hetepet. In enumerating and commenting on monuments on which the

[1] The *mr*-sign is clear in the original text, but overlooked in the facsimile (fig. 2).

[2] Winter, *ZÄS* 97, 146 sq. Daressy published the lower part of a kneeling statue coming from Oussim, capital of the second nome of Lower Egypt. On the back of this statue is an inscription with the nomen of the two kings, which led him to consider the inscription as showing that the statue was made by Psammetikhos in honour of his father. Our naos shows that the son, on the contrary, was against his father, a fact which makes us doubt the explanation of Daressy, especially as the inscription of the statue is not complete and that some signs in that inscription are doubtful. For more details about the career of Necho, see the study of Yoyotte on Nechao or Neko in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible,* p. 363 sq. (I owe this references to B.V. Bothmer). See also *Egyptian Sculpture of Late Period,* The Brooklyn Museum 1960, N° 43, p. 50 f.

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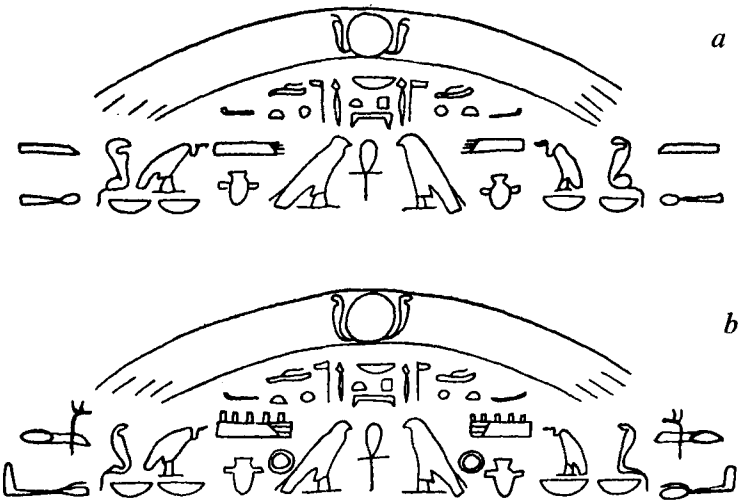


Fig. 3. — Inscription on the top of naos, with names of Necho (*a*) changed to Psammetikhos II (*b*).

goddesses « Iousaas et (Hathor)-Nebet-Hetepet » occur, J. Vandier refers to a scene on one of the columns in the Second Court of Medinet Habu, Temple of Ramesses III, where the king is making an offering to Khenti-khati, followed by Hathor-Nebet-Hetepet [1]. Vandier also refers to a pedestal coming from Athribis, which has a representation of Merenptah adoring the goddess [2]. To these references Vernus adds a door-jamb with inscription describing Tuthmosis III as beloved of Hathor-Nebet-Hetepet. At the bottom there is mention of a person, whose name is not complete, with the words « *Made under the order of the governor and prophet,* Tw(ri) » (?). It is probable, as Vernus suggested, that this man was delegated by the king to erect a temple for the goddess [3].

This temple must have existed in Athribis and our naos was standing in it. Whether or not Necho was responsible for erecting the temple itself is another question, although it most probably existed before him.

Few are the monuments left by this king; blocks belonging to him were found scattered all along the Bolbitine or Rosetta Branch of the Nile, but were most probably originally standing in Saïs, where the king resided and was buried [4].

[1] Iousaas et (Hathor)-Nebet-Hetepet in *RdE* 16, 96 sq. (LXV).

[2] *Ibid.*, 99 (d, LXXV).

[3] Vernus, *o.c.*, p. 22 : 24.

[4] Numerous blocks engraved with the names of this king were found in Rosetta, Nehhariya and Terenuthis; each has three columns of inscription, which give the king's Horus-name,

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On the naos the word following the name of the goddess is somewhat strange, but it can be taken as « *The One in the Middle* », referring to Athribis, usually spoken of as *Ḥwt ḥr-ib*, from which its modern name came [1]. Following it is the designation of the material of which the naos was made. It is called *ḥḏṯ n bi3t*. *Bi3t*-stone, which is usually taken as gritstone of quartzite and is described as : « a hard compact variety of sandstone that has been formed from ordinary sandstone by the deposition of crystalline quartz between sand grains ... and may be white, yellowish or various shades of red, either fine-grained or course-grained ». Five monuments were described in their inscriptions as having been made of this kind of stone, and here is one more. The quartzite here used is specified to be *ḥḏt*, meaning white or bright [2].

The discovery of the tomb of Takhut, wife of Psammetikhos II, in Athribis (Vernus, doc. 91) shows even more the interest of the Saites in this town. Why Athribis was chosen for the burial of the queen may be guessed by her name, possibly meaning « *The One of Khuyit* », the main goddess of the town in the Saitic period [3]. This may show that she originally came from there, and that her home-town was chosen as her resting place. All that we know of this tomb and its contents, which seem not to have been disturbed, is the inscription on the top of her sarcophagus, the scarab already spoken of, a second scarab of Shepenopet (J.E. 89009), and a heart scarab of her own (J.E. 89002).

Two blocks, originally engraved by Taharka (Vernus, doc. 72) were proved by Barbara Ruszczyc of the Polish expedition of Athribis, to have come from a temple erected by this king in the Delta [4]. The cartouches of the king on these blocks were

prenomen and nomen, and face a fourth column describing him as beloved of Neit, mistress of the Temple of the Bee, but more often as beloved of « Atum, who is complete in his form ». They seem to have been used as lintels for doors, perhaps originally in his tomb, from which funeral equipments were acquired by various foundations abroad (see Yoyotte, *o.c.*). For the blocks, see our study, Sais and its Monuments in *ASAE*, 42, 378 sq. and figs. 100-3.

[1] For the various forms of writing of this town's name, see Vernus, *o.c.*, p. 337 sq.; usually it is written as *Ḥwt-ḥr-ib*.

[2] See Harris, *Minerals*, 1961 p. 75 (nos 7-11).

[3] For this goddess and her importance, see Vernus, *o.c.*, p. 440 sq. On p. 441, Vernus refers to the queen as *T3-nt-Ḫwyt*, showing that her name has the name of the goddess as an element.

[4] In her article : « Taharqa à Tell Atrib », she studied the two blocks found by Shehata Adam, which he took as made originally by Psammetikhos II and usurped by Amasis (Vernus, *doc.* 72); she rightly attributes them to the Ethiopian king, usurped by Psammetikhos II. With these blocks and others, she established the plan of the temple of Taharka erected in Athribis (*Aegypten und Kush, Festschrift Hintze* 13, 391 sq.); she stated that this temple was unique in the Delta and that its presence showed the special consideration the king had for this place. In my

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changed to those of Psammetikhos II, showing that the latter appropriated the blocks and perhaps also others of Taharka to erect a building, such as a temple or even a tomb. No trace of the burial of that king, not even an object of his funeral equipment, has been found, a fact which may show that his tomb has yet to be discovered. Did the king choose Athribis as his resting place, preferring to be buried near his wife? Future excavations may reveal if this hypothesis is correct [1].

APRIES. We have more indications of the activities of Apries in Athribis than of his predecessors. C.C. Edgar, once the chief inspector of Lower Egypt, recorded, some seventy years ago, the lower part of a column inscribed on two opposite sides (Vernus, doc. 94). One of the sides has the lower part of the prenomen of the king, followed by the words : « *beloved of Osiris-Khentikhatiu, lord of* Ḥwt-ʿ3 ». On the opposite side is the lower part of the nomen, followed by the words : « *beloved of* Rs-wḏ3, *the great god, residing in* Pr-ḥnw ».

In the first inscription, Osiris, who was assimilated to the local god of Athribis, is styled as lord of the Great Mansion. This was the chief temple of Heliopolis, but it was so often mentioned on monuments of Athribis that we are led to believe that a temple of that name existed in Athribis also. In the second inscription, mention is made of *Rs-wḏ3* and *Pr-ḥnw,* both well-known designations for parts of Athribis [2]. In addition to this column, a second object with the mention of Apries and *Ḥwt-ʿ3* was found in Athribis (Vernus, doc. 95). This was quoted by Alan Rowe in the report of his short dig in Athribis; more information concerning it was promised, but nothing was later said [3].

On one of my visits to the ruins of Athribis, I saw two blocks which may or may not have formed one and the same column. One of these, the upper part of the column, bears the inscription : « *King of Upper and Lower Egypt and lord of the Two Lands* ʿḤaʿibre' ... » (fig. 4 *a*) on one side, and on the other side : « *The good god, lord of*

study in the same Festschrift on « Mentuhotep, the Vizier and Son-in-Law of Taharqa », *o.c.*, 165 sq., I identified the vizier with the high priest of Athribis (170). Taharqa, in giving his daughter to this man of Athribis, showed his special concern for this town. Vernus referred to our article, but was doubtful of our identification, *o.c.*, p. 473.

[1] Barbara Ruszczyc, *o.c.*, p. 393 sq. Parts of temples of Psammetikhos II were found in many places in the Delta, where they have been used as building material (Our study in *ASAE* 42, 383, pl. 27 *a*, and 399 and fig. 110).

[2] See « Notes from my Inspectorate », *ASAE* 13, 277 sq., cf. 280. Vernus comments also on this column and the gods mentioned there = *o.c.*, p. 420 sq. and p. 424 sq.

[3] *ASAE* 38, 526 and Id. *AAA* 25, 127.

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ceremonies 'Uah(ib)re'... » (fig. 4 *b*). On the second block, we read : « *Beloved of Horus-Repeated-of-Births, the great god, residing in Athribis* » on one side (Pl. XLI and fig. 4 *c*), and : « *Beloved of ... Athribis* », on the other (fig. 4 *d*). The middle part of this last

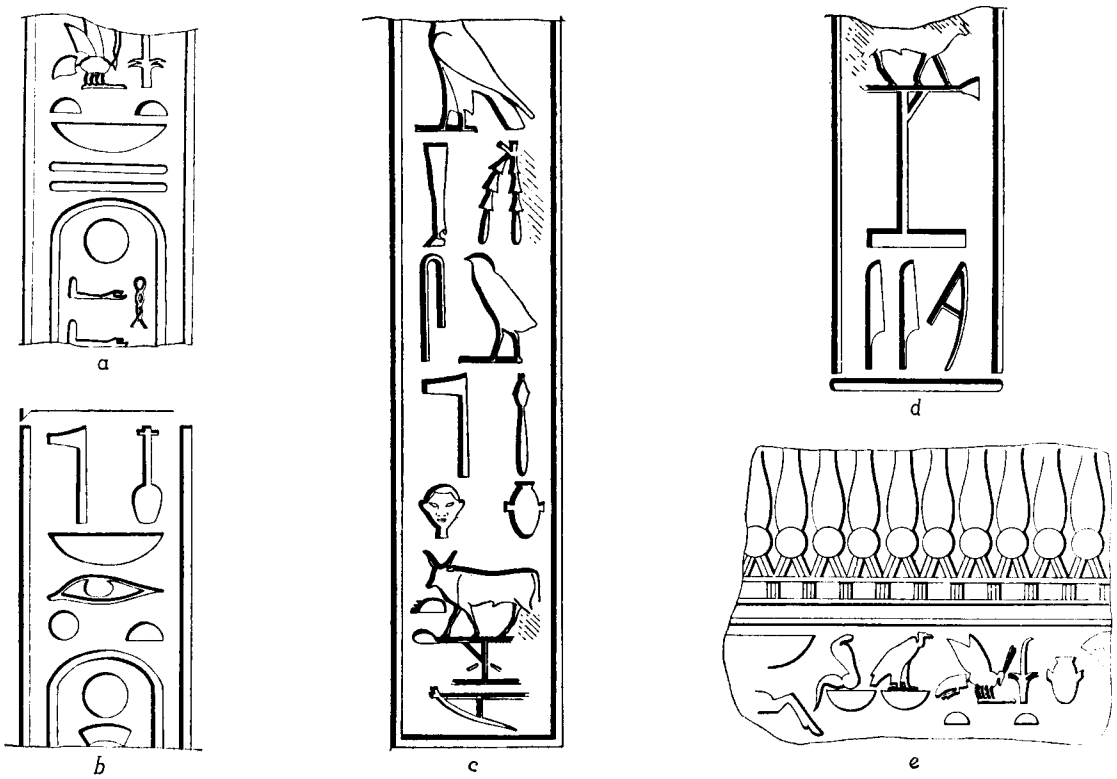


Fig. 4. — Inscriptions on the columns and naos of Apries.

inscription, which contained the name of a god and his epithet, is lost. On the other side Horus is given an epithet hardly known for him, though it reminds us of the Horus-name of some kings [1].

Thus we have at least two columns of king Apries from Athribis. Such columns probably stood between decorated screens. The screen with the alternative cartouches

[1] Such as Amenemhet I, Tuthmosis III, Tutankhamen and Sethos I, see *Wb.* II, 141, 5. This title, attributed to the first and last kings, was taken by Gardiner as introducing them to be founders of dynasties (*Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 127 and 246). Given here to Horus, he may be taken as the god who started the Pharaonic reign.

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of Uahibre and Neferkare, spoken of above (Vernus, doc. 85), seems to have been left unfinished; it has only four cartouches on one side, but on the opposite side (fig. 1 *b*), it has six, containing the prenomen and nomen of Apries repeated three times. Above these cartouches is carved a row of standing vultures; on the other side of the screen is a row of uraei; these undoubtedly represented Upper and Lower Egypt respectively.

Another object, which I found in Athribis may be more important. This has a row of *kheker*-signs, with a horizontal line of inscription below, of which the following signs survive : « [*Horus*] *'Stable-of-Heart', king of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the Two Mistresses 'Master-of-Strength'* ... » (fig. 4 *e*). Here we have the left-hand side of the top of a naos of Apries; on the opposite side, there must have been another, somewhat similar inscription; both would have continued with the other names of the king along the top and down the sides.

AMASIS. King Amasis seems to have been even more active; as an usurper of the throne, he may have tried to show how devoted he was to the gods of various places, especially in the Delta. His achievements in Mendes include one huge naos still standing and three others, quite similar, now destroyed [1]. Of course he built considerably in Saïs, but his monuments are now widely dispersed, as are all the monuments of this town [2].

He built a temple in Athribis, discovered by the Polish Expedition, which has been excavating there since 1957. The dating of this temple was ascertained by the discovery of the foundation deposits under its sun-dried brick walls (Vernus, doc. 96); these were inscribed with the names of Amasis. The building proved to be nearly 50 ms. by 20 ms., but void of any other inscription. A stela with the representation of Osiris and Isis, a part of a small baboon statue and the hind part of a sphinx, were the only objects found inside [3].

[1] For these naoi, see Christine L. Soghor, *JARCE* 6, 16-23 and figs. 2-6, see also Robert Holz et alii, *Mendes* I, p. VIII.

[2] Habachi, *ASAE* 42 : a block in Sais, a second in the Fort of Kaitbay, a third in one of the cisterns of Rosetta, a fourth and fifth in Nehhariya; we shall comment on these last two, see below p. 231.

[3] For this temple, see Barbara Ruszczyc, « Le temple d'Amasis à Tell Atrib », *Etudes et travaux* 9, p. 117 sq. There she gave views of the foundation deposits, the description of the building and the few discoveries. From the elements found, she established a plan of the temple (fig. 2).

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In this temple however, may have stood the important naos erected by Amasis in honour of Kemwer in *Sḫt-ḥtp* of Athribis (Vernus, doc. 92). Though only the very top of this naos was recovered, it provides us with considerable knowledge about certain divinities and genii of Athribis during the reign of king Amasis, who seems to have been devoted to them.

In 1957, more than half a century after the discovery of the top of this naos, its lower portion was discovered, not in the ruins of the town of Athribis, but in the foundations of a house near the well-known mosque called after Saida Zeinab in Cairo. Its presence was reported to me by my late colleague Ragheb Ibrahim, then inspector of Cairo and Giza. Inspecting it with him, I could guess at first glance that it belonged to Amasis, since some signs in the dedicatory inscriptions were erased and the small figures engraved on it were typical of the Saitic period.

Comparing it later with the upper part of the Amasis naos coming from Athribis [1], it was clear that they belonged together : the material was the same, the decoration of the same nature, and the dimensions were identical, although the middle part of the monument was missing.

We produce here views of the surviving parts of the naos, giving a facsimile and a brief description of each side. As can be seen, the upper part is complete, except for a small fragment which is lost from the back. Of the lower part, the back and the left-hand sides are missing; on the right-hand side, one almost complete register at the botton and part of the upper register are still to be seen; the front, below the cavity, is complete.

The stone of the upper part of the naos was described by G. Roeder as « grau gesprenkelter feinkorniger Granit » [2]. When it was examined later, together with four other monuments (all described in their inscriptions as being made of *bekhen*-stone), it was said to be made of fine-grained grey granite or rather psammite-gneiss [3].

Only a very small part of the middle of the naos has come down to us, but it can be safely calculated. From the sloping sides, the naos was originally nearly 3 ms. high. Of this height, only 2.60 ms. were visible; about 50 cm. were left rough to be buried in the pavement of the building where it originally stood. Its breadth was 1.05 ms. and width 1.60 ms. (fig. 5).

[1] Roeder, *Naos* (*CGC* 70011), p. 38 sq. Ruszczyc did not mention the naos when writing about « Le temple d'Amasis à Tell Atrib », but it is natural that an important object, like this naos, must have been standing in the temple which the king erected in Athribis.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[3] For the material of this naos, see Lucas-Rowe, *ASAE* 38, 1938, 138 and 154 sq.

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The representations on the front are the most important; they give us an idea of the reason for erecting the naos. On top are 15 uraei; below is the sun-disk described as lord of heaven, lord of Mesen; from it hangs, on each side, an uraeus, with the *šnn*-sign. One of these uraei wears the crown of Upper Egypt and the other the crown of Lower Egypt. On each side, a cartouche with the nomen of the king is engraved between two cartouches including his prenomen : each cartouche is surmounted by a sun-disk between two feathers and stand on the *nwb*-sign. Below is the winged disk, again with an uraeus on each side, described as « *The One of Behdet* » (Pl. XLII, A). On each side of the cavity, there must have been a column of text enumerating the names of the king, perhaps as beloved of Kemwer, the divinity to whom the naos is dedicated, and ending with the words : « *living forever* ». Similar inscriptions were engraved on the sides, as well as on the back of the naos; the ends of some of these can still be seen on the surviving parts.

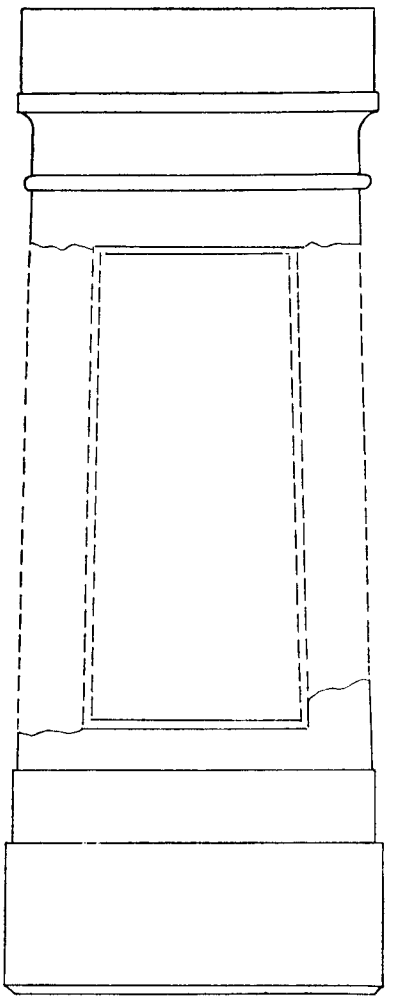


Fig. 5. — Drawing showing the two parts of Amasis naos and the missing parts.

On the front, below the cavity, are two similar scenes, beginning at the centre and running in opposite directions (Pl. XLII, B and fig. 6). Their only difference lies in the fact that the scene on the left hand side stands for Upper Egypt and that on the right hand side for Lower Egypt. In the middle we have the representations of the shrines of the two lands, then the three jackal-headed souls of Nekhen and the hawk-headed souls of Buto, standing for Upper and Lower Egypt respectively; each soul is shown kneeling and lifting one arm, the usual attitude in festival scenes. For Upper Egypt, there follows a baboon referred to as *'Istn*, or Thoth; his opposite is designated *ḥḏ-wr*, which is the name given to the naos in the dedicatory inscription engraved on the sides. At the end of each scene are two superimposed recumbent lions, each labelled as *ꜣkr*, perhaps referring to the two parts of Egypt.

On each side of the naos, at the top, the king is shown, with hands at his sides, worshipping a series of gods. Below, on the concave part, are engraved cartouches with

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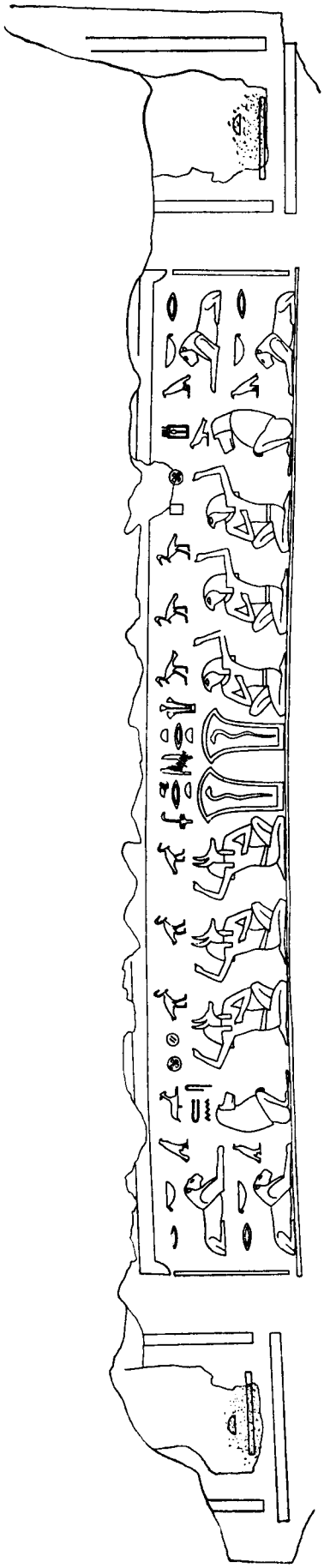


Fig. 6. — Scenes on the front of Amasis naos. The bottom.

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the prenomen and nomen of the king repeated five times. Each cartouche is surmounted by the sun-disk between two feathers and stands on the *nwb*-sign. Under a torus is the dedicatory inscription, the same on both sides, but with a small part of the end missing. The most complete is on the left side (Pl. XLIII, A); this reads : « *May live the Horus* Sm[n-m3ʿt, *the king of Upper and Lower Egypt*] ʿḤnm-[ib]-rʿ ʾ; *he made as his monument for his father, Kemwer, the great god, pre-eminent in Sekhet-hotep, (namely) a noble shrine in bekhen-stone; he made (that) to be given life* » (fig. 8).

Facing the king at the top is a god sitting on a bed or bier inside a tent; he is described as *Wsir m Sḫt-ḥtp*. Next is a goddess referred to as *Mnḫt-št3*. These divinities are followed by five groups, each formed of three gods; they are labelled : *Nṯrw ḫntyw Sḫt-ḥtp, Ntrw imjw Ḥwt-št3, Ntrw imjw Stp-s3* and *mḏḥ m;* the last group is not preserved on the surviving part of this side (Pl. XLIII, A and fig. 7).

On this same left side, on the lower part of the naos, only a portion of the lower register survives; it shows the king kneeling and offering two vases. Opposite is a row of divinities, each followed by a pedestal with one or more uraei; the accompanying inscription, which would enable us to identify the figures shown here, is missing (Pl. XLIII, B and fig. 9).

On the inferior part of the other side of the naos there is still to be seen a complete row of gods and one lower register. The king stands in front of what look like couples, but no inscription survives to reveal their identity. The lower register shows the king kneeling and offering vases, as on the other side; here he is spoken of as : « *The good god* ʿ(Ḫnm-ib)-rʿ ʾ ... ». In front of him are groups of divinities, each shown as a sitting divinity followed by a pedestal on which one or more uraei stand. These groups are designated : *ʾIst m tri, Snf Nb-nḥḥ, Tm-iʿḥ Nb-rhn, Mm Nbt-ḥtpt, R-w3ḥ Nḫt, S3ʿwr Km3-irw* ... (Pl. XLIV, A and fig. 11).

At the top of this same right-hand side, the king is shown, as on the left hand side, standing with arms parallel to his body; before him is an inscription saying that he : « *adores four times* »; only a few signs are still surviving to assure us of this gesture. In front of him is a god between two goddesses sitting on a bier, the god being referred to as *ḥry nmit·f* (?); next is a goddess called *Mnḫt-ḥbt*. These divinities are followed, as on the opposite side, by five groups of divinities, each composed of three; these are referred to as : *Nṯrw imjw Ḥwt-ʿ3, Nṯrw ḥrjw-ib Pr-ḫnw, Nṯrw m ʿt-wrt, Nṯrw ḫntjw Pr-nṯr, Psḏt-ʿ3t m i3t-ntr* [1] (Pl. XLIV, B and fig. 10).

[1] Most groups of gods enumerated on this naos are known to be those of Athribis; these were treated by Vernus in his exhaustive study. To be noted that the *ntr*-sign in the group before last was overlooked in the facsimile.

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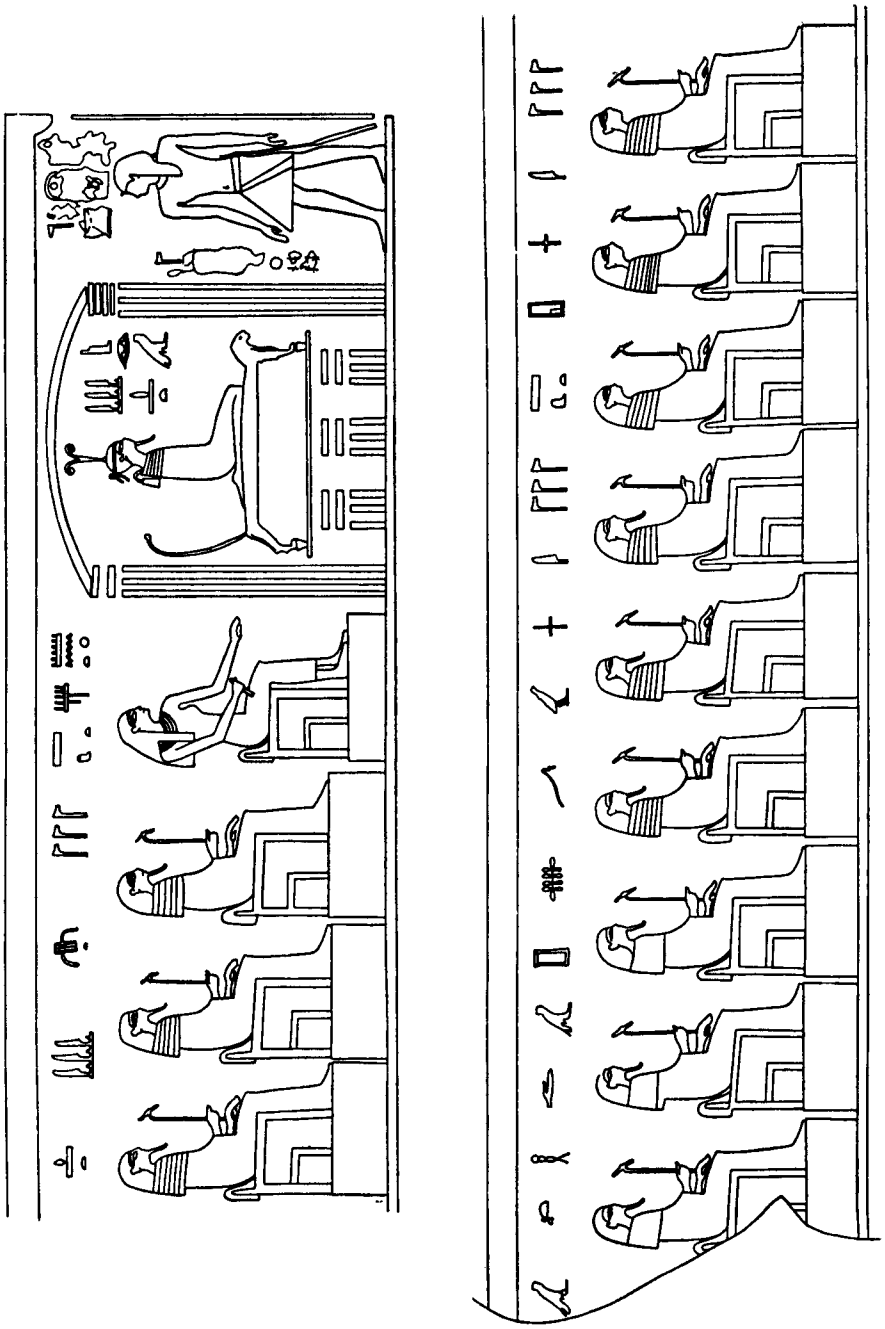
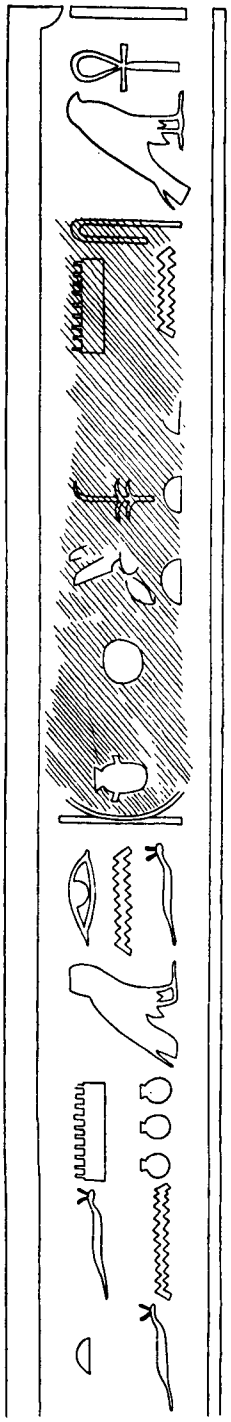


Fig. 7. — Left-hand side of the Amasis naos. The top.

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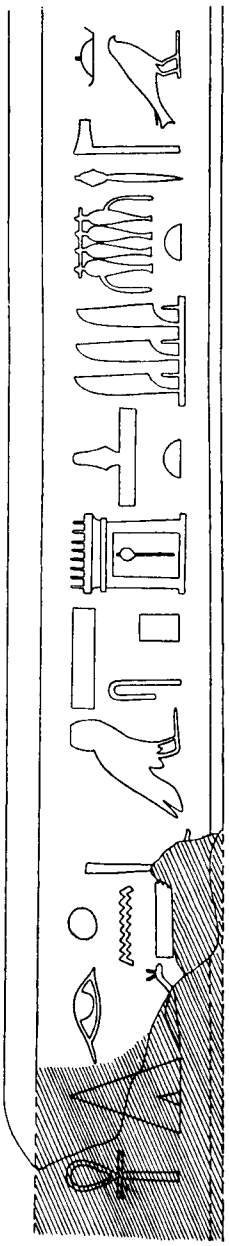


Fig. 8. — Left side of the Amasis naos. The lower part of the top.

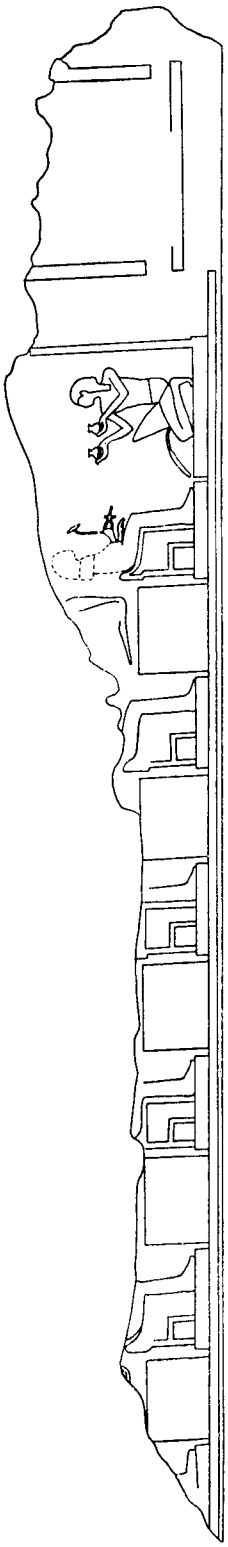


Fig. 9. — Left side of the Amasis naos. The bottom.

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On the back, four groups are seen; each is composed of three figures, two of which are shown back to back; the king must have been shown making an offering in each case. In front of the two groups to the left, which are the more complete, the king stands and offers two vases of wine; the two groups are labelled : *Nṯrw ỉmn rmn* and *Mꜣʿtỉ*. To the left of these, the figures of the king and the first god of the next group are not preserved on the surviving part of the naos; this group is referred to as ... *rmn ntr*. The three figures of the last group are shown standing on a bed; underneath the bed are enigmatic signs usually accompanying scenes of jubilees (Pl. XLV and fig. 12).

As we see in the inscriptions engraved on the two sides of the upper part of the naos, the naos is dedicated to « Kemwer, pre-eminent in Sekhet-hetep ». Kemwer is the traditional name of Athribis from the Old Kingdom down to the Graeco-Roman period, but usually it is represented as standing on a standard, with the *km*-sign as is the case on the columns of Apries from Athribis. Sometimes only the *km*-sign represents the name, as is the case on the naos of Necho, usurped by Psammetikhos II. As a god, he does not appear before the XXVth Dynasty. Vernus studied the various forms of the name; before that date, it appears assimilated with Osiris. In our case, the naos is dedicated to Kemwer, undoubtedly related to Osiris.

On the right-hand side of the top of the naos (Pl. XLIV, A), a god is shown sitting on a bed, and extending his arms to a goddess on each side of him. Here the god is styled as « The One on his bed ». Quite possibly the goddesses at his sides are Isis and Nephthys, who usually accompany him. Here the bed is more correctly interpreted as the bier on which Osiris is usually shown lying. As a matter of fact, *Ḥry nmit·f* is usually taken to be an epithet of the god of the Dead [1]. On the other side of the naos (Pl. XLIII, A), in the same position, only a god is shown, also on a bed and within a tent. That god is labelled « Osiris in Sekhet-hetep », a place-name mentioned in the dedicatory inscription in relation with Kemwer. Here the god is shown with an unusual implement fixed to his skull.

Following the god on both sides of the top of the naos, we see a goddess sitting and holding a piece of cloth in her hand. In one case the goddess is styled as *Mnḫt-ḥbt*, and in the other as *Mnḫt-šṯꜣt*. In addition to their mention on our naos, they occur together on one of the 69 columns of the cults-altar of Turin. Commenting on these goddesses, Vernus points out the occurrence of « *Khwyỉt*, who covers the god », preceding the

[1] The bier can be described by many words, but *mnʿ* may be the proper word to be given to the bier shown here, see *Wb.* II, 266, 2; the word can be represented simply by the figure of a bed or bier; Osiris can also be designated by it.

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mention of the two goddesses on the Turin altar; he suggests that they represent the bandages covering the body of the god of the Dead, which seems quite probable. He also quotes a text of the late period, mentioning an address to Osiris saying : « *To thee is given the bandage*-mnḫt *of the place of the First* ḥb-sd ».

There is more than one indication that our naos was erected on the occasion of one of the jubilees of the king. On the back of the top portion is shown a group of divinities standing on a bed beneath which are engraved enigmatic signs of the jubilee (Pl. XLV). More important are the representations on the front of the naos below the cavity (Pl. XLII). The two shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt are represented in the middle, together with the three jackal-headed gods representing Upper Egypt on one side, and the three hawk-headed gods of Lower Egypt on the other.

Among the blocks we spoke of in our study of « Sais and its Monuments », are two blocks of Amasis [1]. One of these has the representation of the king in the jubilee dress, having behind him the enigmatic signs usually shown on jubilee occasions [2]. The other block shows the king kneeling and receiving the blessing of Geb, all within a baldachin. Opposite is Iunmutef, then the three jackal-headed souls of Nekhen in the attitude of jubilee. On the missing part, there must have also been the hawk-headed souls of Buto, as is the case with our naos, undoubtedly erected on the occasion of the celebration of the *ḥb-sd* of the king [3]. This feast was celebrated in Sais, as well as in other places, like Athribis.

Dating from the reign of the same king is a pedestal, the front of which is decorated; perhaps it was originally used as a stand for a naos or a statue of the king. This pedestal came, as I was told by the guard of the ruins, from the excavations carried out by Liverpool University. More important monuments which came from these excavations attracted the attention of the excavators; the deplorable state of the inscription on our pedestal might have been the reason for its being neglected.

We here give a view of the pedestal and a facsimile of its inscriptions, as much as we were able to detect the remaining signs. From these it is clear that it contained two inscriptions. Each was composed of a line with the prenomen and epithets of the king, opposite which is a second line describing him as beloved of a certain divinity. The inscription to the left, which is more clear, reads : « [*The good*] *god,*

[1] *ASAE* 42, 384 sq. and fig. 105, 398 sq., and pl. 27 b.

[2] This scene was mentioned among the scenes showing the kings celebrating such feasts, see *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* I, p. 41.

[3] These souls play an important role in the rituals of enthronement, as well as those of jubilees; see Bonnet, *RÄRG*, p. 129 (Buto).

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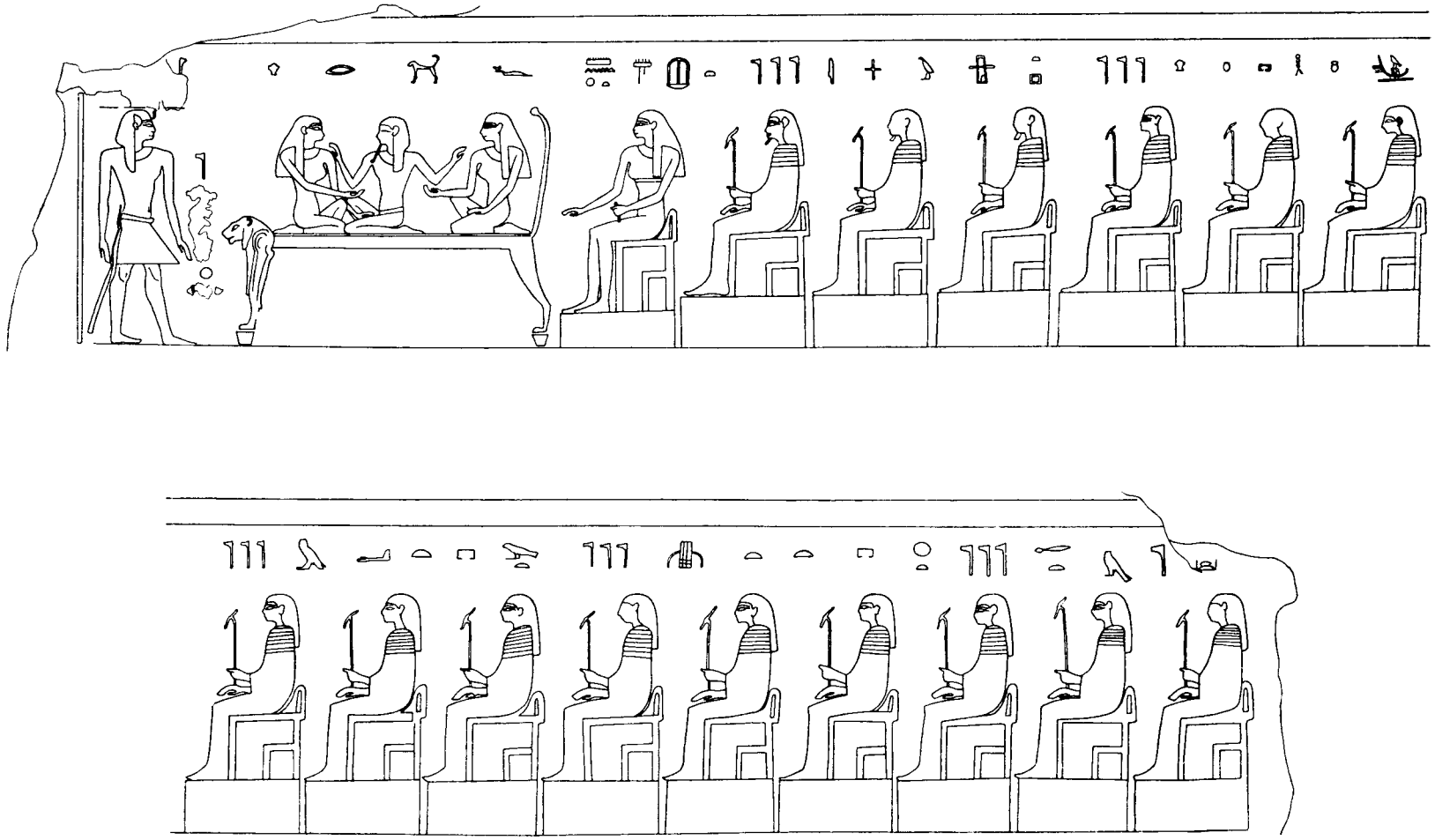


Fig. 10. — Right side of the Amasis naos. The top.

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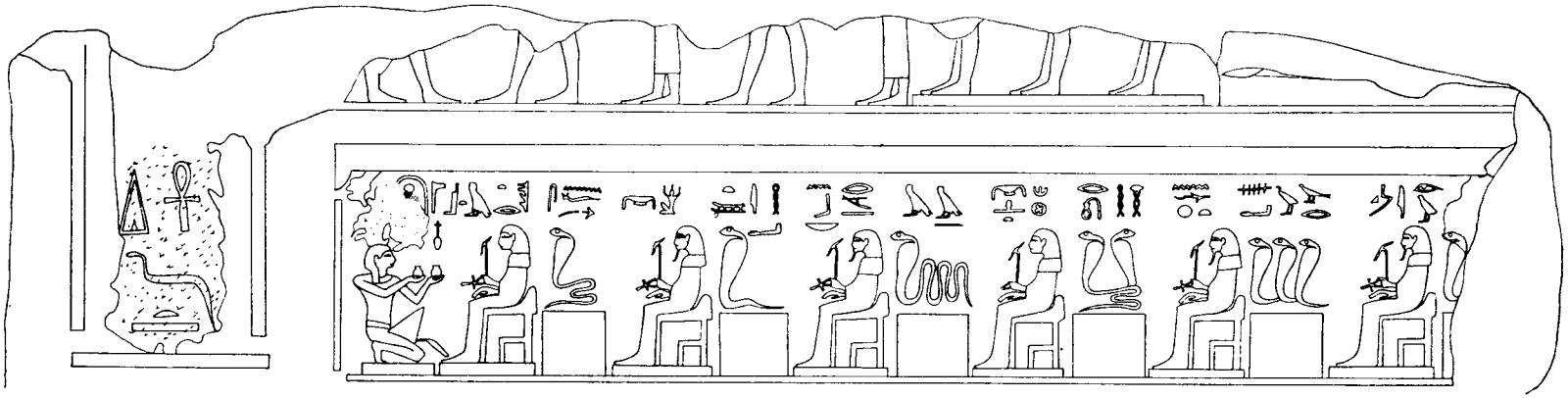


Fig. 11. — Right side of the Amasis naos. The bottom.

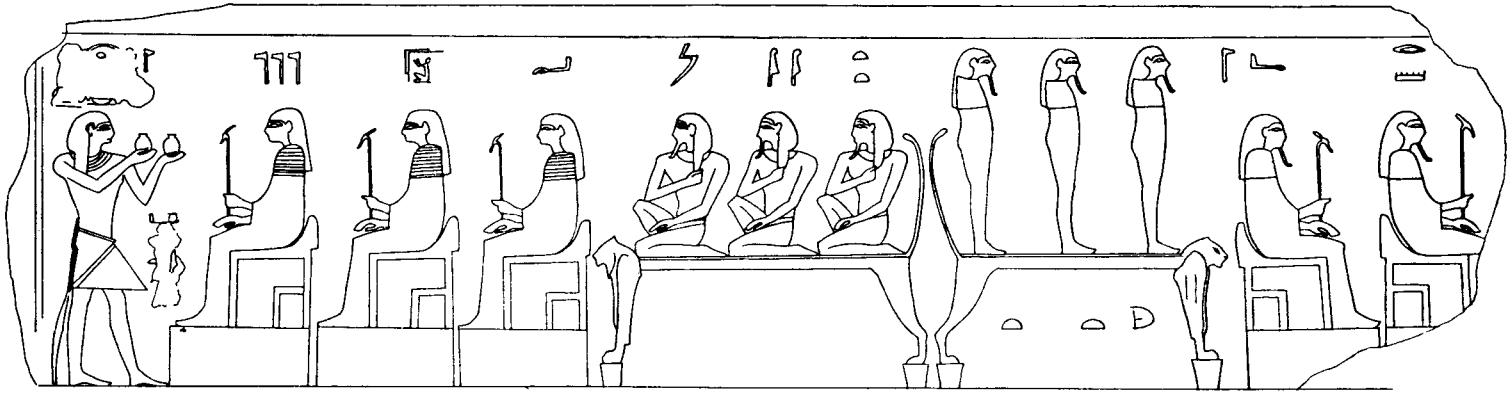


Fig. 12. — Back side of the Amasis naos. The top.

[lord of] the Two Lands and [lord of] ceremonies ' [Khenem]ibre' ' [living] forever (2) *beloved of Bastet, the Great* (?), *residing in Athribis, given life forever* ». The second inscription reads : « *The good [god, lord of the Two Lands and master of ceremonies ' Khenem]ibre' ', living forever,* (2) *beloved of .....*, *the Great* (?) *residing in Athribis, and living [forever]* » (Pl. XLVI and fig. 13).

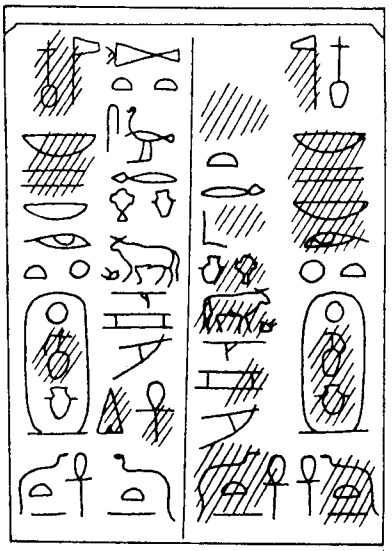


Fig. 13. — Pedestal with the names of Amasis.

The inscription on the left, clearly shows the king as beloved of Bastet, though the name of the goddess is given in a somewhat strange way. But the other divinity referred to in the inscription on the right is not clear; it is perhaps a god related to Bastet. With the position of Athribis in the middle of the Delta, it was natural that it should have had close relations with some neighbouring towns, like Heliopolis; Bubastis also seems to have been linked to it, which may be the reason why Bastet was mentioned on the pedestal [1].

Petrie enumerated three monuments from Athribis for Amasis, these being a naos, an altar in granite, and a seal [2]. The naos is that of the Louvre (D 29), dedicated to Osiris-Meryt, god of Terenuthis, but on which many other divinities, including Khentikhati of Athribis are shown. It is more probable that this naos was standing in Terenuthis than in Athribis; the god of Athribis is only mentioned along with many other divinities of important cults (Vernus, doc. 93).

According to Wiedemann [3] (quoted by Petrie), the seal is now kept in the Ashmolean Museum, but nothing is known about the granite altar. A fragment of a naos, reported to have been in a place called Suq El-Samaq in Cairo, may have formed a part of the naos of Amasis studied above. This piece has the lower part of a column of inscription of Amasis [4].

Whether or not this is true, there is no doubt that Amasis directed considerable attention to Athribis, building a temple there in which might have stood the important

[1] Vernus, *o.c.*, p. 361, where he enumerates the documents mentioning people in whose names the goddess forms an element.

[2] *A History of Egypt* (*From the XIXth to the XXXth Dynasties*), 1905, p. 348.

[3] *Geschischte*, p. 655.

[4] Described as a fragment of a shrine, PM, IV, p. 72; Wilkinson, *MSS*, VI, p. 203. Enough of the inscription remains to show that it was inscribed with the name of Amasis.

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naos and the pedestal spoken of above. This can also be said of Necho II, who erected a naos there. Psammetikhos II possibly also built a temple near to the tomb of his wife. Of the building erected by her son Apries, we have two columns, an intercolumnar screen, and a naos. Of Psammetikhos the first and the third, nothing has been recovered; the former seems to have been busy establishing the dynasty, which he founded, while the latter only reigned for quite a short period.

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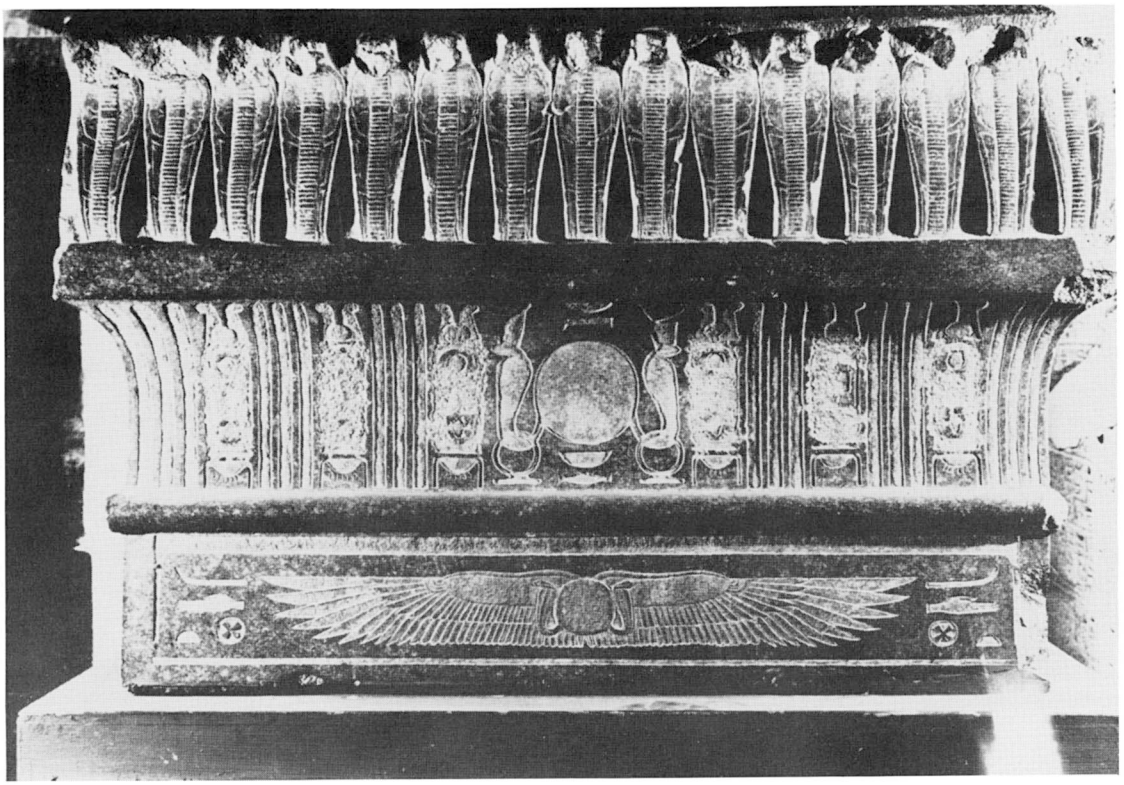
Naos of Necho, usurped by Psammetikhos II.

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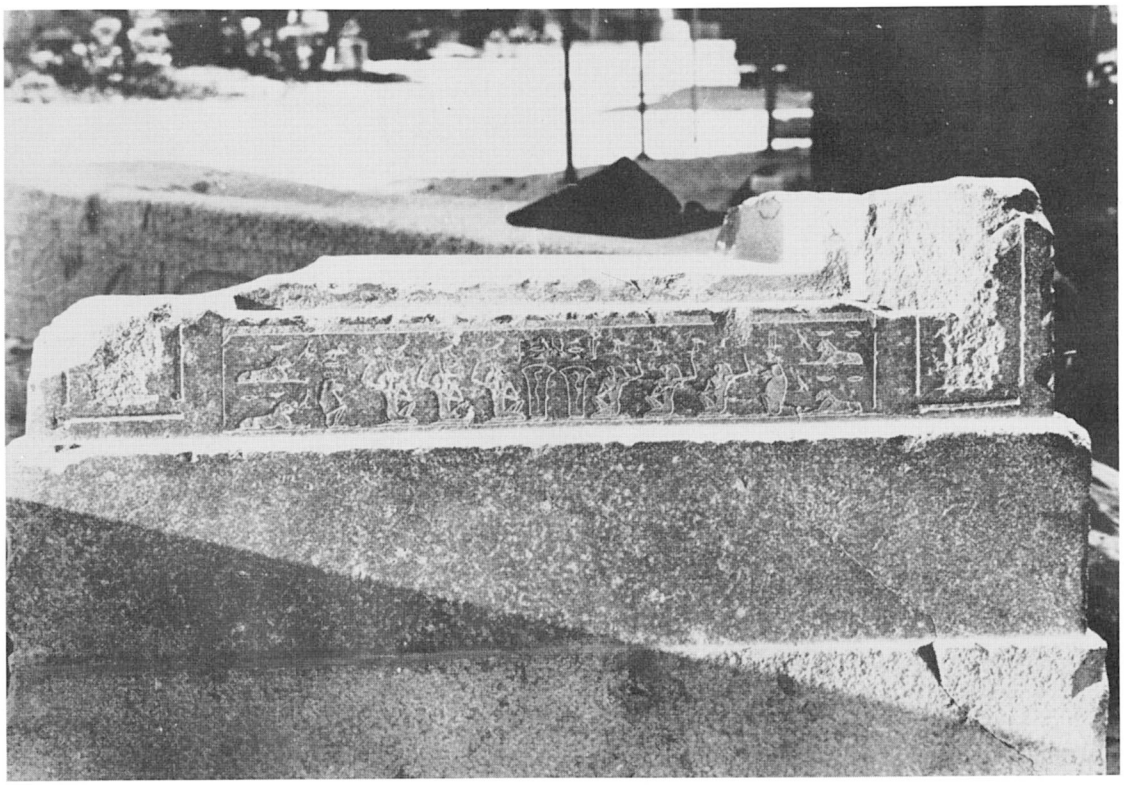


Inscription of the column of Apries.

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A



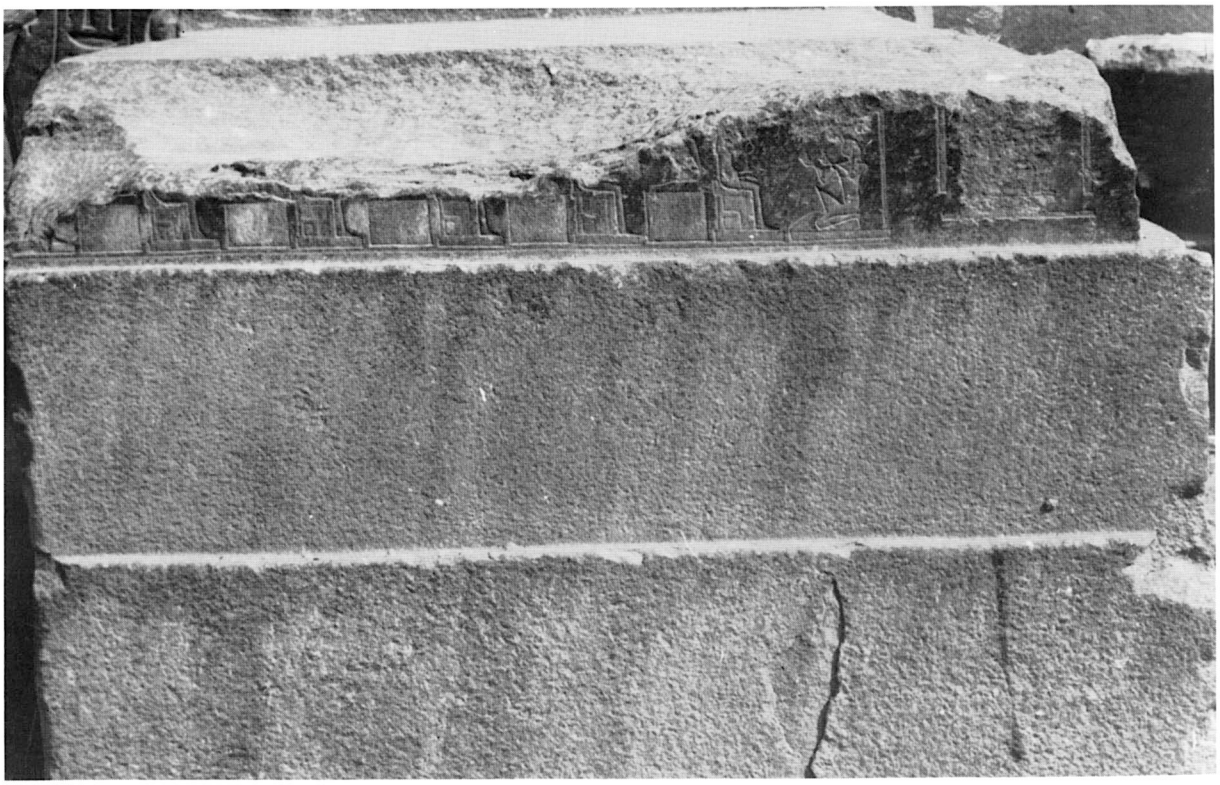
B

Scenes on the front of Amasis naos.

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A



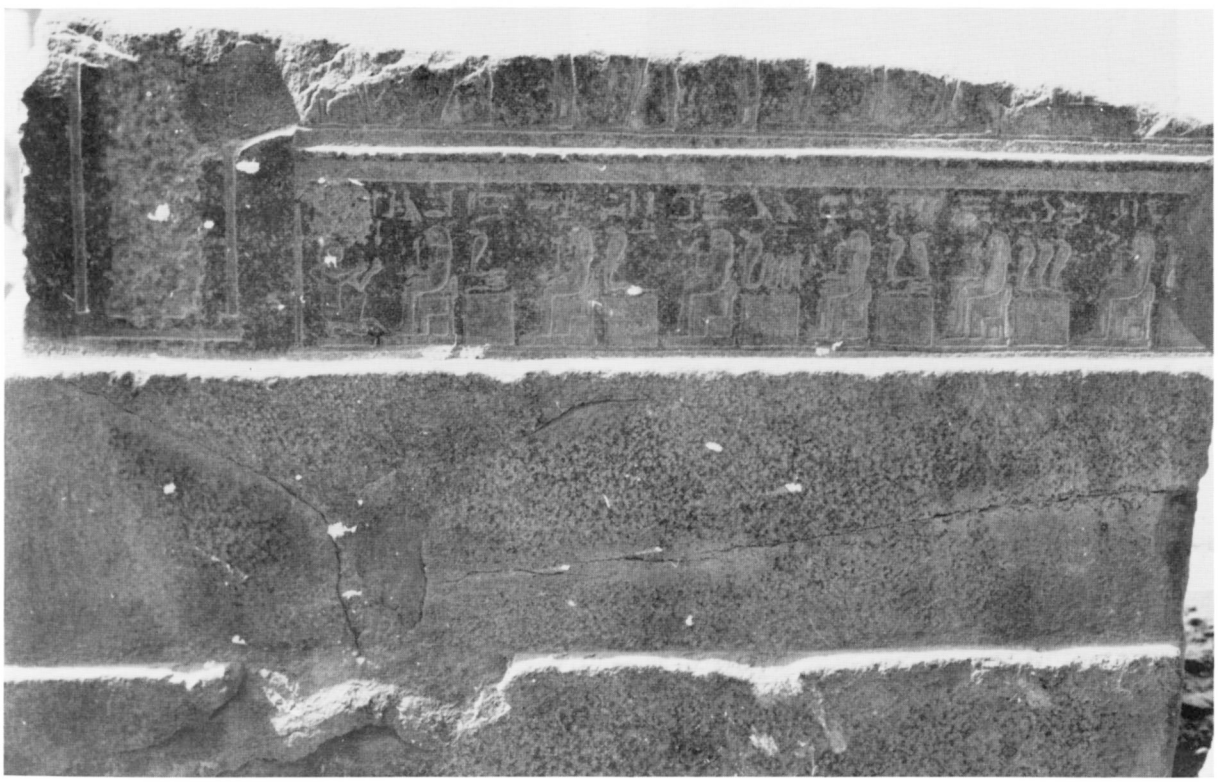
B

Left-hand side of the Amasis naos.

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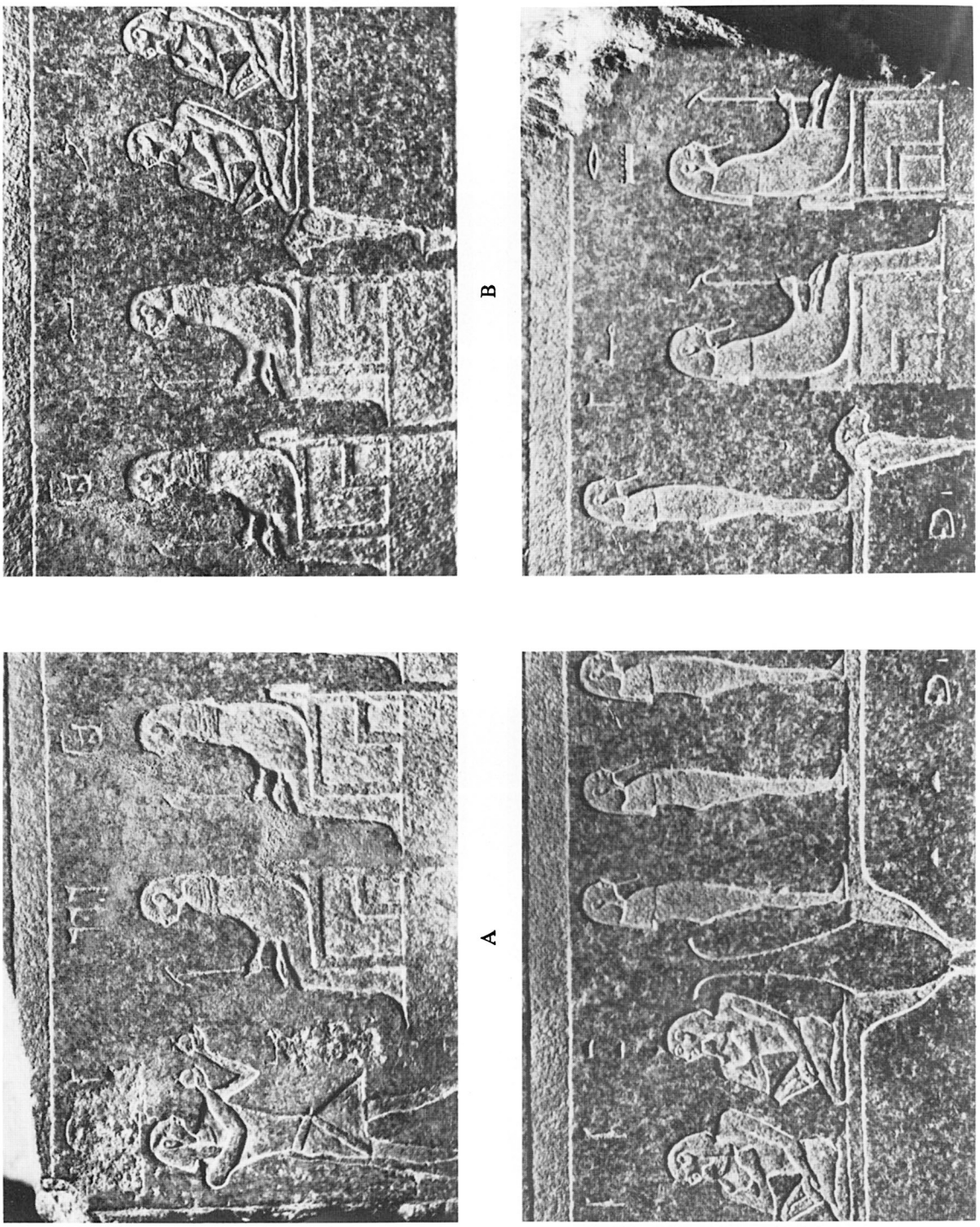
A



B

Right side of the Amasis naos.

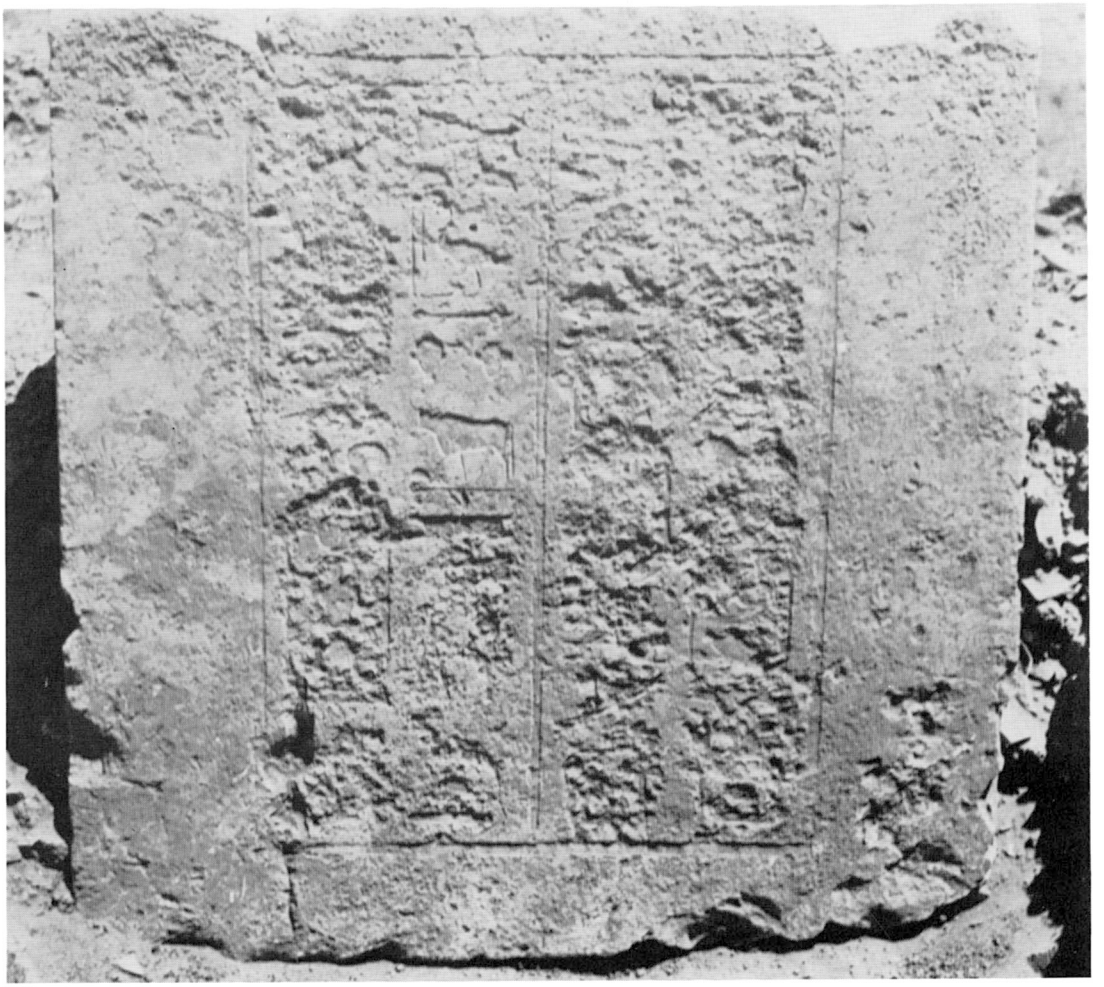
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A B C D

Back side of the Amasis naos. The top.

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Pedestal with the names of Amasis.

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