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New York, New York
March 1999

D. A.

CONTENTS

TEMPLES OF THE LAST PHARAOHS

INTRODUCTION

This book deals with the last 1,300 years of the nearly 3,000-year-long history of temple building in ancient Egypt, undertaken by about fifty kings, from the collapse of the New Kingdom to the end of Roman rule. The flow of historical data from this period—at least from the eighth century B.C. on—is so much stronger than in all preceding periods, and the sheer number of buildings seems formidable; however, the distribution and preservation of monuments of the Late Period is erratic. The Nile valley of Upper Egypt and Nubia is relatively rich in these monuments; so are the Faiyum and the western oases. By contrast, Middle and Lower Egypt, and especially the Nile Delta, are depleted of temples. The rise of modern cities like Cairo, Alexandria, Zagazig, Beni Suef, Miniyia, and others, with their demand for building material, led to the total destruction of nearby monuments. This disappearance is especially unfortunate for tracing the building history of the 26th and 30th Dynasties, which built most of their temples in Lower Egypt.

This rarity of late Egyptian temples should actually have prompted an eager study of the few surviving remains. This has, however, rarely happened. Egyptologists who thoroughly study the sculpture of the Egyptian Late Period mostly omit contemporary temple architecture from their attention.[1] The main reason is that temples of the Late Period are—because of their lavish decoration and inscriptions—considered less as architectural monuments and more as carriers of reliefs and inscriptions. This neglect of architecture is no wonder where all that sometimes remains of a temple is a pile of inscribed building blocks.

The remaining buildings, however, not only bear witness to the high standard of Late Egyptian temple building in general but also demonstrate that architecture took significant steps in development, creating a new world of pharaonic temples that compares well with the achievements of preceding

periods. In addition to their outstanding artistic value, some of these temples still convey the unforgettable notion of proximity to ancient times, when ceremonial life still filled their interiors. This sensation is supported by eyewitness reports of visiting Greek and Roman travelers.[2] The Greek historian Herodotus of Halicarnassus visited Egypt ca. 450–444 B.C., when the country was under the rule of the Persian king Artaxerxes I, and in his second book recorded his experiences at Egypt's temples. His descriptions of Buto, Sais, Bubastis, and Memphis portray the temples as functioning sanctuaries, still alive with ritual activity. Another Greek writer, Strabo of Amasia, traveled in Egypt ca. 27/26 B.C., shortly after the Roman conquest. In the seventeenth volume of his *Geography*, Strabo discloses important information about sites like Heliopolis, Memphis, and Alexandria. The opulence of temples and chapels governing the landscape of Egypt in classical antiquity is further demonstrated by picturesque representations of Egypt and the Nile in Roman mosaics and wall paintings. Even after centuries of destruction of Egyptian temples, Arab writers were still able to visit and describe in good detail the temples of Sebennytos and Akhmim.

Even more than temples of earlier periods, those of the Egyptian Late Period were characterized by the two typical conflicting intentions of maintaining the traditional and developing contemporary forms. This aspect will be addressed repeatedly in the following chapters.

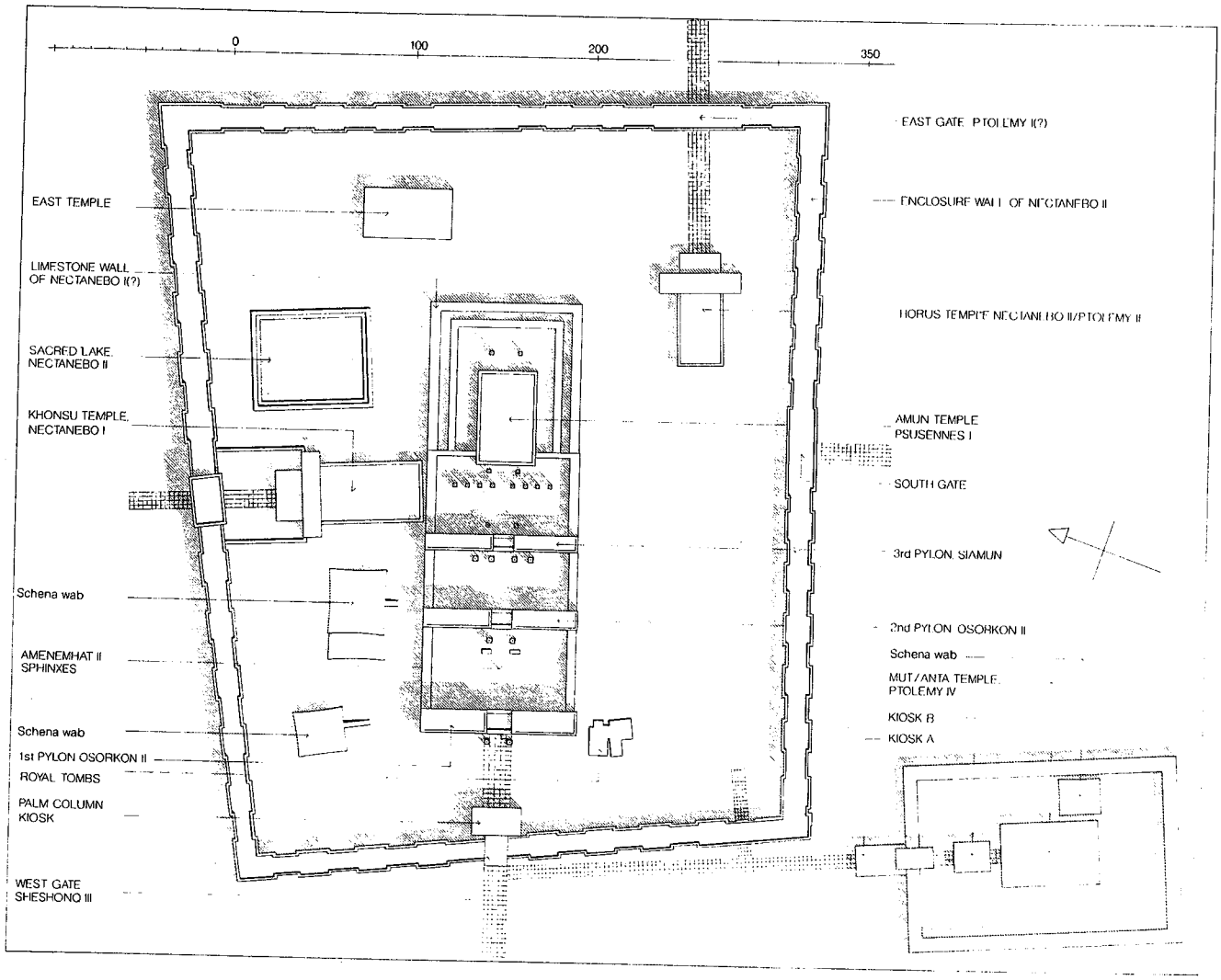
During the Late Period, Egyptian cults and their specific building forms were spreading over the whole range of the Mediterranean; simultaneously, Egypt was being exposed to foreign influences as never before. These foreign connections cannot be entirely ignored and require repeated glimpses at the contemporary architecture of Egypt's neighbors.[3] Indeed, two prominent side branches of Egyptian Late Period architecture developed into such extensive and specific architectural entities that they cannot properly be treated in the framework of a book about Late Egypt: the building of the Kushites in the Sudan and the Hellenistic architecture of Alexandria. The presentation of traditional architecture in Egypt leaves no room for these two fascinating architectural worlds.

The reader should comprehend that in Egyptological convention Arabic or Greek and Roman topographical names often change surprisingly and not always logically. Greek and Roman names are preferred when no important modern city is in the neighborhood, whereas the Arabic name comes into use when a major modern city is placed on the ancient site. In the following text, both names are given in most of the cases, but Greek and Roman names are preferred because the book deals with a period in which ancient Egyptian names were transformed into Greek and Latin. Site or temple names are capitalized in the text to indicate a more profound discussion of the building activity at a specific site. Uncommon technical, architectural, and Egyptological terms that are explained in the glossary are italicized where they first occur in the text. Question marks (?) indicate doubts about the proposed date or allocation. "Augustus(?)" therefore means that we are not sure that Augustus was the builder. Exclamation marks (!) should attract attention to a remarkable fact or dimension.

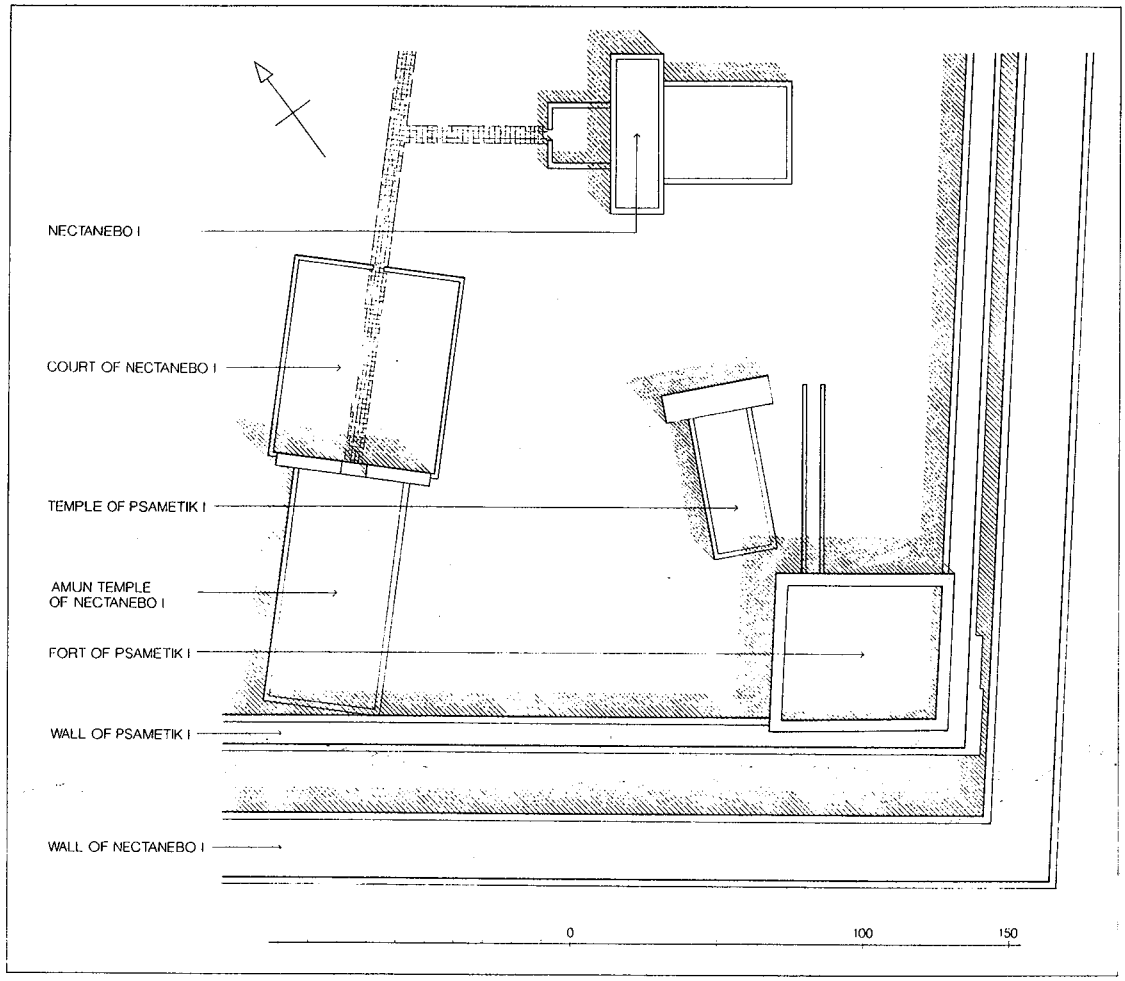
PLANS & MAPS

The fifteen plans that follow depict the main Egyptian sanctuaries of the Late Period and are referenced throughout the text as plans I–XV. These are not plans of the existing ruins but reconstructions that should assist the reader in imagining the ancient layout of the buildings and the paths of movement within the sanctuaries.

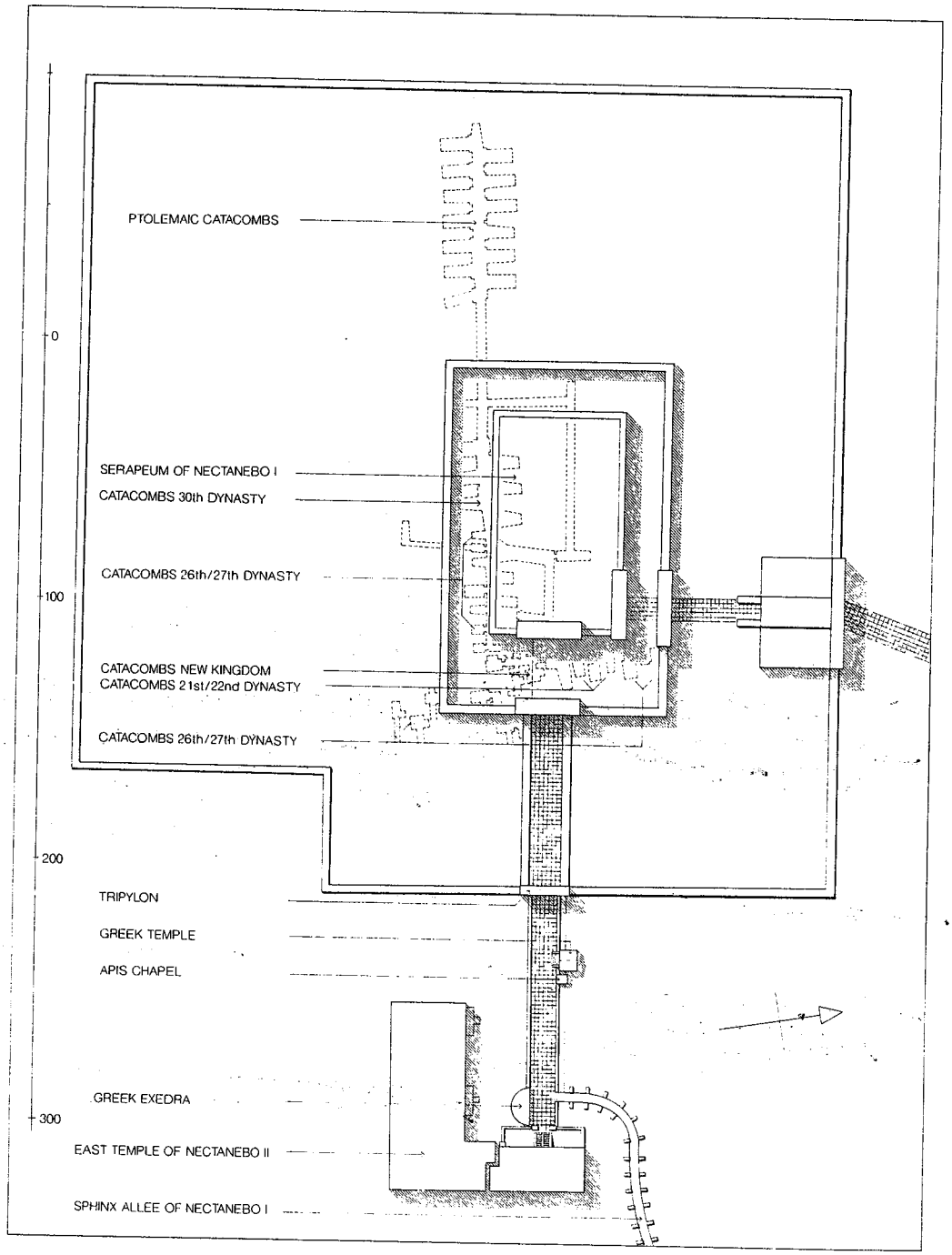
Following the plans, three maps show the distribution of Late Period temples in Lower Egypt, the Faiyum, and Upper Egypt and lower Nubia.



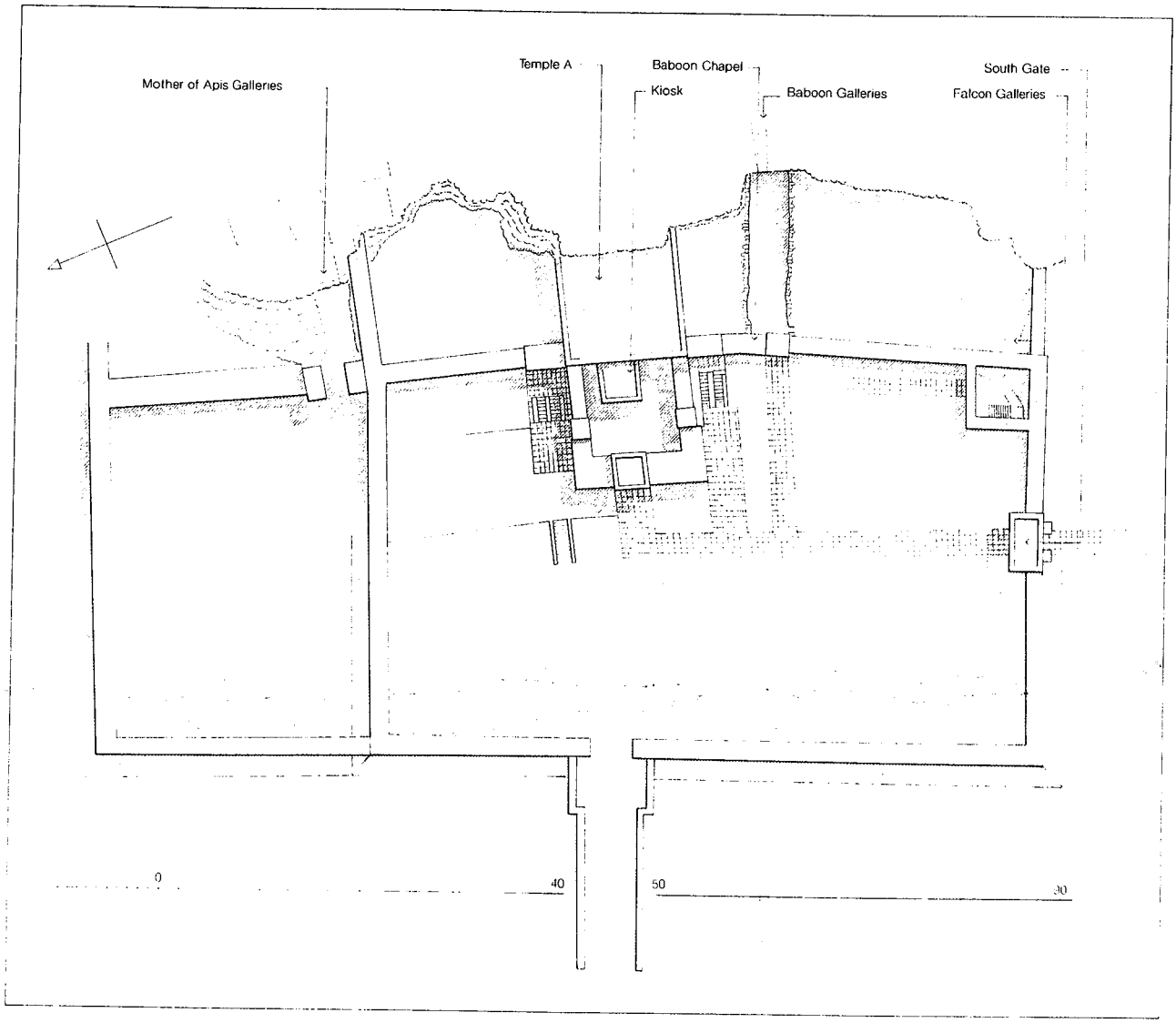
I. Reconstructed plan of the temple precincts of Amun and Anta at Tanis.



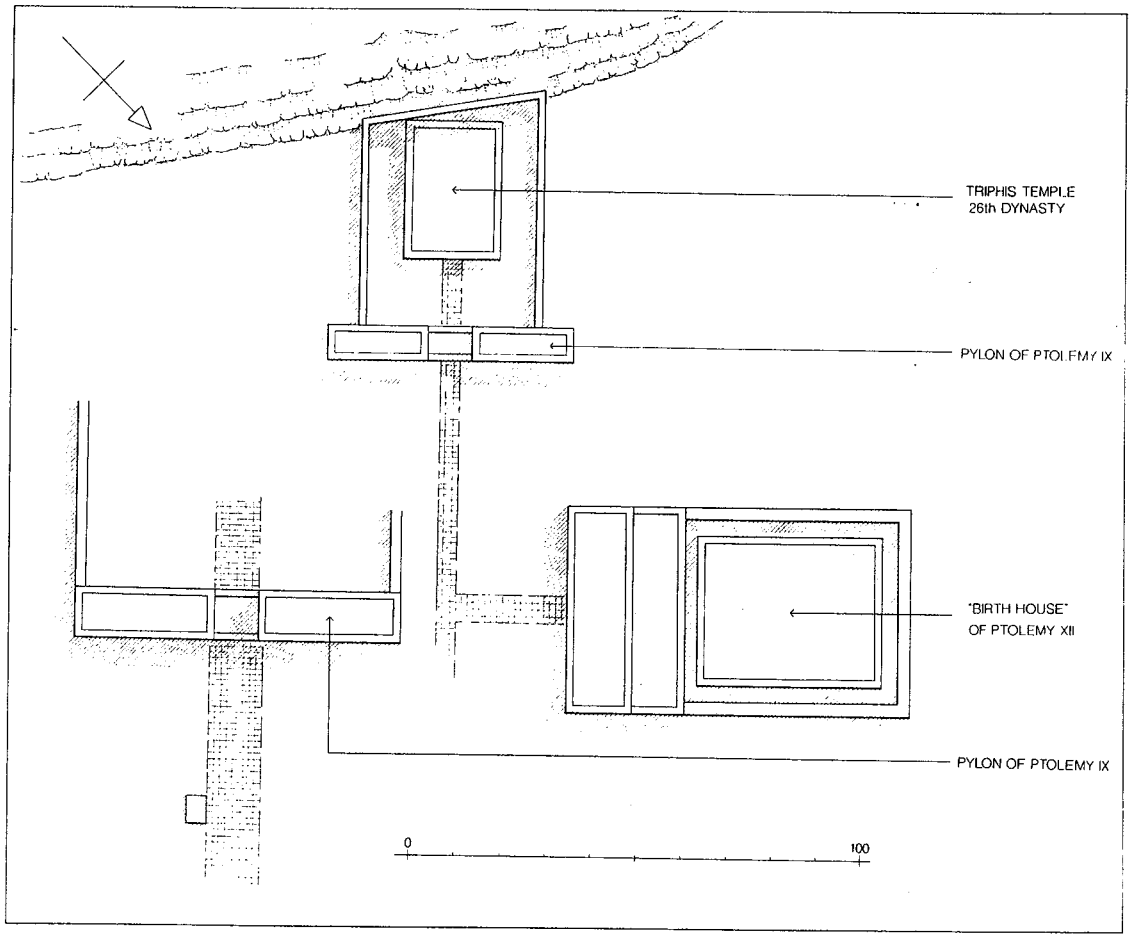
II. Reconstructed plan of the temple precinct of Amun at Balamun.



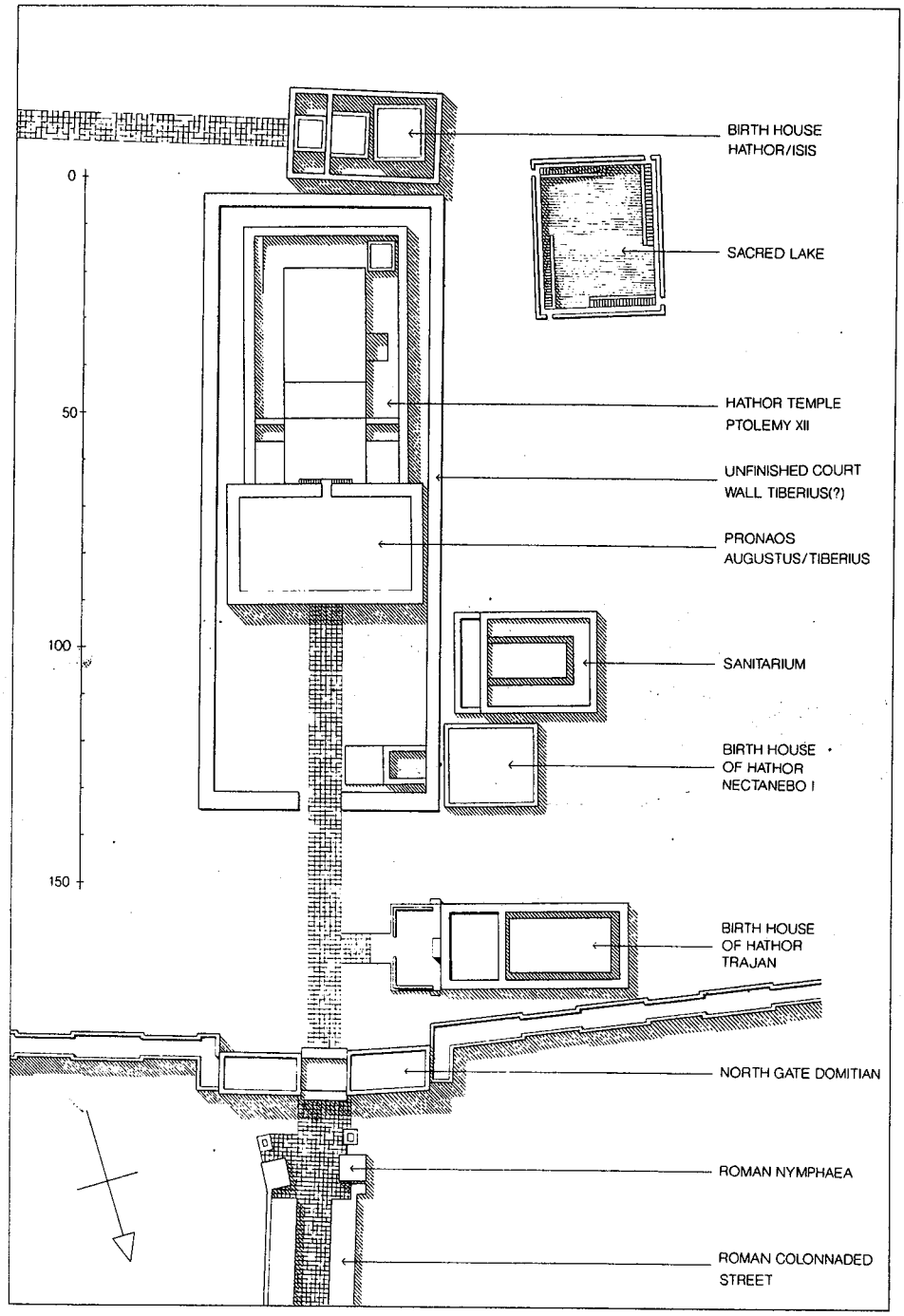
III. Reconstructed plan of the superstructure of the Serapeum at Saqqara.



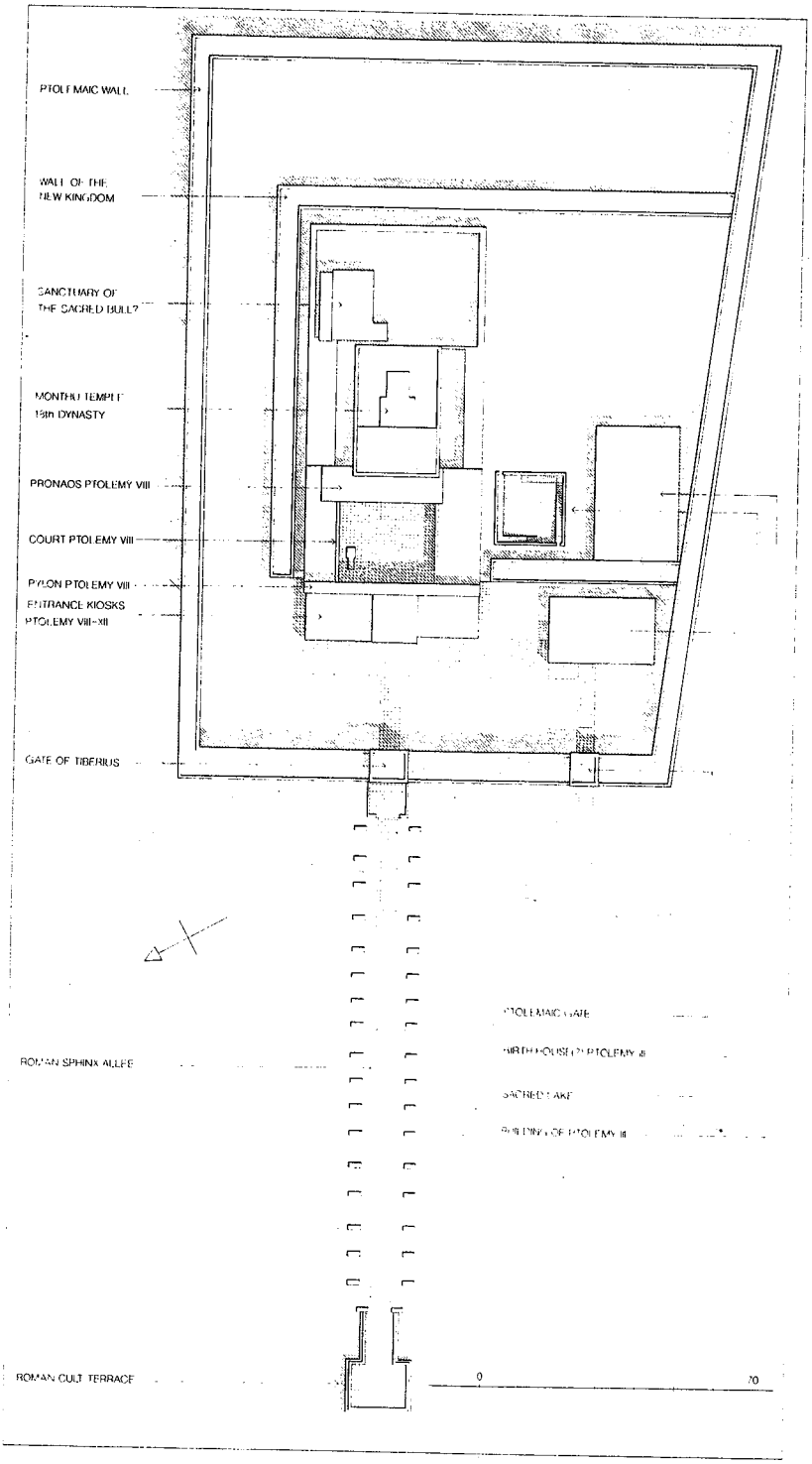
IV. Reconstructed plan of the enclosure and temple for the sacred animals of Nectanebo II at North Saqqara.



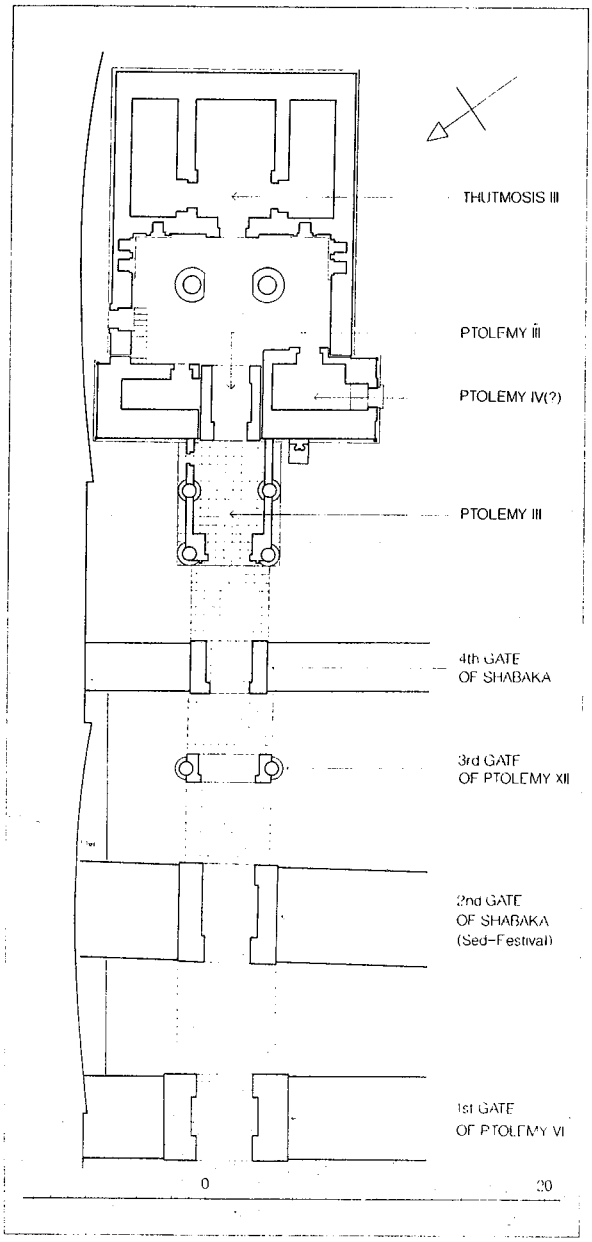
V. Reconstructed plan of the temple precinct of Triphis at Athribis (Wannina).



VI. Reconstructed plan of the main section of the precinct of Hathor at Dendera.



VII. Reconstructed plan of the temple precinct of Monthu at Medamoud (see also fig. 145).



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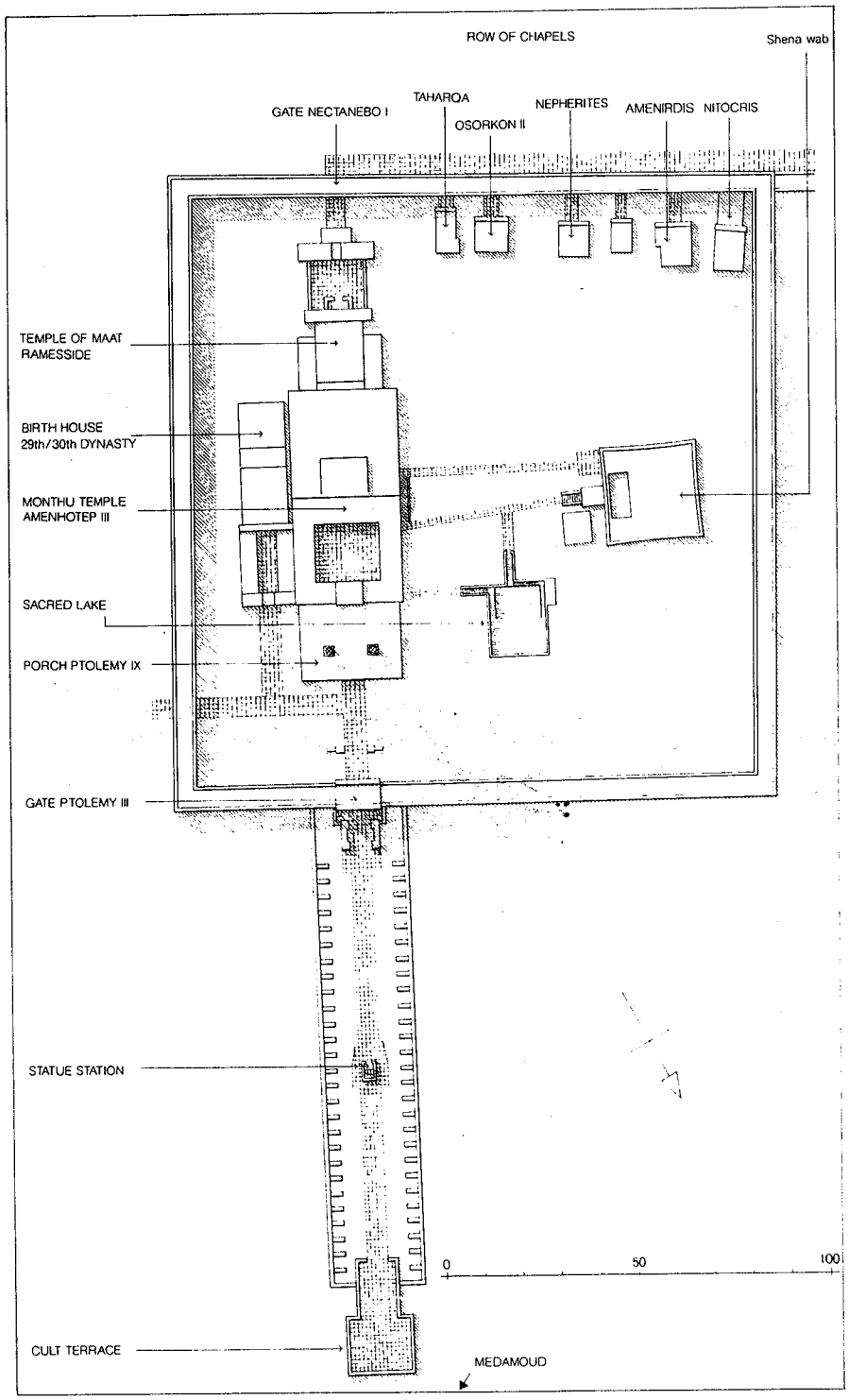
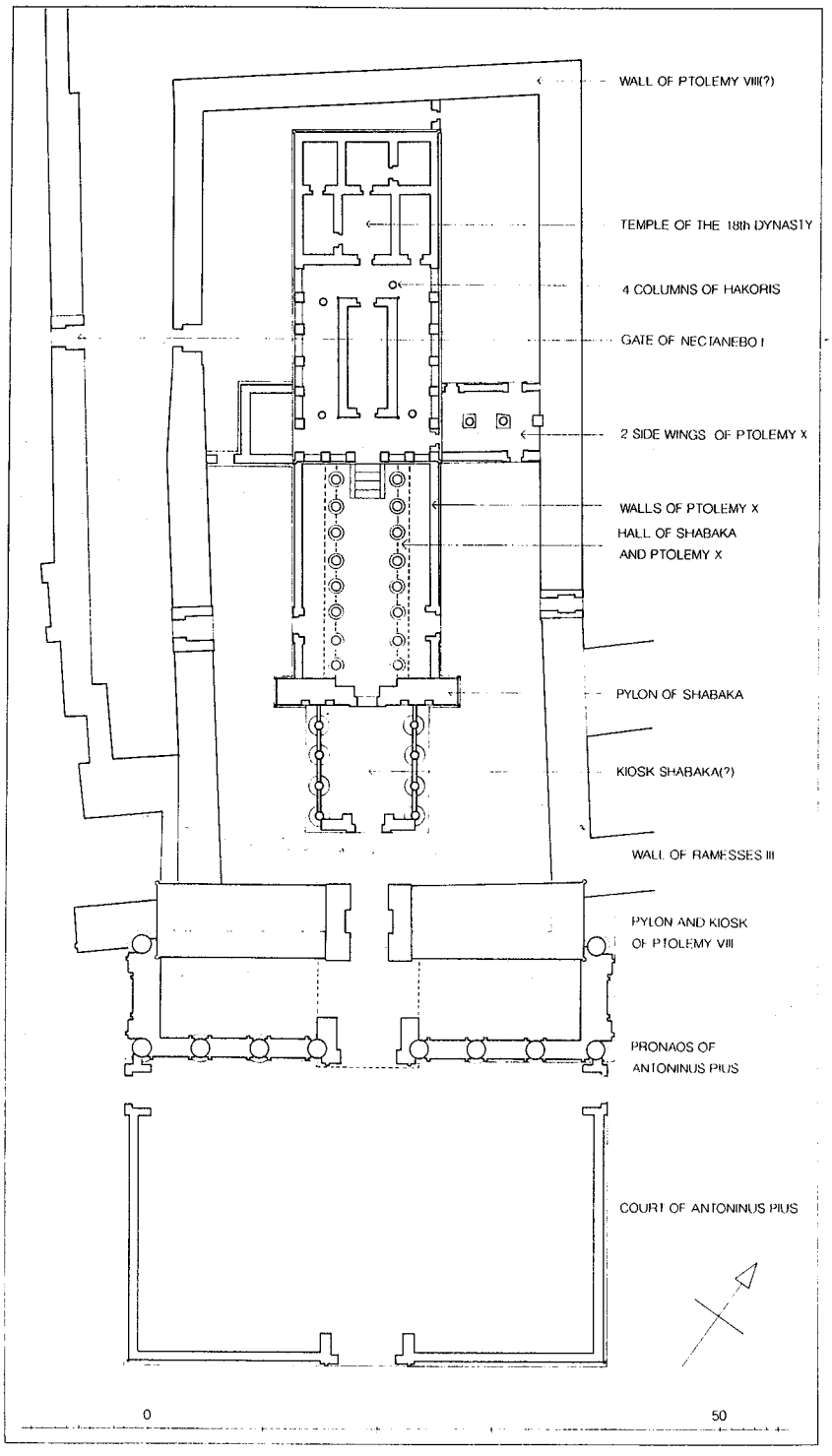
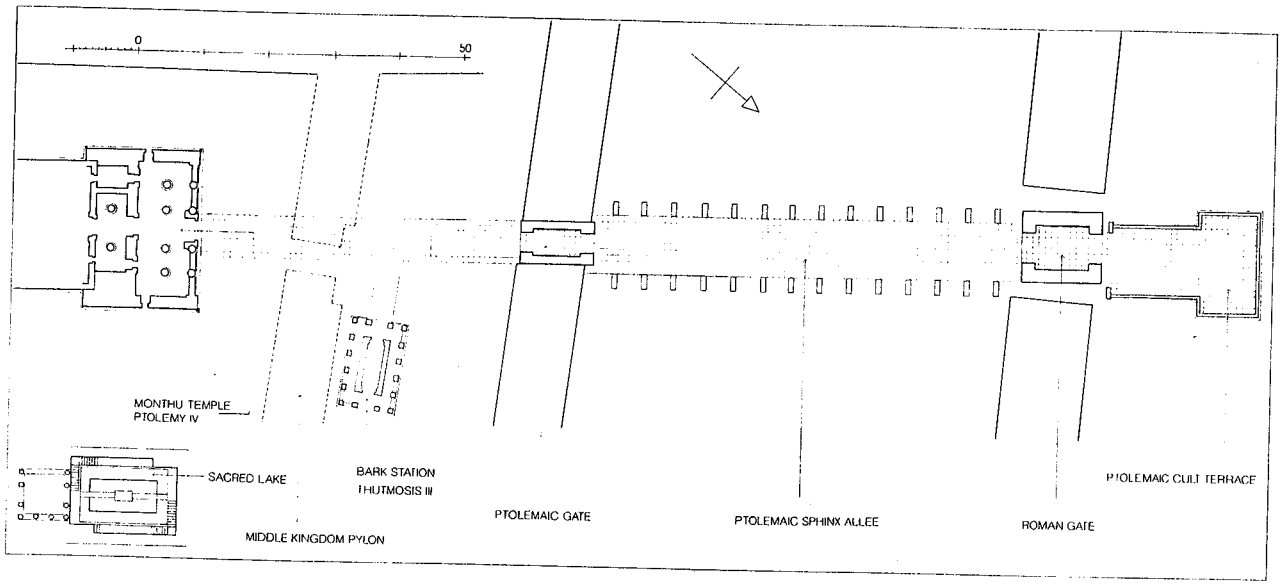


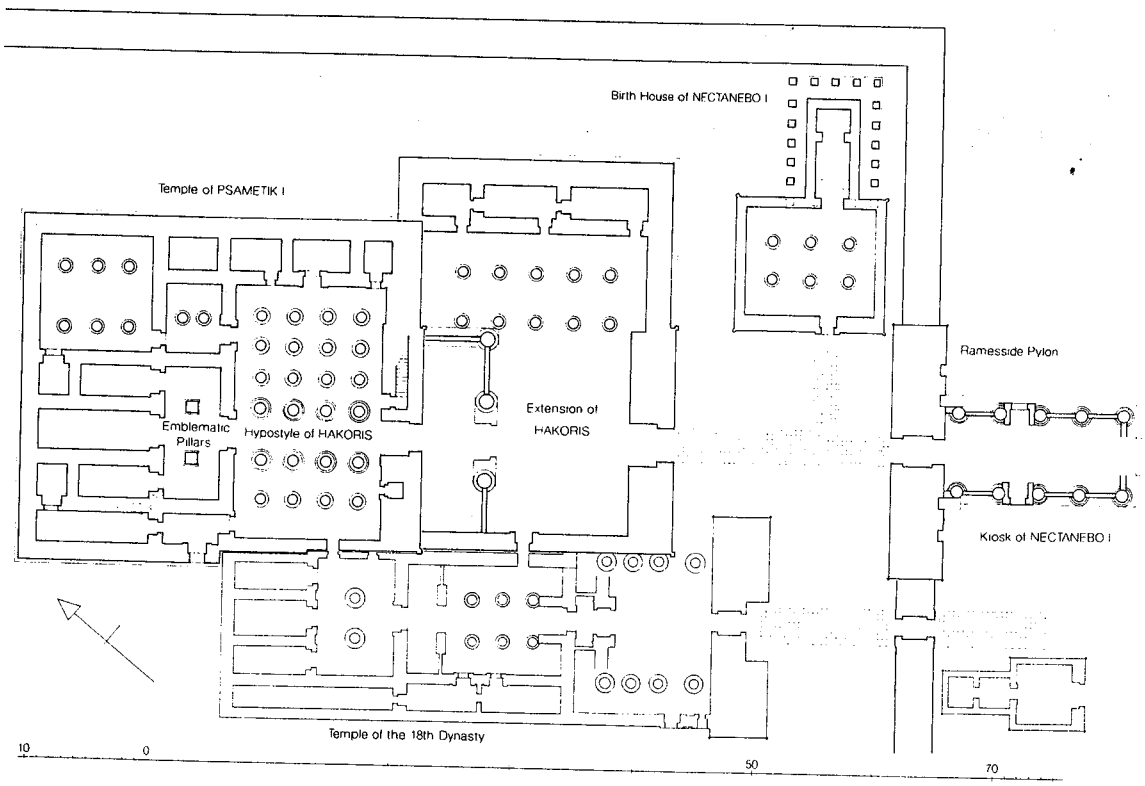
IX. Reconstructed plan of the precinct of Amunra-Monthu at Karnak.



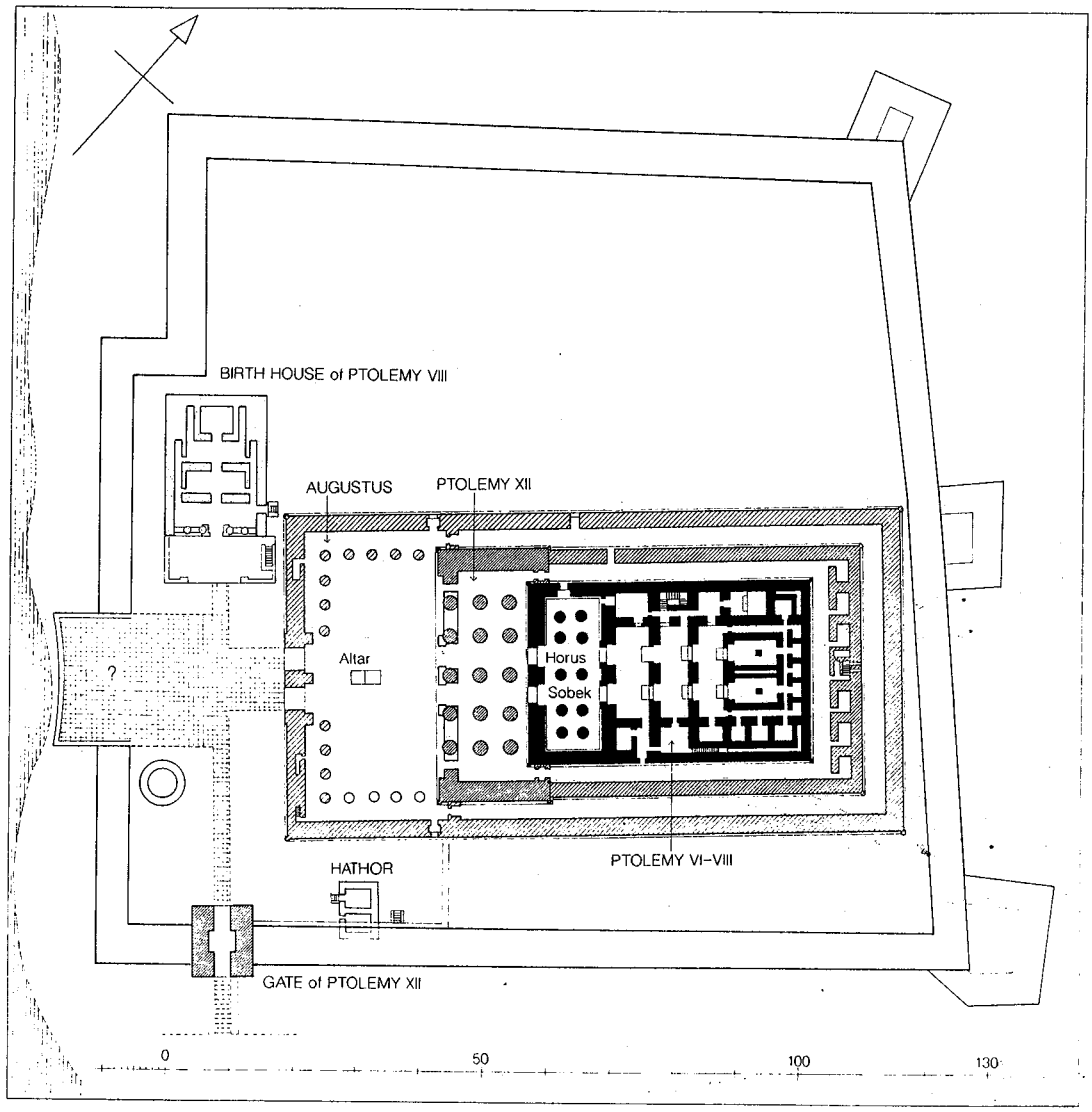
X. Reconstructed plan of the precinct of the primordial Amun at Medinet Habu.



XI. Reconstructed plan of the processional approach of the temple of Monthu at El-Tôd.



XII. Plan of the temple of Nekhbet at El-Kâb.



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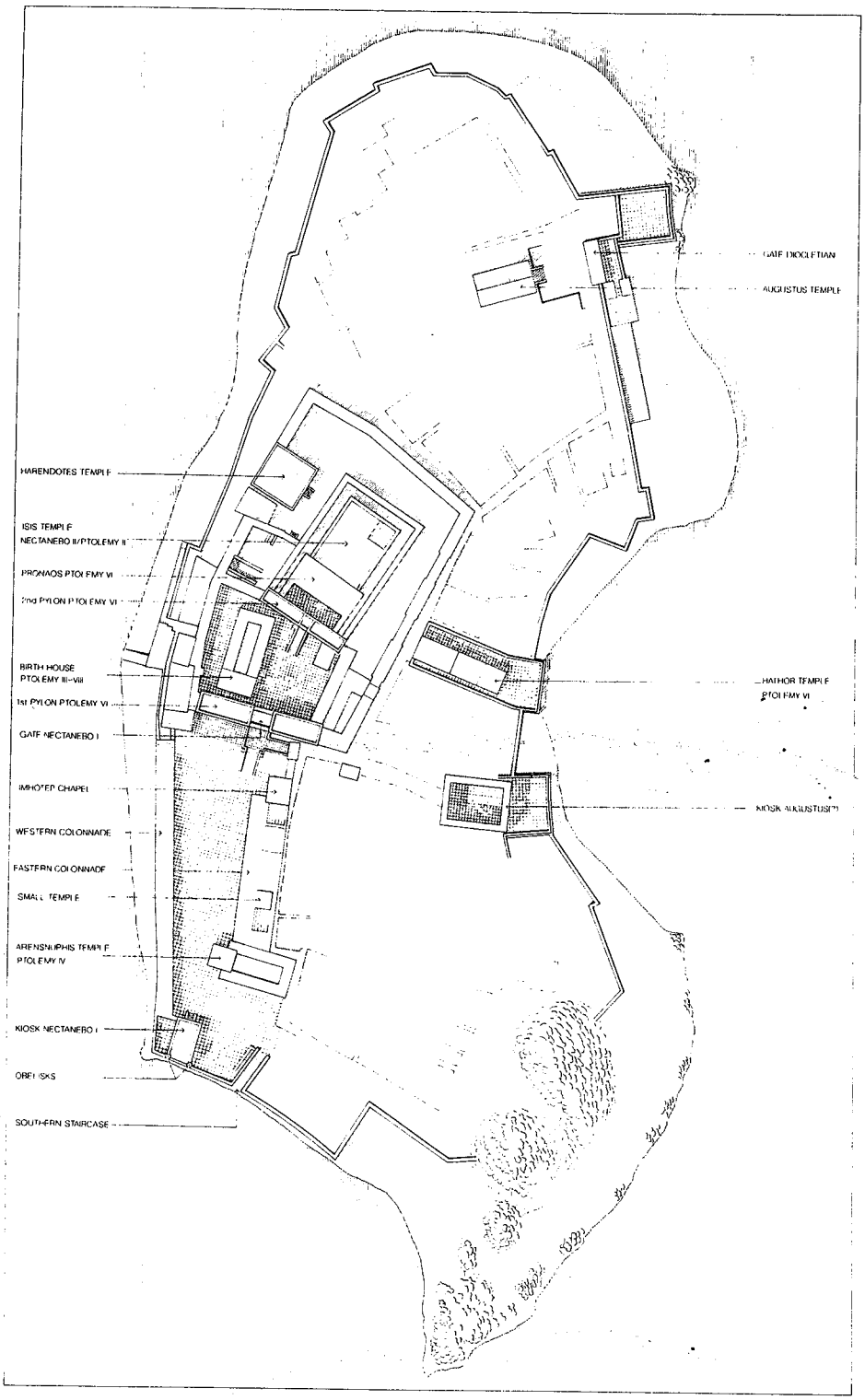
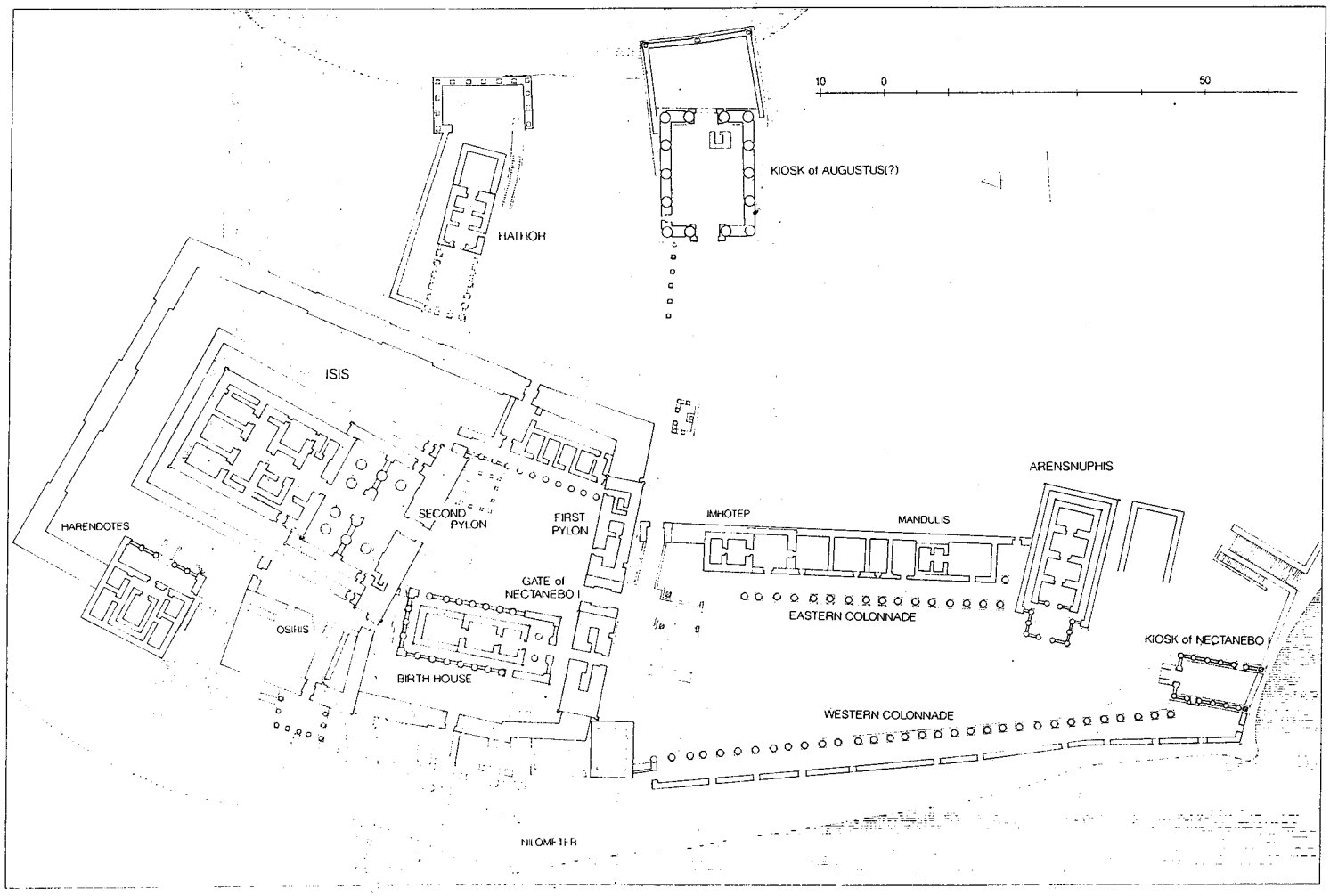
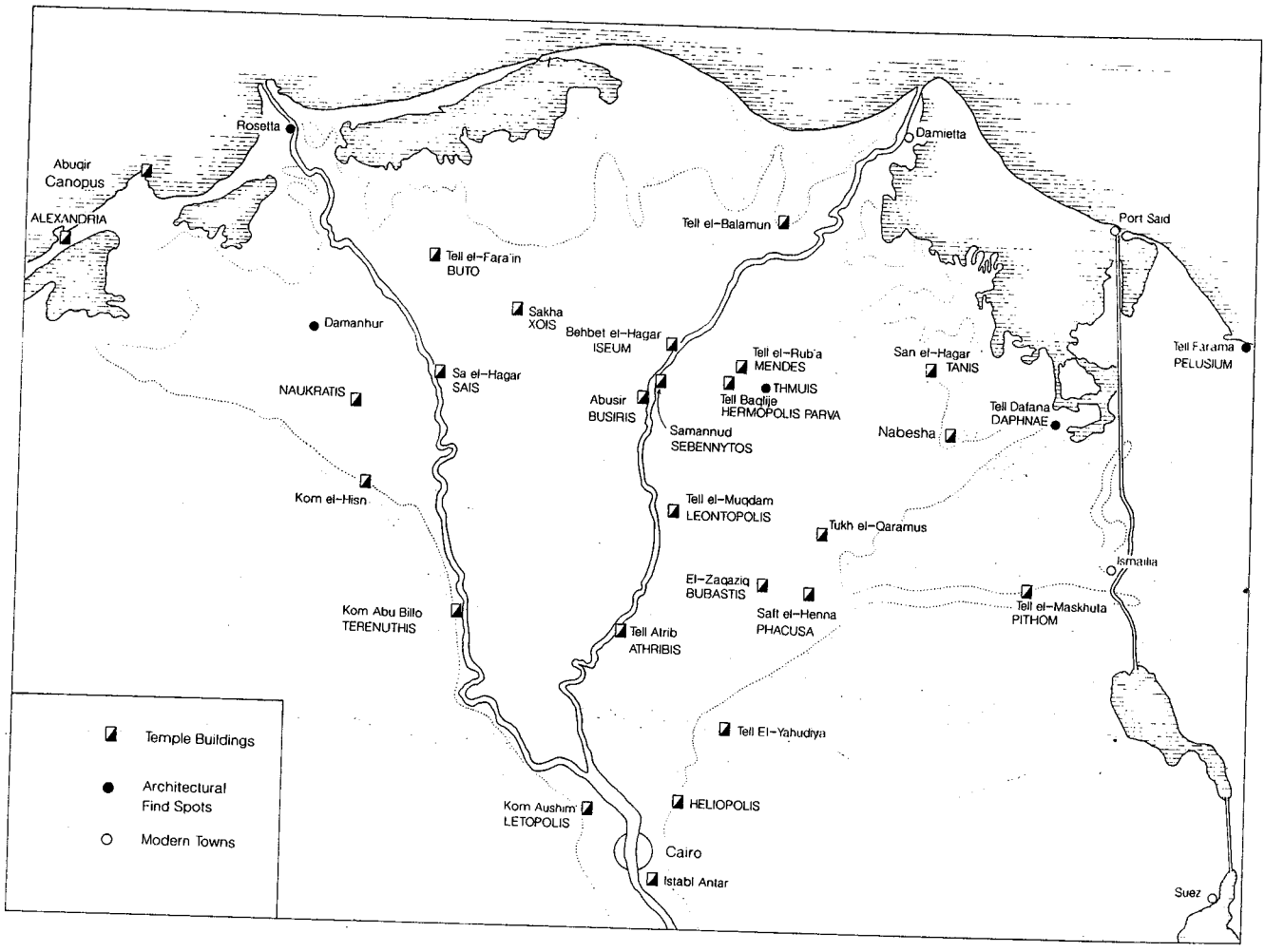


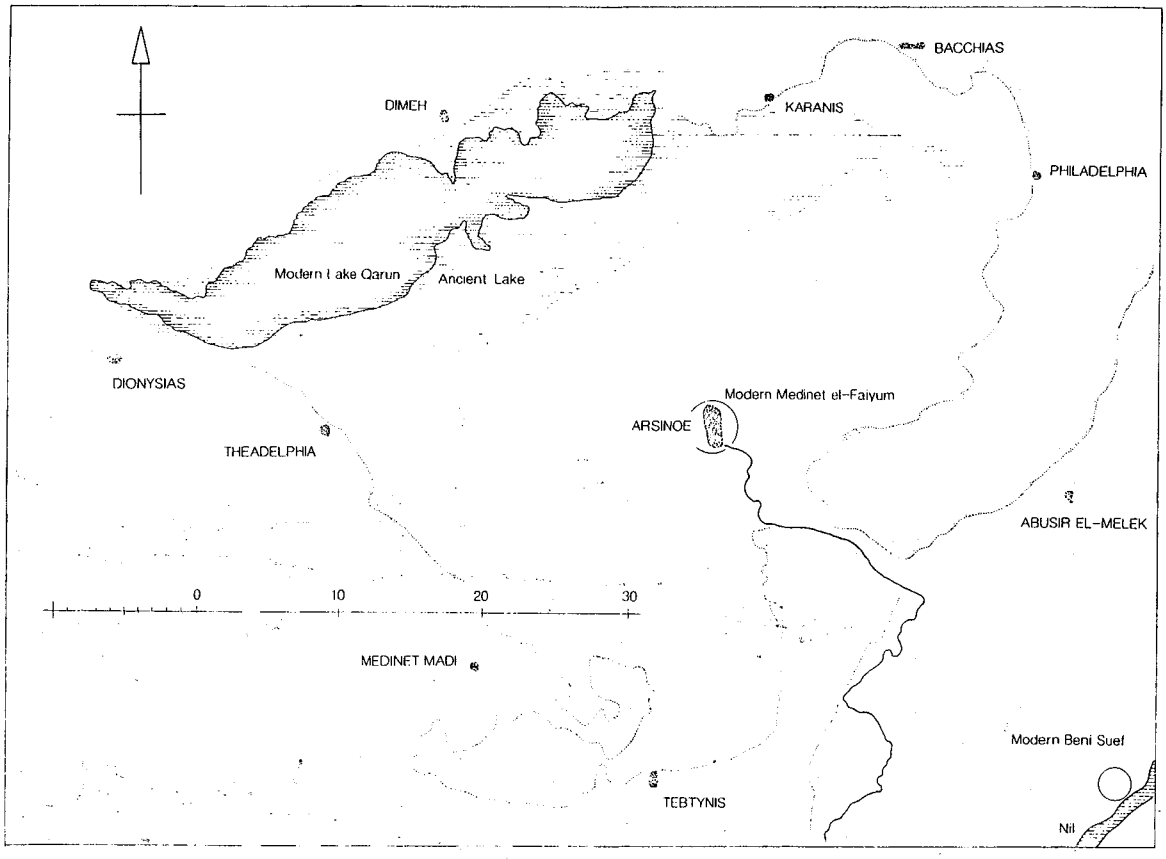
XIV. Plan of the island of Philae in Roman times.



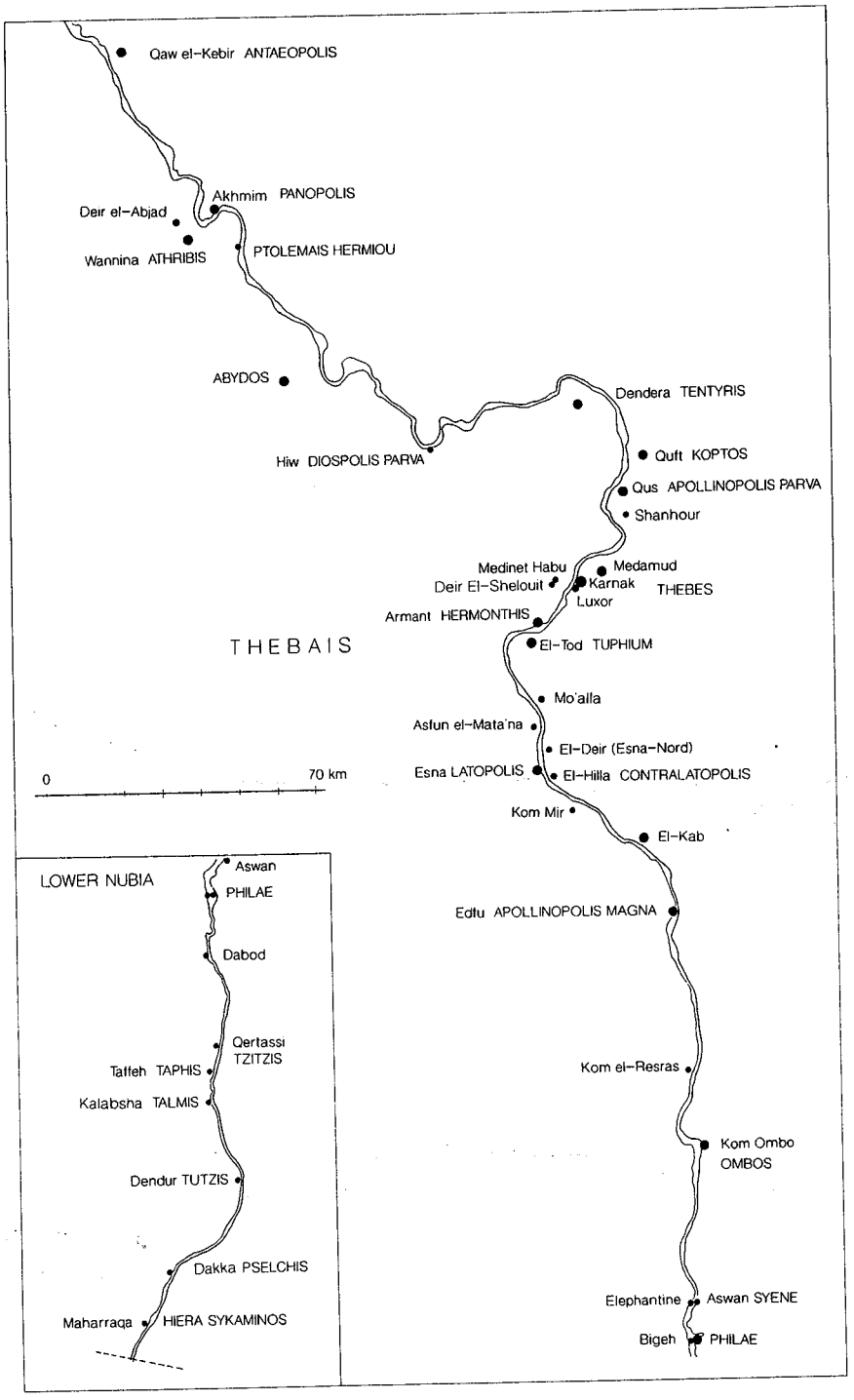
XV. Plan of the central monumental area of Philae in Roman times.



XVI. Map of Late Period temples in Lower Egypt.



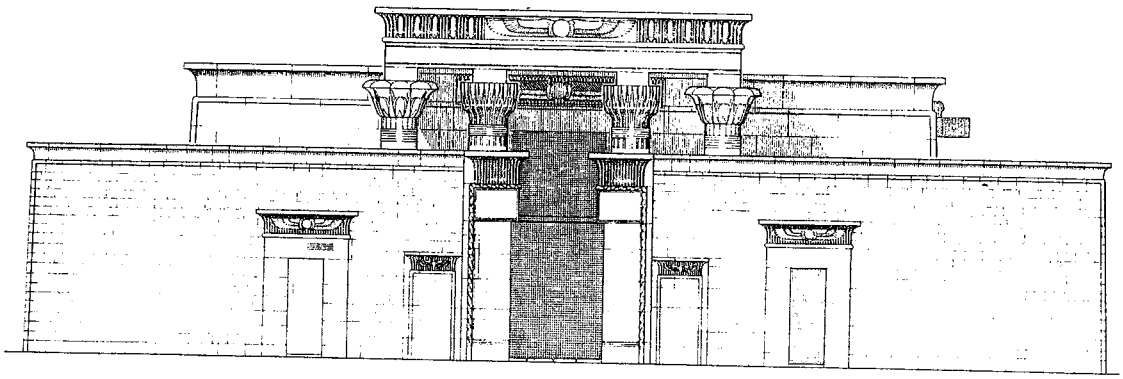
XVII. Map of Late Period temples in the Faiyum.



XVIII. Map of Late Period temples in Upper Egypt and lower Nubia.

PART I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE LATE PERIOD



Reconstructed frontal view of the temple of Hibis in Ptolemaic times (after L. F. Hall, courtesy of MMA).

I

THE LAST TEMPLES OF THE NEW KINGDOM (1550–1070 B.C.)

The New Kingdom, with such fascinating temples as Deir el-Bahari, Karnak, and Luxor, was certainly the golden age of Egyptian temple building. The last great temples of this period were erected under Ramesses III and were meticulously listed in the Papyrus Harris[1] in impressive numbers: the king's mortuary temple of Medinet Habu; two smaller temples and the Khonsu temple at Karnak; royal temples in remote Nubia and Canaan; a sanctuary, colossal sphinxes, and other buildings in the temple of Heliopolis; the temples for Ptah in Memphis, Onuris at Thinis, Thoth at Hermopolis magna, Osiris at Abydos, Upuaut at Asyut, Seth at Ombos; and an enclosure of the temple of Khentikhety at Athribis—altogether over a dozen presumably larger building projects. The well-preserved royal mortuary temple of Medinet Habu and the remains of two smaller temples at Karnak confirm that the volume of building listed in the papyrus was not exaggerated.

Fortunately, the "royal mortuary temple" of Ramesses III of Medinet Habu and the temple of Khonsu at Karnak are well preserved (figs. 1–3).[2] The temple of Medinet Habu was begun and completed within the reign of Ramesses III and was dedicated to the joint cult of Amun, the king, and several other deities traditionally assembled around the king. The temple of the moon god Khonsu has an extended building history. Ramesses III presumably replaced an older Khonsu temple, and Ramesses IV completed the building. The decoration was only completed under Ramesses IX and Herihor.

Both temples summarize the basic ideas of Egyptian temple building of the New Kingdom. The central processional axis is the structural backbone of the complex. At the same time, the axis of the Medinet Habu temple follows the path of the sun and links the temple with the order of the Egyptian cosmos. A sequence of monumental gates along this axis organizes the building as a linear series of spaces, reinforcing direction and movement. Whereas the

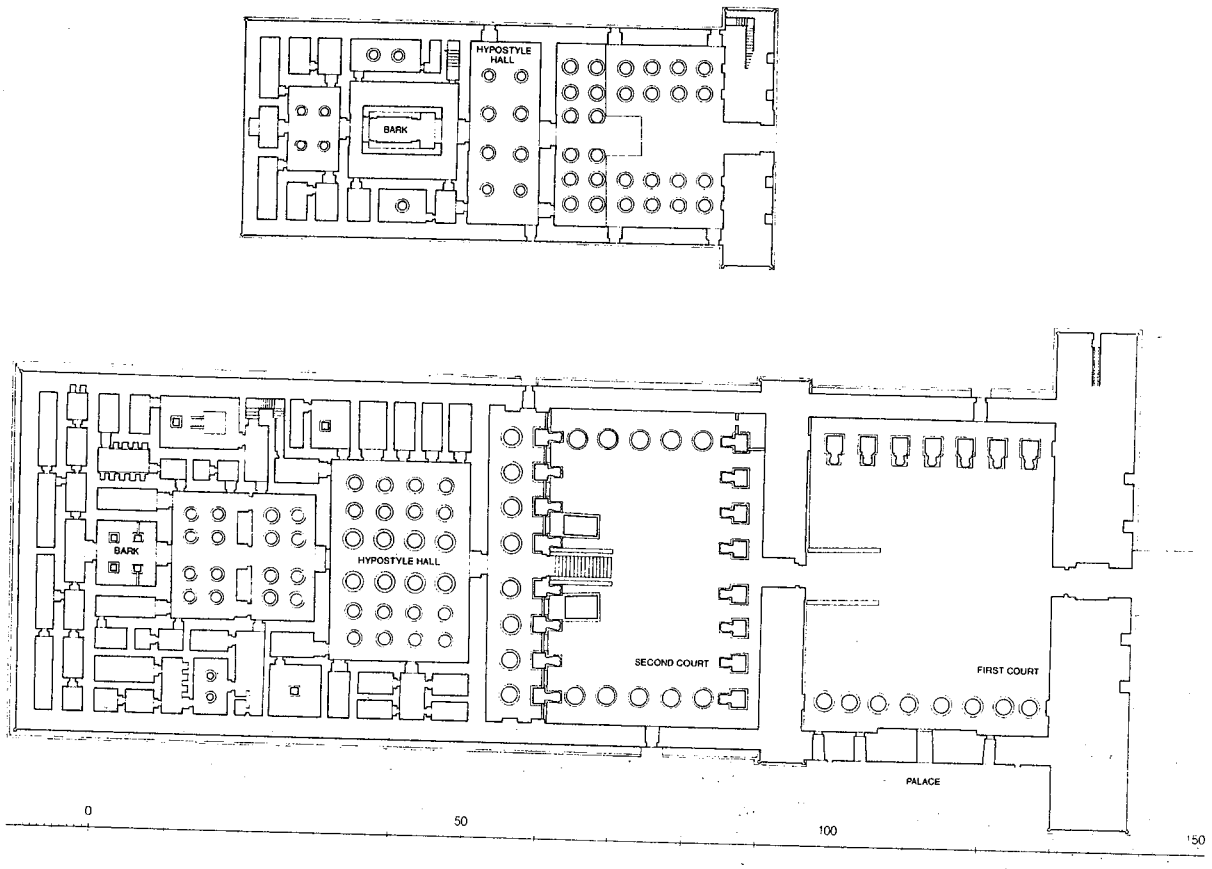


Figure 1.
Plans of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak (*top*) and of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.

modern viewer tends to experience the direction of the path of movement from the outside to the inside, the Egyptians saw it differently. The center of movement was located in the sanctuary, from where the image of the deity moved outward. In both temples, a large group of secondary sanctuaries is gathered around the bark shrine of Amun. The clustered organization of these diminutive and convoluted rooms surrenders geometrical regularity to intricate cultic requirements. The spatial grandeur that dominated the temples of the late 18th Dynasty is transformed into a tomblike narrowness. The next spatial component following to the front is a *hypostyle hall* with a towering central nave. Voluminous, unstructured, and, to our eyes, ungraceful columns intimidate the viewer, who feels crushed between their narrow intercolumniations. They display the oppressive narrowness of the Ramesside building style, which can be felt even in the courts in front. They were in the tradition of the royal mortuary temples of the New Kingdom, dominated by rows of pillars with a colossal statue of the king. Ramesside architectural ideas were marked by the striving for inflated monumentality, bolstered by the unrestrained usurpation of older obelisks and colossal statues. These tendencies introduce dramatic, startling—perhaps even "baroque-like"—elements into temple architecture that hitherto had been determined by the more

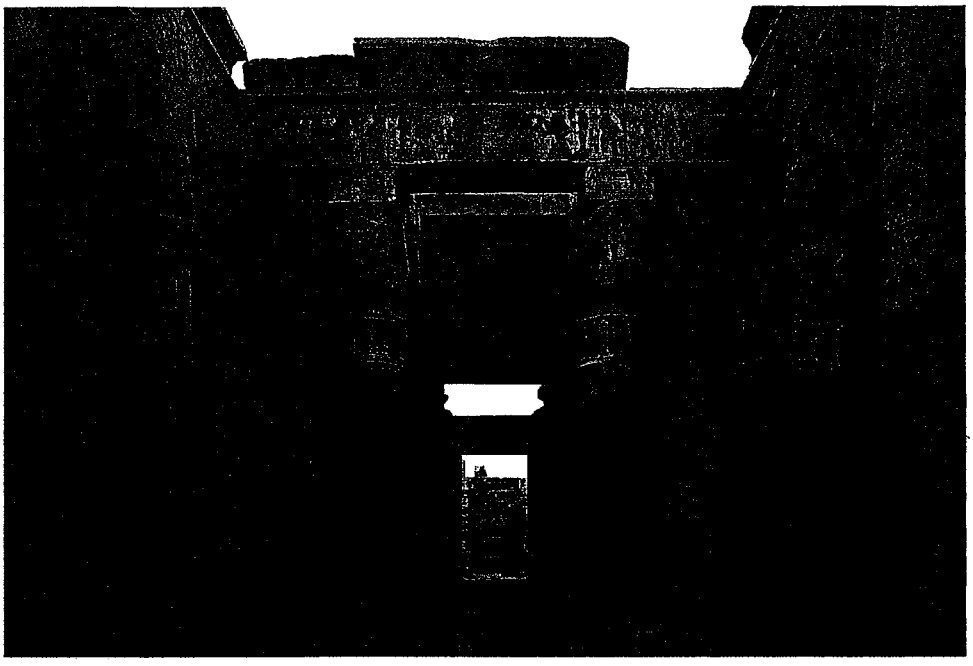


Figure 2.
Heavy-handed, narrowly spaced columns in the interior of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak (photo A.O.).

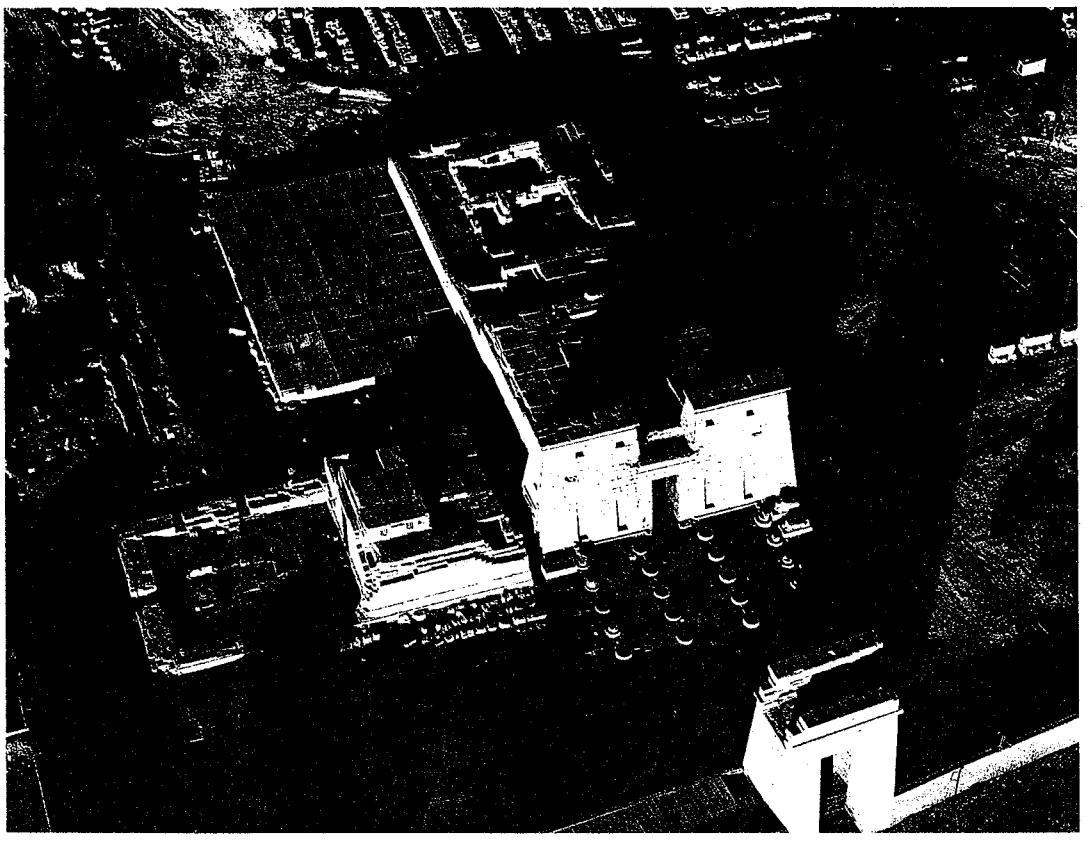


Figure 3.
Built history displayed at the late New Kingdom temple of Khonsu at Karnak with the entrance porch of Taharqa and the gate of Ptolemy II (*lower right*) and temple of Opet (*left*) (courtesy of Marilyn Bridges, New York).

restrained and motionless qualities of the building style of the 18th Dynasty. The court of the Khonsu temple is compressed on three sides by plain papyrus columns. The temple of Medinet Habu has two courts with a combination of papyrus columns and statue pillars. In both temples, the rear hall of the court rises on a flat platform articulated by a *cavetto*. Broad, high pylons precede in front and, with their huge wall planes, clearly seal the sacred interior from the outside world.

The megalithic masses of whitewashed stone surfaces stress the everlasting indestructibility of the Egyptian world order. The huge, whitewashed surfaces of the walls were articulated by the yellow, brown, and blue reliefs and inscriptions. Their most outstanding property was the extremely deep carving, which rendered these reliefs and hieroglyphs into nearly three-dimensional shapes suspended in front of the scarcely noticeable wall surface. This seemingly stylistic quality is actually an attempt to vitalize the magic power of the animated world of images. The temple walls' elaborate decoration program activates the principle of exchange whereby the observance of the gods' demands by the Egyptian chief priest, the king, translates into the maintenance of the world order and the prosperity of Egypt by the gods.

The careful study of Medinet Habu by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago demonstrated that the above-described temple was the center of a sacred city enclosed by strong defensive walls.[3] The city contained living quarters for priests and guards, offices, stables, workshops, magazine buildings, and gardens. A ritual palace was attached to the south side of the temple. One can assume that Egyptian temples of all periods were surrounded by similar facilities.

The oversized "royal mortuary temple" of King Ramesses IV, at the entrance into the Asasif valley of the Theban west bank, remained unfinished at the king's early death. The temple would have been the last monumental representative of a specific type of royal cult installation, which had its roots in the Middle Kingdom and was never revived again in later times. Soon after, public building in the country ceased altogether. Instead, demolition and stone robbery spread, and the pillaging of temples and royal tombs—as described in the tomb robbery papyri—raged out of control.

2

THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD (CA. 1070–730 B.C.)

At the end of the 20th Dynasty (ca. 1070 B.C.) the political unity of the centralized pharaonic state dissolved into several fragmentary provinces. Dynasties of foreign, partially Libyan, origin constituted themselves for a longer period in Thebes, Middle Egypt, Heracleopolis, Bubastis, and Tanis. As a result of this disarray, many problems of the sequence of rulers and the evaluation of their territorial distribution have not yet been resolved. Such questions have less impact on our studies because only nine out of the thirty-seven rulers of this period were builders. Since the entire building volume of this Third Intermediate Period could have been accomplished in a few generations, one would hesitate to assign it the traditionally accepted 350 years.

Thebes was controlled by the high priest of Amun,[1] who soon usurped royal ranks. Their resources permitted only the restoration of decaying buildings, the donation of statues and small chapels, or the addition of their names onto older monuments. Simultaneously and in peaceful agreement with these priest-kings of Thebes, a Libyan dynasty ruled in the north. Their first king Nesubenebded (1070–1044) developed as his residence Tanis, which is located in the marshes of the northeast corner of the Delta. The so-called Third Intermediate Period was not—in spite of its alleged length and the peaceful conditions in the country—a period of large public building. On the other hand, smaller workshops for sculpture, bronze casting,[2] gold-works, and coffin painting flourished, and the production of painted wooden stelae and the inscription and decoration of papyri suggest a continuation of the New Kingdom tradition.

The evaluation of the artistic achievement of architecture of the period is impaired not only by the meager building activity in general but also by the lack of preserved buildings. The few remains that did survive suggest that little had changed since the Ramessides. Quite in contrast to the following

Kushite, Saite, Mendesian, and Ptolemaic building programs, the buildings of the Third Intermediate Period do not reflect a royal proclamation of a new governmental program and therefore lack distinctiveness. The temple builders of the Third Intermediate Period obviously wished to continue the New Kingdom tradition as closely as possible, ignoring any political, and potential religious and cultic, changes. One might suspect that this standstill even reflects an intention to block out political and cultural changes that threatened to shatter the Egyptian view of life by artificially preserving the forms of the Ramesside past. This attitude is surprising because Egypt was ruled by kings of foreign, Libyan origin. However, one architectural element points at least to a future development. The freestanding sanctuary that will play a major role in the architecture of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods appears in the temple of Sheshonq I at El-Hibe (fig. 5).

Beginning in the twelfth century—and notwithstanding the unfavorable conditions inside Egypt—the country's contacts with the outside world favored the export of Egyptian technologies and artistic motives and influenced the minor arts of Canaan and the Levant (such as ivory carving and metalworking) that flourished onwards from the ninth century in Phoenicia. The Egyptian influence in the field of architecture remained not insignificant but more marginal.[3] Egyptian building elements such as the cavetto were, of course, widely adapted abroad from the tenth century on.[4] An open papyriform capital of early Israelite time was found at Beth Shan.[5] In the first millennium B.C. a new capital type—the so-called Proto-Aeolic, Proto-Ionic, or Timorah-capital—made its appearance in countries around the eastern Mediterranean. Its main features, a central triangle flanked by two spiraling *volutes*, also characterize the Egyptian lily capital known since the late 18th Dynasty. Nevertheless, scholars question a significant Egyptian contribution.[6]

A similar, more international phenomenon was the spreading of *ashlar* masonry in the tenth and ninth centuries in Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Palestine.[7] Again, the development of this technique—with rectangular blocks arranged in horizontal courses—is somewhat controversial, but its origin in Egypt, a country with a long tradition in stone construction, cannot be overlooked.[8]

Pinodjem I of Thebes (1071–1033)

Herihor and his successor, Pinodjem I, completed the old Theban Khonsu temple of Ramesses III, which was under construction for several generations. When the temple was approaching completion, it was supplied with a sphinx allée, for which Pinodjem I had sphinxes of Amenhotep III transferred from his mortuary temple at Kom el-Heitan on the west bank. The new allée was part of a Theban network of processional roads and led to a bark basin 250 m southwest at the processional road to the Luxor temple. Pinodjem I also presented statues of the lion goddess Sakhmet to the precinct of Mut, apparently continuing similar donations by the great Theban builder-kings Amenhotep III and Ramesses II.

At EL-HIBE in Middle Egypt, which so far had not played a significant role at all, a stronghold for a kind of secondary residence for the Theban rulers was built under Pinodjem I and later extended by the high priest of Amun, Menkheperra.

Psusennes I, King of Tanis (1040–992)

In the forty-eight-year reign of Psusennes I, construction activity naturally concentrated on the development of the new residence city of TANIS.[9] Compelling for military reasons was the erection of a huge, 20 m thick brick enclosure. However, a temple for the traditional Amun also was built, consisting of a large 38 x 50 m temple house (plan 1). The front part of the building, which seems to have made use of much granite, was a colonnaded porch with *monolithic*, closed papyrus bundle columns of granite—spoils from Middle Kingdom buildings of older Delta cities.

Psusennes I also founded the royal cemetery of Tanis. Perhaps for better protection, the kings of the Late Period were buried within temple enclosures that differed considerably from the complex royal tombs of the Ramessides at Thebes. The Tanis tombs consisted of three larger and two smaller buildings for a dozen royal burials. The aboveground structures are now lost, but one may assume that they consisted of chapels with funerary offering rooms and entrances into the shafts. Directly below ground, simple sarcophagus chambers were built from huge blocks (mostly spoliated) and supplemented by a small antechamber or side chamber. The crypts were filled with large stone sarcophagi. These underground apartments, being reduced to the minimal function of housing a sarcophagus and its funerary equipment, are architecturally speaking insignificant.

Siamun, King of Tanis (979–960)

Only at the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty, under Siamun, the Amun temple at TANIS, founded under Psusennes I, was enlarged. In front of the older temple house Siamun built an approximately 40 x 75 m wide colonnaded court, again amply usurping older building elements from neighboring sites (plan 1). This court probably contained a Ramesside obelisk pair, a row of royal statues of the Middle Kingdom, and an imposing phalanx of eight or ten more obelisks in front of the temple house of Psusennes I. A pylon, possibly cased with granite and with four obelisks in front, shielded the front of the court.

Siamun probably also built at Tanis the oldest temple for the foreign goddess Anta, identified with the Theban goddess Mut. The temple was later replaced by Apries and again by Ptolemy IV. A 80 x 120 m wide brick enclosure of the sanctuary might have belonged to the early project because the monumental gate in the northern wall is dated by a foundation deposit of Siamun.

No building activity outside the residence is known except for a door frame of a chapel dedicated by a private person, Ptah-kha, to the king in the Ptah temple at MEMPHIS.[10]

Sheshonq I, Hedjkheperre setepenre (945–924)

Sheshonq I established his rule as the first king of the 22nd Dynasty at Bubastis but soon achieved recognition beyond his hometown, first at Tanis and later at Memphis and Thebes. He finally became the most powerful ruler and prolific builder of the period between the end of the New Kingdom and the 25th Dynasty. The "Bubastide" king did not choose Bubastis for his residence; he chose Tanis, the city in which he was also finally buried.

Sheshonq I, King Shishak of the Old Testament, acquired international attention through his devastating campaign against Judah and Israel, undertaken in the fifth year of Rehoboam king of Judah (ca. 925 B.C.). He marched with 1,200 chariots and 3,000 horsemen to Megiddo and the Mediterranean coast near modern Haifa, plundered extensively, and finally seized the treasures of the temple and royal palace of Jerusalem (1 Kings, 14:25–29). The outcome of this predatory attack was guarded by a chain of fortresses along the coastal road, which was meant to secure fast access to the Negev and Canaan. Remains of these forts have been found between Gaza and El-Arish (at Bethpelet and Gerar).

In Egypt's residence TANIS the completion of the Amun temple was still carried on (fig. 4). A pair of giant sphinxes of King Amenemhat II was hauled in front of the court of Siamun.[11] An inscribed block from TELL BALALA (Tell Tebilla) suggests an unexplored Osiris temple of Sheshonq I northwest of Tanis.[12]

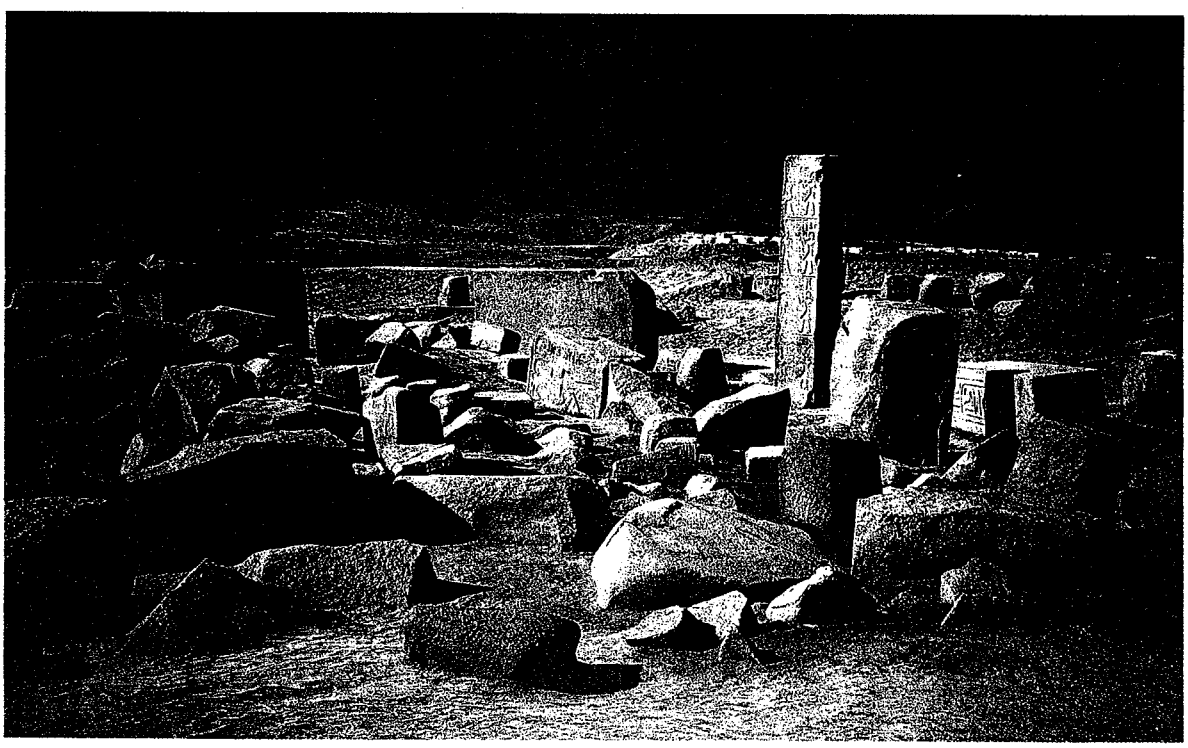


Figure 4.
The ruins of the Amun temple of Tanis (photo A.O.).

Sheshonq I apparently also enlarged the famed New Kingdom temple of the ancient creator god Ptah at MEMPHIS by a monumental element, probably a huge gate, as indicated by the fragment of a large cavetto with a row of cartouches.[13]

Sheshonq I also dedicated a small temple to Amun at EL-HIBE (ancient Ibeon), the Middle Egyptian outpost of the priest-kings of Thebes.[14] Inside a brick enclosure with projecting bastions stood the 17.65 x 30 m temple house with a hypostyle hall of two-by-four pillars, an offering chamber, and a bark sanctuary with four side rooms for the cult images (fig. 5). Some very fine reliefs of Sheshonq I were preserved in the ruin of the temple.[15]

The building was small and would not be of great importance except for its *pronaos* with papyrus bundle columns. If this pronaos dates to the reign of Sheshonq I, it would represent the earliest example of a building type popular not before the 30th Dynasty. However, the sloping rear wall of the pronaos, with the representations of the king smiting enemies—a typical scene for a temple facade—suggests that this wall originally formed the facade of the temple and that the pronaos was added later. Since papyrus bundle columns appear in the pronaos of the 30th Dynasty at Hermopolis magna, one would prefer to date the pronaos of El-Hibe to the same period. Since the decoration of the pronaos was left unfinished, one further thinks of the time of Nectanebos II, whose building projects were interrupted by the second Persian invasion of 343. The sanctuary of the temple stood free in a tiny ambulatory and

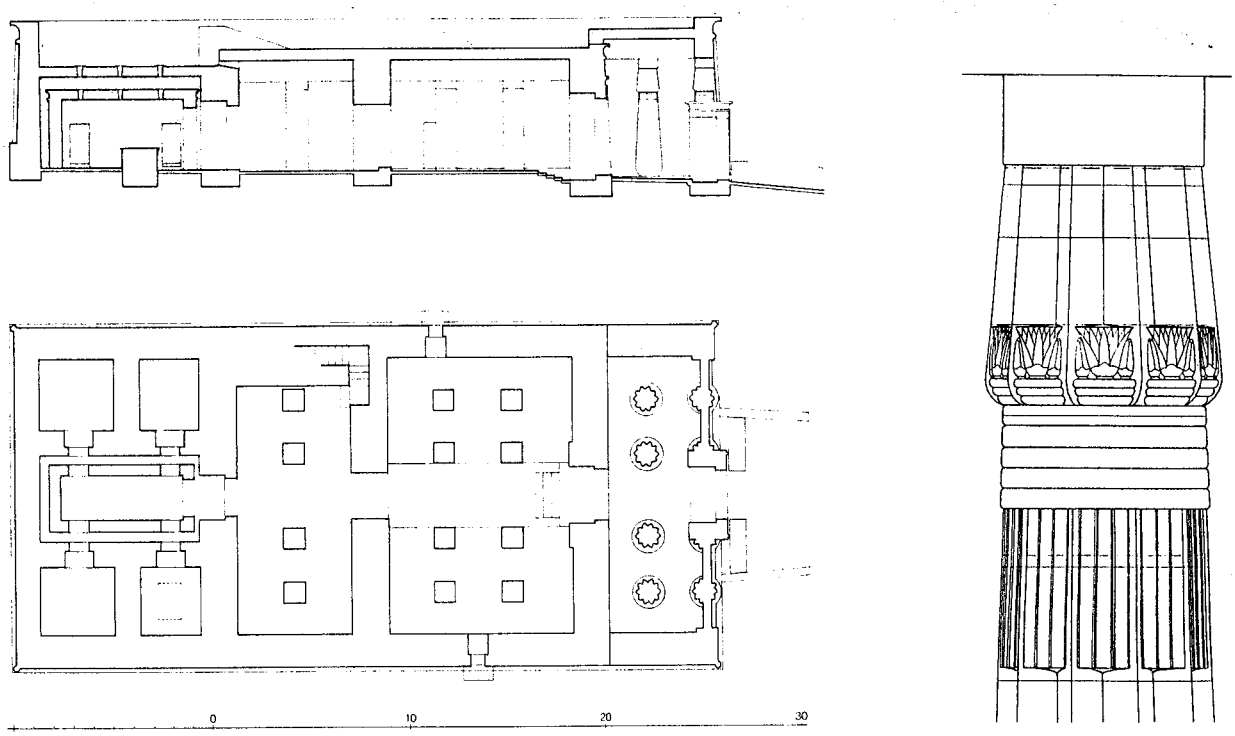


Figure 5.
Longitudinal section and plan of the temple of Sheshonq I at El-Hibe with later additions (*left*) and capital of pronaos (after Hermann Ranke, *Koptische Friedhöfe bei Karâra und der Amontempel Scheschonks I bei El Hibe* [Berlin, 1926], pls. 9–11).

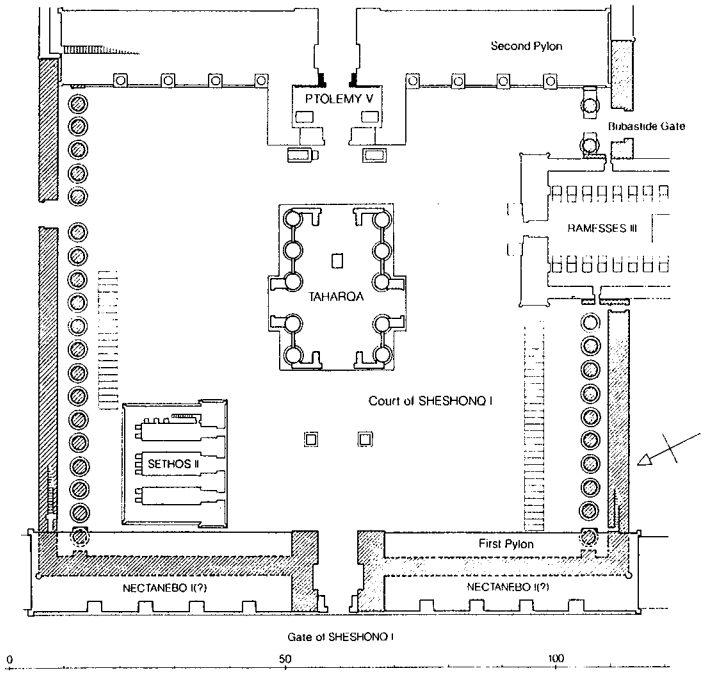


Figure 6.
The Ramesside monuments in front of the Amun temple at Karnak structured by the colonnades and gate of Sheshonq I, the kiosk of Taharqa, and the pylon of Nectanebo I(?).

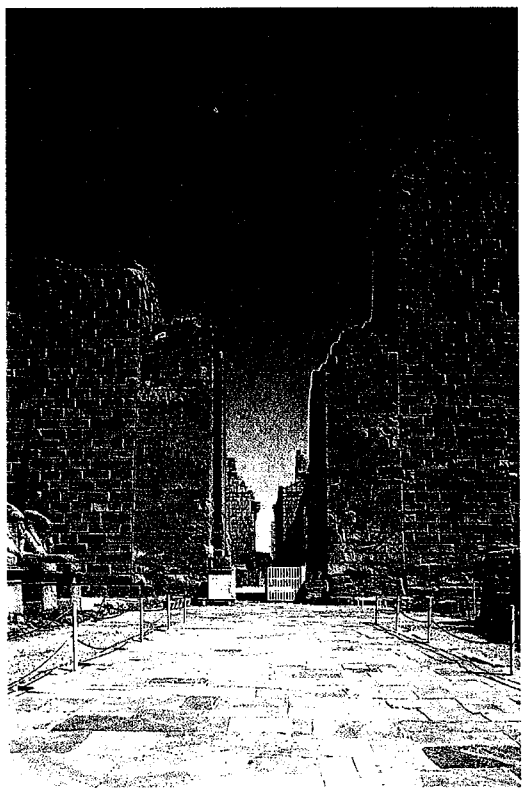


Figure 7.
The unfinished gate of Sheshonq I(?) at Karnak flanked by the unfinished pylon towers of Nectanebo I(?) (photo A.O.).

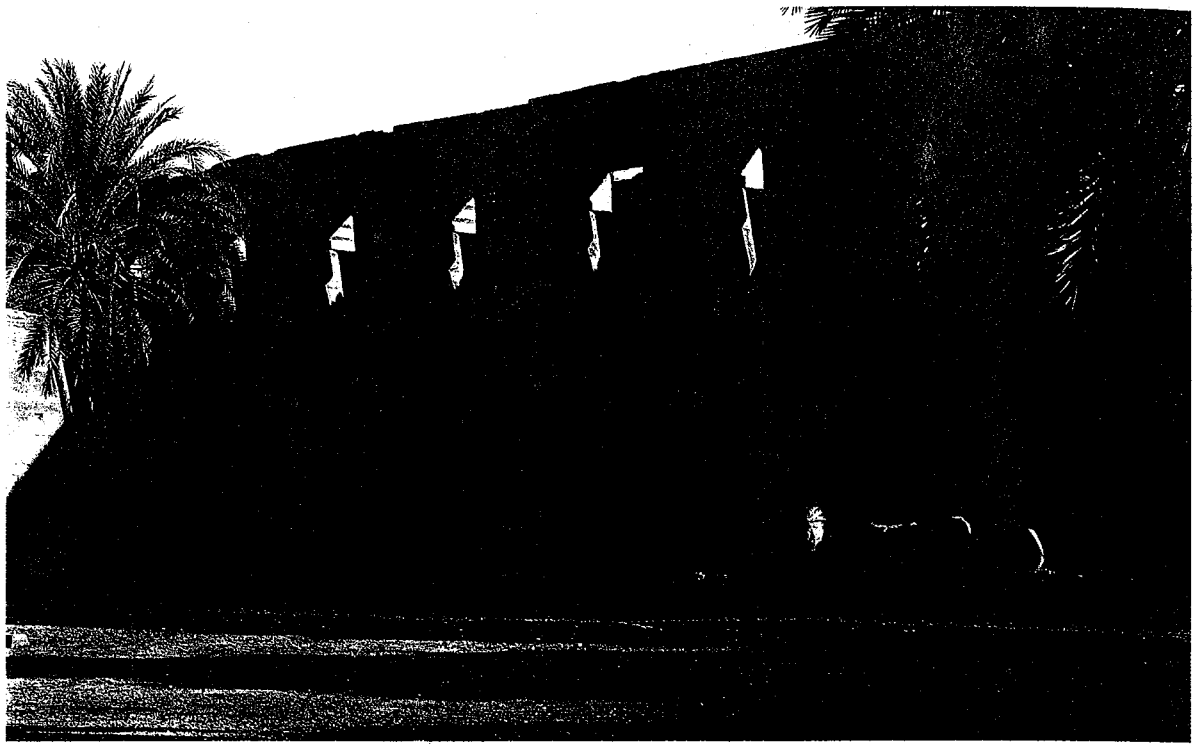


Figure 8.
The colonnades of the Bubastide court at Karnak follow the style and proportions of the late New Kingdom (photo A.O.).

reminds one of the sanctuaries popular from the Macedonian period on, for example, at Karnak. Was even the sanctuary added at a later date?

A detail of the papyrus bundle columns also points to a 30th Dynasty date of the El-Hibe pronaos (fig. 5). The capitals replace the traditional simple papyrus buds inserted between the main stems with the more advanced version with small bundles of one open and two closed papyrus blossoms.

Sheshonq I imitated the kings of the New Kingdom not only with his Israel campaign but also with his devotion to Amun of Karnak. After his campaign against Israel in 925 B.C., Sheshonq I enlarged the Amun temple at KARNAK by adding a huge festival court in front of the Ramesside (now second) pylon (figs. 6–8). The new court measures 81.01 x 101.11 m, which corresponds to 152 x 190 cubits and a proportion of 4:5 modules of 38 cubits each.[16] Virtually following Ramesside architectural tradition, the court was flanked on both sides by colonnades and enclosed the Ramesside festival arena with the bark stations of Sethos II and Ramesses III. Between the temple of Ramesses III and the second pylon, room was available for a side entrance flanked by two columns, the so-called Bubastide Gate. The court was probably closed at the front by a plain wall with a monumental, central gate (now in the first pylon). Due to the lack of inscriptions the unfinished gate cannot be dated (fig. 7).[17] It is certainly older than the two flanking towers of the first pylon (see fig. 72), however, which are part of the enclosure of Nectanebo I. The 7.40 m wide doorway would have required roofing beams of 9 m length, overstraining the

strength of sandstone and necessitating granite or wooden beams. The height of the opening was 17.70 m, suggesting a total height of the gate of 27.50(!) m. The untimely death of Sheshonq I terminated this ambitious project. Only the wall decoration of the side gate could be executed; the decoration of the enormous wall surfaces of the court would have overtaxed the available resources.

The court of Sheshonq I reveals that nothing had changed in constructing huge temple courts since the last building projects of the Ramesside kings. After the works of Sheshonq I, for 200 years no other significant building project was undertaken at Thebes until the Kushite period.

Osorkon I, Sekhemkheperre setepenre (924–889)

Sheshonq I's son Osorkon I began his reign with generous donations to the main sanctuaries of the country, probably to secure the favor of the gods and their priesthood, and presumably using up his father's Jerusalem booty. His main architectural contribution ameliorated the Bastet temple of the family's hometown of BUBASTIS. Since the Old Kingdom, great rulers like Kheops, Khephren, Senwosret III, Amenhotep III, Sethos I, and Ramesses II had erected monuments for the lioness deity Bastet of Bubastis. After the Ramesside period, her aged temple probably fell into disrepair. No wonder that the Bubastide Osorkon I made the renewal of her sanctuary a priority of his building program. His works, and later additions by Osorkon II and Nectanebo II, upgraded this temple to a leading position (fig. 9). Unfortunately, the temple is so greatly destroyed that its exact form remains unknown (fig. 10).[18] The range of the debris mounds covering the temple area suggests that Osorkon I began a new temple consisting of a temple house and a court. Gates and columns consisted of granite; the walls were probably of limestone.[19] The front part of the temple contained a hypostyle hall with a central row of 8.55 m high papyrus-bundle columns of granite.[20] They probably were flanked by smaller (6.71 m high) palm columns. The hypostyle hall, therefore, seems to have had a high central nave. Nothing is known about the plan of the temple house behind.[21]

A temple of Atum, who was considered the spouse of Bastet, stood about 600 m away from the Bastet temple. On the connecting processional road, according to Herodotus (II.138), were "here and there . . . trees which seem to touch the sky." The Atum temple was initially built by Ramesses II and enlarged or renewed by Osorkon I. E. Naville started to excavate decorated granite blocks but was prevented from further work by the owner of the land.[22]

MEMPHIS received only a small chapel, of which an *architrave* is still preserved with the names of Bastet and Horus.[23]

At ATFIH, on the east bank of the Nile, opposite El-Wasta, Osorkon I probably enlarged the sanctuary of an ancient cow cult identified with Hathor-Isis, as can be inferred from a relief block showing the goddess.[24]

Farther to the south, a fortress was built on the west bank of the Nile, presumably near Heracleopolis magna, to control the road junction between Upper and Lower Egypt and the Faiyum.

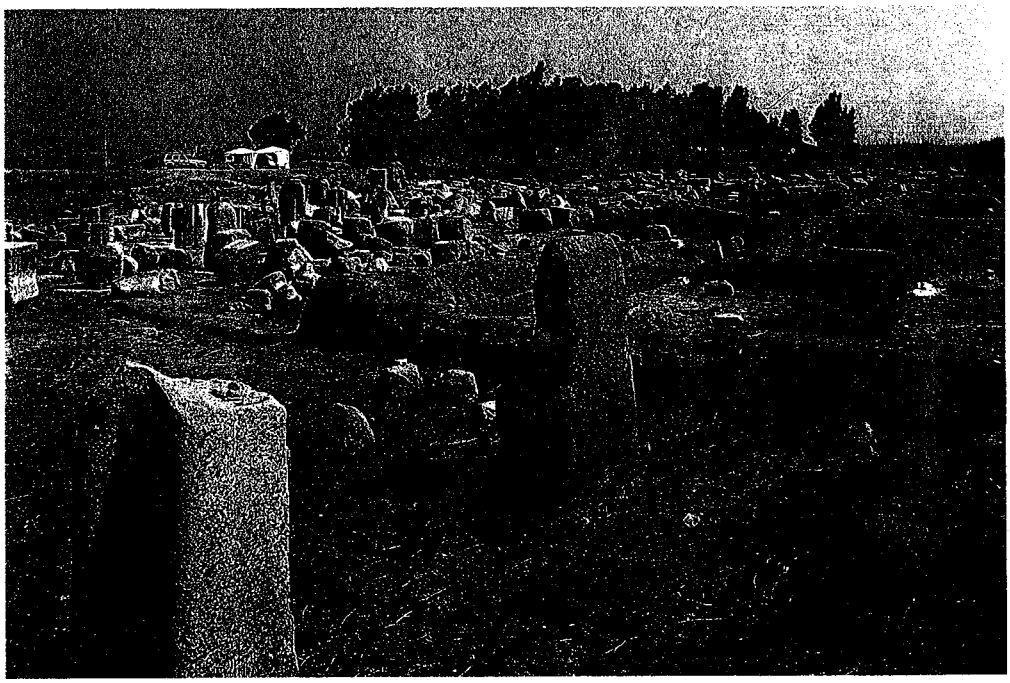


Figure 9.
The giant ruins of the temple of Bastet at Bubastis looking west (photo A.O.).

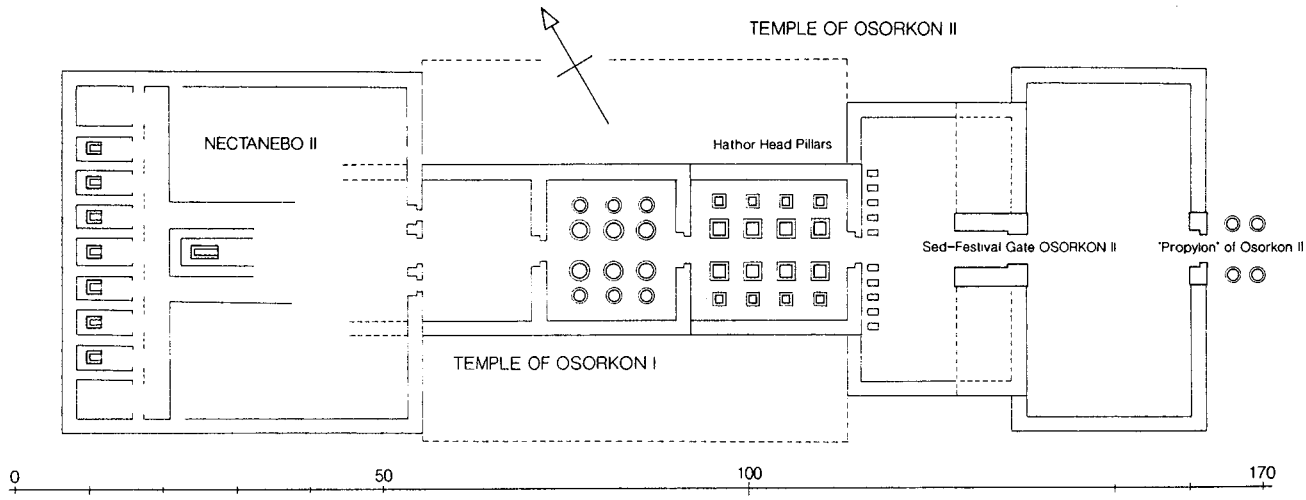


Figure 10. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Bastet temple of Bubastis in the Third Intermediate Period and 30th Dynasty.

Osorkon II, Usimare setepenamun (874–850)

During the twenty-four-year reign of Osorkon II, a group of interesting buildings were erected in Egypt. At TANIS, Osorkon II enlarged the 150-year-old Amun temple, founded by Psusennes I, by adding two pylons and the associated courts. The temple now reached an imposing double length of 234 m (plan 1). The emplacement of all pylons at Tanis is only suggested by the location of a number of fallen obelisks that were usurped from buildings of Ramesses II at Qantir. In front of the first pylon of Osorkon II stood the obelisks nos. 1 and 2. In the court behind followed the obelisk pair nos. 3–4. This court also enclosed two colossal sphinxes of Amenemhat II, which had been brought there by Sheshonq I (now in the Louvre [A 23]).

Behind the temple house of Psusennes I and its enclosure wall, Osorkon II built another monument, including the obelisk pair nos. 9 and 10. Of this eastern temple mainly ten 7 m high granite palm columns are preserved. They came originally from an Old Kingdom temple, usurped by Ramesses II before they were reinscribed by Osorkon II.[25] No traces of the walls of this temple were found.

Osorkon II built his granite tomb chamber containing his huge, 3.5 m long granite sarcophagus close to the southwest corner of the first pylon of the Amun temple. No superstructure is preserved.

At BUBASTIS Osorkon II continued the temple of Osorkon I. From remains of four different column and pillar capitals found in front of the area of the temple of Osorkon I, one can conclude that the temple received a new hypostyle hall. The granite pillars had old-fashioned double-faced Hathor heads appropriate for a female deity (fig. 11). The higher central row of pillars was probably flanked by somewhat smaller ones.[26] The hypostyle hall apparently was built in connection with the erection of a more famous structure, the Sed-festival gate (see below). The gate apparently commemorates the king's Sed festival in the year 853. The gate probably stood at the front of a court which led to the hypostyle hall. In 1887–1889 E. Naville found several dozen disconnected blocks of the gate and used them to reconstruct (regrettably only on paper, fig. 12) one of the most outstanding Sed-festival monuments known to us from ancient Egypt. The gate was decorated on the front, the interior, and inside the doorway with several registers depicting a Sed-festival cycle.[27] The width of the passage was probably 5 m and the total height of the gate, including architrave and cavetto, 15 m.

Figure 11. Granite Hathor capital of the temple of Osorkon II at Bubastis in the garden of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

The complete Sed-festival cycle on Osorkon's gate is unique, since functionally related predecessors of the 12th and 18th Dynasties and comparable successors of the 22nd and 25th Dynasties have a simpler decorative program.[28] The last known example was that of Ptolemy II at Medamoud.[29] These Sed-festival gates led to temples in which, at the feast, the gods of the two countries were supposed to assemble around the king.[30] At the same time, the king may have been rejuvenated by passing the depictions of the rites.

In addition, Osorkon II dedicated at Bubastis a *naos* of red granite.[31] Herodotus (I.138) later saw a *propylon* that was "ten fathoms high," or an amazing 17.76 m, and adorned with 6 cubit high (2.66 m) figures (II.138). Traces of such an entrance kiosk, which Osorkon II probably added to the front of the first temple court, have been noticed.

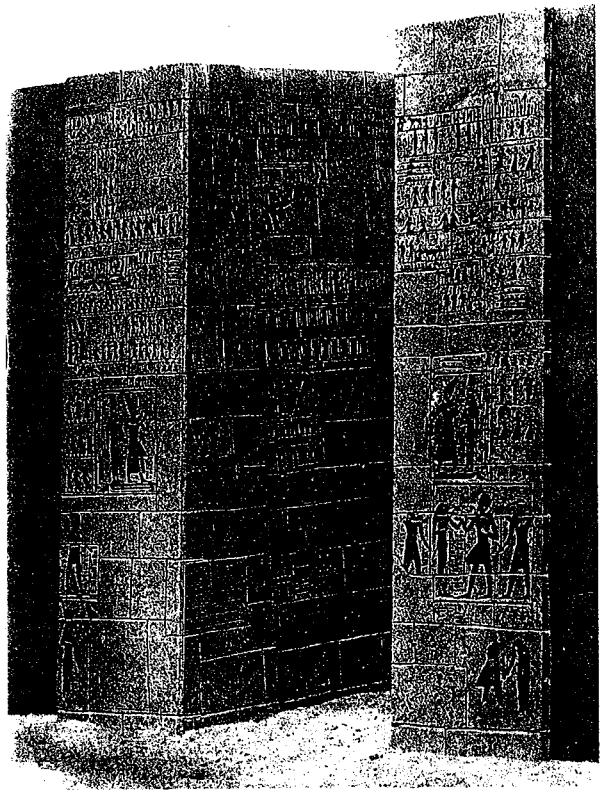


Figure 12.
Naville's reconstruction model of the granite Sed-festival gate of Osorkon II at Bubastis showing the south side.

Osorkon II also built a small Mihos (Miysis) temple, 60 m north and behind the Bastet temple. Since Mihos was considered the child of Bastet and Atum, his temple may have been an early version of the later birth houses. Excavation by L. Habachi in 1943 recovered red granite palm and papyrus bundle columns, but not the shape and dimensions of the temple.[32]

A larger building project may be postulated for LEONTOPOLIS (Tell el-Muqdam), where Osorkon II renewed the Mihos (Miysis) temple with numerous spoils of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The temple already was so badly demolished by 1892 that its size and shape remain unknown.[33]

At PITHOM Osorkon II apparently dedicated sanctuaries for the primordial gods Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Reharakhte, and the Theban Triade. Unfinished cornices with his name only painted in red were found by Naville.[34] In MEMPHIS some insignificant works were carried out.

At KARNAK a small but architecturally interesting gate was dedicated by Nimrod, the high priest of Amun, son of Osorkon II. The gate stood at the processional approach of the Amunra-Monthu temple.[35] From a few blocks reused in a Kushite porch (see figs. 30, 243; plan IX), the shape of the gate can be recognized as consisting of two columns bridged by an architrave (fig. 13). The gate anticipated the shape of a gate of the same type built under Ptolemy XII at the Ptah temple at Karnak (figs. 168–169).

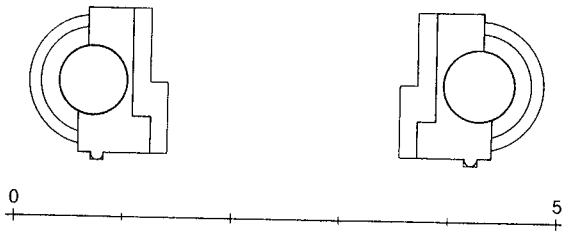


Figure 13.
Plan of the two-column gate of Nimrod, the high priest of Amun, at Karnak.

Sheshonq III, Usimare setepenre/Amun (825–773)

The main monuments of the long-ruling king were built in the Delta, the heartland of the dynasty. The most eminent structure was the main gate of the enclosure of Amun at TANIS leading through the earlier 15.5 m thick brick enclosure of Psusennes I (plan I). The huge granite gate contained several blocks of Kheops and Ramesses II, some of which have been reassembled now. The width of the passage was 5 m, its height 12.85 m. The relatively thin and not very strong construction shows that the gate was not freestanding but was engaged in the brick wall. Behind the gate and slightly apart from the earlier royal tombs, Sheshonq III built his own crypt.

Not far from Tanis, Sheshonq III also started considerable building activity at Diospolis inferior, the city of AMUN (modern Tell el-Balamun, west of the Damietta branch of the Nile).[36] Reports on the recent excavations of the British Museum under J. Spencer grant important new insights into the building history of the main temple A. This presumably Ramesside Amun temple was enlarged by adding two pairs of pylons with two courts (plan II). With its breadth of 75 m, the front pylon surpassed even the 68 m pylon of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. Both pairs of pylons were apparently linked by a double row of columns leading through the first court. Such colonnaded passages had prototypes in the New Kingdom, most prominently the gigantic late–18th Dynasty colonnade of the Luxor temple.[37]

Blocks bearing the name of Sheshonq III suggest that he also initiated the building of the temple of TÛKH EL-QARÂMÛS (between Bubastis and Tanis).[38] As indicated by a foundation deposit, the 136 m long limestone temple was later renewed under Philippus Arrhidaeus. The 454 x 514 m enclosure may belong to the 30th Dynasty, the period of great enclosure-wall building.

In the sanctuary of Thoth of MESDET, Sheshonq III replaced a Ramesside temple with a new building. We know about this project from over thirty inscribed limestone blocks of Sheshonq III found in the ruins of the nearby TELL UMM HARB (Tell Mustâi, between Zifta and Benha).[39] Blocks that carry his cartouches were also found at MENDES.[40] Sheshonq III also seems to have contributed to the Sakhmet-Hathor temple at KOM EL-HISN (ancient Imu, capital of the third nome), where blocks of a gateway with his name were found.[41] Another block with the name of the king was noticed in a huge, unexplored temple enclosure near EL-BINDARÎA (between Zifta and Kom el-Hisn).[42]

Figure 14.
The false door of the chapel of Osorkon III at Karnak representing a sequence of seven superimposed chapel facades (photo A.O.).

Osorkon III, Usermaatre setepen-Amun (777–749)

Under Osorkon III and Takelothis III, in a period that is understood neither chronologically nor historically, a small two-room chapel was built for Osiris-Heka-djet, the "ruler of eternity," 100 m northeast of the Amun temple at KARNAK. An interesting feature is a huge false door, inserted into the facade of the chapel. Its cavetto moldings depict seven superimposed chapel facades (fig. 14).[43] The building started a certain pattern of chapels for Osiris, built at Karnak, mainly during the 25th Dynasty (see chapter 3, under Shabaka, and chapter 4, under Psametik I).

Sheshonq V (former IV), Akheperre (767–730)

Using numerous spoils, Sheshonq V of Leontopolis built at TANIS another temple for the Theban Triad north of the precinct of Amun. Apparently, the temple was distinguished by a Sed-festival structure for the celebration of his jubilee, perhaps a gate, of which seventeen blocks were discovered reused at the sacred lake of Tanis.[44]

The kings and kinglets of the 23rd and 24th Dynasties, whose rule overlapped with the later part of the 22nd Dynasty were too impoverished to build any temple worth mentioning.

3

THE KUSHITE PERIOD (CA. 716–664 B.C.)

During the period of declining Egyptian domination over Nubia in the tenth century, the Kushite kingdom of Napata established itself along the upper Nile.[1] The local rulers stood in the tradition of the bygone Egyptian authority and under the influence of the cult of Amun at Napata, and they saw themselves as legitimate successors of the pharaohs. They finally succeeded in 736 or before by hitherto unknown means to gain control over Upper Egypt. In 728/727 their king, Piankhi, defeated a Lower Egyptian coalition under Tefnakht, the king of Sais, and finally conquered Memphis.[2] From this event on, Egypt was for sixty-three years united under Kushite rule. The reigns of the kings Shabitku, Shabaka, and Taharqa generated a political and cultural flowering, enhanced by the strong Kushites' inclination toward Egyptian religion and culture. Although the Kushite rulers did not reside continuously in Egypt, they considered themselves instigators of a historical renewal and followed the Egyptian tradition, choosing their titulary from Old Kingdom royal examples.

After an ebb in public building in Upper Egypt of about 250 years, the conquest of Egypt by the Kushites released a new wave of monumental building in Thebes.[3] A promising initiative was first signaled by the still modest building activity under Shabaka and Shabataka. Under Taharqa, however, temple building at Thebes reached the level of his royal predecessors of the New Kingdom. Disregarding buildings in the Kushite heartland (i.e., the Sudan, which cannot be discussed here; see introduction), royal commissions were limited to Upper Egypt, however,[4] and there especially to Thebes. For unknown reasons, outside Thebes only modest buildings were erected in places like Tanis, Memphis, Baharia Oasis, and Philae.

Building Form and Style in the Kushite Period

Altogether, the Kushite royal commissions were exclusively enlargements and modifications of existing buildings that expressed admiration and respect for pharaonic sacred building.[5] Had the Kushites built new temples in Egypt, they probably—as indicated by the temples of Taharqa at Tabo, Kawa, and Sanam in the Sudan—would have copied prototypes of the New Kingdom, perhaps enhanced by Old Kingdom decorative elements.[6] The Kushite rule in Egypt, lasting only three generations, nevertheless was a productive phase of temple building. For example, additions to most of the Theban temples of the New Kingdom brought about significant optical and functional alterations. Three types of additions catch the eye (see fig. 242). One is the kiosk standing free in the forecourt or some distance from the main temple. The second type is a kiosk adjoining the temple facade with its back wall. The third building type is a porch of several parallel rows of columns, also leaning against the temple but with a fully open front. With kiosks and porches an element was introduced into temple building that finally redefined the appearance of Late Egyptian temples. The creation of these forms must reflect transformations in ritual practices. Temple gates must have become gathering places of huge crowds of laymen who were not admitted into the actual sanctuary but summoned to the gates. Kiosks and porches therefore served as monumental, shady rooms for the gathering of these visitors and the organization of participants in ceremonial processions.

In continuation of a practice of the 22nd Dynasty (see chapter 2, under Osorkon II), several small chapels for Osiris were built under the Kushites, mainly at Karnak. The decoration program of the chapels suggests that the resurrection of the king or the divine consorts was a primary incentive for erecting these chapels.[7]

Bernard V. Bothmer states that the Kushite

> rise to power ushers in the last great era of Egyptian history and art, which is commonly called the Late Period. Far from exercising a debasing influence on Egypt, [the Kushites] effected a revival of artistic expression, and many of the works created during their rule rival in quality the best created in earlier periods.[8]

The 25th and 26th Dynasties therefore became a period of renewal of the forms and style of the glorious past, especially of the Old Kingdom. Prototypes for the reliefs of the temple of Kawa can be located in the pyramid temples of the 5th Dynasty. As M. Bietak has shown,[9] these models were not always slavishly imitated or adjusted to current perceptions but also merged into new programs. Even the proportions of human figures no longer follow the canon of the New Kingdom but were considerably elongated and reverted to those of the Old Kingdom. These changes, however, had nothing to do with a reformation of the Egyptian unit of length and the alteration of the proportion grid for the drawing of human figures.[10] That Kushite builders showed a preference for the Old Kingdom column type of the palm column may be no coincidence.

J. Leclant pointed out the more slender and elegant proportions of Kushite

papyrus columns. Their diameter relates to their height at a proportion of 1:7, in contrast to Ramesside proportions of 1:5 or even 1:4.[11]

The funerary palaces of Theban officials of the period display an affluence in building rarely found in the New Kingdom.[12] The tombs confirm that their builders had an outstanding knowledge of older Theban and Memphite architecture, and the decoration and inscriptions display a deep insight into the Egyptian understanding of the otherworld. Finally, the tombs show a remarkable religious and artistic creativity[13] that elevates the Kushite Period far above the preceding Third Intermediate Period.

The Building Methods of the Kushite Period

The traditional methods of stone cutting and dressing of the New Kingdom continued unchanged during the 25th Dynasty. In the Kushite Period a few innovations can be detected, which certainly resulted from an increase in the use of iron tools. Meteoric iron appears in Egypt as a curiosity from prehistoric times. Only from the late 18th Dynasty on, the number of iron tools continuously grows, and the period from 700 on could be considered the Iron Age. Thus far, proof for iron smelting has been detected only in the Greek settlements of Naucratis and Daphnae (sixth century).[14] In the 26th Dynasty, following the Kushites, iron tools are as common in Egypt as bronze tools, although, due to the unfamiliar material, the quality of early iron products rarely reached that of the traditional bronze tools. Only during the 26th Dynasty did metal production methods improve. In consequence, preserved monuments from that period exhibit advanced stone-dressing methods. In cutting rock tombs, the traditional stone hammer, with a head of diorite or quartzite, was used far into the Late Period for the rough preparatory work. For the subsequent cleaning of the rough surface, the pointed and wide chisel was applied (fig. 15).

From about 675 B.C. on, a series of new builders' tools came into use.[15] In the Theban tombs of Nespekashuti (ca. 675 B.C.) and Pedineith (ca. 545 B.C.), traces of a 7 cm wide claw chisel with seven teeth were detected. The use of a stone plane with a toothed blade also was observed. This more refined surface treatment spared the use of the traditional surface polishing with grinding stones. As a result, however, haste replaced quality. The masonry of the Kushite Period also catches the eye: its ashlar blocks are considerably smaller than the huge building blocks used in the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period. Even the huge columns of Taharqa at Karnak were pieced together from small blocks.

The appearance of true stone vaults between 750 and 720 is of great interest for architectural historians.[16] The first vaults of the 25th Dynasty are a mixture of corbel and true wedge-shaped *voussoir* vaults.[17] The lower parts of the vaults still consist of two to four corbeled courses followed on top by wedge-shaped voussoirs. A true stone vault also covers the entrance passage to the pyramid of Shabitku at Kurru (ca. 695 B.C.).[18] In the same period the chambers of monumental tomb shafts at Giza and Saqqara also were provided with true stone vaults.

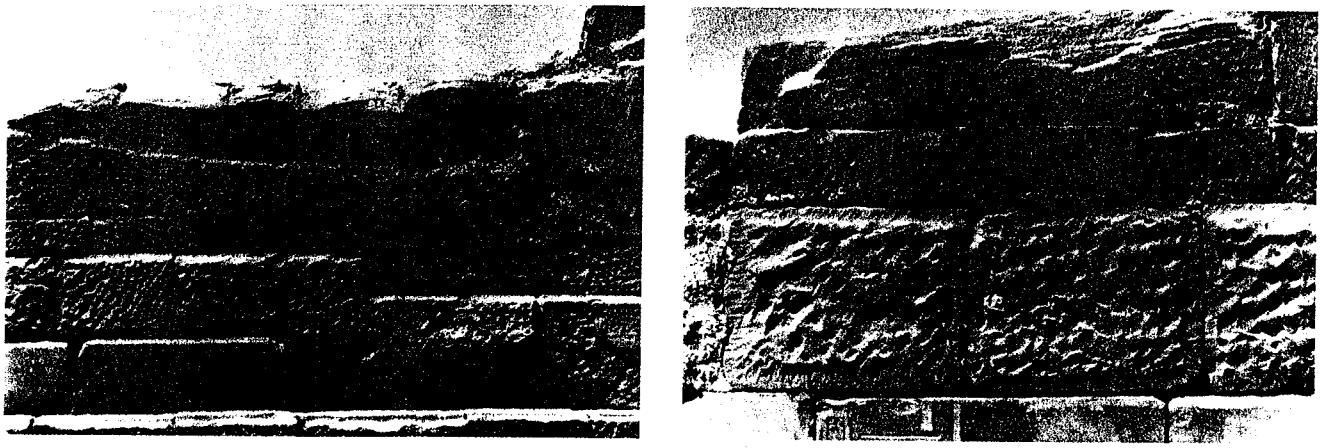


Figure 15.
Unfinished masonry of the 25th Dynasty at the temple of Taharqa at Karnak.

During the Late Period, the increasing number of buildings with wide intercolumniations could have capitalized from vault constructions. However, the repertoire of forms in Egyptian stone building had long ago been established and was so strongly fixated on flat ceilings that later builders had no use for stone vaults. True stone vaults with voussoirs set radially developed in Greece only during the Hellenistic Period, and one may suspect that they were inspired by Egyptian or western Asian examples.[19] The widest stone vaults known from Greece reach a span of 6.48 m (compared with Egyptian examples of a modest 2.8[!] m), and the largest known Roman example (the Fabricius Bridge in Rome) spans 24.5 m. It might not be coincidental, however, that during the same Kushite Period, the previously mentioned Theban tombs made extensive use of brick arches, which span the gates of their entrance pylons.

The close contact of the Kushites with Egypt proved productive not just for Kushite art in general but especially for architecture in the Sudan. Since the culture of the A and C Groups (3500–1500), local traditions produced *tumulus* tombs. From ca. 790, pyramid-shaped superstructures developed. These prevailing nomadic cultures did not, however, require temple building; this situation altered only in the reign of Taharqa, who initiated extensive temple-building activities in the Sudan as well as in Egypt. This activity culminated in the second and first centuries B.C. in Meroitic architecture, characterized by an independent, distinct style. The development of this side branch of Late Egyptian architecture, whose importance is becoming more and more apparent, cannot be followed here.[20]

The Buildings of the Kushites

Shabaka, Neferkare (716–702)

In 715 Piankhi's brother Shabaka marched again against Egypt in order to renew Kushite domination, and to subdue Bekenrenef of Sais, a vassal who had become too independent. After the restitution of law and order, a local

overseer of public works was ordered to fortify the sanctuaries of the country with new enclosure walls. The old enclosures must have fallen into disrepair, perhaps through military actions during the Kushite invasions. The first works, focusing on repairs in Thebes, were modest, but they inaugurated a new phase of building activity.

Under Shabaka, many relatively small projects were carried out at KARNAK, starting with repairs undertaken at the fourth pylon. The Ptah temple outside the northern enclosure wall was honored with a Sed-festival gate (no. 2, plan VIII).[21] In the northern court of the enclosure of Amun a colonnaded hall was built, and north of the ancient Akhmenu a new "Gold House" (both destroyed now).[22] An entrance porch of perhaps four-by-five columns was erected to shelter the northern access to the court between the third and fourth pylons. The columns are now destroyed.[23]

In the area north of the great hypostyle hall, a small temple for Osiris "in the Persea-tree" was built, consisting mainly of bricks with key elements in stone.[24] The construction of this temple emphasizes the invasion of the god of the netherworld during the Late Period into the contrasting realm of Amun of Karnak. The cult of Osiris gradually spread over and dominated the northeastern quadrant of the later enclosure wall of the precinct of Amun. From the 22nd Dynasty on, six chapels for Osiris were built by the divine consorts of Amun along the northern boundary of the area of Osiris. The chapels are modest, three-room stone buildings with a pylon-like front wall. The second chapel from the west was built by Amenirdis I under Shabaka and dedicated to Osiris Nebankh.[25] The connection of the chapels with the center of the Osiride cult center was interrupted when the huge enclosure walls of the precinct of Amun and Amunra-Monthu were built in the 30th Dynasty, which included the chapels in the precinct of Amunra-Monthu.

South of the precinct of Amun and in front of the Mut temple stood the Kamutef temple of Hatshepsut. The approach to this temple was sheltered by the addition of two double rows of columns, one in front of the gate and the other inside the court. The date of the enlargement, which now is completely destroyed, is unknown, but the building type may suggest a Kushite date.[26]

At the LUXOR temple, the pylon of Ramesses II received an entrance porch consisting of four-by-five columns (now destroyed).[27] The two outer aisles were covered with a roof, but the middle one, containing the two obelisks and colossal statues of Ramesses II, had to be left open.

Ramesses III had bound the small temple of the 18th Dynasty at MEDINET HABU into his enclosure wall. Shabaka added a rectangular forecourt to this temple for the primordial Amun. The court was entered through a small pylon (figs. 16–18; plan X).[28] At the same time, the pylon facilitated a passage through a new enclosure wall. The axis of the forecourt was embellished with a double row of columns, which corresponded to similar, contemporary Kushite colonnades in Theban temples. The columns were connected in the direction of the axis by screen walls. In front of the pylon stands a kiosk of uncertain date (figs. 16, 244). Since inscriptions of Nectanebo I cover older, illegible cartouches, the kiosk must have a pre–30th Dynasty date. Because no significant buildings were erected at Thebes between the 26th and 29th Dynasties, one might suggest that the kiosk dates to the 25th Dynasty.[29]

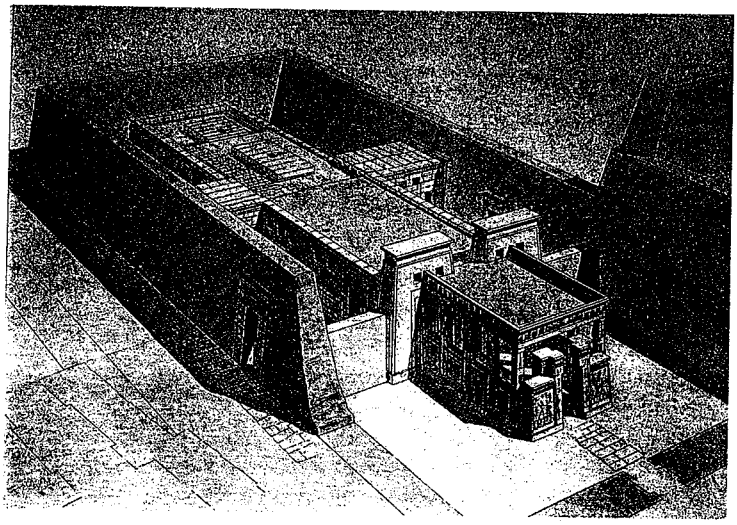


Figure 16.
Reconstruction of the Kushite(?) entrance kiosk of the temple of the primordial Amun at Medinet Habu (Uvo Hölscher, *The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty* [Chicago, 1939]).

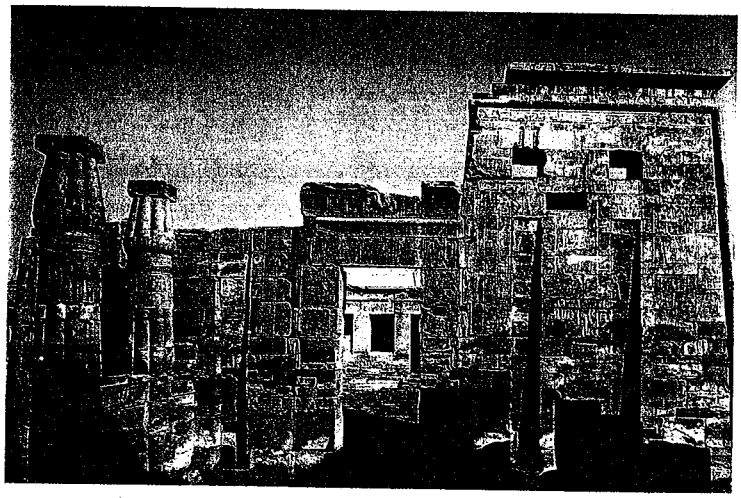


Figure 17.
Actual state of the Kushite(?) entrance kiosk of the temple of the primordial Amun at Medinet Habu looking west (photo A.O.).

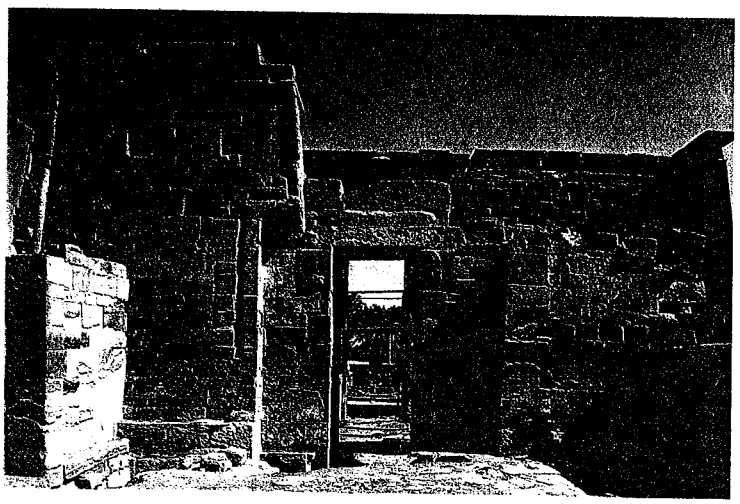


Figure 18.
Rear of the Kushite pylon of the temple of the primordial Amun at Medinet Habu (photo A.O.).

In that case, the kiosk would be one of the oldest examples of this type in Late Period architecture. It consists of two-by-four columns, which were spaced 5 cubits apart, resulting in a proportion of the ground plan of 16:15 (measured between the centers of the corner columns). The entrance gate of the kiosk stands slightly in front of the kiosk and is therefore not flanked by two columns. The frontal, 8.6 m long architrave, therefore, sat on the corner columns; it had to be made of wood, together with the rest of the roof construction, which must have carried a shallow vault.

Amenirdis I, sister of Piankhi, was established as the *divine consort* of Amun and ruler over Thebes (ca. 740–700). Her tomb chapel is still preserved at MEDINET HABU between those of the divine consorts Shepenwepet I–II and Nitocris (of the 25th and 26th Dynasties). The Amenirdis building has a pylon-like front topped by a heavy cavetto (figs. 19–20) with an interior colonnaded court followed by a sanctuary for the mortuary offerings on a slightly higher level. The offering room is freestanding and roofed by a stone barrel vault, which consists of two corbeled courses in its lower part and wedge-shaped voussoirs in the upper part. Although the vault spans only 2.18 m, it is one of the earliest examples of a true vault in the Late Period. The tomb is under the floor of the sanctuary. On one hand, these tomb chapels follow Theban and Memphite New Kingdom prototypes, modified by a freestanding offering hall covered by a vault. On the other hand, they are the fore-runners of the private tomb chapels of the Ptolemaic Period (e.g., at Tuna el-Gebel: see fig. 104).

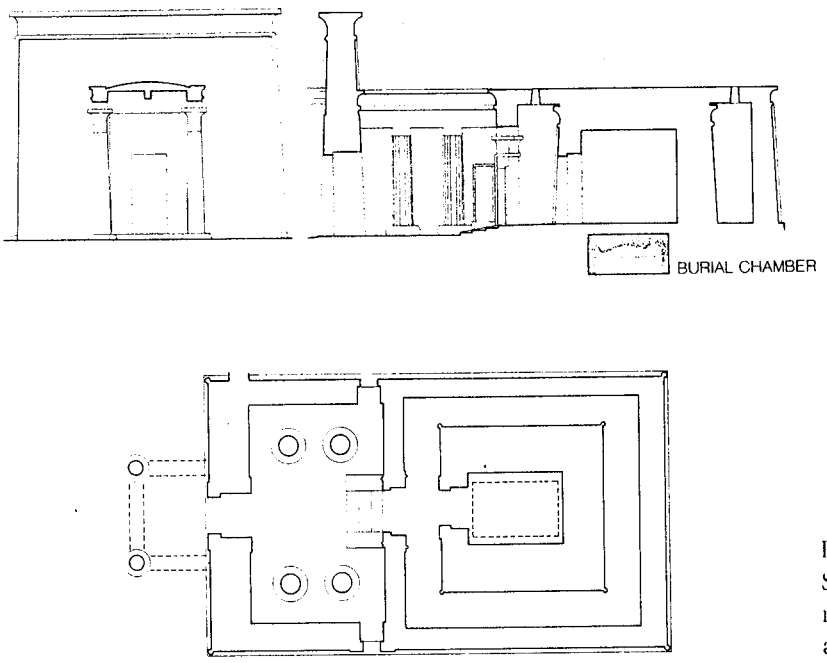


Figure 19.
Section and plan of the mortuary chapel of Amenirdis I at Medinet Habu.

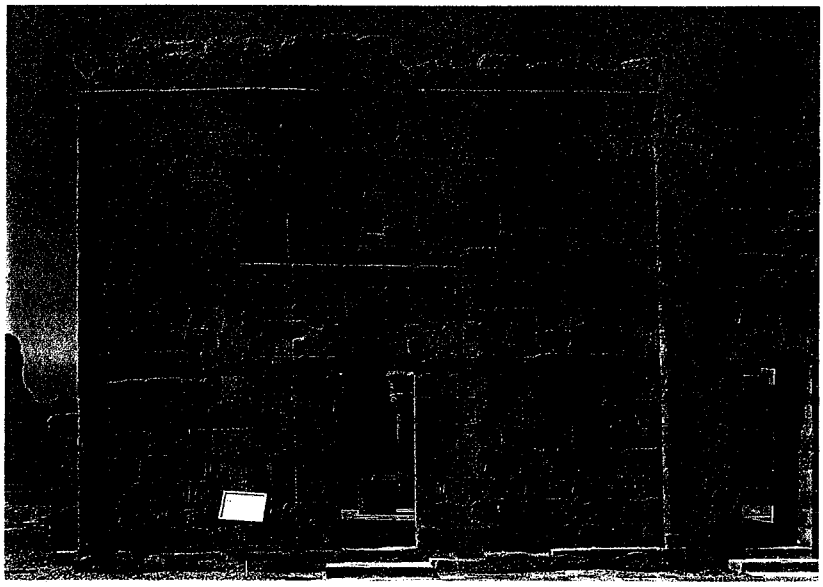


Figure 20.
Frontal view of the mortuary chapel of Amenirdis I at Medinet Habu (photo A.O.).

Some building projects were also started in the Upper Egyptian provinces. Blocks of a Sed-festival gate of an unknown Kushite ruler (Shabaka?) were found reused under the pavement of the Ptolemaic court of EDFU. Other remains of monuments are known from ABYDOS and ESNA.[30] Even in distant MEMPHIS the older pylons were provided with modern porches, and a chapel was built.

Following Piankhi's example, the king was buried in a pyramid tomb at El-Kurru, the earliest royal cemetery of the Kushites, some kilometers north of the Gebel Barkal.

Shabitku (Shabataka) Djedkaure (702–690)

Twenty-four years after the conquest of Egypt by the Kushites, the short ensuing peace was over and the struggle against the Assyrians started, for the time being still in Palestine. Shabitku supported an initially successful Phoenician-Palestinian uprising against the Assyrian king Sennacherib and sent the Kushite prince (and later king) Taharqa to strengthen the rebellion. Apparently, the Kushites were defeated by the more experienced Assyrians and could not prevent the siege and fall of Lakhish in 701. The probably heavy war taxation collected by the Kushites from the Egyptian population and the relatively short reign of Shabitku may explain why practically no temples were erected.

At KARNAK the small temple of Osorkon III for Osiris-Heka-djet, 100 m northeast of the Amun temple, was enlarged by a frontal broad room.[31] A small chapel built southeast of the sacred lake is now in Berlin.[32]

From MEMPHIS, a relief block and a headless statue of Shabitku are known.[33]

Taharqa, Nefertem-khu-Re (690–664)

The rule of Taharqa was marked by the fights with the Assyrians Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal over the Levant. In the few peaceful years between the wars, Taharqa launched building activity at a scale not seen since the New Kingdom.[34] However, the Kushite domination and their building activity in Egypt came soon to an end. After a first failed attempt in 674, Esarhaddon defeated Taharqa's army in 671, conquered Memphis, and put Taharqa to flight. At first the Assyrian victory seemed temporary, and Taharqa succeeded in reconquering Memphis. In 669 Esarhaddon again marched against Egypt, but he died on his way. In 667–666 his son Ashurbanipal appeared and defeated the Kushite-Egyptian army at Kar-baniti, conquered fortresses and towns,[35] and pursued Taharqa in an unprecedented campaign up to Thebes, whose temples were plundered for the first time in history. An ensuing rebellion by Delta rulers was crushed, and their leader, Necho, who would later cause more stir, was deported to Nineveh. After a surprise amnesty, Necho was reinstalled as an Assyrian vassal at Sais, while his son became governor of Athribis. Taharqa himself apparently fled to Napata, where he died after a few years. The pyramid of Taharqa was built at Nuri, with an underground apartment that seems to have followed the tradition of an Egyptian Osireion.

Three years after the Assyrian conquest, in 664 or 663, Taharqa's successor, Tanutamun (664–656), at once attempted to reconquer Egypt. With his troops he defeated the Assyrian vassal Necho of Sais and the other Delta vassals and for a short period reestablished Kushite rule. In 661 the Assyrian army of Ashurbanipal returned and expelled the Kushites permanently from Egypt.[36] Thebes again fell into the hands of the revengeful foreigners, and this time the destruction seems to have been so thorough that Thebes, with its cult of Amun, never recovered its former status. No wonder that no monuments are known from the few years of Tanutamun's reign.

THEBES glistened—for the last time in its glorious history—and was honored by Taharqa with monuments, a project conducted mainly by the competent major of Thebes, Montuemhat. The principal monument of the time was doubtlessly the kiosk in the Bubastide court of the Amun temple at Karnak, a daring feat of engineering that surpassed all earlier kiosks in size (figs. 21–24).[37] It consisted of two rows of gigantic columns with open papyrus capitals. Their shafts were constructed of twenty-five courses of limestone blocks and soared to a height of 18.87 m, nearly as high as the New Kingdom columns of the hypostyle hall of Karnak and the colonnade of the Luxor temple.[38] The uppermost course of the 4.93 m wide, overhanging capitals was balanced by a heavy *abacus*. The reconstruction of the entablature is conflicting. In the direction of the axis, architraves would have been possible. The transversal distance of 16.25 m would have been difficult to bridge even with timber. One scholar has also suggested that the columns were freestanding and used as pedestals for statues.[39] The columns were connected with screen walls only under Ptolemy IV Philopator.

Also at Karnak, a peculiar cult building was erected at the north side of the sacred lake (figs. 15, 25). According to the remains of the wall decoration the

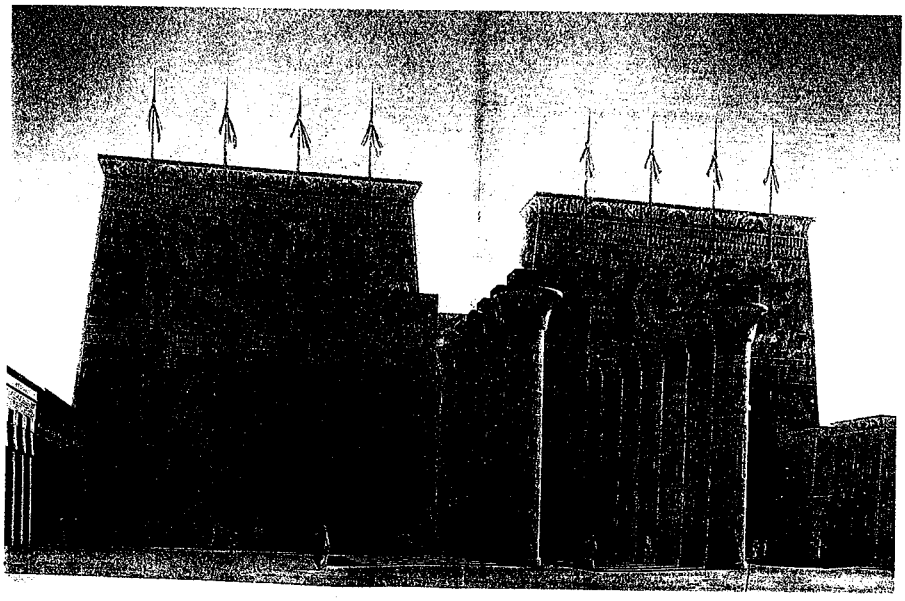


Figure 21.
Reconstruction of the first court of the Amun temple of Karnak with the Taharqa kiosk (*Description* III, pl. 41).

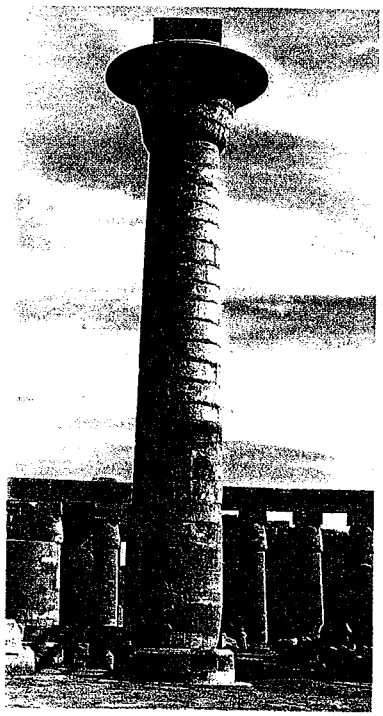


Figure 22.
The reconstructed column of the kiosk of Taharqa kiosk in the first court of Amun at Karnak (photo A.B.).

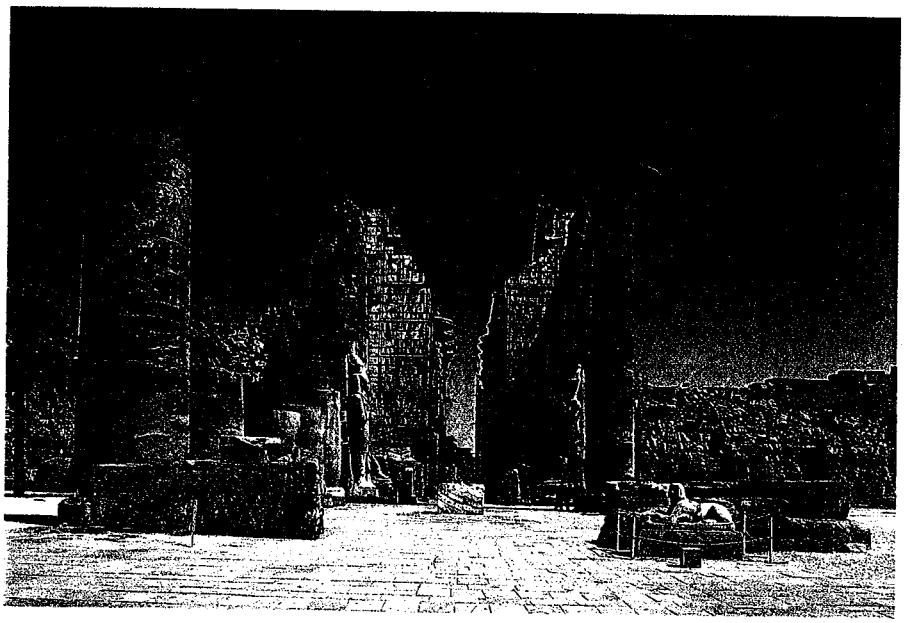


Figure 23. Frontal view of the kiosk of Taharqa in the first court of Amun at Karnak (photo A.O.).

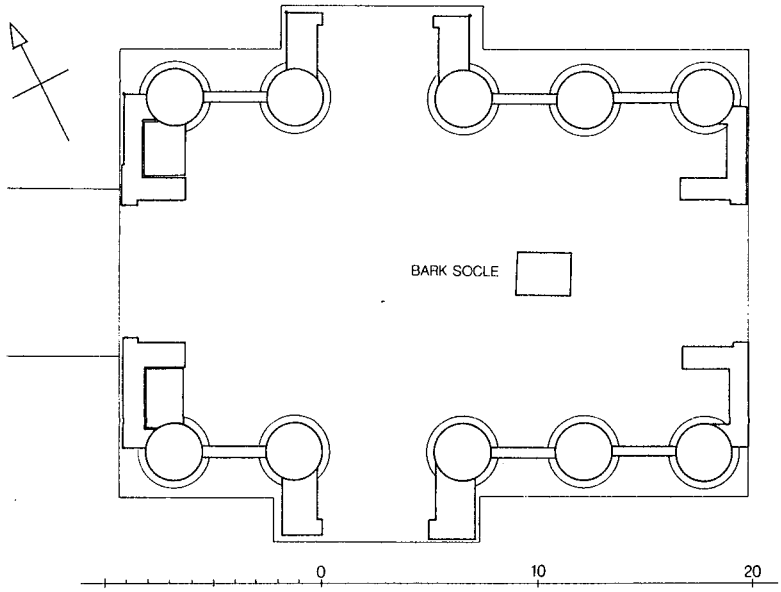


Figure 24.
Plan of the Taharqa kiosk in the first court of Amun at Karnak.

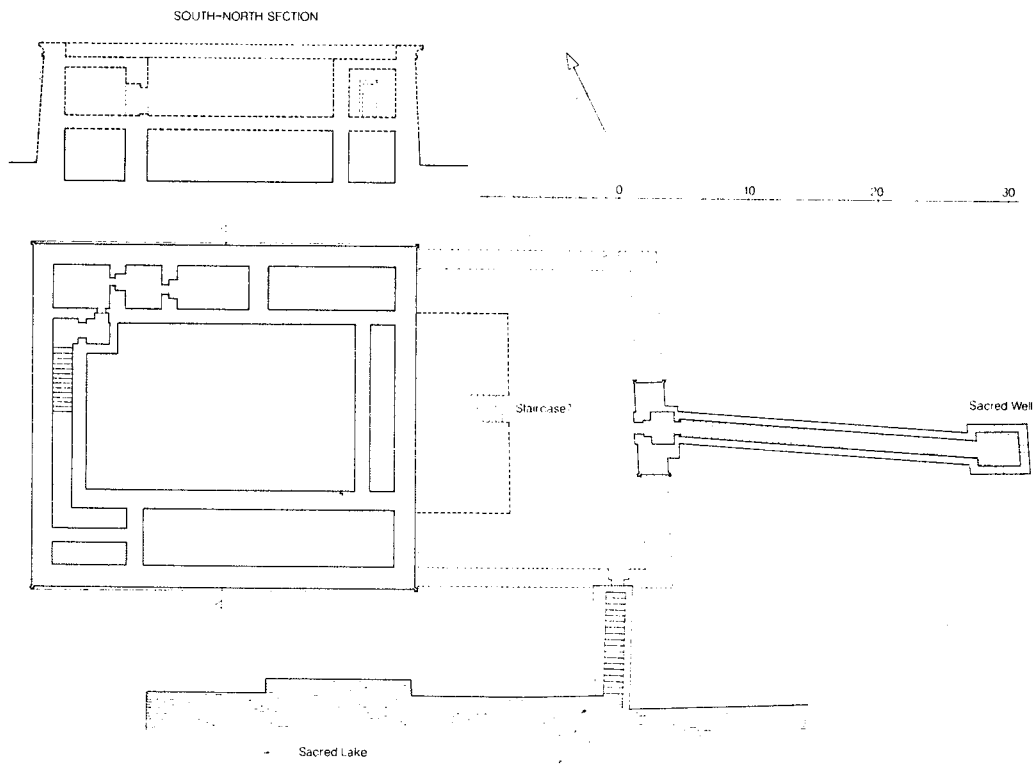


Figure 25. Section and plan of the temple of Taharqa at Karnak.

temple was dedicated to the cult of the sun and the King. The king was elevated to the role of the lord of the universe by a cultic performance, enacting the daily course of the sun.[40] The deification of the ruler, therefore, was an important aspect of the temple. The building of 25 x 29 m, the upper part of which is now destroyed, offered for these rituals an open court for the solar cult and underground crypts for the performance of the nocturnal course of the sun. The question of the location of the entrance and the reconstruction of the upper floor remain unsolved. Possibly Shabaka had already erected a similar building, blocks of which were found reused in the Taharqa temple.[41] A later formal and functional successor may have been the Opet temple built by Ptolemy VIII (see figs. 110–111).

Under Taharqa also the gates of the second and tenth pylons, which had been burned perhaps during an unheard-of military action, were restored. Their relief decoration was later reinscribed by Psametik II. Furthermore, two gates were erected on the processional approach to the Ptah temple, which stands 130 m north of the Amun temple (plan VIII).

A small, two-room chapel for Osiris Nebankh was built by the divine consorts under Taharqa north of the third pylon of Karnak and another chapel for Osiris-Ptah-Nebankh south of the tenth pylon.[42]

New structures can also be confirmed in the complex of AMUNRA-MONTHU (Karnak-North, plan IX). One of the buildings was a small temple of the divine consorts of Amun Shepenupet II and Amenirdis II (the sister and the daughter of Taharqa), built in the last years of Taharqa's reign (fig. 26). The facade of the temple can be reconstructed to some degree with the help of blocks found reused in the foundations of a nearby Ptolemaic porch.[43] The function of the temple is unclear. The emphasis in the decoration program on the cult of Osiris and its connection to the Sed festival suggest a dynastic cult center. The unusual pattern of the facade accentuates female aspects. Four engaged half-columns with Hathor capitals divide the 10 m wide facade into three sections, with the entrance in the center. This arrangement shows that the building depicts a colonnaded kiosk. It would have been easy to build such a kiosk in the round, but the builders preferred a depiction.[44] This feature also appears at a chapel in front of the LUXOR temple. Opposite the pylon of Ramesses II and east of the sphinx allée approaching from Karnak, a chapel was built at the Sed festival of Taharqa. Its northern facade was again articulated by three engaged Hathor columns, which protruded inside and out from the wall.[45] These columns seem to suggest a functional connection with the later birth houses (see the discussion in chapter 9).

A small shrine was built at the northeast corner of the Amunra-Monthu temple of Amenhotep III at Karnak-North (fig. 30). The shrine stood on a platform that was reached by a ramp.[46] Entrance was through a 2.5 m high pylon, the gate of which had a broken lintel. Numerous decorated blocks of the pylon were found built into the foundations of a Ptolemaic porch. Behind the gate was an elongated room surrounded on three sides by columns connected by screen walls. The columns, made of wood, were set at amazingly short intervals. It is difficult to determine whether the shrine was open or roofed. Although the function remains unknown, the impermanent construction suggests a throne kiosk, perhaps for administering justice.

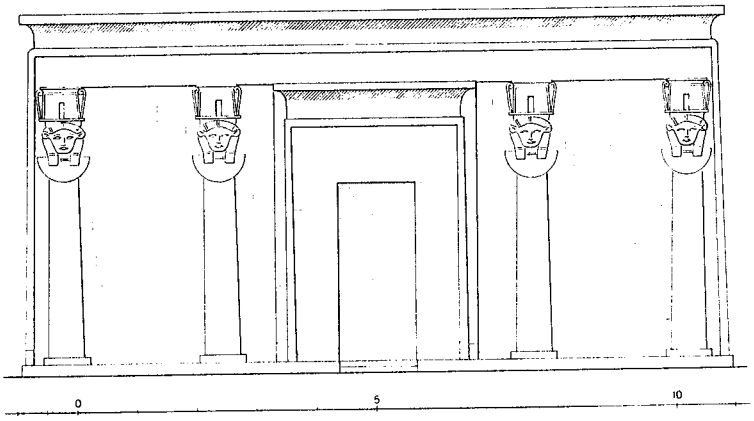


Figure 26.
Reconstruction of the facade of a temple of the divine consorts at Karnak (25th Dynasty).

The smaller temple of Harpâre and Raittaui in the Amunra-Monthu enclosure of Karnak-North also was furnished with a new facade.

Under Taharqa, the important New Kingdom temple of MUT at Karnak was restructured (fig. 27). The old temple consisted of a huge pylon-like brick structure enclosing a court enhanced by hundreds of statues of the lion goddess Sakhmet. Behind followed a second pylon with another court with Sakhmet statues, surrounded on three sides by Hathor-headed pillars. The actual temple house at the rear side of the second court measured only approximately 24 x 38 m.

Taharqa added a 34 m wide section, containing a hypostyle hall with eight columns and some side rooms, to the front of the temple house. The new facade of the temple house was articulated by six engaged Hathor columns, reminding one of the gender of the deity and reflecting the New Kingdom Hathor pillars that surround the other three sides of the court.[47] The free-standing bark shrine, the ambulatory, and side chapels also suggest a Late Period date. How far these parts of the temple house were rebuilt is still unclear.[48]

Taharqa also seems to have added an entrance porch to the front of the first pylon. The porch was replaced in Ptolemaic times. A colonnade of four pairs of columns inside the first court may also be Kushite. A porch of four columns was built in the second court and connected with the facade of the new, Kushite temple house by screen walls decorated with the "Piankhi reliefs."[49]

Substantial alterations were carried out at the Khonspakhered temple northeast of the Mut temple (fig. 28).[50] An earlier Ramesside temple was replaced by a new building—measuring 19.52 x 40.28 m (37 x 77 cubits)—into which numerous elements of the older building were integrated. The temple house contained a sanctuary, a square offering hall, and a transversal hall, each with four papyrus bundle columns. The front third of the temple house was formed by a hypostyle hall with sixteen columns. The side aisles of the hypostyle hall consisted of palm columns, much esteemed in the Kushite Period. Later, under Taharqa, a court with a 29.40 m broad pylon was added, again with palm columns in the three colonnades.

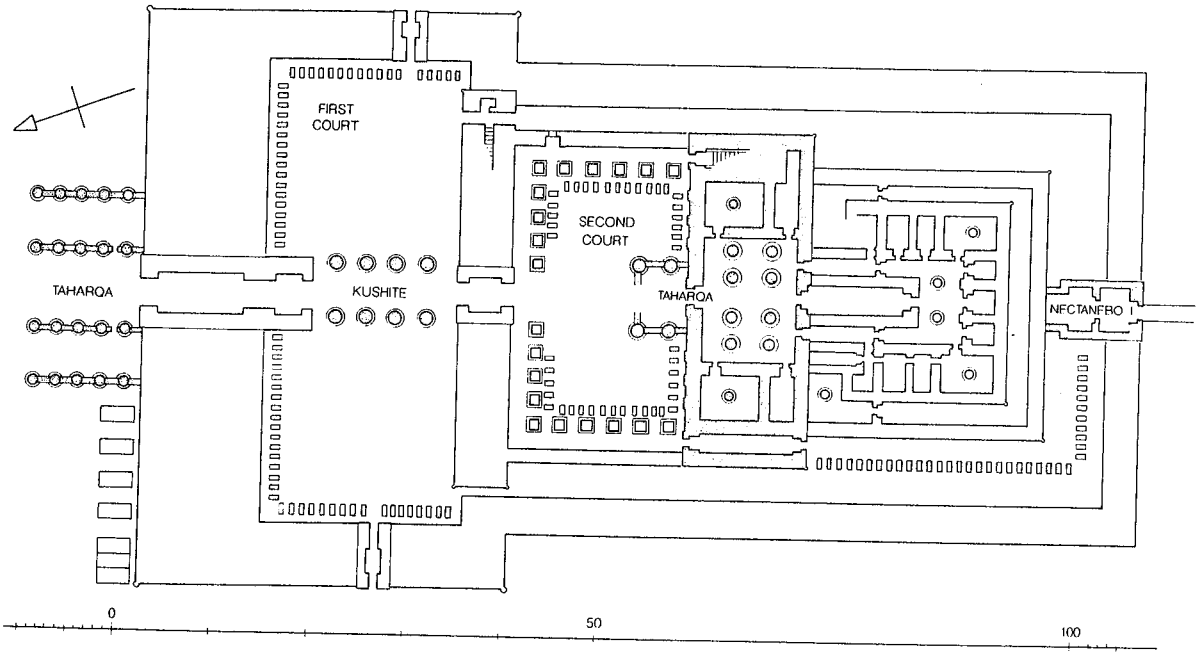


Figure 27. Reconstructed plan of the temple of Mut at Karnak (after Margaret Benson and Janet Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher* [London, 1899]).

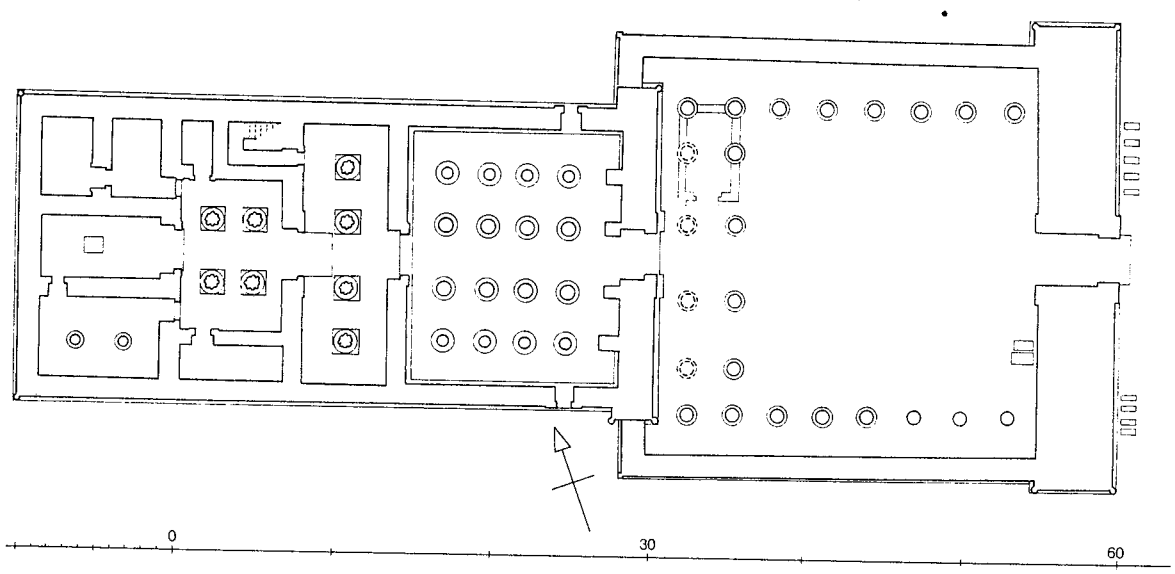


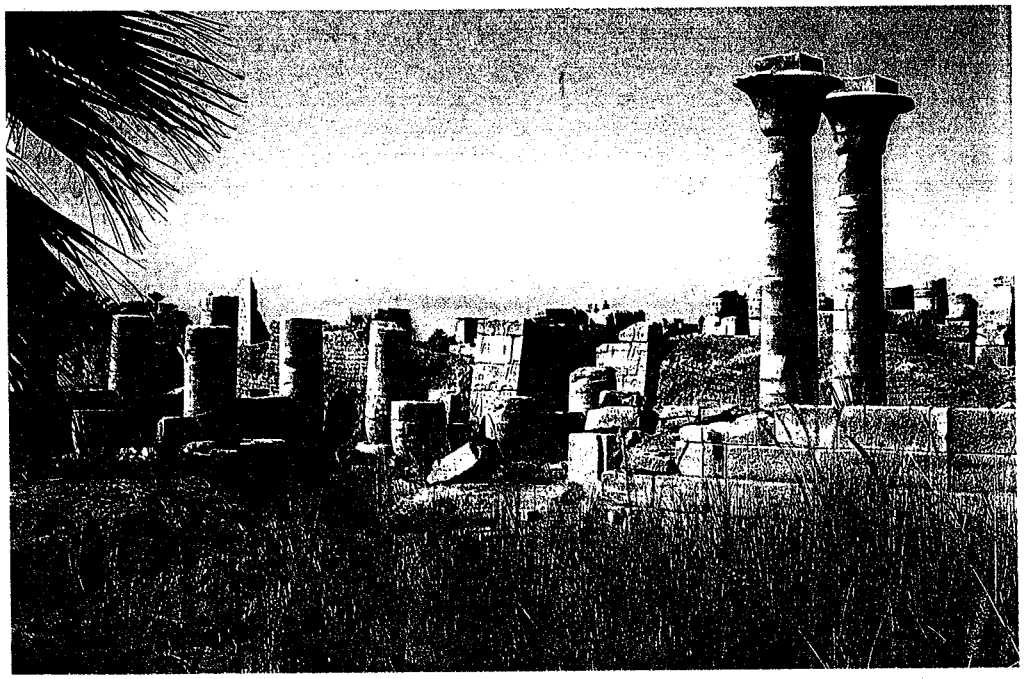
Figure 28. Plan of the Ramesside/Kushite temple of Khonspakhered in the precinct of Mut at Karnak.

The overall plan and the location of a small chamber with two columns in the northeast corner of the temple correspond to the contemporary temples at Tabo, Kawa, and Sanam in the Sudan and indicate that the building was not a birth house[51] but a fully developed temple. The Khonspakhered temple is the only one completely built by the Kushites on Egyptian soil. Its oblique angles and poor-quality masonry attest to the decline in Theban construction, which can be observed from the late New Kingdom on. Slender columns with wider spans probably produced a feeling for space which was different from that of the architecture of the Ramessides, thus heralding a new building style.

Under Taharqa the entrance pylons to the five most important Theban temples were furnished with an entrance porch. Monumental aspects were emphasized by the use of special material for the pavement: red or black granite in the center nave and alabaster or limestone in the side aisles. The following examples were built:

1. To the pylon of the Khonsu temple at Karnak an entrance porch was added, the roof of which was carried by four rows of five rather high columns (figs. 3, 243). The roof was made of timber because of the 7.20 to 8.20 m wide spans between the columns.[52]
2. Against the east end of the Amun temple of Karnak stood—facing east—a Ramesside *contra-temple* for Reharakhte. Taharqa built a porch in front of the pylon of this temple (figs. 29, 243). Four rows of five slender, 9.5 m high columns with open papyrus capitals carried the roof; decorated screen walls were placed between the columns.[53]

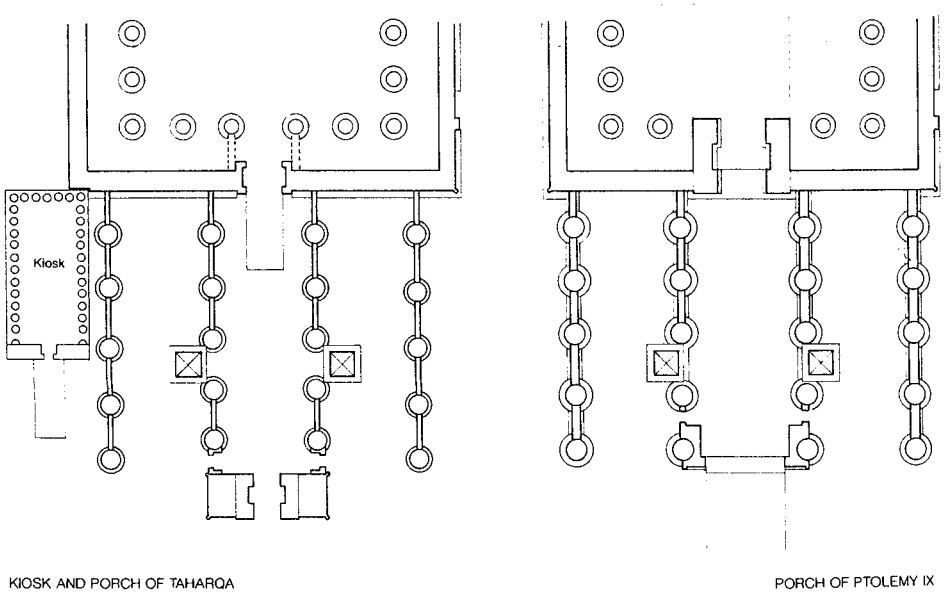
Figure 29.
Remains of the entrance porch of Taharqa of the temple of Reharakhte east of the Amun temple at Karnak (photo A.B.).



3. The Amunra-Monthu temple at Karnak-North faces north, in the direction of the distant Monthu temple at Medamoud.[54] The facade was furnished with a porch of four rows of five columns (figs. 30, 243; plan IX), connected by decorated screen walls. Since the front of the porch had only one entrance into the central aisle, transversal doors between the first intercolumniations led into the side aisles. The two obelisks of Amenhotep III, originally outside the temple, were integrated into the portico, but their great height created problems for the roofing of the porch.

   In connection with a raised level, the Kushite porch was removed under Ptolemy IX Soter II and replaced at a higher level by a similar portico with sturdier columns. The foundations of the Kushite porch and of numerous building elements were integrated into the Ptolemaic foundations.
4. A porch was built in front of the first pylon of the Mut temple (fig. 27). The wide column spacing required a timber roof. A few column drums of the Kushite porch survived after it was replaced by a new porch in Ptolemaic times. The Ptolemaic porch had four rows of perhaps five(?) columns, which were decorated with figures of the god Bes.
5. The porch in front of the sanctuary of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari may also date to the 25th Dynasty. Not only was this building type typical for the Kushite Period, but the use of columns with open papyrus capitals also was common during this era. (In Ptolemaic-Roman kiosks, columns with composite capitals were the rule). The dissonance between the screen walls and the frontal gate, which reaches up to the neck of the columns, also supports a date of the 25th Dynasty, when entrance porches were still under development.

Figure 30.
Plan of the Kushite entrance porch of the temple of Amunra-Monthu at Karnak in Kushite and Ptolemaic times.



At EDFU the New Kingdom Horus temple was distinguished by a Sed-festival gate that probably stood on the access road to the temple. Four blocks of Taharqa, reused by Psametik II, were excavated in 1984–85 in the Ptolemaic court, apparently the site of these older monuments.

In the fortress of QASR IBRIM in Lower Nubia a small brick temple was built under Taharqa.[55] The 10 x 16.5 m building consisted of an anteroom, with four columns carrying the ceiling and a sanctuary. The sanctuary was separated from the exterior walls by a staircase to the roof and a secret corridor, creating an early form of the freestanding sanctuary that is characteristic of Ptolemaic temples. In late Napatan or early Meroitic times, the building became the nucleus of a larger temple complex.

At BUHEN the south temple was enlarged, and at SEMNA-WEST a small brick temple was built.

In Lower Egypt, far distant from the Kushite homeland, the presence of the Kushites is confirmed by Taharqa's restoration of a small Amun temple in MEMPHIS[56] and a granite stela from TANIS. During the wars against the Assyrians in the northeast, Taharqa must have frequented Memphis and Tanis.

At this point the building program of Taharqa in his home country, which the king inaugurated in his sixth year (684), must be mentioned. In the Sudan, Taharqa became the greatest temple builder of all times, with large temples in at least four places. These temples follow precisely pharaonic style and the temple-building tradition of the Ramesside Period. The three temples of Taharqa at TABO (on the island Argo), at KAWA (opposite Dongola), and at SANAM (Napata) were built following a common plan (fig. 31).[57] The temples of Kawa and Sanam were closer together, with Sanam apparently representing the later, slightly modified version. Both measured 38.7 x 68.5 m. Sculptors of a Memphite school seem to have decorated the Kawa temple, copying reliefs from the pyramid temples of Sahure, Niuserre, and Pepy II at Abusir and Saqqara.[58] The Old Kingdom prototypes were adapted to their—actually inapplicable—environment by a change of the depicted gods and the Nubian costumes of the king and the priests.

The plans of the three temples were divided into four sections by a larger and a smaller pylon and two following gates. The pylon of Tabo, like the rest of the temple, is largely destroyed. The pylons of Kawa and Sanam had four flagpoles. The court between the two pylons—like that of the Khonsu temple at Karnak, for example—was surrounded by colonnades, in the temple of Kawa with palm columns. A kiosk stood in the center of the court of Tabo as the kiosk of Taharqa stood in the center of the first court of the Karnak temple. All courts have two lateral gates. A hypostyle hall followed behind the second pylon. The halls of Kawa and Sanam had four-by-four, that of Tabo, four-by-five, columns. They had no raised central nave as in the New Kingdom. Kawa again had palm columns, certainly a pointer to the architecture of the Old Kingdom. The intercolumniations of the central nave, which were 7.80 m, could have scarcely been covered with stone. At Kawa and Sanam, a shrine of Taharqa was placed in the corresponding intercolumnar space.[59] All hypostyles have side exits, creating a lateral axis at Kawa and Sanam. The following room for the emplacement of statues of visiting gods[60] and the following offering hall had four columns each and no longer occupied the full width of

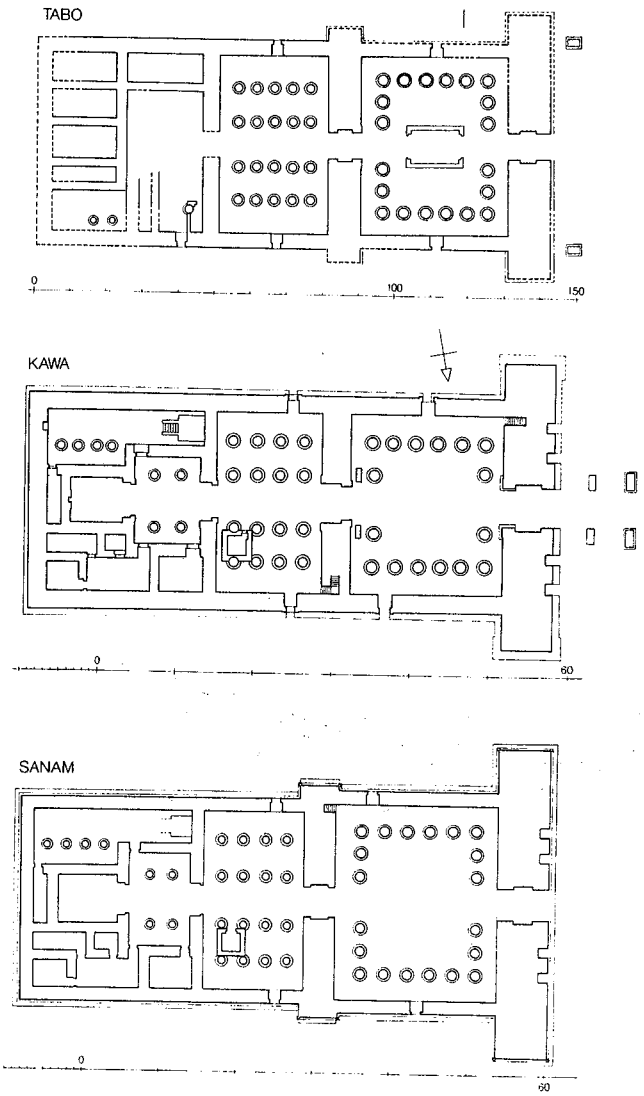


Figure 31.
Plans of the temples of Taharqa at Tabo, Kawa, and Sanam.

the temple house because each side was occupied by a lateral room. The right side chamber (looking inward) contained a high platform, which probably carried a shrine. A certain relationship to the *wabet*, the New Year's festival court (see discussion in chapter 9) may be suggested. The last plan section contains the large central sanctuary, which at its right side had a longitudinal hall with four palm columns[61] and opposite, at its left, a conspicuous group of four rooms. Some of these features seem to answer specific Kushite cult requirements of local origin which have no parallels in temples in Egypt. The planning and proportioning of the three temples attest to solid craftsmanship. The organization of these temples discloses that only minor details had changed in temple building since the New Kingdom and that older plans and decoration programs were purposefully followed.

These three Kushite temples in the Sudan represent a certain temple type that is represented in Egypt by the above-mentioned Khonspakhered temple in the complex of Mut at Karnak. One may assume that other temples the Kushites may have built in Egypt might have looked the same.

At the GEBEL BARKAL, rock formations of the sacred mountain show features in which modern visitors claim to recognize four gigantic statues of a king. At the foot of the rock, three temples were either newly built or reconstructed on older remains: the great Amun temple, the Hemispeos, and the "Typhonium," with Hathor columns and unusual Bes pillars (see the discussion of columns in chapter 9).[62]

4

THE SAITE PERIOD (664–525 B.C.)

The Historical Background

Although Egypt was under the domination of the Assyrians, probably only small foreign garrisons were left to guard the country, allowing Egyptian vassals a certain autonomy, particularly Necho of Sais. Necho probably died for the Assyrian cause, when the last Kushite ruler, Tanutamun, tried to reconquer Egypt and entered the Nile Delta. In 661, Necho's son Psametik I assumed his father's position as vassal in Sais. At first, Psametik I ruled only Sais and Memphis. By 656/655 he had usurped the whole country and—benefiting from the decline of the Assyrian power—freedom from the Assyrians. The annexation of the Theban theocracy was achieved peacefully by the adoption of Psametik's daughter Nitocris through the ruling Theban divine consort, the last Kushite princesses Shepenwepet II and Amenirdis II, who somehow must have survived the Assyrian invasions. The Theban officials of the Kushite and Assyrian Period, like Montuemhet and Ibi, also kept their offices.

Psametik I apparently unified the country still as a nominal vassal of the Assyrians. For unknown political reasons, Ashurbanipal even seems to have tolerated Egypt's passage to autonomy. He gained at least Psametik I and his son Necho as supporters of the Assyrian cause.

The reign of Psametik I inaugurated a 140-year-long period of recovery from foreign intervention. The Delta town of Sais remained the capital of Psametik I and his five successors of the 26th Dynasty. The first regnal years of Psametik I were filled with more military engagements in the north: the menacing Scythian invasion of 630–625, the alleged twenty-nine-year siege and final conquest of Ashdod (16 km north of Ashkalon), and the military support for the Assyrians against the Neo-Babylonians in 615–612.[1] Psametik I is

also credited for employing Ionic and Carian mercenaries, who were settled in two camps in the northeastern Delta.[2]

The rulers of the 26th Dynasty founded by Psametik I constructed at least a dozen prominent temples, a corresponding number of new smaller sanctuaries (fig. 32), and numerous additions to already standing buildings. War damage by the Assyrian invasions does not seem to have been so serious that repairs played an important part. The most conspicuous buildings were certainly the temples of the ancient creator deities Neith and Atum at Sais, the temple of the ram-god Banebdjedet at Mendes, the temple of the obscure goddess Buto, mistress of Nebesha, and the temples of Ptah and Apis at Memphis. All these buildings are destroyed now, and some cannot be located anymore because no foundations are left or no excavations have been carried out. Repeatedly, some inscribed blocks were seen at obscure places and have disappeared since. In such cases it is difficult to determine whether these blocks attest to the existence of a temple in the neighborhood or whether they were moved from a distant ruin for later reuse.[3] Occasional inscriptions mentioning deities or their cult place offer a suggestion.

Contrasting with the Kushite Period, an absolute pole-changing of the political, economic, and religious orientation from south-north to west-east materialized within Egypt and in its relation with its neighbors. No wonder that during such concentration on Lower Egypt, and its neighbors to the west (Cyrenaika), north (Ionia), and east (Israel, Persia), temple building in the south was neglected. As a consequence, no king of the 26th Dynasty built a noteworthy monument in the Theban area.[4] The dominance of Amun, whose temples were still growing under the Bubastide and Kushite rulers, was over. In contrast to the building policy of the later 30th Dynasty, which favored the eastern Delta (fig. 48), the building commissions of the Saite rulers spread

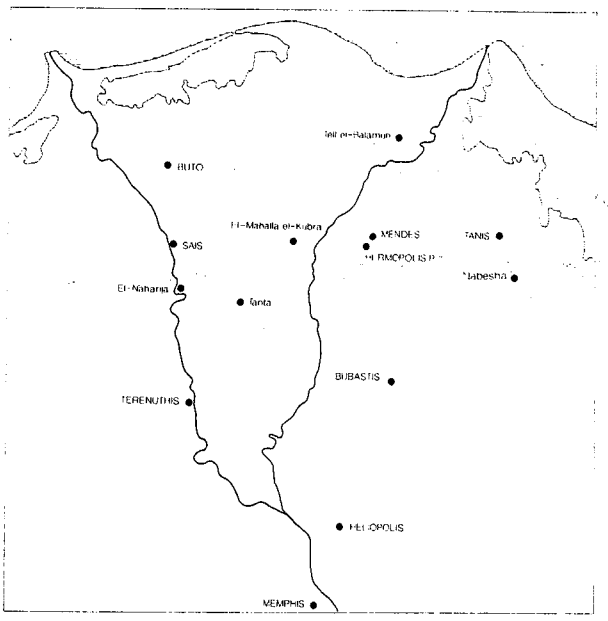


Figure 32.
Delta map with the distribution of Saite temples.

over the whole Delta. Equivalent temple building reflected the growing significance of the western oases, which were made accessible by new trade routes from the north to the Bahariya Oasis.

Building Form and Style in the Saite Period

Rulers with strong personalities often strive for manifestation in monumental architecture. The new Saite dynasty of self-willed monarchs was no exception. The political and economic recovery of Egypt under their 140-year rule favored such a dynamic building program. Without seeing larger temples of the Saite Period preserved, however, the assessment of their characteristic building style is difficult.

Works of sculpture of the 26th Dynasty exhibit a clear renewal of the arts of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms,[5] but they outshine similar tendencies that began in the 25th Dynasty.[6] The increasing admiration of the past intensified canonization in the arts and religion to a degree that was previously unheard of. One would assume, however, that this attitude was—under the rather favorable condition of the country during the 25th Dynasty—not an attempt to flee the present but an expression of national pride.

This tendency distinguished the sculpture of the Saite Period with beautiful perfection but also with a certain artificiality and coolness. One might assume that similar properties dominated the general impression of Saite architecture. Due to the lack of monuments, no archaizing building elements such as specific Old Kingdom forms are known. An important indicator is the increased use of hard stones like granite and quartzite as material not only for statues but also for building. The appearance of hard stone, with its sharp edges, polished surfaces, and generally dark colors, in itself invokes monumentality. This effect was certainly generated by the architecture of the Pyramid Age. The choice of the same material confirms the efforts of the Saite architects to achieve a similar monumental impression.

However, this clinging to the past cannot obscure the fact that Egyptian cults during the Late Period underwent enormous changes, which certainly influenced rituals and their architectural environment. The main aspect of this development is probably the transformation of a state dogma exclusively restricted to the encounter between gods and kings into popular belief. Evidence for this development is abundant. Temples were used as sanitariums and seats of oracles. Cult associations appeared. The cult of sacred animals became a popular attraction, and mummification and burial of crocodiles, ibises, bulls, and goats was a public affair. Magic and superstition were growing, as was the use of amulets and the donation of votives. Pictures and names of deities entered the private domain.

All these innovations must have increasingly influenced temple building, perhaps initially the appearance of traditional state temples less than that of smaller, rural shrines. Unfortunately, because of the lack of monuments, these changes cannot be demonstrated by the plans of Saite temples. One may only point to the development of the pronaos (see discussion in chapter 9), which seems to have taken another decisive step. This observation is verified

by evidence of the far more developed pronaos of the Hibis temple (and the more shadowy pronaoi of Tell el-Balamun and Heliopolis).

The composite capital, which was fully developed during the later 30th Dynasty, was first formulated during the 26th Dynasty (see the discussion of columns in chapter 9). This flamboyant capital provided the new, ostentatious building form of the pronaos with the appropriate column type. The plans of the Abydos and El-Kâb temples, which can be restored to some degree, show a tendency to the square, centralized shape and suggest that the development of the later freestanding sanctuary with an ambulatory already was advanced. Other building elements typically found in 30th Dynasty architecture, such as the *wabet*, the roof staircase, and the ambulatory with the surrounding chapels, might have developed already in the 26th Dynasty.

For the concept of kingship of the Late Period, the nearly complete absence of colossal statues—until Nectanebo I and Ptolemaic times—is typical. Such monuments were memorials of an antiquated, divine kingship, which was replaced after the end of the New Kingdom by a more worldly rulership.[7] Such monuments did not belong to the repertoire of the influential Old Kingdom art the Saites intended to copy.

However, obelisks, which had also been absent from the repertoire for centuries, made their reappearance, apparently in connection with the rediscovery of hard stone carving under Psametik II (see the subsequent discussion of the buildings of his rule). Quite a number of obelisks of Psametik II and Apries are known, but none reached the colossal dimensions of those of the New Kingdom.

Beyond these admirable achievements of its own, the temple architecture of the 26th Dynasty paved the way for the architecture of the 30th Dynasty and the "Ptolemaic Style."[8]

The Building Methods of the Saite Period

Since practically no temple building of the Saites worth mentioning has survived, technical studies have to be content with observations of foundations. Some well-preserved remains of foundations of Saite temples grant an insight into the building methods of the 26th Dynasty. They exhibit a hitherto unknown aspiration for stability, which probably conforms with the inclination toward Old Kingdom architecture.[9] The foundation pit of the sanctuary area of the temple of Mendes (fig. 41) was 26.6 x 29.4 m wide and retained by a 2.6 m thick brick wall that was reinforced at strategic points with projections.[10] The foundations consisted of six courses of 1 m high limestone blocks that sat in the foundation pit in a 2.32 to 6.65 m thick sand fill. The amazing 11 m depth of the foundation is explained by the weight of the four, 7.8 m high granite naoi built on top. The foundation blocks were arranged so that their weight was equally distributed. In order to determine the position of the naoi from the beginning, their location was measured on each foundation course and marked by setting lines.

The foundation pits of the temple of Amasis at Athribis and of the Wadjet temple at Buto were also surrounded by brick walls and filled with sand.[11] In

the latter, the aboveground masonry consisted of 2 to 3 m long limestone blocks, cased with quartzite slabs. These were attached with copper bands, pulled through drill holes, a method already used in the Middle Kingdom to join sarcophagus slabs.[12] In the Saite part of the Hibis temple at El-Kharga, the lateral joints of the wall blocks displayed *anathyrosis*.

The correction of the royal building cubit during the Saite Period is noteworthy.[13] The total length of 52.3 to 52.5 cm remained untouched but the subdivision was simplified. Whereas the old building cubit had seven palms of four fingers (i.e., 28 fingers), the new cubit had only six palms of four fingers (i.e., 24 fingers). It followed that the reformed palm now measured 8.75 cm and the finger 2.2 cm. We do not know why the old system, which had been used successfully for thousands of years, was suddenly altered.

Egyptian Architecture and the Mediterranean Countries during the Saite Period

The rule of the 26th Dynasty (664–525) coincides with the flowering of Greek overseas activity and the foundation of Greek settlements around the Mediterranean. Increasing international trade and the employment of Ionic and Carian mercenaries in Egypt after 620 brought Greeks and Egyptians into close contact and opened Egypt to scholarly visitors.[14] Quite naturally, a wave of Egyptian building ideas, elements, and techniques infiltrated the Greek world during the 26th Dynasty. This contact with an ancient, advanced civilization was of utmost importance for the Greeks, and the experience probably contributed to the emergence and development of monumental stone architecture in Greece. The enormous dimensions of the Ionic and western Greek temples built after 560, with their impressive concentration of columns, may indeed reflect a response to impressions obtained in Egypt.[15] Even the proportions of early Doric colonnades correspond to some degree to Egyptian examples, and the *entasis* of Doric columns has strikingly close parallels in the swelling of Egyptian papyrus columns. The enlargement of the central intercolumniation in Greek temples has also been derived from Egypt.

That early Greek architects also acquired engineering skills in Egypt is possible because they must have faced similar technical problems associated with building on a colossal scale.[16] Since lifting devices such as cranes were invented by the Greeks only at the end of the sixth century, earlier Greek temples could only have been built with the rudimentary Egyptian technology, using ramps, rollers, and sledges. The particularly solid foundations of Saite temples must have been an eye-opener for the still-inexperienced Greek builders. The method of filling foundation trenches of Greek temples with sand was an old Egyptian tradition.[17] The A-shaped square level with a plumb line used in Greece was *the* Egyptian leveling device attested since the 12th Dynasty. The *anathyrosis* also was frequently applied in Egyptian building since the Middle Kingdom. Wooden, stone, and metal dovetail cramps—so common in Greek architecture—had been used in Egyptian buildings since the Old Kingdom.[18]

Elements of Egyptian architecture and architectural decor had long before entered orientalizing art styles of cultures around the eastern Mediterranean. The expansion of the Saite empire further enhanced their diffusion in the seventh and sixth centuries. The cavetto molding was integrated into foreign architecture more than any other element. Monumental cavetto moldings topping tomb no. 50 of Salamis on Cyprus (ca. 600 B.C.) created a real Egyptian appearance.[19] Orientalizing cavetto moldings and lotus/palmette motives are common from the sixth century on in Carthaginian, Etruscan,[20] and Greek architecture in Italy, where they appear not only in stone but also in terracotta. Besides the Egyptianizing ante capitals and ornaments of the older Heraion of Paestum and other southern Italian Doric temples,[21] the *peripteral* Demeter temple "F" at Selinunt (ca. 530) must be mentioned.[22] The intercolumniations were closed by 4.5 m high screen walls with real gates at the temple facade and false doors coped with cavetto-like moldings at the other sides. A similarity with the Egyptian birth house is apparent, although their connection is conjectural. The motive of the volute is often combined with a ring of dropping leaves at the upper end of the shaft. Their resemblance to the Egyptian palm capital is astonishing. The oldest Ionic column in Egypt, found in the Apollo temple at Naucratis, is dated to 566.[23] The neck of the column was surrounded by two rows of dropping palm leaves, but the actual capital with the volutes is missing.

Certainly under Saite influence, bifacial Hathor-head capitals were introduced to Cyprus after the mid–sixth century.[24] Whether they were attached to polygonal faceted shafts and whether these shafts also came from Egypt is unknown. Hathor head capitals also entered Phoenician architecture.[25] At the Ionic treasuries of Klazomenai and Marssilia in Delphi, floral capitals that may reflect Egyptian palm capitals appear in the second half of the sixth century.[26] They display a ring of eighteen above one of twenty-two slender palm leaves raising vertically and curling outward and downward at the dropping tips.

Of great significance for Egyptian Late Period architecture was the creation about 600 of the composite capital in stone. It would appear that the invention of the Corinthian capital was also inspired by the Egyptian composite capital.[27] Its four lily-shaped corner volutes and the *acanthus* ring at the neck closely resemble Egyptian examples.

Single elements such as the sculptured frieze around the foot of the columns of the older (560) and younger (356) Artemision of Ephesos resemble the figure decoration of Egyptian papyrus column shafts.[28] Figure friezes around the foot of a column were later so much regarded an Egyptian feature that the *columnae caelatae* of the Roman Iseum were ornamented with this element.[29]

Occasionally the columns joined to the walls by buttress-like spurs of masonry in some Greek temples of the fifth to the third century have been traced back to similar forms in the Djoser complex at Saqqara (ca. 2620).[30] This derivation, however, must contend with the huge intervening span of time: H. Ricke, moreover, has stressed that these building forms have completely different histories of origin.[31]

Finally, the old Egyptian pyramid-shaped tomb type diffused since the eighth century over the Canaanite/Syrian and Anatolian area. This tomb type sur-

Figure 33.
Cavetto elements in the main hall of the palace of Darius at Persepolis (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, no. 60709).

vived in Syria (Dana, Kapropera) until the sixth century A.D. The most spectacular successors were the step pyramid–like roof constructions of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (ca. 353–349) and the Lion Tomb of Cnidus (fourth century).

Greek and Near Eastern architects may also have improved construction methods from the Egyptian examples.[32] Block connections with dovetail-shaped cramps and the use of *anathyrosis*, for example, were common in Egyptian building techniques from the Old Kingdom on. The claw chisel, indispensable for working marble, also already was used in Egypt around 675. In Greek architecture, its use is attested only after 550.[33] However, the often proposed use of building ramps or the quarrying of building blocks by pounding was known worldwide and was even used by the Incas,[34] suggesting that such techniques developed independently.

Since the presence of Egyptian artists in Persia after 525 is well attested,[35] it is not surprising that not only Egyptian statues and stone vessels were found in Persia. As an example of a Persian commission to Egyptian artists, the greater-than-life-size statue of Darius I found at Susa must be mentioned. According to its dedication text, it was produced in Egypt,[36] and it shows a blending of Egyptian and Persian styles.

Between 521 and 484, architectural and decorative elements of Egyptian origin also appear in the buildings of Persepolis. Egyptian cavettos—even decorated with the winged sun disk—crown the doors of the palaces of Darius I and Xerxes at Persepolis (fig. 33).[37] These cavetto-topped doors are also depicted on the facade of the royal tombs of Naksh-i Rustam.[38] The colossal columns in the Apadana of Persepolis (ca. 518), which carry Egyptian palm-leaf capitals with attached papyrus buds, contribute to the cosmopolitan character of Achaemenid architecture.[39]

It seems that Egyptian architecture of the seventh to the fourth century influenced the building of neighboring countries, while receiving few new elements from abroad. One of the only known examples of Greek influence is found in the Ammoneion of the Siwa Oasis, which was constructed by Greek builders.[40] Ionic influence in the Egyptian homeland may have been found in the temple of Amasis at Mendes (570–526) with its four colossal naoi, which perhaps stood in an open sanctuary. This interior sanctuary court resembled the contemporary large open temples of Ionia, such as the Artemision of King Kroisos at Ephesos (ca. 560).[41]

The Buildings of the Saite Period

Psametik I, Wahibre (664–610)

At the beginning of the reign of Psametik I, involvements with the Assyrians may have lent priority to the building of strategically placed fortresses. Thanks to its geographic situation, Egypt could be attacked from Asia at very few places. The main threat came from the route along the Mediterranean coast of the Sinai. This route had to be protected by the powerful fortress of TELL EL-KEDUA, whose 10 m thick and probably 20 m high walls were fortified by fifteen towers. The second defense line farther inward was supported by the fortress DAPHNAE (modern Defaneh) at the Pelusian branch of the Nile, a 385 x 640 m enclosure, and a ward sitting on a 10 m high platform. The entrance through the Damietta branch of the Nile was barred by the *temenos* of Sheshonq III for Amun at TELL EL-BALAMUN. It was fortified under Psametik I with a 350 x 360 m wide and 12 m thick brick wall and a strong ward (plan II).[42]

The western border of the kingdom was protected by a fortress at MAREA (west of Alexandria). Literary and archaeological evidence also suggest that the founding of Naucratis as a military base might go back to ca. 620 B.C.[43]

The extraordinarily long reign of Psametik I also granted the country a fruitful period of peace, which encouraged temple building. Blocks with the name of Psametik I were found at so many sites that one can assume the king undertook a vast building program. The works were apparently centered around the capital SAIS.[44] In the nineteenth century enormous mounds at Sa el-Hagar still suggested an ancient capital and were identified with Sais. In a depression between two large, 25 m high debris mounds was a 500–700 x 700–900 m wide and 28(!) m thick brick enclosure with its front on the west. Whether this was the famous enclosure of Neith[45] or the royal palace is not known because no excavation was ever carried out. The mounds have been completely leveled.

This total loss of Sais deprives us of the most representative monuments of the 26th Dynasty. Their evaluation, therefore, depends completely on Egyptian inscriptions, the description of Herodotus (II.169–70, 175), and a few building elements found in the area itself or removed far away. The replacement of the New Kingdom temple of Neith by a sumptuous new building was probably a high-priority project for Psametik I and his successors, but only a few stray elements are left of this building.

Sais also contained a temple for Atum and the gods of Heliopolis. According to dedication inscriptions, a large quartzite sphinx dedicated to Atum, found in Alexandria, and a basalt column from Rosetta may have belonged to this building.[46] Since the column was only 35 cm thick and originally approximately 2 to 3 m high, it must have belonged to a smaller feature of the temple.

The Atum temple may have contained an intriguing structure of which only five slabs of green schist parapet or barrier walls are preserved. The 1.21 to 1.30 m high slabs are decorated on both sides, depicting Psametik I, Psametik II, and Nectanebo I officiating in front of deities. The juxtaposed rows of protective *uraei* and vultures on top of the slabs suggest a northern and southern series of barrier walls that apparently surrounded a cultic enclosure, perhaps for the celebration of the New Year's ritual. One slab is inscribed with the name of Psametik I (fig. 34).[47] The other slabs suggest an extension of the same structure under Psametik II and Nectanebo I (30th Dynasty).[48]

Ancient sources suggest that the temple complex of Neith incorporated an Osiris tomb called the "Mansion of the Bee," probably situated behind the temple house of Neith. According to Herodotus (II.169), the royal tombs were in front of the Neith temple. Outside the enclosure four more sanctuaries probably marked the four cardinal points: the *Mh-nt* in the north, the *Rs-nt* in the south, the "House of Ra" in the east, and the "House of Atum" in the west.

In the old temple-fortress of Amun at TELL EL-BALAMUN, Psametik I built a second, 22 x 50 m temple that had a 10 x 39 m front section (plan II).[49] The form and position of this part suggest a pronaos. The dimensions of the front section—similar to the pronaos of the main temple of Tell el-Balamun and to the pronaos of Nectanebo I at Hermopolis magna—suggest a double row of eight columns. If the front section was a pronaos, it would have been one of the rare early examples of pronaoi in Delta architecture.

The discovery of about thirty blocks of Psametik I in the walls retaining the sacred lake of TANIS attests that this site had a significant colonnaded building with fine relief decoration. The temple probably was destroyed by the Persians, and the stones were reused by Nectanebo I for the construction of the sacred lake.

Another temple may have been built under the Saites at HERMOPOLIS PARVA, the capital of the fifteenth nome, located 5 km south of modern Mansoura. The formidable Tell Naqûs near Tell el-Baqlieh bore evidence of the building until the beginning of the twentieth-century.[50] Blocks with inscriptions of Psametik I, a sandstone naos of Apries, and a splendid, highly polished black granite vase of Amasis, both in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, probably originated from this site.[51] The Thot temple was later enlarged or replaced under Nectanebo I.

At Nûb Taha, west of Tell el-Yahudiya, a part of a small granite naos for Atum was discovered. It may have originated in HELIOPOLIS.[52]

According to Herodotus (II.153), Psametik I added a temple for the Apis bull to the sanctuary of Ptah at MEMPHIS. The house of Apis stood to the south of the Ptah temple and contained a court that was "surrounded by a colonnade consisting of figures, twelve cubits high, rather than pillars." The court served—according to Strabo (*Geography*, 17.1.31)—for the run of the bull, which could also be observed by visitors through a window. To the west

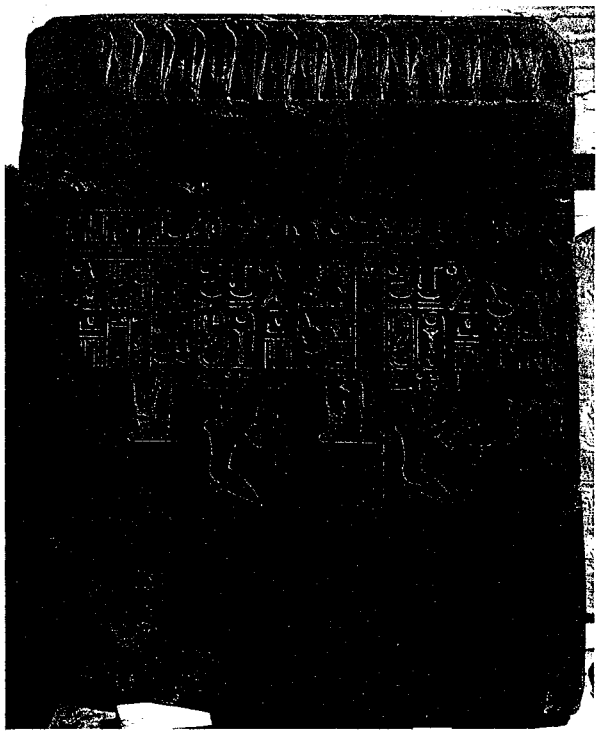


Figure 34.
Green schist parapet wall from the temple of Atum at Sais inscribed under Psametik I in the Brit. Mus., 20[800] (courtesy of Brit. Mus.).

of this court was the actual temple with the stable of the sacred bull. Nothing was found of these buildings. To the south of the area of the suspected Apis temple, remains of the embalming house of the Apis bulls were preserved, a building that dates back to the reign of Sheshonq I.[53]

As suggested by a stela from the Serapeum, Psametik I also restored and equipped an existing Osiris-Apis temple, obviously a predecessor of the Serapeum in the cemetery of Saqqara.[54] We have, however, no archaeological evidence for the temple. Perhaps connected with this project was the construction under Psametik I of a cult chapel for the mothers of the Apis bulls, northeast of the Serapeum. The rather modest chapel was enlarged under Nectanebo II into a sizable sanctuary (see plans III–IV). It had an underground gallery with burial niches for the colossal sarcophagi of the cows, similar to those of the Serapeum.

Nitocris, divine consort of Amun, continued a tradition going back to the reign of Osorkon II of erecting small chapels for Osiris north of the Amun temple at KARNAK, where she built a chapel for Osiris with the title "The Lord of Life who gives Sed festivals." The small building was similar to the funerary chapels of the divine consorts at Medinet Habu and consisted of a pylon-like facade, a small court, and two cult chambers. The chapels, which served for a joint cult of Osiris and the divine consort,[55] later were integrated into the precinct of Amunra-Monthu by the 30th Dynasty enclosure wall. Access to the chapels from the south was maintained through separate stone gates through that wall.

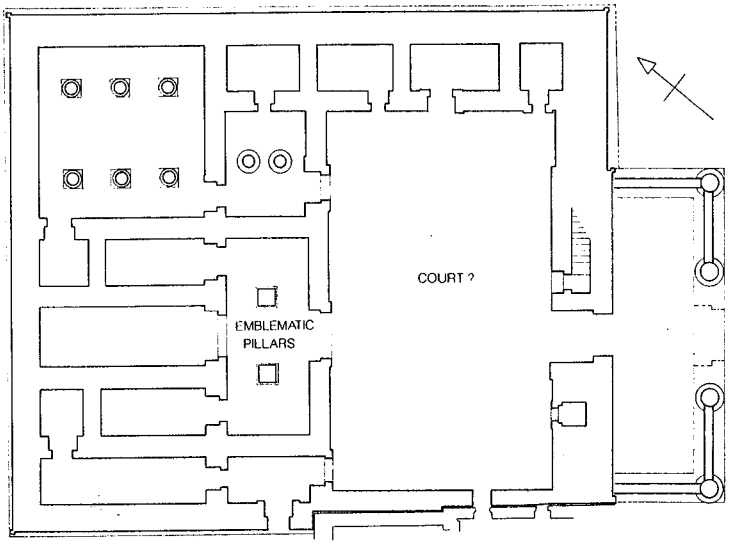


Figure 35.
Plan of the original temple of Psametik I for Nekhbet at El-Kâb.

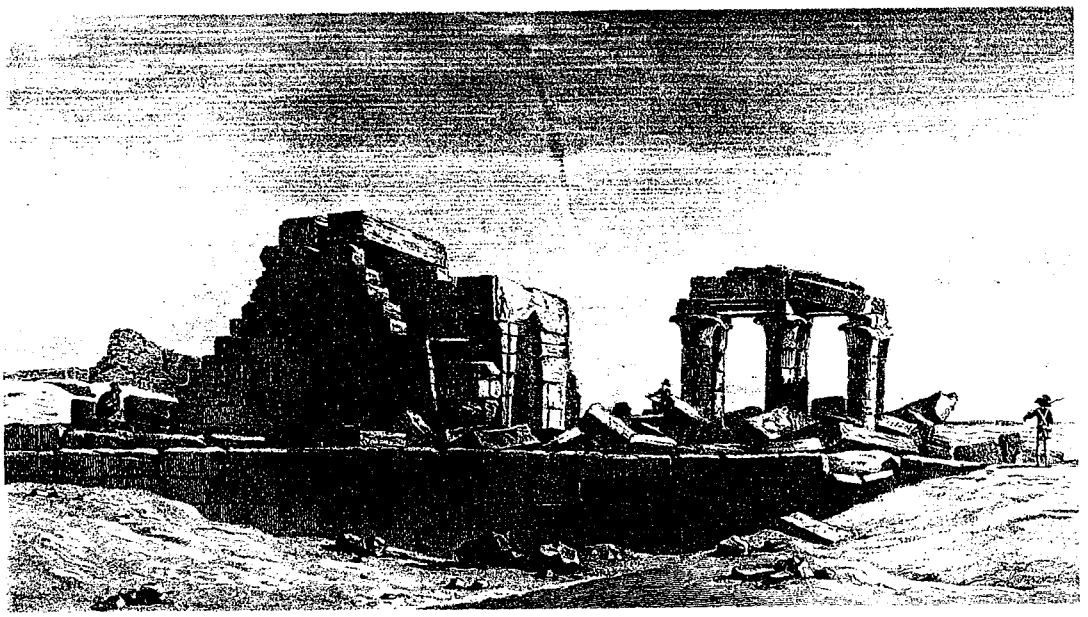


Figure 36. The temple of Psametik I for Nekhbet at El-Kâb seen from the south, in the state of preservation in the early nineteenth century (*Description* I, pl. 66).

The main temple of EL-KÂB (ancient Nekheb, Greek Eileithyiaspolis) was the Upper Egyptian crown sanctuary of the goddess Nekhbet, the Per-wer which played a large role at the coronation and Sed-festival ceremonies (plan XII). It represented the southern complement to the Lower Egyptian Wadjet temple of Buto, the Per-nu. Both temples were probably denoted by special building forms. Unfortunately, nothing is preserved at either site that would inform us about the appearance of the Upper Egyptian national shrine. Stone robbing before 1841 left only the foundations (figs. 35–36). One would perceive the temple as a new building of Psametik I because cartouches of the king and of Amasis appear in a crypt sunk into the foundations.[56] The existence of cartouches of Darius II may indicate that the decoration work dragged on into the Persian Period. The nearly square ground plan of the temple house of Psametik I reappears a hundred years later in the temple of Amasis (26th Dynasty) at Abydos, possibly suggesting a common planning characteristic of Saite temples. The subdivision in the interior was asymmetrical, with the entrance axis shifted more to the west (plan XII). A triple sanctuary was located in this axis, opening to a tranversal room, whose ceiling was carried by two pillars with the representation of the papyrus and the lily, the heraldic plants of Lower and Upper Egypt. One would assume that the roof of the sanctuary area surmounted the surrounding wings. In front of the broad room with the heraldic pillars was a large space that may have been built by Psametik I as a wide, open court. It was transformed under Hakoris (29th Dynasty) into a hypostyle hall. A small pylon stood in front. A four-column kiosk, built in the 26th Dynasty in front of the pylon, received inscriptions of Darius II.

To the west, the Nekhbet temple was adjoined to a smaller New Kingdom temple (of Thoth?), which was still in use in the 26th Dynasty.

Necho II, Wehem-ib-Re (610–595)

Psametik I was succeeded by his son Necho II. The young king also actively intervened in the affairs in the north and supported the crumbling Assyrian kingdom against the Neo-Babylonians.[57] On their march to the north in 609 the Egyptians were challenged by the Judaean army under King Josiah, who supported the emerging Neo-Babylonians. In the ensuing battle at Megiddo, Josiah perished (2 Chronicles 35:20–24) and Necho marched farther. The weakness of the Assyrians made Necho lord of Syria/Palestine and rival of Nebuchadnezzar II. Soon Necho's forces had to yield to Nebuchadnezzar's fierce offensive, and Necho had to content himself with fending off a direct attack on Egypt itself in 701. These struggles had strained Necho's resources so much that Egypt could not intervene when Nebuchadnezzar attacked the new Egyptian vassal Jehoiachin of Jerusalem in 597 and carried him and his treasures to Babylon (2 Chronicles 36:6–7).

To counter the permanent Asian menace, Necho skillfully created a dominant Egyptian fleet in the Mediterranean. In order to sail his ships from the Mediterranean through the Delta to the Red Sea ports, a canal was dug to connect the Bitter Lakes with the Red Sea.[58] This gigantic venture certainly occupied a huge army of workmen. Herodotus (II.158) reports that the project

was abandoned unfinished after the loss of 120,000 lives and was later revived by Psametik II, Darius I, and Xerxes I. Herodotus (IV.42) also relates that Necho initiated the first successful circumnavigation of Africa, which was accomplished by hired Phoenician sailors.

The relatively small output of temple building during Necho's fifteen-year reign may be partially explained by the king's costly warfare and the development of an Egyptian navy. One may suspect, however, that some unfinished temple buildings of Necho were later completed and inscribed by Psametik II.

The reinforcement of the former Hyksos fortress of PITHOM at the eastern entrance to the Wadi Tumilat was probably part of the canal project. At the same time, construction was begun on an Atum temple, including the donation of colossal statues and a naos.

Works at the Neith temple at SAIS, inaugurated by Psametik I, continued as can be inferred from inscribed quartzite blocks found dislocated to Rosetta and Dîbi.[59] The location of Necho's tomb at Sais is supported by a scarab allegedly found there.[60] A quartzite block with the royal name was seen built into the mosque of TARRANEH (Therenutis), but no building of this period is known from the area.[61]

Psametik II, Neferibre (595–589)

Necho's son Psametik II skillfully continued the pacific policy against the Neo-Babylonians, restraining Nebuchadnezzar II from expanding his empire to the south. Considering Psametik's short reign of seven years, the number of temples carrying his name is so considerable that some of the buildings were probably begun by Necho II. Some temples consisted partially of granite and were distinguished by outstanding craftsmanship. This increased granite quarrying under Psametik II is also confirmed by a conspicuous number of royal cartouches on the rocks of the granite quarries at Aswan. Finally, one should mention the anthropoid hard stone sarcophagi of the Memphite cemeteries,[62] which due to their huge size and monumental character could be considered as architectural elements. Remains of granite obelisks and sphinxes of Psametik II were recently discovered in the sea in front of the Qait Bey fort of Alexandria.[63]

Under Psametik II, the construction of the Suez Canal seems to have reached such a state of completeness that the work could be commemorated by the erection of a larger-than-life-size statue of the king at the southern end of the canal. The approximately 5–6 m high statue, the head of which is preserved, cannot have stood alone but must have been part of a temple.[64]

During the reign of Psametik II, the previously tolerant attitude toward the southern neighbor Kush apparently changed. Perhaps in response to a Kushite intrusion into Upper Egypt, a punishing campaign was undertaken against King Aspelta in 593, which forced the Kushites to move their capital from Napata farther south to Meroe. Apparently as a result of these events, the details of which are unknown to us, depictions of Kushite rulers in sculpture and relief were destroyed in many places in Egypt.

The completion of the Neith temple at SAIS probably had priority but the temple has left few traces. A minor work of Psametik II was probably the com-

pletion and decoration of the green schist parapet walls of an unidentified structure (fig. 37) begun perhaps by Psametik I.[65] Also the royal tomb seems to have been—according to Herodotus (II.169)—in the precinct of Neith.

In 1842, R. Lepsius saw numerous blocks of a quartzite temple with representations of Psametik II and mainly of Apries in the village EL-NAHARIYA, 15 km south of Sais.[66] The blocks suggest another major temple, which was founded by Psametik II and continued under Apries. Nothing else is known about the site.

The Napoleonic expedition observed an extraordinary number of pharaonic building elements of granite and quartzite reused in modern buildings at EL-MAHALLA EL-KUBRA.[67] In 1828, Nestor l'Hôte counted over 120 granite columns built into the village mosques.[68] A 1.8 m long fragment of red granite with the name of Psametik II and a door lintel of Apries also was seen. An inscription on a fragment of an obelisk mentioned "Horus, Khenty-hedj, Great God, Lord of the Nome of the Bull."[69] Since El-Mahalla el-Kubra is equidistant from the sites of Sebennytos and the Iseum at Behbeit el-Hagar, one usually assumes that its monuments were protracted from one of these sites. Since granite relief blocks of Nectanebo II and Ptolemy II, typical for Sebennytos and the Iseum, are lacking at Mahalla, one can dismiss this assumption. The Saite blocks suggest an important sanctuary of the 26th Dynasty at El-Mahalla el-Kubra itself.

Under Psametik II a pair of more than 21.79 m high obelisks was erected in the temple of HELIOPOLIS on the occasion of his Sed festival. Augustus had one of the obelisks, which were probably thrown down by the Persians, brought to Rome in 10 B.C.[70] Possible remains of the pendant obelisk were recently fished out of the sea at the Qait Bey fort in Alexandria. Strabo visited and described the temple ruins in 31 B.C. (*Geography*, XVII.1.27–29). In front of the temple he saw a 30 m wide and 100 m long allée lined with sphinxes. Behind the allée were three pylons followed by the temple house, with "a noteworthy pronaos." Attached to the temple house's sides were high, flanking walls covered with reliefs.[71] Behind the pronaos was a hypostyle hall with several rows of high columns and then the sanctuary, which still contained the statue of an "irrational animal," perhaps a falcon-headed image of Reharakhte. Heliopolis was completely devastated in 525 by the Persians. Several obelisks that were burnt at the foot in order to topple them were still standing or lay on the ground.[72]

A block with the cartouches of Psametik II at ABYDOS points to the existence of a temple of Psametik II, that may have followed the tradition of the royal cult temples of Sethos I and Ramesses II. At an unknown spot at KARNAK a pair of 8 m high obelisks was erected.[73] A sandstone block with the representation of Psametik II in front of Khnum could originate from ELEPHANTINE and suggests building activities of the king in the old Khnum temple.[74]

Under Psametik II a kiosk was donated on PHILAE representing the oldest known monument on the island. It consisted of a double row of four columns, which were connected by screen walls. As a roof one may expect a flat rounded pediment.[75] Poor foundations and execution gave the structure the aspect of a provisional arrangement.[76] The building does not necessarily attest that a cult of Isis existed before the temple foundation under Amasis.

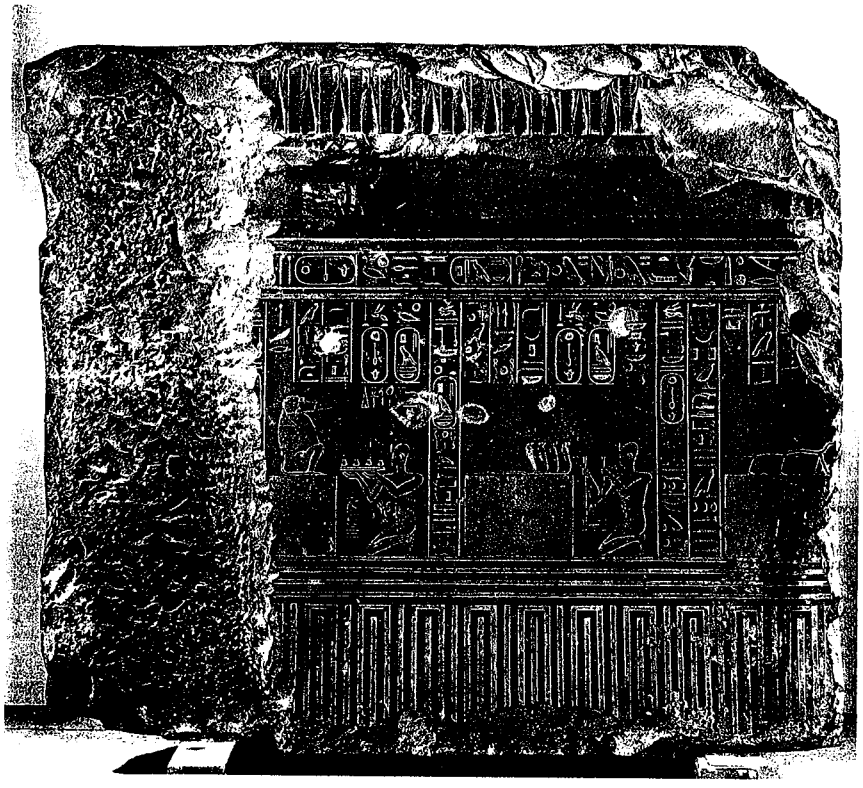
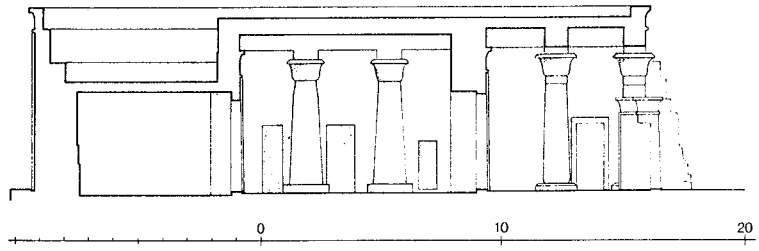


Figure 37.
Green schist parapet wall from Sais, reinscribed under Psametik II. Vienna, ÄS 213 (courtesy of Inge Kitlitschka-Stempel, Kunsthistorisches Museum).

The kiosk construction may have been connected with Psametik's II campaign against the Kushites.

Psametik II was also the founder of the temple house of Hibis in the EL-KHARGA Oasis (figs. 38–40). Because of the oasis's administrative connection to Thebes, the temple was dedicated to the triad of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, with substantial installations for the cult of Osiris. The 19.5 x 26 m temple was situated on the picturesque bank of an ancient lake that is now gone. Its decoration was only concluded under Darius I and II(?).[77]

Three sanctuaries in the rear of the temple open to the transversal hall of the table of offerings. The rear wall of the central shrine has a false door. To the side of the sanctuary is a chapel for the cult of the deified king. From small side chambers, staircases lead to the roof and into a sizable system of cult chambers for Osiris. A hypostyle hall with two-by-two papyrus capital columns follows in front. Its roof may have been raised to produce flat, lateral windows (fig. 58). Fear of the weight of this roof prevented the builders from trimming the column shafts to slender proportions. Instead, the shafts kept their thick, raw shape. The sculptors had begun, however, to chisel from one of the capitals sepals which were not part of traditional capitals—an important reference to the creation of new types of capitals occurring at that time. The single column put up as a repair in a rear chamber already has a developed composite capital. It dates, however, probably from the 30th Dynasty.[78]



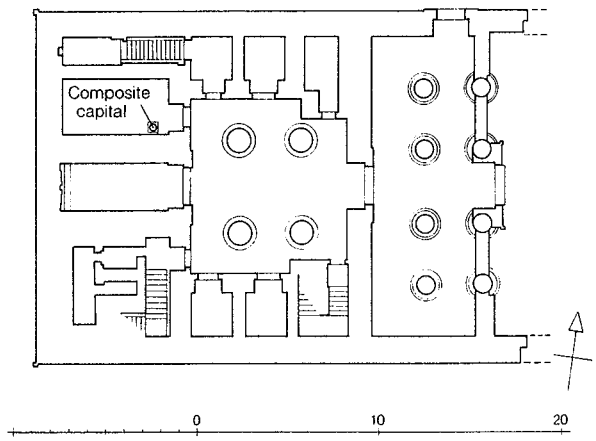


Figure 38.
Reconstructed longitudinal section and plan of the temple of Psametik II for Amun at Hibis.

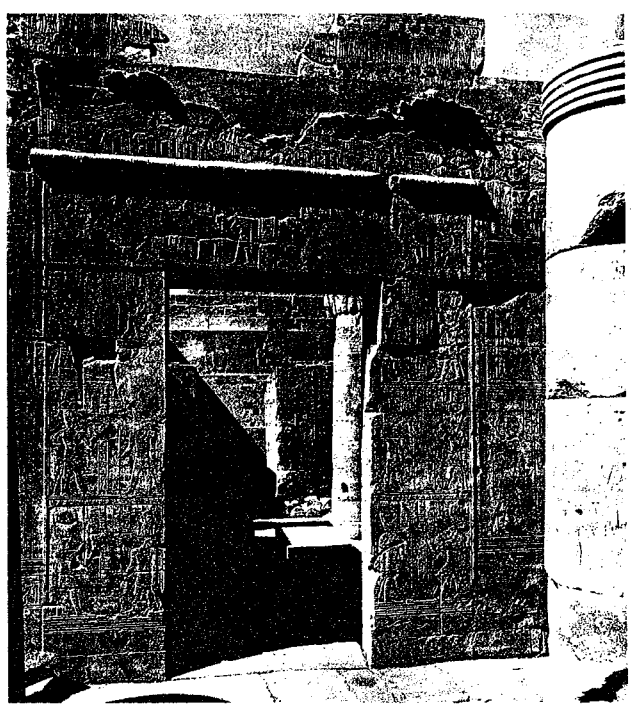


Figure 39.
Entrance into the hypostyle hall of the temple of Psametik II for Amun at Hibis with decoration of Darius I (photo MMA. K6 23).

Figure 40.
Hypostyle hall of the temple of Psametik II for Amun at Hibis (courtesy of MMA).

The front of the temple house consisted of a pronaos with four papyrus bundle columns and screen walls. During the construction of the pronaos, the side walls were extended for the addition of a court. This extension was, however, only carried out in the 30th Dynasty. The eight papyrus columns of the pronaos still show the New Kingdom type of open, bell-shaped capitals. Their bases are an early example for chamfering, so widespread in Ptolemaic-Roman times. Only the three central intercolumniations are open; the "windows" of the two lateral ones are filled with masonry. The screen walls rise high and have no lateral *torus*.

The temple was completely preserved until 1832. Thereafter the roof and other parts were taken down for the construction of an aluminum factory. Only excavations by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1910–1911 and restorations of the Egyptian Antiquities Service stopped the decline. At present, rising groundwater again threatens the temple, which can only be saved by transfer to higher ground. Despite the flaws inherent in a provincial temple, the Hibis temple remains—together with the Ammoneion of Siwa—the best-preserved and best-documented temple of the early Egyptian Late Period and is therefore a primary monument to the history of building.

Apries, Khaaibre (589–567)

After the tragic early death of Psametik II, his young and politically inexperienced son Apries ascended to the throne. Even as the new king matured, his reign remained chaotic. Apries imprudently abandoned the peace politics of his predecessors. When the dreaded Neo-Babylonian ruler Nebuchadnezzar II marched against the rebelling Jerusalem and King Zedekia in 588, Apries daringly tried to stop him with the Egyptian army. Apries defeated the Cypriot fleet and conquered Sidon, but, beaten at the southern front, he could not prevent the fall of Jerusalem in 586. This second, more devastating, destruction of Jerusalem (the first one had occurred earlier in 597) triggered the Exile to Babylon and the flight of the surviving Jews to Egypt. The refugees were settled at the Egyptian border fortress of Daphnae. Threatened by the Medians, Nebuchadnezzar for the time being postponed a revenge campaign against Egypt.

The fate of Apries was sealed, however, not by the armies of Nebuchadnezzar but by a rather absurd episode. The troops of Apries suffered an embarrassing setback in 570 when, following an appeal for help by the Libyan ruler Adikran against Greek immigrants in Kyrene (Libya), they were totally defeated by the battle-hardened Greeks. This event prompted a military revolt in Egypt, headed by an army officer, Amasis. Apries apparently was forced to accept Amasis as a coruler, an agreement that lasted for only three years. After renewed conflicts in 567, Apries lost his life in the battle of Momemphis in the western Delta. Thereafter, the name of Apries was erased from his monuments and replaced by the name Amasis.

During sixteen peaceful years of Apries's rule, construction work mainly continued in the capital SAIS. Its "large and remarkable" palace is mentioned by Herodotus (II.163). Work at the Neith temple at Sais is attested by two quartzite blocks found in Rosetta. Several quartzite blocks found at other places also suggest a Sed-festival gate at Sais. Behind the Neith temple Apries also erected a building called the "House of the Bee," the tomb of Osiris,[79] which contained carefully worked, black basalt Hathor columns (fig. 261, left).[80] From their diameter of 38 to 41 cm one can calculate that the columns had a height of only 2.60 m. The highly polished columns show that the intercolumniations were not closed with screen walls. The "House of the Bee" was also distinguished by a pair of granite obelisks, slightly over 5 m high, which were later transported to the Iseum in Rome.[81] The tomb of King Apries at Sais is mentioned by Herodotus (II.169) as being "very near to the sanctuary, on the left of the entrance."[82]

In 1842, numerous quartzite blocks with the names of Psametik II and Apries were seen at EL-NAHARIYA, 15 km south of Sais. It was thought that the blocks had been brought from Sais.[83] However, there could have been another temple of the 26th Dynasty at this site.

At TANIS, the Anta temple built by Siamun was replaced by a new building (plan I). A kiosk with two-by-three columns was erected in front of the temple. Parts of the limestone paving in the kiosk were still preserved, as well as six granite palm columns of a height of 6.7 m that were reused from a no-longer-standing building of the Old Kingdom.[84]

Another project of Apries (and the corule with Amasis) was the new building of the Banebdjed temple, the ram-god of MENDES (Tell el-Rub'a). The Arab writer Subh el-A'sha still saw the ruin in the fifteenth century:

> The temple in the north of the town is ruined. The common people call it the temple of 'Ad. Remains of its walls and its roof are preserved to the present day. . . . Inside are huge cisterns of hard stone and with extraordinary inscriptions. . . . I saw there a hall of columns of hard stone made in one piece of about 10 cubits erected on a foundation of hard stone. . . . I saw gates there [naoi?], made of one piece of granite, nearly 10 cubits high, also on a foundation of granite.[85]

The gigantic remains of the temple were removed only in the nineteenth century. From the last remaining traces one can conclude that the central part of the Apries temple was 26.8 x 33.6 m wide and faced north. The foundations suggest that the total length of the temple was at least 100 m. One of four 7.8 m high granite naoi—probably mentioned by El-A'sha and dedicated to the "four souls of Banebdjed," Re, Geb, Shu, and Osiris—still stands (figs. 41–42). The naoi may have stood in an uncovered *hypaetral* sanctuary.[86] The inscriptions of the naoi show that they were usurped by Amasis, but they certainly date from the time of Apries.

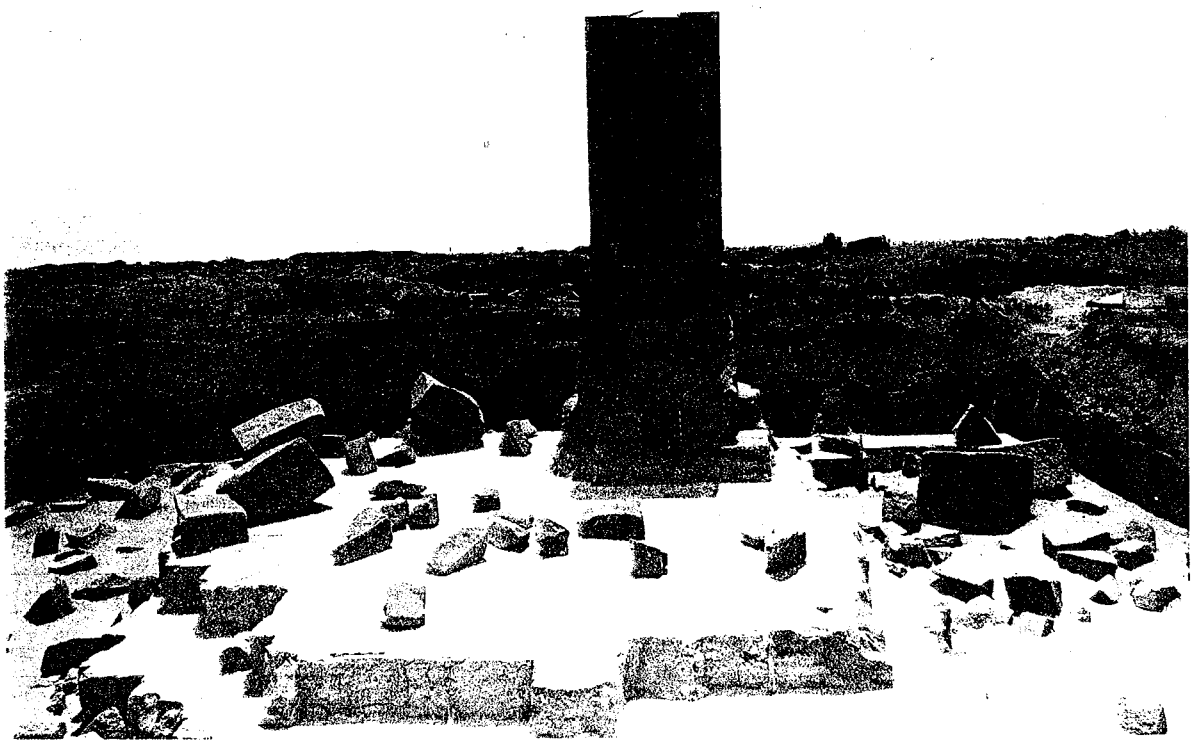


Figure 41.
The naos of Apries on top of the partially missing foundations for the temple of Banebdjedet at Mendes (courtesy of Donald Hansen, New York)

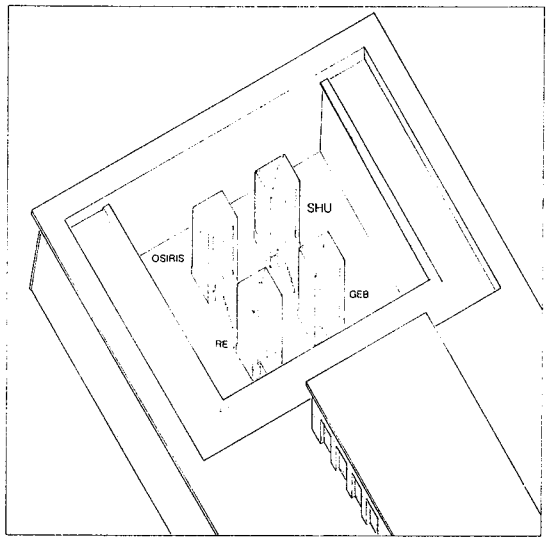


Figure 42.
Hypothetical reconstruction of the sanctuary area of the temple of Banebdjedet at Mendes with the four naoi.

Papyrus capitals and a splendid Hathor capital of red granite, now in the Cairo Museum,[87] probably originate from a birth house located to the side of the main temple. A sacred lake lay to the southeast, probably outside the enclosure wall.

Apries also donated a quartzite naos for the sanctuary of Thoth of HERMOPOLIS PARVA (Bakliya, south of Mansura), which had been founded by Psametik I and continued under Psametik II.[88] A limestone column of Apries originates from a sanctuary in the necropolis in the northwest of ATHRIBIS (Benha).[89] Quartzite sphinxes were—according to their inscriptions—erected at HELIOPOLIS; two sphinxes reappeared in Alexandria.[90]

Royal building activities also may by suspected from the discovery of a few inscribed blocks at Fuah, Ganâg, Hermopolis parva, and El-Mahalla el-Kubra, but no details are known.

Apries carried out major building work in MEMPHIS, where the discovery of blocks suggests building works in the Ptah temple. A special project was the development of the fortress of Memphis into a representative palace. We do not know whether an older palace that must have existed at Memphis was crumbling, or whether the king intended to enhance his grip on access to Upper Egypt. Also unknown is the percentage of older building parts incorporated into Apries's palace. A ramp led up to a 13 m high brick platform. Crossing a drawbridge, one reached the main gate, constructed of limestone blocks, that was decorated with temple scenes copied from Old Kingdom models.[91] The gate led to a 32 x 35 m wide central court, surrounded by private apartments. In the court stood 13 m high palm columns of limestone, which shaped the portico for the actual throne room farther to the north. The roof of the throne room was carried by 15 m high columns. A second gate, farther east of the main gate, led through a long corridor directly into the reception area. A massive tower in the southwest corner contained a staircase that led to more living quarters at a higher level.

Numerous granite blocks, one of Apries and Amasis, were built into the Coptic monastery Deir el-Abjad (ca. A.D. 440). They could originate from an ancient Neshau, which is now buried under the monastery, or from the nearby complex of Triphis at ATHRIBIS (modern Wannina), where Petrie found a granite cavetto reused in the temple of Ptolemy IX at Athribis; the excavator believed it belonged to a temple of the 26th Dynasty.[92]

In the Thinite royal necropolis of ABYDOS, the tomb of king Djer (1st Dynasty), which was venerated as the tomb of Osiris, was repaired and a modest chapel was added.

In the Theban necropolis the chief stewards of the divine consorts, Ankhhor, Sheshonq, and Pedineith, erected in this period monumental funerary monuments.[93]

Amasis, Khnumibre (570–526)

Herodotus, who traveled in Egypt only eight years after the death of Amasis, informs us well about this king, one of the great personalities of the Late Period. Amasis's success in handling the complex situation in the country for forty-four years testifies to the political talent of this extraordinary leader.

After the former general had gained power in the civil war of 570–567, he made himself pharaoh and married Neith-aqer, a sister of the defeated predecessor, in order to strengthen his claim on the throne. Amasis was immediately confronted by two problems. One was the threat against Egypt first by the Assyrians and later by the Persians. As was to be expected, Nebuchadnezzar used the anarchic situation in Egypt as an opportunity to launch a revenge attack, invading Egypt in 568/567. Although his resources apparently did not permit a real conquest of the country, through this threatening gesture he reinforced the armistice with the new pharaoh. Amasis, however, succeeded in a countermove to conquer Cyprus, making use of the Egyptian fleet, which had been reinforced since Necho. The Babylonians were also checked in the north by the newly emerging Persians, relieving the pressure on distant Egypt. This balance of political forces granted Egypt forty years of peace, during which the king excelled as a lawmaker and reorganizer of the state finances. He finally glorified his reign which he had executed in the spirit of the Maat by the celebration of a Sed festival.

Egypt's internal peace was unsettled by serious tensions between the local population and Greek merchants and mercenaries, who now protected the country. Amasis reduced the pressure by checking the uncontrolled movement of mainly Greek foreigners in Egypt, at the same time granting them particular privileges in their trade post Naucratis, which had been founded earlier (ca. 620). At the same time, Amasis nourished close contacts with the Mediterranean Greek community, mainly with Polykrates, lord of Samos. His affiliation with the Greek world was shown by donations to the sanctuaries of Kyrene, Lindos, Samos, Delphi, and Sparta.

Friction with Greek mercenaries continued to smolder and finally led their commander, Phanes of Halikarnass, to defect to the Persian side. Phanes revealed the weak spots of the Egyptian border defenses to the Persians, a betrayal that had severe consequences. Amasis also alienated his own people,

His preference for foreigners and the taxation of the priesthood stamped Amasis as an atheist. The Egyptian opposition was probably propelled by Upper Egypt, which indeed seemed to have been neglected by Amasis, who confined his temple-building program to Lower Egypt. In the face of all these problems, Amasis became one of the great builder-kings of Egypt. During his last years Amasis was assisted by the minister of public works, Khnumibre, whose name, not coincidentally, corresponded to the second name of the king, and who was to survive his royal employer for many years.

The famous Lower Egyptian national sanctuary of BUTO (Tell el-Farâ'in) was honored by Amasis with a splendid new temple dedicated to the cobra-goddess Wadjet. Judging from the foundation pit, the temple was 31 x 65 m. The walls consisted of 2 to 3 m long limestone blocks cased with quartzite slabs, an exceptional method and combination of material. Even the roofing blocks were made of this extremely hard material. The temple was surrounded by a 20(!) m thick brick wall of 174 x 264 x 234 x 306 m, constructed over a Ramesside enclosure. Herodotus saw the temple still standing and reports:

> Buto contains a temple of Horus and Bastet and the temple of Wadjet, where the oracle is to be found, is quite big too; its gateway for instance, is ten fathoms in height (19.80 m). I will mention the most amazing thing I saw there: it was a temple within this precinct of Wadjet which is made out of a single block of stone (at least its sides were), with each wall forty cubits long and forty cubits high. Its roof was made out of another block of stone, with cornices measuring four cubits.
>
> So the temple was the most amazing thing I saw in this shrine, but the second most interesting thing was an island called Chemmis. The sanctuary in Buto is by a deep, wide lake, and the island is in this lake; it is said by the Egyptians to be a floating island. . . . Anyway on this island is a huge Horus temple, and three altars have been set up there as well. There are also a large number of palm-trees growing there, and plenty of other kinds of trees too, both fruit-trees and other sorts. (II.155–56)

The Wadjet temple was destroyed a hundred years later by the second Persian invasion in 343. As the excavation of 1965–68 revealed, its quartzite walls were carefully smashed into small pieces, probably to deal a blow to Egyptian nationalism.[94]

At MENDES, the construction and decoration of the temple begun under Apries for Banebdjed was certainly continuing, and the still-standing naos of Apries wears the cartouches of Amasis as well (fig. 41).

At BEHBEIT EL-HAGAR Amasis probably already constructed an Isis and Osiris temple, the Per-hebit, the "Festive House" that was later replaced by the famous Iseum of Nectanebo II, Ptolemy II, and Ptolemy III.

Following the tradition established by Amasis, the works at the Neith temple at SAIS were carried on, a building that has left no trace and is only known by Herodotus's description:

> He [Amasis] built, in the first place, such a wonderful gateway to the sanctuary of Neith at Sais, that he outdid everyone else by far, considering its height and dimensions, and the quantity and quality of its stone. Then he

also erected some huge statues and massive man-headed sphinx figures, and contributed to the repair of the sanctuary by having further blocks of stone taken there, some from the quarries of Memphis, but others, extraordinarily huge in size, from Elephantine, which is as much as twenty days' sailing from Sais. (II.175)

The gateway may represent a pronaos, which added a monumental front to the building begun by Psametik I. Apparently Amasis also thought the sanctuary of Neith built by Psametik I inadequate, for he donated that gigantic granite naos, much admired by Herodotus:

But by far the most remarkable of his building works, to my mind, is a chamber hewn from a single block of stone that he brought from Elephantine. Transporting it took three years, and two thousand men (all from the pilot class) were asigned to the task. The external dimensions of this chamber are twenty-one cubits in length, fourteen cubits in width, and eight cubits in height; inside the single block of stone (as opposed to its external measurements) it is eighteen cubits and one pygon long, twelve cubits wide, and five cubits high. (II.175)

From the last sentence and larger numbers for the length than for the height, one can infer that the naos was not yet standing upright in the sanctuary but was lying on the ground in front of the pronaos. The reason was not only the grievances of the head engineer, mentioned by Herodotus, but mainly the fact that the 10 m high and over 7 m wide monolith could not pass the temple entrance. The builders probably planned to break through the rear wall of the temple but abandoned this project because the sacred tomb of Osiris stood there. The naos was broken up in the fourteenth century.

We do not know whether these works were connected with a Sed-festival building of Amasis, made of quartzite. Blocks from such a structure with Sed-festival decoration and texts were seen at Rosetta.[95]

Behind the Neith temple stood Apries's tomb of Osiris. This "House of the Bee" was the origin of a splendid sphinx of Basanit that later reached the Roman Iseum.[96]

Another important monument was certainly the funerary temple of Amasis, of which Herodotus says:

In fact, although Amasis' tomb is further from the temple than the tombs of Apries and his ancestors it too is still within the courtyard of the sanctuary; his tomb is a huge stone colonnade lavishly decorated with, for instance, columns made to look like palm-trees. There are two doorways set into this colonnade, and behind these doors is the actual tomb. (II.169)

The burial of Amasis was at the time of Herodotus's visit, destroyed by order of Cambyses (Herodotus, III.16). The tomb of queen Nakhtes-Bastet-reru and her son Ahmose was, however, at Giza.[97]

Close to the marshes of Lake Menzaleh in the northeast Delta is NABESHA (Tell Fara'ûn, ancient Jemet, the capital of the nineteenth nome), with a Wadjet temple.[98] According to sculptural finds, the temple originated in the Middle

and New Kingdoms. The existing, approximately 29 x 65 m temple was, however—according to the construction of the foundation pit—of the Late Period. The front part was perhaps a pronaos with four columns. In front of this temple, and at a right angle to it, Amasis erected another building. The 15 x 25 m structure was built of red granite blocks and may have been a birth house. During its excavation in 1886,[99] remains of the paving in the front area were still preserved, along with the foundations for a small entrance kiosk. The 4.5 m high rear wall of the granite naos was still standing on its quartzite base.

At ABU YASSIN, 3 km southeast of Horbeit, stood the tomb of the Kemwer, the sacred bulls of Horbeit. In 1937 the remains of probably twelve granite sarcophagi for the bulls were found. They were buried within a 20 x 30 brick m enclosure, which was probably connected with a funerary chapel. Some huge granite blocks carried "rather important inscriptions of the Saite period." They may well have dated to the reign of Amasis.[100]

ATHRIBIS (Tell Atrib near Benha) with its Khentikhety temple, was an important cult place of Osiris.[101] In the nineteenth century extensive ruins were preserved, which were, however, sold by the Antiquities Service before any scientific exploration could take place.[102] From sporadic finds and results of more recent excavations, we know that a Ramesside Khentikhety temple was especially patronized and enlarged in the 26th Dynasty.

In 1957–1958 the foundation pit of a 14 x 30 m Osiris temple was found and dated by foundation deposits to the reign of Amasis.[103] The front of the temple faced south and was enclosed by an entrance wing, perhaps a pylon or a pronaos. Remains of sphinxes suggest that a sphinx allée approached the temple from the south. In the area in front of the temple, about 120 wall blocks of the temple, some decorated, were found.

A roof fragment of a delicately dressed gray granite naos dedicated to Kem-wer, the Great Black Bull of Athribis, and another naos commissioned by Amasis were also found at Athribis. A splendid granite naos of Amasis in the Louvre (D 29), found at Alexandria but dedicated to Osiris, also must be mentioned here.[104] A temple wall restored from eight relief blocks in the Museum of Alexandria may originate from a Ptolemaic enlargement of the Osiris temple at Athribis.[105]

A stela of Amasis from the year 541 reports a devastating Nile flood causing damages at the dikes of MEMPHIS.[106] Perhaps because of the disaster, the temple house for Ptah was renewed. These works are attested by a block found reused in Cairo, which shows Amasis originally carved together with Apries.[107] Three quartzite and one granite blocks with Amasis's name were found in the area of the Ptah temple.[108]

Herodotus also reports (II.176) that Amasis built an "enormous and remarkable" Isis temple at Memphis. Two 3.4 m high quartzite doorjambs with representations of Amasis were found at Mitrahina (near the west end of the site), but no traces of the building were seen.[109] A dark granite naos dedicated to Neith also originates from Memphis.[110]

At the desert edge in front of the cemeteries of Saqqara, Amasis built the first temple for the guardian god of the necropolis, Anubis, the Anubieion. Massive terraced foundations suggest a building of considerable size and splen-

dor. This temple was later incorporated into the large precinct of the Anubieion of Nectanebo I.

On the east bank of the Nile, somewhat south of Cairo opposite ISTABL 'ANTAR, remains of a temple were found in 1889, containing inscribed blocks and a colossal sandstone sphinx with the name of Amasis. Both temple and sphinx have vanished.[111]

Amasis resumed the old tradition of Sethos I and Ramesses II of building royal temples in the complex of Khentimentiu at ABYDOS. At the time of Petrie's excavation, remains of the 40 x 42 m foundations and the lowermost courses of the south and west walls were still preserved, containing reused blocks of Thutmosis III (fig. 43). The building consisted of a 2 m thick limestone enclosure surrounding a 29 x 32 m temple house. The entrance through the enclosure wall is lost, but a southwestern side entrance is preserved. The main entrance into the temple house was set back in a niche with two columns, and probably was adorned with two obelisks, of which a fragment was excavated in the nearby village of Mensha.[112] Inside, a small hypostyle hall may have followed. Only the sanctuary, measuring 5 x 7 m, can be located in the interior. Here probably stood a granite naos and an altar. A fragment shows cartouches of both Apries and Amasis, dating the monument to the time of their coregency. The temple clearly differed from temples of the late New Kingdom and the preceding 25th Dynasty by the narrow ambulatory, the lack of a colonnaded forecourt, and the entrance niche. Tendencies to a square ground plan can also be observed at the Saite temple of El-Kâb.

A small chapel of Osiris is attested at COPTOS. In the court north of the Great Hypostyle hall of KARNAK, a small chapel with four papyrus bundle columns with inscriptions from Nitocris (Meryt-Mut) to Ankhnes-Neferibre was built, the contemporary divine consorts of Amun.

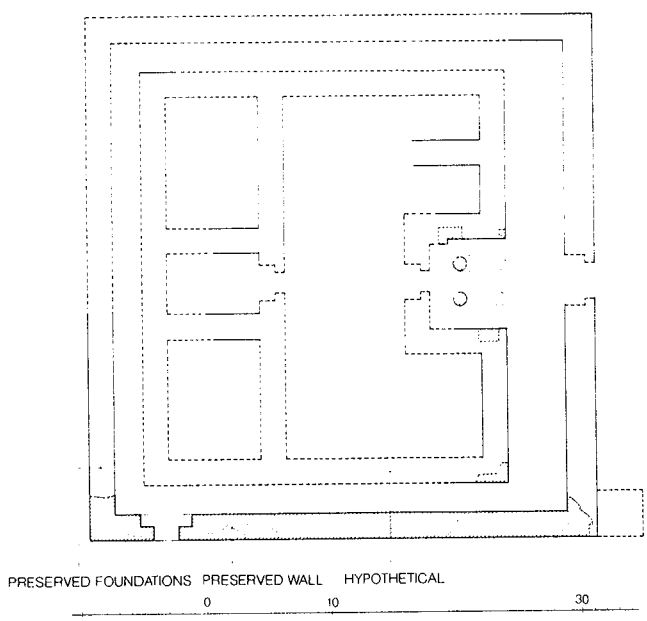


Figure 43.
Plan of the temple of Amasis for Osiris at Abydos.

From ELEPHANTINE comes a life-size basalt statue of Amasis, now in the Villa Albani-Torlonia in Rome.[113] The motive for the statue was certainly the continuation of the works of Psametik II. Several blocks of a rather large gate (height approximately 7.35 m) were recently discovered on Elephantine, which seems to have led through a brick enclosure wall, probably of the Satet temple. From the Satet temple, remains of six limestone columns and screen walls are preserved, suggesting a colonnade or kiosk.[114]

Amasis became, above all, the founder of the cult of Isis on PHILAE, perhaps as a side branch of the Osiris cult, which had a much older tradition on the island of Biggeh, west of Philae. On Philae, about 300 decorated blocks of a relatively modest temple of Amasis were found in the foundations of the Ptolemaic second pylon and hypostyle hall (fig. 44). The foundations were preserved under the court pavement of the temple of Ptolemy VI (plan XIV).[115] The Amasis building consisted of only three rooms along the axis, the last representing the sanctuary. The temple had the modest dimensions of 5.5 x 15.3 m. Amasis's temple probably was demolished under Ptolemy II, when the new temple was built directly behind the old structure.

In the ruins of the Roman station of 'AIN EL-MUFTELLA in the Bahariya Oasis were the remains of a Late Period cult area with four freestanding chapels of Amasis. The chapels are plain, architecturally insignificant structures. The condition of their wall decoration prevents an exact attribution to deities.[116]

The small and relatively unimportant Amun temple QASR EL-GHUEDA, in the El-Kharga Oasis, represents a similar, plain type (fig. 45). The appearance of the cartouches of Darius I was taken as proof of his patronage. One could suggest, however, that the temple's construction dates to the 26th Dynasty, a period in which other temples were also built in the oases. The 10.56 x 18.91 m temple house shows a pylon-like reinforcement at the front.[117] A hall of two-by-two columns follows, and behind is a transversal hall for the offering table. Three sanctuaries open to the transversal room. The largest shrine, in the north, had a 2.60 m wide vaulted sandstone ceiling. From the south, a staircase leads to the roof. The building is well preserved and is an important, if small, example of Saite architecture. A pronaos was added, probably under Ptolemy III.

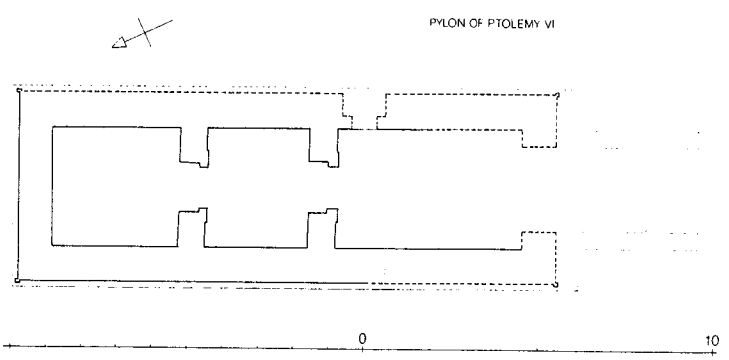


Figure 44.
Plan of the chapel of Amasis for Isis on Philae under and behind the second pylon of the Ptolemaic temple.

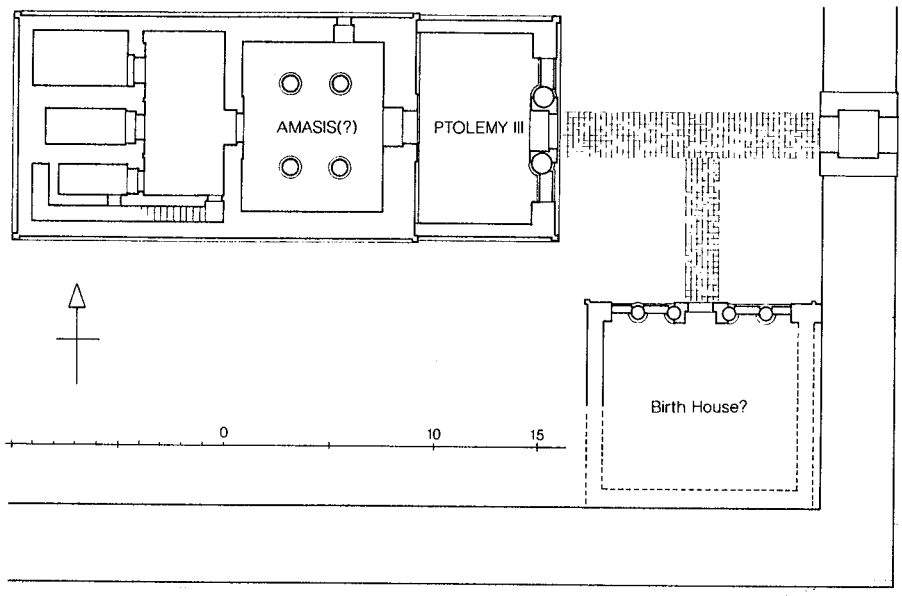


Figure 45.
Plan of the Saite and Ptolemaic temple Qasr el-Ghueda in the El-Kharga Oasis.

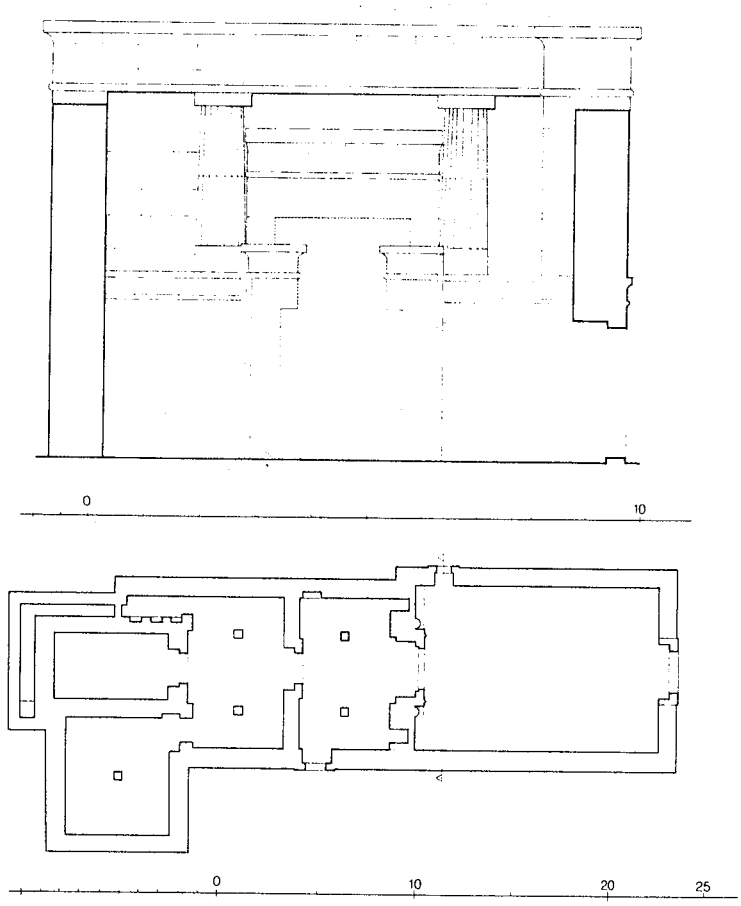


Figure 46.
Frontal elevation and plan of the Amasis temple for Amun in the Siwa Oasis.

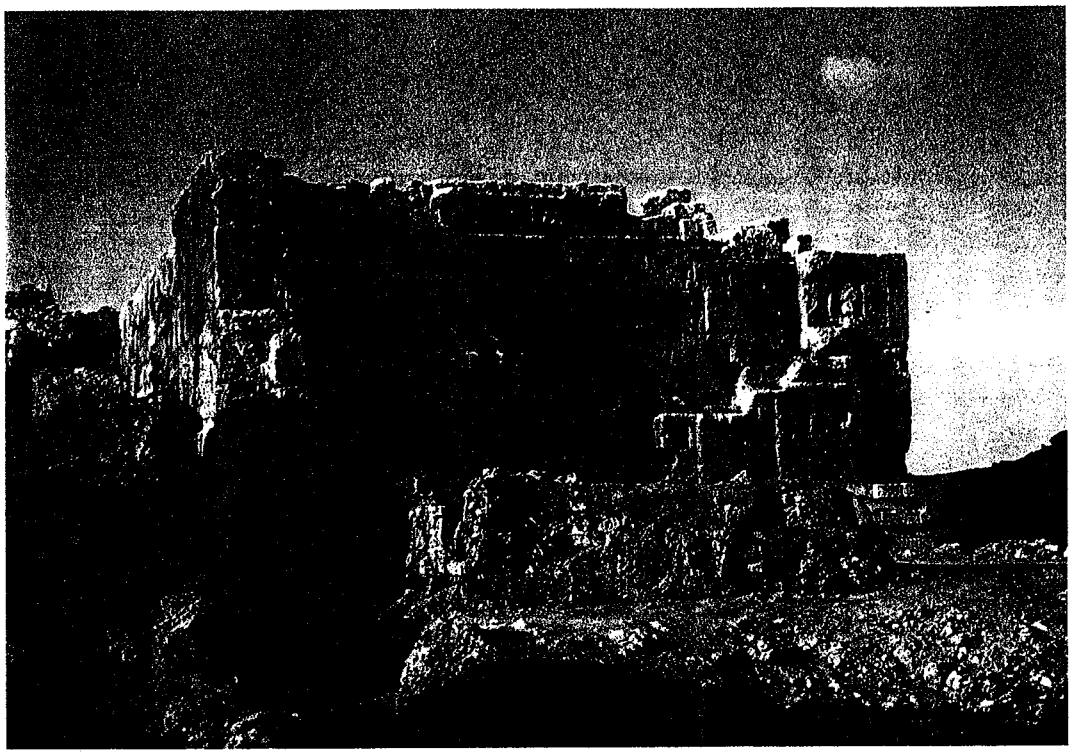


Figure 47.
Actual state of the Amun temple of Amasis in the Siwa Oasis (courtesy of Anne Mininberg, New York).

The famous AMMONEION of the Siwa Oasis (Aghurmi) was built during the reign of Amasis.[118] Located on a spectacular limestone plateau in the west of the oasis was the palace of the local kinglets, who ruled the important caravan junction in the Egyptian western desert (figs. 46–47). The compound included the famous oracle temple, which the Persian army approaching from Thebes missed in 525 and which Alexander the Great visited in 331 as a pilgrim.

The Amun temple is relatively well preserved despite of now slowly crumbling rock on which it sits. Besides the Hibis temple in the El-Kharga Oasis, it is the only standing temple of the 26th Dynasty. The temple was built in Egyptian style and adorned with pure Egyptian decorations. Numerous details show, however, that Greek builders, probably from the Cyrene, were at work. The sanctuary comprised a sequence of four spatial units. A rectangular, deep forecourt was followed by two pillared halls, the roof of which was carried by two pillars. The first hall is a pronaos. The intercolumniations of its facade are, however, closed and depict a pronaos front in the form of two engaged Doric columns. These columns do not carry an architrave but directly support—against all building rules—the cavetto. The spacious sanctuary connects with an equally wide side room.

In addition to the Doric columns, the following features can be considered as foreign influence: the oversized, steep cavetto topping the temple; the vertical outer wall surfaces; the missing torus at the outside corners of the temple; the alternating heights of the block courses ("pseudo-isodomic"); the flat