The God ‘Thoth of Pnubs’ in Ancient Egypt until the End of the Greaco-Roman Period

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Abstract:
This research is entitled as “The God ‘Thoth of Pnubs’ in Ancient Egypt until the End of the Greaco-Roman Period”. Thoth of Pnubs was featured in Egyptian temples only in Lower Nubia: Dakka, Dendur, Kalabsha, and Philae. Thoth of Pnubs was a pure creation of the theologians of Philae as a divinity attached to the south (A Southern Lion), it could be considered as a link between Egypt and the southern countries. It is also suggested that Thoth Pnubs was a theological creation of the priests at Philae. The functions of Thoth as physician and magician help to explain the existence of enormous numbers of amulets in the form of figurines of Thoth which have been found in all parts of Egypt.

Thoth of Pnubs appears as a saviour, and protector from evil - especially the evil of sickness. As the saviour who comes when he is invoked, Thoth was one of the most popular of all the gods, and many hymns and prayers addressed to him by individuals of all classes have come down to us. Charles Bonnet declared in a paper presented at the 13th International Conference for Nubian Studies that “Pnubs was the name given to the New Kingdom town founded at Kerma - which arose in 2500 BC, the sacred tree for which Pnubs was named had been worshipped in Kerma before the Egyptian conquest. This suggests that the association of a divinity with the toponym

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Pnubs – be it Amun or Thoth – was later incorporated into the worship of Thoth in Nubia?”. The presence of a sacred jujubier tree (*nbs* in Egyptian) in the ancient religious precinct of Dakka *pr nbs* “house of the nebes-tree”, suggests that this variant of Thoth had southern origins.

**The objectives of the research:**

- This research aims to study and analyze the god Thoth of Pnubs in ancient Egypt until the end of the Greaco-Roman period especially in Egyptian temples in Lower Nubia.
- It aims to collect the published and unpublished representations of the god in the temples and tombs of Egypt in order to better understand his forms, functions, titles and his relation with other deities.
- It also aims to focus the light on Dakka as a historical site.

The research framework: The research framework is an artistic study, for tracing the scenes of the god Thoth of Pnubs.

**The research type:** The research is a combined study between both descriptive and analytical sides.

**Keywords:**

Thoth of Pnubs, *nbs* in Egyptian, Pselkis, Dakka, Lord of Nubia.
Dakka *Pr-Srk.t* ‘The house of the scorpion’ is the cult center of the god ‘Thoth of Pnubs’. The Greek name of the place was Pselkis, closely following the original Egyptian form\(^1\). The temple is not, however dedicated to the scorpion-goddess, as might have been expected, but to Thoth of Pnubs. The word Pnubs referring to that tree which here was accounted holy. Another opinion refers to the temple of Thoth of Pnubs at Dakka, built under Ptolemy II, as the Lower Nubian substitute for his actual sanctuary at Pnubs, located nearly 200 miles to the south, the site of which is still uncertain\(^2\); it might have been situated near the ancient Nubian capital city of Kerma, which arose in 2500 BC.

In a recent lecture, Charles Bonnet declared in a paper presented at the 13th International Conference for Nubian Studies that “Pnubs was the name given to the New Kingdom town founded at Kerma - which arose in 2500 BC, the sacred tree for which Pnubs was named had been worshipped in Kerma before the Egyptian conquest. This suggests that the association of a divinity with the toponym Pnubs – be it Amun or Thoth – was later incorporated into the worship of Thoth in Nubia?”\(^3\).

The presence of a sacred jujubier tree (*nbs* in Egyptian) in the ancient religious precinct of Dakka *pr nbs* “house of the nebes-tree”, suggests that this variant of Thoth had southern origins\(^4\).

**1. The Temple of Philae**

**Doc. 1.**

**Dating:** The Reign of the Emperor Tiberius.

**Provenance:** The Temple of Philae, The Temple of Isis, Western Roman colonnade; Wall behind columns, Lower register.

\(^1\) Murray, *Egyptian Temples*, 212; Frankfurter, *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, 251.


\(^3\) Inconnu-Bocquillon, ‘La mythe de la Déesse Lointaine à Philae’, *Le Caire: Institut français d’archéologie orientale*, 333.

\(^4\) Baylon, *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt*, 130.
Scene Description:
Tiberius is seen offering $hh$ on a $nb$ sign to Arensnuphis-Shu\(^{(5)}\), Thoth-Pnubs and Tefnut (fig. 1\(^{(6)}\)\(^{(7)}\). The Emperor is shown standing with a rounded hair wig surmounted by four feathers, with the left leg on advance. He is seen offering $hh$ on a $nb$ sign; which is translated as ‘All and Every Millions of Years’. Arensnuphis-Shu the Nubian deity is depicted here standing with the $3tf$ crown, and holding the $w\dot{3}s$ with his right hand. Thoth-Pnubs appears on that scene with the human figure, with a rounded wig surmounted by four feathers, and is shown holding the $w\dot{3}s$ scepter only, without snake and scorpion by his right hand. Thoth-Pnubs is depicted here in the figure of Shu deity. He is followed by the goddess Tefnut who is seen standing and holding the $w\dot{3}d$ sign by her right hand as well, with the sun disk fronted by the cobra surmounting her head. The three deities are shown holding the $\text{zn}h$ sign of life by their left hands.

**Text above Thoth of Pnubs:**

\[ \text{dd mdw in } \text{Dhwty P3-nbs nb T3-Sti ntr šps htp n.f r m wšbt imwt.} \]

“Words spoken by Thoth of Pnubs, the lord of Nubia, the noble God, offerings for him in Philae”.

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\(^{(5)}\) Arensnuphis-Shu; an anthropomorphic deity of Meroitic Nubia. He seems to have been indigenous to the area of South Egypt. The Egyptian interpretation of his name is as *Iry-hemes-nefer* “The good companion”, suggests only a benign deity, and provides no real indication of his origins or essential nature. In the temple of Arensnuphis at Philae, the god is called “The companion of Isis”. He was equated with the Egyptian gods Onuris and Shu, sometimes merged with Shu as the syncretic deity Arensnuphis-Shu. He was worshipped by the Roman Emperor Augustus in the temple of Dendur; in Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, 98; Baylon, *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt*, Oxford, 1922, 130.

\(^{(6)}\) Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* IV, 76 (a).

\(^{(7)}\) Porter – Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* VI, 209 (41).

\(^{(8)}\) Bénédite, “Description et histoire de l’île de Philae, 1ère partie, Textes hiéroglyphiques, Le temple de Philae, MMAF 13, 41 (16); Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* VII, OLA 128, 647.
II. The Temple of Dendûr

Doc. 2.

Dating: The Reign of the Emperor Augustus.

Provenance: The Temple of Dendûr, Pylon, East face, North jamb (2nd Scene).

Scene Description: (Scene II, Interior North Wall of Pronaos):

Augustus is seen offering two vases of beer ʰnkt to Thoth of Pnubs accompanied by Tefnut, both of whom are standing (fig. 2\(^{(10)}\))\(^{(11)}\). Thoth-Pnubs appears on that scene with the human figure, with a rounded wig surmounted by four feathers. He appears carrying a wṣs scepter only, without snake and scorpion\(^{(12)}\). The goddess Tefnut appears holding the wȝd by her left hand, with the sun disk fronted by the cobra surmounting her head.

Text Above Thoth of Pnubs: \(dd \text{ mwd in } Dhwty P3-nbs ntr'} \) “Words spoken by Thoth of Pnubs, the Great God.

Text Infront of Thoth of Pnubs: \(di n.k nb t3wy m hitchp. \) “Be given to you all the lands, satisfied”.

Doc. 3.

Dating: The Reign of the Emperor Augustus.

Provenance: The Temple of Dendûr, Pronaos: Façade, South Jamb (2nd Scene).

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\(^{(9)}\) The Temple of Dendûr was erected 80 kilometers south of Aswan during the reign of Emperor Augustus; in Raven, Atlas of Egyptian Art. Prisse d’Avennes, 10.

\(^{(10)}\) Blackman, The temple of Dendûr, Le Caire: Service des Antiquité, de l’Égypte, pl. XIII.

\(^{(11)}\) Ibid., 7.


\(^{(13)}\) Ibid.; Leitz, Lexikon der Ägyptischen Gotter und Götterbezeichnungen VII, OLA 128, 647.

\(^{(14)}\) Ibid.
Scene Description:
Augustus is shown offering wine *irp* to Thoth of Pnubs who appears seated as a man, wearing a rounded wig surmounted by four feathers and holding his usual emblem; the *w3s* scepter along with the snake and scorpion\(^{(15)}\); Hence Thoth-Pnubs is depicted here in the figure of Shu deity (fig. 3\(^{(16)}\))\(^{(17)}\).

Text Above Thoth of Pnubs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dd mdw in } & \text{Dhwty P3-nbs srk m3y rsy wsr hw p3-t3 hf3} \\
\text{“Words spoken by Thoth of Pnubs, lord of blessing, the southern strong lion, the fearful, in the land of cobra ‘Dendûr’.”}
\end{align*}
\]

Doc. 4.
Dating: The Reign of the Emperor Augustus


Scene Description:
Augustus appears standing and wearing the red-crown, he is seen offering wine in two *nw* vases to Thoth of Pnubs accompanied by Tefnut, both of whom are seated. Thoth of Pnubs holds by his left hand a scorpion along with a *w3s* scepter round which a snake is coiled (fig. 4\(^{(18)}\))\(^{(19)}\). Tefnut is surmounted by a red disk above her head and a black wig, her throne was somehow elaborately painted; the frame was yellow, 

\(^{(15)}\) Blackman, *op. cit.*, 25.
\(^{(16)}\) *Ibid.*, pl. XLII.
\(^{(19)}\) Blackman, *The temple of Dendûr*, Le Caire: Service des Antiquités, de l’Égypte, pl. XLVI.
\(^{(20)}\) *Ibid.*, 28
the small rectangular space in the lower left hand corner red, while the large remaining space was covered with a design yellow, red and green, the details of which cannot now be distinguished\(^{(21)}\).

**Text Above Thoth of Pnubs:**

\[
\text{dd mdw in } \text{Dhwty } P3-nbs nb P3-srkh m3y rsy wsr hw } p3-t3 } hfb ntr s3 nb smnw
\]

“Words spoken by Thoth of Pnubs, lord of blessing, the southern strong lion, the fearful, in the land of cobra ‘Dendûr’, the good god the lord of Sumenu\(^{(23)}\).

**Doc. 5.**

**Dating:** The Reign of the Emperor Augustus.

**Provenance:** The Temple of Dendûr, Exterior of Pronaos, North wall.

**Scene Description:**

The Emperor Augustus is shown offering Maet to Thoth of Pnubs accompanied by Tefnut, both appear standing (fig. 5\(^{(24)}\))\(^{(25)}\). Thoth-Pnubs appears on that scene with the figure of an ibis, with four feathers surmounting his head. He appears carrying a \(w3s\) scepter only, without snake and scorpion. The goddess Tefnut appears holding the \(w3d\) by her left hand, with the sun disk fronted by the cobra surmounting her head.

\(^{(21)}\) Ibid.


\(^{(23)}\) The crocodile god ‘Sobek-Re’ Lord of Sumenu, must also be considered as one of the gods especially adored in Nubia, and it seems to imply that Buhen was the town, or one of the towns, where he was worshiped; in Brakke, ‘The Ancient World’, The Society for Archaeological Science Bulletin, 34-35, 66.

\(^{(24)}\) Blackman, op. cit., pl. LXXXIII.

\(^{(25)}\) Ibid., 54.
Text Above Thoth of Pnubs:

\[ dd \text{ mdw in } \text{Dhwty } P^3\text{-}nbs \text{ nb } P^3\text{-}srk \text{ m3y rsy wsr } h\text{yw } p^3\text{-}t3 \text{ h}f3 \]

“Words spoken by Thoth of Pnubs, lord of blessing, the southern strong lion, the fearful, in the land of cobra ‘Dendûr’.

III. The Temple of Dakka

Doc. 6.

Dating: The Reign of King Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

Provenance: The Temple of Dakke, Passage of the Pylon.

Scene Description:

The king Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II appears offering Maet to Thoth of Pnubs, Tefnut, and the queen Arsinoe (fig. 6\(^{(27)}\))\(^{(28)}\).

Thoth of Pnubs appears as an enthroned man: holding in the left hand the ‘\( n^h \)’ sign, in the right a \( w^3s \)-scepter coiled by a snake and a scorpion. Half-length hair cut down at the back, which is dissected into a single little bell in front of the ear. The body of an uraeus seems to wind around the headband (above and below), which is tied behind the loop. The crown, four smooth feathers, each with a midrib, stands on a small undersized undershirt.

Knee and neck are destroyed. On the upper body an adjoining jerkin with two straps. Narrow knee jury without a tail. Narrow bands on both upper arms. Thorn with corner molding and overhanging backrest; saucer smooth\(^{(29)}\).

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\(^{(27)}\) Günther, Der Tempel von Dakke, Tome premier (Texte), Tome second (Planches), Le Caire: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, pl. 15.

\(^{(28)}\) Ibid., 93 § 205.

\(^{(29)}\) Ibid.
Vertical Text Above Thoth of Pnubs:

\[
\text{Dhwty P3-nbs ntr} \quad \text{“Words spoken by Thoth of Pnubs, The great god”.}
\]

**Doc. 7.**
**Dating:** The Reign of King Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.
**Provenance:** The Temple of Dakke, Facade of the Vestibule: Upper strip (Left part).
**The Text reads:**

\[
\text{Mistress of the two lands, Cleopatra, the two gods Euergetes, being loved by Thoth of Pnubs.}
\]

**Doc. 8.**
**Dating:** The Reign of King Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.
**Provenance:** The Temple of Dakke, Vertical Inscription on the Northern side of the Pillar, outside the shaft of the Eastern Doorway.
**The Text Reads:**

\[
\text{Dhwty P3-nbs hrw hr mnw dit nth dt.} \\
\text{“Thoth of Pnubs, who is satisfied with the Monuments that gives life eternally”}
\]

**Doc. 9.**
**Dating:** The Reign of King Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.
**Provenance:** The Temple of Dakke, Facade of the Vestibule: (Right part).

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\(^{(30)}\) Günther, op. cit., 93 § 205; Leitz, op. cit., 647.
\(^{(31)}\) Günther, Der Tempel von Dakke, Tome premier (Texte), Tome second (Planches), Le Caire: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 114 § 252.
\(^{(32)}\) Ibid.; Leitz, Lexikon der Ägyptischen Gotter und Götterbezeichnungen VII, OLA 128, 647.
\(^{(33)}\) Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, IV, 38(g); Leitz, op. cit., 647.
\(^{(34)}\) Günther, op. cit., 124 § 277.
Scene Description:
The king Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II appears offering incense to Thoth of Pnubs and the goddess Wepset (fig. 7\(^{(35)}\))\(^{(36)}\).
Thoth appearing as a striding man, holding in his right hand the \(\text{w3s}\) sign, in his left hand the \(\text{nh}\) sign. Half-long hair, cut off at the bottom. Headband, from which the uraeus straightens up and the tail tied behind hangs in two ends. The crown consists of four high smooth feathers. Cervical collar, top with hemlock, broken away below the shoulders\(^{(37)}\).

The Text reads:
\[\text{Dhwty P3-nbs ntr } \text{3 wr T3-Sti m3y rsy wsr hpš.f n(b) Kn.}\]
“Thoth of Pnubs, Great God of Nubia, the southern strong lion, whose arm is strong, Lord of the Force (power)”\(^{(39)}\).

**Doc. 10.**
**Dating:** The Reign of King Ptolemy IV Philopator.
**Provenance:** The Temple of Dakke, Entrance to Inner Court.
**Scene Description:** The king Ptolemy IV Philopator appears offering Maet to Thoth of Pnubs (destroyed) and Tefnut (fig. 8\(^{(40)}\))\(^{(41)}\). Thoth of Pnubs appears in a walking position, with a reddish-brown painting on his face and left shoulder. The King

\(^{(35)}\) Ibid., pl. 51.
\(^{(36)}\) The Serpent goddess Wepset, whose name means “She who burns”, appears to be one of the various identities of the fiery uraeus who guarded the gods and kings. She is usually represented in the form of a serpent, though in the Greco-Roman temples of Nubia she appears in an anthropomorphic form. The texts claim that the island of Biga was a cult center of the goddess; Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses, 228; Varner, The Gods of Man: Gods of Nature – God of War, p. 55.
\(^{(37)}\) Günther, Der Tempel von Dakke, Tome premier (Texte), Tome second (Planches), Le Caire: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 133 § 293, 295.
\(^{(38)}\) Ibid.; Leitz, Lexikon der Ägyptischen Gotter und Götterbezeichnungen VII, OLA 128, 647.
\(^{(39)}\) Günther, op. cit., 133 § 295.
\(^{(40)}\) Ibid., pl. 66.
\(^{(41)}\) Porter – Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, VII, 45 (30); Günther, op. cit., 169 § 396, pl. 66; Champollion, Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, Notices descriptives, I, 118 (Middle).
also appears rising his left hand with the Maet$^{(42)}$. The goddess Tefnut appears holding the $w\dot{3}d$ by her left hand, with the sun disk fronted by the cobra surmounting her head.

The Text reads: $\text{dd mdw n }\check{D}\check{h}wty\ P3-nbs\ ntr\ \check{\zeta}\ wr\ n\ T3-Sti\ m3y\ rsy$.

Words spoken by Thoth of Pnubs, the Great God who came from Nubia, the southern strong lion$^{(44)}$.

**Doc. 11.**

**Dating:** The Reign of the Emperor Augustus.

**Provenance:** The Temple of Dakke, Forecourt (Roman), Bottom Register.

**Scene Description:** The Emperor Augustus appears offering wine to Thoth of Pnubs, Arensnuphis-Shu, and Tefnut$^{(45)}$. He is shown wearing the double crown $\check{\hat{s}}h\check{m}ty$ surmounted by the sun-disk between two feathers. Dressed in a smooth wide collar and a knee-short kilt with a tail (fig. 9$^{(46),(47)}$). Thoth of Pnubs appears as a walking man, holding in the right hand a dropping $\check{\epsilon}nh$ sign, in the left an outstretched $w\dot{3}s$ scepter; around which are two long curls, coiled by a snake and a scorpion. He appears dressed on a tight knee kilt, with a tail. Jerkin with straps. Ribbons on the upper arms and wrists. Half-length wig, covering

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$^{(42)}$ Günther, op. cit., 169 § 396, 397.

$^{(43)}$ Ibid., 169 § 396, 397; Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien. Text, V, 71(a); Leitz, op. cit., 648; Rosellini, Monumenti dell’Egitto e della Nubia: disegnati dalla spedizione scientifico-letteraria tosca in Egitto; distribuiti in ordine di materie. Parte terza. Tomo I, Pisa, 1844, pl. xii.

$^{(44)}$ Günther, op. cit., 149 § 338, pl. 21.


$^{(46)}$ Porter – Moss, *op. cit.*, 45 (27); Günther, *op. cit.*, 149 § 338, pl. 21.

$^{(47)}$ Günther, *op. cit.*, pl. 21.
Studies on the Arab World monuments 20

the ear, fronted by an uraeus. Headband, knotted at the back, with drooping ends, on it a crown with four high springs(48). Arensnuphis-Shu the Nubian deity is depicted here standing with the štf crown, and holding the w3s with his left hand and the ḫnh sign with his right. The goddess Tefnut appears holding the w3ḏ by her left hand, and the ḫnh sign with his right. She appears with the sun disk surmounting her head, fronted by the cobra.

**Vertical Text Above Thoth of Pnubs:**

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Dhwty P3-nbs p3 ntr 3 T3-Sti m3y rsy.} \\
\end{array} \]

“Words spoken by Thoth of Pnubs, the very Great God who came from Nubia, the southern strong lion”(50).

**Doc. 12.**

**Dating:** The Reign of King Ptolemy IV Philopator.

**Provenance:** The Temple of Dakke, Middle of the Façade.

**Scene Description:** The king Ptolemy IV Philopator and Arsinoe III appears standing, and the king is shown offering the Maet to Thoth of Pnubs and Weret-hekau(51) (fig. 10(52)(53). He is shown

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(50) Günther, *op. cit*.

(51) **Weret-hekau** [Wr.t-hk3w] ꜱꜣꜣ; Her name means ‘Great of magic’ or ‘Great enchantress’, which was applied to several goddesses. In the Pyramid Texts the name is associated with the divine uraeus and with the crown of Lower Egypt as manifestations of the goddess Wadjet, and her name is written with the determinative sign of a serpent. Weret-hekau is mentioned several times on the objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun, and on a small shrine, she is depicted as a rearing serpent with the head of a woman who is depicted nursing the king, a maternal role which is found in the Pyramid Texts for the uraeus goddess; in *Wb.*, 1, 328 (6); Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, 228; Lesko, *The Great Goddesses of Egypt*, Oklahoma, 67; Hofmann, “Werethekau”, *LÄ* VI, col. 1221.

(52) Günther, *Der Tempel von Dakke, Tome premier (Texte), Tome second (Planches)*, Le Caire: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, pl. 77.

(53) Porter – Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, VII, 45 (28); Günther, *op. cit.*, 184 § 420, pl. 59 (i).
wearing the double crown $\ddagger$ sḫmty fronted with uraeus with a hanging band. Dressed in a smooth wide collar and a knee-short kilt with a tail. Thoth of Pnubs appears as a walking man, holding in the right hand a w3š scepter. The crown consists of four high smooth feathers. Weret-hekau appears holding the w3d sign in her right hand. Her head is surmounted by the cobra.

**The Right Part (West Half) of the Door Frame Reads:**

$\nfr \ nfr \ sḏ \ Ṣḥbt \ ms \ in \ W3ḏt \ ir \ wr-ḥḥḏw \ sḏ-Rꜥ \ nb \ ḫw \ (Ikr-imn \ ḫnḥ-\ ḏt \ mṛy \ ḥt) \ ḫwty \ P3-nbs \ mṛy.$

“The Good God, son of the Nakhtbet, born of Uto, nourished by Weret-hekau, King Ergamenes, loved by Thoth of Pnubs”.

**Doc. 13.**

**Dating**: The Reign of King Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

**Provenance**: The Temple of Dakke, Passage of the Pylon, West Wall, Lower Row.

**Scene Description**: (Right plate):

The king Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II appears offering ointment to Thoth of Pnubs and Tefnut (fig. 11)(55) (56). He is shown kneeling, with the left leg underfooted, and right foot put on it; the toes of the left foot are destroyed, obviously erroneously the big toe is marked on the right and apart from others. The king raises the ointment on his left hand and holds his right hand outstretched with a small one. Tight knee-short kilt, the belt encloses the tail. On each upper arm and wrist, a band lined on both sides(57). Thoth of Pnubs appears as a walking man, holding in the right hand a dropping "nḥ sign, in the left an outstretched


(55) Günther, *op. cit.*, pl. 127.


Studies on the Arab World monuments 20

w3s scepter; around which are two long curls, coiled by a snake and a scorpion. Half-length hair, covering the ear, trimmed at the bottom, dissolved in little bellies. Headband, front Uraeus, tied at the back to the loop with a four-part end. On the head on a small pedestal (coving with stripes that run like the feather pattern) four high smooth feathers (with raised keel and recessed side veins). Bent beard. Collar, top with ballroom, below with pompoms. Narrow knee-length, the belt encloses the tail. At each upper arm and wrist a band lined on both sides.

Tefnut appears as a walking woman, with lion's head, holding in the left hand w3d, in the right the ɛnh sign. Woman's hair in a little bell. The head is surmounted by the sun disk with snake; the serpent does not curl around the sun, but lies free on its upper edge.

Vertical Text Above Thoth of Pnubs:

\[
\text{Dhwty P3-nbs ntr ɛ3 nb Srk.t Šw s3 R}^e \text{ ii m T3-Sti}
\]

“Thoth of Pnubs the Great God, Lord of Pselkis, Shu, son of Re, the coming from Nubia”

**Doc. 14.**

**Dating:** The Reign of King Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

**Provenance:** The Temple of Dakke, Sanctuary: South Wall, West Part, Lower Realms, Right Image, Left Half.

**Scene Description:** The king Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II appears offering incense to Thoth of Pnubs (fig. 12). He is shown wearing the double crown shmy fronted with Uraeus with a

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(61) Günther, *op. cit.*, pl. 132.

hanging band. Dressed in a smooth wide collar and a knee-short kilt with a tail. Thoth of Pnubs appears as a walking man, holding in the left hand a $\textit{w}s$ scepter. The crown consists of four high smooth feathers.

**The Text reads:**

King Pharaoh (he says?), I'm coming to you, Thoth-Re of Pnubs$^{(64)}$.

**Doc. 15.**

**Dating:** The Reign of King Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

**Provenance:** The Temple of Dakke, Sanctuary: Western Door Jamb.

**Scene Description:** Thoth of Pnubs appears as a walking man, putting his right hand on the left shoulder of the king Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, and holds him with the (life sign) to the nose. Half-length hair, trimmed straight ahead, front Uraeus headband, tied at the back to the bow with one end (fig. 13$^{(65)}$)$^{(66)}$. The crown consists of four smooth feathers on common pedestal. Bent beard. Smooth neck collar. Fitted dress on the upper body. Narrow knee kilt with a roll over and the belt deposed against the tail. Apparently smooth band on the left upper arm$^{(67)}$.

**Vertical Text Above Thoth of Pnubs:**

$\dd{dd}{md}{w}{in}{Dहwty}{P3}{-}{nbs}$  'Speech of Thoth of (Pnu)bs'(69).

**Vertical Text In front of Thoth of Pnubs:**

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$^{(63)}$ *Ibid.;* Leitz, *op. cit.*

$^{(64)}$ *Ibid.*


To your nose, come to your nose (71).

**Doc. 16.**

**Dating:** The Reign of King Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

**Provenance:** The Temple of Dakke, Sanctuary: Eastern Door Jamb.

**Scene Description:** Classification as at the western post: Base obtained with swamp plants; recognizable on Papyrus blue painting.

The right part of the door jamb has been cut away, while the king Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II's figure has taken away the lower part of the long staff in his left hand (fig. 14(72)(73). The king is shown wearing the double crown \(\text{shmty}\) fronted with uraeus with a hanging band. Dressed in a smooth wide collar and a knee-short kilt with a tail. The figure shows the king walking; he raises his right hand forward (thumbs up) and holds in his left hand a long staff. Lower Egyptian crown, Lower humeral; in front of uraeus, in the back three-piece band. Grader beard. Smooth collar. Knee-kilt, the belt encloses the tail. On the right upper arm, a smooth band on each wrist. His name appears above him(74).

**Vertical Text Reads:**

\[
\text{ht nb nfrt 3kw nb r h\text{-}ntr Dhwty P3-nbs iw w\text{-}rt.}
\]

'All the beautiful things and everything that goes to the house of God of the Thoth (of P) nubs: it is pure!'(76).

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(70) Günther, op. cit.
(71) Leitz, op. cit.
(72) Günther, op. cit., pl. 97.
(73) Ibid., 248 § 552.
(74) Günther, Der Tempel von Dakke, Tome premier (Texte), Tome second (Planches), Le Caire: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 248 § 552.
(76) Ibid.
Studies on the Arab World monuments 20

Vertical Top Right Text Reads:

(77) Dhwty P3-nbs ntr ṣ3 nb Srkt 'Thoth (of P)nubs, the Great God, lord of (P)selkis'(78).

Doc. 17.

Dating: The Reign of King Ptolemy IV Philopator.

Provenance: The Temple of Dakke, Entrance to Inner Court, Outer Doorway, Lintel, Double Scene; Left-Half.

Scene Description: The king Ptolemy IV Philopator and Arsinoe III appears standing. The king is shown offering the Maet to Thoth of Pnubs and Wepset (on the left half) (79).

The king appears standing and raising the Maet image by the left arm. He is shown wearing the double crown $\xi$ shmty fronted with uraeus with a hanging band. Dressed in a smooth wide collar and a knee-short kilt with a tail. Next to his name a papyrus plant with three flowers and two serpents could be seen; on the middle flower, a serpent with $\xi$ shmty crown is shown (fig. 15, 16 (80) (81).

Arsinoe III appears as a walking woman behind the king, and her hand is raised protectively behind the shoulder of the king, she is shown holding the (‘nh) in the right hand. Arsinoe is surmounted by the vulture's hair dress above a Hathor crown with cow horns around a sun-disk, with two smooth feathers on the base. Smooth neck collar (82).

Thoth of Pnubs is shown as an enthroned man, holding in the right hand (w3s), in the left (‘nh). Half-length hair, cut off at the

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(77) Günther, op. cit. 246 § 548.
(78) Leitz, op. cit.
(79) Porter – Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, VII, 45 (28); Günther, op. cit., 117.
(80) Ibid., pl. 63, pl. 63(i).
(81) Ibid., 152 § 347, pl. 63 (i); Champollion, Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, Notices descriptives, I, 117.
(82) Günther, Der Tempel von Dakke, Tome premier (Texte), Tome second (Planches), Le Caire: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 152 § 347, pl. 63 (i).
bottom; no uraeus. Headband, tied at the back to the loop with
neck collar. Tight knee-kilt, the tail hung out on its front. A
smooth band on each wrist\(^{(83)}\). The throne, which must have
stood on a very high base, only the upper part with overhanging
backrest is obtained. The vertical inscription above him reads:
\[ \text{dd mdw in Dhwty P3-nbs ntr \^3 hrw shi(w)} \]
‘Words spoken by Thoth of Pnubs, the Great God who eliminates
the enemies ‘the slayers’’.

Wepset is shown as an enthroned woman, holding in the right
hand (\(w\ddot{d}\)), in the left (\(\wedge n\ddot{h}\)). She appears with woman’s hair, on it
a straightening snake \(\text{
\[ \]}
\). Collar, lined at the top. The goddess
appears with a lined up woman dress. A smooth band on each
upper arm and wrist\(^{(85)}\).

**Doc. 18.**

**Dating:** The Reign of King Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

**Provenance:** The Temple of Dakke, Forecourt (Roman), Second
Register, First Scene.

**Scene Description:**

The king Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II appears offering emblems to
the destroyed figures of Osiris, Isis and Horus (fig. 17\(^{(86)}\)), and
palette to Thoth of Hermopolis, Thoth of Pnubs, and Tefnut (fig.
18\(^{(87)}\)\(^{(88)}\)).

On the Right plate, the king is shown presenting a writing
palette before Thoth of Hermopolis, Thoth of Pnubs and Tefnut.

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\(^{(84)}\) *Ibid.*, pl. 63 (i)
\(^{(87)}\) *Ibid.*, pl. 54.
\(^{(88)}\) Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* V, 17 (c); Porter – Moss, *Topographical
Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, VII, p. 44
(22); Günther, *op. cit.*, 17 (c).
The king is seen striding, with red brown traces of color on his face. He appears raising the writing palette on both hands. This is carried by two kneeling deities; on the left a goddess is seen; long hair, on top perhaps crowned by two high feathers, broken away below the shoulders, on the right the god shown; with knee-length kilt, curly hair, crowned by two high feathers crown, surmounted in front by an Uraeus. On the war helmet free-standing crown: ram's horns; on top of it a bunched crown (smooth below, divided in three above the three constriction bands, blue-green paint residues, sun above and below); in the middle in front of the bundle crown floats a scarab with spreading three-parted wings; on each side of the bundle crown a tall, smooth, featherless feather and a snake with a rising sun, and a wire with an inwardly bent end\(^{(89)}\).

Thoth of Hermopolis appears as an enthroned man with ibis head, holding in the right hand (\(\text{\wAs}\)), in the left (\(\text{\anx}\)). Three-parted hair at the head of the ibis, below with three parallel closing strips. Freestanding crown on the head; with ram's horns, on top of it a bunched crown could be seen; smooth below, three above the three constriction bands, sun on top, no sun below\(^{(90)}\).

Thoth of Pnubs appears as an enthroned man; holding in the right hand (\(\text{\wAs}\)), in the left (\(\text{\anx}\)). Half-length wig, truncated at the bottom, Uraeus in front, headband tied behind the bow with two ends. On the head four high smooth feathers on a small pedestal. Neck collar lined at the top. Fitted dress on the upper body. Tight knee-length, no back at the upper body. Narrow knee-skirt, no tail drawn at the back, a hem at the bottom, which continues into the tail hanging out to the front. A smooth band on each upper arm and wrist. Throne and pedestal as in Thoth of Hermopolis. The vertical inscription above him reads:


\(^{(90)}\) *Ibid.*
Words spoken by Thoth of Pnubs, the Great God who came from Nubia, the southern strong lion, whose arm is strong (wsr hpš.f), Lord of power (nb Kn)\(^{(92)}\).

Tefnut appears as an enthroned woman with lion's head, holding in the right hand (w3d), in the left (cnh). She could be seen with a woman's hair, her head is surmounted by the sun-disk with a snake. Neck collar lined at the top.

**Conclusions**
- *Ḏḥwty P3-nbs* cult seems to be restricted to the Egyptian temples in Lower Nubia, temple of Dakka seems to be his cult center; as the Lower Nubian substitute for his actual sanctuary at Pnubs, located nearly 200 miles to the south, the site of which is still uncertain. Other than Dakka, he was also worshipped in Dendur, Kalabsha, and Philae.
- The word (*nbs* in Egyptian) either refers to the presence of a sacred jujubier tree in the ancient religious precinct of Dakka *pr nbs* “house of the nebes-tree”, which may suggest that this variant of Thoth had southern origins, or it might be an indication for the place of the actual sanctuary at Pnubs.
- Thoth of Pnubs appears as a saviour, and protector from evil, especially the evil of sickness. As the saviour who comes when he is invoked, with this role of the god, he is connected to his epithet ‘He who comes to him that calls him\(^{(93)}\).
- The epithet of “*The Great God of Nubia, the Upper Egyptian Lion*” is Thoth of Pnubs’s most widespread title.
- “The Great God, lord of Pselkis” is an epithet that seems to be coherent to Thoth of Pnubs’s names.

\(^{(91)}\) Ibid., 129 § 302.
\(^{(92)}\) Ibid.
\(^{(93)}\) Baylon, *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt*, 130.
- The fearful physical aspects of Thoth of Pnubs god are embodied in his body posts as being a “The southern strong lion, whose arm is strong (wšr ḫpš.f), lord of force (nb .fn)”.

The violent aspects of the god Thoth of Pnubs are indicated in the epithets of the god as being “The southern strong lion, the fearful, in the land of cobra” and “The Great God who eliminates the enemies”.

- The title of Thoth of Pnubs related to topography is “The House of the God of the Thoth of Pnubs”, “Offerings for him in Philae”, and “The Great God, Lord of Pselkis”; this former title is referring to his cult center at Dakka.

- The relationship between Thoth of Pnubs and the God Shu could be indicated in the epithet of Thoth as “The Great God, Lord of Pselkis, Shu”. In (fig. 1-4, 6, 8-14, 16-17, 19) Thoth-Pnubs is depicted in human figure, crowned with the diadem of Shu deity.

- The relationship between Thoth of Pnubs and the God Re could be recognized in the epithet of Thoth as “Thoth-Re” and “son of Re, the coming from Nubia”.

- The god Thoth of Pnubs appeared with different shapes and figures. It is noted that in the Graeco-Roman period he appears clearly as an Egyptian Aesculapius. Thoth of Pnubs is represented in some of temple-decoration of the time of Tiberius and Augustus as Aesculapius, holding in his hand a staff round which a serpent winds itself. The symbolism clearly associates Thoth of Pnubs with Aesculapius; the Roman god of healing and medicine.

- In the Nubian temples of Philae, Dendur and Dakka, Thoth of Pnubs is shown either in human form (fig. 1-4, 6, 8-14, 16-17, 19).

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(94) Aesculapius: the Roman god of healing and medicine. He was the son of the mortal woman Coronis and the god Apollo, who, amongst his other roles, was associated with medicine. According to ancient Roman mythology Aesculapius was raised and mentored by the Centaur Chiron who taught him the art of healing. His symbol is the Rod of Aesculapius a physician's staff, or healing scepter, entwined with a non-venomous snake, in Bekker-Nielsen, Classica et Mediaevalia, Revue danoise de philology et d’histoire 57, 124.

(95) Baylon, Thoth the Hermes of Egypt, 130.
19) crowned with the diadem of Shu or in the form of an ibis (fig. 5).
- It is noted that Thoth of Pnubs was worshipped in different places that concentrated in Upper Egyptian, where he appeared in different monuments. Thoth of Pnubs’s cult center at Dakka shows the highest percentage of the god’s representation.
- The god has numerous scenes with different attitudes. His main attitudes could be detected as being standing as a walking man or ibis, or an enthroned sitting man.

**The Head Cover of the God:**
Almost all the scenes have represented the god Thoth of Pnubs surmounted by a half-length wig, truncated at the bottom, with an uraeus in the front, headband tied behind the bow with two ends. On the head four high smooth feathers on a small pedestal.

**The Attendants of the God:**
The god Thoth of Pnub used to hold some equipment by his hands that refer to his nature and roles. These are represented in the ‘nh sign, and the w3s\(^{(96)}\) scepter which sometimes around which are two long curls, coiled by a snake and a scorpion.

**The Clothes of the God:**
All the wall scenes have represented the god dressed on a tight knee kilt, with a tail. Jerkin with straps. Ribbons on the upper arms and wrists.

**The Kings and Queens accompanying Thoth of Pnubs:**
It is clear that the most accompanied king with Thoth of Pnubs is Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and the Emperor Augustus.

**The Deities accompanying Thoth of Pnubs:**

\(^{(96)}\) The *w3s* scepter; In early times, the *w3s* scepter was a type of fetish thought to contain the life giving power of a dog or a fox, like a protective spirit. It consisted of a staff forked at the bottom and terminating at the top by an animal head. It became a popular scepter for the gods to hold especially the felines, and became a symbol of well-being, happiness and prosperity; in Shaw – Nicholson, *The Illustrated Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, Cairo, 2008; Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae, OLA XXXIV*, 106.
The most represented deity with Thoth of Pnubs goddess as indicated on that research is the goddess Tefnut.

**Consort or Wife of Thoth of Pnubs:**

The goddess Tefnut appeared as the spouse of Thoth of Pnubs in the Nubian temples (fig. 2, 4, 5, 9) and this might be due to the assimilation of Thoth of Pnubs god with Shu or Arensnuphis\(^{(97)}\)-Shu and therefore, partly to the role of Thoth of Pnubs in the legend of Onuris\(^{(98)}\). It should be noted that in the temple of Dendûr (fig. 5), the only figure where Thoth of Pnubs appeared in the form of an ibis, his consort the goddess Tefnut appeared as a lioness. The goddess Wepset might also be considered as a consort or a wife for the god Thoth of Pnubs.

**Deities Assimilated with Thoth of Pnubs**

Depending on this study, it is clear that the god Thoth of Pnubs is assimilated with the god Shu as one god.

**Thoth of Pnubs in Groups of Dieities**

- **The Triad of Thoth of Pnubs:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Triad</th>
<th>Scene Location</th>
<th>Scene Description</th>
<th>Fig. n°</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thoth of Pnubs, Arensnuphis-Shu, and Tefnut.</td>
<td>- Philae, The Temple of Isis.</td>
<td>- Tiberius is seen offering $\text{hh}$ on a $\text{nb}$ sign to Arensnuphis-Shu, Thoth-Pnubs and Tefnut.</td>
<td>Fig. 1, 10.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(97)}\) In Nubia the goddess Isis became the wife of the Nubian god, Arensnuphis ($\text{iri-hmš-nfr}$), who became a local god of the district of Philae, and was identified with Shu. She was also considered a wife of Thoth, who, with Shu, brought her back from Nubia, in Bekker-Nielsen, *Classica et Mediaevalia, Revue danoise de philology et d’histoire* 57, 124.

\(^{(98)}\) Baylon, *op. cit.*
Thoth of Pnubs, Thoth of Hermopolis, and Tefnut.  - The Temple of Dakke.  The king Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II appears offering palette to Thoth of Hermopolis, Thoth of Pnubs, and Tefnut.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Fig. n°</th>
<th>N°. of scenes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Offering of Incense $[sntr]^{(99)}$.</td>
<td>8, 13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offering of $[hh]$.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offering of $M^3t$ symbol [an image of $M^3t$].</td>
<td>5, 6, 9, 11, 16, 17</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offering of Wine $[irp]$.</td>
<td>3, 4, 10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offering of $nhnm^{(100)}$ ointment.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offering of a palette</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offering of Two vessels of Beer $[hkt^{(101)}]$.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the previous table, it is clear that the most represented offerings to Thoth of Pnubs goddess are the $M^3t$ image and the wine.

It should be noted that in (fig. 14); Thoth of Pnubs appears as a walking man, putting his right hand on the left shoulder of the king Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, and holds him with the (life sign $\gamma n\acute{h}$) to the nose, symbolizing the breath of life, and was associated with the god Shu who is assimilated here with the god Thoth of Pnubs.

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List of plates

Fig. 1. Tiberius is offering HH to Arensnuphis-Shu, Thoth-Pnubs and Tefnut.

Fig. 2. Augustus offering two vases of beer to Thoth of Pnubs and Tefnut.
Fig. 3. Augustus offering wine to Thoth of Pnubs ‘Broken Scene’.

Fig. 4. Augustus is offering wine to Thoth of Pnubs and Tefnut.
Fig. 5. Augustus offering Maet to Thoth of Pnubs accompanied by Tefnut.

Fig. 6. The king Ptolemy VII Euergetes II offers Maet to Thoth of Pnubs, Tefnut, and the queen Arsinoe.
Fig. 7. Broken figure of the king Ptolemy VII Euergetes II offering incense to Thoth of Pnubs, and Wepset.

Fig. 8. Broken figure of the king Ptolemy IV Philopator offering the Maet to Thoth of Pnubs, and Tefnut.
Fig. 9. Augustus offers wine to Thoth of Pnubs, Arensnuphis-Shu, and Tefnut.

Fig. 10. The king Ptolemy IV Philopator offering the Maet to Thoth of Pnubs and Weret-hekau.
Fig. 11. The king offering ointment to Thoth of Pnubs and Tefnut.

Fig. 12. Ptolemy VII Euergetes II offering incense to Thoth of Pnubs.
Fig. 13. Thoth of Pnubs holds the King Ptolemy VII Euergetes II with the (life sign) to the nose.

Fig. 14. Broken figure of the King Ptolemy IV Philopator in a walking position.
Fig. 15. Ptolemy IV Philopator and Arsinoe III offering the Maet to Thoth of Pnubs and Wepset.

Fig. 16. Ptolemy IV Philopator offering Maet image to Thoth of Pnubs and Wepset (left-half).
Fig. 17. Broken figure of the King Ptolemy VII Euergetes II offering emblems to Osiris, Isis and Horus (broken).

Fig. 18. Broken figure of the King Ptolemy VII Euergetes II offering palette to Thoth of Hermopolis, Thoth of Pnubs, and Tefnut (broken).
الإله جيحوتى با نبس

ا.د. مفيدة الوشاحي

د.نهى هاني جرجس سلامة

الملخص:

هذا البحث بعنوان "الإله جيحوتى با نبس" في مصر القديمة حتى نهاية العصر اليوناني الروماني". ظهر جيحوتى با نبس في المعابد المصرية فقط في النوبة السفلى: الدكا، نوردور، كلاشة، وفيلة. كان جيحوتى با نبس عبارة عن خلق خالص لعلماء اللاهوت في فترة اعتباره ألوهة مرتبطة بالجنوب (الأسد الجنوبي) ، يمكن اعتباره حلفة وصل بين مصر ودول الجنوب. تساعد مهام جيحوتى با نبس كطبيب وساحر على توضيح وجود أعداد هائلة من التماثيل على شكل تماثيل جيحوتى با نبس التي تم العثور عليها في جميع أنحاء مصر.

يُظهر كمنقذ، وحامي من الشر - خصوصاً شر المرض -، وكان جيحوتى با نبس واحدًا من أكثر الآلهة شعبية، وقد عثر على العديد من التراتيل والصلوات التي وجهها إليه أفراد من جميع الطبقات. أعلن تشارلز بونيه في ورقة قدمت في المؤتمر الدولي الثالث عشر للدراسات النوبية أن "بنوبس" كان الاسم الذي أطلق على مدينة المملكة الجديدة التي تأسست في كرمة - والتي نشأت في عام 2500 قبل الميلاد، وقد تم تعبد الشجرة المقدسة التي أطلق عليها اسم بنوبس في كرمة قبل الفتح المصري. هذا يشير إلى رابطة ألوهيتها مع الأسماء الجغرافية المعروفة - سواء كانت أمون أو جيحوتى با نبس - قد تم دمجها فيما بعد في عبادة جيحوتى با نبس في النوبة؟

يشير إلى أن جيحوتى با نبس المنطقة الدينية القديمة الدكا ان وجود شجرة النبس المقدسة من هذه النوع في كان له أصول جنوبية.

أهداف البحث:

يهدف هذا البحث إلى دراسة وتحليل الإله جيحوتى با نبس من في مصر القديمة حتى نهاية العصر الروماني خاصه في المعابد المصرية في النوبة السفلى.

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يهدف إلى جمع التمثيلات المنشورة وغير المنشورة للإله في المعابد والمقابر في مصر من أجل فهم أفضل لأشكاله ووظائفه وألقابه وعلاقته بالآلهة الأخرى.

يهدف أيضاً إلى تركيز الضوء على الدكا كموقع تاريخي.

إطار البحث: إطار البحث هو دراسة فنية لتتبع مشاهد الإله جيحوتي با نبس.

نوع البحث: البحث هو دراسة مشتركة بين الجانبين الوصفي والتحليلي.

النوبة، سيد النوبة.

الكلمات الدالة:
الإله جيحوتي با نبس، الدكا، بسلكيس