

THE CROWN OF ARSINOË II

THE CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF AN
IMAGERY OF AUTHORITY

by

Maria Nilsson



GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET
HUMANISTISKA FAKULTETEN
GOTHENBURG 2010

THE CROWN OF ARSINOË II
THE CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF AN
IMAGERY OF AUTHORITY

by
Maria Nilsson



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
DEPT OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

GOTHENBURG 2010

Dissertation in Classical Archaeology and Ancient History for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy submitted to University of Gothenburg, 2010.

ABSTRACT

Nilsson, M., *The crown of Arsinoë II. The creation and development of an imagery of authority*. 760 pp. 158 pls. Written in English.

This study deals with a unique crown that was created for Queen Arsinoë II. The aim is to identify and understand the symbolism that is embedded in each pictorial detail that together form the crown and how this reflects the wearer's socio-political and religious positions. The study focuses on the crown and its details, while also including all contextual aspects of the relief scenes in order to understand the general meaning. This crown was later developed and usurped by other female figures; the material includes 158 Egyptian relief scenes dating from Arsinoë's lifetime to Emperor Trajan, c. 400 years. In order to show the development of the crown's symbolism, this work includes a large number of later scenes depicting the Egyptian goddess Hathor wearing a crown almost identical to Arsinoë's.

The results of this study suggest that the crown of Arsinoë was created for the living queen and reflected three main cultural positions: her royal position as King of Lower Egypt, her cultic role as high priestess, and her religious aspect as *thea Philadelphos*. It indicates that she was proclaimed female pharaoh during her lifetime, and that she was regarded the female founder of the Ptolemaic Dynasty. The results of the study of the later material suggest that the later Hathoric crown was created in a time of political instability, when Ptolemy IV needed to emphasise his ancestry – underlining his lineage from Arsinoë II and Ptolemy II. The comprehensive study of the contextual pictorial setting indicates that this is a plausible explanation: the crown of Arsinoë became a symbol of authority worthy of continuation.

Keywords: Arsinoë, crowns, Ptolemaic, reliefs, Egyptian art, Egyptian religion, symbolism, female pharaohs, Hathor, God's wife, Edfu, Philae, Dendera, relative scaling, relative placement, conceptions of time, post-colonial theory

Maria Nilsson, Dept. of Historical Studies, University of Gothenburg, Box 200, 405 30 Göteborg, Sweden.

© Copyright Maria Nilsson 2010

Distributor: Dept. of Historical Studies, University of Gothenburg, Box 200, 405 30 Göteborg, Sweden.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	7
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	9
LIST OF TABLES	12
I INTRODUCTION	13
CHAPTER I.1 OBJECTIVES, TERMINOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS	13
SCIENTIFIC OBJECTIVITIES	14
DEFINITIONS AND TERMINOLOGY	16
Definition of the crowns	17
Designation of rulers and geographic locations	18
CHAPTER I.2 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES	19
METHODS OF ICONOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION	20
Approaching semiotics and post-structuralism	20
Translating the illustrated language of codes	21
Semiotic and iconographic definitions applied in the material	24
Units	24
Elements	25
Symbols	26
The hermeneutic line of thought	27
The theme and its relevance to the crowns	31
A new application of old principles	31
The ancient principles of grid system and horizontal lines	32
New approaches – study of the crown line	35
Contextual setting	36
CHAPTER I.3 PREVIOUS RESEARCH	38
CROWNS	38
THE TEMPLES	41
STELAI AND DECREES	43
THE ISSUE OF GENDER	45
CHAPTER I.4 BACKGROUND	46
THE CROWN	46
INTRODUCING QUEEN ARSINOË	49
The cultic roles of Arsinoë	50
The eponymous cult	51
Dynastic cult and the Egyptian worship of Arsinoë	56
II THE MATERIAL	58
CHAPTER II.1 PRESENTING THE CROWNS AND THE RELIEF SCENES	58
THE IMAGES PRESENTED IN THE CATALOGUE	59
Crown compositions	60
CHAPTER II.2 CATALOGUE INTRODUCTION	68
CHAPTER II.3 CATALOGUE DESCRIPTION	69

III ANALYSIS	223
CHAPTER III.1 THE HEADDRESS	224
TRIPARTITE WIG (TW)	224
VULTURE CAP (VC)	227
SINGLE FOREHEAD <i>URAEUS</i> (SFU)	231
ROYAL DIADEM	234
CONCLUDING SUMMARY	234
CHAPTER III.2 THE CROWN	235
RAM HORNS (RH)	236
Intercultural symbolism?	239
RED CROWN (RC)	245
“The Red One” of Lower Egypt	249
DOUBLE FEATHER PLUME (DFP)	250
The symbolism of the double feather plume	252
The physical origin of the feathers	255
A Greek counterpart?	260
COW HORNS AND SOLAR DISC (CS)	261
Cultural associations of the cow horns	265
Cultural associations of the solar disc	265
The symbolism of the CS-unit	267
<i>URAEUS</i> (UR)	268
THE WHITE CROWN	269
THE DOUBLE CROWN (DC)	271
THE <i>ATEF</i> FEATHER (ATEF)	272
CONCLUDING SUMMARY	273
CHAPTER III.3 CROWN COMPOSITIONS	275
THE CROWN OF ARSINOË (AC)	275
Pictorial precursors	284
THE LATER HATHORIC CROWN	288
The Dendera crown (DEC)	289
The Dendera crown with an additional <i>atef</i> feather (DECA)	293
The Edfu crowns (FEC & EC)	296
CONCLUDING SUMMARY	300
CHAPTER III.4 HANDHELD ITEMS	302
<i>ANKH</i>	303
SCEPTRES AND STAVES	306
SISTRUM	308
HAND HELD IN PROTECTIVE MANNER	310
NOTHCED PALM BRANCH	311
CONCLUDING SUMMARY	312
CHAPTER III.5 DECORATION	313
SHEAT DRESS	314
SANDALS	315
JEWELLERY	315
CORNER BOX	315

CHAPTER III.6 RELIGIOUS RITUALS	317
SETTINGS OF THE SCENES	318
Active sacrifice	318
Adoration	319
Ritual of slaying the enemy	320
Rejuvenation or crowning ceremonies	320
Dynastic scenes	321
Evoking/arousing the god	328
Processions	329
OFFERINGS	329
Incense	331
The figure of Ma'at	332
Wine and water	334
Libation and <i>hes</i> vessel	335
Flowers	336
Ointment	337
Offering trays and tables	337
Textile band or clothing	337
Field of reeds	338
Crowns as offerings	338
Dado offerings	339
<i>Sekhem</i> stave	340
Ceremonial collar	341
Smiting enemies	341
CONCLUDING SUMMARY	342
CHAPTER III.7 SIZE, POSITION AND TIME	343
Relative scaling	346
The crown line	348
Pictorial elements as tools of height (size) regulation	360
Non-symbolic size representation?	365
RELATIVE PLACEMENT - BENEFACTOR AND BENEFICIARY	366
CONCEPTS OF TIME	373
Case study 1 - the Mendes stela	374
Case study 2 - the Sed festival Gate of Ptolemy II	378
Case study 3 - the Pithom stela	382
SUMMARISING THE CONCEPTS OF SIZE, POSITION AND TIME	388
CONCLUDING SUMMARY	392
CHAPTER III.8 HIEROGLYPHIC TITLES OF ARSINOË	394
KING'S DAUGHTER, KING'S SISTER, KING'S WIFE	397
KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT	400
"Ruler"	404
LADY OF THE TWO LANDS	405
DAUGHTER OF AMUN	407
The religious position of God's wife	409

<i>THEOI ADELPHOI</i>	414
DIVINE MOTHER/MOTHER OF THE GOD	417
IMAGE OF ISIS AND HATHOR	418
ROYAL TITLES	420
The Horus name	420
The Nebty name	424
The Golden Horus name	426
The Throne name	427
The Birth name	430
CONCLUDING SUMMARY	431
CHAPTER III.9 HATHORIC ASPECTS	433
EYE OF RA, THE HATHORIC DAUGHTER ROLE	437
LADY OF THE SKY, THE DIVINE POSITION OF THE WIFE	441
The Hathoric queenly role	443
HATHOR, THE GREAT MOTHER	445
THE HATHORIC <i>PERSONA</i>	448
CONCLUDING SUMMARY	452
CHAPTER III.10 ERADICATION AND ADJUSTMENT OF VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS	454
CUT MARKS	454
RE CUTTING	466
CONCLUDING SUMMARY	475
IV DISCUSSION	477
CHAPTER IV.1 ARSINOË AND ROYALTY - KING AND QUEEN	477
FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF KINGSHIP	479
Pictorial regalia and representation	480
Reassessing the Ramesside crown as a male alternative to the crown of Arsinoë	484
CHAPTER IV.2 ARSINOË AND PIETY - PRIESTESS AND GODDESS	486
THE HIGH PRIESTESS	487
Royal adoptions - the continuation of the religious office	491
THE GODDESS	492
CHAPTER IV.3 THE CROWN OF ARSINOË AS A SYMBOL OF AUTHORITY	495
THE CROWN OF ARSINOË AS A SYMBOL OF KINGSHIP	495
THE CROWN OF ARSINOË AS A SYMBOL OF HER RELIGIOUS POSITION AS GOD'S WIFE	497
THE CROWN OF ARSINOË AS A SYMBOL OF <i>THEA PHILADELPHOS</i>	499
CHAPTER IV.4 ARSINOË USURPED - A DISCUSSION CONCERNING THE FUNCTION OF THE CROWN OF ARSINOË AS A MODEL FOR THE LATER HATHORIC CROWN	500
HATHOR-ARSINOË: DIVINE ASSOCIATION AND ASSIMILATED REPRESENTATION	501
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND FOR THE CREATION OF	

THE LATER HATHORIC CROWN	503
V GENERAL CONCLUSIONS - THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS MESSAGE COMMUNICATED BY THE CROWN OF ARSINOË AND ITS DEVELOPED FORMS	510
APPENDICES	515
I. TABLE 28: SUMMARISING CONTEXTUAL STRUCTURE OF THE MATERIAL	516
II. TRANSLATED HIEROGLYPHIC DESIGNATIONS	542
III. ARSINOË'S CARTOUCHES	550
IV. THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY	553
V. THE ROMAN EMPERORS	554
VI. PHARAONIC DYNASTIES	555
VII. WORD LIST	557
REFERENCES	565
PLATES	600

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Throughout the years that I have been working with this dissertation, I have been privileged to have the support and encouragement of numerous people. This section is devoted to express my gratitude for those that have taken part in making a completion possible. I would like to begin by expressing my deepest appreciation towards Ass. Prof. C. Wikander, who introduced me to and evoked my interest in the subject of the Ptolemaic Period, and who inspired me to complete my two previous scholarly theses. Her recent death is a great loss not only to her family and friends, but also to the academic world. Ass. Prof. I. Wiman has been my main advisor since I began working with this thesis, and I have her to thank for not only her support and encouragement, but foremost for widening my perspectives on how to study ancient art. Without her guidance, this study would have lost its theoretical anchor. I have my second advisor, Dr. I. Östenberg, to thank for her honesty, clear directives, sense of structure and a valuable communication.

I owe Ass. Prof. I. Wiman and Prof. R. Hägg my greatest appreciation for introducing me to my “Alexandrian family”, headed by Prof. M. el-Abadi, who welcomed me with friendly and open arms into Egypt’s amazing cultural environment. I will always cherish our lengthy, constructive dialogues. Their scholarly and professional support has enabled me to study the ancient material *in situ* with ease, and to feel at home in a foreign country. These friends and associates will forever remain close to my heart and I hope that I will have the opportunity to prove my deepest respect and appreciation for their invaluable support and trust.

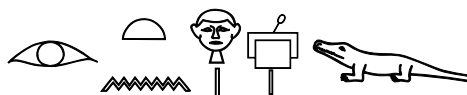
A number of foundations have financed my research, without which this work would not have been completed. A doctoral scholarship from the “Kungl. & Hvitfeldska stiftelsen” have financed my entire doctoral education and I have all the people involved to thank for enabling me to carry out this study. Throughout the years I have been fortunate to receive financial support from various foundations connected to the Humanities Faculty of the University of Gothenburg. In addition to these, I am forever grateful for the support given by Wilhelm & Martina Lundgrens stiftelse, Helge Ax:son Johnsons stiftelse, Kungl. Vitterhetsakademien, Halmstad kommun, Herbert och Karin Jacobssons Stiftelse, Gertrude och Ivar Philipsons Stiftelse, and Knut och Alice Wallenbergs Stiftelse.

I am grateful for the support I have received from various organisations throughout the years. Among my Swedish associates, I have the Friends of Alexandria to thank. As a part of my Alexandrian family, I would like to express my gratefulness toward the Archaeological Society of Alexandria and all associates that have enriched my work through discussions, lectures, etc. Towards the latter part of this scholarly process, I owe my thanks to the Sirius Project, and to the numerous interdisciplinary intellectuals that are involved. I would like to express my thankfulness to all the museums, and the personal that have assisted me with photographs. I would like to thank J. van Leuven and C. Gillis for improving my English text.

Among the postgraduate students at the Department of historical studies in Gothenburg who have commented, given me advice, and supported me in various ways, I would like to emphasise my gratitude toward A. Lindqvist, K. Ciambella Berggren, K. Johansson and S. Karlsson, who in spite of our physical, geographical distance, have inspired this work. As a very important step in any academic work, communication with scholars who are familiar with the material (as well as the physiological rollercoaster that comes with the process) is

essential. Among others, I would like to thank Dr. S. Albersmeier, Dr. B. van Oppen, F. Hellander, U. Bornestaf, M. Saad, S. Montazer, and K. Griffin for sharing their thoughts and guidance.

I am forever grateful for the support and inspiration, vivid discussions and constructive criticism that I have received from my greatly beloved friend and scholarly associate L. Lundberg, M.A. Her belief in me has enabled me to continue the work and to develop as a person on so many levels. I would like to thank my mother who believed in me from the very beginning, and who has encouraged me to fulfil my childhood dream in becoming an archaeologist. I thank also my father and siblings for their never failing support, patience and understanding. Finally, I would like to express my deepest thankfulness for all discussions, comments, questions and advices that have enabled me to develop in my scholarly thought process; and my eternal respect and admiration for my life companion and research partner in the Sirius Project, Dr. J. Ward, to whom I dedicate this work.



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

All illustrations are photographed by the author unless otherwise stated.

Fig. 1: Greek style portrait of Queen Arsinoë II, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität, B 284: photo by J. Schubert © Antiquities Museum, Bonn.	50
Fig. 2: Detail of a male tripartite wig, Temple of Dendera: detail of cat. no. 88.	226
Fig. 3: Detail of a female tripartite wig, Temple of Dendera: details of cat. no. 88.	226
Fig. 4: Ptolemaic ‘Sculptor’s model’, previously unpublished. © Medelhavsmuseet, photo: Ove Kaneberg.	229
Fig. 5: Tripartite wig and vulture cap: edited female image from the Hibis Temple.	229
Fig. 6: Nekhbet and Wadjet, Late Period, Chapel of Amenirdis at Medinat Habu.	230
Fig. 7: Queen Amenirdis I, Osirian Chapel, Karnak.	233
Fig. 8a-b: “Vatican Arsinoë”: Museo Gregoriano Egizio, inv. no. 22681. Photos by L. Lundberg.	233
Fig. 9: Amun-Ra. Photo from the Hibis Temple.	240
Fig. 10: Thoth, Isis and Khnum, Temple of Dendera.	243
Fig. 11: Wadjet, Edfu Temple.	245
Fig. 12: Persian pharaoh, Hibis Temple.	245
Fig. 13: Crown of Arsinoë without a crown spiral: detail of cat. no. 142.	248
Fig. 14: Detail of Amun, Karnak.	252
Fig. 15: Queen Shepenwepet offering to three figures, Medinat Habu.	253
Fig. 16: Queen Amenirdis and Queen Shepenwepet, Medinat Habu.	254
Fig. 17: Queen Amenirdis and Queen Shepenwepet, Medinat Habu.	254
Fig. 18: Hieroglyphic sign, Medinat Habu.	254
Fig. 19: Falcon feather: http://www.themodernapprentice.com/feathers.htm (2010-01-23)	256
Fig. 20: Ostrich feather: http://www.continentalfeathers.com/images/ostrichwingblackbig.jpg (2010-01-23)	256
Fig. 21: Goose feather: www.friendsofjamaicapond.org/images/EmeraldBird/GreatHornedOwls/GooseFeather5463s.jpg (2010-01-23)	256
Fig. 22: Crown detail of cat. no. 8.	257
Fig. 23: Crown detail of cat. no. 3.	257
Fig. 24: Crown detail of cat. no. 34.	257
Fig. 25: Crown detail of cat. no. 16.	259
Fig. 26: Ostrich feathers of the <i>anedjti</i> crown, Temple of Edfu.	259
Fig. 27: Coin depicting the Ptolemaic eagle: © Myntkabinettet, Stockholm.	260
Fig. 28: The Dendera crown, cat. no. 91.	264
Fig. 29: Detail of the CS-unit in cat. no. 91.	264
Fig. 30: Detail of the CS-unit in cat. no. 97.	264
Fig. 31a-b: Details of cat. no. 134: birth of Harsomtus.	264
Fig. 32: Sekhmet, Kom Ombo.	266
Fig. 33: Hathor, Deir al Medina.	267
Fig. 34: Seti I, Abydos.	270
Fig. 35: Horus, el-Kab. Photo by J. Ward.	270
Fig. 36: Nekhbet, el-Kab.	270
Fig. 37: Ramses II with the Ramesside crown, Karnak.	285
Fig. 38: Detail of the Ramesside crown, Edfu Temple.	285

Fig. 39: Detail of the Ramesside crown, Temples of Kalabsha.	285
Fig. 40a-c: Crown of Arsinoë: drawing by the author; Ramesside crown and Atum's crown: hieroglyphic signs <i>Jshesh</i> S51A, S52.	286
Fig. 41a-b: Scene and detail of the Alexandria sarcophagus: photos by J. Ward.	286
Fig. 42: Scene of the Alexandria sarcophagus: photo by J. Ward.	286
Fig. 43: Hathor, Hibis Temple.	287
Fig. 44: Nefertari, Abu Simbel.	287
Fig. 45: Detail of a Ptolemaic scene, Philae Temple.	300
Fig. 46: Hatshepsut and Amun, el-Kab: photo by J. Ward.	304
Fig. 47: Ramses II, Temple of Wadi al-Sebua.	304
Fig. 48: Detail from the Mammisi in the Edfu Temple.	304
Fig. 49: Detail of a <i>was stave</i> and its <i>cucupha</i> head, Dakka Temple.	306
Fig. 50: Detail of cat. no. 13.	307
Fig. 51: Detail of cat. no. 142.	309
Fig. 52: Kiosk of Hathor, Dendera Temple.	309
Fig. 53: Detail of a decorated sheat dress, Dendera Temple.	314
Fig. 54: Detail of cat. no. 8: sandals.	315
Fig. 55: Corner boxes, Dendera Temple.	317
Fig. 56: Dynastic scenes related to cat. no. 21.	324
Fig. 57: Dynastic scenes related to cat. no. 21.	324
Fig. 58: Censing: <i>Hieroglyphica</i> and <i>Jshesh</i> signs R36, R7, Q 39 and Q 6C	332
Fig. 59: Unfinished figure of Ma'at in cat. no. 26L.	333
Fig. 60: Water and wine vessels: <i>Hieroglyphica</i> W-list.	335
Fig. 61: Libation vessels: <i>Hieroglyphica</i> W-list.	336
Fig. 62: Variants of flowers: <i>Hieroglyphica</i> M-list.	336
Fig. 63: Detail of cat. no. 123: crown offering.	339
Fig. 64: Detail of cat. no. 88: dado offerings.	340
Fig. 65: Grids from the Tomb of Ramose, Valley of the Nobles: photo by J. Ward.	345
Fig. 66: Hapi with a Nile crown, Temple of Edfu.	345
Fig. 67: Detail of cat. no. 26L.	349
Fig. 68: Cat. no. 11 with five drawn horizontal lines.	350
Fig. 69: Cat. no. 13 with drawn horizontal lines.	351
Fig. 70: Cat. no. 10 with five drawn horizontal lines.	352
Fig. 71: Cat. no. 15R with five drawn horizontal lines.	353
Fig. 72: Cat. no. 26R with drawn horizontal lines.	353
Fig. 73: Cat. no. 47 with drawn horizontal lines.	354
Fig. 74: Cat. no. 79 with seven drawn horizontal lines.	355
Fig. 75: Cat. no. 82 with seven drawn horizontal lines.	356
Fig. 76: Cat. no. 84 with nine drawn horizontal lines.	357
Fig. 77: Crown details of cat. no. 3.	358
Fig. 78: Crown details of cat. no. 4.	358
Fig. 79: Crown details of cat. no. 13.	359
Fig. 80: Detail of cat. no. 1R – the newborn ram, Banebdjedet, and Harpocrates – with drawn horizontal lines.	361
Fig. 81: Detail of cat. no. 3 – Ptolemy V, Cleopatra I and the captive enemy – with drawn horizontal lines.	362
Fig. 82: Detail of cat. no. 134: <i>djed</i> pillar and two gigantic lotus buds.	362
Fig. 83: Detail of cat. no. 135: enlarged <i>menit</i> collar, Ma'at, Ihy and Hathor.	363
Fig. 84: Detail of cat. no. 134: Horus, Harsomtut and Hathor.	363
Fig. 85: Six royal cartouches in cat. no. 3.	364

Fig.86: Detail of cat. no. 4 with a grid system.	364
Fig. 87: Detail of cat. no. 15L.	365
Fig. 88: Detail of cat. no. 131.	366
Fig. 89: Detail of cat. no. 14 with drawn horizontal lines.	370
Fig. 90: Detail of cat. no. 97.	370
Fig. 91: Detail of cat. no. 78.	372
Fig. 92a-b: Detail of cat. no. 1L: two male figures.	376
Fig. 92c: Detail of cat. no. 1: symbolism of Upper and Lower Egypt.	377
Fig. 93: Cat. no. 36, drawing by J. Ward.	379
Fig 94 a-b: Full-size block and detail of Arsinoë's designation, Temple of Medamoud.	380
Fig. 95a-d: Full scene of cat. no. 2.	382
Fig. 95b: Detail of cat. no. 2: individual scene to the far left.	383
Fig. 95c: Cat. no. 2L.	384
Fig. 95d: Cat. no. 2R.	386
Fig. 96: Detail of cat. no. 26L.	389
Fig. 97: Detail of cat. no. 8: hieroglyphic text.	402
Fig. 98: Stone block with Arsinoë's name, found in relation to the Opet Temple, Karnak.	408
Fig. 99: Detail of cat. no.15R.	411
Fig. 100: Detail of cat. no. 26R.	418
Fig. 101: Horus name: signs after <i>JSesh</i> .	421
Fig. 102: Insignia in cat. no. 1: copy from Sethe 1904 (=Urk II), II.30.	424
Fig. 103: Detail of the insignia cat. no. 1.	424
Fig. 104: Nebty, the Two Ladies: <i>JSesh</i> G16.	424
Fig. 105: The Golden Horus name: hieroglyph after <i>JSesh</i> .	427
Fig. 106: Detail of cat. no. 95.	450
Fig. 107: Detail of cut marks in cat. no. 42.	455
Fig. 108: Detail of cut marks in cat. no. 16.	456
Fig. 109: Cut marks in cat. no. 26L.	457
Fig. 110: Detail of the undressed section of the northern gate at Karnak.	457
Fig. 111: Detail of cut marks in cat. no. 85.	459
Fig. 112: Detail of Amun's damaged title in cat. no. 26R.	460
Fig. 113a-b: Two details of cut marks in cat. no. 19.	461
Fig. 114: Details of cut marks in cat. no. 31.	462
Fig. 115: Details of cat. no. 32.	462
Fig. 116: Detail of cut marks in cat. no. 127.	463
Fig. 117: Detail of recutting, 8 th pylon in Karnak.	466
Fig. 118: Detail of recutting, Temple of Medinat Habu.	467
Fig. 119a: Detail of recutting in cat. no. 37.	468
Fig. 119b: Detail of recutting in cat. no. 37.	469
Fig. 120: Detail of recutting in cat. no. 65.	470
Fig. 121a: Detail of recutting in cat. no. 105.	471
Fig. 121b: Detail of recutting in cat. no. 105.	472
Fig. 122: Detail of recutting in cat. no. 59.	472
Fig. 123: Detail of recutting in cat. no. 138.	473
Fig.124: Detail of recutting in cat. no. 142.	474
Fig. 125: Detail of cat. no. 155.	475
Fig. 126: Detail from the Temple of Kalabsha: pharaoh described as Ptolemy.	475
Fig. 127a-b: Scene and detail of Ptolemy II sacrificing to the royal divine triad,	

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The scenes	64
Table 2: Variations of the tripartite wig	225
Table 3: Variations of the vulture cap	228
Table 4: Variations of the single forehead <i>uraeus</i>	231
Table 5: Variants of the ram horns	236
Table 6: Variations of the red crown	247
Table 7: Variations of the double feather plume	251
Table 8: Variations of the cow horns and solar disc	261
Table 9: Variations of the <i>uraeus</i>	268
Table 10: Individual types of the double crown	272
Table 11: Individual types of the <i>atef</i> feather	273
Table 12: Individual composition-types of the crown of Arsinoë	276
Table 13: Crown of Arsinoë according to the position of the ram horns	282
Table 14: Individual types of the Dendera crown	290
Table 15: Individual types of the Dendera crown with an additional <i>atef</i> feather	294
Table 16: Individual types of the female Edfu crown	297
Table 17: Individual types of the Edfu crown	299
Table 18: Handheld objects	302
Table 19: Decoration	313
Table 20: The setting of the scenes	318
Table 21: The most frequent offering objects	330
Table 22: Height of the female figures according to the crown line	360
Table 23: Positions of the female figures	368
Table 24: Dating of the scenes	392
Table 25: The most frequently applied designations of Arsinoë	396
Table 26: The most frequently utilised designations of the Hathoric figures	434
Table 27: Placement of cut marks on the female figures	455

I INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I.1 OBJECTIVES, TERMINOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

The historical figure of Queen Arsinoë II¹ has for a long time been a topic of discussion. Her involvement in political affairs has captured a broad range of scholars over the years, engaging dedicated Egyptologists and classicists alike. However, in the eyes of modern scholars her political role has always surpassed her religious position in her contemporary society. Also, as a subject of study, she has remained in the shadow of her more famous descendant Queen Cleopatra VII. These two queens are, however, connected through more than their royal status. They were both deified in their own right, receiving religious attention among Greeks and Egyptians alike. They were also highly involved in the established cult of the royal family, venerated as the daughters, sisters and mothers of their Macedonian dynasty.

This Ptolemaic queen and ruler cult was expressed in various ancient media, one of which consisted of reliefs.² In a period when (hieroglyphic) writing was limited mainly to upper hierarchic classes including the priesthood and the royal court, the relief scenes with their images could address all levels of society, bringing forward a strong and comprehensible message for literate as well as illiterate viewers.³ Each iconographic unit had an important place in a well-chosen composition, incorporating all parts of the figures as well as the full scene into a complete and structured setting. The pictorial elements represented in each figure of the scene allowed individualism, thus separating one figure from another, in an iconic context where one of the most important attributes was the crown.

Such an attribute, an individual and unique crown, was created and developed for Queen Arsinoë. It was a crown composed of strategically chosen iconographic units intended to set apart this queen from other royal women as well as female deities. This crown was re-used by two later Ptolemaic queens, and it is my aim to argue that its special symbolism can be traced also in crowns given to Egyptian goddesses from the time of Ptolemy IV, and throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The crowns and their position within the scene, as well as their relationship with surrounding pictorial units, provide the modern world with a key to the understanding of a period of time in which respect for ancient traditions was vital, and to which a new foreign dynasty had to adjust. By studying this unique Ptolemaic crown and its later variations, I intend to gain a larger comprehension of not only the creation, but also the development of an iconographic program introduced by the royal court as a part of a conscious politico-religious agenda.

¹ This queen will be referred to as Arsinoë (without a following number) while Arsinoë I and III will retain their numerical designations.

² Here, I include temple reliefs and relief scenes on decrees and stelai.

³ The hieroglyphic signs have a symbolic meaning and were different from the normal ancient Egyptian spoken language. This is, however, a discussion which has to be addressed elsewhere.

The reliefs, following an ancient Egyptian tradition, show a great assortment of iconographic manifestations, each unique in their own way. Seemingly, the Macedonian rulers had to develop the ancient artistic program in order to reach out to the indigenous people of Egypt, as well as to the increasing immigrating Greek population by introducing a program of assimilation. Two ancient civilizations, each one strong in its own conventional symbolic values, merged in this unstable political period generally recognised as the Hellenistic era. Ancient Egyptian mythological creatures, vividly illustrated in anthropomorphic forms or with features of the natural fauna, met a contemporary set of beliefs expressed in traditional Greek religion. These two cultures brought forward a powerful dynasty resting on primeval conventions of politics in a country where royal events were carefully documented and distributed to the people.

The most obvious means of reaching the population was found in the iconography, which offered an opportunity of manipulating size, position and time. This is where the development of the conventional socio-religious iconographic programs comes in, bringing forward each and every aspect of the cultural setting in which the Ptolemaic queens existed. This twofold Ptolemaic kingdom enabled an artistic evolution in which each pictorial element, resting on a highly individual symbolism, could merge in a full composition. The crown, as a personal attribute and a symbol of hierarchic position, was possibly one of the most important details of expression in a scene. Therefore, it is far from surprising that a special crown was created for Queen Arsinoë in order to stress her position in the society. This attribute brought with it a statement so powerful that it remained an influential, recognisable symbol of queenship and divinity throughout the entire dynasty. Religion, power, politics and pictorial symbolism thus meet in one personal attribute, the crown of Arsinoë.

SCIENTIFIC OBJECTIVITIES

The present study sets out to morphologically and contextually analyse 40 relief scenes illustrating the crown of Arsinoë. The material incorporates also a chronologically later developed crown composition traditionally designated *hptj*, here referred to as ‘the later Hathoric crown’, totally counting 118 scenes. The 158 scenes encompass all preserved relief scenes depicting Arsinoë, and a clear majority of the scenes illustrating the later variations of this crown. There are a few additional documented Hathoric scenes with later variations of the crown, which, however, have been excluded from the present study due to their present state of preservation (too much soot or similar) or a location within an enclosed part of the temple. These scenes are documented (mainly as drawings) in the *Dendara* publications, vols. I-XI, but I have decided to include only those scenes which I have been able to study personally *in situ* in the temples. See Chapter II for further clarification and limitations of the material. When discussing it in general, this crown will be labelled “the later Hathoric crown”, based on the goddess wearing it. However, it will be subdivided with individual titles based on the composition of pictorial units, which is demonstrated in Chapter III.3. The crown of Arsinoë was composed of a strategically selected compilation of pictorial units, created exclusively for the second Ptolemaic queen. Here, my intention is to analyse and discuss the iconographic meaning communicated by the crown, as well as its political and socio-religious connotations.

My first step of this analytical process will be to examine each pictorial unit of the crown of Arsinoë. As will be noted further below in this introductory chapter, a semiotic approach will be applied to the material. Questions that are central in this part of the process are connected with the significance and intentionally communicated message of each individual pictorial

unit. In order to comprehend this message I intend to establish the physical form of each unit and thereafter classify it. Thus, the crown of Arsinoë will be deconstructed in order to comprehend form and symbolic value of each iconic component.⁴ This step also incorporates an investigation of how each unit was represented, consequently examining size and position in association with the contextual setting. The semiotic premises will be employed further in order to decode the iconographic structure and thereby open up for a translation of the symbolic language expressed in each pictorial unit.

Through the theoretical framework of hermeneutics, my intention is to explore the initial meaning of the crown of Arsinoë, and how it was viewed by contemporary beholders. This framework will also encompass how a viewer of today, as a child of a modern civilization, can bridge the historical distance between the contemporary society and the culture of the ancients. Moreover, a hermeneutic approach to the material is applied in order to bring up questions related to the socio-religious role of the original wearer of the crown of Arsinoë, the queen herself. Issues which are central in the process concern Arsinoë's *deification*, possible *kingship* and her *religious role*. By investigating the crown of Arsinoë and the message that each pictorial unit sends out, I enter the current debate on Arsinoë's deification also in regard to the temporal aspect of whether it happened during her lifetime or after her death. Her possible role as pharaoh will be similarly discussed. Finally, I aim at investigating Arsinoë's religious role as a high priestess within Egyptian religion. Together with the investigation of the meaning and communicating message embedded in the crown of Arsinoë, these three topics (Arsinoë's deification, possible role as pharaoh, religious role) form the foundation of hermeneutic quandaries around which the present study centres. The three topics form the foundation for Chapter IV where they will be extensively discussed based on the information provided in Chapter III.

The pictorial units that constitute the individual crown of Arsinoë are also represented in a female crown composition worn by the Egyptian goddess Hathor.⁵ This latter crown was introduced during the reign of Ptolemy IV, and was pictorially developed throughout the centuries with its final depiction during the rule of Emperor Trajan.⁶ My aim in including this latter crown in the present inquiry is to investigate a potential iconographic correlation with the crown of Arsinoë. By analysing the crown of Arsinoë I hope to demonstrate how it could function as an artistic and equally symbolic matrix when succeeding rulers created and developed the later Hathoric crown. The socio-religious position of Arsinoë will be analysed also in order to be compared to the roles that the Egyptian goddess Hathor held in a more esoteric mythological context. Thus, the crown of Arsinoë and the later Hathoric crown will be individually analysed and discussed, divided into types based on the iconographic elements, before comparing them to each other.

In analysing the crown of Arsinoë and the later Hathoric crown this study endeavours to present a comprehensive study, dealing with how the reliefs and the religious iconography were called upon in order to reach out to the population of the kingdom and, more importantly, establishing a full collaboration with the Egyptian priesthood. The investigation of the later crown compositions could possibly also shed new light on the mythological role of Hathor when wearing this crown. It is an inquiry intended to bridge the modern disciplines

⁴ For a general introduction to structuralism and post-structuralism see D'Alleva 2009, esp. 131-138.

⁵ When referring to this crown in general (and not its individual types) it will be labelled the 'later Hathoric crown', as noted above. In order not to confuse it with Hathor's traditional crown (with large cow horns and solar disc), 'later' has been added to the designation.

⁶ For the dates see Chapters III.2-3, and Table 24.

of Classical Archaeology, Art History and Egyptology in order to more closely understand the intentions behind the reliefs of an Egyptian dynasty originating in a Greek culture, where all faces of the facets need to come together.

To conduct an investigation of the crown of Arsinoë including a comparison with the later Hathoric crown, it is of great importance to include an analysis of the full context of the scene. Once the correlation between the crown and the female figure wearing it has been established, it is possible to recognise a potential relationship with surrounding pictorial units. Thus, the current inquiry will include an examination of the association between the crown and varying elements within the contextual setting. Through such a contextual study of the iconographic units of the crown of Arsinoë, I aim at comparing it to the pictorial details of crowns worn by previous queens as well as priestesses. Consequently, this study presents also a discussion about a potential iconographic differentiation in the crowns worn by Egyptian women in their roles as queens and those worn by priestesses. This step enables a historical background of crowns worn by previous Egyptian female figures, thus facilitating a further step in the hermeneutic framework of approaching comprehension.

In order to pursue such an investigation, the hieroglyphic titles of the female figures will be incorporated in the study. These designations, including epithets, will be translated and listed individually.⁷ The purpose of including the hieroglyphic titles in this inquiry is to amplify the iconological interpretation, stressing potential pictorial associations. These titles can also demonstrate any possible local variations of the roles of the queens or goddesses when depicted wearing the currently investigated crowns. The present inquiry brings forward, for the first time, a comprehensive analysis of a specific group of crowns, which hopefully will result in reasonable conclusions about their symbolic meaning. It is furthermore an endeavour to date the introduction of the crowns and their pictorial development and variations. Thereby this study aspires to contribute not only to Art History but also to Egyptological and Hellenistic studies.

DEFINITIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

The crowns in the present investigation will be described in accordance with the composition, size and position of each pictorial unit, divided into types. My classification of each crown type includes also the individual headdress-units, represented as wigs and additional ornaments. When only describing, analysing or discussing the crown, it will be referred to in agreement with its individual type. When also including a contextual demonstration of the interaction of the pictorial units of the full figure or scene, the reader will be directed to the title of the figure and the number of the scene given in the catalogue, abbreviated as cat. no(s). All individual pictorial units listed in Chapter III are designated in conformity with a generally accepted terminology. The titles of the individual headdress and crown units/elements presented in Chapters III.1-2 are accompanied by an abbreviation, which is placed within brackets following each title. As an example, the tripartite wig is abbreviated TW. The reader will find these abbreviations in mainly the tables, but also elsewhere throughout the work.

Throughout, this work deals with a topic of relative placement. If not otherwise stated, the word 'position' or 'relative placement' refers to the pictorial placement within a scene (=the iconographic contextual setting). When I indicate instead a cultural aspect, associated with historical, religious or political status, the term will be preceded with a descriptive adjective,

⁷ See Chapters III.8-9.

thus reading ‘cultural’, ‘historical’, ‘religious’, or ‘political position’ (=iconological interpretation of the setting).

Definition of the crowns

The crowns to be presented are composed and constructed of various pictorial units. Ancient Egyptian crowns composed of several pictorial units are traditionally designated as composition crowns, a term which will be used here when describing multi-faceted crowns in general.⁸ The iconographic and semiotic premises applied here include a stage of classification, consequently demanding a clarified terminology. Previous scholarship has not given an adequate official name to Arsinoë’s crown, instead vaguely referring to it as “the crown originally worn by Arsinoë”.⁹ Nor is there a recognised sufficiently descriptive ancient title of the queen’s crown. The currently applied title, the ‘crown of Arsinoë’, is here regarded as the most applicable designation adequate to its original position, although it is attested also as a head attribute of the two later Ptolemaic queens Cleopatra III and Cleopatra VII. The descriptive title, crown of Arsinoë, will be applied also when analysing this crown when worn by Arsinoë’s descendants.¹⁰ I regard it as a satisfactory title for a group of crowns composed of equal compilations of units, although the crown is listed in 27 individual variations. Similar to the individual units, the crown of Arsinoë is given an abbreviation, AC, listed as AC 1-27. The crown of Arsinoë is defined based on the composition of the following pictorial elements:

- Red crown
- Ram horns
- Double feather plume
- Cow horns and solar disc

Previously, the variations of the later Hathoric crowns did not receive comprehensible individual titles based on the difference in pictorial units. Instead, the terminology of the later Hathoric crown has been rather vague since antiquity. The hieroglyphic sign *hptj* has been used to designate a group of composition crowns worn by the Egyptian deities Horus and the currently investigated Hathor.¹¹ Although this ancient designation has been applied to this group of crowns, it will be argued here to be a misleading term since there are so many variations of the crown.¹² Further, it is problematic to use this hieroglyphic title of the crown because it includes crowns worn both by Horus and by Hathoric figures, each represented in numerous variations. Therefore, I will provide the crowns new comprehensible designations in order to clarify their individuality.

⁸ See for example Derchain-Urtel 1994, *passim*, for this term. On the crown of Arsinoë as a composition crown, see Quaegebeur 1988 and Dils 1998. See also Abubakr 1937, *passim*. The iconographic terminology applied to each pictorial unit in this study will be individually demonstrated below.

⁹ It is sometimes only vaguely referred to as “the distinct crown” as in the text to cat. 14, Bianchi 1988, 103f.; Quaegebeur, however, most frequently uses the terminology “crown of Arsinoë II”, for example in Quaegebeur 1988, 47 with fig. 18.

¹⁰ Dils 1998, 1300-1304, esp. p. 1302, labels the crown “la couronne portée par Arsinoë II ou Cléopâtre VII”, although basically treating it as the same crown. This can be compared also to the commonly accepted title of the traditional crown of Hathor, consisting of the large cow horns and solar disc, as the Hathoric crown, whilst Isis as well as other goddesses also dressed themselves in this attribute. See Vassilika 1989, 94.

¹¹ See mainly Derchain-Urtel 1994, *passim*, for this title. This hieroglyphic designation of the crown was created during the Ptolemaic period. The word itself could possibly be connected with *hp. tj* which in its various forms is related primarily to kingship. See *WB III*, 69.

¹² It is differentiated in its compilation of elements.

The titles to be presented are based on the main figure wearing the crown or in accordance with the main location of its depiction. The crown worn by Hathor will be described as the ‘later Hathoric crown’ when generally referring to it (i.e., not to the sub-divided individual types).¹³ Based on the compilation of the units, I argue for the existence of at least four different female crowns, each one consisting of several individual types.¹⁴ In order to present a comprehensible corpus of the later Hathoric crown and to understand its symbolic value, I consider it essential to separate these crowns. I label each main group in agreement with its main provenance and further due to additional pictorial elements. Thus the later Hathoric crown is currently divided into the ‘Dendera crown’, the ‘Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather’, the ‘Edfu crown’ and the ‘female Edfu crown’. The individual later Hathoric crowns are abbreviated as DEC, DECA, ED, and FEC. The later Hathoric crown is designated based on the composition of the following pictorial units:

- Double crown
- Ram horns
- Double feather plume¹⁵
- Cow horns and solar disc

Designation of rulers and geographic locations

All ancient names used in the present dissertation will be given in their most recognisable form, i.e., Greek names in accordance with the modern English spelling rather than the ancient Greek form. Thus the Ptolemaic rulers will appear as Ptolemy instead of Ptolemaios; likewise, Latin names have their modern form, as in Trajan rather than Trajanus. The main historical figure of this investigation will be referred to as Arsinoë Philadelphos, indicating the pronunciation of the full designation in agreement with its Greek original form. Although the present study is following the modern English spelling of ancient names, this form of the queen’s name is today generally accepted among established contemporary scholars. To my knowledge, there is no generally accepted up-to-date publication on the full traditional pharaonic names and titles, and therefore it is necessary to combine the traditional publications of *Livre des Rois*, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, *LÄ*, *EAAE* and the lists given in *Chronicle of the Pharaohs* and *Complete Queens of Egypt*.¹⁶ If not otherwise stated, the geographic names given in the present study will follow the list published in *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*.¹⁷ The geographic names will further be given in accordance with their most general description, mainly using their ancient Greek names, although when the modern name is more widespread, like Dendera, this name will be used.

¹³ As indicated above, I regard the word ‘later’ to be crucial, since the more commonly recognised crown of Hathor, compiled of the large cow horns and solar disc, is referred to generally as the crown of Hathor or Hathoric crown (I will refer to the latter as the traditional Hathoric crown). This term is also used to describe the chronological order, since the later Hathoric crown was created two generations after the crown of Arsinoë. For the traditional female crown initially worn by Hathor, see Chapter III.3.

¹⁴ Each type is based on variations of size and position of the unit, identical to how the crown of Arsinoë has been divided.

¹⁵ This unit is replaced by the double *atef* feathers in type FEC.

¹⁶ Gauthier 1907; 1912; 1914; 1916; 1917; Beckerath 1984; *LÄ* I-VII; Clayton 2006; Tyldesley 2006. Compare my discussion in Chapter IV.1 concerning the ancient records, including the king lists of Turin, Abydos, Manetho etc.

¹⁷ Baines & Malek 2002.

CHAPTER I.2

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

The present study, like any investigation of ancient material, is of interdisciplinary nature and thereby combines a theoretical and a methodological framework for each scientific section. I am dealing with material whose fundamentals lie within religion, iconography, anthropology and socio-political studies. It includes furthermore the individual scientific fields of Egyptology and classical archaeology, incorporating linguistics of hieroglyphs and classical Greek. Comprehensive iconographic studies on Egyptian crowns illustrated in relief are rare, almost deficient, with no adequately established methodology available when approaching this material.¹⁸ However, numerous studies have been made in recent years focusing on temple reliefs in general. Previous studies have initially emphasised the hieroglyphic texts in order to identify the various figures and themes illustrated within the scene. This important linguistic work has certainly allowed a greater understanding of the ancient Egyptian religion in its correspondence to the mythological representation. The temple decoration has also been approached in order to investigate specific cults and rites through investigations of correlation of scenes within the same register, their placement within the structure, and possible recurrent themes.¹⁹ The majority of these scholars have offered individual methodological approaches to such an analysis, though few have actually applied an iconographic line of thought.

The iconographic settings of relief scenes have thus only been briefly analysed, leaving large areas of research unexploited. Further studies are therefore required, dealing with details and pictorial elements of the relief. The crowns have likewise not been systematically studied in an iconographic context, in accordance with their symbolic and mythological value.²⁰ Hence, it is crucial to unite the previous Egyptological textual approach to the full relief scenes and research on temple symbolism with the iconographic methods presented elsewhere. The concrete Egyptological data provide the present study with a basis of information which can be combined with the acknowledged iconographic methods presented by art historians and classicists. Theories and methods of communication sciences, such as semiotics, hermeneutics, contextualism and structuralism, facilitate any attempt at methodologically analysing each sign of the crown and its correlation with surrounding pictorial elements. These are all used in the present work and the particular application of them in the study of crown compositions will be presented below.

¹⁸ Dils' article on the crown of Arsinoë, however, follows an approach similar to that conducted here, in which the crown composition has been deconstructed down to each individual element. See Dils 1998.

¹⁹ Blackman 1918-1919, 34-76; Fairman 1954, 165-203; E. Otto 1964; Cauville 1983; Sternberg 1985; Cauville 1987; Vassilika 1989.

²⁰ I would like to express that I acknowledge the great variation of crown compositions that exist and the complexity that lies behind the lack of a single comprehensive iconographic corpus dealing with the topic.

METHODS OF ICONOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

Approaching semiotics and post-structuralism

All artistic work is somehow anchored in images reflecting the human psyche or the contemporary society in which the artists live. Such images can also express the ideological foundation upon which an entire society rests. Each society in its turn contains a certain amount of encoded statements of politico-religious principles which are communicated through a language of codes created by man. In ancient Egypt, as in any culture, these codes were manifested in a textual, a verbal and a pictorial language. Here, the written language, consisting of hieroglyphs, is definitely associated with the conventional images represented in reliefs and sculpture.

Each coded element of a language has a certain function without which it would not exist.²¹ It demonstrates a communicating message recognised by a certain group of people, varying from one person to a general public.²² Any language can thus be seen as a coming together of maker and reader, artist and viewer.²³ Each ancient Egyptian relief scene can bring up the question to a modern viewer about its meaning, regardless of scholarly background. The sometimes highly coloured images of a pharaoh bending over his captured enemies illustrated in a grand size, represented on the pylons and immense walls of several ancient temples, brings any viewer to an emotion of deep respect and awe. Once the immediate feeling of amazement has passed, the viewer will find himself asking for the meaning behind these scenes and possibly also their connection to the structure on which they are illustrated. The majority of the existing Egyptian reliefs are still *in situ* decorating walls of impressive structures dedicated to divine beings of ancient days. The grandeur of these temples which have survived the test of time bears witness to a belief system that once controlled the great masses of the Egyptian realm.

Thousands of years have passed since the artist created the relief scenes, carefully carving each detail and completing the full setting with a great variety of colours. Today the modern viewer can witness fragments of paint spread over the reliefs, while some scenes are robbed of their original colours completely. How is it possible for a modern observer to grasp the essence of the intended message, meaning, content and reception that was initially expressed in the reliefs? Can members of a modern society understand the direct cultural denotations and, perhaps more importantly, the indirect connotations?²⁴ Is it at all possible for the modern viewer to understand the fundamental esoteric value of the image? These are all questions which have captured the interest and thought process of iconographers throughout modern scholarly times, also including the present author.

Previous art historians can come to an agreement on iconic identifications, where one image demonstrates or represents a specific item or idea. It is, however, the process of reaching this identification, the iconographic interpretation, which causes the greatest debate. The first step in any iconographic interpretation involves a procedure of transforming an image into a

²¹ van Walsem 2005, 2f.

²² See Gombrich 1999, 6. See also Gombrich 1972; 1979; 1982.

²³ van Walsem 2005, 3.

²⁴ For the theoretical differentiation of denotation and connotation within post-structuralism and semiotics, see Kristeva 1980.

verbal or written language in which each detail is described in words.²⁵ This process is practical in its essence and can be combined with statistical information about how many times a certain scene occurs, how often it appears in a specific orientation within the temple and its relationship to surrounding scenes and registers.²⁶ This translation of an image into words will then be followed by an iconographic interpretation. Such analysis might seem sensible and coherent, but there are many scholarly ideas and developed methods of reaching this ultimately deeper understanding of the meaning of imagery. The process of methodological investigation is here divided into establishing the artist and viewer and the interpretation grasping the time gap between the ancient media and our contemporary forum of understanding.

Translating the illustrated language of codes

Initially, I would like to consider the translation of the image into a verbal and descriptive language demonstrated in words. This can be formulated through the foundations of semiotics, which is the theory of signs.²⁷ Semiotics, when applied to art, most often functions as an interdisciplinary complement of iconography, a method of investigating the meaning of any art work. It provides a more practical and intelligible framework for interpreting the various associations between image and culture as well as artist and viewer.²⁸ Here, a sign represents a physical object in the shape of words, images, gestures, sounds, ideas etc.²⁹ In an ancient society where images are also used to express words, such as Egyptian hieroglyphs, this semiotic correlation becomes most evident. Thus, information provided by Egyptian images has equivalence in value to the information provided by hieroglyphic texts.

Every society, ancient and modern, has its own set of cultural iconography. These ideological cultural concepts are expressed in a concrete form which is composed of a combination of individual iconic signs.³⁰ The ancient Egyptian culture had rich and colourful religious representations visible in all parts of the country. Regardless of any given access to the inner parts of the temples, the Egyptian inhabitants could view each pictorial sign forming the full relief scene, depicted in strong colours, and often in great size on the enclosure walls. The Egyptian as well as any other society whatever its time and geographic location, creates a system of conventions applied in the construction of imagery.³¹ These structural principles, which together form the full image, require an individual morphological examination preceding identification. It is only through the awareness of this morphology of each sign and the full syntax that we are able to approach any image independently of the cultural setting.

In order to grasp the original meaning of the work and thereby bridge the cultural and physical time gap, the ancient iconographic material will be dealt with in accordance with post-structuralism and semiotics: they stress the importance of understanding the cultural position of the maker/artist and his contemporary social context. They acknowledge also the possibility of a change of the meaning of an image over time, a topic which was summarised

²⁵ Morgan 1985, 6f.

²⁶ van Walsem 2005, 21.

²⁷ D'Alleva 2009, 28f.

²⁸ D'Alleva 2009, 29.

²⁹ D'Alleva 2009, 29.

³⁰ Morgan 1985, 7.

³¹ Morgan 1985, 7f.

by J. Białostocki in his expression “iconographic gravity”.³² In order to interpret a sign, the sign has to be recognised by the viewer, and it is only through acknowledgment that it indeed can function as a sign. A sign does not always hold the same meaning in a modern society as it did during the ancient time period in which it was created. For example, it would be interesting to ask a person of any modern society who wears a hat decorated with a falcon feather, if he or she is aware of its ancient Egyptian symbolic value. In some modern cultures, the feather will most probably still hold a very similar symbolic significance, connected with power, royalty and even protection.

Although Panofsky and Gombrich alike have contributed greatly to the development of iconographic methodology, I would like to focus more on the two theoreticians, F. de Saussure and C. S. Peirce, who individually have laid the foundation of semiotics.³³ de Saussure introduced a theory in which he divides a sign into two parts, the ‘signifier’ and the ‘signified’.³⁴ The signifier refers to the physical form of the sign while the signified represents the concept it depicts.³⁵ The meaning of any image lies in the association between the form and the idea.³⁶ Peirce introduced three parts of a sign beginning with the ‘representamen’, which refers to de Saussure’s signifier, the form that the sign takes. The next part was the ‘interpretant’ demonstrating the sense of the sign. The last of Peirce’s three main parts is the *object*, referring to de Saussure’s signified and the object to which the sign refers.³⁷ Peirce, however, somewhat complicated the process of interpretation by adding further aspects of a sign. He divides it into ‘index’, ‘icons’ and ‘symbols’. The index of a sign is directly associated with the image, exemplified in smoke as signifying a fire, footprints indicating a person walking etc. The icon has an illustrated similarity to the original item, while the symbol no longer holds any resemblance to the original object.³⁸

L. Morgan, who has had a great impact on the current methodological approach, develops these definitions into ‘idiom’ and ‘style’, where idiom represents the structure of the visual language and style its performance.³⁹ Morgan expresses the absolute necessity of conducting a structural analysis of the concepts of idiom prior to any iconographic interpretation.⁴⁰ This means that each image must be deconstructed to its smallest definable pictorial unit. Such a unit is defined by an individual form which can be understood on its own and from which nothing can be extracted. Morgan uses the eye as an example, where an eye without a face is still clearly representing an eye, while an eye without an eye ball is nothing but an almond-shaped connection of two lines.⁴¹ Naturally, this example can be placed also in an Egyptian context. The Wadjet eye is composed of an eye, eye ball, tear, curl, and an eye brow. Each unit has an individual significance, but when they are placed together they structure one of Egypt’s most renowned religious symbols. Also the feather can be used as an example from the material. The feather with its outlines, rachis and barbs is a full sign. Extracting the outlines from the image, the viewer is left with the rachis (the centre line) and the barbs, reminding more of a leafless tree than the core of a feather. However, if one instead removes

³² See for example Białostocki 1962, 1966 and summarised more recently in Białostocki 2003; D’Alleva 2009, 24 n. 17.

³³ Panofsky 1939; 1955; Gombrich 1972; 1975; 1979; 1982. See also Gombrich, Hochberg & Black 1994.

³⁴ de Saussure 1974; 2006.

³⁵ D’Alleva 2009, 24f.

³⁶ The form is what Morgan refers to as an idiom; see Morgan 1985, 7-9.

³⁷ Peirce 1870; 1883; 1983; 1994; 1998; D’Alleva 2009, 30-32.

³⁸ D’Alleva 2009, 31f.

³⁹ Morgan 1985, 7-9.

⁴⁰ Morgan 1985, 7-9.

⁴¹ Morgan 1985, 9.

the inner details of a feather, leaving only the outlines, the sign will still be recognised as a feather. The sign of a feather can thus be acknowledged either in a simple form, without its inner structure, or in a more elaborated form, including the rachis and barbs. Such a deconstructing process will eventually enable an identification of the full image.

Once each individual pictorial unit is established, the image can be rebuilt in a process of observing the association of these units. This association is what de Saussure and Peirce refer to as a code, a larger system of signs, together constructed to demonstrate a message which is the full context of the signs, and without which any sign would be individually meaningless.⁴² The meaning of the sign is based on the code creating a framework, within which the sign exists. A semiotic methodology of interpreting iconography creates a relation between an image, its code and its individual units.⁴³ This is where the cultural differentiation makes itself heard. An observer of a modern society cannot expect to fully recognise the meaning of a code or message communicated in an image created thousands of years ago. Each code is created within a certain society with conventional cultural settings and has to be learnt in a process similar to studying a language.⁴⁴ An image is a communicating medium created by an artist directed at a viewer. Thus, according to the semiotic code theory of communication presented by R. Jakobson, both sender and viewer must share the fundamental comprehension of the illustrated code.⁴⁵ U. Eco proposes that signs have a hypothetical rather than real significance, where each sign is limited by the cultural and social environment.⁴⁶ He uses an example which is partially related to the present investigation, where the figure of a mother and child can be interpreted as the Virgin Mary and Christ only when we are aware of the biblical story. This image, as it will be demonstrated in the main analytical chapters, could likewise be interpreted as the Egyptian goddess Isis and her son Harpocrates, or equally Hathor and Harsomtus. Semiotics is limited by the cultural comprehension of the interpreter.

The post-structuralist theoretician J. Kristeva suggests that a sign acts as both a direct and an indirect indication, described as denotation and connotation. Denotation for Kristeva signifies the meaning of a sign which is clearly observable while a connotation of a sign is equivalent to a less obvious meaning which demands an interpretation.⁴⁷ Hathor, for example, is clearly denoted to have a maternal role when breast-feeding a young child.⁴⁸ However, it is only through the connotations of her persona as royalty that the viewer can assume that the child signifies the pharaoh. These semiotic and post-structuralist methodological applications all concern the significance of the individual sign and its relationship with its context.

I would like to bring to mind L. Morgan and her theoretical development of the iconographic methodology. Similar to the above mentioned theorists and art historians, Morgan emphasises the importance of the study of the individual sign through deconstructing it, only later to rebuild the full image. The meaning of one sign can change when it is combined with another sign, and it is then crucial also to understand this newly created form. Morgan exemplifies this step with the image of a griffin, which is pictorially composed of a lion and a bird. Each sign in this composition, the lion and the bird, holds an individual meaning, but when combined they create a new creature. She then describes a “principle of invention” which is

⁴² D’Alleva 2009, 32.

⁴³ D’Alleva 2009, 32f.

⁴⁴ D’Alleva 2009, 33.

⁴⁵ Jakobson 1960; 1971-1985.

⁴⁶ Eco 1984.

⁴⁷ Kristeva 1980; D’Alleva 2009, 34f. with n. 32.

⁴⁸ See my discussion in Chapter IV.4.

fundamental in the construction of mythological, anthropomorphic or imaginary figures.⁴⁹ This is evident in the present material in a large number of anthropomorphic mythological figures, usually illustrated with an animal head or with pictorial attributes gathered from the surrounding vegetation. Here, it is important to question if a sign has a changeable significance in its association with surrounding signs. Egyptian iconography applies a restricted number of elements displayed in various contextual combinations. Each illustrated figure similarly adopts a limited assortment of expressive gestures. For example, the falcon-headed figure of Horus can transform to the warrior god Montu when changing the double crown worn by the former to a crown composition composed of a solar disc and double feather plume worn by the latter.⁵⁰ A deity illustrated with one hand raised can express protection, while the same gesture when performed by a pharaoh would convey a position of praising.⁵¹ The analysis of the association between these varying signs and their changing meaning within the coded framework enables a definition of what Morgan refers to as idiom, “a conventional mode of expression peculiar to a particular culture”.⁵²

Semiotics, as applied here, is demonstrated by the analysis of the morphology and syntax of an image (the code of the iconographic language), and the evaluation of the full contextual setting including the associations of each pictorial sign. How do I apply these theoretical criteria to the currently investigated material? This question requires me to clarify my applications of iconographic definitions.

Semiotic and iconographic definitions applied in the material

The rich variety of definitions and terminology applied to iconographic components has been exemplified above. Due to this discrepancy it is necessary to briefly present a directory of pictorial components and their field of application in the current investigation. The images concerned have been divided into three main components, defined as ‘units’, ‘elements’ and ‘symbols’.

Units

I have labelled the smallest iconographic detail included in the present investigation as a ‘unit’. I use ‘unit’ as an alternative of ‘sign’, since the latter can be applied also as an indicator of colour, shade, etc. However, unit has a denotation identical with Morgan’s sign, and is utilised in accordance with its individual significance in the process of conducting a semiotic interpretation. The present study adopts a so-called paradigmatic analysis, in which the full image is deconstructed to facilitate an understanding of each separate pictorial detail.⁵³ Units hold individual symbolic values expressing certain cultural aspects or religious associations. Generally, they are considered to relate to the physical world, expressing natural likeness, conventions or a world view/cosmology.⁵⁴ It is thus necessary to deconstruct each

⁴⁹ Morgan 1985, 10.

⁵⁰ See Chapters III.2-4.

⁵¹ See Chapter III.6.

⁵² Morgan 1985, 9.

⁵³ Chandler 2002, 79-81; Olsson 2006, 44.

⁵⁴ Kippenberg 1990, VIII-X .

full pictorial figure and element into units before approaching the images in their entirety. In the present investigation each unit is individually analysed, identified and categorised. Their socio-religious connotations are considered, as are possible existing associations in the natural surroundings. Also the political connection is of great importance, especially in regards to the investigation of the crown of Arsinoë. The red crown, a pictorial element on its own, is an individual unit of the composition of the crown of Arsinoë. The red crown is traditionally associated with the position as the ruler of Lower Egypt. As one unit amongst others, it is thus crucial to investigate also the political aspect of the applications of this individual unit. Each unit is ethnically evaluated also in regard to the twofold cultural setting of the Ptolemaic kingdom. The currently investigated crowns are composed of several individual signs and the categorisation of the full compositions (elements) depends on the presence of each unit. As noted above, the crown of Arsinoë is recognised by the compilation of the red crown, ram horns, double feather plume, cow horns and a solar disc. If either of these pictorial units is excluded, the composition (element) changes into a different crown, as will be demonstrated further below.⁵⁵

Consequently, the unit can be interpreted as the most important iconographic part. Regardless of its size and position, it can change a full pictorial setting, here demonstrated in the crown of Arsinoë and the four main groups of the later Hathoric crown. Each group of the Hathoric crown includes an individual unit which is different or excluded in the other groups. For example, the Dendera crown is distinguished from the female Edfu crown by the type of feathers included in the composition (element).⁵⁶ The significance of each iconographic unit of the crown is developed further in relationship to their individual size and position, determining a subdivided type. Thus, the crown of Arsinoë has been separated into 27 types, all of which are considered as compiling one crown due to the actual presence of the units. The four groups of the later Hathoric crown have similarly been subdivided into individual types, which will be further demonstrated below.⁵⁷

Elements

When units are connected with other pictorial details, they together form a structure of a full individually standing representation, enabling the viewer to comprehend the whole image in which the element is included. This system of associations is traditionally referred to as a syntagmatic investigation.⁵⁸ The solar disc is one of the essential pictorial units in the crown of Arsinoë as well as the later Hathoric crown. It holds an individual symbolic value. However, it might simultaneously function as an indicator of a greater message when combined with other units. This is demonstrated in the traditional Hathoric crown, where the solar disc is surrounded by large cow horns, together symbolising the goddess Hathor.⁵⁹ Therefore, two units have together structured and created a full crown composition which can function as a direct attribute of a goddess. This composition of two or more pictorial units is here referred to as an ‘element’. It is a composition which on its own constitutes a full form, the crown, but it can also have a function as a part of a greater image when placed on a head

⁵⁵ See Chapter III.3.

⁵⁶ The Dendera crown has a double feather plume while the female Edfu crown has one or two *atef* feathers instead. See Chapter III.2 for a clarification on the feathers.

⁵⁷ Chapter III.3 lists all these individual types.

⁵⁸ Morgan 1985, 14; Olsson 2006, 44 with note 186.

⁵⁹ This crown originated as an individual attribute of the goddess Hathor, while it was worn also by other goddesses in later pharaonic periods. See Chapter III.3.

or when being offered to the gods. It is thus an element of a larger iconographic setting, the full relief scene.

Elements do not necessarily enjoy universal application or recognition. A viewer could possibly distinguish an Egyptian crown no less than any other crown, but it would be harder to interpret its individual meaning due to the structure of independent units communicating a conventional cultural code. An element can thereby also constitute an attribute, which is a pictorial component connected with a specific figure or a certain cultural aspect. Elements can consist of one or more pictorial units and have, as attributes, developed over time into a personal indication of identification. An element can hold a similar value of recognition as a symbol, though it more generally is too influenced by its contemporary cultural setting to be universally identified. For example, the generally recognised Egyptian *ankh* is an element commonly depicted in all Egyptian artistic settings. This element symbolised life in any form and was later adopted by the Christian iconography with a very similar expression. It is, however, not a universally acknowledged symbol and is rarely illustrated on its own, and must therefore be categorised as an element (although it could certainly also be a unit). An element is here considered to be directly associated with the socio-religious culture in which it is represented.

The crown of Arsinoë is an element as well as an attribute. It was created for and worn by Arsinoë as indicating an individual position. It was, however, also worn by the two later Ptolemaic queens, Cleopatra III and VII. Thus, it changed from being a personal sign of recognition (attribute) to also apply the cultural association and possibly religious connotation which the crown evoked (element). It is at this stage of the iconographic process of analysis that the full crown composition (element) is investigated also in association with the contextual setting of the full scene. Here, for example, the crown will be analysed in relation to the offering or religious act performed in the scene. The crown will be investigated in regard to the position of the figure wearing it. It will also be categorised in accordance with its correspondence to the hieroglyphic titles given to the female figure wearing the crown. Together, the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic analyses form the foundation of an iconographic study, creating a synthesis of information enabling the final iconological interpretation. Each crown (and headdress) element will be subdivided into ‘types’, which are based on variations in size and position.

Symbols

A ‘symbol’ refers here to a universally understood image, which in general is acknowledged by everyone. The representational value of a symbol is recognisable regardless of social or ethnic contexts. A lion, for example, is recognised in most cultures as symbolising strength, courage and kingship evoking feelings of fear and respect. A symbol is a component of identification or a key to a greater understanding. It can provide the meaning of a religious objectification as well as a structure of indications. The definition of a symbol described by Peirce, a sign representing an object only by convention and not likeness, is somewhat also applied here.⁶⁰ The double cornucopia, for instance, can identify Queen Arsinoë on the reverse of a coin regardless of a textual designation or a portrait on the obverse. Consequently, the crown of Arsinoë can be regarded as a symbol of the queen and not only a personal attribute or a crown composition (element) created by individual units. The message communicated by a symbol is therefore not necessarily associated with shape or placement.

⁶⁰ See for example Peirce 1983.

However, a symbol is here regarded as also dependent on its contextual setting, time of interpretation, reader (viewer) and religious application, and can therefore have either an absolute or a relative meaning.⁶¹

Symbols illustrated in the present material often derive from natural phenomena or fauna, for example the solar disc. The image of a solar disc exists in societies all over the world and has mostly maintained its original value throughout the historical periods.⁶² The sun is thus a life-giving force for every man, regardless of where or when he/she lived. It is still worshipped today throughout the world, although the religious connotations have changed. A symbol is here considered strong enough in its essence to stand on its own, delivering a message without demanding a surrounding contextual setting.

The hermeneutic line of thought

Summarising the above, the present study refers to each pictorial unit of the crown and of the contextual figures of the scene in which it is represented to create an equally important part in a symbolic compilation, similar to hieroglyphic writing. These units can, as mentioned above, be individually and collectively translated. Each unit is generally considered to relate to the physical world, inspired by the existing natural surroundings.⁶³ The conventions of Egyptian art were naturally stimulated by the contemporary cultural setting. However, they were also influenced by impressions of surrounding societies, which were revealed to the Egyptians mainly through trade and expeditions. Ancient Egyptian art is thus influenced not only by the socio-religious and political contemporary cultural setting, but also by psychological impressions of alien nations. However, with the existence of iconic union between the natural object and its illustration, the full image can become comprehensible.⁶⁴

Ancient Egypt is recognised by modern scholars as a culture mainly lacking a core of a written narrative focusing on socio-religious principles.⁶⁵ Instead, the ancient Egyptians expressed their beliefs and fundamental cultural structures through artistic media, in a context of hieroglyphic texts providing designations of the figures and labels of religious themes expressed within the scenes. Although there are some ‘principles of decorum’ visible in temple reliefs, each individual scene holds an individual pictorial setting, communicating its own message.⁶⁶ The sections above have all focused on the structural and practical applications of iconography. The question is now how these methods can be applied to the present material in order to reach a deeper understanding of the meaning of the crowns and the scenes in which they are illustrated.

The thesis deals with an assortment of religious representations, 158 relief scenes which all include the crown of Arsinoë and crowns which are pictorially associated with it. As stated

⁶¹ Compare the discussion in Morgan 1985.

⁶² This, however, can be said of a broad spectrum of deities in the ancient world or to any advertising or propaganda in the modern world. The basic thought about a symbol here is that everyone can relate to the image with a similar psychological recognition.

⁶³ Kippenberg 1990, IX is here referring to the work of Panofsky who lists the three aspects of art constituted in natural likeness, conventional meanings and expression of world view. See for example Panofsky 1964, 185-206.

⁶⁴ Morgan 1985, 7-9; Olsson 2006, 42f.

⁶⁵ Baines 1997, 217.

⁶⁶ For the ‘principles of decorum’ see Baines 1985, 277-305; Baines 1990, *passim*; Podemann Sørensen 1989, *passim*; Baines 1997, 217; Baines 2007, 18-20.

above, these crowns are considered to be vital when establishing the socio-religious position of the figures wearing them. The crowns are approached as key holders of information also in relationship to the contextual iconographic setting of the full scenes in which they appear. The intention is to reach a deeper comprehension of the symbolic value of these crowns. The present categorisation of the scenes as being of a religious nature implies an explicit interpretation already after an initial visual analysis. It also demands comprehension of the ancient culture in which the reliefs were created. The purpose of hermeneutics when applied in an iconographic investigation is to bridge the distance between recognised and unrecognised significances of an image, as well as between the pictorial units and the full figure.⁶⁷ Every human observe initially her natural surroundings. The initial observation results directly or indirectly in a description, where the viewer explains with words, imagery or any other expressional form, what he or she has witnessed. This description relies on some form of previous understanding of the nature of the object which we are referring to. The classification and cataloguing of the material is one of the most fundamental and cognitive matters in any scientific discipline. The methodological step of categorisation is only achieved once the stage of description is finalised, thus following the previously mentioned semiotic process of translating the coded language of signs. The categorisation here constitutes the main analysis, where each crown is classified in accordance with its individual pictorial components (units). The iconological interpretation will thus constitute the last stage of this investigation.⁶⁸

The above mentioned methodological steps are connected with individualism as well as psychological interference from the contemporary society. In its essence, all knowledge is based on individual interpretations combined with this categorisation of experienced information.⁶⁹ Issues to be faced will thus evolve around the differences between the modern classification of images and those of ancient times. How is this possible differentiation visible in the currently examined reliefs? Discrepancies between the socio-religious and political principles in the ancient and the modern worlds are fundamental to recognise. Any modern interpreter is coloured by personal perceptions and psychological interference from cultural upbringing which can be difficult to abstract oneself from.⁷⁰ Since the present material is investigated with a purpose of acquiring information about its place within its contemporary cultural society, it is necessary to acknowledge this difficulty.

It is also important to consider a differentiation in the symbolic value between reliefs and iconic units created during the Ptolemaic period and previous pharaonic times. Although periods within a culture are defined by their relation to previous ones, the thesis deals with a society which also brought in foreign artistic conventions.⁷¹ This is certainly of great importance when considering the development and future reuse of the crown of Arsinoë. This crown, together with its original wearer, remained an object of veneration for an entire dynastic period. Did the crown hold the same symbolic significance and connotation at the time of its creation as when later utilised by the two queens Cleopatra III and VII several generations later? Did these two queens intentionally adopt the crown of Arsinoë due to its original iconographic value or had its meaning changed over time? Did Cleopatra III and VII reuse this symbolic attribute (element) to gain the esoteric value associated with aspects of the

⁶⁷ See for example Mikics 2007, 142f.

⁶⁸ See for example van Walsem 2005, 26.

⁶⁹ van Walsem 2005, 25f.

⁷⁰ See for example Morgan 1985, 5f.

⁷¹ For more information about how periods within a civilization reconnect to previous ones, see Baines 1997, 218.

persona of Arsinoë? Similarly, one has to ask the question about the symbolic value of each component (pictorial unit) of the crown when initially composed for Arsinoë. Was she adopting an older Egyptian symbolic convention expressed in the pictorial signs? Who was the intended beholder of the full image of the crown of Arsinoë?

Subsequently, the focus is on the maker/artist creating the crowns and the full relief scenes in which they are depicted, and the receiver/viewer to whom the images were directed. It is necessary to establish the identity of artist and beholder in order to bridge the quandaries of conducting an iconographic interpretation of ancient material. In order to identify the viewer, I must begin by establishing the artist, which in its turn demands a brief synopsis of temple organisation. The temple itself held a crucial position within its contemporary society. Temples functioned as symbolic protectors of Egypt's people and guarantors of universal order.⁷² Together with the royal house, these ancient temples formed the core of Egyptian civilization. Scenes decorating the architectural structures of the temples were created by artists belonging to a priestly class, on direct or indirect orders or on behalf of the ruling monarch.⁷³ A temple held the role of a politico-religious centre within each community, while also holding a symbolic role as a cosmological heart towards which the surrounding landscape functioned as the cosmos itself on a more basic level.⁷⁴ It is still unknown today to what extent common people of ancient Egypt had access to the temple areas, i.e. possibility to view the reliefs, around the kingdom. In a complex civilisation such as the Egyptian, organised according to a clear hierarchic social structure, it is obvious that it was mainly individuals of higher ranks who had immediate access. It is, however, well documented how workers' communities grew up around the temple complexes, thus creating an opportunity of visual contact also for the working class.⁷⁵

Here it is also crucial to recognise a possible differentiation between the traditional pharaonic period and the Hellenistic era, since there is from the latter age a rich documentation of Greek graffiti covering Egyptian temple walls bearing witness to active pilgrimage and thus indicating a more unrestricted access to the sanctuaries.⁷⁶ This strongly suggests that the temples during the Ptolemaic period at least periodically were opened up for worshipers other than priests and members of the royal house. Regardless of this direct contact with temple reliefs, common people could come in contact with artistic representations through annual festivals, funerary rites, crowning and rejuvenation ceremonies and other public celebrations.⁷⁷ I would like to recall that the ancient Egyptians firmly believed that their monuments, and thereby also the decoration, would last for millions of years, forever delivering the essential message of Egyptian culture that life is eternal.⁷⁸ Thus, it can be suggested that the crowns and the relief scenes within which they are illustrated were directed at people of all times.

⁷² Baines 1997, 235.

⁷³ Although there are numerous more recent publications on this topic, I still consider (and refer to) W. Otto 1905 as one of the most comprehensive studies. See also Sauneron 2000 on the priestly organisation.

⁷⁴ Baines 1997, 218.

⁷⁵ See for example the workers' villages around the great temple complex of Karnak or that of Deir el-Medina.

⁷⁶ Cypriot and Roman inscriptions are similarly documented in various locations. See for example Matthews & Roemer 2003, figs. 10.4, 10.7-9; Rutherford 2003, *passim*, for the temple complex of Abydos.

⁷⁷ See for example Baines 1997, 218f.

⁷⁸ For a general introduction on Egyptian temple architecture see Arnold 2003; see also Baines 1997, who is investigating the correlation of traditional pharaonic temples (and décor) with those of the Graeco-Roman period.

In this discussion it is also important to include Gadamer's reception theory, which is fundamentally anchored in hermeneutics and especially conveys the idea that the beholder (viewer) completes the comprehensive meaning of the image.⁷⁹ He believed that it is impossible for any modern interpreter to fully comprehend the original thought of the intentions behind the original iconographic message. It is simply impossible for the modern viewer to overcome the historical distance.⁸⁰ It is, however, not only the modern observer who is limited by this distance. Both artist and hermeneutic interpreter are struggling with social and cultural as well as intellectual differentiations.⁸¹ Gadamer referred to this problematic principle, constituted by the interaction between artist and beholder, as a melding of horizons, "Horizontverschmelzung".⁸² He argued that all interpretation of art should be seen as a communication, a dialogue, where the modern interpreter tries to adjust his individual horizons, i.e., theoretical framework, in order to encompass the intentional horizons of the artistic object.⁸³ Through these dialogues, Gadamer imagines hermeneutic interpretation as a game in which the reader is constantly negotiating with the ancient image, bringing past and present together through some kind of centred agreement.⁸⁴ Similarly to Peirce's semiotic premises, Gadamer summarises that neither the meaning of the original art work nor the nature of the interpreter remains the same.⁸⁵

This line of thought is closely related to the 'hermeneutic circle', a theory which was developed by Schleiermacher and Dilthey, referring to the incapability of any interpreter to understand an image if he or she does not have an initial understanding of its background.⁸⁶ Heidegger continued this theoretical approach concluding, on an equal level with Gadamer, that the process of interpretation is not linear with a clear starting point of no knowledge leading to an end with full comprehension. Instead, hermeneutic interpretation is considered as a constant circular process where the intentional meaning is constantly translated and re-interpreted throughout the historical ages.⁸⁷ Ancient material demands some form of precognition of the culture in which the image is composed and this is then combined with our own embedded cultural experience. Thus, any translation of a coded language (here of pictorial units) will connect the past and present with an interpretation which is based on previous experiences and which contributes and extends the communicated message.

The currently investigated iconography is associated with highly conventional religious settings unknown to the modern world. Through previous textual translations it is known that temple architecture and its decoration had a cosmological connotation with which cult and ceremonies were connected. The reliefs included in this study demonstrate various religious acts and positions, illustrating the pharaoh or ruling couple in an offering position before the gods. These scenes also represent ancient political propaganda, here mainly documented in scenes where the pharaoh is reconnecting to his deceased ancestors in order to gain their divine blessing and dynastic power. There are also scenes with a magical connotation, expressed in rites and cultic objects, which will be further clarified below. This investigation

⁷⁹ Gadamer 1989; 1993; 1999.

⁸⁰ D'Alleva 2009, 125.

⁸¹ D'Alleva 2009, 125f.

⁸² Gadamer 1989.

⁸³ D'Alleva 2009, 125f.; Mikics 2007, 142.

⁸⁴ Mikics 2007, 142f.

⁸⁵ For Peirce see above. See also D'Alleva 2009, 125f.

⁸⁶ Mikics 2007, 143.

⁸⁷ On the 'hermeneutic circle' see Gadamer 1989; Heidegger 1962; Schleiermacher 1998; Dilthey 1977; 1996; see also Ricoeur 1967 on mythic images and symbols embedded in our psyche (compare the Jungian psychological theories).

will demonstrate how certain pictorial elements were considered to evoke the spirit of the illustrated deity.⁸⁸ These elements might also signify how deities could act as benefactors when actively returning a divine blessing.⁸⁹ These are all examples of statements which are based on an initial interpretation which is only possible through an experienced comprehension of the communicated code embedded in the images. As a modern interpreter of ancient material held in high cultic value by its contemporaries, it is essential to approach these images sensitively; being aware that any result will always remain a hermeneutic interpretation.

The theme and its relevance to the crowns

Previous scholars have described the relationship between the contexts illustrated in an image or full scene as a 'theme'. A theme can be described as summarising or communicating the general meaning of the illustration.⁹⁰ The crowns, as compositions of various units, can be suggested as a theme of the present investigation. However, due to the contextual analysis of the full scene, a theme will not represent the individual crowns but rather the full pictorial setting. It is the connection between the crown and the full context that presently is in focus. Thus, the crown can indicate a certain theme but cannot be regarded as constituting the theme itself. A theme is not bound by the existence of identical units, elements or symbols, but instead by their combined symbolic value in creating the full setting. The themes represented in the investigation are all related to the religious sphere.⁹¹ The themes listed here are all referring to a specific religious act or cult, indicated mainly by the offering object or the position of the royal figures.⁹² These may signify the crowning ceremony, a rejuvenation rite, or the transfer of dynastic power from deceased ancestors or mythological royal couples. Themes may also manifest the traditional expression of piety, or denote an actual historical religious ceremonial act of shaking the sistrum or dressing the cult statue. It is, however, the correlation between the currently investigated crowns and a possible theme that holds the most significant position here.

A new application of old principles

The material is approached by applying the practice of depiction of an ancient Egyptian artistic convention in a new way, to gain insight into the underlying messages transmitted through artistic representation in visual art. Before demonstrating its new application, it is necessary to briefly describe also its original aesthetic function together with some fundamental principles of adjustment of size and position.⁹³ Egyptian art can be approached in general as any other cultural iconography, in which the thoughts and aspirations of people were expressed as a narrative of their contemporary social ideology and religious principles. The ancient Egyptians established artistic principles to encode the world view which they wished to communicate. One of these fundamental conventions in Egyptian art was the

⁸⁸ See Chapter III.4.

⁸⁹ See Chapter III.6.

⁹⁰ Morgan 1983, 85; see also Olsson 2006, 43.

⁹¹ The majority of the presently investigated crowns are still *in situ* in the temples. The remaining material is documented on decrees and stelai, all relating to and representing traditional Egyptian religious iconography. It is, however, important to also include the socio-political setting of some of these scenes, especially those directly concerning the dynastic setting of the Ptolemies or subsequent Roman Emperors.

⁹² See Chapter III.6.

⁹³ These topics will be throughout explored in Chapter III.7.

immediately identifiable shape of the object depicted.⁹⁴ Each object was illustrated in its most easily recognised form and, when represented in the medium of reliefs, these objects were limited by the flat surface of the stone. Here, Egyptian iconographic representation differs from many other cultures, especially regarding modern aesthetics. Egyptian artists did not make any attempts to reproduce a three-dimensional natural object on a flat surface. Instead, they built up their scenes with a great variation of pictorial units, each one represented in its most recognisable form.⁹⁵ Thus, the Egyptian artist did not translate the original object into an image of full natural resemblance, but rather reproduced it as a number of units in agreement with its most simple visual form, each shown in either a front or a profile view, or in a combination of both. Each unit, element or fully composed image was organised in a geometrical arrangement of space and with a system of scale which could easily be manipulated to encode the relative importance of the figures. Along with the harmonious arrangement of space and scale adjustment, balance between each pictorial unit was considered essential in Egyptian art.⁹⁶

This active and deliberate arrangement (and rearrangement) of individual pictorial units, elements and complete images convey the most important principles of the currently investigated scenes, and are here referred to as ‘relative scaling’ and ‘relative placement’. This administration of a scene or even of a scene within a larger register is highly related to the relative importance of individual figures or the communicated message of the scene. One of the most acknowledged scholarly principles of relative placement is that a right orientation (i.e., looking to the right) expresses dominance.⁹⁷ These principles function together as an analytical foundation in the present study, where the crown is approached as a stylistic element expressing importance not only through its arrangement composed of various individual pictorial signs, but also by its adjustments of size and height.

The ancient Egyptian society was based upon a geometrical order in which all things were related to each other in one way or another, especially as manifested in art.⁹⁸ The symmetrical correlations of the figures depicted in the current relief scenes are fundamentally conventional. However, it will be demonstrated that the size and position of each pictorial unit within every complete element and image might vary greatly. These proportioned associations were deeply anchored in the religious belief system, demanding full attention from the artist reproducing it in any form.⁹⁹

The ancient principles of grid system and horizontal lines

The most basic ancient geometrical order is a grid system composed of a certain number of squares, each corresponding to a specific element to be represented in accordance with its

⁹⁴ Robins & Fowler 1994, 3.

⁹⁵ Robins & Fowler 1994, 6.

⁹⁶ Robins & Fowler 1994, 8-11 (however, not including relative scaling).

⁹⁷ Robins & Fowler 1994, 21f. Relative placement also includes a series of recognised poses, here represented as seated (on a throne), standing, running, kneeling or leaning over the enemies in a smiting position.

⁹⁸ There are several studies on the dualistic belief of the Egyptians, one of which is the study conducted by L. Troy (1986), which focuses on the queens.

⁹⁹ Lurker 2002, 7-9, introduces the concepts of Egyptian culture and its direct association with religion. For the more mathematical stand point, see *P.Brit.Mus.* 10057 and 10058 (also called the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus = *RMP*), translations and discussions available in for example Peet 1923; Chace 1927-1929; Gay & Shute 1987; the Moscow Mathematical Papyrus (also called the Golenischev Mathematical Papyrus), translation and discussion in Struwe 1930; Clagett 1999; the Kahun Papyrus (*KP*), translation and discussion in Legon 1992; Gay & Shute 1987, 41-43. See also Tomoum 2005.

correct mathematical positions and in relation with its context.¹⁰⁰ The grid system was originally (Old Kingdom) based on a clearly marked vertical mid-line which centred and connected the figure from the top of the head (in profile) through the ear, abdomen, and hips down to the front part of the back foot.¹⁰¹ Besides this most important vertical line, there were eight horizontal lines which followed individual mathematical calculations of position, i.e., they were not spatially interrelated.¹⁰² I use four of these ancient lines delineating (from the top) the top of the head, the shoulders, the knees and the base upon which the figures stand. Whereas the head line is included because of its traditional scholarly value, forming a base of comparison, all lower lines are frequently related with contextual elements under current study.¹⁰³ I shall supplement them with additional lines, following the breast, navel and calf when a certain relationship between the pictorial elements of the scene needs to be further clarified, and a new one, the crown line (see below).

The cultic conventions of geometrical harmony were applied to the decorative relief scenes supported by a system of grids. Each grid or horizontal line was systematically placed upon the stone surface, based on highly calculated mathematical orders.¹⁰⁴ Together they provided the artist with a drawn preview, a preliminary sketch, of the scene. The association of geometrical shapes could be refined when the artist was dealing with more detailed images. This system of grids or horizontal lines has been applied to the present material as an analytical instrument of measuring height and correlation between firstly the pictorial units, secondly the elements, and thirdly the figures represented within the scene. I am respectfully aware of the ancient mathematical calculations associated with these systems, but have chosen here to focus only on the practical application of each individual's hierarchic position within the scenes. These somewhat modernised systems are employed to fully analyse and discuss the crowns and their physical position as indicators of status.

Together with the convention of an orientation (facing) towards the right, it is generally accepted that the tallest figure of the scene is the most important; an artistic convention often

¹⁰⁰ The use of geometrical patterns can be found not only in the aesthetic sphere but also in the religious rituals, since with only a few exceptions most of Egyptian art derives from either the temples or tombs. See for example Kjelland 1955, 8f. These grids, painted in red or black, can be traced back to at least the Old Kingdom and have been found in several tombs from this period. See for example Lepsius 1897 on the Saqqara tombs.

¹⁰¹ *LÄ II*, 1201 with figs. on 1202. Schwaller de Lubicz 1998, 328 describes this vertical line as the static axis or the axis of movement on which semicircular canals are placed for direction and perception of balance. See also Kjelland 1955, 14-17.

¹⁰² The ancient lines, as referred to by Lepsius, refer to the highest point of the head, fringe, neck, armpits, elbows, hips, knee and, finally, the lowest line which the figure stands on, the base line. See Lepsius 1897, 234 (Anhang II). In addition to these lines there were also a series of markers or points in red or black which referred to the placement of minor elements of decoration. The line which Lepsius refers to as the neck corresponds to the top of the shoulders.

¹⁰³ See Chapter III.7 for such a demonstration. For example, the shoulder line often concurs with objects of sacrifice and the knee line with objects held in the resting hand.

¹⁰⁴ Studies of sacred Egyptian geometry have revealed that the ancient Egyptians were more concerned with abstract mathematical orders rather than perfectly naturalistic measurements. These mathematical methods were thereby connected with contemporary theological principles: the system is indeed very different from the modern mathematical system in which geometric forms are based on a system of algebra. See Kjelland 1955, 22 with references to previous studies. See also *LÄ II*, 1201-1203. See Schwaller de Lubicz 1998, chapter 11, esp. figs. 140, 142 for an introduction to the usage of grid systems as mathematical tools. This is not the place for a deeper analysis of the full relationship of the geometrical semantics, but rather a concentration on the tools that will be used in connection with the study of the ancient iconographic adjustment, here related to the position, usage and meaning of the crowns.

used in Egyptian art and frequently referred to as relative scaling.¹⁰⁵ The main figure of a scene was enlarged either in its entirety or, with the help of pictorial elements, by height.¹⁰⁶ Traditionally the figures of a relief scene are measured from the feet up to the top of the head, occasionally using the fringe or the tip of the nose as the highest point, a method usually referred to as isocephaly.¹⁰⁷ Isocephaly, i.e., heads drawn along the same horizontal line, sometimes called the classic mode of relief, refers to a position of equality between two or more figures.¹⁰⁸ The purpose of isocephaly in Egyptian art is traditionally interpreted as making sure that no figure is looking down on another, thereby securing the hierarchic order between the gods and the pharaoh (or equivalent figures).¹⁰⁹ In order to obtain this comparison between the figures of a relief scene, the artist, when creating the figures, needs to use the grid system as described above.

The first scholar who investigated the convention of these ancient grids and lines was K. R. Lepsius after finding several tombs in the Saqqara area, many documented with a grid still visible on the reliefs.¹¹⁰ The system was later referred to as “Lepsius’ Canon” and it was clarified that the principles were based on the proportions of the human figure.¹¹¹ The only pictorial element which did not follow any specified convention was the crown, for which there were never any indicating lines or points, leaving the artist the freedom (?) of adjusting the crown in accordance with the figure wearing it.¹¹² The geometrical orders are considered

¹⁰⁵ Modern scholars often refer to the active and deliberate administration of size as relative scaling, meaning that the depicted (relative) scale not necessarily agrees with the relative size of an object in reality. See for example Bianchi 2004, 117. The active administration of art was introduced together with the major other iconographic settings during the Early Dynastic period, and developed during the Old Kingdom when it was mainly represented in funerary art. The use of relative scaling is clearly documented in the famous sculpture of the male dwarf being depicted equal in size to his wife through the adjustment of the elements. In this case the dwarf has been placed on a podium next to his standing wife, enabling him to reach up to the same level as her. For this sculpture see Russmann 1989, 40f. with fig. 14. See also Schäfer 1974, 234. For a general introduction to Egyptian art and the principles of two-dimensional (as well as three-dimensional) art, and their artistic creational composition, see Robins 2008, 21f.

¹⁰⁶ See for example the motif of the famous Narmer Palette, for summary and further references see *LÄ* IV, 348-350.

¹⁰⁷ See for example R. Wilkinson 1994, chapter 2; E. Vassilika compared the figures of Philae by the measurements from the feet up to the tip of the nose in her study on Ptolemaic Philae; see Vassilika 1989, 14 note 74.

¹⁰⁸ For a summary of its application to Egyptian art see R. Wilkinson 1994, 46; see also Vassilika 1989, 14 note 74. As a topic of comparison, isocephaly in Renaissance paintings is discussed by Edgerton 1976, 87, who refers to it as horizon line isocephaly and describes it as “aligning the heads of all standing figures both in the foreground and far distance along a common horizon line...” Edgerton also states that isocephaly is not visible in art previous to 1425; see Edgerton 1976, 27, 44. Edgerton’s viewpoint of isocephaly is obviously limited and in Egyptian art it is not only the standing figures which are placed according to a horizontal line: through relative scaling and the usage of other iconographic ‘tools’ such as a high throne, even the seated figures become uniformly high. See Chapter III.7. Compare Head 2008, esp. 514f. with fig. V; Margolis 1987, esp. 343, 350.

¹⁰⁹ R. Wilkinson 1994, 46f. Notice the difference between Egyptian reliefs and paintings during the Renaissance; in the latter isocephaly is used as a line of horizon levelling the heads of the figures.

¹¹⁰ See for example Lepsius 1897, 233-238 (Anhang II).

¹¹¹ Schwaller de Lubicz discusses an ancient royal canon as well as a divine canon. He states that the divine dimensions did not follow a norm or clear convention based on generalised human ones. See Schwaller de Lubicz 1998, 323-328.

¹¹² This will be further discussed in Chapter III.7. See also Lepsius 1897, 233-238; Kjelland 1955, 14. The grid system of the Old Kingdom included (if complete¹¹²) totally 19 squares, a convention which changed during the 18th dynasty leaving the artists with a somewhat unclear canon of regulations. During this time more squares were introduced. *LÄ* II, 1201-1203; Kjelland 1955, 18; Lepsius 1897, 233-238. These details were studied by C. C. Edgar mainly on sculptures, see Edgar 1906. See also the publication of Perrot & Chipiez 1882. They were not always and necessarily fully drawn nor of the same great importance as the main squares, although they helped the artist in determining the position of the minor elements as well. The grids once again changed during

here to correspond to the presently applied iconographic methods, since Egyptian images were seen as unities built up by determined units and elements carefully placed in a certain relationship to each other based on sacred geometry. This is currently of greatest importance since the crown is considered to be an element equal to the other pictorial details of the full figure and thereby should be included when measuring the image.¹¹³ Ancient grids and horizontal lines are used in the present work mainly as a mean of comparison of height and space of the full figures, rather than dividing the figures to calculate the accurate geometrical measurements of every detail or the relationship between various geometrical systems.

New approaches – study of the crown line

When analysing the Egyptian relief scene in agreement with the paradigmatic and syntagmatic methods applied here, the crown is included as a part of the full figure: as it is one of the most important elements of both divine and royal figures, expressing both individualism and hierarchy, its presence must be included as a part of the figure. A crown on the head of a figure was an integral part of the full figure, and by wearing it the figure rose to a higher level. The material shows a great diversity of crowns, illustrated in various sizes and styles.¹¹⁴ The crown is the only pictorial element that reveals individualism and comparable differences in height, and as such it becomes a fundamental agent when determining a hierarchic order of all figures in a scene.

To measure the figures of the scene, I have modernised the ancient grid system by superimposing a series of horizontal lines to the photographic reproduction of a scene.¹¹⁵ Recalling the information above, I use primarily four body-related horizontal lines (top of the head, shoulders, hips and base).¹¹⁶ However, I introduce a new horizontal line that establishes the top of the highest crown in a scene. This line is not represented in ancient images since it does not regulate the figures in accordance with the geometrical horizontal lines described above. Whereas all traditional horizontal lines are common for all figures in a scene, the

the 26th dynasty to include 21 squares. At this point the conventions of depiction (and size) also changed; for more information see *LÄ II*, 1203. One of the most debated questions about this method is what the ancient Egyptians used it for. Except for the already given explanation, in which the grid directed the artist to the correct positions and measurements of the elements, it has also been suggested that it was simply used for transferring one image to another, i.e., from a sketch to a full-size image. See Kjelland 1955, 14-22 on this discussion including references to previous scholars.

¹¹³ Schwaller de Lubicz discusses the measurements of a crown compared to those of the main figure and includes the crown in his calculations for the full geometrical figure. Unfortunately, he does not include a further discussion on the variation of crowns and their different heights and sizes, a variable which must be included if attempting to create a canon of measurements also including the crowns. Since the crowns are not studied according to an advanced mathematical system but rather for their symbolic meaning as well as their position as indicating the most prominent figure, this discussion must be dealt with elsewhere. See Schwaller de Lubicz 1998, 330-336, with fig. 136. In the current investigation this discussion is of lesser importance, since the grids are used here in order to establish and measure the most important figure of the scene, in connection with relative scaling and the position of the scene.

¹¹⁴ See Chapter III.3 for crown compositions, and Chapter III.7 for a throughout analysis of the crown as the most evident item showing individualism in terms of height.

¹¹⁵ There are occasions when the scene cannot be photographed perfectly frontally, especially scenes located in top registers. Those scenes have, however, been carefully photographed so that all figures remain on a fully horizontal level. The scenes have not been measured traditionally with a measuring tape or stick mainly due to the impracticality when the scenes are placed on the top register of the structure. Vassilika however used this traditional way of measuring the figures of the Philae Temple, see Vassilika 1989.

¹¹⁶ My limitation to these main lines is based on an obvious concurrence with contextual elements currently under study. See above.

crown line is the only horizontal line establishing individuality. Consequently, I use five main lines when measuring individual status: the four traditional ones and this new one.¹¹⁷

It has been proven in a wide variety of studies that the Egyptian artists used a system of grids in creating both relief and sculpture, and although the system used in the present study is not that of an advanced geometrical calculation, it still follows the original thought of the position of the elements and figures of the scenes.¹¹⁸ When using the crowns as one of the main tools in establishing a hierarchic order for the figures of the scene, the eyes of the figures can still remain on an equal level, so that no figure looks down at another.¹¹⁹ As the only element clearly separating the figures in height, this new method of using a crown line does not affect the principles of a head line.

Contextual setting

The relief scenes of the current investigation include one or several figures, royal as well as divine. When more than one figure is depicted in the scene, the main focus will lie on the female figure wearing the crown of Arsinoë or the later Hathoric crown. The other figures of the scene will be analysed and presented briefly in order to establish a correlation between the figures. The female figures wearing the present crowns are found in the scenes as both benefactors and beneficiaries in regards to offerings or religious performance. They are depicted either in a standing position or seated on a throne.¹²⁰

The relief material in the current inquiry is divided in accordance with a chronological order, where the crown of Arsinoë is listed first, followed by the later variations worn by Hathor and later Ptolemaic queens. The scenes can be divided as follows:

1. Scenes depicting Arsinoë
2. Scenes depicting a goddess wearing a later variation of the crown of Arsinoë, i.e., the crown traditionally called *hptj*
3. Scenes depicting later Ptolemaic queens dressed in the personal iconographic crown composition of Arsinoë

These groups can be further arranged in the following subgroups¹²¹:

- 1.1 Arsinoë un-accompanied
- 1.2 Arsinoë as a benefactor accompanied by Ptolemy II
- 1.3 Arsinoë receiving offerings from Ptolemy II or Ptolemy III
- 1.4 Arsinoë as a beneficiary in a dynastic setting, accompanied by Ptolemy II as the *theoi Adelphoi*

¹¹⁷ As mentioned above, supplementary horizontal lines, following the breast, navel and calf, are occasionally added to a scene in order to clarify a specific detail.

¹¹⁸ One of the most recent is a dissertation by N. Tomoum concerning a group of sculptures and reliefs still preserved with a grid system, scholarly referred to as the 'Sculptors' Models'. See Tomoum 2005.

¹¹⁹ See above.

¹²⁰ These are the only two recorded positions of the presently investigated female figures. There are, as already noted above, further conventional positions expressed in Egyptian art.

¹²¹ Compare Chapter III.6.

- 2.1 Hathor of Dendera as beneficiary
- 3.1 Cleopatra III & VII as benefactors

The full scenes include, besides the iconographic elements and figures, also hieroglyphic texts, of which only the designations of the figures, and if available also the epithets, will be referred to and analysed.¹²² They will be presented based on a combination of personal and up-to-date translations.¹²³ These texts allow a further step in the modern interpretation of iconography, although rarely giving any explanation for the full meaning of the individual iconographic signs. The hieroglyphic and sometimes Greek texts of the stelai and decrees can present a variety of possibilities in connection with the interpretation of the full scene. This will be further discussed in the main analytical chapters. Here, the iconographic material will be studied in accordance with the morphology and the syntax of the crowns, all the elements of the scene as well as their associations, only to be compared at a later stage with the titles and information given in the hieroglyphic and/or Greek text. The hieroglyphic, Greek and demotic texts of the decrees and stelai will not be fully translated and there will be no comparison between the different linguistic styles or languages. The text will, however, be summarised and if there is one section which directly refers to either queen or deity wearing the crown this will be described in detail. This text will be presented and analysed in connection with the pictorial scene. Once the titles of the female figures have been analysed they will be compared and placed in correspondence to each other in order to trace possible associations also in agreement with their iconographic appearance. It is here considered that an image in itself can bring information and a deeper understanding of its contemporary time period, not only when it is put together with an inscription. The inscriptions surrounding a relief scene can communicate the general message, giving the relief scene its “historical” setting. However, the images can also bring an understanding of the artist and the pictorial contents based only on the components of the image. The complementary information documented in text can hopefully improve the comprehension of the original intention of the crowns.

A brief discussion concerning the dating of the relief scenes will only be presented in connection with scenes whose traditional dating is considered questionable. Dates applied here are based on the reliefs in their present iconographic state rather than the dating of the architectural elements. If the traditional dating is undisputed, the reader is directed to see the dates presented in the catalogue description. Where the date is unknown, mainly due to damaged cartouches, the dating will be described in the catalogue with a question-mark. All interpretations in terms of dating will be presented in Table 24.

The scenes will also be presented with a description of later adjustments (eradications and adjustments of visual representation), i.e., cut marks and recutting of the relief.¹²⁴ The cut marks are mainly caused by (small) chisels which have damaged and sometimes totally erased certain parts of the figures, mostly documented in the face, hands and feet, occasionally over the breasts and sporadically also hieroglyphs. When cut marks have damaged or destroyed a figure, there are explicit pictorial elements which have been left intact, including the crowns

¹²² Unless otherwise is required in order to explain certain other aspects.

¹²³ The standard volumes of *Wörterbuch der Aegyptologische Sprache (=WB)* are combined with the publications of Gardiner 1957, Faulkner 1962 and Allen 2001 as well as the publications in article or book form published by the Edfu project (*Die Inschriften des Temples von Edfu*, Begleitheft 1-8, see under Kurth in bibliography), the *Dendara* publications of S. Cauville and E. Chassinat, and ongoing discussions in contemporary bulletins and magazines such as *JEA*, *Anc. Soc.*, *JNES* etc. For more accurate references see the bibliography listed in the catalogue under each number.

¹²⁴ See Chapter III.10.

(also thrones and some of the handheld objects). This indicates knowledge in the iconographic symbolism and, since this is a study focusing on the crowns, it is of great importance to include this later 'feature' of the scene. The second kind of later interference is the recutting of scenes, in which the complete original relief, or part of it, is erased in order to change the setting or the name written in the cartouche. This is a topic which can be included in a discussion on the dating of a scene. This second kind of later adjustments will not be discussed in detail, but the information can hopefully develop the already existing theories and create a basis for further studies and understanding of subsequent, but still ancient, cultures and societies and their way of interpreting and understanding the artistic religious work of their forefathers.

CHAPTER I.3

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The pictorial and cultic correspondence between the crown of Arsinoë and the later Hathoric crown has never previously been studied.¹²⁵ The crown of Arsinoë, similarly to its later Hathoric variations, has, however, been investigated individually, though mainly in regard and relation to the hieroglyphic texts or as an indicator of identification.¹²⁶ So far, this material is unexplored in terms of using the crown as a key of understanding the socio-religious role of the figure wearing it: this includes also the political statement and value that is communicated through the iconography of the crown in a two-fold direction of symbolic inspiration.¹²⁷

Ptolemaic art and socio-religious history offer the modern interpreter possibilities and difficulties alike due to the dynasty's Macedonian origin. This dynasty was strongly anchored in Greek traditions, while ruling and reaching out to the people of one of the most ancient of societies, Egypt, with its own set of customs and regulations. The present investigation is thus dealing with the modern (hermeneutic) interpretation of ancient material but also with the Greek illumination of the ancient Egyptian norms.

CROWNS

In the academic circle, one scholar stands out for his ground-breaking research related to the present topic. Throughout his entire academic career J. Quaegebeur investigated the role of Arsinoë, therein also including an approach to her individual crown. He considered this crown to be a personal attribute of the queen and investigated the topic in accordance with issues fundamentally similar to those I examine here. Quaegebeur collected a total number of 47 figures representing Queen Arsinoë, of which 45 are documented wearing the current crown.¹²⁸ Unfortunately, Quaegebeur passed away before he had the opportunity of

¹²⁵ Neither as an iconographic investigation nor on a textual foundation.

¹²⁶ See mainly Quaegebeur 1970; 1971; 1978; 1985; 1988; 1989; 1998. For the Hathoric crowns see Derchain-Urtel 1994.

¹²⁷ Where the symbolic value of the position of the queen influences that of the goddess as much as the opposite influence, from goddess to queen occurs.

¹²⁸ For the full list, also including textual reference, see Quaegebeur 1998. See also Quaegebeur 1970; 1971; 1978 for previous notes on a selection of these scenes. See also Dils 1998, 1299.

concluding his work about (the crown of) Arsinoë, leaving this task for devoted followers within the academic sphere.

One of these devotees is P. Dils, who initially was working together with Quaegebeur on a monograph focusing on Arsinoë. The results of their combined efforts and Dils' individual studies of the crown of Arsinoë were published in the dedicatory volume *Egyptian religion the last thousand years, studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur*.¹²⁹ In this article Dils analyses the identity, origin and function of the crown of Arsinoë also associated with the character of the figures wearing it. In his iconographic approach he researches the symbolic background of the crown as well as its pictorial meaning. He approaches the material with a methodology very similar to that presented here, where each pictorial unit, referred to as an element by Dils, is analysed and evaluated.¹³⁰ He draws pictorial parallels to the crown previously worn by the god's wives of Amun, following a line of thought which Quaegebeur unsuccessfully endeavoured to substantiate.¹³¹ Dils repeats the arguments provided previously by Quaegebeur, also discussing one of the designations held by Arsinoë, as the daughter of Amun.¹³² Dils' iconographic analysis, however, results in more questions than answers. He concludes, based on previous scholars such as Abubakr and Vassilika, that the crown of Arsinoë, in agreement with its pictorial units, is a crown associated primarily with the Nile Delta; that it is a crown expressing power and respect, with the only female element being the cow horns.¹³³ These are conclusions which partially will be argued against in the present study, chiefly regarding the given geographic association and the gender-oriented factor.¹³⁴

E. Vassilika, to whom Dils refers, published *Ptolemaic Philae* in 1989, which is an iconographic and architectural investigation of the Philae temple including all its relief scenes, based on her doctoral dissertation. She lists in her catalogue four variants of the crown of Arsinoë (abbreviated as FMAR 1-4) as well as three variants of the *hptj* crown (abbreviated as ULF 4-6¹³⁵). She describes the crown of Arsinoë as follows: "The deified Arsinoë II had her own distinctive crown composed of a Lower Egyptian Crown, the Lower Egyptian falcon tail feathers and horizontal horns with sundisc on a vulture headdress."¹³⁶ Her description is pictorially incomplete since it excludes the cow horns as a unit.¹³⁷ Thereby, she describes instead a crown which here is referred to as the 'Ramesside crown'.¹³⁸ As already stated above, I consider it important to readdress the conclusion about the double feather plume in regards to symbolising Lower Egypt. Since Vassilika's study covers the iconography and architecture in general, she does not present any deeper analysis of the crown variants or the pictorial units, although a short description follows each unit of the study.

The above-mentioned Ramesside crown is also a topic presented by Dils in his article on the crown of Arsinoë.¹³⁹ He compares the crown of Arsinoë to previous as well as later crown

¹²⁹ Dils 1998.

¹³⁰ Dils is, however, limited by the size of the article within the publication, therefore only presenting a brief iconographic investigation.

¹³¹ See for example Quaegebeur 1970, 208 on a discussion about a possible correlation between Arsinoë and the previous God's wives.

¹³² See also below, in Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon.

¹³³ Dils 1998, 1309. See also Abubakr 1937, 40-43; Vassilika 1989, 94.

¹³⁴ See Chapter III.1-3.

¹³⁵ Vassilika here brings up the question on the designation of these variations, referring to the title *hpt* as used by Cauville 1987, 6 (*hptj* by others; see below for more information); see Vassilika 1989, 87 with n. 20.

¹³⁶ Vassilika 1989, 94.

¹³⁷ The horns are however included in the drawings in her catalogue.

¹³⁸ See Chapter III.3.

¹³⁹ Dils 1998.

compositions, listing historical and mythological figures who have been depicted wearing either the present crown or similar compositions. The crown has documented similarities in crowns worn by a great variety of deities, among them being listed Geb, Atum, Khnum-Ra-Harakhte, Montu, Horus etc.¹⁴⁰ Although these listings might shed light on the mythological connotations of the crown of Arsinoë, there are too many deities which can have a possible association with the queen when only briefly analysing the symbolic origin of each pictorial unit of the crown. In my personal opinion, Dils focuses too much on the male deities, leaving any association with the goddesses and their religious positions unspoken.

Once having demonstrated possible associations with the male part of the pantheon, Dils presents an analysis of the Ramesside crown.¹⁴¹ This discussion, I would say, constitutes the main theme of the article, in which he presents previous as well as later (male) rulers who are illustrated wearing this crown. This section of the article is presented in depth with a great corpus of information. It is, however, rather surprising to find such a large section of the full article focusing on this 'male' crown, which lacks a pictorial sign essential in the composition of the crown of Arsinoë, namely the cow horns. Although Dils lists Cleopatra II or III and VII as later Ptolemaic queens wearing the crown of Arsinoë, including the present cat. nos. 142, 156-158, and five additional scenes of an undesignated queen at Dendera, the focus of the article leans more towards the Ramesside crown and its continuation rather than a possible development of the crown of Arsinoë.¹⁴² Another aspect which will be dealt with here is that Dils does not include a full list of the variants of the crown of Arsinoë, and thereby also excludes an analysis of the meaning of possible discrepancies. His final conclusion about the crown of Arsinoë is that it was a unique crown of masculine nature, with symbolic origins in crowns worn by men and gods alike, with an ithyphallic association and a connotation of the Delta.¹⁴³ This article has provided some interesting challenges and further questions which will be (re-)approached here.

As demonstrated above, the current inquiry includes an analysis of the later Hathoric crown traditionally designated *hptj*, mainly intended to function as a comparison when investigating the stylistic development of the crown of Arsinoë. This later Hathoric crown, similarly to the crown of Arsinoë, is scarcely documented in modern sources. With the lack of any scholarly comprehensive investigations of this crown and its variations, the more linguistic investigation conducted by M-T. Derchain-Urtel has been of great importance in regard to the present inquiry.¹⁴⁴ Derchain-Urtel, as one of the members of the Edfu project, discusses the *hptj* crown of Horus and its variations, therein including the crown worn by Hathor, here referred to as the later Hathoric crown. Her article is mainly based on a textual analysis referring to the hieroglyphic material of the symbolic meaning of the crown, but also includes a brief iconographic discussion. She examines the relationship between the two deities depicted with this crown, in which the matrimonial relation is stressed. The article of Derchain-Urtel is, however, not a comprehensive study since she only includes a few of the crown's variants, and therefore rather gives an introduction to the subject. The two crowns worn by Horus and Hathor are separated in Derchain-Urtel's publication but are not given any clear designations, which has inspired me to give clear and easily understandable titles. The

¹⁴⁰ Dils 1998, 1312-1315; Compare Chapters III.2-4.

¹⁴¹ Dils 1998, 1315-1325.

¹⁴² Dils 1998, 1309-1312. These five scenes have been excluded in the present study due to their state of preservation and problematic position and their identical composition to cat. no. 142. See Chapter II, for more information about the present limitations and selection of material.

¹⁴³ Dils 1998, 1325-1327.

¹⁴⁴ Derchain-Urtel 1994 (published in *Edfu* IV); compare Derchain-Urtel 1990.

analysis conducted by Derchain-Urtel has nonetheless laid a valid textual and symbolic foundation, on which the current investigation is dependent.

Egyptian crowns depicted in relief scenes are in general scarcely documented in the library of modern scholarly publications. A. J. Abubakr's study on crowns has for a long time functioned as a foundation for any investigations of this topic.¹⁴⁵ Based on his initial studies of the *atef* crown, this publication investigates the main crowns which are including the pictorial signs represented in the original crown of Osiris. Thus, Abubakr presents an analysis including the white crown, the red crown, the double crown and a crown, which he refers to as "unterägyptische Feder-Krone", elsewhere known as the *anedjti* crown consisting of a double feather plume and horizontal horns. Modern scholars refer to Abubakr repeatedly, and do not question, criticise or reinvestigate his assumptions and conclusions. As already noted above, this is clearly demonstrated in the more recent publications of Vassilika and Dils, when referring to the double feather plume as validly denoted to Lower Egypt. Abubakr's highly valuable work, however, is here approached as a complement rather than a main source, based on the updated information and results in more recent (interdisciplinary) publications.

Although it is based on textual material, the publication of K. Goebis has functioned as a great complement to the few iconographic studies published on the crowns.¹⁴⁶ She analyses the crowns in accordance with their presence in Egyptian funerary literature, thereby adding an interesting textual contribution to the iconographic studies. This publication, however, does not include any of the crowns forming the catalogue of the present study, mainly due to the discrepancy of time periods in focus. Goebis' study of crowns in funerary customs is of indirect importance here since one of the crowns used here as comparative material is documented on a sarcophagus today located in the University Museum of Alexandria University.¹⁴⁷

THE TEMPLES

Historically, scholars have focused on the grand-scale art, including temple architecture. Recently a great variety of studies have been published dealing with temple symbolism, i.e. the relationship between architectural elements and decoration (or the alike), with correlations between scenes or even registers. Such a study was presented by Vassilika in the dedicatory publication honouring Quaegebeur (mentioned above) concerning the decorations on the *pronaos* of the Temple of Horus in Edfu. Vassilika analyses the architectural relationship of the relief scenes as well as the organisation of the reliefs and the crowns of the deities.¹⁴⁸ This topic, temple symbolism, is also treated by S. Cauville in regard to the Temple of Edfu.¹⁴⁹ Cauville focuses mainly on the theme of the scene and the deities illustrated within it, rather than approaching the individual position of the royal figure, which in this instance is the queen. I will use Cauville's study, together with that of Vassilika, as a scientific foundation when presenting and analysing a group of scenes illustrating Arsinoë in a dynastic setting dating to the reigns of Ptolemy IV and VIII. These individual scenes form a greater symbolic composition together with scenes illustrating other Ptolemaic royal couples in a direct or

¹⁴⁵ Abubakr 1937.

¹⁴⁶ Goebis 2008.

¹⁴⁷ Already at this point, I would thank the kind and most helpful personnel of the museum as well as the University of Alexandria. For further references, see below in Chapter III.3.

¹⁴⁸ Vassilika 1998.

¹⁴⁹ Cauville 1987.

sometimes indirect positional association, i.e. placed within directly connected registers (next to, above or below), or in corresponding registers of an opposite wall. Cauville refers to the theme of this type of scene as “le ritual des ancêtres”, a topic which I will explore comprehensively also beyond the limits of one temple structure.¹⁵⁰

The crowns in focus of the present study belong to an art group of reliefs, including temple reliefs still *in situ*, stelai, decrees and fragmentary pieces of relief work, today spread in museums all over the world. The Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic period have attracted international studies for generations, generating a broad spectrum of academic literature. The relief scenes of the temples have provided a great assortment of information in the process of translating the hieroglyphic texts. The works published by the Edfu project team¹⁵¹ as well as the team led by Cauville at Dendera,¹⁵² here referred to in accordance with the names of their series of publications, i.e., *Edfu* and *Dendara*,¹⁵³ list the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the respective temple complexes. However, the Dendera publications and the early Edfu publications were printed without any transliteration or translation, though providing photographs or drawings of each individual scene. I will demonstrate in the present main chapters how these previous drawings sometimes are the results of pure interpretations, here revealed especially in cat. no. 22.¹⁵⁴ The work published by the Edfu team, which is still in progress, provides the reader with hieroglyphic text, transliteration and a German translation. The iconography of the (temple) reliefs has, however, traditionally been slightly neglected in favour of the written words. This is slowly changing, as is proven by the fact that the above-mentioned teams (along with others) are in the process of publishing iconographic studies and articles on temple symbolism. Individual temple reliefs have also been studied by independent scholars such as Quaegebeur, Winter, Albersmeier and Minas, all of which will be further discussed shortly below.

The Ptolemaic ruler cult is closely connected with the topics of the present investigation and is, of course, a continuation of the topic discussed above. When E. Winter published his article, “Der Herrschenkult in den ägyptischen Ptolemäertempel”, in 1978, it was considered to be ground-breaking and gained much international scholarly attention. Winter set out to analyse the Ptolemaic ancestor worship and the transfer of power from one generation to the next, based on a collection of temple reliefs. He describes the obvious need of the Ptolemaic rulers to conform to some of the existing norms of Egyptian ruler cult which were expressed in iconography as well as traditional hieroglyphic royal designations.¹⁵⁵ The article lists dynastic temple reliefs dating from the time of Ptolemy III to Ptolemy IX, although excluding the scenes in which Ptolemy II is offering to Arsinoë. This exclusion is a topic which can be disputed if approaching Arsinoë as a co-regent of Ptolemy II, to whom the latter wished to express piety and as a devotee ask for divine support.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ See for example Cauville 1987, 99f. The scenes presented here are located at Edfu, Tod, Qasr el-Aguz and Karnak.

¹⁵¹ See the official web site of the Edfu project: <http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/Edfu-Projekt/Edfu-Projekt%20-%20Project%201.html>. See also the publications here listed under their editor: Kurth 1990; 1994; 1998; 2004. See also previous publications on the hieroglyphic texts at Edfu, here abbreviated as *Edfou* I-XIV.

¹⁵² See for example Cauville 1997; 1998.

¹⁵³ *Edfu* I-VIII (note the difference between the German publications as *Edfu* and the French as *Edfou*); *Dendara* I-XII. These publications mainly focus on the hieroglyphic texts of the temples but also include individual articles on iconography and religion. Due to the original French title of the publications about the Dendera temple, I have chosen to retain their applied title, *Dendara*, when referring to them.

¹⁵⁴ Compare the two images included in the main catalogue.

¹⁵⁵ Winter 1978, 147f.

¹⁵⁶ Compare Chapter III.6, Dynastic scenes.

Winter divides the dynastic scenes into two groups, firstly addressing scenes where the Ptolemaic ancestors are directly venerated and secondly scenes where they are considered as temple-sharing deities.¹⁵⁷ In his conclusion Winter states that the Ptolemaic ruler cult was solely a political matter without any true religious connotations. He argues that a non-Egyptian ruler cult of the Ptolemies basically was forced upon the Egyptian priesthood.¹⁵⁸ Finally, Winter includes only temple reliefs and argues that these cannot be compared to scenes of stelai and decrees based on the different media.

Disputing Winter, Quaegebeur argues that a study of Ptolemaic ruler cult is incomplete if it ignores the dynastic settings of the relief scenes of the decrees and stelai.¹⁵⁹ He further disagrees with Winter's decision to reject certain dynastic scenes, which was based on the king's (or royal couple's) position among the deities (instead of on the opposite side).¹⁶⁰ This criticism of Winter's conclusions resulted in an article written by Quaegebeur, published a decade later, in which he includes the scenes of the decrees and stelai, also developing the concepts presented by Winter. Quaegebeur concludes in this article that the Alexandrian court and the native Egyptian priesthood collaborated, and that the latter actively participated in developing the ruler cult of the new (foreign) dynasty in line with their own conventional traditions.¹⁶¹

The disagreement between Winter and Quaegebeur, in analysing Ptolemaic dynastic temple reliefs, is, however, already noticeable when comparing Winter's article to that written by Quaegebeur, presented in the same symposium publication.¹⁶² Quaegebeur there focuses on the Ptolemaic queens and the Egyptian tradition of worshipping them and, already at this point, includes both temple reliefs and the scenes of the stelai and decrees. The topic of Ptolemaic ruler cult is still debated, though which, apart from the present investigation, is also documented for example in the article by M. Chauveau in the dedicatory publication honouring Quaegebeur, which mainly focuses on the deification of Arsinoë.¹⁶³ Although all of the above publications relate to the cult of Arsinoë and the relief scenes in which she is illustrated, none directly focuses on her personal crown.

STELAI AND DECREES

This artistic medium has traditionally been treated similarly to the temple reliefs, in which the scholars have mainly focused on the text rather than on iconography. The translations of the stelai and decrees have increased the understanding of the relief scenes and the historical background of the composition of art. The question still arises whether the scenes are put on the stelai only to give strength and explanation to the text, or whether they actually present a message of their own.

¹⁵⁷ Winter 1978, Dok. 1-23 = direct veneration, Dok. 24-28 as temple sharing deities.

¹⁵⁸ Winter 1978, 157f.

¹⁵⁹ Quaegebeur 1989.

¹⁶⁰ This topic will be further discussed below as a part of the crowning, rejuvenation and purification ceremonies.

¹⁶¹ Quaegebeur 1989, 113.

¹⁶² *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 27. – 29. September 1976 in Berlin.* See Maehler & Strocka [eds.] 1978.

¹⁶³ Chauveau 1998a.

The early publications of the *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire*. Nos 22001-22208 – *steles ptolémaïques et romaines*¹⁶⁴ and *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*¹⁶⁵ listed and briefly commented on the Ptolemaic (politico-religious) stelai and decrees, including a transcription of the hieroglyphic text, which enabled international scholars to work mainly with the translations. A decade later, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* by H. Gauthier was in print, which listed the names and epithets of the ancient rulers of Egypt.¹⁶⁶ This publication is still considered to be one of the most important references, although it is necessary to combine it with more recent studies with updated information.¹⁶⁷ These early publications all provide a foundation of purely factual material, i.e. excluding any form of discussion, upon which succeeding scholars can develop their own opinions.

The majority of the stelai and decrees analysed here were found in connection with excavations conducted in the late 19th century and early 20th centuries. Records mainly of the texts were published by well-known scholars such as Mariette (Mendes stela), Brugsch (Mendes stela, Pithom stela, Kanopus decree), Naville (Pithom stela), and Budge (Kanopus and Memphis decrees).¹⁶⁸ The more recent publication of G. Hölbl summarises the general information on these decrees and also includes an updated reference list, which the reader will also find under each scene in the current catalogue. P. Stanwick briefly discusses these objects when analysing Ptolemaic portraits, but with a focus on male rulers.¹⁶⁹ There are so far no other known comprehensive investigations of the full iconographic scenes and settings of the presently studied stelai and decrees.

More conventional religious stelai and fragmentary reliefs also fall under this section, here represented in cat. nos. 6-15. These are all objects which today are located in various museums around the world. They have mainly been addressed in connection with special exhibitions, although sometimes also on a more individual basis.¹⁷⁰ Those items which have been published in exhibition publications are there analysed in accordance with a more stylistic approach, rarely providing the reader with more theoretical discussions and interpretations. Cat. no. 14 is slightly different, since one of the main topics of discussion is the suggested Hellenised style based on the position of Ptolemy II. This stela, published in *Cleopatra's Egypt, from history to myth*, is argued to have a non-Egyptian style based on the object held by Ptolemy, his raised arm and the full context of the scene.¹⁷¹

In the already mentioned dedicatory publication honouring the late Quaegebeur, articles were collected from researchers of various academic backgrounds, all dealing with topics that Quaegebeur worked with during his academic career.¹⁷² One of the contributing articles in this volume was written by S. Albersmeier and M. Minas, focusing on the iconography and

¹⁶⁴ Kamal 1904-1905.

¹⁶⁵ *Urk II*.

¹⁶⁶ *LdR IV*.

¹⁶⁷ The early publications and excavation reports on each and every stela or decree are too many and detailed to describe here, and since they are more in the form of plain records the reader is referred to the bibliographic list given under each number in the catalogue of the present study.

¹⁶⁸ Mariette 1879; 43-45 (a, b): *Thes. Inscr.* IV, 629-31, 739f., 855, 1554-1578; Naville 1885, pls. 8-10; Naville 1902, XL, pls. III-V, 66-75, pls. 3-5; Budge 1904.

¹⁶⁹ Stanwick 2002.

¹⁷⁰ See for example cat. nos. 7, 9-10, 12-14, all of which have been published in connection with museum exhibitions, while cat. nos. 6, 8, 11 and 15 have been more individually addressed, if at all. See full reference list under each scene in the main catalogue.

¹⁷¹ Walker & Higgs 2001. Compare Chapter III.7.

¹⁷² Clarysse, Schoors & Willems 1998.

text of a fragmentary relief depicting Arsinoë as a goddess.¹⁷³ Their analysis and interpretation of this previously unpublished relief follow iconographic methods similar to those in the present study. The object in focus is lacking the lower right end, leaving only the top part of a crown of a second figure, standing opposite Arsinoë in the scene. This fracture similarly cuts off the object held in Arsinoë's hand. This opens up for an investigation of possible identifications of both the second figure and the position of Arsinoë, which is expressed through the handheld object. Albersmeier and Minas presents four main options for the second figure, providing the reader with illustrations of deities placed on a podium receiving veneration from Arsinoë.

Of further interest for the present study is the discussion offered in this article, on the subject of Arsinoë's royal position, i.e. her possible title as king. In line with Quaegebeur, they conclude that although the fragment can provide evidence of such a position (while she was still alive) the information is not enough to substantially prove this role.¹⁷⁴ In this discussion, Albersmeier and Minas includes an architrave today located in the Mediterranean Museum in Stockholm, previously discussed equally briefly by Quaegebeur.¹⁷⁵ It illustrates Arsinoë standing behind her brother-husband in an active position of worshipping local deities. Arsinoë in this scene is given a designation as King of Egypt, which is the topic of discussion in the two above-mentioned articles. To my knowledge, this architrave has been comprehensively studied only once before, presented and analysed from an Egyptological standpoint focusing mainly on the origin of the piece through the hieroglyphic designations of the deities depicted.¹⁷⁶

THE ISSUE OF GENDER

Evidently, the Ptolemaic ruler cult is a subject of ongoing discussions, similar to and closely connected with that of the political position of Arsinoë. This is not the place to discuss this subject in detail; however, there is one publication which relates to the presently investigated queen. R. Hazzard published his book about Ptolemaic propaganda in 2000, in which he dedicated one chapter (5) to Arsinoë.¹⁷⁷ This publication is of great importance in regard to Ptolemaic propaganda, but the author unfortunately comes out too strong in his arguments, being based on a gender issue rather than an adequate factual basis. Although my study is based on other methods and theories, of iconography rather than Greek texts, and without having a gender-associated stand-point, this chapter should be addressed. The title of the chapter, "Arsinoë II and the Importance of Perception", possibly refers to Hazzard's own perception of previous as well as contemporary studies on the role of Arsinoë, about which he states on at several occasions that it is only feministic scholars who can still today believe that Arsinoë had any real importance during her marriage to Ptolemy II. He states that "one might have thought, once Burstein had made his submission, that no one would still credit Arsinoë with a dominant role, but feminists were loath to reject their image of Arsinoë as a tigress queen".¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³ Albersmeier & Minas 1998. Cat. no. 8 in the present study.

¹⁷⁴ See Chapter IV.1.

¹⁷⁵ Quaegebeur 1988; here cat. no. 15.

¹⁷⁶ George & Peterson 1982.

¹⁷⁷ Hazzard 2000, 81-100.

¹⁷⁸ Hazzard 2000, 96. See also Burstein 1982.

Hazard's chapter is mainly a personal attempt to discredit Arsinoë from any political influence. This is further implied in a subchapter labelled "Arsinoë's inglorious career",¹⁷⁹ in which Hazard states, on the subject of Arsinoë's possible superiority over Ptolemy II, that "[...] neither had seen the other for two decades, and this was long enough to dispel any lingering influence of the elder sibling over the younger", thereby even disregarding any possibility of an upbringing as the rightful heir during her childhood, or the Egyptian titles given to her describing her as the rightful heir of the throne.¹⁸⁰ Hazard bases his assumptions mainly on Greek textual evidence, and essentially ignores the great variety of iconographic material which might throw new light on his conclusions. He dismisses the importance of the diplomatic report of the Chremonidian War¹⁸¹ and simplifies the honour paid to Arsinoë as being based on the institution of the *theoi Adelphoi*.¹⁸² When analysing or discussing the political role of Arsinoë, one must also refer to the ongoing discussion, which Hazard does not mention, about the initial heir of Ptolemy II, traditionally designated as Ptolemy Nios. I, along with other scholars, identify this figure with Ptolemy, son of Arsinoë and Lysimachus.¹⁸³ On the Egyptian material he mentions only S. Pomeroy as referring to Quaegebeur on the title of *nsw-bitj*, traditionally a purely male pharaonic title of kingship. This is one title among others which Hazard dismisses due to the differences in Macedonian and Egyptian tradition, i.e. separating the cultures of Alexandria and the *chora*.¹⁸⁴

CHAPTER I.4 BACKGROUND

THE CROWN

The crown was associated with royal political iconography. Each individual pictorial and architectonic unit was carefully selected in order to communicate a comprehensive message. In art, the Predynastic Egyptians showed themselves, in line with their gods, wearing different crowns which were artistically reused and developed throughout the centuries, including also queens, princes and princesses. Ancient Egyptian sources provides with six early forms of

¹⁷⁹ Hazard 2000, 82-85.

¹⁸⁰ These titles will be further discussed in Chapter III.8. The fact that Hazard excludes these titles seems to be due to his positivistic stand-point regarding the disciplines, in discussing only the Greek material. See also the description of princess Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy III and Berenice II, who is designated as the rightful heir in the Kanopus decree. See for example Budge's translation in Budge 1904, III, 17-155, which also includes previous translations.

¹⁸¹ *SIG* 1.434/5.

¹⁸² Hazard 2000, 94f. The introduction of the *theoi Adelphoi* should be seen as an indication of her importance also in political matters regardless of the adoption of similar cultic titles of later couples. Compare Chapter III.6, Dynastic scenes.

¹⁸³ See Christopher Bennet's web page for a detailed discussion with ancient as well as modern references: http://www.tyndalehouse.com/Egypt/ptolemies/nios_i_fr.htm (2010-05-31). This is not the place to develop this theory, although see Chapter III.6 for further comments.

¹⁸⁴ This title will be further discussed in Chapter III.8. See also Pomeroy 1984. The present study, contrary to that of Hazard, is not based on generalisations about gender or sexes, and does not set out to prove that Arsinoë was ruling the country on her own. The intention is instead to deliver substantiation of co-regency. Thereby the present author takes on the challenge stated by Hazard 2000, 99, as "and last, as a generalization, the king remained dominant over the queen in those Hellenistic monarchies best documented for the third century BC, so that those proposing a contrary situation – that Arsinoë managed her brother – should carry the burden of argument".

crowns, documented from at least the early dynastic period. All of these crowns were still regularly depicted a couple of millennia later in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.¹⁸⁵ These six crowns (the *khepresh*, the white crown, the red crown, the double crown, the double feather plume and the *atef* crown) were stylistically elaborated and developed during later periods, forming a range of new variants of headdress symbols.¹⁸⁶

The crowns were included in the daily temple ritual from at least the Middle Kingdom, being associated with the rejuvenation theme of the constant rebirth of the solar disc through the cosmic cycle.¹⁸⁷ This ritualistic application of the crown is documented in various Ptolemaic temples. Crowns are described as being carried in procession by priests and religious participants who were illustrated on the walls of stairways and roof structure.¹⁸⁸

So far, archaeology has been incapable of presenting any physical royal crowns, and pictorial representations of these objects sometimes provoke more questions than they provide answers.¹⁸⁹ Due to the lack of archaeological references, it is difficult to estimate any absolute size or weight of a possible physical structure of the crown.¹⁹⁰ Ancient Egyptian textual and iconographic sources do not clarify any materials which would have been employed when composing a crown.¹⁹¹ For example, the double feather plume is very light in a naturalistic physical form. However, if the feather instead was made of (a grid of) gold or any other metal, it would become much heavier.¹⁹²

Iconography could arguably provide answers to questions about an original, physical form. However, and which will be further debated below, Egyptian art repeatedly provide examples of intentional adjustment of size, form and proportion. Thereby, Egyptian imagery can probably consciously confuse the viewer to a greater extent than offer any guidance. It is obvious, for scholars and laymen alike, when briefly reflecting on the crowns, that they would have been very high, large and uncomfortable to wear. It will be demonstrated below, how the adjustment of images was rooted in artistic work, in order to emphasise one aspect or unit in front of the other.

Pharaohs were depicted with individual crowns throughout ancient Egyptian history. Each crown could symbolise a certain feature of kingship or divinity. These individual crowns were developed and presented in a great variation of compositions. Any modern observer can witness how the original crowns explode stylistically into new elaborated compositions, arranged structurally by a great variety of pictorial units and of a colourful palette. The crown of Arsinoë and the later Hathoric crown demonstrate this stylistic development, along with several crowns worn by surrounding figures in the presently investigated 158 relief scenes.

¹⁸⁵ Goebis 2008 lists nine crowns, however, including also headdress elements.

¹⁸⁶ Goebis 2001, 323-325.

¹⁸⁷ See for example the hymns to the Diadem published by Erman 1911.

¹⁸⁸ This is clearly demonstrated in the temple of Dendera. Cat. no. 142 is included in such procession, similar to that of cat. nos. 52-53 in the Edfu Temple. For a possible physical example of such cultic crown (however, not a headdress) is preserved from the reign of Nectanebo II, today located in Cairo Museum, JE 91110. See Goebis 2008, 28 with note 43. This crown was made of wood depicting the white crown decorated with a set of outstretched arms.

¹⁸⁹ Compare my comments about the physical existence of the crowns in Chapter III.3.


¹⁹⁰ However, a few royal diadems (circlets) and kerchiefs are preserved.

¹⁹¹ Compare the great variation of hieroglyphic titles which designate each crown unit. See Chapters III.2-3.

¹⁹² Compare the weight of the St. Edward's coronation crown worn latest by HM the Queen of Great Britain which is 2.23 kg. See the official website of the royal government UK: <http://www.royal.gov.uk/The%20Royal%20Collection%20and%20other%20collections/TheCrownJewels/Overview.aspx> (2009-11-09).

The compositions of royal crowns followed certain conventions throughout the main dynastic periods, limiting the amount of pictorial units, and thus possibly clarifying an intentional message. Prior to the Ptolemaic period, the double crown was the most important and powerful royal crown, which rarely received any pictorial additions. Although the double crown retained its clear symbolic value, it was accompanied by additional crowns, which were compiled by numerous units in an elaborated style, while still communicating a message of kingship and superiority. The currently investigated crowns include elements of various traditional crowns with details originating in the natural fauna. By wearing a traditional crown, the Ptolemaic queens associated themselves immediately to the previous ruling couples as well as the divine world of Egypt. However, when combining existing pictorial units and developing them into new compositions, represented in the crown of Arsinoë, they could reach a symbolic comprehensive individualism. This feature has ideological similarities with the socio-religious philosophy focusing on the individual as one trait of the Hellenistic period, and which was manifested and presented by the scientific elite in Museion in Alexandria.

Egyptian crowns were used as personal attributes of deities, such as the *atef* crown of Osiris, the fish-dolphin of Hat-Mehit, or the flower of Seshat. However, a majority of these crowns is documented also as elements temporarily borrowed or fully usurped by other deities. This is unmistakably demonstrated in images of Isis wearing the traditional Hathoric crown, composed of cow horns and solar disc.¹⁹³ The feature of gods temporary borrowing full crown compositions or pictorial units of other crowns is sometimes associated with temple symbolism. Here, one specific crown can be preferred due to the figure's position in the scene, structural part of the temple or at diverse locations.¹⁹⁴

The hieroglyphic sign for crown,  - *h^cw*, symbolises the crown itself, but can be translated also as “manifestation”, “form of appearance”, or as representing the rise of Atum from the primeval mound.¹⁹⁵ Except for the crown being a clear link between royalty and divinity, it has been suggested recently to have a strong association to the Underworld and funerary iconography, in which royalties and common people alike were depicted wearing these headdress elements.¹⁹⁶ Crowns could have a cosmological connotation, associated with cosmic events and stars constellations.¹⁹⁷ Such connotations will be dealt with in Chapters III.2-3.

¹⁹³ Compare my comments in Chapter III.9, and the discussion in Chapter IV.4.

¹⁹⁴ See Cauville 1987, 217, for examples of Horus wearing different crowns within the Temple of Edfu. In previous publications, the crowns have been divided into mainly three main groups, including one group of royal crowns limited to the pharaoh himself, the female royal crowns and the divine crowns. See Goebis 2001, 323f. However, this categorisation is inadequate, since there are so many examples of the same crown being used by not only kings, but also queens and deities. Goebis 2008 underlines also the interdependency between the king and deities, although she does not include any examples of queens except for Hatshepsut. The red crown and the white crown as well as when put together as the double crown, are the main examples taken from the first group, which is supposed to be limited to the pharaoh himself. There are also other examples, when a queen is wearing the traditional double crown of kingship, one of which is documented in Karnak, worn by Queen Amenirdis I. Each element of the Egyptian crowns, included in the present enquiry, can be worn by all three groups and act as a direct link between them all.

¹⁹⁵ See Gardiner sign-list N28. See also Goebis 2008, 24f.

¹⁹⁶ Goebis 2008.

¹⁹⁷ Goebis 2008, 24f.

INTRODUCING QUEEN ARSINOË

Images of Arsinoë are represented in a broad spectrum of iconographic media, depicting this historical figure in a Greek as well as Egyptian cultural setting, and as queen and goddess alike. Although it is mainly her descendant Cleopatra VII who is commonly known to the modern world, the larger part of the iconographic material depicting a Ptolemaic queen is in fact that representing Arsinoë. Her depictions have been studied and presented by various scholars over the years, including her portrait on coins initially presented in the grand volumes of Svoronos, her Greek queenly position on the faience *oinochoai* by Burr Thompson, and certainly also her representations on sculptures in the round, terracotta figurines, cameos, figurines and of course the presently investigated art medium of reliefs.¹⁹⁸ This chapter will not, however, focus on these iconographic illustrations of the queen. Instead, it aims at providing a brief historical background of Queen Arsinoë including a brief presentation of her cultic position as the ‘divine Arsinoë Philadelphos’. This background is provided in order to illuminate the motives behind the creation of her personal crown composition. Due to the introductory character of this chapter, each topic will be very concise and the reader is directed to the more extensive information documented in each chapter of the main analysis (Chapter III). Since this is an investigation which mainly focuses on the crown of Arsinoë and the socio-religious role of this queen, this presentation will be limited to Arsinoë. The mythological background of Hathor and her association with Egyptian queens will thus be dealt with in the main analytical chapters.¹⁹⁹

Arsinoë was the daughter of Ptolemy I and Berenice I, born in Alexandria *c.* 316 B.C.²⁰⁰ At the age of 16, *c.* 299 B.C., she was married to Lysimachus of Thrace, an ally general of Ptolemy I, many years older than the young Arsinoë. Soon after the marriage the couple parented three sons, Ptolemy (*c.* 298 B.C.), Philip (*c.* 297 B.C.) and Lysimachus (*c.* 294 B.C.).²⁰¹ During her time as the spouse of Lysimachus, she received great honours. This was, among other things, demonstrated in the cities of Heracleia, Amastris and Dium,²⁰² all given to Arsinoë by her husband. She further received the city of Ephesus, changing its name to Arsinoë *c.* 293 B.C.²⁰³ After disputed circumstances surrounding the death of Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, Lysandra, half-sister of Arsinoë, fled to Seleucus at Babylon seeking support. Seleucus supported Lysandra and fought Lysimachus, resulting in the death of the latter in the battle of Corupedium in 281 B.C.²⁰⁴ According to Justin, Arsinoë temporarily fled to Ephesus to regain strength and with the help of her sons she continued to Cassandrea, where she commanded a garrison to defend the territory.²⁰⁵

While defending the remaining territories, Arsinoë’s half-brother, Ptolemy Keraunus, defeated Seleucus and became the ruler of Macedonia. Keraunus persuaded Arsinoë to wed him, aiming at the power held by her and her children. This marriage ended shortly thereafter

¹⁹⁸ Svoronos 1904, nos. 875-892; D. B. Thompson 1973.

¹⁹⁹ See esp. Chapter III.9.

²⁰⁰ This is traditionally calculated on the commentaries on her marriage in Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 31.

²⁰¹ Just. *Epit.* 24.3.

²⁰² Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 31; Paus. 1. 10.

²⁰³ Contemporary coins bare witness of this. See for example Svoronos 1904, nos. 875-892; for a general introduction to the Ptolemaic coins see Mørkholm 1991; see also Troxell 1983 for a general introduction to the coins of Arsinoë.

²⁰⁴ For a discussion concerning the political role of Arsinoë in the murder of Agathocles and Lysimachus’ death see Sviatoslav 2007.

²⁰⁵ Just. *Epit.* 24.2.

when Keraunus killed two of Arsinoë's three sons.²⁰⁶ Arsinoë fled from Cassandrea to Samothrace,²⁰⁷ where she later erected a temple in honour of the gods who helped her on the island. From the island of Samothrace Arsinoë returned to Egypt. The sources describing the period between Arsinoë's time at Samothrace and the time of her marriage with Ptolemy II²⁰⁸ are fragmentary, and no absolute information is available so far.²⁰⁹ During her period as queen of Egypt she was involved with the royal fleet and is recorded to have participated with her brother in the battles. She is also described as a queen of the people when, according to the text of Theocritus, arranging a play honouring Adonis and Aphrodite.²¹⁰ She participated in the Olympics, where she won three events for harnessed horses during the summer of 272 (or 276) B.C.²¹¹ She received a queenly status during her lifetime but also a divine position when the cult of the *theoi Adelphoi* was instituted.²¹²

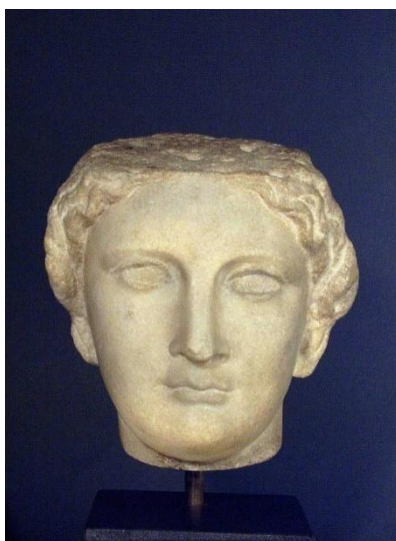


Fig. 1 Greek style portrait of Queen Arsinoë.
Photo by: J. Schubert © Antiquities Museum, Bonn

The cultic roles of Arsinoë

Due to the lack of any existing archaeological records of the crown of Arsinoë, modern scholars are limited to the information provided in the artistic and textual forums. Although there are a few three-dimensional representations of Arsinoë wearing her personal crown, the

²⁰⁶ Just. *Epit.* 24.3.

²⁰⁷ Just. *Epit.* 24.3.

²⁰⁸ The marriage of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë is documented in the classical sources Theoc. *Id.* 17,128; Paus. 1.7.1; Ath. 621A; Plut. *Mor.* 736F. For Callimachus' commentaries on the marriage see for example Cameron 1995, 18-22. Athenaeus and Plutarch tell the story of the poet Sotades of Maroneia who harshly criticised the couple. He was punished by immediate deportation and finally sentenced to death; see Ath. 621 A; Fraser 1972, I 117. See also Reed 2000 on the role of Arsinoë in connection with the Adonis festival. For a general introduction to the marriage see Hölbl 2001.

²⁰⁹ The first record of the marriage between Ptolemy II and Arsinoë is the Pithom stela (cat. no. 2) which states that the couple visited the borders of the eastern Delta together on the 3rd of Thoth in the year 12 to personally defend the Kingdom. The discussions continue with the dating system, since year 12 could be either 274 or 272 B.C. For discussions concerning the difficulties with the dating, see for example Grzybek 1990.

²¹⁰ Teocr. *Id.* XV.

²¹¹ *P. Mil. Vogl.* VIII 309, AB 78 (Posidip.). Again see the dating problems in Grzybek 1990.

²¹² See below in this chapter for more information about the *theoi Adelphoi*.

main material is found in reliefs.²¹³ As will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters, these reliefs are all of a religious type.²¹⁴ Although Arsinoë is illustrated as a queen, the scene and full pictorial setting have highly cultic connotations. It is therefore crucial to introduce a brief summary of not only the historical figure, but also the various cultic roles of Arsinoë.

The cult of Arsinoë was multi-faceted and covered a great time span.²¹⁵ She received her divine status already during her lifetime, initially together with Ptolemy II as the *theoi Adelphoi*, the sibling gods. Her individual cultic status as *thea Philadelphos*, the divine sibling-lover (brother-lover), is still today a highly debated topic over which scholars remain in dispute.²¹⁶ The cult of Arsinoë also assimilated the queen with the Greek goddess Aphrodite, to whom pious worshippers dedicated much devotion. Her connection with other Greek deities is also attested in more private forms throughout the Alexandrian area. It is, however, important already at this point to introduce also the religious role Arsinoë had in the Egyptian society, where she was venerated not only in her queenly position as the earthly manifestation of Hathor, but also in her own right.²¹⁷ This section aims to summarise these different cultic roles of Arsinoë, while leaving a more detailed account for later chapters of this investigation. The cultic roles of Arsinoë are here considered as individual since each had its own set of priesthood, its separate religious practices and its individual official as well as private meaning. They are here listed as follows:

- Eponymous cult of *theoi Adelphoi*
- Individual eponymous cult of Arsinoë
- Private cults of Arsinoë
- Dynastic Egyptian ancestor cult of the *mr-sn*
- Native Egyptian cult of Arsinoë Philadelphos

The eponymous cult

Although the material focuses on the Egyptian cult of Arsinoë, I still consider it important to include an introduction to the Greek counterparts. It will be demonstrated in the main analytical chapters how some cultic aspects of Arsinoë bridged the cultural boundaries. The eponymous cult was Greek in its essence but, as will be further clarified below, it also had a strong similarity with the dynastic cult anchored in ancient Egyptian society. I consider all scenes in the material as Egyptian in their artistic style. However, there is a thread linking the two together. Although the scenes are Egyptian in their setting, the official designations of the Ptolemaic couples are equivalent to those in the Greek context. It is here left unspoken

²¹³ Compare the ongoing debate on the female sculptures illustrating a queen wearing the crown of Arsinoë and the double cornucopia (which was another artistic item relating directly to Arsinoë). Compare Albersmeier 2002 (Arsinoë and Cleopatra VII) with Ashton 2001 (Cleopatra VII).

²¹⁴ See esp. Chapter III.6.

²¹⁵ It ranged from the reign of Ptolemy II, throughout the Ptolemaic dynasty and into the Roman period. For example, *P. Lit. Goodsp.* 2, I.IV (Hymn to Arsinoë-Aphrodite/Hathor) postdates Arsinoë with several centuries (dated 2nd century A.D.) describes Arsinoë in a direct association with Aphrodite/Hathor. One can here argue that the cultic position of Arsinoë somehow survived also into medieval times, since her name was still actively in use as designating several cities and the entire Fayyum province.

²¹⁶ See for example the account of Quaegebeur 1970, 1971, 1978, 1988, 1989; contra Hazzard 2000, esp. chapter 5.

²¹⁷ This is a topic which will be extensively discussed in the main analytical chapters and therefore, it is only mentioned here. The queenly manifestation of Hathor will be described and analysed in later chapters, when also including a discussion of the goddess Hathor.

whether these official cultic titles were simply translated from one language to the other, or if they possibly were created contemporaneously.²¹⁸ Regardless of the chronological development or influence of the linguistics, the currently investigated scenes describe the couple, Arsinoë and Ptolemy II, as the sibling gods. There is only scanty and fragmentary evidence of the practicality of the Greek eponymous cult of the second Ptolemaic couple and that it in actuality functioned as a cult in its true cultic meaning. The main extant evidence of the eponymous cult comes from the dating formula, preserved in thousands of papyri dating to the entire Ptolemaic dynastic period.²¹⁹ These are mainly documents which list the names of the serving priests of the eponymous couple, only rarely referring to an existing sacred liturgy.²²⁰

According to today's debate, Arsinoë and Ptolemy II were deified as *theoi Adelphoi*, the sibling gods, in the year 272/271 B.C.²²¹ They were included in the official eponymous cult and were given their own priesthood which designated each year. The cult of the *theoi Adelphoi* was placed immediately after the already established cult of Alexander the Great in the official records. The deification of the second Ptolemaic couple established a regal link with Alexander not only as his royal successors, but possibly more importantly as his divine descendants. They were venerated in the chthonic centre of Alexandrian worship, the *Sema*, side by side with the immortalised Alexander.²²² This reconnection to previous rulers was a socio-religious phenomenon that already existed in the ancient Egyptian culture, mainly expressed through the ruler cult. The closest connection that can be found in the Greek society is the Hero cult (including the cult of famous athletes).²²³ The decision to establish the cult of the *theoi Adelphoi* was clearly a strategic political act. It placed them on the same line of traditions as previous Egyptian pharaohs while also stating their Macedonian origin. Their deification followed also a contemporary trend amongst rulers of the surrounding Hellenistic kingdoms. It was a cult in which the ruling couple was in centre, where the true royal bloodline was crucial.²²⁴ The cultic role as the female counterpart of the sibling gods placed Arsinoë as the rightful queen and acknowledged her true royal bloodline. It also clarified her hierarchic status and sealed her position at the court. Through this role of Arsinoë's, she

²¹⁸ See, however, such discussion in Winter 1978, 153f.

²¹⁹ Clarysse & Van der Veken 1983; Fraser 1972, 219. The records that do exist mainly only mention the existence of the *theoi Adelphoi* and sometimes also the existence of cult statues such as is preserved in Poseidippus epigram no. 74 A-B (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 309). This text relates that Callicrates the admiral dedicated bronze statues to the *theoi Adelphoi* after a Delphic victory; see Bastianni, Gallazzi & Austin 2001, 200-202; Bingen 2002, 185-190; Barbantani 2005, 148; compare Gutzwiller 2005.

²²⁰ The recognised information is thus mainly associated with dates, names and geographic areas.

²²¹ I consider this to be a joint decision by the couple. The date is based on a fragment written by an unknown author placing it in the year 272 B.C.: *PHib*, 199, II. 11-17. For further discussions of the dating see for example Mooren 1975, 58-60; Hauben 1970; Hölbl 2001, 94f.

²²² Fraser 1972, 215. It is generally accepted that the Alexandrian dynastic cult was established during the reign of Ptolemy I when he founded the personal cult of Alexander the Great. However, at that time it was not a dynastic cult but a personal worship of Alexander. Thereby it must be stated that the official dynastic and eponymous ruler cult was established primarily at the time when Ptolemy II and Arsinoë were deified and created a regal link with Alexander. Compare Chapter III.6, Dynastic scenes.

²²³ The main difference between the Alexandrian ruler cult and the native Egyptian ruler cult is (here considered to be) based on the priesthood. In their roles as the divine pharaoh, the Egyptian kings were worshipped in temples with well established hierarchies of the priesthood, with the office being inherited from one generation to the next. Only a few pharaohs enjoyed a full developed post-humus cult before the Ptolemies, including names such as Menes, Snofru, Teti, Ramesses II, Merenptah, Amasis and Nectanebo II. See Crawford 1980, 26f.; D. J. Thompson 1988, 127 note 116; Hölbl 2001, 101f. The Alexandrian ruler cult on the other hand had eponymous priests, who changed office every year. For a list of the priests and priestesses of the royal cult see Clarysse & Van der Veken 1983.

²²⁴ Compare Chapter IV.4.

prevented any contemporary woman of intrusion, if aiming at the queenly position. Arsinoë was recognised as the ruling queen, the divine brother-loving lady of the people.²²⁵ She was the female member of a divine couple who were regarded as the founders of the dynasty mainly throughout the entire Ptolemaic period.²²⁶

The individual eponymous cult of Arsinoë is similar to the above Greek in its essence. Arsinoë's official cultic designation was *thea Arsinoë Philadelphos*, the divine Arsinoë who loves her brother (sibling lover). This title, corresponding to the designation of the sibling gods, is identical to the Egyptian title present in the currently investigated scenes. I consider the cultic role of the divine Arsinoë Philadelphos as individual, although it is included in the general official eponymous cult related to that of the *theoi Adelphoi*.

As stated above, Arsinoë's individual deification is a highly debated topic which has captured the interest of scholars throughout modern times. I will make no attempt at this point to discuss the quandary of dating the institution of this individual cult of Arsinoë.²²⁷ Most scholars can at least agree that this cult was established in relation to Arsinoë's death.²²⁸ The ancient writer Satyrus is our main source of information in regard to the practicality of this cult.²²⁹ This now fragmentary text, preserved from a work titled *On the demes of Alexandria*, describes a procession leading through the city in honour of the queen.²³⁰ Satyrus documents that the altar, on which the offering was to be made, should be made of sand, and if not, then sand should be placed on top of the already built altars.²³¹ He further describes how any given object (except for a goat) was to be sacrificed at any location along the processional route.²³² This procession was headed by a priestess officially designated *canephoros*, the basket-bearer.²³³ These were young women from the upper hierarchy, daughters of high officials or

²²⁵ Compare Chapter III.8, Lady of the Two Lands.

²²⁶ For the temporary institution of *theoi Soteres* as the founders of the dynasty, see the lists provided in Clarysse & Van der Veken 1983. See also *SB 5680 = P.Eleph.Dem.* VII 22, 26; Bricault 1999, 334-343; Barbantani 2005, 151; Fraser 1972, 219.

²²⁷ However, it is a topic which will be brought up in later chapters of the present investigation. See esp. Chapter IV.3, and Table 24.

²²⁸ For example, see Quaegebeur 1971, 242 with reference to the Mendes-stela (cat. no. 1).

²²⁹ The absolute dates of the life of Satyrus are still a debated topic, though traditionally he is vaguely placed during the reigns of Ptolemy IV-V. See for example the discussion in Momigliano 1993, 80 (Ptolemy IV); McKenzie 2007, 67 (Ptolemy V). One part of the available information concerning this cult is based on different forms of dedications made by private people in honour of the queen and goddess. These dedications, usually in the form of small stone plaques of different materials, were dedicated to a deity in honour of or on behalf of Arsinoë. They were often written in a simple form, mostly just mentioning the name of the one performing the dedication and the one which it is dedicated on behalf of, in a grammatical dative form. They are one person's expression of gratefulness and loyalty towards the royal house, to the queen. The objects vary in form and size including everything from small plaques to entire sanctuaries and temples. Although the objects do not give any absolute information about the cult, they do indicate the existence of the cult. See Fraser 1972, 226f.

²³⁰ *P.Oxy.* 2465, fr. 2, col. I.

²³¹ Could it in fact be a misinterpretation of the Greek word and rather have the meaning that the altar had to be made of sandstone and that if this was not possible, to place sand on top of the already existing altar? I cannot agree with the practical explanation Fraser gives concerning the sand, that it was placed there to absorb any spilled blood from the offering. There are no other known references to sand being placed on altars elsewhere to serve this purpose, raising the question why it should here. The sand must have been used for a very specific religious reason. See Fraser 1972, II chapter 5 n. 318. Robert 1966, 199-203 connects the sand with Arsinoë's role as the patroness of sailors.

²³² Compare Chapter III.2, Ram horns.

²³³ For a list of the hitherto recorded *canephoroi* see Clarysse & Van der Veken 1983. The *canephoros* is mentioned occasionally in also Egyptian documents, here including, for example, cat. no. 3.

admirals, and they held this religious position for a period of one year.²³⁴ The priestess served in Alexandria as well as Ptolemais, and a *canephoros* has also been documented on Cyprus.²³⁵ The procession was a part of a festival honouring Arsinoë, designated *Arsinoeia*. This is documented in both Alexandria and the Fayyum, and the textual sources describe a festival celebrated in the Egyptian month of *Mesore*.²³⁶ The procession, led by the *canephoros*, was one of the crucial parts of the *Arsinoeia*, and had its final destination in the centre of the worship of Arsinoë – a temple called *Arsinoeion*. This temple was located by the sea in the Emporion area of Alexandria.²³⁷ A famous passage of Pliny describes how the architect Timochares²³⁸ built the temple roof of a magnetic substance, attempting to lift an iron effigy of the queen.²³⁹ As an ancient Egyptian symbol, an obelisk was placed outside the temple relating the queen to already then ancient Egyptian customs. The obelisk had been transported to Alexandria from Heliopolis, where it originally had been placed undecorated by Nectanebo.²⁴⁰ The temple was most probably totally destroyed in connection with Augustus' building of the Caesareum near the *Arsinoeion* area.²⁴¹

Although Berenice I was individually deified within this Greek cultural setting (supposedly) before Arsinoë, it was the latter who fundamentally functioned as an ideological matrix for later Ptolemaic queens. The iconographic representations of Arsinoë in this Greek setting are

²³⁴ It is interesting that neither of the early priestesses came from families who were Alexandrian citizens. This custom, however, was initiated during the reign of Ptolemy III. For more information see Clarysse & Van der Veken 1983; Fraser 1972, 222f. During later Ptolemaic periods, from the second century, the Ptolemies themselves or close relatives introduced themselves as serving priests or priestesses of this cult. See for example Ptolemy IX. Clarysse & Van der Veken 1983; Fraser 1972, 223.

²³⁵ This female priesthood is documented in Alexandria from at least 267/266 B.C. It was introduced in Ptolemais during the reign of Ptolemy V, while Cyprus has records of a *canephoros* already during the rule of Ptolemy II. Arsinoë's religious position in Cyprus is well known but far from completely documented in modern records. At least three cities were named after the queen and her cult centers were closely connected with those of Aphrodite. See Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976; Barbantani 2005, 156. A preserved inscription documents another (official?) office of a priestess serving the cult of Arsinoë, holding the title *Timo*. The title is, however, only recorded once and is thereby not sufficient to yield any conclusion on its religious position. It does indicate the existence of variations of the (public and local?) cult of Arsinoë. See Minas 1995.

²³⁶ See for example *PCol. Zen.* 56. The majority of the preserved papyri originates or is directed to the area of Fayyum, usually the city of Philadelphia. See *P.Cair.Zen.* I, 59096 ; II, 59185; 59217; III, 59298; 59305; 59326; 59328; 59379; 59398; 59452; 59501; *P.Cair.Zen.* IV, 59690; 59710; *P.Col.Zen.* I, 56; *P.Lond.* VII 2000; *PSI* IV 364, *P.L.Bat.* XXI.

²³⁷ The exact location of the temple is still discussed due to both the contemporary and later ancient records, but also due to the lack of archaeological information. Callimachus, in a fragment of *Apotheosis of Arsinoe*, places the *Arsinoeion* in the Emporion area: Fr. 228 *Diegesis* X.10. Strabo does not mention any temple of Arsinoë in his account of Alexandria. It has been suggested that this was a temple in which not only Arsinoë was worshipped but also her late sister, Philotera, who died when Arsinoë was still alive. If this is the case the *Arsinoeion* might already have existed during Arsinoë's lifetime, thereby supporting the present theory of Arsinoë being deified in her own right when still alive. *FGrH* 570, F16.

²³⁸ The name of the architect is disputed and has different variants such as Deiochares, Dinochares or Dinocrates.

²³⁹ Pliny *NH* 34, 148; see also Ausonius' reference to Varro's *Hebdomades*: Auson. *Mos.* 311-317. Considering the effort put into the building it is surprising that neither Ptolemy II nor the architect lived to see the temple completed, but only the *temenos* and the altar. This could possibly be compared to the unfinished lintel scene on the eastern gate of Karnak. See cat. no. 26.

²⁴⁰ Pliny *NH* 36, 67-69. See below, in the main analytical chapters, on the association between Arsinoë and Nectanebo (as well as certain previous pharaohs). As a hieroglyphic sign, the obelisk denotes the god Amon during Ptolemaic times. I would like to suggest that the obelisk outside the *Arsinoeion* could symbolise also Arsinoë's mythic kinship with Amon, such as will be analysed in Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon. See also Chapters IV. 2-3.

²⁴¹ See for example Fraser 1972, 25. The obelisk is documented to have been removed by the prefect Maximus, during the time of Augustus. Maximus removed the pyramidion and placed the obelisk in a public area of Alexandria. See Pliny *NH* 36, 67-69. Based on the fact that Maximus removed the obelisk, it is most likely that the temple itself was still preserved until then.

documented chiefly on coins, but other artistic forums also exist. The main personal attribute accredited to Arsinoë in this Greek setting was the double cornucopia, which is illustrated on the reverse of each minted coin depicting Arsinoë.²⁴² She is portrayed in profile on the coins, wearing a veil and other traditional Greek female attributes, rather than the personal crown which is present in the Egyptian iconographic setting. There are no known examples of Greek artistic items illustrating Arsinoë where she is wearing the presently investigated crown.²⁴³

Connected with the officially recognised cultic roles of Arsinoë was also her position as an individual goddess assimilated with Greek Aphrodite. The ancient sources which have documented this cult are all centred on the temple structure in which the goddess was venerated. It was the Temple of Arsinoë Aphrodite Zephyritis, situated on cape Zephyrion between Kanopus and Nikopolis.²⁴⁴ This structure of worship was dedicated to the queen by the admiral Callicrates of Samos. Court-poets contemporary with Queen Arsinoë describe her as the goddess who calms the sea for sailors and gives them a safe journey. Poseidippus, Hedylus and Callimachus attest that the temple was open for everyone and that the devotees could perform their offerings on sea and land alike.²⁴⁵ They describe her as a queen with a divine epithet, the previous (queen) suggesting that the temple was built during her lifetime.²⁴⁶ Arsinoë supported the cult of Aphrodite in person during her lifetime, as is demonstrated in the play of Adonis and Aphrodite which was set up on the queen's behalf.²⁴⁷ This festivity was celebrated after the death of Berenice I and is traditionally interpreted as representing Arsinoë's gratitude to Aphrodite for deifying the queen mother.²⁴⁸ Arsinoë was thereby also celebrating her royal descent from the female family line.

The worship of the divine Arsinoë also exceeded the borders of Egypt. There are archaeological indications of an Arsinoeion in Idalion and the *canephoroi* are documented on the island from at least 267/6.²⁴⁹ The cult of Arsinoë on Cyprus was that of the deified queen, not in a full assimilation with Aphrodite.²⁵⁰ She was venerated also in association with goddesses other than Aphrodite. The famous faience vases, which are depicted with Arsinoë positioned in an offering act, designate the queen in connection with Isis as well as Agatha

²⁴² For example, see Svoronos 1904, 460, 475, 477, 938, 947 (etc.); see also Troxell 1983.

²⁴³ See, however, the discussion in Ashton 2001, on the artistic inspiration and mutual artistic influence. Compare my comments concerning the physical existence of the crown of Arsinoë (along with additional crowns) above and in Chapters III.4 and IV.4.

²⁴⁴ For a general introduction see Fraser 1972, 239. For an interesting sidelight see Mattingly 1950, investigating the similarities between the temple of Arsinoë Aphrodite Zephyritis, the coins depicting the queen, and the silver didrachms of Southern Italy. Mattingly relates the cult title of Arsinoë as deriving from the temple of Zephyrium in Cyrene and further stresses that, in the poem, she is called not only Zephyritis but also Locri, which was the name of an Egyptian base in South Italy. This could be supported by the poem of Poseidippus in which the temple of the queen is described as facing the Italian west wind.

²⁴⁵ For Poseidippus see Ath., 318D; Fraser 1972, 568f.; II 810 (chapter 10 iii) note 129f. For a general introduction see Fraser 1972, 239. For information about Callicrates of Samos see Hauben 1970.

²⁴⁶ Fraser 1972, 569 dismisses the possibility that the inscription describes Arsinoë as a goddess in her own right, and refers to the fact that she was one of the *theoi Adelphoi* and thereby a goddess in a pair. However, there are no indications in any of the written sources referring to Ptolemy II in connection with this temple.

²⁴⁷ Theoc. *Id.* 15. The play, described by Theocritus as "the feast of Adonis" was set up by Arsinoë in the palace area. See Reed 2000, who discusses the possible Egyptian elements of this traditional Greek idyll.

²⁴⁸ Reed 2000, 320.

²⁴⁹ Barbantani 2005, 156.

²⁵⁰ The fact that many of the inscriptions mentioning Arsinoë are found in the temples of Aphrodite, such as in Paphos and Paleopaphos, does however support a clear link. For the text in the *nymphaeum* of Kafizin, close to Nicosia, and in Chytroi see Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, A 105; Mitford 1950; Friis Johansen 1953. See also Barbantani 156 with n. 80. For marble portraits see Stephens 2004, 161-176; on the coinage minted at Paphos, Salamis and Kition, see Kyrieleis 1975, 78-80; Lichočka 1986, 311-322; Parente 2002; Barbantani 2005, 157.

Tyche.²⁵¹ Sources also attest a Delian Temple of Arsinoë-Agatha Tyche, called the Philadelphion, where the worshippers offered shells. The inhabitants of Delos further celebrated a festival called Philadelpheia, most probably connected with this temple.²⁵² These are all examples of how wide ranging the individual cult of Arsinoë was. This is, however, not the place to list all existing variations of the private cultic aspects of the queen. The reader is instead directed to Chapter III, where parallels will be drawn between the Greek and Egyptian cultic roles of Arsinoë and the expressions these could take in her personal iconography, i.e. the crown of Arsinoë.

Dynastic cult and the Egyptian worship of Arsinoë

It has already been stated above that one of the iconographic themes of the presently investigated material is the dynastic cult and the ancestor worship. This theme is listed in several scenes associated with Arsinoë which will be demonstrated in following chapters.²⁵³ The scenes in which this topic is expressed concern the transferable power from the dynastic ancestors to the ruling king. It is a religious continuation of ancient pharaonic ceremonies, which in the relief scenes are purely Egyptian in their settings. This religious phenomenon was practised by the Ptolemies at least from the time of Ptolemy II,²⁵⁴ although only absolutely documented since the reign of Ptolemy III who is illustrated offering to his parents, Arsinoë and Ptolemy II.²⁵⁵ Arsinoë is once again referred to as the female counterpart of the dynastic founders, corresponding to the Greek eponymous cult described above. She is described in this setting as the divine mother or the great mother of the mothers, while also designated together with Ptolemy II as the *mr-sn*, the sibling gods.²⁵⁶ The ancestor cult, as practised by the Ptolemies, functioned as a means of reconnecting to and reclaiming the power of previous Ptolemaic ruler (couples), in general linking themselves back to the *theoi Adelphoi*.²⁵⁷ This dynastic ancestor cult did not, as far as archaeology has revealed, receive any centre of worship of its own, such as the *Sema* of the Alexandrian eponymous cult. Instead, the royal couples should be seen as temple-sharing deities when illustrated on the temple reliefs of the sanctuaries of the prominent Egyptian deities.

The Egyptian counterpart of the Greek cult of the divine Arsinoë Philadelphos received its own set of priests and scribes. Arsinoë was the first royal woman ever to receive a cult equivalent to the traditional Egyptian gods.²⁵⁸ The cult of Arsinoë was further, together with

²⁵¹ For detailed reference to these vases see D. B. Thompson 1973. See below for more reference to these *oinochoai*. For further information on the assimilation Isis-Arsinoë see *SB* 601, 602; *OGIS* 31; *PSI* 539.3; *P.Petrie*, I, 1 mentioning the sanctuaries of Isis-Arsinoë and Isis-Berenice; Fraser 1972, I, 241-243; Barbantani 2005, 150.

²⁵² Vallois 1929, 32-40; Barbantani 2005, 147 n. 42.

²⁵³ See esp. Chapter III.6, Dynastic scenes.

²⁵⁴ Although Ptolemy II did not introduce his parents in the eponymous cult, there are still records of how he honored them with temples and celebrations (for example in the Grand Procession described by Athenaeus).

²⁵⁵ One can here argue that Ptolemy II applied a similar position when offering to the deceased and deified Arsinoë, but then it has to be assumed that she indeed held a kingly position, which Ptolemy needed to reconnect to. See below in this chapter for further discussions.

²⁵⁶ Compare Chapters III.6-8 and IV.4.

²⁵⁷ See for example Winter 1978 and Quaegebeur 1989 for a general introduction to the topic.

²⁵⁸ Compare the cult of 18th dynasty queens, which occasionally remind of the cult of Arsinoë. Compare also the ruler cult of the pharaohs, especially the deification of Amenhotep III. The separate cult of Arsinoë as the divine Philadelphos was the first cult to be added to the traditional Egyptian religion since the 18th dynasty and Pharaoh Akhenaton's religious actions. The traditional royal cult, the pharaoh was worshipped as the earthly manifestation of Horus, son of Ra. Akhenaton, however, developed a certain aspect of the traditional cult and changed the conventional religious settings of worship and dualism. Akhenaton separated himself from the

that of Cleopatra VII, the only cult of an individual queen to receive its own Egyptian priesthood in full ministrations.²⁵⁹ The introduction of the divine Arsinoë was made by the court in a very close connection, with respect and understanding, to the Egyptian priesthood. They in their turn accepted and acknowledged the importance of creating this bridge between the two strong cultures. Arsinoë's cult grew stronger in the Egyptian native religious sphere than any of the male rulers did. In many ways, the cult of Arsinoë was the initial point to the introduction of the ruler cult in the Egyptian traditional temples and sanctuaries. Once the cult of Arsinoë and her younger sister Philoterā²⁶⁰ had been introduced in the temples, and thereby approved by the powerful priesthood, the introduction of the complete ruler cult continued. Arsinoë is in this setting, equivalent to that of the *mr-sn*, the sibling gods, mainly depicted wearing the crown of Arsinoë. The only two existing exceptions, here listed as cat. nos. 21 and 36, illustrate the queen wearing the traditional female crown.²⁶¹

The divine Philadelphos was introduced to the Egyptian people in Memphis as a temple sharing goddess of Ptah sometime during the 3rd century B.C. and then took the place as the Great Wife of Ptah. Once the image of Arsinoë had been placed in the Temple of Memphis, her cult was also incorporated under the supervision of the priests and scribes of Ptah. Philoterā was initially also incorporated as a temple sharing goddess in this temple, but disappeared from the official cult when the priestly office was given over to another, closely related, family, while the cult of Arsinoë only grew stronger and more influential.²⁶² Written documents demonstrate that there was an individual Temple of Arsinoë in Memphis.²⁶³ The priests of Arsinoë were servants of the old Pharaonic cult with traditions sustained during the Ptolemaic period. Arsinoë's deification and acceptance into the ancient Egyptian pantheon was officially approved when she entered the sacred enclosures of Memphis. As one of the most important religious centres of Egypt, this was a great act of Ptolemaic propaganda. Here, Arsinoë dressed herself in the same divine attributes and designations as any of the legendary Egyptian goddesses. She became the eternally venerated queen, to whom the Egyptian people could turn when they were in need of divine intervention. However, the material cannot provide evidence that agree adequately with the priestly documentation in Memphis. Foremost, this is based on the lack of preserved temple structures in Memphis. Instead, the material demonstrates a concentration of temple reliefs in Upper Egypt, whereas a few stelai bear witness of a cult also in Lower Egypt.

powerful priesthood of Amon in Karnak and remained their enemy until the end as far as the archaeological records have indicated.

²⁵⁹ See for example Quaegebeur 1988, 42.

²⁶⁰ The sources for Philoterā are scanty. She died unmarried shortly before Arsinoë's death. See Fraser 1972, 668f.

²⁶¹ These have, however, been included in the present investigation in order to include all existing reliefs of Arsinoë and thereby be able to conduct a comprehensive study of the correlation between the queen and her personal crown (and then also to compare those two scenes where she is instead wearing the traditional female crown). See the following chapter for more information.

²⁶² Crawford 1980, 26; Quaegebeur 1971, 239-270.

²⁶³ Crawford 1980, 26; Quaegebeur 1971, 250; Rundle Clark 1959, 60f. Could this Arsinoeion possibly be the temple referred to in *P. Petrie* II 16, 13? For the papyrus see Milligan 1927, 7; Witwowski 1911, 6; Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 155-158; Barbantani 2005, 147 n. 42. Due to the bad state of site preservation, there are no archaeological remains that can support this. Neither can the archaeological remains reveal whether the Arsinoeion was a free-standing building or whether it was directly connected to the main temple of Ptah. See the full publication of *Studia Hellenistica* 24: Crawford, Quaegebeur & Clarysse 1980. Some of these stelai provide information concerning the new established tax, the *apomoira*, dedicated to the cult of Arsinoë. Examples of Pharaohs who received a personal cult in Memphis are Ramses II, Psamtik I and Nectanebo. See for example Quaegebeur 1971, 245 with notes 34-39. For further information concerning the crowning of Alexander and the Ptolemies see for example Grimm 1978.

II THE MATERIAL

CHAPTER II.1 PRESENTING THE CROWNS AND THE RELIEF SCENES

The subject of the present investigation is the 158 religious reliefs illustrating the crown of Arsinoë and a crown composition here generalised as the later Hathoric crown.²⁶⁴ The reliefs, in which the crowns appear, date to a period of time which extends from Arsinoë's lifetime to the reign of Emperor Trajan, a period of *c.* 400 years.²⁶⁵ All images derive from a geographic area within the precincts of Egypt. The temple reliefs are still *in situ*, in a mainly good state of preservation, though with some exceptions. The first 15 scenes listed in the Catalogue are depicted on the upper part of decrees and stelai, incorporating also a few fragmentary reliefs, all of which are mainly well preserved. A few scenes are preserved with original colours. The material consists foremost of sandstone, but there are also items made of limestone and granite.

I will not make any attempt to label the material as a comprehensive group with a collective general designation. The scenes will instead remain separated based on the illustrated crown, first registering the crown of Arsinoë and subsequently the pictorially developed forms here referred to as the later Hathoric crown. I approach the crowns as individual elements linked by their original symbolic value. Although some of the crowns were studied previously, there has been no attempt to catalogue a comprehensive corpus of either the crown of Arsinoë or the later Hathoric crown. Such a corpus will be presented here. The 158 listed scenes include 163 female figures wearing the crowns, which form the base of the study. Thirty-six scenes include 40 figures of Queen Arsinoë;²⁶⁶ 118 scenes depict 119 Hathoric figures, and four scenes illustrate four figures of later Ptolemaic queens. My initial intention was to include all existing female relief figures wearing either form of these crowns, but due to the present state of some of the scenes in the Temples of Edfu and Dendera this has not been possible.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ See subsequent chapters, esp. Chapter III.6, for my approach to the character and theme of the scenes.

²⁶⁵ See Table 24 for a comprehensive presentation of the dates; compare Appendix I.

²⁶⁶ I have chosen to include two images of Arsinoë wearing the traditional female crown (TFC) in order to compile a full documentation of the still preserved reliefs depicting Arsinoë, used mainly as a comparison when conducting the iconographic analysis and the iconological interpretation.

²⁶⁷ This is also due to the restricted areas in the Temples of Edfu and Dendera. Some of the excluded scenes are documented in the Edfu and Dendera publications, but since I have not been able to study them personally, I have chosen to exclude them. This is also due to the fact that some of the previously published drawings have proven to be incorrect, such as a previous drawing of cat. no. 22. For example, there are a few additional scenes at Dendera where Cleopatra VII is depicted wearing type AC 26, identical to that worn by the figure in cat. no. 142 but for the reason mentioned here, they have been excluded from the Catalogue. I base this decision on the relevance of each individual pictorial sign, which without a personal analysis cannot be fully evaluated. However, I have included two exceptions in the material. I have based my studies of cat. no. 36 on rather recent photographs (presented in the reference list in the main catalogue) rather than on personal observations as its present whereabouts is unknown. However, the material of Arsinoë would not be comprehensive if this scene was excluded. Cat. no. 158 is included as an example of a developed crown of Arsinoë, worn by Cleopatra VII, although it is preserved in a drawing exclusively in an early publication. The crown is dissimilar from the crown

However, the material does include a comprehensible compilation of these scenes and constitutes a sufficient foundation for an iconographic study.

The scenes that represent Arsinoë, the initial figure to be depicted with this crown, are separated from the remaining 122 scenes. Arsinoë and her crown are presented as the initial 36 items of the catalogue, subdivided in agreement with their present location (first presenting the independent objects, followed by the temple reliefs in conformity with their geographic location). The remaining scenes, representing the later Ptolemaic queens and the Hathoric figures, are divided in accordance with their location, i.e., Edfu, Dendera, Karnak and Kalabsha. These form the second part of the catalogue, cat. nos. 37-158.

All scenes in which the currently investigated crowns are illustrated have a religious character that follows ancient Egyptian pictorial conventions, always representing at least one deity. The scenes are further distinguished in agreement with the main theme of the scene, i.e., the religious act performed by the pharaoh (or royal couple) in an *active* or *inactive* position (placement and role) in regard to the deities.²⁶⁸ These have been separated in accordance with the following directory:

- Traditional offering scene where the pharaoh (or royal couple) acts as the benefactor for the traditional Egyptian deities
- The pharaoh (or royal couple) performs an active religious ceremony, expressed here mainly through the shaking of the sistrum
- The pharaoh adores, praises or stands before the deities, without any handheld objects
- Dynastic scenes in which the pharaoh associates himself with his deified deceased ancestors through active worship
- Scenes where the pharaoh smites an enemy (enemies)
- Rejuvenation scenes connected with kingship, including crowning, reckoning of time and the sed festival. The pharaoh is illustrated mainly in an inactive position.

THE IMAGES PRESENTED IN THE CATALOGUE

All scenes have been personally investigated *in situ* unless located in an international museum. I have personally photographed the scenes, which are still located in the temples, and some of the stelai.²⁶⁹ The few remaining objects, which are now located in international museums, have been professionally photographed by the personnel at the respective museums where I have been given permission to reprint the image.²⁷⁰ The plates presented in the

of Arsinoë as Cleopatra wears it in Dendera and can therefore be an example of another form. However, I have excluded a more detailed analysis of cat. no. 158 due to the possibility of a misrepresentation in the previous drawing.

²⁶⁸ See Chapter III.6.

²⁶⁹ I would like to express my gratitude to QEA for arranging my initial visits in the Upper Egyptian temples. I would also like to thank J. Ward for his kindness and assistance when visiting all the ancient locations. His contribution of photographs is listed below the actual individual photographs in the section of the Catalogue plates as well as throughout the main work.

²⁷⁰ The compiled scenes of Arsinoë include all existing reliefs of the queen except for four scenes. The first two excluded scenes depict Arsinoë in a pure Egyptian style in which she is placed among the local deities. These two reliefs are preserved to the modern world only as drawings made during the 19th century, and their present state of preservation or precise location is unknown. Early drawings of relief scenes are sometimes inaccurate, hence the exclusion of these two scenes. However, these scenes will be discussed in Parts III and IV as external references. The first relief scene was documented on a stela found in the modern city of Saft el-Henneh and is documented in E. Naville's publication from 1888, but since then, has been lost. Recently, it has been briefly

catalogue demonstrate the full relief scene. When possible, I have shown the crown in a separate picture in order to demonstrate each pictorial unit, and to stress their correlation.²⁷¹ Each crown is presented by a personally drawn, detailed illustration in the Catalogue description. These illustrations can also be found in Appendix I.

Crown compositions

The crowns are the main subject of the study and are divided in accordance with the subsequent designations:²⁷²

Crown of Arsinoë (AC)



This crown includes the iconographic signs of the red crown, ram horns, double feather plume, cow horns and solar disk, sometimes with minor additional iconographic units such as *uraei*. This crown is documented in cat. nos. 1L-20, 22-35, 142, 156-158, worn by Arsinoë, Cleopatra III and VII and is listed in 27 variants.

Dendera crown (DEC)



This crown includes the iconographic signs of the double crown, ram horns, double feather plume, cow horns and solar disk, sometimes with minor additional iconographic units such as *uraei*. This crown is documented in cat. nos. 38-41, 43-48, 56-60, 64, 66, 68, 70-71, 73-75, 79-80, 82, 85-87, 89-93, 95-98, 103-105, 107-108, 110-123, 125-131, 135, 137, 139-141, 144-152, 154, worn by the Hathoric figures and is listed in 11 variants based on the placement and additional iconographic signs forming the crown.

mentioned in connection with the Sais stela and the introduction of the cult of Arsinoë in the *chora*: see Collombert 2008, 93, and fig. 2 on p. 101. The second relief was found in 1837 in the Masara quarries, in connection with work carried out in the Giza area. A drawing was published of the relief in 1842 by R. W. Howard-Vyse and J. S. Perring, and has not been re-located since, see Howard-Vyse & Perring 1842. J. Quaegebeur refers several times to this relief (see Quaegebeur 1978, 251 with fig. H). The other two scenes are documented by Quaegebeur 1998, as fragmentary blocks illustrating the crown of Arsinoë. He places the origin of the objects in Medamoud and Mut (Karnak) temples respectively. However, the objects have not been published and their current location is unknown. Consequently, I have not been able to study these objects.

²⁷¹ A few scenes are located in dark rooms, in a problematic architectural position, or are only partially preserved; therefore, the original photograph is sometimes of poor quality causing some crowns to be excluded from this enhancement.

²⁷² Each pictorial element is presented here by an illustrated example of an individual type. For a full list of the variations of types within each element, see Chapters III.2-3.

Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather (DECA)



This crown includes the same iconographic signs as the Dendera crown, with an additional ostrich feather, called *atef*, which is attached to the back of the red crown. This crown is documented in cat. nos. 42, 61-63, 65, 69, 72, 77, 81, 83-84, 88, 99-102, 106, 132-133, 136, 143, 153, 155, worn by the Hathoric figures and is listed in nine variants based on the dissimilarity of the crown units included in this type.

Female Edfu crown (FEC)



This crown includes the iconographic signs of the double crown, ram horns, cow horns and solar disk and a single or double *atef* feather instead of the double feather plume. This crown is documented in cat. nos. 37, 49-52, 54-55, 76, 78, 94, 109, 124, 134, 138, worn by the Hathoric figures (and sometimes worn by the figure of Horus). It is listed in seven types based on the variation of the crown units.

Edfu Crown (ED)



This crown in its original form, contemporarily worn by Horus, includes the iconographic signs of the double crown, ram horns, double feather plume, an additional *atef* feather which is attached to the back of the red crown, and frequently including a single *uraeus* attached to the front of the red crown. The crowns included in this group, when worn by female figures, are variations of the original crown worn by Horus and never identical with its original form. Only two crowns worn by Hathoric figures can be labelled as variants of the original Edfu crown, and are both different from each other. This crown will be analysed in detail only when it is worn by the female figures. It is documented in cat. nos. 53 and 67.

Crown- and headdress units

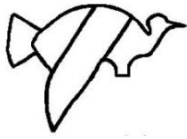
The iconographic elements listed below are all crucial for the process of determining the types into which the crowns are divided. The headdress and crown details have been categorised in the same way as the classification of the full crown compositions, where their individual position and size, however, have been taken into consideration.

Tripartite wig (TW)



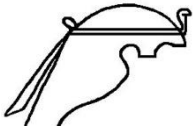
The tripartite wig is a decorative headdress and a pictorial unit worn by all of the female figures in the present study. It is documented here in two types, differentiated by the way the hair falls around the shoulders.

Vulture cap (VC)



The vulture cap is another decorative headdress, which is documented as being worn by Arsinoë and the Hathoric figures. It is traditionally illustrated as a vulture resting on the female figure's head, with its wings spread downwards towards her shoulders. It is listed here in three variants, divided due to its additional ornaments. The vulture cap is documented as an iconographic element of the female figures of cat. nos. 1R-2R, 4-9, 11-15R, 17, 20, 23-27, 29-34, 37-57, 59-134, 136-141, 143-156, 158.

Single forehead *uraeus* (SFU)



The single forehead *uraeus* is an iconographic sign attached to the front of the wig, recorded here in two variants based on its connection with the royal diadem. Only one Hathoric figure is documented with this headdress element,²⁷³ while it is far more commonly attested among the Ptolemaic queens, including Arsinoë, Cleopatra III and Cleopatra VII (cat. nos. 3, 16, 18-19, 21-22, 35-36, 58, 142, 157 (here including also the two traditional female crowns worn by Arsinoë in cat. nos. 21, 36)).

Uraeus (UR)



The *uraeus* is separated from the pictorial signs above described due to the position of the SFU as a headdress ornament. The current decoration, UR, is depicted in direct contact with the crown and is listed in four variants worn by Arsinoë, the later Ptolemaic queens and Hathoric figures in cat. nos. 2L-R, 7-8, 13, 18, 20, 35, 37, 49, 52-56, 60, 66-71, 74, 81-82, 84, 91-92, 94-95, 97, 100, 102, 106, 119, 142, 155, 158.

Ram horns (RH)



The ram horns are one of the original crown units of the crown of Arsinoë and this sign is one of the iconographic details, which retain its position as a main unit of all later crown variants. It is divided into six types based on their placement in connection with the red crown of the crown of Arsinoë or the double crown of the Hathoric figures. It is documented in the majority of the scenes, in cat. nos. 1L, 2L-20, 22-27, 29-35, 37-76, 78-158).

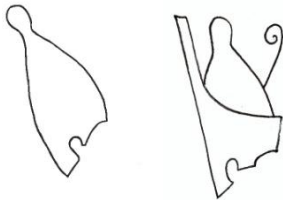
²⁷³ Cat. no. 58.

Red crown (RC)



The red crown of Lower Egypt is a fundamental iconographic component of the crown of Arsinoë and remains in the later variations combined with the white crown as the double crown. It is divided into four types in the study based on the placement of the crown spiral. The crown itself is always placed on top of the head instead of its otherwise alternative position resting on the neck and the ears. It is documented here in all scenes of Arsinoë except cat. no. 1L, a figure which is too damaged to determine the full crown in detail. All the figures of the later Ptolemaic queens are depicted wearing the red crown. The red crown worn by the Hathoric figures will be listed below, under the double crown.

White crown and Double crown (WC and DC)



The white crown of Upper Egypt is never depicted individually in the present study, but as a unit of the double crown together with the red crown. The double crown is divided here into four variants based on the position of the crown spiral and it is documented as being worn by all the Hathoric figures.

Double feather plume (DFP)



The double feather plume is an essential pictorial unit included in the original crown of Arsinoë and is documented in all scenes except for cat. no. 1L. The double feather plume worn in the original crown of Arsinoë (and by the figures of the later Ptolemaic queens) consists of tall, usually straight feathers resting on top of the red crown, covering a large part of it. The double feather plume worn by the Hathoric figures is small and comes up from either the white crown or the front *atef* feather. Hence, three types are listed of the double feather plume. It is documented in cat. nos. 1R-8, 10-11, 13-36, 38-48, 56-75, 77, 79-93, 95-108, 110-123, 125-133, 135-137, 139-158, including the two images of Arsinoë wearing the traditional female crown (TFC).

Cow horns and solar disk (CS)



The cow horns and the solar disk are yet another original iconographic element listed in the crown of Arsinoë as well as its later variations. Seven variants are listed in the present investigation based on the placement, size and composition. This detail, sometimes only the solar disk or the horns²⁷⁴, is listed in all scenes except for cat. nos. 1L, 9, 33, 53, 61, 67.

²⁷⁴ When only including the solar disk and not the cow horns the crown is identical in its composition of signs with the crown which is described here as the 'Ramesside crown'. See below in Chapter III.3.

Atef (ATEF)



The *atef* or ostrich feather is an additional crown unit which sometimes decorates the later crown variations, either attached behind the red crown or/and in front of the white crown. It is divided into two types based on its placement in connection with the double crown. It is documented in cat. nos. 37, 42, 49-55, 61-63, 65, 67, 69, 72, 76-78, 81, 83-84, 88, 94, 99-102, 106, 109, 124, 132-134, 136, 138, 143, 153, 155.

Table 1: The scenes

The table lists each individual scene, its crown-type, the identity of the female figure, the total amount of main figures in the scene, and the location of the image.

Key: AC = Crown of Arsinoë; DEC = Dendera Crown; DECA = Dendera Crown with an additional Atef feather; FEC = Female Edfu Crown; ED = Edfu Crown. A name followed by x2 indicates that the figure is depicted twice in the scene. The +sign is used when the scene includes additional figures such as in a procession.

Scenes cat. nos.	Crown	Female figure	(Main) Figures in the scene	Location incl. Museum ²⁷⁵ and inv. no.
1	AC 1; AC2	ARSINOË x 2	8	CG 22181
2	AC 3	ARSINOË x 2	12	CG 22183
3	AC 4	ARSINOË	10	CG 22188
4	AC 5	ARSINOË	15	CG 22186
5	AC 5	ARSINOË	5	Zagazig 228 = Heriat Raznah Museum No. H 854
6	AC 6	ARSINOË	4	Brussels MRAH E. 8387
7	AC 7	ARSINOË	2	Moscow I.i. 5375
8	AC 8	ARSINOË	2	Relief of Arsinoë, University of Trier ²⁷⁶
9	AC 9	ARSINOË	1	Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum 1025
10	AC 10	ARSINOË	2	ROM 979.63 ²⁷⁷
11	AC 6	ARSINOË	6	CG 31104
12	AC 11	ARSINOË	1	Relief of Queen Arsinoë II as Hathor, Harvard Art Museum ²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ CG – Egyptian Museum in Cairo; MM – Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm.

²⁷⁶ Archäologisches Institut der Universität Trier.

²⁷⁷ Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto 979.63

²⁷⁸ Harvard Art Museum, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel H.

Lindenbaum, 1983.96

Scenes cat. nos.	Crown	Female figure	(Main) Figures in the scene	Location incl. Museum and inv. no.
13	AC 16	ARSINOË	2	British Museum EA 1056
14	AC 12	ARSINOË	6	British Museum, EA 1057
15	AC 6	ARSINOË x 2	8	MM 10026
16	AC 13	ARSINOË	3	Edfu
17	AC 12	ARSINOË	3	Edfu
18	AC 14	ARSINOË	10	Edfu
19	AC 15	ARSINOË	3	Edfu
20	AC 16	ARSINOË	6	Edfu
21	TFC	ARSINOË	3	Edfu
22	AC 17	ARSINOË	3	Edfu
23	AC 18	ARSINOË	3	Karnak
24	AC 18	ARSINOË	3	Karnak
25	AC 6	ARSINOË	46	Karnak
26	AC 19	ARSINOË x 2 (x 4)	8 (10)	Karnak
27	AC 20	ARSINOË	3	Philae
28	AC 21	ARSINOË	3	Philae
29	AC 20	ARSINOË	3	Philae
30	AC 20	ARSINOË	3	Philae
31	AC 22	ARSINOË	3	Philae
32	AC 20	ARSINOË	4	Philae
33	AC 23	ARSINOË	2	Philae
34	AC 24	ARSINOË	3	Qasr el-Aguz
35	AC 25	ARSINOË	12	Tod
36	TFC	ARSINOË	3	Medamoud
37	FEC 1	HATHOR	3	Edfu
38	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Edfu
39	DEC 3	HATHOR	3	Edfu
40	DEC 1	HATHOR	4	Edfu
41	DEC 3	HATHOR	4	Edfu
42	DECA 1	HATHOR	3	Edfu
43	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Edfu
44	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Edfu
45	DEC 1	HATHOR	4	Edfu
46	DEC 3	HATHOR	6	Edfu
47	DEC 1	HATHOR	2	Edfu
48	DEC 3	HATHOR	2	Edfu
49	FEC 4	HATHOR	4	Edfu
50	FEC 3	HATHOR	2	Edfu
51	FEC 5	HATHOR	3	Edfu
52	FEC 6	HATHOR	6	Edfu
53	ED 1	HATHOR	3	Edfu
54	FEC 6	HATHOR	3	Edfu
55	FEC 2	HATHOR	3	Edfu
56	DEC 2	HATHOR	3	Dendera
57	DEC 1	HATHOR	4	Dendera
58	DEC 5	HATHOR	2	Dendera
59	DEC 1	HATHOR	4	Dendera
60	DEC 2	HATHOR	4	Dendera
61	DECA 6	HATHOR	3	Dendera
62	DECA 1	HATHOR	5	Dendera
63	DECA 1	HATHOR	3+	Dendera
64	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
65	DECA 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera

Scenes cat. nos.	Crown	Female figure	(Main) Figures in the scene	Location incl. museum and inv. no.
66	DEC 2	HATHOR	3	Dendera
67	ED 2	HATHOR	2	Dendera
68	DEC 2	HATHOR	4	Dendera
69	DECA 7	HATHOR	8	Dendera
70	DEC 4	HATHOR	3	Dendera
71	DEC 4	HATHOR	4	Dendera
72	DECA 8	HATHOR	5	Dendera
73	DEC 1	HATHOR	2	Dendera
74	DEC 9	HATHOR	4	Dendera
75	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
76	FEC 3	HATHOR	2	Dendera
77	DECA 5	HATHOR	4	Dendera
78	FEC 3	HATHOR	4	Dendera
79	DEC 3	HATHOR	5	Dendera
80	DEC 3	HATHOR	4	Dendera
81	DECA 2	HATHOR	3	Dendera
82	DEC 2	HATHOR	3	Dendera
83	DECA 8	HATHOR	5	Dendera
84	DECA 9	HATHOR	4	Dendera
85	DEC 1	HATHOR	4	Dendera
86	DEC 1	HATHOR	2	Dendera
87	DEC 3	HATHOR	11	Dendera
88	DECA 1	HATHOR	7+	Dendera
89	DEC 7	HATHOR	5	Dendera
90	DEC 7	HATHOR	4	Dendera
91	DEC 6	HATHOR	4	Dendera
92	DEC 2	HATHOR	4	Dendera
93	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
94	FEC 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
95	DEC 4	HATHOR	8	Dendera
96	DEC 1	HATHOR	5	Dendera
97	DEC 10	HATHOR	5	Dendera
98	DEC 1	HATHOR	4	Dendera
99	DECA 1	HATHOR	4	Dendera
100	DECA 2	HATHOR	2	Dendera
101	DECA 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
102	DECA 9	HATHOR	7	Dendera
103	DEC 3	HATHOR	6	Dendera
104	DEC 1	HATHOR	8+	Dendera
105	DEC 7	HATHOR	3	Dendera
106	DECA 2	HATHOR	3	Dendera
107	DEC 1	HATHOR	5	Dendera
108	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
109	FEC 3	HATHOR	2	Dendera
110	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
111	DEC 7	HATHOR	3	Dendera
112	DEC 7	HATHOR	2	Dendera
113	DEC 1	HATHOR	5	Dendera
114	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
115	DEC 1	HATHOR	2	Dendera
116	DEC 1	HATHOR	4	Dendera
117	DEC 7	HATHOR	5	Dendera
118	DEC 7	HATHOR	7	Dendera
119	DEC 9	HATHOR	7	Dendera
120	DEC 7	HATHOR	4	Dendera

Scenes cat. nos.	Crown	Female figure	(Main) Figures in the scene	Location incl. museum and inv. no.
121	DEC 7	HATHOR	2	Dendera
122	DEC 8	HATHOR	2	Dendera
123	DEC 7	HATHOR	2	Dendera
124	FEC 7	HATHOR	3	Dendera
125	DEC 1	HATHOR	4	Dendera
126	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
127	DEC 7	HATHOR	3	Dendera
128	DEC 1	HATHOR	4	Dendera
129	DEC 7	HATHOR	4	Dendera
130	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
131	DEC 7	HATHOR	3	Dendera
132	DECA 4	HATHOR	3	Dendera
133	DECA 4	HATHOR	4	Dendera
134	FEC 3	HATHOR	5+	Dendera
135	DEC 11	HATHOR	3	Dendera
136	DECA 1	HATHOR	4	Dendera
137	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
138	FEC 3	HATHOR	2	Dendera
139	DEC 7	HATHOR	4	Dendera
140	DEC 1	HATHOR	5	Dendera
141	DEC 7	HATHOR	3	Dendera
142	AC 26	CLEOPATRA VII ?	1+	Dendera
143	DECA 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
144	DEC 7	HATHOR	6	Dendera
145	DEC 1	HATHOR x 2	8	Dendera
146	DEC 1	HATHOR	4	Dendera
147	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
148	DEC 7	HATHOR	4	Dendera
149	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
150	DEC 1	HATHOR	5	Dendera
151	DEC 1	HATHOR	4	Dendera
152	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
153	DECA 8	HATHOR	4	Dendera
154	DEC 1	HATHOR	3	Dendera
155	DECA 3	HATHOR	4	Kalabsha
156	AC 5	CLEOPATRA III	3	Karnak
157	AC 15	CLEOPATRA III	3	Karnak
158	AC 27	CLEOPATRA VII	9	Armant

CHAPTER II.2

CATALOGUE INTRODUCTION

The reliefs are first arranged chronologically by the female figure wearing the crown under study, thereby separating Arsinoë from the later female figures of Hathor and the Ptolemaic queens Cleopatra III and VII.²⁷⁹ They are then organised by their present location. The images of Arsinoë are moreover divided individually as objects located in museums and temple scenes, which are *in situ*. The reliefs of the stelai and decrees are designated in agreement with respective museum and inventory number. All temple reliefs are labelled based on their present location and position within the structure.²⁸⁰ When a scene includes more than one section, each will be presented individually. For example, cat. no. 2 is presented as 2L (L=left) and 2R (R=right). Each catalogue number has a subsequent plate, which consists of a main photograph of the full relief scene in general and an enlarged detail of the crown if possible. A few scenes are represented as drawings made by myself or J. Ward if not otherwise stated.²⁸¹ Each relief is classified in accordance with the following directory:

1. Type of relief²⁸²
2. Material
3. Measurements²⁸³
4. Provenance
5. Date²⁸⁴
6. Previous publications²⁸⁵
7. Crown in the scene
8. Hand held objects
9. State of preservation
10. Iconographical description²⁸⁶
11. Remarks²⁸⁷

²⁷⁹ The later female figures, Hathor and the later Ptolemaic queens, are not divided individually in a chronological order, but are listed instead by their geographic location. Thereby, this chronological differentiation is mainly used as a tool of separating Arsinoë, wearing the original crown, from subsequent figures wearing variants of the crown.

²⁸⁰ The capital letter placed within brackets of the temple reliefs correspond to the official designations given in the Edfu (*Edfou*) and Dendera (*Dendara*) publications.

²⁸¹ These drawings are based on a photographic original.

²⁸² These are divided here as raised or sunken relief (relating to the conventional terms relief and intaglio).

²⁸³ This is documented only in cat. nos. 1-15 due to the medium, i.e., stelai or decrees.

²⁸⁴ Given dates are based on Table 24.

²⁸⁵ Cat. nos. 37-154 are published previously mainly in a general introduction or in connection with the publication of the hieroglyphic text of the scene (only rarely translated).

²⁸⁶ I refer to previous publications describing the full scene rather than the crown itself.

²⁸⁷ This heading includes the tallest figure of the scene. See Chapter III.7.

CHAPTER II.3 CATALOGUE DESCRIPTION

SCENES OF ARSINOË STELAI

1. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 22181 (Mendes stela)

Sunken relief

Limestone

1.47m high

Provenance: Tell el-Rub'a, Tell el-Timai – Greek Mendes-Thmuis

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: *PM* IV, 36; *LÄ* IV, 45f.; Mariette 1879; 43-45 (a, b); *Theb. Inscr.* IV: 629-631, 658-669, 739f.; *Urk.* II: 28-54; Kamal 1905, 159-68, pls. LIV, no. 22181; de Meulenaere 1965, 53-65; Quaegebeur 1970, no. 8; Quaegebeur 1971, 242; de Meulenaere & MacKay 1976, 173-177, pls. 1 and 31, no. 111; Quaegebeur 1978, 253; Derchain 1985, 35f.; Quaegebeur 1985, 76; Quaegebeur 1988, 43-45; Grzybek 1990, 103, 107; Roeder 1998, 168-188; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 7; van Oppen 2007, *passim*; 2010, *passim*.

LEFT FIGURE:

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and bearded emmer wheat

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This left section is preserved primarily in a good condition, but the area around Arsinoë is discoloured. The lower part of the figure is well preserved, whereas the top part has been damaged due to natural wear and tear. The crown is almost entirely erased (/faded). Only vague outlines of the facial features are preserved. The personal register of text is mainly preserved with only minor damage, while the lower hieroglyphic register has a couple of damaged signs.

RIGHT FIGURE:

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 2



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The right section and the image of Arsinoë are well preserved in general, with only minor damage. The crown is well preserved except for the very back, where a small fracture cuts into the stone. However, none of the details are fully clear. The personal register of text is well preserved, though the text above the figure's head is slightly damaged in connection with the fracture. The lower hieroglyphic register of text is well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

The full scene depicts eight main figures and four minor ones.

On the left side, starting from the centre, the king wears a double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and a royal diadem. A smaller solar disc is located above his head, surrounded by two serpents holding *ankhs*. The king wears the traditional kilt with the bull's tail. He holds a small cup of ointment in one hand and has a small amount of incense/perfume in the other. He is described in the text as "Living King, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the sacrifices (/of actions), (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun), Son of Ra: like him, loved by him, Lord of the crowns, (Ptolemy), may he live forever, Beloved by Ba, Great God, the living Ra". He says to the new Ram: "I bring you, the father, incense of flowers and I place myrrh on the nose of the god". The figure of Ptolemy is well preserved. A plant is depicted in front of King Ptolemy.

Arsinoë stands behind Ptolemy: she wears a tripartite wig and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* in her resting hand and bearded emmer wheat in the other. Textually, she is described as "Holder of the sacred insignia, the divine Philadelphos, Beloved of the ram, Mistress of the Two Lands, (Arsinoë)". She says: "I protect you in (i.e., wearing) your crown, you who are larger and greater than all other gods".

Behind her, placed above a cluster of papyrus, is a falcon that wears a solar disc: it is surrounded by two signs of eternity. He is described in the text as "Horus of Behutet, he who spreads his wings, he who gives protection to his mother". The figure is mainly preserved.

Behind the small-sized falcon is a male figure who wears a *kheprish* crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and a royal diadem. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He presents a small cup of ointment and a looped textile band. He is described in the text as "Lord of the Two Lands, (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun), the son of Ra, Lord of the crowns, (Ptolemy)". He states "I unite your limbs and put together your body in the Chapel of Tenenet". The figure is well preserved.

The next figure shows a vulture that sits above a cluster of lotus. It is surrounded by the signs of eternity and the Sed festival. The vulture wears an *atef* crown and is described in the text as "Nekhbet, the White One from Nekhen, the great vulture, she who will protect her son with her wings". The small figure of Nekhbet is well preserved.

Behind Nekhbet is a standard which is composed by two empty Horus cartouches, above which two small Horus figures are depicted; one wears the red crown and the other the white crown. The standard also includes the *nbw*-signs (i.e., Lord/Lady of the Two Lands). The text that is connected with the standard states "King of Upper Egypt and King of Lower Egypt, the two Horuses, the siblings are united [...] Lands", and the text in front states "Giving life, stability and prosperity like Ra".

The first figure of the right side, starting from the centre, is a ram which stands on a podium. It wears a large solar disc that rests on top of ram horns. A small cup with burning incense is placed in front of the ram (on the podium). He is described in the text as "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the living soul (Ba) of Ra, the living soul of Ma'at, the living soul of Geb, the living soul of Osiris, the living soul of all the rams, the Lord of the Lords, the soul and heir of the Gods in the Chapel of Tenenet". The figure of the ram is well preserved.

Behind the ram stands a smaller figure of Harpocrates on a low podium. He is illustrated with a prince (side) lock and is dressed in a thin shawl that hangs from his shoulders. He holds an *ankh* in his resting hand. He is described in the text as "Harpocrates, Great God, he who dwells in Dedet (i.e., Mendes), he who comes forth of Isis" (?) (normally translated as "he who sits on his throne next to Isis), who has the Two Lands under his protection". The figure is well preserved.

Behind Harpocrates stands Banebdjedet, who wears an *atef* crown that rests on ram horns, to which is added two *uraei* that wear a solar disc as crowns. He is depicted as a ram-headed anthropomorphic figure, and wears a *nemes* wig, and has ram horns curled behind his ears. He is dressed in a traditional kilt and the bull's tail. Banebdjedet holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff in his hands. He is described in the text as "the Ram (Banebdjedet), Lord of Dedet, Great God, the living Ra, the bull, the creator, the male ruler of the women, Lord of Heaven, King of the gods, he who gives life like Ra". He states "I give (secure) you that the people of the great foreign countries will bow to your will". The figure is well preserved.

Behind the ram-god is the female figure of Hat-Mehit who wears the standard of the nome (with a local fish) as a crown, which rests on a tripartite wig and a vulture cap. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as "Hat-Mehit, the strong, who dwells in the city of Dedet, the divine wife (normally

translated as the goddess of gods), who lives in the house of the ram (i.e., Banebdjedet), the eye of Ra, the Lady of the Sky, the Mistress of all the gods". In the lower hieroglyphic register she states "I place love for you in the hearts of the gods and I place misery in the heart of all your enemies". The figure of Hat-mehit is well preserved, but has been damaged by modern yellow paint and dark dots of chemicals.

Behind the female figure stands a second image of Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in a traditional sheath dress. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as "King's daughter, sister, his greatly beloved wife, the divine Philadelphos, Arsinoë". She says: "I pray for you to the master of the Gods, so that he gives you numerous years as a king (i.e., of rule)".

The symbol of Behutet stretches out its wings above the scene, accompanied by two pendant serpents that wear the white crown and the red crown respectively. The winged solar disc is described in the text on the right side as "Behutet, Great God, Lord of Heaven, the light-giver who comes forth of the horizon, first among the gods of Upper Egypt, he who gives life and prosperity". On the left side he is described as "Behutet, the great god, Lord of Heaven, the light-giver who comes forth of the horizon, first among the gods of Lower Egypt, he who gives life and prosperity". The two *uraei* are described as "Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen" (right) and "Wadjet of Pe and Dep (=Buto)" (left). A text between the two serpents says "Giving life, stability and prosperity like Ra".

The following text from the main register of text is connected with Arsinoë:²⁸⁸

"Then the king united himself (through marriage) with his sister [under the protection of] the gods, who is of ...theirs, beloved by the god Osiris (in one form) and by the gods of the east. She was given the divine title Princess, Great of Praise, She who belongs to the Lord, Sweet of Love, Beautiful in appearance, (she) who received the two forehead *uraei* (=Upper and Lower Egypt), She who fills the palace with her beauty, She who is the high priestess of Banebdjedet, Beloved of the ram, Sister of the King of Upper Egypt, Daughter of the King of Upper Egypt, Greatly beloved wife of the King of Upper Egypt, Mistress of the Two Lands, Arsinoë.

In the year 15, of the month Pachons (2nd month of the summer) this goddess ascended to the sky, where she/her soul was unified with their souls [those who created her beauty]. After the four days ritual of the Opening of the mouth ceremony, this goddess ascended as a soul. They sang for her in the city of Anpet and they celebrated her (funerary) festival, and they released her soul to live close to the living Ba, who became the support (strength) for her, and for all the gods and goddesses from the primeval times until today. Then the city became a place of rejoicing for the Kingdom of all the gods and it is again a city of youth on which she is breathing (blowing) fresh air. It is a place of joy for all the goddesses in which the life is maintained, in which every 10th day the god is offered myrrh, flowers and incense. His majesty instructed (ordered) that her image was as placed in all the gods houses (i.e., temples). It was beautiful on the heart (i.e., pleased) of the priests that she had been recognised as divine [based on her excellent way towards all the people] and would be with all the deities. They carried her image in a procession through the fish nome together with the living soul of the ram and also statues of the royal children. Her image was as placed in every nome by the priestesses, and was as placed together with the other statues of the gods. Her name was established as She who is beloved by the ram, the divine Philadelphos Arsinoë."

REMARKS:

The figure of Banebdjedet is the tallest figure of the main scene.

²⁸⁸ For a translation of the full text see, for example, Roeder 1998.

2. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 22183 (the Pithom stela)

Sunken relief

Grey granite

1.28m high

Provenance: Tell el-Maskhuta – ancient Temple of Atum in Pithom

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos (264 B.C.)

Published: *PM* IV, 54; *LÄ* IV, 1055f.; *Theb. Inscr.* IV, 855; Naville 1885, pls. 8-10; Naville 1902, XL, pls. III-V, 66-75, pls. 3-5; Andersson & Sjöberg 1904, 223-236; Kamal 1904, 171-177, no. 22183, pl. LVII; *Urk.* II: 81-105; Quaegebeur 1970, no. 9; Lorton 1971, 160-164; Quaegebeur 1971, 242; Fraser 1972, II, chapter 5, notes 346, 348, 350, 356, 359; Quaegebeur 1978, 253; Mysliwiec 1979, 116f.; Quaegebeur 1988, 47; Grzybek 1990, 67-112; Winnicki 1990, 157-167; Minas 1994, 203-212; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 8; Roeder 1998, 108-128; Mueller 2006, 152f., appendix II; van Oppen 2007, *passim*; 2010, *passim*.

LEFT SIDE:

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation, only damaged due to natural wear and tear. All main details are preserved.

RIGHT SCENE:

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved and only damaged due to natural wear and tear.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

12 figures are illustrated in the main scene, above which a large solar disc spreads its wings. Two *uraei* rise up on the sides of the solar disc. On the left side the inscription says “Behutet, Great God, Lord of Heaven, he who comes forth of the Horizon”. On the right side it says “Lord of Mesen, Great God, Lord of Heaven, he who comes forth of the Horizon”.

The stela is divided in three minor sections: two depict Arsinoë and are catalogued as cat. nos. 2L-R. The third scene is not catalogued individually, and is referred to as the third scene. This third scene is located at the very left. At the far left stands Ptolemy. He wears a *kheprsh* crown with a single forehead *uraeus*. He is depicted with the pharaonic beard. Above his head is a small solar disc accompanied by two *uraei* that hold *ankhs*. The king is dressed in a traditional kilt and a bull’s tail. He presents the Eye of Ra (Wadjet) as an offering. He is described in the text as “Lord of the Two Lands (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun)| Son of Ra, Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)”. In the lower hieroglyphic register he says “I present to you the offering of the divine eye

which was made (i.e., born) and given life by him (i.e., Ra)". The figure of the king is well preserved and only damaged due to natural erosion. A small incense stand with a cluster of lotuses is located in front of the king.

In front of the king stands a male figure. He wears the *hemhem* (= triple crown) which sits on top of ram horns and a red crown. He is dressed in a traditional kilt and the bull's tail and holds a flail and a *was* stave in his hands. The personal register of text is uninscribed. He says: "I wish you to rule the Two Lands and also to rule the foreign countries (/desert areas) like Ra, may he live forever". The figure is well preserved.

In cat. no. 2L, still on the left side of the main scene, stands King Ptolemy. He wears an *anedjti* crown with two *uraei*. He wears a *nemes* wig, a single forehead *uraeus* and pharaonic beard. He is dressed in a traditional kilt and a bull's tail, and he presents two small rounded vessels. He is described as "Lord of the Two Lands (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun)| Son of Ra, Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)|". The figure is well preserved. In front of him is a small censer stand with a cluster of lotuses.

In front of the king stands Atum. He wears a double crown and pharaonic beard. He is dressed in a traditional kilt and a bull's tail. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is described in the text as "Atum, Great God who dwells in the city of Teku..." He says in the lower hieroglyphic register "I wish you joy (happiness/pleasure) in this kingship just like Ra". The figure is well preserved.

The figure behind Atum is a female deity who wears a tripartite wig, vulture cap, low modus, large cow horns and a solar disc. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. The personal register of text is blank. The lower hieroglyphic register says "I wish that you will rule the Two Lands in peace and that the souls (of the people?) will be united". The figure is in a good state of preservation.

The figure behind the unnamed female figure is Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap, the crown of Arsinoë, and is dressed in a traditional sheath dress. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as "King's daughter, sister, and wife (She who is in the heart of Shu, Beloved of the gods)| Great Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë)| Living image of Isis and Hathor". In her lower hieroglyphic register she says "I pray for your life to your father Atum; that he will give you numerous years of Sed festivals".

Cat. no. 2R shows, at the very right the king who wears a *khepresh* crown with a single forehead *uraeus*, and a pharaonic beard. A solar disc is depicted above his head, accompanied by two serpents, each one holding an *ankh*. The king is dressed in a traditional kilt and a bull's tail, and he presents the figure of Ma'at. The king is described as "Lord of the Two Lands (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun)| Son of Ra, Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)|". The figure is well preserved. In front of him is a small incense stand with a small jug and a cluster of lotus flowers.

In front of King Ptolemy stands Atum. He wears a double crown, and has a pharaonic beard. He is dressed in a traditional kilt and a bull's tail. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is described in the text as "Atum, Great God of Teku, overseer of the divine (gods) for eternity, Lord of Heaven, King of the Gods". In the lower hieroglyphic register he says "I wish you to spend your lifetime as King in all eternity". The figure is in a good state of preservation.

Behind Atum is the figure of Osiris. He wears an *atef* crown that rests on top of ram horns. He has a pharaonic beard. He is dressed in a traditional kilt and a bull's tail. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is described in the text as "Osiris, Lord of Ro-jabet (i.e., the door to the East), the first of the house of Per-kerhet (i.e., Teku)". He says "I wish that you rise to the throne like Ra in Heaven". The figure is well preserved.

The figure behind Osiris wears a double crown. He is depicted anthropomorphically with a falcon's head. He is identified in the main text as Horus of Behutet (= Edfu). Horus is dressed in a traditional kilt and a bull's tail, and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He says "I wish you as the strong master of the Two Lands". The figure is well preserved.

The female figure behind Horus wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap, a low modus, large cow horns and a solar disc. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The personal register of text is empty. She says "I wish that you will rule the Two Lands in peace as well as Ra does". The figure is well preserved.

The figure behind the Hathorian figure is identified as Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, vulture cap, and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in a traditional sheath dress. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her

hands. She is described in the text as “King’s daughter, sister, and wife (She who is in the heart of Shu, Beloved of the gods)| Great Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë)| Living image of Isis and Hathor”. In the lower hieroglyphic register she says “I wish for you to celebrate numerous Sed festivals (with the blessings) of the gods”.

The following sections from the main register of text are connected to Arsinoë:²⁸⁹

“Year 12, the first month of the flood, day three of His Majesty’s rule, the king pronounced his wish and he travelled through Egypt together with the queen who is Great of Praise, a Lady of Loveliness, Sweet of Love, King’s wife, Mistress of the Two Lands, Arsinoë, Daughter of the king (of Upper Egypt), Lord of the Two Lands, Ptolemy, the divine Philadelphos. They arrived in the Eastern Nome of the Harpoon; it was the city of their father Atum. The king discussed with his sister, the wife and sister of the king, to protect Kemet against enemies...”

“...he founded a large royal city and gave it the great name of the daughter of King Ptolemy. A temple was built in honour of Queen Arsinoë Philadelphos. He placed images (i.e., statues) of his divine sister in the temple. All the ceremonies were practiced by the priests in connection with the building of the Temple of their father Atum, the Great God, who dwells in the city of Teku, like it is made in all the Temples of Upper and Lower Egypt...”

Remarks:

Arsinoë is depicted as the tallest figure in cat. no. 2R, but Ptolemy the tallest figure in the main scene.

3. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 22188 (Damanhûr stela)

Sunken relief

Limestone

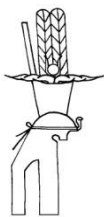
1.28m high

Provenance: el Nibeira – Greek Naukratis

Date: Ptolemy V Epiphanes.

Published: *PM* IV, 50; Kamal 1904, pls. LXII, LXIII, 183-187, no. 22188; *Urk* II: 166-198; *LdR* IV, 244 n.1; Quaegebeur 1970, no. 12; Winter 1978, 152 n. 6; Quaegebeur 1978, 252, 255; Crawford 1980, 34 n. 6; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 69.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 4



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh*

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation, though slightly damaged on the top part of the crown due to a fracture in the stone surface. Otherwise the figure is only damaged due to natural wear and tear.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Ten main figures are depicted in the scene (11 including the prisoner), above which a winged solar disc is illustrated, accompanied by two pendant *uraei* that hold eternity signs and the feather flabella. The hieroglyphic sign for the sky crowns the scene.

²⁸⁹ For a full translation and comments see for example Roeder 1998.

The ruling couple stands at the far right slaying a captured enemy in front of their ancestors. Cleopatra (I) stands to the far right: she wears a tripartite wig, a low modus, and a traditional female crown. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is not described with a traditional cartouche in the main scene, but the text below the figures establishes her as Cleopatra I. The figure is well preserved without any major damage.

In front of and facing the deities stands Ptolemy V. He wears a double crown. He is dressed in a traditional kilt and a bull's tail. He holds a long spear in his hands, pointing to a captured enemy who kneels, and has his hands tied together behind his back. The king is described in the main scene as King Ptolemy V Epiphanes. The figure is well preserved without any major damage.

In front of the king and the captured enemy stands Shu. He wears a *nemes* wig, a single forehead *uraeus* and a royal diadem. He also wears a single *atef* feather. He is dressed in a traditional kilt. He holds an *ankh* in his resting hand and a small sceptre with the head of Horus (traditionally designated *hps*) in his outstretched hand. The figure has no personal registers. The figure is well preserved.

Behind Shu is a female figure who wears a solar disc on her head. The facial area has been damaged but it probably depicts a lioness. The figure is identified as Tefnut. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure has no personal registers.

Behind the female figure is a male figure, identified as King Ptolemy IV, the father of the ruling king. He wears an unrecognisable crown (if any at all) on top of a *nemes* wig. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is dressed in a traditional kilt. He has a (now) empty cartouche, but is identified in the main text. The figure is slightly damaged due to natural erosion, especially in the upper part of the body.

The figure behind King Ptolemy IV is Arsinoë III, the mother of the ruling king. She wears a tripartite wig, a low modus, and a traditional female crown. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. An empty cartouche is depicted in her personal register: she is identified in the main text. The figure is in general in a good state of preservation, though slightly damaged due to natural wear and tear.

Behind Arsinoë III stands Ptolemy III. He wears a *nemes* wig and a single forehead *uraeus*. The area above his head is slightly damaged and there are no signs of any crown. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. King Ptolemy III is dressed in a traditional kilt. The cartouche has been left uninscribed, but he is identified in the main text.

The figure of Berenice II is depicted behind Ptolemy III. She wears a tripartite wig, a low modus, and a traditional female crown. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The cartouche is left uninscribed, but she is identified in the main text. The figure is well preserved and only slightly damaged due to natural wear and tear.

Ptolemy II stands behind Berenice II. He is depicted with an *atef* crown that sits on top of ram horns. He wears a *khat* cap that covers his head and neck. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is dressed in the traditional kilt. His cartouche is left uninscribed, but is identified in the main text.

Behind Ptolemy II stands the last figure of the scene, Arsinoë II. She wears a tripartite wig, a single forehead *uraeus*, a royal diadem, and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in a traditional sheath dress. She holds an *ankh* in one hand while holding the other in a protecting manner. The cartouche has been left uninscribed, but she is identified in the main text as Arsinoë.

A winged solar disc is depicted above the main scene. He is described as Behutet, and is accompanied by two *uraei*, one that wears the crown of Upper Egypt and the other the crown of Lower Egypt: both hold the *snw*-sign of eternity and royalty. Two large *was* staves enclose the main scene. No hieroglyphic inscription follows any of the figures.

REMARKS:

The stela is textually comparable to the Rosetta stone. Arsinoë is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

4. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 22186 (Kanopus decree of Kom el-Hisn)

Sunken relief

White limestone

2,22 x 0,78m

Provenance: Kom el-Hisn – ancient Imu

Date: Ptolemy III Euergetes.

Published: *LÄ* III, 321; *Theis. Inscr.* IV, 1554-1578; Birch 1876, 81-90; Kamal 1904, 182f., pls. LIX-LXI; *Urk* II: 124-154, 156; Budge 1904, vol. III; Chabas 1909, 488-495; Roeder 1960, 142-166; Bernard 1970, 989-1036; Quaegebeur 1970, no. 10; Quaegebeur 1971, 243f.; Quaegebeur 1978, 247f. with fig. C; Winter 1978, 152 n. 6; Quaegebeur 1988, 48 with fig. 23, 52; Clagett 1995, 330, 338, 574; Simpson 1996, 224-241; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 9; van Oppen 2007, *passim*.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 5



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved including the minor relief details, although the figure is slightly damaged in the face due to natural wear and tear.


ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

15 figures (originally 16) are depicted in the relief scene, which has been damaged due to the fracture on its right side. The winged solar disc and two pendant *uraei* that hold the signs of eternity are depicted above the main scene. The hieroglyphic sign for sky crowns the scene.

The figures in the scene are divided in the centre as the figures of the left side face those of the right. The ruling couple is depicted as the first couple in the left side, thus in its centre. Ptolemy III wears a double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and a royal diadem. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is dressed in a special cloak that stretches down to his feet and folds in several layers. He is described in the text as “King Ptolemy Euergetes”. The figure of King Ptolemy III is well preserved.

Behind the king is the figure of Berenice II. She wears a traditional female crown, a tripartite wig, a single forehead *uraeus* and a royal diadem. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as “Lady of the Two Lands, Berenice”, and is together with her husband designated the “*theoi Euergetai*”. The figure of Berenice is well preserved.

Behind Berenice II stands the figure of Thoth. He is depicted anthropomorphically with an ibis-head. He wears an *atef* crown, which sits on top of ram horns, and has two *uraei* that wear solar crowns. He holds a notched palm branch and a writing reed in his hands. He is dressed in a traditional kilt and a bull’s tail. He is described in the text as Thoth. The figure is well preserved.

Behind Thoth is the figure of Seshat. She wears her traditional head dress, the symbol  of her name *sšt sšt*. She wears a tripartite wig, a single forehead *uraeus* and a royal diadem. She is dressed in her typical panther skin garment, though not a full dress but rather a kilt, with her upper part of the body left naked. She holds the same attributes in her hands as Thoth does, underlining her role as a recording chronographer. She is described in the text as Seshat. The figure is well preserved.

Behind Seshat is the figure of King Ptolemy II. He wears an *atef* crown that rests on top of ram horns. The crown also includes a centred solar disc. He is dressed in a traditional kilt and a bull’s tail. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is described in the hieroglyphic text as King Ptolemy. *Theoi Adelphoi* is written above his head.

Arsinoë stands behind the king. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap, and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in a traditional sheat dress. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as “Arsinoë Philadelphos”.

Behind Arsinoë is Ptolemy I. He wears a traditional *nemes* wig and a single forehead *uraeus* and a plain *atef* crown. He is dressed in a traditional kilt and a bull’s tail. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is described in the text as Divine King Ptolemy.


Behind him, as the last figure of the left side is Berenice I. She wears a tripartite wig, a tiara of *uraei*, large cow horns and a large solar disc. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as Berenice, and the register above her head states *theoi Soteres*.

Seven visible deities are depicted on the right side of the scene, at one time most certainly including one more figure in the right corner where the stone has been damaged due to a fracture.

The first figure, starting from the centre, wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap, an *atef* crown that rests on ram horns, and with two *uraei* rising up on the sides, each one wearing solar discs. She is dressed in a traditional sheat dress. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave: a horizontal *ankh* comes out of the *cucupha* head. She is described in the text as a local goddess of the third nome of Lower Egypt, a form of Hathor. The figure is well preserved.

The second figure (from the centre) wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap, a low tiara of *uraei* and a crown composed of large cow horns and solar disc. She is dressed in a traditional sheat dress. She holds an *ankh* and a notched palm branch, normally connected with the reckoning of time. She is described in the text as Hathor. The figure is well preserved.

Behind Hathor is a female anthropomorphic figure with a lioness-head. She wears a large solar disc and a single *uraeus*. She is dressed in a traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a low papyrus sceptre with a semi-circular additional figure, from which an *ankh* arises (the latter item is unclear). She is described as Sekhmet. The figure is well preserved.

The fourth figure is an anthropomorphic deity depicted with the face of a cow. She wears large cow horns and solar disc. A large serpent is depicted in the centre of the solar disc. She is dressed in a traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and the -sign. She is described in the text as Sekhat-Heru. The figure is in general in a good state of preservation.

Behind the last female figure stands a male one. He wears an elongated double feather plume and a centred solar disc that rests upon a low crown-cap. He is dressed in a traditional kilt and bull’s tail. He holds an *ankh*, a *was* stave and a flail. The personal register of text has been damaged, describes him as Amun-Ra.

Behind Amun-Ra stands the figure of Horus. He wears a double crown and a single forehead *uraeus*. He is dressed in a traditional kilt and bull’s tail. He holds an *ankh* and a flail in his hands. He is described as Horus in the personal register of text. The figure is in a good state of preservation.

The last figure of the scene is only preserved in fragments, leaving only the arm and front leg visible. The figure holds an *atef* feather and a crook in his hands. The text has been damaged.

Remarks:

Arsinoë and Amun are depicted as the tallest figures of the scene.

5. Zagazig 228 = Herriat Raznah Museum Nr. H 854 (miniature copy of the Mendes stela)

Sunken relief

Limestone

41,8 x 38,5 cm

Provenance: Mendes

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: Quaegebeur 1970, no. 13; Quaegebeur 1978, 250f. with fig. G; De Meulenaere & MacKay 1976, no. 112; Yoyotte 1996, photo on p. 30; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 15.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 5



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved including the major relief details. The crown, the wig and the cap are well preserved in general. Only the main outlines of the facial features are preserved. The *ankh* and the sceptre are well preserved. The hieroglyphic text has faded in many sections.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Five main figures are depicted in this scene. The king stands at the far right, wearing a double crown. He is dressed in a traditional kilt and a bull's tail. He presents a *sht* sign of the growing fields. He is described in the text as "King Ptolemy, may he live forever like Ra". The figure is preserved without any major damage. In front of the king is a small censer stand with a lotus flower.

Banebdjedet stands on a podium in front of the king. He wears a large solar disc that sits on top of ram horns. He is described as "the Ram (Ba) of Mendes". The figure is in general well preserved.

Behind the ram is a male ram-headed anthropomorphic figure. He wears an *atef* crown that rest on top of ram horns. He also wears a *nemes* wig. He is dressed in a traditional kilt and a bull's tail. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is described in the text as the "Living ram". The figure is in general preserved, though slightly damaged in the facial area.

Behind him stands Isis. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap, large cow horns and a solar disc. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the hieroglyphic text as "Great Isis". The figure is in general in a good state of preservation.

Behind Isis, being the last figure of the scene is Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë. She is decorated with a necklace and is dressed in a traditional sheat dress. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described as the "King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Banebdjedet)| Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë)| Philadelphos".

A winged solar disc and two pendant *uraei* (holding *ankhs*) are depicted above the main scene. The disc is described as "Behutet, Great God, Lord of Heaven". A hieroglyphic sign for heaven stretches out over the main scene.

REMARKS:

Arsinoë is depicted as the tallest figure of the entire scene.

6. Brussels MRAH E. 8387

Sunken relief

Limestone

61,5 x 36,5 cm

Provenance: Hû/Hiw – Greek Diospolis Parva

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos (255/254 B.C.)

Published: Quaegebeur 1978, 250f.; De Meulenaere 1978, no. 1310; Cheshire 1982, 109 n. 39; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 6.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 6



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to natural wear and tear, especially the upper part of the body. The crown is mainly damaged in the area of the ram horns, though leaving the main outlines visible. The head, including the wig and the cap, has been damaged though some outlines are still visible. The lower part of the body is better preserved than the upper part, though some minor fractures have damaged various areas. The handheld objects have been damaged but still visible. The text has been badly damaged.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four main figures are depicted in this scene.

The king stands at the very left of the stela and wears the red crown. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail. His arms are both raised as in an offering position but the objects held in his hands are no longer visible due to the badly damaged stone surface. The text has been badly damaged and almost totally erased. The figure has been badly damaged due to natural wear and tear plus a large fracture in the stone surface.

In front of the king stands two deities plus Arsinoë. The two deities have been badly damaged and almost entirely erased. The first figure is a male deity wearing the red crown. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. No further information is visible due to the bad state of preservation. The personal register of text is likewise damaged and no longer visible, though one of the signs could be the *hr* sign of Horus.

The second figure is a female deity wearing the traditional sheat dress. She most probably wears the large cow horns and solar disc, indicating mainly either Hathor or Isis. She holds an *ankh* in her resting hand while the other hand is held in a protective position. The figure has been badly damaged and no further information is visible. The text is equally damaged.

The last figure of the scene is Arsinoë who is dressed in an elaborated sheat dress and an additional shawl. She wears the crown of Arsinoë, the tripartite wig and the vulture cap. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as Arsinoë.

Above the main scene is the winged solar disc depicted together with two pendant *uraei* possibly holding *ankhs*. The figure is described in the damaged text as “Behutet, the great god, the Lord of Heaven...” (the last signs are no longer clear). Above the figure of Behutet is the sky depicted in its hieroglyphic form.

REMARKS:

Arsinoë is the tallest figure of the scene.

7. Moscow I.i 5375

Sunken relief

Limestone

27x21 cm

Provenance: Abu Sir – Greek Taposiris Magna (found in 1889)

Date: After 270 B.C.-

Published: Quaegebeur 1970, 191-193, pl. XXIX ; Quaegebeur 1978, 251; Hodjash & Berlev 1982, 184-186, fig. 127; Quaegebeur 1988, 53 n. 26; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 14

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure in general is in a good state of preservation including the relief details. The personal register of text is well preserved only with minor damage due to natural wear and tear. Some traces of red colour in the solar disc and black colour in the king's crown and hieroglyphs.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two main figures are depicted in this scene.

King Ptolemy II is depicted at the right side of the scene wearing the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He presents a tray with bread and cakes. He is described in the text as the "Ling of Upper and Lower Egypt (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun)| Son of Ra, Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)]". The figure is well preserved with only minor damage due to natural erosion. In front of the figure of Ptolemy is a small horned altar with burning incense.

On the other side of the altar and standing at the left side of the scene is Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the crown of Arsinoë with two *uraei* rising up on the sides. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as the "King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Arsinoë Philadelphos)]".

Above the couple is the winged solar disc, Behutet, depicted with two *uraei* hanging down on its side. No hieroglyphic text is visible belonging to the Behutet figure.

REMARKS:

The two figures are depicted with over-dimensional eyes and facial features in a rather non classical fashion. Arsinoë is depicted higher than that of Ptolemy.

8. Relief of Arsinoë, University of Trier (Archäologisches Institut der Universität Trier)

Sunken relief

Limestone

37 x 26,5cm

Provenance: unknown

Date: Arsinoë's lifetime

Published: Albersmerier & Minas 1998; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 64.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 8



HANDHELD OBJECTS: Unknown object with two ends, and possibly a sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The relief is divided in four different fragments and the image of Arsinoë is divided into three fragments. The top block divides the figure on top in the central area of the double feather plume and the back part of the top part of the red crown; the lower cut is just under the eyes of the figure. The middle block only includes the arm holding the unknown object and the front part of the belly. The lower block includes the lower part of the legs and the entire feet. Except for the fragmented state of preservation the figure is well preserved including all the relief details. The crown is well preserved with all the main relief details including a *uraeus* wearing the cow horns and solar disc. The wig is mainly missing from the relief, though the minor part which is still preserved is well decorated and well preserved. The vulture cap is highly decorated with all the minor details and includes not only the vulture head but also the head of a serpent, the sign of Upper and Lower Egypt. Of the facial features are only the eye and the upper part of the ear preserved. The bracelet is well preserved with a broad main, and two small rows of beads. The objects held in the hand are very fragmentary and it is only clear that one object is the shaft of a sceptre. The two other details are too fragmented to make a clear interpretation, possibly they are the lower parts of the same object or they may be two different objects most likely being connected to the royal regalia. The dress is well preserved in its lower part with a clear middle section and a diagonal striped pattern leading down from the centre part, ending up in two layers of flounce. The feet with an ankle bracelet on each foot, and the sandals are well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted at this stela. Arsinoë stands at the far left, and faces the second figure (which is visible only through its crown). She wears the tripartite wig and a vulture cap with the heads of both vulture and *uraeus*. The crown of Arsinoë is accompanied by a single *uraeus* attached to the front of the red crown, which wears cow horns and a solar disc. She is dressed in an elaborated sheath dress with an additional shawl. She wears a bracelet, an ankle bracelet and sandals. The relief is broken in the area of the handheld objects, though the remaining fragments indicate a sceptre plus an unknown object with two ends, possibly a textile ribbon. She is described in the hieroglyphic text as “Great of Sweetness, Great of Praise, King’s daughter, King’s wife, Great daughter, King’s sister, who loves her and she loves him, King’s great wife, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Arsinoë Philadelphos, the Rightful”. She is further described in the Greek text as “Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos”. The following Greek text is somewhat unclear though saying “*Totoes Pastophoros*, sailor of Arsinoë...”

The second figure is preserved by its crown exclusively, illustrating a crescent and a disc, or horns and a disc.

REMARKS:

Arsinoë is the tallest figure of the scene.

9. Relief of Arsinoë, Hildesheim 1025 (Pelizaeus-Museum)

Sunken relief

Limestone

29,5 x 26,5 x 6,5 cm

Provenance: unknown, possibly Memphis

Date: Arsinoë’s lifetime - Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: Ippel & Roeder 1921, 86; Quaegebeur 1970, 73-78; Bianchi 1988, 76 with fig. 43, 169f.; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 71.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 9



HANDHELD OBJECTS: Sistrum

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The fracture of the relief has cut the figure above the lower part of the red crown on the upper part; behind the vulture's tail at the left side; below the breast on the bottom; behind the sistrum on the right side. The preserved part of the crown is in a good state, though the left ram horn has been cut off in its centre. The horns are depicted on each side of the crown, not put together but separated by the red crown. The wig is well preserved including its relief details, though damaged in the lower left end due to a fracture in the stone. The vulture cap is well preserved except for the vulture-head, which has been damaged, most probably due to natural wear and tear. The face has been damaged above the ear and the lips, while the rest of the facial features are preserved including the details of "natural" hair. The upper part of the body is well preserved though the shoulder and upper arm of the hand holding the sistrum has been damaged due to a fracture in the stone block. The sistrum is well preserved (except for the right side of the item which is slightly damaged due to a fracture) including the head of Hathor. Only the top part of a cartouche is preserved, without any indications of a title or name.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

This fragmentary relief depicts the upper part of the image of Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig and the vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë. She wears a necklace with one main row and she holds a sistrum in her hand. The figure still preserved on this relief is in a good state of preservation with clear outlines and relief details.

REMARKS:

Vague lines of the right side ram horn are visible on the lower part of the red crown, exposing the artist's geometric measurements.

10. Stela Toronto 979.63 (Royal Ontario Museum)

Sunken relief

Limestone

0,27 x 0,16 m

Provenance: unknown

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: Bianchi 1988, 44, 46 with fig. 16, 74f.; Quaegebeur 1989, 112; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 73.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 10



HANDHELD OBJECTS/CONNECTED OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is preserved with minor damaged due to natural wear. The crown is well preserved including all its details. The ram horns are placed on top of the base of the red crown. The red crown is slightly damaged on its lower part due to natural wear and tear. The wig and the face are well preserved, the face only with minor damage due to natural erosion, though still revealing the outlines of the lips and nose. The main figure is well preserved in general, though damaged in the area of the breast. The figure is mainly well preserved including colour traces.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

This stela includes two main figures.

The king stands at the right side wearing the double crown on top of a *khat* cap covering the head and neck. He is dressed in the traditional kilt without the attached bull's tail. He presents a small circular vessel in one hand while holding the other hand in a blessing manner. There is no personal register of text or cartouche of this figure. The king is mainly well preserved with only minor damage caused by natural erosion and minor fractures in the stone block. Traces of colour are still preserved on the figure. In front of the figure is a small horned altar.

Arsinoë stands at the left side of the altar. She wears the tripartite wig above which is placed the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in a traditional sheath dress and she holds an *ankh* and a sceptre, in one hand while holding the other hand over the altar. The figure is depicted with an uninscribed cartouche. The figure is mainly well preserved though some parts have been badly damaged due to small fractures in the stone block as well as natural fading of the colour.

Above the two figures is the winged solar disc depicted with two pendant *uraei*. No inscription is visible.

REMARKS:

Arsinoë is the tallest figure.

11. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 31104

Sunken relief

Limestone

0,55 x 0,345m

Provenance: Krokodilopolis? Horbeit – Pharbaithos according to Quaegebeur 1970.

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: Spiegelberg 1904, I, 38, pl. VII; W. Otto 1905, 268, n. 5; Quaegebeur 1970, no. 15bis; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 10.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 6



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been damaged due to natural wear and tear, though generally leaving the main outlines of the figure preserved. The crown is preserved with minor damage, though the back upper part of the red crown has been damaged in connection with the fractures of the outer stone surface and the area of the cow horns and solar disc is also slightly damaged. The facial features, as well as the breast area, are no longer preserved due to natural erosion. The arm holding the *ankh* is slightly damaged incl. the handheld object. The personal register of text is slightly damaged due to natural wear and tear.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Six main figures are depicted in this stela.

King Ptolemy stands at the very right wearing a *khat* cap and a single forehead *uraeus*. He also wears the *anedjti* crown. He wears the traditional kilt, which is decorated in the normal ray-striped manner in the relief. He presents a small rounded vessel to the five deities standing in front of him. He is described in the text as “Lord of the Two Lands (Ptolemy) may he live forever like Ra”. The figure is in general preserved, though the facial features and the back part of the figure are slightly damaged due to natural wear and tear.

In front of the king stands the smaller figure of Harsomtus on a podium. He wears the double crown, a prince lock and a single forehead *uraeus* (possibly also the royal diadem). He is dressed in a thin shawl hanging from his shoulders. He holds an *ankh* in his resting hand whilst putting his finger of the other hand in his mouth. He is described in the text as “Harsomtus the youth, Great God, Lord of Shetit” (*shet*, possibly followed by *njw* i.e.,

the city sign, see below under Hathor). The figure is in general in a good state of preservation, though the upper part of the figure is slightly damaged due to natural erosion.

Horus stands behind Harsomtut. He wears the double crown and a single forehead *uraeus*. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He holds an *ankh* and a sceptre (probably a *was* staff, though the head of the sceptre has been damaged due to natural wear and tear). He is described in the personal register of text as "Horus, great of love (*mr? r r*), Great God, Lord of Shetit" (*shet*, possibly followed by *njw*). The figure is in general in a good state of preservation, though divided in two fragments due to a fracture in the stela.

Following the figure of Horus is Hathor, wearing a tripartite wig, the vulture cap, the large cow horns and solar disc. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described as "Hathor, the great Lady of Shetit" (i.e., Krokodilopolis, the capital of the Arsinoites Nome in Fayyum). The figure is in general in a good state of preservation, though slightly damaged all over due to natural erosion. The personal register of text is written horizontal instead of vertical like the other figures.

Behind the figure of Hathor is the figure of Sarapis. He wears a large solar disc surrounded by a single *uraeus*. The face of the figure has been damaged and its form is not clear, though it is obvious that it is a face of an animal, most probably the bull's face in his connection with Apis. He also wears the *nemes* wig. The figure of Sarapis is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff in his hands. He is described in the text as "Sarapis, the great god, Lord of Shetit". The figure of Sarapis is mainly preserved, though damaged due to natural wear and tear.

Arsinoë stands behind Sarapis. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and she holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the personal register of text as "Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë) may she live forever".

The winged solar disc, Behutet, is depicted above the main scene with two pendant *uraei*. The figure has been damaged due to a fracture on the top, especially the right side of the stela. No inscription has been preserved.

Under the main scene is a small fragmented demotic inscription states "Sarapis, Great God, Harsomtut, the great divine son, who gives life ..."

REMARKS:

The king is depicted as the tallest figure.

12. Relief of Queen Arsinoë II as Hathor, Harvard Art Museum (Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel H. Lindenbaum, 1983.96)

Sunken relief

Limestone

42.5 x 57.7cm

Date: most probably Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Provenance: probably Memphis

Published: Quaegebeur 1978, 259; Bianchi 1988, cat. 65; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 40; Chauveau 1998b, 81 (cat. 42), Wolohojian 2008.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 11



HANDHELD OBJECTS: Lotus shafted flail

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved, though the relief is a fragment cutting the upper part of the crown on top of and just under the breast on its bottom. The upper cartouche has been badly damaged and only the lowest part is preserved. The relief is preserved with white and red colour fragments. The figure is preserved with all its relief detail.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

In this fragmentary relief it is only the upper part of the image of Arsinoë preserved. She wears the tripartite wig and the vulture cap above which her crow is placed. The crown is broken off just above the top of the large solar disc. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace with four rows of beads, upper arm bracelets and a normal bracelet. She holds a lotus shafted flail in her hand. The figure is described in the text as “Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë, ([She who is in the heart of Shu] Loved [by (all) the gods]), mother of Hep, repeating life”.

13. British Museum EA 1056

Sunken relief

Limestone

42 x 34.3cm

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos (dated 200-190 B.C. in Quaegebeur 1988)

Provenance: San el-Hagar - ancient Dja'net, Greek Tanis

Published: *PM* IV, 24; Petrie 1883-1884, II, 36 with pl. X; Budge 1909, 269, pl XLVIII; Sauneron 1960, 107f. with n. 6; Quaegebeur 1970, 194, no.25; Quaegebeur 1978, 251; Bowman 1986, 23 with fig. 12; Quaegebeur 1988, cat. 14, pl. 14; Mysliwiec 1988, 85; Brissaud & Zivie-Coche 1998, 170 and pl. 24; Quaegebeur 1998, no.12; Stanwick 2002, 22; Albersmeier 2002, 112 n. 633

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 16



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved including the relief details. The crown is well preserved, though preserved with lines suggesting that this is a sketched practice piece, a draft, also supported by the vague outlines of the *uraeus*. The ram horns are placed on top of the base of the red crown. The wig is well preserved and so is the cap, though the artist created the piece has not connected the tail to the main body of the vulture. The facial features are well preserved including small details as for example of the ear, and the features are in the right dimensions. The main body is well preserved with only minor damage due to some scratches, especially on the lower part. The *ankh* and the sceptre are both well preserved, though the shaft of the sceptre is not symmetrical above and under the hand holding it.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

King Ptolemy stands on the right side of the scene wearing the double crown and a single forehead *uraeus*. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and is decorated with a single lined necklace. He holds a *was* stave in his front hand while holding an unknown object of three sticks in his other hand which is held up in a brandished position behind his body. There are traces of red colour of the main body of the king. He is described in the text as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun) Son of Ra, Lord of the Two Lands (Ptolemy)”. The figure is well preserved including facial features and the main relief details. There are thin lines

and patterns surrounding the figure of the king and the shaft of the sceptre are not symmetrical above and below his hand.

Arsinoë stands at the left side of the relief. She wears the tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë with two rising *uraei* attached to the ram horn. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and is decorated with a necklace with one main row. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as “King of Lower Egypt, the Two Lands (She who is in the heart of the king, Beloved of (all) the gods) daughter of Amun, Lady of the crowns, (Arsinoë Philadelphos)!”.

REMARKS:

Arsinoë is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

14. British Museum EA 1057

Sunken relief

Limestone

50 x 48cm

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Provenance: San el-Hagar - ancient Dja’net, Greek Tanis

Published: *PM* IV, 26; Petrie 1885, I, 31 with pl. XV, II, pl. X; Budge 1909, p. 269; Quaegebeur 1970, 201 (no. 15); Bianchi 1988, 105 (cat. 15); Mysliwiec 1988, 85; Favard-Meeks 1998, 110; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 13; Albersmeier 2002, 112 n. 633.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 12



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged in various areas due to natural erosion. The crown is slightly damaged, though all the main outlines are visible and clear. The wig, cap and the facial features have been damaged in the same fashion as the crown, leaving only the main outlines and vague outlines of the enlarged eyes visible. The main body is preserved with only the main outlines still visible and without any further details. The *ankh* and the sceptre are slightly damaged due to natural erosion. The personal register of text has been badly damaged in one of the cartouches and some of the other signs are slightly damaged.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Six figures are depicted in this scene.

The general scene is divided into two sections. In the right scene the king is depicted at the very right wearing the red crown. No further details of any head dress are visible due to the bad state of preservation of the figure. He is dressed in the traditional kilt. The offering-object has been badly damaged due to natural erosion but it is most possible the *sht* sign of the growing fields. The personal register of text has been badly damaged, almost completely erased, due to a large fracture in the stone block. The figure has been badly damaged in various areas and only the main outlines are visible.

In front of the king stands Amun-Min. He wears his traditional high double feather plume. He raises his arm and holds a flail. The personal register of text has been badly damaged and the only signs visible states “Lord of the Two Lands”. The figure has been badly damaged due to natural wear and tear combined with some minor fractures in the stone block.

Behind the figure of Amun-Min stands Arsinoë as the last figure of the right section of the scene. She wears the tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as the “Daughter of Amun, Lady of the

crowns (Arsinoë Philadelphos) King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Two Lands, ([She who is in the heart of the king/Shu] Beloved of [(all) the gods])”.

At the very left of the left scene is the king depicted once again. This time he wears the white crown and the royal diadem. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. He presents the same object as on the right scene, the field of reeds, and a small censer stand with a now almost destroyed flower above it placed in front of him. The personal register of text has been badly damaged due to natural erosion plus small fractures in the stone block, though stating him as “King and Lord of the Two Lands ([Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun]), son of Ra, Lord of the Two Lands ([Ptolemy])”. The figure is in a bad state of preservation.

In front of the king stands the smaller figure of Harsomtus on a low podium. He wears the double crown and is illustrated with a prince lock. No further details concerning the head dress are visible due to the bad state of the figure. He is dressed in a thin shawl hanging from his shoulders, otherwise he is depicted naked. He holds an *ankh* in his resting hand while suckling on his finger of the other hand. He is described as Harsomtus.

Behind Harsomtus is a female figure wearing the red crown. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. There are no further personal attributes of this figure and the personal register of text has been badly damaged due to natural erosion only mentioning the figure as being the “Lady of the Two Lands”. She is here identified as Wadjet.

Above the full scene is the winged solar disc depicted with two pendant *uraei*. The attached hieroglyphic text has been badly damaged due to fractures in the stone block together with natural erosion, though the three visible signs states Behutet.

REMARKS:

The stela is in a bad state of preservation mainly due to natural wear and tear but also due to smaller fractures in the stone block. The figure of Amun is the tallest figure of the scene.

15. Architrave Stockholm MM 10026 (Medelhavsmuseet)

Sunken relief

Limestone

38cm w

Date: Arsinoë’s lifetime

Provenance: Tell Atrib – ancient Hut-Heryib; Greek Athribis

Published: George & Peterson 1982; Quaegebeur 1988, 45; Albersmeier & Minas 1998, 7.

LEFT SCENE:

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 6



HANDHELD OBJECTS: Two sistra

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is mainly well preserved, though it has been badly damaged in various areas due to natural erosion. The red crown and the double feather plume are mainly preserved, while the ram horns are only preserved in fragments and there is only a vague outline of a solar disc and possible cow horns resting on the lower top of the red crown. The wig and the vulture cap are mainly preserved with some relief details. The facial features have been damaged due to natural erosion but still show over dimensioned eyes, nose and lips. The dress is well preserved with a linear pattern linked together in its centre. The feet are mainly preserved, with minor damage due to a small fracture in the stone block, with a line indicating that the figure was depicted wearing sandals. The

offering objects have been badly damaged and only vague in appearance, though still visible. The cartouche is mainly preserved only with minor damage on the signs inside the cartouche, though still clear and readable.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

Arsinoë stands at the very left, wearing a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the elaborated sheat dress and wears sandals on her feet. She holds two sistra in her hands. She is described in the text as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Arsinoë)”.

King Ptolemy stands in front of Arsinoë facing the deities of the scene. He wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. The king holds a ceremonial collar (*bb*) in his hands. He is described in the text as “Lord of the Two Lands (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun) Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)”. The figure is preserved with some damage caused by natural erosion. The face, the *uraeus* and the royal diadem are only vaguely preserved. The main figure is in general well preserved. The offering and the personal register of text are well preserved with only minor damage due to natural wear and tear. In front of Ptolemy is a small offering table/censer stand depicted above which is placed a jug and a lotus flower.

Horus is depicted seated on his throne in front of Ptolemy. He wears a large solar disc encircled by a single *uraeus*. The crown is detached from the head and gives an impression that it hangs in the air. He holds an *ankh*, though only vaguely visible, and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure is preserved with only minor damage, though it is made in a rather sloppy way and without any clear details except for the face. The *ankh* is almost completely missing and the sceptre is only preserved with shallow outlines. The personal register of text describes the figure as “Horus Chentechtai, Lord of Athribis”. The second register of text, above his head, is describing him as “Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

The figure behind Horus is a lion-headed anthropomorphic female deity. She wears the same crown as Horus. She holds an *ankh* in her resting hand while keeping her other hand in a protective manner behind Horus. The hieroglyphic text of the personal register has been badly damaged and only a few signs are still clearly visible saying “Sekhmet, the great goddess who dwells in the city of Athribis, eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods”. The figure has been badly damaged in various areas due to natural erosion, though some details such as the facial features are still well preserved.

RIGHT SCENE:

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 6



HANDHELD OBJECTS: Two nao-form sistra

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved including the majority of the relief details. The crown is better preserved than that of the left scene, including all the details of the composition. The ram horns are depicted simply as two curled lines. The wig and the cap are preserved without any further details. The facial features are all preserved, with over-dimensional eyes. The dress consists of a draped *chiton* depicted in a very similar way to the traditional *sheat* dress, though decorated similar and with a different lower part. She wears sandals on her feet. The figure holds two nao-formed sistra in her hands. The figure is in general well preserved with only minor damage due to natural erosion. The hieroglyphic text is preserved with only minor damage on some of the signs.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this right scene.

Arsinoë stands at the very right wearing a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in an elaborated sheat dress and wears sandals on her feet. She holds two nao-formed sistra in her hands. She is described in the text as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Arsinoë)”.

King Ptolemy stands in front of Arsinoë and faces the deities. He wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He is dressed in the traditional kilt with the bull’s tail. He holds a ceremonial

necklace (*bb*) in his hands. He is described in the text as “Lord of the Two Lands (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun) Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)”. The figure is mainly well preserved only with minor damage, especially in the face, due to natural wear and tear. In front of the king is a small offering table/censer stand with a small jug and a lotus flower bent over it.

In front of and facing the king is a male deity who is seated on a throne. He is depicted in an anthropomorphic form and wears a single forehead *uraeus* and the *atef* crown resting upon the *nemes* wig. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The personal register of text has been badly damaged and only a few signs are still clearly visible. He is described as “Osiris Chentechtai, Horus who dwells in the city of Athribis”. The figure is mainly preserved only with minor damage due to natural erosion. The *was* stave and the *ankh* has been depicted only as thin lines and are thereby less clear than the rest of the figure. The throne is mainly well preserved.

Behind the seated figure of Horus stands a female figure. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap, a modus in a triangular form on top of which the large cow horns and solar disc are resting. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress. The figure holds an *ankh* in her resting arm while holding the other hand in a protective manner behind the figure of Horus. The personal register of text has been badly damaged due to natural erosion and only a few signs are clearly visible. She is described as “Chuit [...] the God, the foremost Lady of the city of Athribis, the Mistress of all the gods”. The figure is mainly preserved with only minor damage due to natural wear and tear.

The full scene is divided in the middle by a shallow line. The winged solar disc with two pendant *uraei* is depicted above the scene still preserved with details of the feathers. The figure is described in the text on both sides as “great god Behutet”. There are some vague colour traces preserved of the architrave, of yellow, blue and red pigments.

REMARKS OF THE FULL SCENE:

The two images of Arsinoë are depicted as the tallest figures.

TEMPLE RELIEFS

16. Edfu, outer hypostyle hall (C), eastern partition, top register

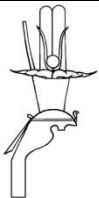
Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II

Published: *PM* VI, 132 (90); *Edfou* III, 190-192, pl. 63; Quaegebeur 1970, 214, no.32; Quaegebeur 1978, 252f.; Winter 1978, 150; Cauville 1987, 134-137, fig. 42; Quaegebeur 1998, 91, no.23; SERAT 900212

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 13



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh*

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is mainly well preserved, including some colour of the dress, though damaged in the facial area and mainly on the arms. The crown composition is in good condition, so is most of the wig and the royal band. Only the outlines of the cut marks informs about a previous *uraeus*. The face is completely destroyed by cut marks. Like with the *uraeus*, the outlines of the cut marks reveal a previous necklace. Both arms and hands have been

badly damaged by cut marks, only leaving the outlines. The left foot of the figure has been badly damaged by cut marks while the right foot is left untouched, still with traces of red colour forming a spiral pattern. The dress is well preserved still with traces of white, red and blue colours. The navel and the hips have been damaged by chisel marks. Only the top outlines of the breast are preserved but the area has not been destroyed by cut marks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three main figures are depicted in this scene.

The king presents offering to Ptolemy II and Arsinoë. The king, standing at the left side, wears a corkscrew wig, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus* above which a crown is placed composed by the ram horns, the double feather plume, the solar disc and two *uraei* each wearing the solar disc on its head. He wears the pharaonic kilt and is decorated with the bull's tail. He presents a small cup of ointment and the looped textile band. He is described in the text as Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. Behind his back is the following written "may he live his life in serenity as the Lord of abundance forever like Ra". The figure has been badly damaged in the "skin area", i.e., the face, hands and legs, due to cut marks. The crown, the kilt and the offering objects are well preserved, in places preserved with colour fragments.

Sitting on a throne in front of the ruling king, the figure of Ptolemy II wears the *nemes* wig and the *anedjti* crown with one serpent on each side of the feather plume. White and red colour is still preserved on his clothes as well as on his throne. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff. Face, arms and legs are destroyed by cut marks, though leaving the clothes, throne, handheld objects and crown untouched. He is described in the text as "The divine king (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun) the divine ruler (Ptolemy)".

Arsinoë stands behind Ptolemy II. She wears a wig, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. She also wears her traditional crown, the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and is decorated with a necklace. She holds an *ankh* in her resting hand while holding the other hand in a protective manner. The text describes the figure as "Royal mother (Arsinoë) the sister-wife of (Ptolemy)". The text above them describes the couple as "*theoi Adelphoi*, Lords of the house of Hathor".

REMARKS:

The ruling king is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

17. Edfu, offering hall (outer vestibule, R), northern partition, middle register (3rd from below)

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy IV Philopator

Published: *PM* VI, 141 (157 though the figures are not described); *Edfou* I, 479f., taf. 35a; Quaegebeur 1970, 214, no. 34; Quaegebeur 1978, 252f. n. 42; Winter 1978, 149; Quaegebeur 1998, 90, no.19; SERAT 901707

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 12



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh*

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in general preserved including colours on the dress, though with damage due to cut marks. The crown, the wig and the cap is well preserved only with damage due to cut marks. The back part of the wig still shows details of the cork screws. The face, the necklace, the arms and the feet have been damaged due to cut marks. The dress is well preserved with fragments of colour including the patterns of the dress. The colours include red, blue and white. The pattern is preserved on the lower part of the dress, forming a cross net pattern in red background and blue cross pattern. The *ankh* has been damaged, only visible through its outlines. The

hieroglyphic text is well preserved but the few signs above the cartouche are not fully visible except for the *ntr* sign.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three main figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the left side, wears the double crown, with a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. His face is completely preserved, with the colours of the eye still visible. He wears the traditional kilt and is decorated with the bull's tail. The king makes an incense offering and in his other hand he holds a libation jar out of which he pours liquid on the offering table in front of him. He is described in the text as Ptolemy IV Philopator. Behind his back it is written "may he live in serenity as the Lord of abundance forever like Ra". The figure of the king is well preserved in general including the facial features which are preserved in clear relief detail. Only the king's legs and feet that have been damaged due to cut marks; otherwise the figure is preserved with only minor damage due to natural interference.

In front of the king is the figure of Ptolemy II seated on a throne. He wears the Osirian *atef* crown resting on the ram horns. He is dressed in the traditional kilt. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is described in the hieroglyphic text as Ptolemy II. The body of the seated Ptolemy II has been badly damaged by cut marks, so is also his face, leaving no traces of the outlines. The crown is well preserved including some colour fragments showing red, blue and white traces. Fragments of the same colours are also preserved on some areas of the main body.

Arsinoë stands at the very right. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap, and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* in her resting hand while holding her other hand in a protective manner. The text describes the female figure as "Divine mother (Arsinoë)| the divine Philadelphos".

The royal couple is described in the text above their head as "the *theoi Adelphoi*, the Lords of Edfu (Mesen)".

REMARKS:

Arsinoë is the tallest figure and her cartouche is placed slightly above the other cartouches of the scene.

18. Edfu, stairway chamber, northern partition, lower register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy IV Philopator

Published: *PM* VI, 142 (165); *Edfou* I, 526f., Taf. 36a; Winter 1978, 152; Quaegebeur 1970, 214, no. 33; Quaegebeur 1978, 252f., n. 42; Quaegebeur 1998, 90, no. 20; SERAT 901731

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 14



HAND HOLD ATTRIBUTES: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

In general, the figure is very well preserved with traces of colour and pattern. The crown is divided into three fragments due to the joint of the stone blocks. Another joint split the face in two fragments. Yet another two joints splits the body in three parts just under the necklace and by the knees. The hieroglyphic text is well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Ten figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing in the right hand corner, wears the red crown, the Osirian *atef* crown, the ram horns, a solar disc and two *uraei* wearing the solar discs on their head. He also has the royal diadem, a single forehead *uraeus* and is depicted with the pharaonic beard. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign depicted for protection and further down there is a text saying “may he live in serenity as the Lord of abundance forever like Ra”. He wears the traditional kilt and is decorated with the bull’s tail. In his hands, the king holds a *sekhem* sceptre and a *sqer* mace. The figure of the king is well preserved including the minor relief details. He is described in the text as Ptolemy IV Philopator. The king consecrates offerings to the deities and his ancestors. This table of offering includes birds, vessels etc.

In front of the king stands the figure of Horus. He wears the double crown. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. He is described as “Horus of Edfu, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, he who dwells in the temple” etc. The figure is well preserved including all the minor relief details.

Behind him stands the female figure of Hathor wearing a tripartite wig and a vulture cap upon which has been placed a small modus, large and high cow horns and the solar disc. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. Traces of blue colour are still preserved on the necklace that she wears. The figure of Hathor also wears arm bracelets of the upper arms as well as normal bracelets. Some black colour is preserved on the wig. In her face the colour is well preserved, showing the details of the eye. Only minor fragments of colour are preserved on the dress of Hathor. She is described in the text as “Hathor the Great Lady of Dendera, she who dwells in Edfu” etc.

Behind Hathor stands Harsomtus, who wears the double crown, the prince lock and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and the *was* stave. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and is decorated with the bull’s tail. The figure is well preserved including the minor relief details. He is described in the text as the “Harsomtus, the divine son of Hathor”.

Behind this group of traditional deities stand the Ptolemaic dynastic ancestors with the latest couple, i.e., Ptolemy III and Berenice II, closest to the ruling couple. Ptolemy III wears the Osirian *atef* crown with the ram horns and the solar disc. He is depicted with the pharaonic beard. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. Traces of colour are preserved on his kilt and crown. He also wears a single lined necklace, the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. He is described in the text as Ptolemy. The figure is in a good state of preservation.

Behind Ptolemy III stands Berenice II, who wears a wig, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. The crown is the traditional female crown resting upon a low modus. Berenice II wears a single lined necklace. In her hands she holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. She is described in the text as Berenice. The figure is well preserved including the minor relief details, though no colours are preserved.

Behind Berenice II is the figure of Ptolemy II depicted. He wears the *nemes* wig with a single forehead *uraeus*, above which is placed the *anedjti* crown with two serpents wearing the solar disc on their head. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and decorated with the bull’s tail. He is described in the text as Ptolemy. The figure is well preserved, though no colours are preserved.

Behind Ptolemy II stands Arsinoë. She wears a wig, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. She wears her traditional crown of Arsinoë incorporating two *uraei* wearing a solar disc on their heads. She is dressed in an elaborated sheath dress and is decorated with a necklace, arm bracelets on both upper arms and a bracelet on the hand holding the *ankh*. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. The text describes the figure as “Divine mother (Arsinoë)”. Together they are described in the text above them as the “*theoi Adelphoi*, the Lords of the house of Ra”.

Behind Arsinoë II stands the figure of Ptolemy I wearing the *nemes* wig and a single forehead *uraeus*, above which is placed the Osirian *atef* crown, the ram horns, the solar disc and the two *uraei* with solar discs placed on their heads. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and decorated with the bull’s tail. He is described in the text as Ptolemy. The figure is well preserved.

The last figure of this dynastic scene is the female figure of Berenice I. She wears a wig, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. The crown is composed of a low modus on which rests traditional female crown. Berenice I wears a single lined necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as Berenice. The figure is well preserved including the minor relief details.

According to the text, the first couple standing behind the divine trinity is the “*theoi Euergetis*, Lords of Mesen”, Ptolemy III and Berenice II. After this couple stands “*theoi Adelphoi*, Lords of the house of Ra”, Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II. The last couple in line is Ptolemy I and Berenice I described the “*theoi Soteres*”.

Remarks:

One of the most obvious things is Queen Arsinoë’s (III) absence in the scene. The dynastic ancestors are mainly equal in size as the tallest figures of the scene.

19. Edfu, inner sanctuary (A), eastern partition, middle register

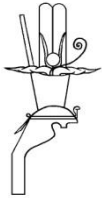
Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy IV Philopator

Published: *PM* VI, 146 (216-217); *Edfou* I, 46, taf. 12, 227; Winter 1978, 149; Quaegebeur 1970, 214, no. 36; Quaegebeur 1978, 252f., n. 42; Cauville 1987, 1, fig. 1 (p. 2); Quaegebeur 1998, 90, no. 17; SERAT 900045

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 15



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh*

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The crown is in a good state of preservation. The wig and parts of the face have been partly preserved while the rest of the body has been badly damaged by cut marks. Some details are still visible in the face, such as the ear. The arm that is raised in a blessing manner has been left untouched by cut marks. The feet have been left untouched by cut marks. The hieroglyphic text is well preserved without any major damage.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three main figures are depicted in this scene.

King Ptolemy, who stands at the very right, wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign depicted for protection. Further down, behind his back, is a hieroglyphic text saying “may he live in serenity as the Lord of abundance forever like Ra”. The king wears the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. The upper part of the figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though the abdomen and kilt are preserved mainly untouched. The cartouches describe him as Ptolemy IV Philopator. He presents the looped textile band and a cup of ointment.

In front of the ruling king is the figure of Ptolemy II seated on a throne. He wears the *anedjti* crown. He also wears the *nemes* wig, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff in his hands. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and is decorated with the bull’s tail. He is described as “Divine royal father (Ptolemy)” in the text. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the kilt, the crown, the throne and the handheld objects untouched.

Arsinoë stands behind Ptolemy II. She wears a tripartite wig, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and is decorated with a necklace. She holds an *ankh* in her resting hand while holding her other hand in a blessing manner. The cartouche describes the figure as “Divine mother (Arsinoë)”.

In the personal text of Ptolemy the couple is described as “*theoi Adelphoi*, dwellers in the Temple of Horus”.

REMARKS:

Arsinoë is the tallest figure of the scene.

20. Edfu, mysterious corridor, eastern partition, top register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy IV Philopator

Published: *PM* VI, 148 (235); *Edfou* I, 112 (Arsinoë's name is wrongly written as Khonsu but corrected in the new publication); Quaegebeur 1970, 214, no. 37; Winter 1978, 149; Quaegebeur 1978, 252; Cauville 1987, 17, fig. 6 (p. 15); Quaegebeur 1998, 90, no. 18; SERAT 900402

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 16



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh*-giving notched palm branch

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged in the “skin” area due to cut marks. No facial features are preserved. The crown, the back part of the dress, the handheld objects and the throne has all been left untouched.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Six figures are depicted in this scene.

At the very left side Arsinoë is depicted wearing a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë with two *uraei* rising up on each side of the plume, wearing solar discs on their head. She is dressed in a traditional sheat dress and is depicted seated on a throne. She holds three notched palm branches with *ankhs*. She is described in the text as the “Divine mother, the eye of Horus (Arsinoë)”. The second register of text connects Arsinoë directly with Hathor.

In front of Arsinoë is the figure of Ptolemy II seated on a throne. He wears a *khat* cap and a single forehead *uraeus* above which is placed the *anedjti* crown with two *uraei* rising up wearing solar discs on their head. He is seated on a throne. He holds the same objects in his hands as Arsinoë, notched palm branches with *ankhs*. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks centred on the uncovered areas of the body. The crown and the throne have been left untouched. He is described in the text as Ptolemy II.

Hathor is seated on a throne in front of Ptolemy II. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a low *modus* and the traditional Hathorian crown. She holds the same objects in her hands as the two above mentioned figures. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though the crown and the throne has been left untouched, still preserved with a pattern. She is described in the text as “Hathor, the Great Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra” etc.

In front of Hathor is the figure of Horus seated on a throne. He wears the double crown and holds notched palm branches incorporating the Sed festival-sign as well as the egg with the cartouche of the king. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the crown and the throne untouched. The figure is described as “Horus of Edfu, the Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

In front of the figure of Horus is the king crouching down inside the tree of rejuvenation, receiving the Sed festival-sign as well as his cartouches from the deities. He wears the double crown. The cartouches determine him as Ptolemy IV.

Behind the figure of Ptolemy IV stands the figure of Khonsu-Thoth. He is depicted with a falcon-head and he wears the moon disc and crescent together with a single *uraeus* centred in the disc. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He holds the writing tools in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due

to cut marks, though leaving the crown, kilt and the handheld objects untouched. He is described in the text as “Khonsu-Thoth, the great god who dwells in the city of Edfu”.

Behind the figure of Khonsu-Thoth stands the figure of Seshat. She wears a wig above which is placed her own sign (*sš3t*) as a crown. She holds the year-sign in her hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks excluding the crown, the sheat dress and the handheld objects. She is described in the text as “Seshat, the great Lady of the scribes”.

Remarks:

The scene below includes the *theoi Euergetai* in a similar fashion. Arsinoë is depicted as the tallest figures of the scene.

21. Edfu, corridor, western partition, top register

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II

Published: *PM* VI, 156 (294); Champollion 1844, Taf. CXXXIX ter 4; *Edfou* IV, 148f., Taf. 87; Quaegebeur 1970, 214, no. 38; Winter 1978, 150f.; Quaegebeur 1978, 252f., n. 42; Cauville 1987, 142f. fig. 44; Quaegebeur 1998, 91, no. 22; SERAT 900638

CROWN OF THE SCENE: TFC



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh*

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, focused on the uncovered areas of the body. The crown has been left untouched.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the very right, wears the white crown with ram horns coming out of it with two additional *atef* feathers, one on each side, two *atef* “tops”, the double feather plume and two pendant *uraei*. Above his head is a solar disc depicted with two *uraei*. The king is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. He presents a cup of incense and performs a libation. He is described as Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the crown untouched.

Ptolemy II is seated on a throne in front of the king. He wears the *anedjti* crown, the *nemes* wig and a single forehead *uraeus*. He is dressed in the tradition kilt and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is described as “(Ptolemy)| (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun)”. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the crown and the throne untouched.

Behind the figure of Ptolemy II stands Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the traditional female crown resting on a low modus. She is decorated with a necklace and is dressed in the sheat dress. She holds an *ankh* in her resting hand while holding the other hand in a protective manner. She is described in the text as “The mistress of her brother (?) (Arsinoë)| (Ptolemy’s)| (his) divine sister”. The couple are together described as the “*theoi Adelphoi*, who dwells in Edfu (Mesen)”.

REMARKS:

Arsinoë is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

22. Edfu, Inner hypostyle hall, western partition, top register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy IV Philopator

Published: *PM* IV, 136 (113f. incorrectly placed as no. 110); *Edfou* II, 55, I pl. XL; Quaegebeur 1970, 214 no. 33; Quaegebeur 1978, 252f. with n. 42; Winter 1978, 149; Cauville 1987, 115, fig. 37 (p. 118); SERAT 901850

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 17



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh*

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a bad state of preservation due to cut marks, damaging all the uncovered areas of the body, and totally erasing the facial features. The crown is well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the left side, wears the double crown, the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail and holds a mace and a papyrus stem in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks though leaving some red paint on the feet. He is identified in the text as Ptolemy IV Philopator.

In front of the king is Ptolemy II seated on a throne. He wears the *atef* crown with ram horns, the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is described in the text as Ptolemy II.

Behind the figure of Ptolemy II stands Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, a single forehead *uraeus* and the crown of Arsinoë. She holds an *ankh* in her resting hand while holding the other hand in a protective position. She is described in the text as the "Divine mother (Arsinoë)". Together they are identified as "*Theoi Adelphoi* who dwells in Edfu (Mesen)."

REMARKS:

This scene (room) is heavily damaged by soot and the lighting is poor, resulting in a very deprived state of photographs. The previously published drawing of this scene illustrates the crowns of both Arsinoë and Ptolemy II wrongly. The crown of Arsinoë is not the traditional female crown but the crown of Arsinoë and the crown of Ptolemy II is far more elaborate than the first drawing show. Arsinoë is depicted as the tallest figure.

23. Karnak, Khonsu temple, pylon, northern partition (peristyle court), lintel scene

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: *PM* II, 229 (12e-f); Schwaller de Lubicz 1998, II, pl. 254; Quaegebeur 1970, 213, no. 27; Quaegebeur 1998, 91 no. 25; Khonsu II, 5 with pl. 116a; Quaegebeur 1983, 133 n. 22; SERAT 402261

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 18



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The crown is in a good state of preservation. The upper part of the body from the belly up to the crown has been badly damaged by cut marks, leaving no outlines or details of the figure or face. The middle section of the body is preserved without any major damage. The feet have been badly damaged by cut marks. The arms and hands have been left untouched. The text is in a good state of preservation.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

King Ptolemy presents offerings to two deities. The king, standing at the very right, wears the *khepresh* crown and a single forehead *uraeus*. A small *sa* sign is depicted behind his head. He wears an elaborated kilt, with elongated fabric stretching down to his feet, and a bull's tail. He holds a flail and suggestively an oar. The upper part of the body, from the breast and including the upper part of the arms, has been badly damaged by cut marks, not even leaving the outlines of the face. The legs, from the knee down to the feet, are also badly damaged by cut marks. The figure is preserved with traces of red and blue colour. He is identified in the text as the "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun)| Son of Ra, Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)]". In front of the king is an altar/censer stand with a vessel and lotus plants.

The male figure standing in front of Ptolemy wears a crown of the crescent and the moon disc and a single centred *uraeus*. His head, which is erased by cut marks, was most probably in the shape of the falcon, based on a thin part of the back wig. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He holds a *was* stave and a branch of lotus flowers in one hand while holding an *ankh* in the other. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the crown, clothing and handheld objects untouched. The figure is preserved with traces of red colour, mainly on the uncovered areas of the body. He is described by the hieroglyphic text as "Khonsu-Ra the Lord of Thebes".

Behind Khonsu-Ra stands Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap with an additional serpent's head wearing cow horns and a solar disc. Her crown is her individual crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and is decorated with bracelets. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The hieroglyphic text describes her as "Daughter of the King of Upper Egypt, sister of the King of Upper Egypt, King's great wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë, the divine Philadelphos". The name Arsinoë is ended in a male suffix (-f).

REMARKS:

All the crowns as well as the handheld objects are untouched by cut marks. Traces of white paint are spread all over the scene. Arsinoë is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

24. Karnak, gate of Euergetes, inner side of the eastern partition, second register from below

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy III Euergetes

Published: *PM* II, 226 (3f); Quaegebeur 1971, 213 no. 28; Quaegebeur 1978, 525, 257 with ill. J.; Winter 1978, 149; Schwaller de Lubicz 1998, pl. 276; Quaegebeur 1988, 48, 50 fig. 21; *Denkmäler* III, 55; Quaegebeur 1998, 91 no. 26; SERAT 410041

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 18



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The crown is in a good state of preservation, though with a small fracture due to the joint of the stone blocks. The face has been totally erased by cut marks but the wig and vulture cap have been left untouched. The main body has been left untouched by cut marks with exception of the lower parts of the arms and the feet, which have been badly damaged. The top part of the dress of the figure is still showing traces of colour and a pattern. The coloured preserved are turquoise, red and white. The lower part has no traces of colour preserved. The necklace shows one main broad row and one line of beads, no colours are preserved. No colour is preserved on the handheld objects. The personal register of text is mainly well preserved only with minor damage on the female *ntr* sign (i.e., goddess).

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

In the scene King Ptolemy (III) presents offerings to his parents, Ptolemy II and Arsinoë as the *theoi Adelphoi*. He stands at the very right of the scene. The king wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign depicted for protection. Further down, a hieroglyphic text states “may he live in serenity as the Lord of abundance forever like Ra”. He wears a two-rowed necklace and is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. He presents incense. Traces of colour and pattern are still visible on his abdomen, kilt and legs. His face, hands and feet have been badly damaged by cut marks, leaving no traces of the outlines of the facial features. He is identified in the text as Ptolemy III. The text is well preserved.

The figure in front of him, the late King Ptolemy II, wears the Osirian *atef* crown with additional ram horns. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. The face, the hands and the feet have been badly damaged by cut marks and just as on the figure of Ptolemy III, no outlines or facial features are preserved. The head of the *cucupha* has been badly damaged by cut marks. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. Fragmentary colour traces are preserved in various areas of the figure, especially on the kilt. He is described as the “Divine King (Ptolemy)”.

Behind the king stands the female figure of the present investigation. Arsinoë wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap with an additional *uraeus* wearing cow horns and solar disc, and above the vulture cap, the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and is decorated with a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text describes her as “Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë, the divine Philadelphos”. Above the scene the royal couple is described as the “*theoi Adelphoi* (who dwells in) Apet – Karnak”.

REMARKS:

Arsinoë is the tallest figure of the scene.

25. Karnak, gate of Euergetes, southern partition, lintel scene, small board of figures above the main scene

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy III Euergetes.

Published: *PM* II, 225, 1; *Denkmäler* IV, 10; Clere 1961, taf. 17f.; Quaegebeur 1970, 213 no. 29; Quaegebeur 1978, 242, 252 and ill. D on p. 248; Winter 1978, 152; Quaegebeur 1998, 92 no. 27

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 6



HANDHELD OBJECT: praising manner

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The full figure has been badly damaged by cut marks with the exception of the crown.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

The main scene is a long board of totally 46 figures, split in the middle by the solar disc. Arsinoë stands at the very left end holding her hands in a praising manner behind her brother-husband, Ptolemy II. Arsinoë wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap above which is placed the crown of Arsinoë. She wears the traditional sheat dress and is decorated with a necklace. Both hands are held in a praising manner. The text describes the figure as “Arsinoë, Daughter of Amun”.

In front of Arsinoë stands Ptolemy. He wears the *atef* crown and is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull’s tail. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks. He is described as Ptolemy and above his head text states “*theoi Adelphoi*”.

Between Ptolemy II and Ptolemy I on the opposite side there are 42 figures depicted. The figures are placed symmetrically on each side of the solar disc. Starting from the solar disc and out are the following deities: Montu, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Thoth, Nephthys, Horus, Hathor, Sobek, Tenenit and Iunit. The following six (totally 12 including both sides) male figures are all depicted equally, wearing the *nemes* wig and dressed in the traditional kilt and bull’s tail. All figures hold their hands in a praising manner. Iunit, Hathor, Isis and Nut wear the traditional Hathorian crown. The other deities all wear their traditional crowns/attributes. All deities have been badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the crowns and attributes untouched.

At the very right stands another Ptolemaic couple. The queen, standing at the very right, wears the traditional female crown. She wears a tripartite wig and a single forehead *uraeus* and is dressed in the traditional sheat dress. She is described in the text as “Berenice, Divine Mother”. This figure is well preserved without any damage due to cut marks.

In front of Berenice stands Ptolemy. He wears the *atef* crown and is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull’s tail. He is described in the text as “Ptolemy, Divine King”. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks.

REMARKS:

The right Ptolemaic couple is here interpreted as the *theoi Euergetai* rather than *Soteres*. Arsinoë is depicted equal in size with the tallest figures of the scene.

26. Karnak, East Gate (so called Gate of Nectanebo or Bab el-Melacha), eastern partition, lintel scene

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Arsinoë’s lifetime and Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: *PM* II, 208 (3); *Urk* II, 106f; *LdR* IV, 240 F (text); Schwaller de Lubicz 1998, II, pl. 241-243; Quaegebeur 1970, 213 no. 26; Troy 1986, 179; Quaegebeur 1998, 91 no. 24; *Denkmäler* IV, 8a, 8bis, text III, 38; SERAT 453001-2

RIGHT FIGURE:

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 19



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The head, the shoulders and the neck have been badly damaged by cut marks, leaving only the outlines of the tripartite wig and a necklace visible. The crown is well preserved except for the fracture in the stone work due to the joint. The relief of the main body, excluding the arms, is cut or carved in the traditional manner but the arms are much shallower than the rest of the body. The hands are detailed but the arms are just chiselled out. The lowest part of the sceptre is much deeper than the top. Three deep cut marks damage the area between the thigh and the sceptre. The lower part of the hieroglyphic inscription next to the legs is much deeper than that of the upper part. Cut marks have also damaged the legs and feet. The personal register of text is mainly preserved, though some signs have consciously been erased.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

In the right scene King Ptolemy (II) presents the figure of Ma'at to three deities.

The king wears the red crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He wears a single lined necklace (though possible more than one row due to the state of preservation). The king presents the seated figure of Ma'at. Only the top part of the figure has been finished, leaving the figure totally without the lower part, from the abdomen and down. The right side of the figure has been damaged because stone blocks are missing. The face has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the outlines of the face. Also the crown has been damaged, though due to the fracture in the stone blocks. The figure of Ma'at has been damaged by cut marks. The figure is described in the text to depict the "King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun)| Son of Ra, Lord of the Two Lands (Ptolemy)]". Under the personal register of text another inscription says "may he live forever like Ra".

In front of and facing the king is the figure of Amun-Ra depicted wearing his double feather plume and crown. He holds a *was* stave in his hand. The face has been badly damaged by cut marks, though leaving the outlines still visible. He wears a necklace with an amulet and a bracelet on each upper arm. The lower part of the body is missing, not even started with, in the similar manner as that of the figure of Ptolemy II.

The figure behind Amun is identified as Khonsu in his form of "Neferhotep" (of Karnak), wearing the moon disc and the horns. He holds the three royal standards, the crook, the flail and the special *was* stave with the *djed* pillars. He also wears the *menit* collar of Hathor. The inscription above Khonsu says "...in the city of Karnak". The head of the *cucupha* has been damaged by cut marks. The head of Khonsu has also been damaged badly by cut marks, though leaving the outlines of the head, showing the figure with a human head. The figure lacks its lower part of the body.

The last figure in the scene is identified as Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap, and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text describes her as "Daughter of the king, sister of the King of Upper Egypt, King's great wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Mistress of Eternity, Lady of the sun disk (Aten), Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë, the divine Philadelphos, Divine mother (Isis) of the living bull, the manifestation of Ptah, the King of all souls, Lord of sacredness".

LEFT SCENE:

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 19



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The crown is in a good state of preservation with only minor damage in the centre of the red crown, due to cut marks. The face and neck has been badly damaged by cut marks, so are also the legs including the feet and the area between the middle section of the body and the arm. The *ankh* and the sceptre are preserved. The relief outlines of the main body including the *ankh* and the sceptre plus the hieroglyphic line next to the figures legs are so much shallower than that of the crown. The personal registers of text are mainly well preserved except for some signs which have been erased intentionally.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

In the left scene, King Ptolemy and a female figure present offerings to three deities. The female figure is only preserved in a fragmentary state, showing the front, lower extremities, i.e., from the hips and down, including the feet and the lower hieroglyphic register. The upper part of the stone block is missing totally, though it is clear that the figure was described with a personal register which border line is preserved on the next block.

The king wears the crown of Upper Egypt, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He wears the traditional kilt. He presents the offering of the figure of Ma'at. The figure of Ma'at is unfinished, showing only the lower extremities of the body and the feather. Similarly, only the upper extremities of the figure of Ptolemy are finished with only two main outer lines marking the behind and the front of a skirt. The area in front of that back line has been damaged by cut marks. He is described as Ptolemy II. Only a fragmentary hieroglyphic text is preserved in front of that damaged area, clearly not finished. The figure has been damaged by the loss of the stone blocks both above and to the left of the figure.

The figure in front of the king depicts Amun-Ra. The only iconographical details visible are the double feather plume, the throne he sits on, and his lower extremities, i.e., the legs and feet. His upper extremities of the body have not been carved. The inscription above the figure is finished and of the same depth as the surrounding script. The double feather plume is deeper and bolder than the rest. The throne is well preserved, while the lower part of the legs, including the feet, has been damaged by cut marks. The figure's relief ends abruptly above the hips with a clear cut. He is described in the text as "Amun-Ra, the great Lord of the thrones of Karnak, Lord of Heaven, King of all the Gods".

Behind Amun-Ra stands the figure of Mut, who wears the double crown. She is described as "Mut... the Mistress of the Gods, the Lady of the Sky ... of the Mut Temple of Karnak, eye of Ra". She stands in a protecting manner and holds an *ankh* in her stretched arm. The relief of the upper extremities are finished while the lower ones have only shallowly chiselled outlines. The face has been badly damaged by cut marks but the outlines are still preserved and show that she wears a tripartite wig. The lower part of the legs, including the feet, has been damaged by cut marks. The area under the *ankh* has been damaged by cut marks.

Behind the figure of Mut stands Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and is decorated with a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text describes the figure as "King's Daughter, sister of the King of Upper Egypt, King's great wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Mistress of Eternity, Lady of the solar disc, Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos...". "the manifestation of Ptah, the King of all souls, Lord of sacredness". The hieroglyphs of this figure are more damaged than those of the other figure.

REMARKS:

The figures of Amun are the tallest figures of the complete scene.

27. Philae, gate of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, southern partition, facing east, bottom register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: *PM* VI, plan 212; text 214 (69); Quaegebeur 1970, 214 no. 39; Quaegebeur 1988, 45 with fig. 17 on p. 47; Hölbl 1994, 96 fig. B; Ashton 2000, 8 fig. 8; Vassilika 1989, 37f. (not mentioning Arsinoë); SERAT 343301

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 20



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a lotus-topped flail

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged by sporadic cut marks as well as by natural wear. Minor circular and cylinder formed marks have damaged the crown, though still leaving most of it intact. The wig and vulture cap are more or less preserved, though with some damage in their central area. The face has been badly damaged by cut marks, leaving only the outlines of the ear visible. Only vague traces indicate that the figure was decorated with a necklace. The main body of the figure has been badly damaged, in some places only with the outlines preserved. The feet are totally erased, without any outlines to guide of its form. The *ankh* is mainly preserved, though with damages in the circular area and the lower part. The flail is also mainly preserved, only damaged on the shaft. The personal register of text and the randomly placed sign surrounding the figure are in a bad state of preservation, though the majority is still readable.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

In the main scene King Ptolemy presents offering to two female figures. The king wears the white crown, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. Above his head is a solar disc depicted with two pendant *uraei*. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign depicted for protection. Below are signs placed more or less sporadic, saying “life, serenity, abundance, Lord...” He wears a traditional kilt with a relief decoration that has been damaged by cut marks and the bull’s tail. He presents the field of reeds. The hieroglyphic text surrounding the king has been badly damaged; some signs have totally been erased, though through the ones which are still visible he is identified as ” [*nfr ntr?* i.e., Good God] Lord of the Two Lands (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun)| son of Ra, Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)]”. Next to his cartouches reads “given life”. In front of the king is a vessel and lotus flowers (one in bloom and two buds). Minor outlines indicate a censer stand underneath the vessel.

The figure in front of the king wears the tripartite wig, the vulture cap, and the traditional Hathorian crown. A single pendant *uraeus* comes down from the cow horns. The crown rests on a tiara of *uraei*. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. The dress shows details of a relief pattern and the figure also wears arm bracelets. The lower part of the legs has been badly damaged; the feet are no longer visible. The hieroglyphic text surrounding the female figure has been badly damaged and only minor parts are still visible. She is described as “Isis, the great divine mother (or as usually translated mother of the god), the Lady of [Philae]”.

Behind this figure stands Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and is decorated with a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a flail in her hands. The hieroglyphic text surrounding the female figure of the present investigating has been badly damaged and only left with sporadic signs. The signs have also been placed in a non-traditional manner, in a randomly order. The figure is described as “King’s wife, daughter, and his sister, Daughter of Amun [...brother/sibling][...], ruler [...], Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë)| Philadelphos”.

REMARKS:

The hieroglyphic text of the scene is very simple and randomly placed in various areas. The top part of the scene is disconnected from the lower scene due to a fracture in connection with the joint of the stone blocks. There is a clear difference in colours between the lower and upper stone blocks. The artist made a mistake when carving the cow horns on the crown of Arsinoë, since they go below the upper outline of the red crown. The figures are mainly equal in size.

28. Philae, gate of Ptolemy II, northern partition, facing east, first register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: *PM* VI, 214 (70); Quaegebeur 1970, 214 no. 39; Quaegebeur 1988, 45 with fig. 17 on p. 47; Vassilika 1989, 37f. (not mentioning Arsinoë); Hölbl 1994, 96 fig. B; SERAT 343306

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 21



HANDHELD OBJECTS: Papyrus sceptre and traces of an *ankh*

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a bad state of preservation, in particular the area surrounding the head and lower part of the crown. The stone has been badly damaged by a big fracture splitting it in two fragments. This fracture leaves no traces of the facial structure or the lower part of the crown. The main body is also badly damaged, especially the lower part of the legs and the feet, but also the hand that suppose to hold the *ankh*, which is formed in the holding position but lacks the *ankh* and parts of the lower part of the arm. The majority of the surrounding hieroglyphic text has been damaged.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

In the main scene King Ptolemy presents offering to two female figures. He wears the red crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Above his head is a solar disc depicted with two pendant *uraei*. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign depicted for protection. Further down it is written “life, serenity, abundance, Lord...”. He wears the traditional kilt, which is elaborately decorated in relief and the bull’s tail. He presents two blooming lotus flowers, with an additional set of the double lotus buds, in each hand. Next to his legs is a censer stand placed with a lotus resting on top of it. The king is described in the hieroglyphic text as “[*nfr ntr?* i.e., the good god] Lord of the Two Lands (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun)| son of Ra, Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)”. Next to the cartouches it is written “given life”. The lower hieroglyphic register of text describes the figure in front of him as his mother. The figure of the king has been badly damaged due to cut marks, which also have damaged the red crown. There is later graffiti, written in Greek, between the legs of the king, though this will not be discussed in the present dissertation.

The female figure in front of the king wears the tripartite wig, the vulture cap, a tiara of *uraei* and Nephthys’ traditional crown. She wears a decorated dress; arm, ankle and hand bracelets; a necklace; and she holds the *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is in general in a bad state of preservation due to cut marks. The crown has been left untouched, similar to the feet, though the face and the main body, especially the arms, have been badly damaged. The speaking register in front of the figure has been badly damaged and in places erased. The personal register of text above the figure is also damaged, though due to the fracture in connection with the joint of the stone blocks. The still visible inscription surrounding the figure states that she was: “the one who is in the heart of all the gods; she of Aa-lek (i.e., Philae)”. A small cross is etched behind the legs of the deity, which will not be discussed here.

The figure behind her is identified as Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig above which the crown of Arsinoë has been placed. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and is decorated with a necklace, arm bracelets and a normal bracelet. She holds a papyrus sceptre in her hand and there are traces of an *ankh*. The maintained text (though mainly damaged) describes her as “Princess, Great of praise, Lady of (all) the people, Sweet of Love, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, King’s wife, sister [...], Daughter of Amun, Lady of the Two Lands, (Arsinoë)| the divine Philadelphos”.

REMARKS:

Arsinoë is the tallest figure of the scene, though only slightly higher than that of the other female goddess. Deep cut marks have damaged the lower part of the scene, though these marks will not be discussed here.

29. Philae, antechamber (chamber I), northern partition, eastern side, bottom register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: *PM* VI, 238 (295); Bénédite 1893-1895, 7f., pl. II; Berlin photos 1125, 692f.; Quaegebeur 214, no. 40; Quaegebeur 1998, 93, no. 36; SERAT 310021

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 20



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a lotus-topped flail

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged in general due to cut marks. The crown has mainly been left without any damage but the fracture in the stone by the joint cuts away the ram horns and splits the crown in two fragments. There are no facial features or outlines preserved, except for the outline of the top part of the head. Some of the outlines of the vulture cap are still visible, just like those of the wig. The main body has been badly damaged by later, sporadically placed, cut marks. The *ankh* and the flail have been badly damaged. The hieroglyphic text is also badly damaged by cut marks, though leaving some details and outlines.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The main scene is broken, now displayed in a fragmentary state. The section where the king is supposed to stand has been removed, leaving an image of exclusively the two beneficiaries. Details of the text describing the king states “(Ptolemy) (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun)”.

The female in front of the king is seated on a throne. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap, a tiara of *uraei*, the traditional Hathorian crown with a *uraeus* coming down from the horns. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. The text describes the figure as “Isis, the great Mother goddess of Philae”.

The standing figure behind her is identified as Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a flail in her hands. The text and the cartouche describe the figure as “King’s wife, daughter, sister, Daughter of Amun, sister of the King of Upper Egypt (Arsinoë)”. The hieroglyphs have been badly damaged and only partly visible.

Remarks:

The scene has been broken in order to reuse and restructure the space of the room, making it bigger and opening up to a larger area. Arsinoë is the tallest figure.

30. Philae, inner part (outer wall of the sanctuary)(chamber VII), northern partition, eastern side of the door, lower main register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: *PM* VI, 241 (340); Bénédite 1893-1895, 48f., pls. XVIII.; Berlin photos. 1073; Champollion 1844. LXXXV (3); Quaegebeur 1970, 214 no. 42; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 34; SERAT 310118

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 20



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation except for the area where the stone blocks meet in the joints, which unfortunately meet up where the ear of the figure is depicted and thereby badly damaged.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

In the main scene the king presents offering to two female figures.

The king wears the *khepresh* crown, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*; the double feather plume, the solar disc, ram horns and two *uraei* with solar discs on their head coming up from the horns. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign depicted for protection. Further down the text says “may he live forever in serenity and abundance”. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. In front of him stands a papyrus pillar holding a small vessel with a stylised bloomed lotus and two buds bending over it. He presents lettuce to the deities in front of him. He is described in the text as “Lord of the Two Lands (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun)| Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)”. The figure is well preserved except for the damaged caused by the joints of the stone blocks. The hieroglyphic text is also well preserved.

The figure in front of the king is a standing female figure, described in the text as “Isis, she who gives life, prosperity and serenity, Isis, the life giving Lady of Philae”. She wears the tripartite wig, the vulture cap, a tiara of *uraei*, the traditional Hathorian crown, and in her hands she holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. The figure is well preserved and only damaged due to fractures in connection with the joints of the stone blocks.

Behind the figure of Isis stands Arsinoë. She wears the tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë. She wears the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The hieroglyphic text describes the figure as “Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë)”.

REMARKS:

The hieroglyphic text in the scene is minimised. The lower hieroglyphic register of Arsinoë is not inscribed and reveals no indication of any attempt of finishing it. Ptolemy is the tallest figure.

31. Philae, inner sanctuary (chamber X), western partition, lower register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: *PM* VI, 243 (355); Bénédite 1893-1895, pl XXIV; Žabkar 1988, 89; Berlin photos 1028; Quaegebeur 1971, no. 44; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 33; SERAT 310162

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 22



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been damaged by cut marks, especially the face, but the crown is well preserved. The face has been badly damaged with no traces of features, only the outlines of the nose are still visible. The damaging cut marks are sporadically placed on the main body, mainly centring on the lower parts of the arms, the doughnut belly and the legs. The upper extremities, i.e., the shoulders, the breast and the abdomen surrounding the belly button, are left mainly without cut marks. The personal register of text is well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

In the general scene the king presents offering to two female figures.

The king wears the *khat* cap covering the head and neck, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign depicted for protection. Further down it is written “may he live forever in serenity and abundance”. In the corner above his head is a vulture depicted handing the *ankh* to the king with the text “given life like Ra”. He wears the traditional kilt with additional elongated fabric and the bull’s tail. The shaft of a knife is visible on his belt of the kilt. He presents a tray of four vessels (of water). He is also supported and guided by the vulture holding an *ankh* in the top corner. The king is described as “Lord of the crowns (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun)| Lord of the Two Lands (Ptolemy)”. The figure has been damaged by cut marks, centred in the face.

The standing female figure in front of the king is described in the text as “Isis, the life giver of the site of Philae, the divine loving Mother”. She wears the tripartite wig, the vulture cap, a tiara of *uraei*, and the traditional Hathorian crown. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. This figure has been badly damaged in the face and on the feet but otherwise mainly in a good state of preservation. The personal text is well preserved.

Behind the figure of Isis stands Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and she holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text describes her as “King’s wife, daughter, sister, Daughter of Amun, Lady of the Two Lands, the divine Philadelphos, Arsinoë, Princess, Great of Praise, Lady of Sweet Love, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of Egypt, Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë)”.

REMARKS:

Arsinoë has not received any lower hieroglyphic register of text, even though the scene has been finished. The two female figures are depicted tallest of the scene.

32. Philae, inner sanctuary (chamber X), eastern partition, lower register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: *PM* VI, 243 (357); Bénédite 1893-1895, pl. xxiii; Žabkar 1988, 89; Berlin photos 1023; Quaegebeur 1971, no. 43; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 33; SERAT 310151

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 20



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation only damaged by the fracture due to the joints of the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem, otherwise depicted with a shaved head or possibly a priest cap. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign depicted for protection. Further down it is written “may he live forever in serenity and abundance like Ra”. In the corner above his head is a vulture depicted handing the *ankh* to the king with the text “given life like Ra”. He wears the traditional kilt, which is decorated in the relief and the bull’s tail. He presents a tray of four small vessels (water). This figure has been badly damaged by cut marks, especially in the face, the arms and the legs. He is identified in the text as “Lord of the Two Lands (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun)| Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)”.

The figure in front of him is a female deity describes as “Lady Isis, the great divine Mother”. She wears the tripartite wig, the vulture cap, and the traditional Hathorian crown. The main body is well preserved but the entire head has been cut out deeply leaving no outlines what so ever. She is breast-feeding the figure of Harpocrates, who wears the double crown, the prince lock and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* in his hand. He is left without any personal text or direct description.

Standing behind them is Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap above which is placed the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. According to the text the figure depicts “King’s wife, daughter, his sister, Daughter of Amun, Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos, Princess, Great of Praise, Lady of Sweet Love, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of Egypt, Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë), may she live forever”.

REMARKS:

Arsinoë is equal to the figure of Isis in height.

33. Philae, chamber V, southern partition, west side of the door jamb

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: *PM* VI, 240 (317); Bénédite 1893-1895, 25f., pl. IX; Žabkar 1988, pl. 9 on p. 13; Berlin photos 1104; Quaegebeur 1970, no. 41; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 35; SERAT 310060

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 23



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved, though slightly damaged due to fractures in the stone blocks. The crown has been damaged over the lower part of the red crown, normally showing the cow horns and solar disc, leaving the front ram horn only vaguely visible. The horns are divided by the red crown. The lower part of the body, the hand holding the *ankh* and the lower part of the sceptre are also damaged due to fractures.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two main figures are depicted in this scene.

The king stands at the very right wearing the blue *kheprsh* crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Above his head is a solar disc depicted with two pendant *uraei*. The area above the minor figure has been damaged and no longer visible. A small *sa* sign is depicted behind the head of the king. He wears a necklace and is dressed in a traditional kilt decorated with two pendant *uraei* and hanging textile bands. The kilt is also decorated with the traditional bull's tail. He presents a *nemset* vase. The figure is well preserved including all the relief details, only damaged slightly due to fractures in the stone blocks. The right leg is mainly missing due to a fracture. He is described as "Lord of the Two Lands (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun)".

In front of the king stands Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as "Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë) given eternal life".

REMARKS:

This is the only scene on Philae where Arsinoë is depicted on her own as receiving offering. Arsinoë is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene, with her crown reaching up to the top level of the solar disc.

34. Qasr el-Aguz, inner sanctuary, east wall, top register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II

Published: *PM* II, 529 (9); *LÄ* V, 40f.; Mallet 1909, 68f., fig. 30; Winter 1978, 151; Quaegebeur 1970, no. 30;

Quaegebeur 1998, no. 38; Quaegebeur 1978, 252; SERAT 420022

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 24



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks, only leaving a few outlines and details untouched. The crown has mainly been left untouched, thus still showing colours and painted details. The crown seems to have been coloured mainly in red paint, with outline traces on the crown of Lower Egypt as well as on the ram horns. The solar disc and the crown spiral are painted completely in red. The double feather plume shows painted details,

with two middle vertical lines on each feather and smaller diagonal lines pointing upwards from the middle lines, thus depicting the typical feather. The hieroglyphic text above the head of the figure is also painted red while the background of the cartouche shows white pigment with red outlines of the hieroglyphs. White and red colours are preserved on parts of the dress. The shaft of a papyrus sceptre has been coloured turquoise. White colour pigments are spread over various areas of the figure, being more of an indication of later plaster work than actual contemporary paint. The personal register of text is well preserved though the lower hieroglyphic register has been badly damaged due to later interference.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in the scene.

The king, standing at the left side, wears the double crown with a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He adores the deities in front of him. The king is described as Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

The male figure in front of him is seated on a throne. He wears the *atef* crown resting on the ram horns. Some colours are still visible on the crown, showing blue/turquoise, red and white details. He also wears the pharaonic beard. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. Minor traces of red, turquoise and white colour are still visible on his chest. The majority of the figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, in particular the face. This figure is described as "Divine father (Ptolemy)| the divine Philadelphos".

Behind the figure of Ptolemy stands Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. According to the hieroglyphic text the female figure depicts "Divine mother of his mothers, Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos".

REMARKS:

The scene is surrounded by additional scenes of ancestor cult. Arsinoë is the tallest figure of the scene.

35. Tod

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II

Published: *PM* V, 168f. (without a description of the scene) – see plan on p. 165; Bisson de la Roque 1937, 22-33; Quaegebeur 1970, no. 31; F. Winter 1978, 151; Grenier 1983, 33 fig. 1; Minas 2000, taf. 17; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 39; Thiers 2003, no. 318; SERAT 500057.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 25



HANDHELD OBJECTS: handheld in protecting manner

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged in various areas and the lower part of the body is totally erased due to the missing/destroyed relief surface of the stone blocks. The body is cut just under the abdomen and there is a deep fracture in connection with the joint of the stone blocks dividing the figure in two fragments. The crown is well preserved including the minor relief details. The wig, the cap, the *uraeus* and the royal diadem are all well preserved except for the vulture head. The face is well preserved except for the very front area, which has been damaged in connection with the fracture of the joint of the stone blocks. The necklace and the dress are well preserved. The object of the other hand is no longer visible due to the above mentioned damage of the lower part of the main body. The hieroglyphic text is preserved with only minor damage caused by natural interference. The figure is surrounded by deep cut marks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

In the main scene the ruling couple stands at the very right making an offering to their ancestors divided in two horizontal lines on top of each other. Each scene includes five figures, totally making 12 figures including the ruling couple. At the very right is the queen depicted wearing a tripartite wig, a vulture cap, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. She wears the traditional female crown resting on a low modus. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress. She holds two elongated flower compositions of papyrus and lotus. She is described in the text as “(Cleopatra) the Lady of the Two Lands”. The figure has been badly damaged due to large fractures in the stone blocks but also due to cut marks damaging especially the face and the hands.

In front of the queen, facing the same direction stands the king. He wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and is decorated with the pharaonic beard. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. He presents four censer offerings, while performing a libation from a jar held in his other hand. The libation is poured at a small censer stand placed in front of the king. He is identified in the badly damaged text as Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. The figure has been badly damaged due to large fractures in the stone blocks as well as by cut marks, mainly centred in the facial area.

In front of the ruling king are two scenes. The first figure of the upper scene is a male depicted with the *atef* crown resting upon the ram horns. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The hieroglyphic text has been badly damaged though stating the name Ptolemy. According to the latest research the figure is described in the text as Ptolemy VI Philometor.²⁹⁰ The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, erasing the entire figure except the sceptre, though leaving the main outlines visible.

Behind the first male figure is another male figure seated on a throne. He is depicted wearing a now almost entirely destroyed *atef* crown resting upon the ram horns, of which only a minor front piece is preserved. He also wears the royal diadem, a single forehead *uraeus* and the pharaonic beard. He is dressed in the traditional kilt. He holds an *ankh* and a now almost destroyed *was* stave. Only the very bottom of the cartouche is preserved, leaving only the ending of the name Ptolemy visible. The figure is in general badly damaged due to large fractures in the relief surface and due to cut marks mainly centred in the facial area. Only the throne and the lower part of the legs are still preserved.

Behind the seated male figure stands a female figure. She wears a tripartite wig, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal band. Her crown is composed of a tiara of *uraei* and the traditional female crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and stands in a position of blessing the figure in front. She holds an *ankh* in her resting hand. The figure has been badly damaged due to large fractures in the stone blocks but also due to cut marks, leaving mainly only the mid section of the legs untouched. The cartouche is not preserved.

Behind the female figure is a male figure seated on a throne. He wears an *atef* crown resting upon the ram horns and also wears the royal diadem, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal beard. He holds a *was* stave in his hand, while the object held in the other hand is no longer visible due to cut marks. He is described in the cartouche as Ptolemy. The figure has been badly damaged due to large fractures in the stone blocks but mainly due to cut marks, especially in the facial area and the abdomen. The crown has been left untouched by cut marks but is slightly damaged on the top due to a fracture. The throne has been left untouched by cut marks.

Behind the male figure stands another female figure in a protective position. She wears a tripartite wig, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. She wears the traditional female crown. She holds an *ankh* in her resting hand. The figure has been badly damaged mainly due to cut marks, focusing on the facial area but also including the main body. The cartouche is erased due to a fracture in the stone block.

Another set of five figures are depicted in the lower section. The first figure is a male wearing the *atef* crown resting on the ram horns. He also wears the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. He holds a *was* stave in his hand. The figure has been badly damaged due to large fractures in the stone blocks but also due to cut marks focusing on the facial area. The lower part of the body is totally erased due to the fractures. The hieroglyphic text has been badly damaged due to later interference, though stating the name Ptolemy.

The figure behind the male figure is another male. He wears the *nemes* wig, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. He wears the *anedjti* crown and is decorated with a necklace. The figure has been badly damaged due to large fractures in the stone block and due to later cut marks. The crown and the

²⁹⁰ SERAT 500057

majority of the facial features are preserved without any major damage. Only the left side of the upper part of the cartouche is preserved, though the following text describes him as Ptolemy III Euergetes.

Behind the male figure is a female figure wearing the tripartite wig, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. She wears the traditional female crown resting on a low modus. She is also decorated with a necklace and is dressed in the traditional sheath dress. She holds her hand in a protective manner. The other hand is no longer visible due to a large fracture in the stone block. The text in the cartouche has been badly damaged due to later interference. She is described as the “Divine mother (Berenice) | *thea Euergetis*”. The lower part of the figure is erased due to a large fracture in the stone block while the rest of the figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks.

The figure behind the female figure is a male who wears the *atef* crown resting upon the ram horns. He also wears the royal diadem, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and a necklace. He holds a *was* staff in his hand. He is described in the text as Ptolemy Philadelphos. The lower part of the figure is erased due to the large fracture in the stone surface while the upper part of the figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks especially in the facial area.

Behind Ptolemy Philadelphos stands Arsinoë. She wears a tripartite wig, a single forehead *uraeus*, a royal diadem and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace. Arsinoë holds her still preserved hand in a protective manner. She is described in the text as “Divine mother of his mothers, Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos”.

Both scenes of ancestors are crowned by the hieroglyphic sky-sign.

REMARKS:

The female figures are all equal in size and are all depicted higher than the male figures.

36. Medamoud, Sed festival Gate of Ptolemy II

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Published: Sambin & Carlotti 1995, 383-457; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 31

CROWN OF THE SCENE: TFC



HANDHELD OBJECTS: lotus flail

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is divided by the fracture of the stone block. The fracture cuts off the back part of the figure, i.e., the back part of the head and head dress, the left arm and the hips, and the lower end cuts the figure just under the hips. The relief is in general in a good state of preservation including the main details.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two main figures are depicted on this fragmentary relief.

The queen, standing at the right, wears a tripartite wig, a single forehead *uraeus* and the traditional female crown resting on a low modus. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and holds the lotus flail in her hands. The figure is preserved only in a fragment, leaving only the front part of the queen visible, with the fracture dividing the figure at the back of the head/back-side as well as the lower end just below the hip area. Except for the fragmented condition of the relief, the figure is in a good state of preservation.

In front of Arsinoë is Ptolemy II. He is dressed in the red crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the pharaonic beard. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and holds the royal regalia. He is depicted inside the Sed festival pavilion, including his cartouche that states “Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)”.

A third figure is only vaguely visible due to a fracture in the stone block as well as its position. Only the back part of a head is preserved, showing a figure wearing either a *khat* cap or a short wig. The figure is either in a position of *proskynesis* or as offering.

A hieroglyphic inscription located opposite the royal couple states “Female Pharaoh”.

REMARKS:

Quaegebeur has documented another fragmentary block from Medamoud which was found among the debris of the foundation of the pylon, in which Arsinoë wears her traditional personal crown. Unfortunately neither Quaegebeur nor Sambin published a photograph of the item and the IFAO has not been able to relocate this block. Arsinoë is the tallest figure of the scene.

HATHORIAN FIGURES AND LATER PTOLEMAIC QUEENS

EDFU

37. Front pylon, western partition, main register

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus Philopator Philadelphos

Published: *PM* VI 121 (2); Champollion 1844, I, 277, pls. 51, 61; *Edfou* VIII, 76-78, 85-87; X, pl. CXC, CLXXXVII, CLXXXIX; XIV, pl. DCLXVI-DCLXVIII; Kurth 1998, 137-141 (the translation, no iconographical description)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: FEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh*

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The crown is mainly in a good state of preservation, though some damage is visible. The cow horns have been damaged, leaving only the outlines of their existence; half of the solar disc has been damaged as well as the ram horns. A new block has been inserted into the area of the ram horns, showing clear traces of the reworked surface. The double crown and the *atef* feather are in a good state of preservation while the middle section of the tiara of cobras is missing. Minor damage is visible on the tripartite wig while the vulture cap is mainly preserved only with minor details missing, though with major damage on the vulture head. The face is mainly preserved, with minor damage only on the nose, lips, eye and ear. Most of the main body has been damaged, leaving only the raised hand and the lower part of the legs and dress preserved. The hand that holds the *ankh* is missing but parts of the *ankh* itself is intact. The feet are partially preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three main figures are depicted in this scene, which includes several minor figures.

The king stands in a smiting position, wearing the *atef* crown with two *uraei* on each side wearing the solar disc on their head; all resting on the ram horns. He also wears a short wig, with a royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. A small figure of a monkey is depicted behind the head of the king. Further behind his head is a small falcon figure of Horus, wearing the double crown, seated on top of the Ka-figure, which holds a standard and a flabella in two additional arms. Above his head, in the left corner, is the vulture depicted with its outstretched wings, holding the sign of eternity. The face of the king is not fully decorated and is also damaged over the nose and lips due to a window in the pylon. He is dressed in the traditional male tunic and is decorated with the bull's

tail. He holds the smiting mace in his hand while holding the heads of the enemies in his other hand. He is described in the cartouches as Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus Philopator Philadelphos.

Behind the figure of the king is a small scene depicted which is only shallowly carved, in which Emperor Tiberius adores two male deities. The figure of the king is in general well preserved, damaged only due to fractures in the stone surface, especially the hand holding the enemies.

In front of and captured by the king (held in their hair) are all the enemies depicted wearing tunics, necklaces and short wigs. To the right of the enemies and facing the king is a smaller figure of Ha, depicted with his traditional attribute, the three-hilled hieroglyph for the desert. He holds a knife in his raised hand.

Behind the smaller figure of the desert deity is the larger figure of Horus, standing facing the smiting scene. The figure of Horus wears the Edfu crown. He holds an *ankh*, while the other hand is left in a protective manner, though the hand itself has been badly damaged due to a fracture in the stone surface. The upper part of the figure is well preserved including the facial features, though damaged in various places due to fractures in the stone surface, while the lower part has been badly damaged for the same reason. The figure is described as “Horus of Edfu, the Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

Behind the figure of Horus is the female figure of Hathor. Hathor wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap, a tiara of *uraei* and the female Edfu crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* in her resting hand while holding the other hand in a protective manner. She is placed standing on a podium. The hieroglyphic text described the images as being “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Sekhmet the Great, Lady of all Sekhmet-goddesses, she whose fiery breath utters against the enemies”.

Between the figures of deities of the scene are two so called mast grooves, in which lion-headed and bull-headed deities are depicted holding swords, knives and other weapons. They are mainly well preserved, though some have been damaged due to cut marks.

REMARKS:

The figure of Ptolemy is taking up the majority of the main scene as the smiting pharaoh ruling Egypt. The figure of Hathor is depicted smaller than the figure of Horus standing next to her.

38. Front pylon, eastern partition, main register

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus Philopator Philadelphos

Published: *PM* VI 122 (4); Champollion 1844, I, 665-667; *Edfou* VIII, 117-119; X, pl. CXCVI; XIV, pl.

DCLXXIV; Kurth 1998, 210-213 (the translation, no iconographical description)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: None due to damage

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

There are only minor damages in the face of the figure, and that is on the ear, leaving the rest of the face undamaged. There is slight damage on parts of the wig that falls on the breast. The neck has been damaged just above the necklace, though leaving the necklace intact. The raised arm is in general well preserved, with minor damage on the wrist. The breast is slightly damaged but the outlines still display its form. There is almost nothing left of the stretched arm and except for the remains preserved on the feet, there is only scattered fragments left of the rest of the body. The part that is preserved of the stretched hand shows a hand in a holding position, most probably holding the *ankh* originally, though there is nothing left of it.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three main figures are depicted in this scene, which includes several minor figures as well.

The king, standing at the right side, wears the triple crown with a solar disc in its centre, with two *uraei* on each side, wearing the solar disc on their head. He wears a short wig with the royal diadem. Behind his head is a small figure of a monkey. Above his head, in the right corner, is the falcon depicted with outstretched wings, holding the symbol of eternity and a weapon in his claws. This smaller falcon is described as “Horus of Edfu, the Great God, Lord of the Heaven, the light-giver who comes forth of the Horizon”. The king stands in a smiting position, holding the smiting mace in one hand while holding the heads of the enemies in his other hand. The figure of the king has been badly damaged due to large fractures in the stone blocks, though leaving the crown, the face, the arm holding the club and the major outlines visible. Except for the male tunic the king is decorated with the bull’s tail. He is identified in the cartouches as Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus Philopator Philadelphos.

Behind the foot of the king is the smaller personification figure of Ka standing. He holds a standard and flabella in his hands. Above the text of Ka is a falcon figure of Horus, wearing the double crown, sitting.

In front of the king are the enemies depicted on their knees, with short wigs and necklaces, being held by the king in their hair. Next to the foes is a smaller figure depicted wearing a pyramidal crown and holding a knife. He is described as Sopt (= Sirius). The figure has been badly damaged due to fractures in the stone blocks.

Behind the smaller figure of Sopt stands the larger figure of Horus. He wears the Edfu crown upon which a single *uraeus* wearing a solar disc on its head is depicted. He holds an *ankh* and the Horus headed sceptre. The figure of Horus is mainly in a good state of preservation, though the main body, except the head and crown, has been damaged due to fractures in the stone blocks. The figure is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, the golden falcon”.

Behind the figure of Horus is the figure of Hathor. Hathor wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap. She wears the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. The object most likely being an *ankh* is no longer visible held in the resting hand, due to fractures in the stone surface. The other hand is held in a protective manner. She is placed standing on a podium. She is described in the text as “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, the Dendera (= personification), the great of Dendera”.

Several falcon-headed and ibis-headed figures are depicted in the mast grooves between the deities and the king.

REMARKS:

See the remarks on cat. no. 37 concerning the size and placement of the figures, here placed in a mirror position.

39. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, 8th scene from 1st door, top register

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy X Alexander I

Published: *PM* VI, 167 (339-340); Chassinat *Edfou* X, pl. CLXXI-CLXXVII; XIV, pls. DCXLVI-DCLIV; Kurth 2004, 581 (tabl. 3g. XII)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is over all in a bad state of preservation, mainly due to cut marks from later periods. The white crown and the feather plume are preserved, but the red crown has been damaged by a crack in the stone. Likewise are the cow horns and the solar disc. Only the outlines of the vulture head are preserved which is also the case with the wig. The entire face has been damaged, leaving no details or outlines of eye, ear, nose or lips. The breast is

only visible through a vague outline. Regarding the rest of the body, only the outlines are preserved. The feet are totally missing. The sceptre is in a good condition. The *ankh* is more or less destroyed only with minor outlines showing its form. The throne is well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three main figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing on the left side of the scene, wears the *khepresh* crown, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. The crown is composed of the ram horns, a solar disc and two *atef* feathers, placed on each side of the solar disc. The *sa* sign of protection is placed behind the head of the king. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The king holds two nao-formed sistra. With exception of the crown, the entire figure of the king has been badly damaged due to cut marks. He is described as Ptolemy X Alexander I.

In front of the king stands the smaller figure of Ihy, wearing the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. The text describes him as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor". He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands. The figure of Ihy has been badly damaged by cut marks and the lower part of his body is completely missing due to a big fracture in the stone work.

In front of the figure of Ihy is Hathor seated on a throne. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is in the damaged text described as being "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu".

REMARKS:

All the crowns are left untouched without cut marks. Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

40. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, 9th scene from 2nd door, middle register

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy X Alexander I Philometor

Published: *PM* VI, 167 (341-342); *Edfou* X, pl. CLXXI-CLXXVII; XIV, pls. DCXLVI-DCLIV; Kurth 2004, 523 (tabl. 2g. XXIII)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is mainly badly damaged due to cut marks and fractures in the stone blocks. The majority of the crown composition is well preserved with few exceptions. One of the two feathers has been damaged and the crown spiral is partly damaged. Only the very back of the tripartite wig is preserved, leaving only few visible cork screw locks. The vulture head has totally been chipped off. No facial features are preserved. The main body has been badly damaged from cut marks but the outlines are still preserved. The feet are totally missing. Except for the part where the hand holds the *ankh*, this symbol is in good condition. Parts of the throne have been damaged, especially on the sitting surface. The sceptre is well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

In the main scene the king presents an offering to three divine figures.

The king, standing at the very left of the scene, wears the red crown, above which the *atef* crown is placed, with additional ram horns and two *uraei* with solar discs. He also wears the royal diadem. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign of protection depicted. Above his head in the left corner is a winged solar disc with a hanging solar disc, described in the text as "Lord of Heaven, the Great God, Behutet". He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's

tail. He presents two small vessels. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks and fractures in the stone blocks. He is described in the text as Ptolemy X Alexander I.

The seated figure in front of him is the figure of Horus. He is depicted with the Edfu crown. He holds an *ankh*, which has been badly damaged, and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure of Horus has been badly damaged by cut marks, mainly leaving only the crown untouched. He is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, he who comes forth of the Horizon”.

Behind the figure of Horus sits the female figure of the present investigation. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap. She wears the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. The figure is seated on a throne. The hieroglyphic text is partially damaged but describes the figure as “[...] the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu...”.

Behind her sits another male deity, described in the text as “Harsomtut, the son of Hathor”. The text also mentions his connection with Isis, by saying that “he came forth from Isis”. He wears the triple crown, with two *uraei* with solar discs placed on their heads. He holds a *was* stave in one of his hands, the other hand and its item are so badly damaged that no traces of the outlines are preserved. Except for the area around his thighs, the entire figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks. The throne has been left untouched.

REMARKS:

All crowns are left untouched. Some later graffiti are placed in the scene; this will not be described here. All figures are equal in size.

41. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, top register above the 3rd door

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy X Alexander I Philometor and Cleopatra III

Published: *PM VI 167* (342-343); *Edfou X*, pl. CLXXI-CLXXVII; XIV, pls. DCXLVI-DCLIV; Kurth 2004, 608 (tabl. 3g. XXVII)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in general badly damaged due to cut marks, especially the head and the legs. The crown is in a good state of preservation with the exception of the back side, mainly with damage on the red crown and the right side of the ram horns. The vulture head is preserved with minor damage due to a fracture in the stone. There is nothing left of the facial features or the wig. The upper part of the body is preserved, including the breast. The right hand and underarm has been damaged including a part of the *ankh*. The legs have been damaged due to cut marks. The throne is in a good state of preservation except for the back part. No relief decoration is visible on the throne.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

In this scene the king and the queen present an offering to two seated deities.

The queen, who stands to the very left, wears a wig and a single forehead *uraeus* decorated with the cow horns and solar disc. Resting on a low modus is the traditional female crown. She holds an *ankh* in one hand while the other hand is placed in a protective manner. The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks with the exception of the crown and the lower part of the legs. The cartouches next to her have been damaged, and the cartouche with the female name is completely destroyed due to a fracture in the stone, leaving a text saying “Lady of the Two Lands, [...], the divine mother of the son of Ra, Ptolemy X Alexander I”.

The king, standing in front of the queen, wears the *khat* cap covering the head and neck, the royal diadem, and a single forehead *uraeus* above which has been placed the triple crown including two *uraei* with solar discs placed on their head. Another set of two serpents come down from the crown, one on each side. Cut marks have badly damaged the figure, leaving only the crown untouched. The figure holds the *sekhem* sceptre and in his other hand he holds another small sceptre/staff. The king wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The cartouche of the king has been badly damaged due to large fractures in the stone blocks, though determining him as Ptolemy X Alexander. In front of the king are four layers of offerings placed on the floor.

In front of the king sits the figure of Horus on a throne. He wears the Edfu crown and a single forehead *uraeus*. In his hands he holds a *was* stave and what seems as the *ankh* sign. The text surrounding the figure has been badly damaged due to a big fracture in the stone, though saying "Great God, the Lord of Heaven". The figure has been left untouched by cut marks, thus leaving the figure in a good state of preservation.

The figure behind the seated Horus is the female figure of the present investigation. Hathor wears a tripartite wig and vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. The figure is seated on a throne. Due to the fact that the hieroglyphic text has been badly damaged, only "Hathor [...] Edfu [...]" is visible.

REMARKS:

The figure of Horus has been left untouched by cut marks whereas the other three figures have been badly damaged. The king and Hathor are the tallest figures of the scene.

42. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, middle register (2nd from below), first scene from the northern corner

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy X Alexander I Philometor

Published: *PM* VI, 167 (344); *Edfou* X, pl. CLXXI-CLXXVII; XIV, pls. DCXLVI-DCLIV; Kurth 2004, 559 (Tabl. 2g. XL)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged in general; totally erased in places. Most of the crown is preserved, though it has been damaged on the ram horns, the cow horns and the solar disc. The entire face has roughly been removed, leaving no traces at all of the facial features. The vulture head is preserved with minor damage. The tripartite wig is only preserved at the very back of the head, leaving only some cork screws visible. Parts of a necklace are preserved. The arms and hands have been damaged but not by small cut marks but by larger and smother marks. The area of the arms and the belly has been badly damaged, no outlines or indications of the abdomen is visible at all. The area of the hips and upper thighs are left more or less undisturbed while the lower part of the legs including the feet is destroyed. All the outlines of the throne have been removed by rough, narrow cut marks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the left side of the scene, wears the four-feathered crown with a solar disc in its lower centre, though damaged due to cut marks. The entire figure of the king has been badly damaged by later rough

cut marks leaving only fragments of the outlines of the body. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He presents the *heh* sign. The cartouches describe him as Ptolemy X Alexander.

In front of him is the figure of Horus seated wearing the four-feathered crown with additional ram horns resting upon a small modus. He holds a *was* stave and another object now lost due to damages. The text describes him as "Horus of Edfu, the Great God, lord of Heaven, he who comes forth of the Horizon, he who dwells in the temple". The majority of the figure is preserved, though with cut marks damaging the face badly but also sporadically placed marks on his arms and legs.

Behind him sits Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The figure sits on a throne. The inscription gives the figure the title "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Raat the admirable, the cobra who is in the brow of all Gods".

REMARKS:

The crown spiral is not curled in the same fashion as it in general. The king is the tallest figure of the scene.

43. Enclosure wall, northern partition, main register, middle scene

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy X Alexander I Philometor

Published: *PM* VI, 168 (345-346); *Edfou* VII, 251-255; X, pl. CLXXVIII; XIV, pls. DCXLIV; Kurth 2004, 156 (Tab. 1d. III)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh*

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in general in a good state of preservation. The ram horns have been damaged on the sides and the left part of the solar disc and cow horns are as well. Small fractures in the stone work have damaged the red crown, which is also damaged on its top. The white crown is intact. The double feathers are slightly damaged. The area around the top of the crown has been damaged. The wig is in a good condition as well as the vulture cap. A fracture in the stone is dividing the face in two fragments. The lips, nose and partly also the eye, have been damaged, leaving only the outlines. This is not due to cut marks but to natural wear. The necklace is in good condition except from the right-side corner of the shoulder where a piece of the stone has been replaced. The rest of the body is in good condition with only with minor damage.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the right side, wears the *khepresh* cap, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. He also wears the special triple crown. He is depicted with a prince lock. Behind the head of the king is a small monkey depicted. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He presents the figure of Ma'at. The figure of the king is well preserved. The cartouches describe him as Ptolemy X Alexander.

In front of the king stands the figure of Horus wearing the Edfu crown. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. Horus is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The figure is well preserved including the facial features and other details. The personal register of text has been damaged in various places, not giving the full description of the figure, though stating "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven, Harakhte, he who comes forth of the Horizon".

Behind him stands Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap, and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* in her resting hand while holding the other hand in a protective manner. The text describes her as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, female Ruler, the powerful One, Mistress of all the Gods, ... Ma’at, the great Daughter...”.

REMARKS:

The figure of the king is slightly higher than that of Hathor while her figure is slightly higher than the figure of Horus.

44. Enclosure wall, western partition, middle register (2nd from below)

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy IX Soter II

Published: *PM* VI, 166 (332-333); *Edfou* VII, 28-39; X, pls. CLXIII-CLXIX; Kurth 2004, 238 (Tab. 2d. XLII)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in general in a good state of preservation, including the facial features and the details of the main body. The ram horns are in good condition except for a crack in the stone splitting the right side of the horns in two fragments. The crown in general is well preserved apart from the top section of the red and white crowns and parts of the feather plume. The head dress is in good state, though the head of the vulture has been damaged; only leaving the neck of the vulture intact. The face is also well preserved, only with minor damage on the eye. Details of natural hair are depicted under the wig. The main body is well preserved. There is minor damage on the sceptre.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the left side of the scene, wears a special triple crown. He also wears the traditional *khat* cap, the prince lock, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Behind his head is the *sa* sign depicted for protection. He holds a sistrum. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. The figure of the king is well preserved without any major damages. He is described in the text as Ptolemy IX Soter.

In front of the king and facing the deities stands the smaller figure of Ihy. He is illustrated with the prince lock, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*; otherwise he is naked. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and is described in the text as “Ihy, the great son of Hathor”. The figure of Ihy is well preserved including the minor details.

The figure in front of the figure of Ihy is the seated female figure described as Hathor. Hathor wears the tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The text describes the figure as being “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, Mehit the Great of the fruitful flood, she the Horizon, the Shining One...”.

The last figure wears the triple crown with additional *atef* feathers resting on the ram horns, and with two *uraei* wearing the solar disc on their head. Two pendant *uraei* are hanging down from the crown but no further details are visible due to some fractures in the stone. He is illustrated with the prince lock. The figure holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is described as “Harsomtus, the youngster, the son of Hathor”.

REMARKS:

The king is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

45. Great courtyard (H), eastern partition, middle register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy IX Soter II

Published: *PM* VI, 127 (49-50); *Edfou* V, 105-124; X, pls. CXXVIII-CXXX

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in various places badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving some details still preserved. The crown composition is preserved completely, as is the back of the head. The major part of the vulture cap is well preserved except for the vulture head, which is totally destroyed. The front of the face has been damaged, though leaving some features of the eye and eye brow. The ear is also damaged, only with the outlines of the inner ear visible. The lower part of the wig has been damaged due to cut marks. The necklace is well preserved. The outlines of the main body are preserved while the body itself has been damaged due to cut marks. The *ankh* is barely visible, while the sceptre and the throne are well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the right side of the scene, wears the *khat* cap covering the head and the neck, and a single forehead *uraeus*. He also wears the Osirian *atef* crown resting on the ram horns. Behind the head of the king is a *sa* sign depicted for protection. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The objects that he presents are no longer visible due to severe cut marks. The figure of the king is well preserved with cut marks only centred in the facial area as well as the hands and the offering objects. There are still traces of blue and white colour preserved of the bracelets on his arms. The cartouches have been damaged, though indicating that the king is Ptolemy IX Soter.

In front of and facing the king stands the smaller figure of Ihy. The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks leaving no outlines or details of the body. In his hands he holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar. The personal register of text has been damaged and not fully clear, though describing him as "Ihy, the sistrum player".

Behind the figure of Ihy sits Hathor on her throne and behind her is a figure of Harakhte. The figure of Hathor wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text describes the figure as being "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, female Ruler...".

The figure of Harakhte wears a solar disc and a single *uraeus* on his head, which has been badly damaged due to a large fracture in the stone surface. He holds an *ankh* in one of his hands while the other hand is raised in a protective manner behind the female figure. With few exceptions the figure of Horus-Ra is well preserved, though the personal register of text has been badly damaged due to fractures in the stone blocks, leaving only a fragmentary text.

REMARKS:

Harakhte is in a lower position than the other figures of the scene. Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

46. Great courtyard, eastern partition, lintel block

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic (uninscribed cartouches)

Published: *PM* VI, 128 (54); *Edfou* V, 393-394; XII, pl CCCCLXXXIX

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 3



HANDHELD OBJECT: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

Only the upper part of the crown is totally preserved. The ram horns, the cow horns and solar disc have been damaged but their outlines are still visible. The head is totally destroyed, not even leaving its outlines. Only the back part of the wig is preserved, showing a plain wig rather than cork screws. The arms and hands have been badly damaged by rough cut marks. The outlines of the middle section of the body are preserved, showing the typical curves of the Ptolemaic period. The contour of the legs and feet is still preserved. The throne is intact. Only minor details of the outline of the *ankh* are preserved. The sceptre is well preserved. The personal register of text has been damaged by a fracture in connection with the joint of the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Six figures are depicted in this scene.

The pharaoh, wearing the white crown, holds a *sekhem* and a flail. He is illustrated in a running/moving position, racing a bull. He wears the male tunic and the bull's tail. Down by his feet is the above mentioned bull depicted, though only half of which is preserved due to a fracture in the stone. The two cartouches of the pharaoh are uninscribed, though with marks made during later periods.

The first deity in front of the king is smaller in size than the others and the body is totally destroyed due to cut marks, though the crown is still preserved. The attribute on the figure's head is a cluster of lotus plants representing the south Nile. The hieroglyphic signs in front of the figure represent the north Nile by depicting a papyrus plants. Those attributes are generally accepted to represent the Nile goddess Merhyt.

Behind the figure of Merhyt is the figure of Horus depicted. Nothing is preserved of the figure, except for the crown, the throne and the handheld sceptre. The body is totally destroyed, not even leaving the outlines to show the gender of the figure. The crown is a composition of the double crown with an additional single *atef* feather, the ram horns, and the double feather plume. He is described in the text as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven, the light-giver".

The next figure is described as Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The text describes the figure as "Hathor of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Mistress of all the Gods".

Behind her is a male figure seated on a throne. He wears the triple crown with two *uraei* with solar discs on their heads. In his hands he holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. His body is much damaged due to cut marks. According to the text this figure is Harsomtut.

Behind this figure is another male deity seated on a throne, which represents "Ihy, the great son of Hathor". He wears the double crown, the prince lock, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. Except for some minor damage around the feet of the figure, he is in a good state of preservation.

REMARKS:

The figures of Hathor and Horus are depicted as the tallest figures of the scene.

47. Great courtyard, northern partition, eastern side of the door, middle register

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II

Published: *PM* VI, 129 (61); *Edfou* III, 40f., pl. LI, LII.; XII, pl. CCCCXXX

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is detailed preserved, though with major damaged due to fracture in the stone blocks. The crown and the top part of the head are in a good condition. The entire face together with the head of the vulture and the wig is totally damaged due to a large fracture. There is a minor detail of the right side of the necklace preserved. The body is well preserved except for the breast, which has been cut away. There are traces of white paint or plaster on the main body as well as on parts of the crown. The sceptre and the *ankh* are well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the traditional *kheprsh* cap, with a single forehead *uraeus*, the prince lock, the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. He also wears the special triple crown. Behind the crown sits a small falcon wearing the solar disc, holding the symbol of eternity in his claws. The king is dressed in the kilt and the bull's tail. He presents a sphinx and an ointment-cup. The cartouches are describing the figure as Ptolemy VIII Euergetes.

The second figure of the scene is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text describes the figure as being "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the gods of the gods, Wadjet the Ruler of the kingdom, the Golden One of the Ennead and the divine Kingdom".

REMARKS:

The figure of the king is depicted higher than that of Hathor.

48. Great courtyard, western partition, lower register, left side of the door

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II

Published: *PM* VI, 131 (80, 7); *Edfou* III, 128-133, pl. LXI; I, pl. XLVI b

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is preserved with damage due to cut marks and fractures in the stone blocks. The ram horns, the cow horns and the solar disc are well preserved; only minor damage is visible on the rest of the crown composition: the red crown, with its spiral, and the double feathers are split in two fragments due to a natural crack in the stone while minor damage is visible on the top of the red and the white crown, most likely due to natural damage as well. The wig and vulture cap are mainly undamaged, with only minor damaged except for the vulture head which is in a bad state of preservation. Except for the ear, the face is completely destroyed due to cut marks. The upper part of the body is in good condition, with minor damage on the breast. The lower part of the right arm of the figure is missing while the left has been damaged by cut marks. A natural crack in the stone divides the body in two fragments, with the split just under the belly. The lower part of the dress, and the feet have been damaged due to cut marks. The *ankh* is slightly damaged, though not due to cut marks. A papyrus sceptre is divided into fragments with its middle section missing. The form of a papyrus is very small and simple.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the left side of the scene, wears the *khepresh* cap with the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. He also wears a crown with ram horns coming out of the cap; a solar disc and two *atef* feathers, one on each side. Above the crown sits the falcon with an outstretched wing; holding the symbol of eternity pierced by the club of victory. The hieroglyphic text belonging to the falcon is describing him as “Great God, Lord of Heaven”, but after that the inscription has been badly damaged leaving no further information than what probably is saying “Behutet”. The king is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. He presents the cow walking in the growing papyrus. The face, hands and partially also the feet have been damaged by cut marks; otherwise the figure is well preserved.

The second figure of the scene is the figure of Hathor who wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text determines the figure as the “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted higher than that of the king.

49. Vestibule of the treasury (Y), eastern partition, 1st register from below

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy VI Philometor & Cleopatra II

Published: *PM* VI, 140 (140); *Edfou* II, 172f.; pl. XLII c.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: FEC 4



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The crown composition is in excellent condition with only minor damage in the middle of the board of *uraei*. There is some minor damage on the facial structure, on the nose and cheek. The wig and cap is in good condition with minor damage on the vulture head. The necklace is well preserved. The main body is in good condition except for cut marks on the hand holding the sceptre as well as on the breast and damage on the hand holding the *ankh*, due to natural damage. The *ankh* is slightly damaged due to natural damage. The sceptre is in good condition with a fine and detailed papyrus bud.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The couple performing the offering is King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra. They present two libation vessels each. Cleopatra stands behind Ptolemy and wears the traditional female crown resting upon a low modus. She wears a wig and the royal diadem. The upper part of the figure is well preserved including the facial features, while the lower part of the body has been badly damaged due to later interference in the structure. She is described in the text as “Lady of the Two Lands (Cleopatra)| the sister, the great wife of (Ptolemy)”.

King Ptolemy wears the *khepresh* crown, above which the Osirian *atef* crown, the ram horns, the solar disc and two *uraei* wearing the solar discs, are placed. He is also decorated with the royal diadem. Behind his head is a small *sa sign* depicted for protection. He is described in the cartouches as Ptolemy VI Philometor. An inscription next to the cartouches of the king states “Horus, Great God, Lord of the Heaven”. The upper part of the king is well preserved, while the lower part of the figure has been damaged.

In front of the king is the figure of Horus standing. Except for the kilt, the *was* stave and the top part of the crown, the figure of Horus is mainly erased due to cut marks. He wears the Edfu crown. Of his other decoration, only the bull’s tail is preserved. He is described in the texts as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

Behind the figure of Horus is the female figure of Hathor. She wears the tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a tiara of *uraei* and the female Edfu crown with a single *uraeus* on the front of the red crown. She is dressed in a sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is described in the text as “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, Lady of the Sky...”.

REMARKS:

The most interesting thing about this scene is the fact that the later destructors have left all the figures alone except for the figure of Horus. The ruling couple is depicted as the tallest figures of the scene.

50. Treasury (B), northern partition, top register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy VI Philometor

Published: *PM* VI, 140 (142); *Edfou* II, 269f., pl. XLII.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: FEC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation, including traces of colours. The crown is well preserved except for where the two stone blocks split. Similarly; the body is divided in two fragments with the split just under the breast. The sceptre is the only object belonging to the figure that is in a damaged state, due to natural causes. There are traces of white colour of the crown of Upper Egypt. The solar disc is coloured red. Fragments of black and red colours are preserved on the vulture cap as well as black on parts of the wig. Only minor fragments of red are visible on the necklace. The eye is still fully coloured, with a clear and distinct pupil. Minor fragments of white colour cover the rest of the body.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears a special crown composed of two straight horns (not curled as the Khonsu horns), the red crown with one *atef* feather on each side of the crown. A small figure was once depicted behind the king’s head, though totally erased by cut marks and no longer visible today. The king wears the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. King Ptolemy presents the Edfu crown to the female figure. The king raises his other hand in a blessing manner

behind the object being offered. The colours of the king are also well preserved as well as on the hieroglyphic signs. The cartouches of the king have been badly damaged due to a fracture in connection with the joint of the stone blocks.

The figure of Hathor is seated in front of the king. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap above which is placed the female Edfu crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The text describes the figure as “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu...”. The text has been damaged due to a fracture in the stone blocks.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted higher than the figure of the king.

This scene is one of two forming a symmetric bigger scene, with the king standing back to back offering to Hathor on the left side and Horus on the right side.

51. Inner hypostyle hall (W), northern partition, top register above the door

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy IV Philopator

Published: *PM VI*, plan on p. 130 (116-124)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: FEC 5



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in general in a bad state of preservation, mainly due to cut marks but also due to fractures in the stone blocks. A large fracture divides the crown in two fragments. Cut marks have damaged the entire body of the figure, leaving only parts of the dress untouched. The back part of the tripartite wig is preserved with its cork screws. The throne is well preserved without any cut marks. The handheld objects are well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The king stands in a smiting position, pressing a hippopotamus down with his foot. He wears the triple crown with straight horns and two *uraei* wearing solar discs on their head. No details of the type of cap or wig are preserved. In his hands he holds the spear. The entire body, including the male tunic, of the king has been damaged due to cut marks. The crown is left untouched. Similarly is the head of the enemy damaged by cut marks. The king is described as Ptolemy IV Philopator.

In front of the king is the figure of Horus seated on a throne wearing the Edfu crown and a single *uraeus*. The figure of Horus is totally damaged due to cut marks, the crown and a minor part of his abdomen left untouched. The handheld objects and the throne are left untouched by cut marks. He is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

Behind the figure of Horus is the female figure of Hathor seated. She wears the tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the female Edfu crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text describes the figure as “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, she who dwells in Edfu ... Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods”.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

52. Eastern stairway (U), right side

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy VI Philometor

Published: *PM* VI, 154 (284); *Edfou* I, 571f., pls. XXXVIII p

CROWN OF THE SCENE: FEC 6



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a very well state of preservation including traces of colour and pattern. Two joints split the figure in three parts; the first just under the shoulders and the second under the hips. The stone has been damaged above the second joint, leaving an empty space of the dress. Minor scratches have damaged the eye.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Hathor is one of six figures forming one section of a scene that continues the entire staircase. King Ptolemy holds libation vessels in the beginning of the procession in the staircase. In the present scene, Hathor is accompanied by five male deities, incorporating four Horus-figures and a figure of Ra.

The first Horus figure, on the very right side of the scene, wears the double crown with a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. His necklace has two minor rows of beads framing the inner, bigger row. The figure is in an excellent state of preservation including coloured details of his clothes and facial features. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He is described in the text as Horus the elder.

The second Horus-figure wears the double feather plume with a solar disc, resting on a modus. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure is in a good state of preservation including traces of colour and detailed facial features. His necklace is identical to that of the first figure, with two minor lines of beads and one large in the middle. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. This second figure is described as "Harsomtus, the Great God who dwells in the city of Dendera".

The third figure wears the four-feather plume. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. The necklace is mainly the same as the above, but the two minor lines of beads are minimal. Traces of colour show a linear pattern on the wig. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. His kilt and the abdomen are decorated with a relief pattern of small feathers. He is described as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven".

The fourth figure of the scene is Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap, a single forehead *uraeus* and the female Edfu crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is described by the text as being "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu ... the shining Golden One of the Gods, she of the Ennead".

The fourth Horus-figure wears the Edfu crown with a single forehead *uraeus*. Traces of colour are still visible on the figure, for example the turquoise colour of the *atef* feather. Traces also remain on the wig, which shows a linear pattern. His necklace is the same as previous figures, with two minor lines of pearls and one bigger in the centre. This fourth figure of Horus is described in the text as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven, he who comes forth of the Horizon".

The fifth and last figure of that scene wears the same crown as the fourth. His necklace is different from the other figures; this one has five lines of pearls, all in the same size. The colours are mainly preserved showing the cross pattern of the clothes in dark blue, turquoise and white colours. As on the majority of the other figures, his wig is decorated with white lines and he is also decorated with both arm bracelets and normal wrist bracelets in the same colours as his dress. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave, just like the Horus figures of this scene. The text identifies the figure as Ra-Behutet.

REMARKS:

The dress of the figure is well preserved starting with a line of dark blue dots just under the breast leading to small lines in various blue tones, continuing into cross lined pattern in the same tones, starting just under the hips, ending in five lines of small stripes in dark blue, turquoise and white. A fragmentary line of turquoise colour is visible on the vulture's wing. The body was once completely painted in white based on preserved white colour on parts of the body, such as the arms and feet. Also the *ankh* was filled in with white colour. The sceptre has been filled in with turquoise colour. No traces of colour are preserved on the crown except for possibly some grey colour on the ram horns. White colour is preserved on the vulture cap, both on the vulture head and its back feathers.

53. Eastern stairway (U), left side

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy VI Philometor

Published: *PM* VI, 154 (284); *Edfou* I, 560, pl. XXXVIII f

CROWN OF THE SCENE: ED 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The relief is in a very good condition including traces of colour and pattern. The top part of the crown is divided in two parts due to the joint of two stone blocks. Another joint divide the face of the figure in two fragments, just under the nose and jet another one on the hips. The dress is coloured and patterned in the same fashion as the one mentioned above, on the opposite side of the staircase. There are traces of white and turquoise colour on the vulture cap. There are also traces, only fragmentary, on the crown, showing colours of white and turquoise. The crown spiral has been filled in with white colour. The *atef* feather has been coloured turquoise. The necklace only shows traces of white colour, placed on the lower band of beads. There are colour fragments indicating an arm bracelet.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

The scene includes two figures of Horus, one on each side of the female figure of Hathor.

The first Horus figure wears the double crown with a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The necklace shows two minor lines of pearls and one main broader line. Only fragments of colours are preserved on this figure. He is described as "Horus, Lord of Mesen-t". The figure is well preserved including fragments of colour both of the figure and some of the hieroglyphs.

In front of the first figure of Horus stands Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Edfu crown with a single *uraeus* attached to the front of the red crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text refers the figure as "Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, the Two Ladies, the female Horus, the Powerful One, the magnificent, she who rejoices in the rays of the Ennead".

In front of Hathor stands the second Horus figure who wears the Edfu crown and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds the *ankh* sign and a *was* stave in his hands. He is described in the text as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven, the Golden One". This figure is, like the other figures of the scene, well preserved including the relief details and some fragmentary colours.

REMARKS:

The figures on this left side have not been preserved as well as the ones on the right side concerning colour.

54. Mysterious corridor, exterior of sanctuary, lower main register, left scene

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy IV Philopator

Published: *PM* VI, 147 (226); *Edfou* I, 84-88, pl. XV; XI, pl. CCXLVI-CCXLIX

CROWN OF THE SCENE: FEC 6



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in general badly damaged due to cut marks. The crown is in a good state of preservation together with the arm and hand holding the sceptre, the feet and the upper part of the dress. The face, the wig and the vulture cap have been badly damaged by cut marks, only leaving the outlines showing its original shape. The vulture head is preserved. The necklace and the breast have been badly damaged by cut marks, so also the arm and hand holding the *ankh*. The lower part of the dress is also damaged by cut marks. The body is divided in three places by the joints of the stone blocks. There are no traces of colour on the figure.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three main figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the double crown, resting on the ram horns, from which two human-headed serpents rise up wearing double feather plumes with a centred solar disc. Behind the head of the king is a small *sa* sign depicted for protection. The king is dressed in a traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The upper part of the body, especially the head and the breast area has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though the arms are left untouched as well as the crown. The legs are also damaged due to cut marks, while the kilt and the lower part of the abdomen are untouched. The king presents a censer offering. The other hand holds an object no longer visible due to a fracture in the stone surface, though it is a libation vessel due to the fact that liquid is poured out of the object into a censer stand placed in front of the legs of the king. The king is described in the text as Ptolemy IV Philopator.

In front of the king stands Horus. He wears the Edfu crown. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The figure is well preserved except for the facial area and the legs which have been badly damaged by cut marks. He is identified in the text as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven, he who comes forth of the Horizon".

Behind the figure of Horus stands the female figure of the present investigation. Hathor wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap above which is placed the female Edfu crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text describes her as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu...Ma'at...".

REMARKS:

Compare to cat. no. 55. The figures are equal in size.

55. Mysterious corridor, exterior of sanctuary, lower main register, right scene

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy IV Philopator

CROWN OF THE SCENE: FEC 2



HAND HOLD OBJECT: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in general badly damaged, though leaving the middle section of the body untouched. The crown is well preserved together with the upper part of the wig and the vulture cap. The back part of the wig is also preserved. The face has been damaged both due to cut marks and to a fracture in the stone block. The *ankh* is also damaged but the outlines are still visible. The sceptre is in good condition except for a papyrus bud.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the double crown and the ram horns, with a human-headed serpent rising up on each side wearing the double feather plume with a centred solar disc. He wears the *khat* cap covering the head and neck and a single forehead *uraeus*. No further details are visible due to the damaged state of preservation of the head. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign depicted for protection. He wears the traditional kilt and is decorated with the bull's tail. He presents a censer offering and holds a libation vessel in his other hand, pouring liquid into a censer stand. The king is described in the cartouches as Ptolemy IV Philopator. The figure of the king has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the kilt and the crown untouched.

In front of the king is the figure of Horus, who wears the Edfu crown. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The Horus figure is well preserved including the minor relief details and the facial features. He is described in the text as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Mesen-t, he who comes forth of the Horizon".

Behind the figure of Horus is the female figure of Hathor depicted. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the female Edfu crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu...the strong (female) Edfu". The lowest part of the hieroglyphic register has been badly damaged.

REMARKS:

The figures are equal in size. This scene is a mirror image of the left scene, cat. no. 54, although not completely identical. The two figures of Hathor in these scenes together with the two scenes above, which also depicts Hathor back to back, put her in a central role of the temple not only being the counterpart of Horus.

DENDERA

56. North gate (Propylon), eastern partition, facing inwards the entrance

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Emperor Domitian

Published: *PM* VI, 436 (b – does not mention Hathor); *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 5; *Dendara* I, pl. V; Cauville 1990, 26f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 2



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* staff

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation with a detailed relief work. The major thing that is damaging the image is the joints of the stone blocks and a big fracture by the crown (which is also destroying the hieroglyphic inscription belonging to the figure). Cut marks have damaged the breast and some facial features. The dress shows details of the feathers, the back of the bird including its feet, and lined sleeves ending up in a triangular pattern.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the four-feathered crown with two *uraei* wearing solar discs, all resting on the ram horns. He also wears the traditional pharaonic *nemes* wig and a single forehead *uraeus*. The decorating relief work on his kilt has been erased by cut marks etc. He pours a libation in front of the female figure. He has one of the *sa signs* behind his head as an amulet of protection. He wears a traditional kilt and the bull's tail. His cartouche determines him as Emperor Domitian.

The figure in front of him stands Hathor. She wears the tripartite wig and vulture cap above which a tiara of *uraei* is placed. She wears the Dendera crown with a decorating circular pattern. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace with five rows of beads and also wears bracelets. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff in her hands. The personal text of the figure is partially destroyed due to a big fracture in the stone, leaving no name of the figure.

Behind Hathor stands the figure of Horus, who is described in the text as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven he who comes forth of the Horizon". The right side of the figure is badly damaged, due to big fractures in the stone. The majority of the crown is missing, though the remaining piece shows the double crown, the double feather plume and a single *uraeus*. His face has been badly damaged due to a missing piece of the stone. He wears a necklace made of seven rows of beads. The lower part of his legs is also missing due to the same cause as mentioned above. His kilt and abdomen are decorated with the small circular feather pattern and wears also the bull's tail.

REMARKS:

Graffiti, including stars, circular crosses, animals and flowers are etched on the scene. The figures are all equal in size.

57. North gate (Propylon), eastern partition

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Emperor Domitian

Published: *PM* VI, 43 (c); *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 5; Champollion 1844, II, 296 (3) ; *Dendara* I, pl. V

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: Traces of an *ankh* and an undefined sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a bad state of preservation, roughly damaged by cut marks, spread all over the figure including the crown. The face has been completely erased. It is no longer possible to determine what kind of sceptre it is, since both top and bottom has been damaged. Only the circular part of the *ankh*, the handle, has been preserved, though in a bad state of preservation.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. A small sign is depicted behind the head of the emperor, though preserved without any details of its form. He wears the traditional kilt. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and a *menit* collar. The cartouches have been badly damaged.

In front of the emperor stands the smaller figure of Ihy, who faces the other deities. He wears the special triple crown. No further details are visible due to the bad state of preservation of the figure.

The next figure is Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a sceptre in her hands. The hieroglyphic text has been badly damaged and it is not possible to determine the name of the figure.

The figure behind her is another female deity, wearing the double crown with additional feathers of the *atef* crown. She holds a *was* stave and an *ankh*, which only is indicated by the outlines of the circular part (the handle). This figure and the text surrounding her are also badly damaged by cut marks etc.

REMARKS:

Hathor is the tallest figure of the scene, although almost equal to the second goddess.

58. North gate (Propylon), western partition, 3rd register from below, facing inwards the entrance

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Emperor Domitian

Published: *PM* VI, 43 (h); Champollion 1844, II, 296; *Dendara* I, pl. V

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 5



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation with clear relief details. The major damage to the eye is the bee hives. The crown of Lower Egypt is decorated with a circular relief pattern. The dress is also decorated by a circular relief pattern, though different from that of the crown.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two main figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the right side, wears a *kheprsh* cap with a prince lock, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. He wears the special triple crown resting upon two sets of horns, one curled and one straight par. Behind his head is one of the *sa* signs, a sign of protection. The relief decoration on his abdomen states that the figure is stating “Great house” (= pharaoh), placed inside a cartouche, which is followed by two *uraei*, one wearing the red crown and the other the white crown. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and is decorated with the bull’s tail. The emperor presents a stylised form of a crown to Hathor.

The area between the emperor and the deity is decorated with a three-lined scene of different Hathor figures and Ihy figures, all carrying offerings with outstretched arms. All figures represent different forms of the deities,

including Hathor of Thebes, Hathor of Aphroditopolis, Hathor of Diospolis Parva, Hathor of Qusae etc. The figures of the middle section all face the last figure of the scene: Hathor of Dendera.

She wears a tripartite wig above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. She is described as “Hathor-Opet, Lady of the Gods in Heaven, Mistress of all the Gods, Mehnit the Great (who is) on her father Ra, the ancient Eye in her divine barque, Wadjet of the Two Lands, Wadjet of the Gods, she who shines in the horizon, the desired Magnificent One...”.

REMARKS:

Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

59. North gate (Propylon), southern partition, 2nd register from below

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Trajan

Published: *PM* VI, 43 (I); Jequier 1920, III, pl. 71; Champollion 1844, II, 298; *Dendara* I, pl. XII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged by later, randomly placed cut marks as well as natural erosion. The crown is mainly damaged by erosion and a fracture in the stone blocks is splitting the crown in two fragments. The double feather plume and the area surrounding the outlines of the crown have been damaged by cut marks. There are no facial features preserved; both tripartite wig and vulture cap are also damaged, though with the main outlines preserved. Some linear pattern of the dress is preserved, though the main body has been badly damaged by cut marks. The lower part of the dress is well preserved showing the wing-pattern and a lower frieze of flowers and stripes. The feet are well preserved, showing no indications of cut marks. The arms on the other hand have been badly damaged, though leaving the outlines still visible. The *ankh* is partially preserved while the middle section of the sceptre is more or less erased, leaving only the lower part of the shaft and the top part, which has been decorated with lines, similar to rays, coming out of it. The surrounding hieroglyphic text has also been damaged.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor presents the field of reeds to the deities. He wears the pharaonic *nemes* wig and possibly also a single forehead *uraeus*. Above those is placed the *atef* crown with the ram horns and a solar disc. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks, leaving only the main outlines still visible. The crown is mainly preserved, though missing its top solar disc, due to a fracture in the stone. Minor cut marks have damaged the crown slightly. The lower part of one of the cartouches is completely erased by later actions. The surrounding text is also badly damaged.

The figure in front of the emperor is the smaller figure of Ihy, wearing the double crown, the prince lock and the royal diadem. He holds a nao-formed sistrum in his raised hand and in his other hand he holds an object most probably identified as the *menit* collar. The text surrounding this figure is not readable due to later interference and damage.

Behind the figure of Ihy stands Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown decorated with a small circular pattern. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a

papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the damaged text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the daughter...the Magnificent...Mehnit.”.

Behind her stands the figure of Horus, wearing the Edfu crown. He also wears a single forehead *uraeus*. The neck of the figure is decorated with a small feather pattern, almost reptilian in style. His kilt and abdomen area still show details of the larger feather pattern, otherwise the figure has been badly damaged by cut marks. The figure of Horus is decorated with the bull's tail. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted higher than the other figures.

60. Roman Mammisi, enclosure wall (colonnade), north partition, 1st register from east

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Trajan

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 102; Daumas 1959, 40; *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 32; *Dendara I*, pl. XIV

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 2



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been damaged by cut marks but some relief details are still visible. The crown is in a good state of preservation, with only minor damage on the cow horns due to natural erosion. The red crown is decorated with a circular pattern. The tiara of *uraei* does not go all the way around the crown but is centred and includes eight serpents. The outlines of the vulture cap are still preserved, though no inner details are visible today. The head of the vulture has been badly damaged. The tripartite wig is well preserved including the cork screws. No facial features are preserved, only the outlines of the lips. The necklace is only fragmentary, showing at least three rows of beads. The dress is highly detailed, showing the stripes and the feather pattern, but also a shawl dressing the shoulders of the figure. The arms are still preserved, and there are indications of a bracelet. The feet are preserved, though slightly damaged by cut marks. The *ankh* is preserved, as well as the sceptre, though with major damage in the middle section of the shaft.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the left side of the scene, wears the red crown, decorated with a circular pattern, with a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. He is dressed in a traditional kilt, which has been decorated, and the bull's tail. He holds his hands in a praising manner. The hieroglyphic texts surrounding him, both the closing register and the register in front of him, are not finished. The cartouches have been damaged by later interference. In front of the emperor is a cluster of papyrus plants depicted.

In front of the emperor, and facing the deities, is the smaller figure of Ihy depicted, wearing the triple crown. Four *uraei*, two on each side, hang from the crown. He also wears the *khat* wig covering the head and neck with a single forehead *uraeus*. He is depicted naked. He holds the sistrum and a *menit* collar, though the *menit* has been badly damaged. The figure of Ihy stands on a table, which is resting upon the elaborated *sema* sign.

In front of Ihy stands the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a tiara of *uraei*. She wears the Dendera crown with a circular pattern. She wears a traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace and a bracelet. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the hieroglyphic text as “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, the divine throne, Mistress of Upper Egypt ... and Lower

Egypt (=Lady of the field-plants – lotus and papyrus) and the Two Lands, the Eye of Ra, Golden One of all the Gods in Heaven”. The last register of text does not seem to have been finished.

Behind her stands the figure of Harsomtus, though depicted with human features instead of the falcon head. He wears the double crown, a *nemes* wig, a single forehead *uraeus* and the pharaonic beard. Though the area has been damaged, it seems that the figure is also depicted with an elaborated prince lock behind his ear. He is described as Harsomtus. The figure has been damaged by later interference, leaving no facial features visible. Though, some of the relief decoration, on the kilt, abdomen, necklace and arm-bracelets are still visible. He is dressed in the kilt and the bull’s tail. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The personal register of text in front of his legs together with the closing register behind him is left uninscribed and unfinished.

REMARKS:

The most obvious with this scene is that it was never completed in its entirety. The personal lower registers as well as the opening and finishing registers have not been filled in. The figures of Hathor and Horus are depicted higher than the other figures of the scene.

61. Roman Mammisi, entrance facing east, left partition, 1st register from the entrance

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Trajan

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 102; Daumas 1959, 40; Jequier 1920, III, pl. 68

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 6



HANDHELD OBJECTS: Papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged, mainly destroyed, by cut marks, leaving only the outlines of parts of the crown and the lower part of the legs including the feet. The hand that normally holds the *ankh* is totally missing and only minor parts of the other hand, holding the sceptre is preserved. The sceptre itself is only partially preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the double crown and possibly also a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. The kilt and bull’s tail have been badly damaged and barely visible. All the personal registers of hieroglyphic text surrounding the emperor have been badly damaged including the cartouches. He presents an unknown object to the deities of the scene.

In front of the emperor stands the female figure of the present investigation. Due to the bad state of preservation not all details are visible. She wears the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds a papyrus sceptre in her hand. The figure is described as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods in Heaven, Lady of the rulers, Lady of the Land”. The text has been damaged by later interference.

Behind her stands the figure of Horus, wearing the Edfu crown. The crown has been badly damaged due to cut marks. He holds a sceptre, most probably a *was* stave, though the head of the sceptre is totally destroyed. His figure has been badly damaged, even destroyed in places, by the same cut marks as the two other figures of the scene. The personal register of text has been badly damaged, though it identifies him as Horus of Edfu. The

ending register is totally destroyed while most of the other registers have been badly damaged but not completely destroyed.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is higher than the other figures of the scene.

62. Roman Mammisi, inner section of the entrance, southern partition, 2nd scene from below

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Trajan?

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 102; Jequier 1920, III, pl. 68; Daumas 1959, 40

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 1 + low modus



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is mainly preserved, though it has been badly damaged in the face and one arm is completely missing due to later interference. The handheld objects have been damaged, especially a papyrus sceptre. Minor damage due to cut marks is visible on the lower parts of the legs including the feet. The crown is well preserved except the right ram horn, which is missing.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Five figures are depicted in this scene.

The general scene has been damaged by the loss of stone blocks on the eastern side of the structure. Two male figures are standing in an offering position; of the first figure is only the legs and the lower part of the arms including the hands preserved, the rest of the body is missing. He, the first figure, holds his hands in a praising position.

The figure in front of him, facing the deities, is described in the text as Thoth. The city of Dendera is also mentioned, but the text has been damaged. He is depicted with the typical ibis head and wears the Osirian *atef* crown, with ram horns, a solar disc and two *uraei*, rising up on each side of the crown, wearing the solar disc. The crown rests on a low modus. The hieroglyphic text above his head, though damaged, indicate the celebration of the festival. He holds a notched palm branch of the reckoning of time with the sign of the festival hanging down from it. The figure has been badly damaged and no details are visible. The facial features are totally erased. One of his hands is missing and so are parts of his feet, due to fractures in the stone.

Two smaller figures of Ihy are depicted in front of the figure of Thoth, both facing the female figure of the scene. The first figure of Ihy wears the white crown and the royal diadem. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands. He is described as the “son of Hathor”. The second figure of Ihy wears the red crown and the royal diadem. He holds the same objects in his hands as the first figure. The personal register of text has been badly damaged but describes him as “Ihy, the son of Hathor”. Both figures of Ihy have been badly damaged by cut marks and some details have been completely erased, such as the crown of the first figure and the rattle of the second figure.

In front of the figures of Ihy is the female figure of the present investigation seated on her throne. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a low modus. She wears the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather attached to the back of the red crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is described as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods (of Ra?) ... Powerful One, Chieftess of [...] ... daughter of Ra”.

REMARKS:

Except for the cut marks of ancient times there are graffiti made by early explorers and travellers during the early 19th century. Later scratch-marks are irregularly placed in various locations of the scene. The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

63. Roman Mammisi, inner section of the entrance, southern partition, lintel scene

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Trajan?

Published: *PM VI*, plan on p. 102; Jequire 1920, III, pl. 68; Daumas 1959, 40

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: Papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged by later interference, such as cut marks and scrapings. The lower part of the body is missing, including the throne, due to the fracture/break in the stone. The crown is the detail that is best preserved, though still badly damaged.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

The three figures still visible on the lintel block have been badly damaged by later interference, both cut marks and scraping plus natural erosion. The entire left part of the scene is missing, leaving no traces of information or identification. The three beneficiaries in the scene are on the right side, with the female figure as the first deity in line. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather attached to the back of the red crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and holds a papyrus sceptre in her hand. The figure is seated on a throne. The hieroglyphic text is almost entirely destroyed, leaving only a minor part of the name of Dendera still visible.

Behind her sits the figure of Horus, wearing the Edfu crown. The lower part of the figure's body is missing in the same fashion as that of the female. Horus holds a *was* stave. The text has been badly damaged and only leaves traces of the name Edfu.

The last deity is also seated on a throne, wearing the triple crown. He is just as badly damaged as the two previous figures, though with some details preserved of the throne. The entire text belonging to the figure is destroyed.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

The male figures are here interpreted as Horus and Harsomtut.

64. Roman Mammisi, temple hall, southern partition, lower register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Trajan

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 102; Daumas 1959, 40

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: Papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure, including the crown and the sceptre, has been badly damaged due to cut marks. No facial features or other details of the figure are preserved. The crown, feet and the resting arm have been damaged due to large fractures in the stone blocks. The hieroglyphic text is only slightly damaged.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the very left, wears the triple crown with two *uraei* wearing a solar disc on their head. He wears the *khat* cap. No further decoration is visible due to the poor state of preservation. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He holds two damaged offerings in his hands, most probably depicting a nao-formed sistrum and a loop-sistrum. The figure of the emperor has been badly damaged due to cut marks. He is described in the preserved cartouches as Emperor Trajan.

In front of the emperor stands Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. The crown has been damaged due to cut marks which have erased all possible signs of the cow horns and solar disc. The crown is further damaged due to a fracture in the stone block. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds a papyrus sceptre. The other handheld object is no longer visible due to a fracture. The figure is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Mistress of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the Golden One who is in her barque, the divine sistrum...".

The last figure of the scene stands behind the figure of Hathor and is described in the text as Horus. He wears the female Edfu crown and a single crown *uraeus*. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks and large fractures in the stone blocks, leaving the lower part of the body, including the resting hand, mainly erased. He holds a *was* stave in his hand. The personal register of hieroglyphic text has been badly damaged and not fully preserved.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

65. Roman Mammisi, temple hall, wall of the sanctuary, western partition, lower main register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Trajan

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 102; Daumas 1959, 40

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been damaged by cut marks and other interference. The main part of the red as well as the white crown has been removed, so also the crown spiral and the right side of the ram horns. The top of the double feather plume is touching the upper register, indicating a later remaking of the original relief work. The back part of the vulture cap has been removed, though leaving the vulture head preserved; similarly, the front part of the tripartite wig is missing. Except for the nose and the eye, no facial features are preserved. The main body has been badly damaged by randomly placed cut marks. The *ankh* and the sceptre are also damaged by later interference, and the top of the sceptre is totally erased, though leaving a form indicating a papyrus sceptre. The feet of the figure are totally missing.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the left side of the scene, is depicted bald (shaved) without any crown, wearing only the single forehead *uraeus*. He stands before the deity. The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks, leaving no further details visible.

In front of the king and facing the deity stands the smaller figure of Ihy on a table lifted by the *sema* sign. He wears the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands. A thin shawl hangs from his shoulders, otherwise he is depicted naked. The figure of Ihy has been badly damaged due to cut marks.

The last figure of the scene is Hathor who wears a tripartite wig and vulture cap. She wears the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather attached to the back of the red crown and is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace and bracelets. She holds an *ankh* and a sceptre in her hands. The hieroglyphic text has been badly damaged, though stating "Hathor the Great [...]".

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

66. Roman Mammisi, temple hall, eastern partition, 1st lower register from the entrance

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Trajan

Published: *PM VI*, plan on p. 102; Daumas 1959, 40

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 2



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks roughly and randomly placed over the figure. The crown is well preserved except for a small fracture on the white crown. The wig and the vulture cap are mainly preserved with some damage on the lower parts due to cut marks. Of the facial features, only the ear and parts of the eye are preserved, the rest has been damaged. The necklace is partially preserved showing broad lines of beads. The main body has been badly damaged due to the above mentioned cut marks. The *ankh* is almost entirely missing, with only minor indications of its existence; the sceptre is also damaged, especially its top, which is only incompletely preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

The main scene is broken off on its right side and only minor details of the emperor are visible, such as the lower part of the arms, including the hands and the offering, and parts of the legs. The emperor presents an *ankh*. The

cartouches of the emperor are partially damaged, though leaving the name of the ruler mainly visible and is reading Emperor Trajan.

In front of the emperor stands the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a tiara of *uraei*. She wears the Dendera crown and is dressed in a traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace with at least three rows of beads. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text describes the figure as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Chieftess of the Gods.”.

Behind her stands the figure of Horus wearing the female Edfu crown. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff. He is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of the sky, he who comes forth of the Horizon”. The figure of Horus is, just like the other figures, badly damaged by cut marks (except for some facial features), including the crown.

REMARKS:

The preserved part of the emperor shows a rather feminine curved lower part of the body. It is interesting how the later destructors have left the crown of Hathor while cutting that of Horus. The two deities are depicted almost equal in size, though Hathor is slightly higher.

67. 30th dynasty – Ptolemaic Mammisi, temple hall, west partition, 2nd register from the entrance, 1st register from below

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II

Published: *PM* VI, 105; Daumas 1959; *Dendarah*, I, pls. XIII, XIV

CROWN OF THE SCENE: ED 2



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Was* staff

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been damaged both by cut marks, especially in the face, and by natural wear and tear. The double feather plume is erased, though leaving their outlines visible; while the majority of the crown is left intact. Some blue/turquoise colour is still preserved on the crown of Upper Egypt. The wig and vulture cap are well preserved, though with some cut marks on the head of the vulture. There are no facial features preserved, except for the outlines of the ear; this is due to cut marks. A fracture in the joint of the stone blocks has damaged the entire right side of the figure, leaving no traces or indications of the handheld object, which most probably would be the *ankh*. The main body is slightly damaged by randomly placed cut marks, though the damage of the body is mainly due to natural erosion. Cut marks have also been placed on the shaft of the sceptre.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the *khat* cap covering the head and the neck, with the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. He wears the *atef* crown with two *uraei* rising up on each side of the crown, both wearing the solar disc on their head. Behind the head of the king is the *sa sign* of protection. The figure of the king has been badly damaged in various areas, though the main body has generally been left untouched by cut marks. The face, the handheld objects and the feet are especially damaged. The presented offering item has been badly damaged by cut marks, but the outlines and the preserved part indicate that it is an incense offering. Small figures are depicted above the outstretched arm, though without any clear outlines or details. The king holds another item in his other hand,

though this object has been badly damaged by cut marks and no details or information is visible. Next to the legs of the king is a small figure etched, though this will not be discussed in this context. The text identifies the king as Ptolemy VIII Euergetes.

Immediate in front of the king stands the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Edfu crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace and a bracelet. She holds a *was* stave in her hand. She is described in the text as “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra in the divine Kingdom, Sothis...”.

REMARKS:

The figures are equal in height.

68. Enclosure wall, north partition, 1st register from the eastern corner

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Claudius

Published: *PM* VI, 45 (2); *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 13; Jequier 1920, III, pl. 55f.; *Dendara I*, pls. XXI-XXIII; Cauville 1990, 30

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 2



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in general in a good state of preservation, though damaged by two large fractures in the stone blocks of the abdomen area and just below the hip and by cut marks in various areas. The crown and the face have been badly damaged by cut marks. Of the crown the major outlines are preserved, only minor details indicate a tiara of *uraei*; the ram horns are well preserved, similarly are the double feather plume preserved with detailed linear pattern, while the double crown has been badly damaged, so also the cow horns and solar disc, of which only the outlines are visible; the crown spiral has been badly damaged by cut marks. The facial features are mainly badly damaged but the lips and parts of the nose are still preserved. Details in relief are well preserved on the dress as well as features of the bracelets and necklace. The vulture cap has been damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the vulture head and tail intact. The wig is mainly preserved with only minor damage due to cut marks. The necklace shows three rows of beads, two minor and one major. A floral pattern is preserved in the lower part of the dress. The *ankh* and the sceptre are both well preserved. The figure is divided in major fragments due to smaller fractures in the joints of the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the traditional *nemes* wig and a single forehead *uraeus* and the *anedjti* crown. Behind his head is the *sa* sign depicted for protection. There is an attempt of depicting the traditional pharaonic beard under his chin. He wears a three-lined necklace and also two bracelets and one upper arm bracelet. His clothing is decorated with a dotted pattern and the kilt is decorated with a board of flowers and dots. He also wears the bull's tail. The hieroglyphic text above him together with the signs of kingship above the cartouches has been badly damaged by cut marks but describes him as Emperor Claudius. The emperor presents the figure of Ma'at.

In front of the emperor and facing the deities stands the smaller figure of Ihy wearing the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus*, the prince lock and the royal diadem. He is also decorated with a chain necklace and bracelets. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands. The personal text has been damaged due to a fracture in the stone blocks.

In front of Ihy stands the female figure of Hathor. She wears the tripartite wig and the vulture cap above which is placed a tiara of *uraei*. She wears the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace and bracelets. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. She is described in the text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Ma’at the Great, daughter of Ra, Mistress of the Goddesses ... Chieftess of the house of the sistrum, the great cobra, her alike does not exist...”.

Behind her is the figure of Horus depicted, wearing the female Edfu crown with a single crown *uraeus*. He wears a necklace and several bracelets. His clothing is highly decorated with the falcon feather pattern and he also wears the bull’s tail. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. Cut marks has damaged the crown and the face of the figure, which otherwise is well preserved. The figure is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, Great Horus of the Sky, the light-giver who comes from the Horizon”; and also “Horus who is in the divine house (i.e., the temple), beloved by Ma’at”.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is the tallest figure of the scene.

69. Enclosure wall, northern partition, bottom (minor) register, eastern side of the entrance

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Claudius

Published: *PM* VI, 45 (1); Jequier 1920, III, 55f.; *Dendara* I, pls. XXI-XXIII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved with minor damage due to natural erosion and some later interference. A fracture at the joint of the stone blocks divides the crown from the figure just under the ram horns. All details in relief are preserved of the wig and vulture cap as well as all facial features. The figure wears a dress highly decorated with the falcon feather pattern with additional arm sleeves. The lower part of the dress is decorated with a pattern of stripes and small flowers. White colour traces cover various areas of the figure, possibly indicating later plaster work or other interference.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Eight main figures are depicted in this scene.

At the very left side of the scene is a female figure depicted wearing a wig and a thin wreath made of flowers. Three reeds crown her head above which small birds are depicted. She is surrounded by lotus flowers and buds as well as grapes. Flowers are depicted coming out of the figure’s mouth. She holds an offering tray of lotuses, birds, bread, perfume etc. In front of her legs are high papyrus plants and a cow depicted. The personal register follow the conventions of the dado-figures (or processional figures) where the personal name is replaced with the cartouche of the ruling pharaoh, though also including an opposite register describing the deity of the temple, Hathor. The present female figure is the field goddess Merhyt.

In front of the field goddess is the figure of Hapi standing. He is decorated with a cluster of papyrus flowers resting upon a low modus and a *nemes* wig, in his role as the Nile god of Upper Egypt. He wears only a thin kilt and the bull’s tail. He is depicted with the typical armpit breast, symbolising the fertility of the Nile. He holds a tray with two large libation vessels behind which is depicted a *was* stave and tall lotus flowers. The lower end of

the *was* stave is depicted with an *ankh*. Similar to that of the female figure, the personal text of the figure is replaced with the cartouches of the emperor and a descriptive text of Hathor.

In front of the figure of Hapi is the emperor, who wears the white crown with a single forehead *uraeus* and the pharaonic beard. He is dressed in a decorated kilt and the bull's tail. His abdomen is decorated with a relief pattern of a small feather pattern. He holds an offering tray in his hands, full of various objects such as cakes, bread, lotuses, perfume etc. He is described as Emperor Claudius.

In the middle section are the two brothers Harsomtus and Ihy depicted back to back, one is facing the emperor, and the other is facing the deities. In front of and facing the emperor is the first smaller figure is described in the text as "Harsomtus, the son of Hathor". He wears the prince lock, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Except for the necklace he is depicted naked. He holds a nao-formed sistrum in the outstretched arm and an *ankh* in the resting hand. Back to back with Harsomtus stands Ihy, who is facing the deities of Hathor and Horus. He wears the same ornaments as Harsomtus, but instead of the *ankh*, he holds the *menit* collar in his other hand. He is described as "Ihy, the son of Hathor".

In front Ihy stands Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather attached to the back of the red crown. There are indications of a single *uraeus* placed in front of the red crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace and bracelets. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. She is describes as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the Golden One of the Ennead ... daughter of Ra ... Wadjet...".

Behind her is the figure of Horus, wearing the female Edfu crown. In his hands he holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. His clothing is highly decorated with the falcon feather pattern. He is described as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of the Heaven, the light-giver who comes forth from the Horizon".

Behind the figure of Horus is an adult figure of Harsomtus depicted, wearing the double feather plume with a solar disc placed in its centre with a single *uraeus* attached to it; all resting on a low modus. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. His clothing shows falcon feathers. The figure is well preserved including the relief details. He is described as "Harsomtus, the great god who dwells in Dendera".

REMARKS:

The figure of Harsomtus is the tallest figure of the scene.

70. Enclosure wall, northern partition, 1st main register from below, 1st register from the eastern corner

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Claudius

Published: *PM* VI, 45 (1); Jequier 1920, III, 55f.; *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 14 (3); *Dendara* I, pls. XXI-XXIII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 4



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged in the upper part of the body, mainly in the facial area. The crown is mainly preserved with some damage due to cut marks. There are only vague outlines preserved of the cow horns and the solar disc. The tiara of *uraei* has been badly damaged, leaving only the outline stripes separating the serpents visible. The ram horns are also damaged, though still visible. The double crown and the in detail decorated feather plume are well preserved, though surrounded and minor damaged by randomly placed cut marks. No facial features are preserved and there are not any details left of the vulture cap, except for the tail of the bird.

Only the back part of the wig shows the corkscrew pattern. The cut marks have damaged the figure down to the breast, leaving only the outlines of a necklace and the lower part of the sleeves of the dress. The lower part of the dress is well preserved showing the falcon feathered decoration with a zigzag pattern at the very bottom of the dress. The feet have been damaged by a fracture in the joint of the stone blocks. The *ankh* is well preserved and so is the sceptre except for the *cucupha* head.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the double crown, the royal diadem and also indications of a single forehead *uraeus*, and the pharaonic beard. The kilt of the emperor is decorated with a smiting scene, where the king holds his enemies in one hand and the smiting club in the other. Two falcon wings are depicted in a protective manner on the abdomen of the emperor. In one of his hands, the emperor holds the smiting mace and a sceptre of power, while in the other he holds the emblem of power/authority – the *sekhem* sceptre. The emperor wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The figure of the emperor is well preserved including some of the facial features with only minor damage due to fractures in the joints of the stone blocks. Behind the head of the emperor is a small monkey depicted. He is described as Emperor Claudius.

In front of and facing the emperor stands the smaller figure of Ihy wearing the double crown, the prince lock, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. Except for the necklace, the figure is depicted naked. He holds a naot-formed sistrum in one hand and the *menit* collar in the other. The personal text of Ihy has been damaged.

Behind Ihy stands the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which a tiara of *uraei* is placed. She wears the Dendera crown and is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. She is described in the text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the gods in the ancient sky, she who rises as Mehnyt the Great *uraeus* ... the mother ... Raat ... Lady of all goddesses, she of the Ennead, Lady of the Two Lands ... the admirable and beautiful [...]”.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is by far the tallest figure of the scene.

71. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, bottom register, 1st register from the northern corner

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Nero

Published: *PM VI*, plan on p. 44 (213); *Dendara I*, pl. XXII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 4



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in general in a good state of preservation only with minor damage. Some of the *uraei* have been damaged, due to natural erosion. Except for a fracture due to the joint of the stone blocks the crown is well preserved. The vulture cap and the wig are also well preserved except for minor damage on the lower part of the wig. The face has been damaged by later fine cut marks, leaving no facial features visible except the eyebrow. The main body is well preserved except the breast, which has been totally erased. The dress is detailed with the falcon feathers and a zigzag pattern. The dress also has the thin arm sleeves. The necklace is well preserved detailed with seven rows with a flowery pattern among the more traditional beads. Deep elongated marks are surrounding the figure on both sides.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the *nemes* wig, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. He wears the *anedjti* crown. Behind his head a small monkey is depicted. The kilt of the emperor is decorated, though slightly damaged by natural erosion, with a detailed board of *uraei*. He presents the figure of Ma'at. The figure is well preserved except the lower part of the body, which has been badly damaged due to a major fracture in the stone. Cut marks have destroyed the facial features. He is described in the text as Emperor Nero.

In front of and facing the emperor stands the smaller figure of Ihy, wearing the double crown, the prince lock, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. The crown of Lower Egypt is decorated in a circular pattern. He wears a shawl hanging down from his outstretched arm; it is decorated with patterns of small circular feathers, a linear and a zigzag pattern. Otherwise the figure is depicted naked. He holds a nao-formed sistrum in his outstretched hand and in the other he holds the *menit* collar. The personal text of Ihy has been damaged.

Behind Ihy stands Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a tiara of *uraei*. She wears the Dendera crown and is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace with seven rows of beads including a flowery pattern and also wears bracelets. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. She is described as "Hathor-Opet, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Ma'at the Great daughter of Ra in the house of Ma'at, greatly beloved One ... chieftess of the goddesses, Mehnyt the *uraeus*, mistress of the Two Lands in the heart of Horus".

Behind her is the figure of Horus standing wearing the Edfu crown and a single crown *uraeus*. His clothing is decorated with a small circular feathered pattern and the kilt is also decorated with a linear pattern. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. He is described in the text, though damaged in some places, as "Horus of Edfu, powerful of the gods, Lord of Ma'at/Truth, King of the stars". The figure of Horus is mainly well preserved with only minor damage due to natural erosion or fractures in the stone blocks. Though, the text has been damaged on various places.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted higher than the other figures of the scene.

72. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, top register, 1st register from the northern corner

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Nero

Published: *PM VI*, plan on p. 44 (213); *Dendara I*, pl. XXII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 8



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved including the details of the dress and the facial features. The only visible damage is that of the joints of the stone blocks and the natural erosion. The details of the dress are preserved showing the falcon feather pattern and the thin sleeves.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Five figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the *kheprsh* cap, which is decorated with a circular pattern; a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. The crown is composed of ram horns upon which a large solar disc is

placed with the *atef* feather rising up on each side of the crown. Behind the head of the emperor is a small figure of a monkey. He is supported and protected by the falcon holding the smiting club in his claws, depicted in the corner above the emperor. The emperor presents the attribute of Hathor in her role as Lady of the Underworld, i.e., the cow walking in high clusters of papyrus plants. He is described as Emperor Nero.

In front of and facing the emperor is the smaller figure of Ihy wearing the white crown, the prince lock and a single forehead *uraeus*. He wears a thin shawl with a linear pattern, hanging from his raised arm. In his hands he holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar. He is otherwise depicted naked. The text describes him as Ihy.

Behind the figure of Ihy is the female figure of Hathor seated on her throne. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a low modus and the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace with at least four rows of beads and bracelets. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne, which is decorated with the small circular feather pattern and a lotus in the corner box. She is described as “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Mehnyt”.

Behind her is another female figure seated on a throne. She wears the double crown and a curled snake surrounding the lower part of the red crown. She is mainly dressed in the same clothing and decoration as the figure of Hathor, but the necklace only shows two rows, one major and one minor. Her throne is decorated with a small square pattern and the figure normally displayed in the corner box is no longer visible due to later damage. The personal text of the figure is slightly damaged but as far as is visible, the text refers the figure as “Isis, the Great Goddess”.

Behind the figure of Isis is the figure of Horus seated on a throne. He wears a large solar disc on his head and a single forehead *uraeus*. The top and bottom part of his clothing are decorated with the small circular feather pattern, while the middle section, including his upper part of the legs, is decorated in a linear pattern. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. His throne is decorated in the same fashion as that of the figure of Hathor, though with the *sema* and pillar signs. He is described as the form of Horus who unified the Two Lands, “Harsomtut, the son of Hathor”.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted slightly higher than the other figures.

73. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, right side of the doorframe, 4th register from below

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 44 (213f.); *Dendara* I, pl. XXII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is mainly well preserved with only minor damage due to fine cut marks and natural erosion. The crown is mainly well preserved, only with minor damage due to natural erosion and also at the very bottom, below the ram horns, due to a fracture in the stone. The lower part of the wig has been damaged, due to cut marks and interference, while the vulture cap is well preserved. Fine cut marks have damaged the facial features, though leaving the outlines of the eye, lips and ear. The main body is well preserved, except for minor and fine

cut marks which have been randomly placed. The *ankh* and the sceptre are also well preserved. The main damaged of the figure is due to fractures in connection with the joints of the stone blocks and to natural erosion.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the *nemes* wig and a single forehead *uraeus*. Above the wig is the *anedjti* crown placed. He wears a single lined necklace. His kilt is decorated with the sun-rays and the classical board of linear pattern. He holds an *ankh* in one hand and in the other he pours liquid from a libation bowl. The figure of the king is mainly well preserved only with minor damage on the abdomen and the face due to cut marks. The cartouche of the king is left uninscribed.

In front of the king stands the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace with two rows, one major and one minor. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff. She is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra... Mistress of the Gods, Chieftess of the goddesses, no goddess like her exists...".

REMARKS:

The figures are equal in height.

74. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, top register, 1st register of the back structure

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM VI*, 75f. (216); *Dendara I*, pl. XXII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 9



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* staff

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved including the details of the dress and the throne. The facial features have been damaged by cut marks or by natural erosion, otherwise the figure is intact. Parts of the text surrounding the figure have been damaged, leaving the text without the name of the figure. The dress is decorated with the falcon feather pattern and the shoulder band is clear and detailed with three linear rows. The figure wears two upper arm and two normal bracelets. The throne is decorated with the small circular feather pattern and in the corner box are a lotus and two buds depicted.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in the main scene.

The emperor wears the red crown, decorated with a falcon with an outstretched wing and with a solar disc on its head, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. Above the red crown is another crown placed, composed of the *atef* crown, ram horns, a solar disc and two *uraei* rising up on each side, wearing the solar disc on their head. Behind the head of the emperor is a small monkey depicted. He wears a highly decorated dress with a cartouche holding the name of Hathor, surrounded by two *uraei* wearing solar discs, on his abdomen. The kilt is decorated with a linear pattern, a small area of small circular feathers, and a board of linear and crossed pattern topped by an animal head. He holds an *ankh* in one hand and in the other he pours liquid from a libation bowl. He is described as Augustus.

In front of the emperor stands the smaller figure of Ihy wearing the double crown, the prince lock, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. Except for his necklace and bracelets he is depicted naked. He holds a nao-

formed sistrum in the outstretched hand and the *menit* collar in the other hand. He is described in the text as “Ihy, the great son of Hathor”.

Behind him sits the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a tiara of *uraei*. She wears the Dendera crown and is dressed in the sheat dress and is decorated with a necklace with four rows of beads and bracelets. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The figure is described as “[...] the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra in Heaven, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”.

Behind the figure of Hathor is the figure of Harsomtus seated on a throne. He wears the double feather plume and a solar disc, a single *uraei*, all placed upon a low modus. He is dressed in clothing decorated with the linear pattern and the small circular feather pattern. The same pattern of feathers is decorating the throne and in the corner box the *sema* sign and the pillars are depicted. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff. He is described as “Great Harsomtus, he who dwells in Edfu “. The figure of Harsomtus is well preserved without any damage except for the fractures due to the joints of the stone blocks.

REMARKS:

All the figures have been left untouched by cut marks. The figures of Harsomtus and Hathor are depicted equally higher than the other figures of the scene.

75. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, 2nd register from below, right side of the 2nd door

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Tiberius?

Published: *PM VI*, 76 (218); *Dendara I*, pl. XXII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been damaged due to both cut marks and natural erosions. The upper part of the crown is slightly damaged by fine cut marks, while the lower part, especially that of the red crown, has been badly damaged by a fracture in the stone block. Details are still preserved of the wig and cap, though both have been damaged by cut marks; the vulture head has been badly damaged, leaving only the outlines visible. The face is also badly damaged, though partly leaving the outlines of the lips, nose and the ear. Only the outlines of the necklace are preserved. Only minor details of the arm band of the dress are preserved. The dress has the falcon feather pattern layered with a zigzag and linear pattern. The arms and the abdomen have been badly damaged by cut marks, though leaving the outlines and some minor details visible. The throne is decorated with a larger circular feather pattern and in the corner box is the symbol of the Nile and Hapi, the clusters of papyrus and lotus plants with the *sema*-sign in its centre. The *ankh* is mainly erased, only with minor outlines preserved. The sceptre is well preserved except for the top part which has been badly damaged by cut marks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the traditional single *atef* crown, the royal diadem and what possibly is a single forehead *uraeus*. In the corner behind his head is the protecting and guiding vulture depicted, holding a stick. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign depicted for protection. On his abdomen is a scarab depicted with outstretched wings, though badly damaged by cut marks. The kilt is decorated with a board of flowers and a linear pattern. The main body has been badly damaged, especially the face, hands, legs and the feet. He presents a sphinx and a small ointment-cup, though they have been badly damaged by cut marks.

In front of the emperor is the seated figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace and bracelets. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. The figure is identified as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Great female Edfu [...] Lady of the Kingdom in the sky, female Ruler in the divine Kingdom.”.

Behind her is the figure of Horus seated on a throne. He wears the four-feathered crown which is untouched by cut marks. The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks and no facial features are preserved. Only minor details are preserved of the clothing, showing indications of a small circular feather pattern. The *ankh* has been damaged by cut marks; similarly is the *cucupha* head, but the shaft of the sceptre is well preserved. The throne is well preserved showing a pattern of the small circular feathers and the corner box is decorated with the lotus flower and two buds. He is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

REMARKS:

The figure of Horus is depicted higher than the other figures of the scene.

76. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, left register above the 2nd door

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM VI*, 76 (218f.); *Dendara I*, pl. XXII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: FEC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks, though the crown has been left untouched. Only the outlines of the vulture cap and the wig are preserved, with no details. No facial features are preserved. Similarly, no details are preserved of the dress or the jewellery. The *ankh* is well preserved and so is the sceptre except for the top part, which has been damaged by cut marks. The throne is well preserved and decorated with the small circular feather pattern and in the corner box is the *sema* sign depicted.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the double crown, the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted. He wears the classical kilt and the bull's tail, though no decoration is visible today due to cut marks. The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks and no facial features or decorations are preserved. He presents the ceremonial collar (*bb*). He is described as Emperor Augustus.

In front of the emperor is Hathor seated on her throne. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the female Edfu crown. She is dressed in a sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text describes the figure as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods [...] daughter of Atum”. The second register of text has been damaged due to a fracture in the stone block. The text is in general damaged in various places.

REMARKS:

The cut marks are small and fine, leaving all the major outlines still very clear.

Hathor is the tallest figure of the scene.

77. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, 2nd register from below, left side of the 2nd door

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM* VI, 75f. (219); *Dendara* I, pl. XXII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 5



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks spread all over the body. The crown is fractured twice and is also damaged by cut marks placed sporadically. There are no facial features preserved and no details of the cap or wig except the outlines. Only minor details are preserved of the dress, which shows the falcon feather pattern. The *ankh* is mainly damaged by cut marks but the sceptre is well preserved. The throne is also well preserved decorated with a pattern of small circular feathers and in the corner box is a special lotus flower and buds depicted.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor is depicted bold with the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*, otherwise without any decorations. No details are preserved of his clothing and the entire body has been badly damaged by cut marks. A hieroglyphic text behind the back of the emperor is destroyed by cut marks. A small figure or sign behind the head of the emperor is also damaged. Above the head of the emperor is a royal text, surrounded by two *uraei*, one wearing the crown of Upper Egypt and one the crown of Lower Egypt; the solar disc in the very top; saying “[...]of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven, the winged light giver of the Horizon”. Except for the traditional kilt, the emperor is also decorated with the bull’s tail. The ruler is described as Emperor Augustus. He holds a staff with the head of Hathor in the form of a woman with the tripartite wig and vulture cap, wearing the traditional Hathorian crown.

In front of the emperor is Hathor seated. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap. She wears the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather with raised horns rather than normal curled. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. She is described in the text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods ... Powerful One (who is) in her barque, daughter of Ra...”.

Behind her is the figure of Harsomtus seated on a throne. He is depicted with a head of a serpent wearing the double feather plume and the solar disc in its centre. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks, leaving no facial features or clothing details visible. The feather plume is well preserved though the solar disc has been damaged by cut marks. He is seated on a throne decorated with the smaller circular feather pattern and in the corner box is the *sema* sign and the pillars depicted, symbolising the unification. He is identified in the text as Harsomtus.

Behind this figure of Harsomtus is Ihy seated on a throne. He wears a crown composed of straight horns, the ram horns, the *atef* crown, two feathers – one on each side of the *atef*, one crown spiral on each side of the crown, two *uraei* with the face of a lion, wearing the solar disc on their head and resting on a papyrus and lotus plants, and a winged scarab in its centre. The crown is well preserved. He also wears the traditional cap and a single forehead *uraeus*, though both have been badly damaged by cut marks. The main body has been badly damaged, leaving no traces of decoration or details. There are no facial features preserved. The *ankh* is also badly damaged and the *cucupha* head is also damaged, though leaving the shaft untouched. The throne is decorated with the

small circular feather pattern and the corner box is decorated with the lotus flower and the two buds. He is described as “Ihy, the great son of Hathor”.

REMARKS:

The two male deities are depicted as the tallest figures of the scene.

78. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, lower register, left side of the 2nd door

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM VI*, 75f. (219); *Dendara I*, pl. XXII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: FEC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks, especially the facial area, the arms and the legs. The crown is well preserved without any cut marks, though disturbed by bee hives. The main body, including the face, has been badly damaged and only the outlines are preserved. The abdomen is the only area which is preserved, though damaged. Details of this area show the falcon feather pattern of the dress. The crown, the *ankh* and the sceptre, including the *cucupha* head, are well preserved. Only the head and the tail of the vulture are preserved and only the details of the back part of the wig. The surrounding text registers are well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the *atef* crown resting on the ram horns, with a solar disc in its centre and *uraei* rising up on each side of the crown, wearing the solar disc on their head. He wears the *khat* cap covering the head and the neck and what possibly is a single forehead vulture head instead of the normal *uraeus*. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted. The main body including the face has been badly damaged by cut marks, leaving only the outlines visible. The emperor wears the traditional kilt, with traces of a linear pattern, and also wears the bull's tail. He presents a tray of bricks. He is described as Emperor Augustus.

In front of the emperor is the smaller figure of Ihy depicted. He wears the triple crown with two pendant *uraei*. The head of the figure is almost totally destroyed, leaving no indications of any further decoration. He is depicted naked. He holds a nao-formed sistrum in his outstretched hand and a *menit* collar in the other. He stands on a table resting on the symbol of the unification, the *sema* sign. He is described in the text as “Ihy, the son of Hathor”.

Behind Ihy stands Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the female Edfu crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and the *was* stave in her hands. She is described in the text as “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Great Ennead, the original image, Golden mother of all divine mothers... Lady of the kingdoms, Mistress of the Land, the beautiful Chieftess of the goddesses...”.

Behind her stands Harsomtus, wearing the double feather plume and the solar disc in its centre. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure is mainly badly damaged, especially in the face, the arms and the legs. Details of the clothing on the abdomen shows the small circular feather pattern and the kilt is decorated with a linear pattern. He is identified in the text as Harsomtus.

REMARKS:

The crowns of all the characters are untouched by cut marks. Harsomtus is depicted higher than the other figures of the scene.

79. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, lower register, 7th scene to the left of the 2nd door

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM VI, 75f. (223f.); Dendara I, pl. XXII*

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks, though the crown has been left untouched. Only minor details are preserved of the cap and the wig, and no facial features are preserved. The main body has been badly damaged by cut marks and no details are preserved except for the outlines. Also the *ankh* has been damaged, while the sceptre is mainly left untouched with only minor damage on the *cucupha* head. The personal registers of text are well preserved with minor exceptions where some signs have been damaged by intentional fine cut marks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Five figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the triple crown. Above the crown sits three falcons wearing the solar disc on their head. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted. No details are preserved of the figure, neither facial features nor decorations of the clothing. The emperor wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He presents the figure of Ma'at. He is described as Emperor Augustus.

In front of and facing the emperor stands the smaller figure of Ihy. He is depicted with a prince lock, royal diadem and possibly a single forehead *uraeus*, otherwise naked. He holds a nao-formed sistrum in his outstretched hand, while holding the *menit* collar in the other hand. He is described in the text as Ihy. Back to back with the figure of Ihy is another figure of Ihy, wearing the double crown, the prince lock, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and an *ankh* in his hands. He is described in the text as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor". Both figures have been badly damaged by cut marks leaving no details. They stand on a table resting upon the symbol of unification, the *sema* sign of the Nile and the deity Hapi. On the left side of this symbol is a lotus flower and buds depicted as being sacrificed on an offering table with a vessel standing on it.

Behind the two figures of Ihy is the female figure of Hathor depicted. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace with two rows of beads. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. She is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Ma'at the Chieftess of ... the fortunate One of Atum, divine mother of the divine mothers".

Behind her stands Harsomtus, decorated with the serpent head, wearing the double feather plume with the solar disc in its centre. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. The figure has been badly damaged, just like the other figures of the scene, by cut marks. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. Minor traces indicate that the kilt was decorated with a linear pattern. He is described as "Harsomtus, Great God who dwells in Dendera".

REMARKS:

All the crowns have been left without any cut marks or interference.

The figure of Horus is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

80. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, middle register (3rd from below)

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM* VI, 75f. (225f.); *Dendara* I, pl. XXII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks except for the crown, the handheld objects and the throne. No facial features or details of any decorations are preserved. The crown is only damaged by a fracture in the joint of the stone blocks. The throne is slightly damaged in the corner box, though preserved enough to show a square pattern and the *sema* sign of unification. The *ankh* and the sceptre are well preserved, though the *cucupha* head is slightly damaged due to a fracture in connection with the joint of the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor is depicted bold wearing only the single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted, though badly damaged by cut marks. Though damaged, the kilt shows a decorated linear pattern; he is also decorated with the bull's tail. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and what possibly is a cluster of papyrus plants (the relief has been damaged). The entire figure of the emperor has been badly damaged due to cut marks as well as fractures in the stone blocks, leaving only the major outlines visible. He is described as Emperor Augustus.

In front of the emperor and facing the deities is the smaller figure of Ihy, wearing the double crown. Due to the state of the figure, which has been badly damaged by cut marks and a fracture in the stone, no further details are visible. He is depicted naked, holding an *ankh* and a rattle. The entire figure and the surrounding text have been badly damaged.

In front of the figure of Ihy is the female figure of Hathor seated. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. She is identified as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Lady of the sistrum... the mother of Aten... daughter of Ra".

Behind her is the figure of Horus seated on a throne. He wears the Edfu crown. This figure is also badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the small circular feather pattern visible on his abdomen. He holds an *ankh* and the *was* stave and is seated on a throne decorated with the same feather pattern as mentioned above and a lotus flower and buds in the corner box. He is described as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of the Heaven, Lord of Dendera", and after the damaged text it continues "he who unifies the Two Lands".

REMARKS:

The crowns have been left without any cut marks but are all more or less damaged due to some kind of later interference or natural erosion. The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

81. Enclosure wall, western partition, top register, 1st from the northern corner, front part of the temple

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Nero

Published: *PM* VI 76f. 234; Jequier 1920, III, pl. 57; Champollion 1844, II, 310); *Dendera* I, pls. XXIII-XXVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 2



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good condition, with all the minor details still preserved. Only minor damage is visible, mainly due to the joints of the stone blocks but there is also minor damage visible on the face, especially the nose and the lips. The dress of the present figure is decorated with the falcon feather pattern and has thin sleeves coming down off the shoulders. The throne she is sitting on is decorated with diagonal squares with a papyrus cluster depicted in the corner box. The *ankh* and sceptre are both well preserved. The personal registers of text are well preserved except for the one above her head, which has been damaged by a fracture in the stone block.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor stands before two female figures. He wears the pharaonic *nemes* wig, a single forehead *uraeus*, and (an attempt of) a pharaonic beard, a necklace and bracelets. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. Behind his head is the small *sa* sign depicted to bring protection. Above his head is the solar disc depicted surrounded by the two pendant serpents wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, with an inscription saying "Behutet, Great God, Lord of the Heaven". The ruler is described in the cartouches as Emperor Nero.

In front of the emperor is Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown with an additional atef feather. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. She is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who originates in (has risen from) ancient times, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Gods, Powerful One, Chieftess of the house of the sistrum...".

Behind her is a second female who wears a similar dress to that of the first, without the arm-sleeves. She wears the tripartite wig, the vulture cap, the double crown, the *atef* feathers and finally a circlet in a waving pattern over the red crown. She also holds the *ankh* and the same sceptre as the first female figure. The pattern on her throne is slightly different from the throne of the first figure. This second throne also has a diagonal pattern, though made out of smaller squares ending up in the big square holding the *rekhyt* bird. She is described in the text as "Isis, the great Lady who dwells in Dendera".

REMARKS:

The lower parts of the figures are harshly made and without the smooth finishing along the outlines. The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

82. Enclosure wall, western partition, lower register, 1st from northern corner, front part of the temple

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 2



HAND HOLD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation with only minor damage. The crown has been damaged by a large fracture in the stone in connection with a two way joint of the stone blocks. This fracture damages the red and white crowns. The wig and vulture cap are in a good state of preservation including the relief details. The face has suffered from minor damages, especially over the eye, nose and lips. The ear is also partially damaged, though the area is intact enough to show that the figure wears an ear-ring. The details show the “natural” hair, under the wig. The necklace is composed of six lines of beads. Each hand has a bracelet and traces still remain of the linear bead pattern on one of them. The breast is slightly damaged, due to cut marks, though leaving the major outlines. The dress is decorated with the falcon feather pattern ending in a linear and zigzag pattern at the lower part. The dress has sleeves, which are slightly visible. The *ankh* is slightly damaged on its right side, due to natural erosion. The sceptre is well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three main figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor presents the figure of Ma’at to Hathor. He wears the typical pharaonic *nemes* wig and a single forehead *uraeus* and the *anedjti* crown. He also wears the pharaonic beard. Behind his head is a small figure depicted, though it has been badly damaged and left without any further details. His skirt is highly decorated and there are also traces of decoration on the emperor’s abdomen. The kilt is decorated with a line of *uraei* at the bottom, with figures, though damaged, above, topped by the outstretched falcon wing; he is also decorated with the bull’s tail. The lower board of the kilt is decorated with a flower pattern. The cartouches of the emperor have been damaged, though describing him as being Emperor Augustus. The figure is in general well preserved, though the face and hands have been damaged due to cut marks.

In front of the emperor stands the smaller figure of Ihy, facing the female figure. He wears the double crown, with the prince curl, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. The crown of Lower Egypt is decorated in a small circular relief pattern. He wears the thin draping resting on his shoulder, otherwise he is depicted naked. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar. He is described in the text as “Ihy, the great son of Hathor”.

In front of the figure of Ihy stands Hathor. She wears the tripartite wig and vulture cap above which is placed a tiara of *uraei*. She wears the Dendera crown and is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace, bracelets and an ear-ring. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as “Hathor-Opet, Lady of Dendera, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Gods and the Goddesses, daughter of [...] she who has risen from ancient times... Raat, Lady of the horizon, Mehnyt... the mother of all divine mothers... Mehnyt... Ma’at beloved of Ra”.

REMARKS:

The relief of the figures in this scene are quite harshly chiselled and created, without any gentle cuts. The double solar disc and belonging *uraei* above the cartouches are much deeper carved than the cartouches. Deep later marks have been placed in various places of the scene; those will not be discussed here.

The figure of Hathor is slightly higher than the figure of the king.

83. Enclosure wall, western partition, lower major register, middle section, front part of the temple

Sunken relief
Sandstone
Date: Augustus

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 8



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in general in a good state of preservation. Minor damage due to fractures in the stone blocks is visible in the area of and around the crown composition. The facial features have been damaged due to fine cut marks. The wig and cap are well preserved including their details. The dress is decorated with the falcon feather pattern. The *ankh* and the sceptre are well preserved. The personal and surrounding texts have been damaged due to later interference.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Five figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the *kheprsh* cap, a prince lock and the royal diadem. He wears the special triple crown. A small figure is depicted behind his head, but it has been damaged and unclear in its details. The emperor wears the typical kilt and the bull's tail. The figure of the emperor is well preserved though damaged in various places due to both cut marks and fractures in the stone blocks. The figure is identified as Emperor Augustus in the cartouches, though the text has been badly damaged, especially in the lower part. He presents a tray of two nao-formed sistra and a *menit* collar.

In front of the emperor stands the smaller figure of Ihy, facing the emperor. He wears the double crown, a prince lock, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He is decorated with a necklace and a thin draping, resting on his shoulder, otherwise he is depicted naked. He holds an *ankh* and a rattle. He is described in the text as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor".

Behind the figure of Ihy is the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather and a thin circlet below the ram horns. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. According to the text, which has been damaged, the figure is identified as "Hathor-Opet, Lady of Dendera, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the (foremost) daughter of all daughters, Mehnyt the Great Powerful One in the brow, she (who is) in the barque, no other is her alike as the Lady of the Sky... whose alike does not exist... in her barque in eternity, the Golden Lady of the [...]".

Behind her stands Horus, wearing the Edfu crown and a single crown *uraeus*. The crown of Lower Egypt is decorated with a circular relief pattern. He is dressed in a kilt decorated with a linear pattern, coloured in blue and yellow, and is also decorated with the bull's tail. His abdomen is decorated with the small circular feather pattern. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is described as "Horus of Edfu, Lord of Heaven". The personal register of hieroglyphic text has been badly damaged in various areas. The figure is in general well preserved, only with minor damage in the facial area due to cut marks.

Behind the figure of Horus stands Harsomtut, depicted with a human face. Nothing is preserved of the crown of this figure due to a large fracture in the stone block. He wears the traditional royal *nemes* wig and his clothing is decorated with the falcon feather pattern. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He holds an *ankh* and a sceptre, of which the top part is missing due to later interference. The figure is in general well preserved including the minor details etc. He is described in the text as Harsomtut.

REMARKS:

The hieroglyphic text is inscribed in only a shallow sunken style. There are post holes placed in a line along the faces of the figures, to receive a later structure. Small figures have been etched during a later period on the scene, though these will not be discussed here. The emperor is depicted higher than the other figures of the scene.

84. Enclosure wall, western partition, top register, end of front part of the temple

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Nero

Published: *PM* VI 77. (236); Champollion 1844, II, 310; Jequier 1920, III, pl. 57; *Dendara* I, pl. XXIII-XXVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 9



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation including the relief details. The only visible damaged is caused by the joints of the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the very left, wears the triple crown which rests on a *khat* cap and he is further decorated with a single forehead *uraeus* and the pharaonic beard. A small monkey is depicted behind his head. He is dressed in a highly decorated kilt and bull's tail and is also decorated with a falcon relief on his abdomen. He holds a nao-sistrum in one hand while holding the other hand in a praising manner. He is described in the text as Emperor Nero. The figure is well preserved including all the relief patterns.

In front of the emperor is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a tiara of *uraei* and the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is dressed in a highly decorated traditional sheat dress and wears both a necklace and bracelets. She is seated on a throne which is decorated with a lotus flower and buds in the corner box. She is described in the text as "Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Powerful of her father... daughter of Ra... Chieftess of the Goddesses...".

Behind the seated figure of Hathor is another female figure. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap. The crown is composed of the double crown with an additional *atef* feather on the front side of the white crown; a thin serpent is twined around the lower part of the red crown. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The throne is decorated with the *rekht* bird and star. She is described in the text as "Isis who dwells in the Temple of Dendera". The figure is well preserved including the relief details.

Behind the figure of Isis is a male anthropomorphic figure with a falcon head. He wears a crown composed of the double feathers (*atef* feathers), a large centred solar disc and a single *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The decoration of the corner box of the throne show two enemies with their hands tied behind their back to a centred pillar. The figure is described as "Harsomtus who dwells in the Temple of Dendera". The figure is well preserved, only disturbed by bee hives.

REMARKS:

The male figures of the scene are depicted as the tallest figures.

85. Enclosure wall, western partition, top register, back part of the temple

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM* VI, 77 (238); Champollion 1844, II, 310; Jequier 1920, III, pl. 57; *Dendara* I, pl. XXIII-XXVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1 + low modus



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving no facial features or bodily details visible. The crown is well preserved, though damaged on the top part by the joint of the stone blocks. The vulture head has been left untouched. The *ankh* and the sceptre are in a good state of preservation and so is the throne. The pattern of the throne is in the form of small circular feathers with a lotus depicted in the corner box.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the red crown with a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem; the Osirian *atef* crown with a solar disc in its centre, two *uraei* rising up on each side, wearing solar discs; all resting upon the ram horns. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He presents a cow surrounded by papyrus plants. The body has been badly damaged by cut marks, though leaving the crown and the offering untouched. The figure is described as Emperor Augustus.

Standing in front of and facing the emperor, is the smaller figure of Ihy. He wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the prince lock, of which only vague outlines are preserved. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and an *ankh*. His body has been badly damaged due to cut marks. He is described in the text as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor".

Behind Ihy sits the female figure of the present investigation. She wears a tripartite wig and vulture cap above which is placed a low modus and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. According to the hieroglyphic text the figure depicts "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the Powerful One who is in the head of Aten... Chieftess of the throne of Ra, the first (daughter) of his daughters, Chieftess of the Gods".

Behind the figure of Hathor is another female figure seated on a throne. She wears the double crown, an additional single *atef* feather, attached to the front of the white crown, and a single serpent which is curled around the lower part of the crown. The throne is decorated in the same fashion as that of the figure of Hathor, though the corner box of the latter is decorated with two pillars and an unknown figure in its centre. This female figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the crown, the handheld objects and the throne still visible in detail. The figure is described in the text as "Isis, the great goddess of the sky".

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

86. Enclosure wall, western partition, left side of the door frame, top register, back part of the temple

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Nero

Published: *PM* VI 54 (72d); Königsberger 1936, pl. XIV (1)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks spread over the entire figure incl. the crown. The hands are almost completely erased, also due to a fracture. No facial features are preserved. The hieroglyphic text is also damaged in places.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the left, wears the *khepresh* crown and the royal diadem above which is placed the double feather plume, ram horns and two rising *uraei* wearing solar discs on their head. A small *sa* sign is depicted behind his head for protection. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail. The kilt has a board of decoration, mainly depicting lotus flowers. The emperor holds an offering tray with lotus flowers, cakes and bread. The figure is described in the damaged text as Emperor Nero. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though mainly focused on the facial area as well as the name.

The figure in front of the emperor wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is dressed in the traditional sheath dress. She is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Chieftess of the Great Ennead".

REMARKS:

The damaged text of the emperor has been compared to the cartouches of the scenes in immediate connection with the relief, i.e., of the same door. The figure of Nero has been partially spared from the heavy cut marks which have destroyed most of the figure of Hathor. Hathor is the tallest figure of the scene.

87. Enclosure wall, western partition, door lintel, back part of the temple

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM VI 54 (72d); Thes. Inscr. III, 801; Königsberger 1936, pl. XIV (1)*

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, mainly focused on the main body. No facial features are visible due to the damage and the main body is mainly preserved in with only the outlines. The crown is slightly damaged due to a fracture in the stone block. The throne is left untouched by cut marks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

11 main figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the very left, wears the double crown and the royal diadem. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail. The emperor holds a sistrum and a small

papyrus sceptre in his hands. The figure, including the hieroglyphic text, has been badly damaged due to cut marks. The cartouches have been badly damaged but possibly describe the figure as Emperor Augustus.

In front of the emperor stand seven figures of Hathor. They all wear the tripartite wig, vulture cap and the traditional Hathorian crown, all holding drums in their hands. The figures have been badly damaged due to cut marks. They are all described with individual titles of regional associations.

In front of the seven figures of Hathor are two minor figures. The first figure faces the seven figures while the second faces the other direction. They are both depicted naked and without any crowns. The first figure holds a sistrum and an *ankh* (?) and the second figure holds a sistrum and a *menit* collar. Both figures have been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the main outlines untouched. They are described in the text as “Harsomtus, the son of Hathor” and “Ihy, the son of Hathor”.

The last figure of the scene, facing the figure of Ihy, is the figure of Hathor. She wears the tripartite wig, vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The throne, on which she is seated, is decorated with the unification-sign in the corner box. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving most of the crown and the throne untouched. The figure is described in the somewhat damaged text as “[Hathor] the Great, Lady of Dendera, [Eye] of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods of Dendera, Lady of all the Gods, Opet (?)... Lady of Dendera, daughter of Ra...”.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor of Dendera is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

88. Enclosure wall, western partition, procession register, middle section of the back part

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Nero

Published: *PM* VI, 78 (238-240)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and papyrus sceptre

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

21 figures are depicted in this scene.

Seven female and seven male figures are depicted at the left side in a procession behind the emperor. The seven female figures wear a tripartite wig and are dressed in the traditional sheat dress, though with different relief decoration. Three of the female figures are surrounded by Nile plants, field, as well as birds. When depicted with the Nile plants they are also depicted with the cow walking in high papyrus plants, which is carved at the lower right part of the relief. All wear individual crowns/head attributes, though all are connected with the fertility of the Nile and the field. They hold an offering tray each, consisting of lotus flowers, bread, cakes, small vessels etc. The other four female figures also wear a tripartite wig and the sheat dress with various decorations. They wear the crown attributes of the protective deity Hemsut. They are depicted holding an offering tray with various objects and instead of the Hathor-symbol at the low right side, they are accompanied by altars (three figures) and a large bird among high wheat plants (one figure). The female figures are all described in connection with the field goddess Merhyt. Three of the male figures are depicted as Hapi, wearing the *nemes* wig and clusters of papyrus on their head. They are depicted with the characteristic armpit breast. They hold an offering tray with two large libation vessels as well as lotus flowers and a *was* stave. The other four figures are depicted with the *nemes* wig with the *ka*-sign above their head. They are all dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail. They hold an offering tray with various objects such as bread, cakes, flowers, small vessels, grapes, birds etc. In the low

right field of the relief they are accompanied by offering tables; lotus flowers and birds; the Hathor-symbol of the cow standing in high papyrus. All the figures (Ka, Hapi, Nepi, Merhyt) are depicted with the cartouche of the emperor.

The emperor himself wears the red crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He is also decorated with the royal beard. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail. He holds an offering tray with various objects on it. The figure is described in the text as Emperor Nero. The lower part of the figure is erased due to a fracture in the stone, while the facial features have been badly damaged due to cut marks.

In front of the emperor stand Harsomtus and Ihy. The first figure is facing the emperor and wears the triple crown and a *nemes* wig. He is depicted naked with a thin shawl hanging down from his shoulder. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and an *ankh* in his hands. The figure is described as "Harsomtus, the son of Hathor". The second Harpocrates figure is facing the deities. He wears the double crown and the royal diadem. He is depicted naked with a thin shawl hanging from his shoulder. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands. He is described as "Ihy, the son of Hathor". The upper parts of both figures are badly preserved due to fractures in the stone blocks.

In front of the figure of Ihy stands Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather. She is dressed in a highly decorated sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as "Hathor [the Great], Lady of [Dendera], Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...".

Behind the figure of Hathor stands Isis. She wears the double crown with an additional *atef* feather attached to the front of the white crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as "Isis...Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the god". The figure, including the hieroglyphic text, has been badly damaged due to large fractures in the stone blocks.

Behind the figure of Isis stands the figure of Osiris. He wears the *atef* crown. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail, which has been highly decorated, and holds an *ankh* and a now indefinable sceptre. He is described in the text as Osiris. The upper part of the figure has been badly damaged due to large fractures in the stone blocks. The head and the majority of the crown are totally missing due to the damage. The hieroglyphic text is also badly damaged.

Behind the figure of Osiris is the figure of Harsomtus who is being depicted in his anthropomorphic figure with a falcon's head. He wears the double feathers and the solar disc on his head. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is described in the text as Harsomtus. The figure has been badly damaged in the facial area as well as on the hands due to cut marks, though leaving the crown and the handheld objects untouched.

REMARKS:

It is questionable whether or not the upper parts of the figures are naturally damaged or if they have been damaged by later interference such as cut marks. The figure of Hathor is depicted equal in size with the tallest figures of the scene.

89. Enclosure wall, western partition, lower main register, middle section of the back part

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM* VI plan on p. 44 (242); Jequier 1920, III, pl. 57; *Dendara* I, pl. XXIII-XXVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks and fractures in the stone in connection with the joints. One joint splits the crown and face while another splits the crown at a different angle. Three more joints split the figure in fragments and due to one of them the area surrounding the legs has been damaged. The *ankh* and the sceptre are well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Five figures are depicted in this scene.

Two deities are blessing and giving life to the emperor, who wears the *khepresh* cap, a single *uraeus* and a royal diadem (very vague traces remain of what can be the prince lock). He wears the traditional kilt with elongated fabric stretching down to his feet. He is also decorated with the bull's tail. The figure of the emperor has been badly damaged due to cut marks, and his cartouches are also damaged, though still showing that it is Emperor Augustus.

The left deity wears the double crown and holds an *ankh*. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, which have erased all visible details except for the outlines of the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The figure is described as "Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, Great God of Dendera...".

The figure on the right side of the emperor wears the double feathers and the solar disc plus two *uraei*. He gives life – through the *ankh* sign – to the emperor. Badly damaged by cut marks, the outlines still show the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The personal text of the figure has been damaged and vague, though stating that the figure is "Montu, Lord of [...], Great God of Dendera, son of Isis". The three male figures are holding each other's hands.

Behind the figure of Montu stands the female figure of the present investigation. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. In the personal register of hieroglyphic text, the figure is described as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the nest of the cobra, Powerful One in the head of the great king...".

Behind her is the figure of Horus, wearing the Edfu crown. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff in his hands. This figure is also badly damaged due to cut marks. In the personal hieroglyphic text he is described as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of the Heaven, the light-giver coming forth of the Horizon".

REMARKS:

The cut marks have erased all details of the figures, while small and only sporadically placed marks interfere with the crowns of the figures. A papyrus sceptre has been left untouched by later interference while the *cucupha* head has been chipped away obviously connected with the believed power of the staff.

The figure of Montu is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene, while the figure of Hathor is depicted as the second tallest figure.

90. Enclosure wall, western partition, top register, back part of the temple, right side of the door

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM VI 77f.* (244); Jequier 1920, III, pl. 57; *Dendara I*, pl. XXIII-XXVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

Except for the damage caused by the three joints of the stone blocks, the figure is in a good state of preservation including relief details. The details of the dress are showing the falcon feather pattern and it is also decorated with the thin sleeves. The throne is decorated with small hexagons forming a diagonal pattern and the corner box shows a lotus flower with the two buds. The *ankh* and the sceptre are both well preserved, including the *cucupha* head.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the triple crown with three falcons and solar discs on top it, resting upon the traditional *nemes* wig with a single forehead *uraeus*. He also wears the pharaonic beard. The wig still shows traces of colour, mainly light blue/turquoise. Behind his head is a small un-recognisable figure, most probably a small monkey. He wears a necklace and a decorated kilt with elongated draping plus the bull's tail. He presents a sphinx and an ointment cup. The figure is well preserved in general without any major damage. He is described in the text as Emperor Augustus.

In front of and facing the emperor stands the smaller figure of Ihy wearing the prince lock and the royal diadem. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar. Except for his necklace he is depicted naked. He is described in the text as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor".

Behind Ihy sits the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The hieroglyphic text describes the female figure as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Hathor of Dendera, Chieftess of the Two Lands and the divine Kingdom, female Edfu in the divine Kingdom".

Behind her is the figure of Horus seated on a throne. He wears the Edfu crown. In his hands he holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. The figure is well preserved showing a very detailed relief. The throne is decorated with the same hexagonal pattern as the female figure, with a figure of two captives tied up to a pillar, showing an emblem of the warrior Horus, known as *Heru-Sa-Ast-Sa-Asar* in the corner box. He is described as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven".

REMARKS:

The hieroglyphic text is mainly well preserved, only disturbed by some fractures in the stone blocks. The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

91. Enclosure wall, western partition, middle register (3rd from below), back part of the temple, right side of the door

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM* VI, 78 (248f.); Jequier 1920, III, pl. 57; *Dendara* I, pl. XXIII-XXVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 6



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks and with minor damage due to fractures in connection with the joints of the stone blocks. The crown has been damaged above the tiara, leaving only the double crown and the feather plume undamaged. The wig and the cap have been badly damaged, leaving only the major outlines visible. There are no facial features preserved and the main body is also badly damaged with only the major outlines preserved. The *ankh* is slightly damaged while the sceptre is in a good state of preservation. The throne is well preserved showing the small circular feather pattern and a lotus flower and buds in the corner box.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor is depicted wearing the triple crown resting on the *khat* cap covering the head and the neck and a single forehead *uraeus*. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted. Above his head, in the left corner, is situated a winged solar disc with a pendant serpent depicted, guiding and protecting the emperor. The emperor wears the typical kilt and the bull's tail. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible. The emperor presents an ointment cup. He is described as Emperor Augustus.

In front of and facing the emperor is the smaller figure of Ihy, who wears the double crown and the royal diadem. No further details are visible due to cut marks which have damaged the figure badly. He holds an *ankh* and a nao-formed sistrum and is described as "Ihy, the son of Hathor".

Behind the figure of Ihy sits Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a tiara of *uraei* and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne which has a corner box decorated with a bloomed lotus. She is described in the text as "Isis the Great, divine mother, Lady of *Iatdit* (=the Isis Temple of Dendera), she who dwells in Dendera, Lady of the Gods, Eye of Ra, the Mistress, the ruling Lady of the Kingdom...".

Behind her is the figure of Harsomtus, depicted with a human head wearing the special triple crown. He is depicted with the *khepre* cap, the prince lock and the royal diadem. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The throne is decorated in the same fashion as that of the female figure, with the figure of the *rekht* bird. He is described in the text as "Harsomtus, the son of Hathor, Great God, Lord of Heaven".

REMARKS:

The figures are depicted equal in size.

92. Enclosure wall, western partition, lower register, right side of the door

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM VI* plan on p. 44 (248f.); Jequier 1920, III, pl. 57; *Dendara I*, pl. XXIII-XXVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 2



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks and interference, leaving only the major outlines visible. The crown is in good condition except for the fractures of the joint of the stone blocks and also some minor damage of the area of the cow horns and solar disc. The *ankh* and the sceptre are slightly damaged, though still visible. The personal register of text is also damaged, both due to cut marks and fractures in the stone.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the *anedjti* crown. Vague outlines indicate the existence of two *uraei* with solar discs rising from the ram horns. He also wears the traditional *nemes* wig and a single forehead *uraeus*. Behind his head is a badly damaged small figure, most probably depicting a monkey. There are no indications of any inscriptions or decorations on the traditional kilt. He is decorated with the bull's tail. His face has been badly damaged by cut marks. He presents an object that has been badly damaged due to cut marks, but the outlines indicate the figure of Ma'at. He is described, in damaged cartouches, as the Emperor Augustus.

In front of the emperor stands the smaller figure of Ihy, facing the other deities. He wears the double crown, the royal diadem, a single forehead *uraeus* and the prince lock. The object he holds in his raised hand has been erased by cut marks, though the outlines suggest a rattle. In the other hand he holds the *menit* collar. He is described in the text as "Ihy, the son of Hathor".

In front of Ihy stands Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a tiara of *uraei*. She wears the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The hieroglyphic text describes the figure as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods [...] Chieftess in the house of the sistrum, the nest of the cobra in the head of her [...]".

Behind her stands another figure of Ihy, wearing the double crown, the prince lock and the royal diadem. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands; the *cucupha* head is slightly damaged due to later interference. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines still visible. He is described in the text as "Ihy, son of Hathor, Great God...".

REMARKS:

Three large deep fractures have damaged the scene in the area around the heads of the figures. The figure of Hathor is higher than the other figures of the scene.

93. Enclosure wall, western partition, lower register, right side of the door

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM* VI, 77f. (252); Jequier 1920, III, pl. 57; *Dendara* I, pl. XXIII-XXVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The crown is well preserved except for a minor fracture in connection with the joint of the stone blocks. No facial features are preserved today. The main body including the wig and vulture cap has been badly damaged by cut marks. The *ankh* and the sceptre are in a good state of preservation, though the *cucupha* head is slightly damaged due to cut marks. Parts of the hieroglyphic text belonging to the figure have been damaged as well.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

In the main scene the emperor presents two objects to the deities.

The emperor wears the crown of Lower Egypt, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and what possibly is the pharaonic beard. The face has been badly damaged, leaving no traces of outlines or facial details. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The rest of the body has been damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the outlines of the body. The emperor presents the two crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. He is described in the damaged text as Emperor Augustus.

In front of the emperor is the Hathorian figure. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text describes her firstly in a cartouche as "Isis the Great, divine mother, Lady of Iatdit, she who dwells in Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods [...], Lady of Dendera, (female) Ruler, the Lady of the Divine Lands".

Behind her is the figure of Harsomtus, depicted with the human head in full size. He wears the triple crown. Behind the crown, still as a part of it, is the back part of a red crown, though no further details of the red crown are visible. The figure also wears the pharaonic *nemes* wig and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and a *was stave* in his hands. He is described in the text as "Harsomtus, the son of Hathor, Great God [...] Eye of Ra".

REMARKS:

A couple of deep fractures in the stone blocks damage the scene in the line with the crowns. Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

94. Enclosure wall, western partition, lower register, right side of the door

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus?

Published: *PM* VI, 77f. (253); Jequier 1920, III, pl. 57; *Dendara* I, pl. XXIII-XXVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: FEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECT: *Ankh* and a *was stave*

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

Except for the crown, which only is slightly damaged, the figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks. The *ankh* and the sceptre are still intact with only minor visual damage.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

In the main scene the emperor presents two objects to the deities.

He wears the double crown, which is well preserved. He is dressed in the traditional kilt with the bull's tail.

Otherwise the figure has been badly damaged by cut marks. Parts of the cartouches have been damaged by a big circular fracture in the stone. One of the objects he presents has been badly damaged but the outlines indicate that it is a sistrum, the second is a sceptre. The text surrounding the figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks and fractures in the stone blocks. The cartouches are also damaged, though suggesting that the figure is Augustus.

The figure in front of the emperor is identified as Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the female Edfu crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was stave* in her hands. The hieroglyphic text has been badly damaged by cut marks, though the personal register of text describes the female

figure as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods [...], Lady of the Two Lands, the magnificent of the powerful [...]”.

Behind her stands a figure of Ihy who wears the special triple crown resting on two sets of ram horns. He also wears the traditional cap. The figure holds an *ankh* and the *was* staff in his hands. The main body has been badly damaged by cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible. He is described in the text as “Ihy, son of Hathor, Great God...”.

REMARKS:

Elongated marks of later interference have been placed in several places of the scene, though those will not be further discussed here. The figures of Hathor and Ihy are depicted equal in size and are higher than the king.

95. Enclosure wall, southern partition, right side of main register

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy Caesarion

Published: *PM VI 79 (259f.)*; *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 16; Champollion 1844, CCCXLIX (1-3) ; Jequier 1920, III, pl. 57 (1); *Dendara I*, pls. XXVII-XXX

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 4



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* staff

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been damaged due to cut marks, though still leaving the outlines visible. The crown is well preserved, slightly damaged by a small fracture in connection with the joint of the stone blocks. The cap and wig are well preserved, including the details of the vulture head, though slightly damaged due to cut marks, leaving an impression of natural erosion. The outlines of the ear, eye, nose and lips are still preserved of the facial features. The main body has been damaged due to cut marks and fractures in the stone blocks in connection with the joints. The *ankh* and the sceptre are well preserved, only with minor damage on the *cucupha* head.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Eight figures are depicted in this scene.

Cleopatra and her son, Caesarion, present offerings to the deities. Cleopatra holds a nao-formed sistrum and a *menit* collar. She wears the traditional female crown. She also wears a wig and the royal diadem. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace. The personal text of the female figure of Cleopatra is slightly damaged, but still clear. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though with clear main outlines.

Caesarion presents an incense offering. He wears the *khepresh* cap, the double crown, additional *atef* feathers, the ram horns and the royal diadem. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks. The cartouche belonging to the male figure has been badly damaged, almost destroyed. In front of the royal couple stands an offering table with six different layers of offerings.

In front of and facing the royal couple is the smaller figure of Ihy, who holds the *menit* collar and a nao-formed sistrum in his hands. He wears the double crown. Due to the cut marks no further details of the crown or face are visible. His body has been badly damaged by cut marks. He is described in the text as “Ihy, son of Hathor”.

Behind the figure of Ihy stands a female figure wearing the traditional Hathorian crown above a tiara of *uraei*. She is described as “Hathor, Great Mother goddess, Golden One”. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff. The main body has been damaged by cut marks, but the outlines are still visible and some finer details as well. The crown has been damaged due to a fracture in the stone block, damaging mainly the solar disc.

Behind her stands the figure of Horus wearing the Edfu crown. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure has been damaged due to cut marks but the outlines are still visible including the facial features. He is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

Behind Horus stands Harsomtus, wearing the solar disc and a single *uraeus*. He is depicted with a human face. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. The figure has been damaged due to cut marks but traces of the outlines in the face indicate an exaggerated eye. He is described in the text as “Harsomtus, Great God who dwells in Dendera”.

The following figure depicts Ihy, wearing the double crown, a royal diadem and the prince lock. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. His facial features have been badly damaged by cut marks. He is depicted with a kilt, though badly damaged due to cut marks; and also the bull’s tail. The figure is described in the text as “Ihy, the Great son of Hathor”.

The last figure of the receiving deities is the female figure of the present analysis. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a tiara of *uraei* and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace with two rows of beads. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The hieroglyphic text describes the figure as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Raat, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods in the ancient Land... female Edfu in the divine Kingdom... divine mother of the gods”.

REMARKS:

Elongated marks of later interference have been placed in several places of the scene, though those will not be further discussed here. The figure of Hathor (of the present investigation) is by far the tallest figure of the scene.

96. Enclosure wall, southern partition, lower register, eastern corner

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Cleopatra VII and Caesarion

Published: *PM VI*, 80 (259); *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 16; *Dendara I*, pls. XXVII, XXIX, XVII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and *was* stave

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

29 figures are depicted in this scene.

The queen, standing at the right, wears a tripartite wig with a single forehead *uraeus* and a royal diadem, above which is placed the traditional female crown resting upon a low modus. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and holds two libation vessels in her hands. The figure’s cartouches are left uninscribed. The figure is in a bad state of preservation due to cut marks.

In front of and facing the queen is the smaller figure of Ihy. He wears a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He is depicted naked. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks. He is described in the text as “Ihy, the great son of Hathor”.

Behind the figure of Ihy is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her

hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks. She is described in the text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of [Ra], Lady of the Sky, [...] ... Ma’at”.

Behind the figure of Hathor is the figure of Horus. He wears the Edfu crown and is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull’s tail and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks. He is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven, he who comes forth of the Horizon”.

Behind the figure of Horus is an anthropomorphic figure of Harsomtus. He wears a crown composed of the double feather plume, a centred solar disc with a single *uraeus*, resting on a low modus. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull’s tail and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks. He is identified in the text as “Harsomtus, Great God who dwells in Dendera, the strong Ra”.

The other figures of the scene are 24 figures standing behind the queen in a processional line holding offerings to the triad. Half of the figures are male and half female. The majority of the figures are depicted without any crown/head attributes and they are all carrying offering treys with libation vessels, flowers, bread, cakes, plants, fruit and altars. Various animals are depicted at the left hand low side of the individual reliefs. The cartouches of the figures are all inscribed with the name of Ptolemy Caesarion. They are figures of the Nile, the field, Nomes etc. All the figures have been badly damaged in the facial area due to cut marks.

REMARKS:

It is interesting that the queen alone that performs the ceremonies, without Caesarion who is depicted and included in surrounding scenes. Her cartouches are left uninscribed in this scene, but there are other scenes of the same queen with inscribed cartouches. The cartouches of the processional deities behind the queen are inscribed with the name of Ptolemy Caesarion. Cleopatra is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene, while Hathor is the tallest figure of the deities.

97. Enclosure wall, southern partition, middle register (above the main), eastern corner

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM VI* 78f. (259); *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 16; Jequier 1920, III, pl. 57 (1), 58 (1); *Dendara I*, pls. XXVII-XXX

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION: DEC 10



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved only slightly damaged in connection with the joints of the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:


Five figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the very right, wears the white crown, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and is decorated with the pharaonic beard. A small *sa* sign is depicted behind his head. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull’s tail and holds the figure of Ma’at in one hand while holding the other hand in a blessing manner. The figure is well preserved including all the relief details. He is described in the text as Emperor Augustus.

In front of and facing the deities is the smaller figure of Ihy standing on a podium of the *sema* sign. He wears the triple crown. He is further wearing the *nemes* wig, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the prince

lock. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands. He is depicted naked. The figure is well preserved including all the relief details. He is described in the text as “Thy the son of Hathor...the child who comes forth from his mother Isis”.

In front of the figure of Ihy is the figure of Hathor seated on a throne. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and a tiara of *uraei* and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in a highly decorated sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The corner box of the throne is decorated with a lotus flower and buds. The figure is well preserved including all the relief details. She is described in the text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods.”.

Behind the figure of Hathor is the figure of Horus. He wears the Edfu crown and a single *uraeus* attached to the front of the red crown. He is dressed in a highly decorated kilt and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The corner box of the throne is decorated with . The figure is well preserved including all the relief details. He is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

Behind the figure of Horus is a figure of Harsomtus, depicted with a human face. He wears the *nemes* wig and a crown composed of a large solar disc with a single *uraeus* attached to it. He is dressed in a linear decorated kilt and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The corner box of the throne is decorated with a cluster of papyrus plants. The figure is well preserved including the relief details. He is described in the text as “Harsomtus, the Great God...who dwells in the Temple of Dendera...”.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

98. Outer hypostyle hall (G), eastern partition, top register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Nero

Published: *PM VI 47 (21)*; *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 17; Champollion 1844, II, 300; Jequier 1920, III, pl. 59

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved including traces of colour. The crown is well preserved, though the double feather plume and the back of the red crown have been damaged by a fracture in the stone. The crown of Lower Egypt is decorated with a pattern of turquoise circles and the crown of Upper Egypt is totally painted in turquoise. The wings of the vulture are also decorated with turquoise colour, as well as the vulture head. The wig is not decorated either with colour or with the cork screw relief pattern. Turquoise colour is also preserved on the shoulders of the dress and there are vague indications of turquoise and white colour of the small circular feather pattern on the upper part of the dress and full wings of the lower part. The arm holding the *ankh* has been damaged by a fracture in the stone. The sceptre is also painted in turquoise. The throne is decorated in a linear zigzag pattern in a diagonal direction. The corner box shows the sign of festival.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the *atef* crown resting on the ram horns. He wears the *khat* cap covering the head and the neck; and a single forehead *uraeus*. He also wears a variant of the pharaonic beard. He is dressed in the traditional kilt with the bull's tail. The figure is well preserved including the details of his clothing. He presents a barque with five Horus figures. He is described as Emperor Nero.

In front of the emperor stands the smaller figure of Ihy wearing the double crown, the prince lock, the royal diadem and the single forehead *uraeus*. He is depicted naked. In his hands he holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar. Turquoise colour is preserved on his crown, which also has been damaged by a fracture in the stone. He is described in the text as “Ihy, the son of Hathor”.

In front of the figure of Ihy is the female figure of Hathor seated. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown which is decorated with a painted circular pattern. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace with three rows of beads and bracelets. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. She is described in the text as “Hathor-Opet, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, daughter of Ra who shines in her barque...”.

Behind her is the figure of Horus seated on his throne. He wears the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt; the white crown is decorated with the sign for shining; and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. The figure is well preserved, including all the facial features of the falcon head, and some details of the main body, though damaged in various places by fractures in the stone. The throne is decorated with a circular pattern, not leaving any more information due to the state of preservation. He is described as “Horus of Edfu, the light-giver of the horizon, the one who unifies the two Lands, the shining one”.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted higher than the figure of Horus.

99. Outer hypostyle hall, eastern partition, column (G) main register

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Tiberius

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 44, column G; *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 12; Cauville 1990, 32

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION: DECA 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and *was* stave

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four main figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the very left, wears a *khepresh* crown, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. He wears a crown composed of the ram horns, a large solar disc and two *atef* feathers, one on each side. Above his head is a winged solar disc with a pendant *uraeus*, which wears the white crown. The inscription next to it states “Behutet, Great God, Lord of Heaven”. Behind the head of the emperor is a small monkey depicted. The emperor is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull’s tail and holds in his hands a barque with five seated falcon figures. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks and two large circular fractures have damaged the lower hieroglyphic register. Traces of blue and white colour are preserved in various locations of the figure. The figure is described in the text as Emperor Tiberius.

In front of and facing the emperor is the smaller figure of Ihy. He wears the special triple crown. He is further wearing a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the prince lock. He is depicted naked and holds a nao-formed sistrum and an *ankh* in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though the sistrum is in a good condition, preserved with blue and white colours. The figure is described in the text as “Ihy the son of Hathor”.

Behind Ihy stands Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown with a painted circular pattern. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though some traces of blue colour are still visible. The figure is described in the text as “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, she the

Horizon who shines in her barque, daughter of Ra, his Powerful One in her great barque in Heaven, the White One of the Two Lands...”.

The figure standing behind Hathor is that of Horus. He wears a large solar disc and a single *uraeus*. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull’s tail and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though some traces of blue and white colour are still visible. The figure is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, the Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

100. Outer hypostyle hall, eastern partition, middle register (3rd from below)

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Nero

Published: *PM VI 47 (21)*; *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 17; Jequier 1920, III, pl. 59

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 2



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks, leaving no details or information except for the major outlines. Though, the crown is well preserved without any damage. The throne has not been finished properly, but is left without any later interference. Both the *ankh* and the sceptre have been damaged by cut marks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears a single forehead *uraeus*, the *atef* crown, a solar disc, the ram horns and two *uraei* rising up on each side of the crown, wearing the solar disc on their head. Behind his head is the *sa* sign depicted for protection. The emperor wears the traditional kilt and the bull’s tail. The emperor presents a crown. The figure has been badly damaged, almost totally erased, leaving only the outlines preserved. He is described as Emperor Nero.

In front of the emperor is the female figure of Hathor seated on her throne. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a low modus and the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather, decorated with a painted circular pattern. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described as “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Mehnyt the Great in the forehead, his Powerful One in the divine barque, Wadjet of the Two Lands...”.

REMARKS:

The scene has not been finished. The figures are depicted equal in height.

101. Outer hypostyle hall, eastern partition, 1st scene above the lintel

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Nero

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 44 (21f.); *Dendara I*, pls. XXXI-XXXVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The complete figure, including the crown, has been badly damaged due to cut marks and several fractures in the stone blocks. Only the main outlines are preserved. Even the throne has been damaged, due to a large fracture in the stone. The *ankh* has been badly damaged due to cut marks and so is the shaft of the sceptre, though the *cucupha* head is preserved. The surrounding text is also damaged, mainly due to fractures in the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three main figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the *khat* cap covering the head and the neck, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Behind his head are indications of a small figure or sign, though not visible today due to cut marks and interference. He squats on a low podium which still has turquoise colour traces, while presenting two small vessels. The emperor wears the traditional kilt. In the corner above his head is the falcon depicted with outstretched wings, holding a sceptre with an *atef* feather. The emperor is described in the text as Emperor Nero.

In front of the emperor is the female figure of Hathor seated on a throne. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather, decorated with a painted circular pattern. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. She is described in the text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Ma’at the Great... Golden One of the Gods...”.

Behind her is the figure of Horus seated on his throne. He wears a large solar disc and the *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He holds a badly damaged *ankh*; only minor outlines are visible, while the other hand is held in a protective position. This figure has been badly damaged by cut marks and fractures in the stone blocks, leaving only a fragmentary figure visible. He is described as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

REMARKS:

There are several later etchings and drawings in the scene, though these will not be discussed here. The figure of Hathor is by far the tallest figure of the scene.

102. Outer hypostyle hall, eastern partition, lower minor register in the S-E corner

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Nero?

Published: *PM* VI, 47 (22); Jequier 1920, III, pl. 62 (2f.)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 9



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been damaged by cut marks as well as natural erosion and fractures in the stone blocks. The top part of the crown has been damaged, otherwise it is preserved. The face has been damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the ear still preserved. The wig and the cap are preserved, though the vulture head and tail have been damaged. The main body is preserved only with minor damage, on one shoulder, the lower part of one arm and the lower part of a leg, due to cut marks and/or fractures on the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Seven figures plus the smaller figure of Ihy stand in an offering position with the emperor in front, facing the deities. Three of the left side figures are female field-goddesses, three are depicting male Nile-gods and one is depicting the emperor. The female figures hold offering tables with different items and they are surrounded by papyrus and lotus plants as well as birds; all crowned with the field of reeds. The female figure closest to the emperor is depicted with high papyrus plants surrounding the cow figure of Hathor. They are all described with the cartouche of the emperor instead of a personal hieroglyphic register. The figures of Hapi are depicted with the crown of a cluster of papyrus plants, the symbol of Upper Egypt. Each figure of Hapi carry an offering table with two libation jars surrounded by elongated papyrus and lotus plants and a *was* stave in the centre. The figures of Hapi are, like the female figures, followed by the royal name of the emperor rather than their own title.

The emperor stands in front of the figure of Hapi, wearing the white crown, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted. He is decorated with a necklace and is dressed in a kilt. He holds an offering table with two libations jars surrounded by elongated papyrus and lotus plants and a *was* stave in the centre. The figure (-s) is well preserved with minor damage due to cut marks (mainly in the face) and natural erosion/fractures in the stone blocks (part of the legs and arms), though the text has been badly damaged and almost unreadable.

In front of the emperor, facing the deities is the smaller figure of Ihy. He wears the prince lock, the single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem, otherwise depicted naked. He holds a nao-formed sistrum in his outstretched hand and a *menit* collar in the other. The figure is in a good state of preservation except for his head which has been damaged by cut marks. The personal text of Ihy has been damaged.

In front of the figure of Ihy is the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a low modus and the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is identified in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the daughter (who is the) Eye...".

Behind her stands the figure of Horus wearing the female Edfu crown. In his hands he holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. The figure is well preserved including the facial features of the falcon depicted god. He is described as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, the Light-giver who comes from the Horizon".

Behind the figure of Horus is the figure of Harsomtus. He is depicted with a human face wearing a large solar disc with a *uraeus* on his head. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. He is identified in the text as Harsomtus. The figure is well preserved including some facial features and details of the main body.

REMARKS:

The scene stretches over the entire lower minor register. The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

103. Outer hypostyle hall, southern partition, wall of the inner hypostyle hall (and the laboratory), lower main register, 1st scene from the eastern corner

Sunken relief
Sandstone
Date: Caligula
Published: *PM* VI, 48 (28)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks leaving only the outlines of the figure preserved. The details of the crown are still visible, though the crown has been damaged by cut marks. Nothing is preserved of the *ankh*, but the sceptre is well preserved including the *cucupha* head. The surrounding text has been damaged in several places.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Six main figures are depicted in this scene.

Two figures stand in an offering position, along with two smaller figures of Hathorian sons, one is facing the emperor and the other the two deities Hathor and Horus. The first figure is totally destroyed due to later interference, leaving no outlines and only vague details. There are no indications of any crown other than a cap or wig. Above the head of the emperor is a vulture depicted stretching out its wings and holding the sign of eternity in its claws. The figure of the vulture has been badly damaged due to cut marks. Judging from the very vague outlines preserved on the lower part of the emperor's body, he stands in an adoring position. The cartouches describe him as Emperor Caligula.

The figure in front of the emperor wears the *atef* crown resting on the ram horns. The figure is in all badly damaged, almost destroyed, leaving only very vague outlines hardly visible. With those vague outlines it is visible that the figure depicted is Thoth, which is also supported in the text. His hands seem as placed in a blessing manner, but due to the damage it is not fully clear.

In front of and facing the figure of Thoth is a smaller figure of Ihy/Harsomtut. He wears the triple crown and holds one or two objects no longer visible. Behind the first small figure stands another small figure, who wears the double crown. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and a *menit* collar in his hands. Otherwise no details are preserved. The figures have been badly damaged, almost destroyed, due to cut marks leaving only some of the outlines still visible. The identities of the smaller figures are unclear due to the erased hieroglyphs.

The next figure illustrates Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and holds a *was* stave in her hand. The damaged text describes the figure as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods... praised among the Gods... the Powerful Eye...".

Behind her the figure of Horus, who wears the Edfu crown. He holds a *was* stave in his hand, the other hand has been damaged and no outlines are preserved of any *ankh*. The figure is in all badly damaged, almost destroyed, leaving only a few visible outlines of the main body. The text is also damaged, though some details are preserved. A cartouche is attached to the personal text of Horus.

REMARKS:

White colour is spread over the scene in general, possibly indicating later plaster work. The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

104. Outer hypostyle hall, southern partition, bottom frieze

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Caligula

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 44 (28-31)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure, including the crown, has been badly damaged due to cut marks and fractures of the stone blocks. Only the outlines of the figure are preserved, leaving no further details of decoration or information.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

In the main scene several minor deities, the emperor presents offerings to four main deities. The scene covers the entire lower eastern side of the southern wall of the outer hypostyle hall. 25 figures, male and female, stand in line behind the altar on which the figure of Ma'at is seated, holding her feather. In general, the figures hold offering tables of various offerings, with exceptions of figures holding small vessels or holding their hands in a blessing position. Some figures are depicted with crowns, some without. All figures are followed by the cartouche of the emperor.

In front of the altar stands a smaller figure of Ihy, facing the line of participants. He wears the royal diadem and indications of a single forehead *uraeus*. No facial features are preserved, leaving no indications of a prince lock. He holds a nao-formed sistrum in his outstretched hand and an un-identified object in the other hand. He wears a shawl decorated in a circular feather and linear pattern. Back to back with this figure stands Harsomtus, facing the four main deities. He wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. This figure has been damaged by cut marks, and no details of a royal lock are visible. He wears a shawl decorated in the same fashion as the previous figure. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and a *menit* in his hands. Both figures are depicted naked.

Facing the second figure stands the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The text identifies her as "Hathor the Great, Eye of Ra, Lady of all the Gods, Ma'at-Opet [...] none of the goddesses, Mehnyt, Lady of the heavenly Lands, her rays [...]".

Behind her is the figure of Horus who wears the female Edfu crown. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The text describes him as Horus. The figure of Horus has been badly damaged by cut marks, leaving only the outlines visible.

Behind the figure of Horus stands Isis, wearing a low modus, the large cow horns and solar disc upon which her symbol, the throne, is resting. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. She is described as "Isis the Lady of the Sky". The figure has been badly damaged, mainly due to cut marks but also by fractures in the stone blocks.

Behind the figure of Isis stands another figure of Harsomtus (?), depicted with the serpent head wearing the double feather plume and a solar disc with a *uraeus* in its centre. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. This figure is better preserved than previous mentioned deities, with still visible facial feature and a preserved crown. The text has been badly damaged.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

105. Outer hypostyle hall, western partition, lower register above the door

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM VI*, 47 (26f.); *Dendara I*, pls. XXXI-XXXVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:


The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the main outlines visible. The crown has been saved from later interference, showing a small circular pattern in red and blue colour. The crown of Upper Egypt has been coloured in a light blue-turquoise colour while the double feather plume is coloured white. The ram horns, cow horns and solar disc have been badly damaged due to cut marks. The throne has been left untouched by cut marks, though slightly damaged due to a fracture in the stone block. The handheld objects are mainly preserved, though damaged in places due to cut marks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, depicted at the very left, wears an indefinable cap, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and wears the pharaonic beard. A small *sa* sign in the form of an eagle is depicted behind the head of the emperor. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and presents two small vessels. He is depicted in a kneeling position. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the main outlines visible. The figure is described in the text as Emperor Augustus.

In front of the emperor is Hathor seated on a throne. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. The white crown is coloured blue and the red crown has a small painted circular pattern in white, red and blue colours. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The corner box of the throne is decorated (painted) with a lotus flower and buds. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the crown, the throne and the handheld objects untouched. The figure is described in the text as “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Ma’at the Great daughter, the eye who has risen [...], Mehnyt the Great Lady of all names, she who has risen as the cobra in the forehead of the great king...”.

Behind the figure of Hathor is the figure of Ptah seated on a throne. He wears a crown composed of the ram horns, double atef feathers, a centred solar disc and two *uraei* rising up wearing solar discs on their head. He holds an unrecognisable object in his raised hand. The object held in the other hand is no longer visible. The corner box of the throne is decorated with . The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the crown and the throne untouched.

REMARKS:

Clear colour is still visible in the undamaged area of the scene including details of the crowns and the thrones. The hieroglyphic text is also painted, showing blue, red and white colours. The entire background of the figure of Hathor is painted blue while the background of the emperor and Horus is white. Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

106. Outer hypostyle hall, southern partition, lower main register, right side of the door

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Caligula

Published: *PM VI*, 48 (35); *Dendara I*, pls. XXXI-XXXVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 2



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged by cut marks, though traces of colour and a pattern are preserved on the dress. The crown is in a good state of preservation with traces of turquoise colour in various areas. The body of the cap has been damaged by cut marks, though leaving the head and tail untouched. The wig is partially preserved, showing the relief pattern of cork screws. No facial features are preserved, including the outlines. The main body has been badly damaged by cut marks, leaving the outlines and, as mentioned above, some traces of colour and pattern. The *ankh* and the sceptre are preserved with only minor damage.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the triple crown. A small figure is visible behind his head, though damaged badly due to cut marks. There are no facial features preserved and the main body is also badly damaged due to cut marks, though some outlines are preserved, like that of the kilt. The emperor presents a tray with two nao-formed sistra and a *menit* collar. He is described as Emperor Nero in the text.

In front of the emperor, facing the female figure is the smaller figure of Ihy. He wears the double crown; otherwise no details are visible due to cut marks. He holds a nao-formed sistrum in his outstretched hand, the object held in the other hand is no longer visible due to the damage.

In front of the figure of Ihy is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a tiara of *uraei* and the Dendera crown with an additional single *atef* feather. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The personal register of text has been damaged, though describing her as Hathor-Opet, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Lady of the ruler in her barque, no other is as beautiful as Mehnyt, Lady of the Sky, Lady of the Sistra and the *menit*”.

REMARKS:

Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

107. Laboratory (A), northern partition, lower register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM VI*, 51 (55f.); Mariette, *Dendérah I*, pl. 52; *Dendara IX*, pl. DCCCLXXX; Cauville 1990, 41

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved with minor damage due to natural erosion and small fractures in the stone blocks. The crown is well preserved with all details preserved. The cap and the wig are well preserved, though with some minor damage. Some facial features are still visible; some have been damaged by natural erosion, though still leaving the outlines visible. The main body is well preserved with minor damage due to natural erosion. The *ankh* and the sceptre are also in a good state of preservation, only damaged due to the small fractures in connection with the joints of the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures, three male and one female, present offering to Hathor. The two first figures are anthropomorphic and depicted with the head of a ram, both of them offering small vessels. They are dressed in the typical kilt and the bull's tail and they are decorated with a necklace. The first figure is slightly damaged on the lower part of the body due to a fracture in the stone block. The other figure is well preserved without any major damage. The personal registers of text are slightly damaged due to natural erosion or later interference.

In front of the two male figures is a female figure, Hathor as the personification of Dendera, wearing a wig and is decorated with a necklace. Traces of colour are preserved on the wig, the necklace and the dress. She presents a tray of various vessels surrounded by lotus flowers. This female figure is well preserved.

In front of the female figure is the figure of the king, wearing the *atef* crown resting upon the ram horns, with a solar disc in its centre and with two *uraei* rising up on each side wearing a solar disc on their head. He also wears the pharaonic beard. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted. The figure is slightly damaged in the face and the feet are also damaged due to cut marks. He presents incense. The king's cartouches are left blank.

In front of the king is the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Sekhmet who dwells in Dendera".

REMARKS:

The arms of the female figure are over proportional and the belly is also far more curved than normal. The lower registers of text have been harshly cut to fit the figures of the scene. The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

108. Magazine (B), western partition, lower register above the lintel

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM VI*, plan on p. 44 (above 60=45f.); Mariette, *Dendérah I*, pl. 62; *Dendara IX*, pl. DCCXXX; Cauville 1990, 41

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved with only minor damage due to later interference. A fracture in the joint of the stone blocks is dividing the figure in two fragments just below the breast. All details are preserved and are in a good state of preservation of the crown, the cap, the wig, the face, the necklace. Several large chisel marks have damaged the area from the top back part of the throne, the elbow and the back up to the shoulder. The handheld objects are well preserved and so is the rest of the throne.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The king presents two mirrors to the female figure of Hathor. He wears the *khepresh* cap, two sets of ram horns; the solar disc surrounded by the two serpents; with the *atef* feather rising up on each side of the crown with yet another set of *uraei*, which are wearing the double feather plume. Behind his head there is a small figure of Ma'at depicted. The king is dressed in a kilt and the traditional bull's tail. The cartouches of the king are left uninscribed.

In front of the king stands the smaller figure of Harsomtut. He is decorated with the prince lock, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. A thin shawl hangs from his shoulders. He holds a nao-formed sistrum in his outstretched hand and in the other hand he holds a *menit* collar. He is described as "Harsomtut, the great divine son of Hathor".

In front of Harsomtut is Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace with three rows of beads. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The figure is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...".

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

109. Offering entry (C), eastern partition, left side of the door frame, 2nd register from below

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM VI*, plan on p. 44 (without number); Cauville 1990, 41

CROWN OF THE SCENE: FEC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines preserved. The crown is somewhat preserved, though with minor and sporadically placed cut marks. The upper part of the sceptre is totally missing and the lower part of the *ankh* is as well. The surrounding text is also damaged by cut marks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

One form of Hathor stands before another Hathorian form. To the right stands Hathor wearing the traditional Hathorian crown placed on a low modus on her head. She presents a large solar disc to the other figure of Hathor. The surrounding text has been badly damaged and not all details are clear. Though, she is described as

“Hathor, Lady of the Sky”. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks and no details or further information is visible.

The second figure of Hathor, the figure of the present investigation, wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the female Edfu crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a sceptre in her hands. She is described as “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky...”.

REMARKS:

The figure of the present investigation, Hathor of Dendera, is depicted as the tallest figure.

110. Exit to well (E), southern partition, lower register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM VI*, plan on p. 44 (without number); Cauville 1990, 41

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is badly damaged due to cut marks. The crown has been badly damaged, also by cut marks, leaving only the major outlines of the double crown; the feather plume and the ram horns are almost totally erased, with only fragmentary outlines preserved; there are only slightly visible indications of outlines of the cow horns and the solar disc. The cap, the wig and the face have been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving no details at all. The main body has been damaged in the same fashion as above mentioned. The *ankh* has been damaged, leaving only the top visible. The shaft of the sceptre is well preserved but the bud has been damaged by later interference. The personal text surrounding the figure is totally erased, leaving no information about the figure.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three main figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the *khepesh* cap, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. There upon is the *anedjti* crown placed. Behind the head of the king is a small figure depicted, though totally erased. In his hands the king holds the *sekhem* sceptre and a club, consecrating offering before the deities. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the top of the cap and the crown untouched. The cartouches of the king are left uninscribed.

In front of the offering table stands Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The personal registers of text of the female figure have been badly damaged, leaving only vaguely “[Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky...]”.

Behind her is the figure of Horus depicted wearing the double crown and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds a *was* stave in his hand, in the other, which should hold the *ankh*, has been badly damaged leaving no details of the object. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving no details other than the major outlines. The figure is described as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven”. The text has been damaged in various places.

REMARKS:

Later graffiti is placed in between the figures of the scene, which will not be described further in this present investigation. It is worth commenting that the personal text of the female figure is totally erased while the text of the figure of Horus is preserved. The figures equal in size.

111. Inner hypostyle hall, eastern partition, column (A) main register

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 44 (column A); *Dendara IX*, pl. DCCCLXVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is preserved in a good state including the relief details. The only visible damage, which is in a diagonal line over her legs, is caused by a fracture in the stone surface. Minor blue colour fragments are preserved on the crown.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, depicted at the very right, wears an *atef* crown with additional ram horns. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail and holds the field of reeds in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged, mainly destroyed, due to cut marks, though leaving the crown and the offering untouched. The figure is described in the text with two empty cartouches.

In front of the king is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The figure is well preserved including all the relief details. She is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra...".

The figure behind Hathor is the anthropomorphic deity of Horus. He wears the Edfu crown. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure is well preserved including the relief details. He is described in the text as "Horus of Edfu, Great God".

REMARKS:

The two divine figures are left untouched by cut marks while the figure of the king is almost completely erased. The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

112. Inner hypostyle hall (Z), southern partition, middle register (3rd from below), right side of the door

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 44 (without number); *Dendara IX*, pl. DCCCXLIX

ICONOGRAPHIC ELEMENTS: DEC 7 + low modus



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible. The crown is well preserved only damaged by the fracture of the joint of the stone blocks. The upper part of the cap and the wig is well preserved including the details and the vulture head and tail. The face has been damaged though with some minor details still visible, such as the outlines of the eye and ear. The main body has been badly damaged except for one foot which is preserved. The *ankh* is mainly erased, though with some fragmentary outlines still preserved. The sceptre and the throne are well preserved, though there are no details preserved of the decoration of the throne.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the special triple crown. The figure of the king has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He presents the Dendera crown. The cartouches of the king are left uninscribed.

In front of the king is the female figure of Hathor seated on a throne. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a low modus and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...".

REMARKS:

White colour is spread in some areas of the scene, which might indicate later plaster work or interference. The crowns including the offering objects have all been untouched by cut marks. The figure of Hathor is depicted higher than the king.

113. Offering hall (Outer vestibule – T), southern partition, lower register, eastern side of the door

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 52 (80); *Dendara* VII, pl. DCXVII; Cauville 1990, 43f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, which are spread over the entire figure including the handheld objects.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Five figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the very left, wears the *atef* crown. The figure of the king has been badly damaged due to cut marks and no further details are visible. The offering object has been damaged due to a fracture in the stone block, leaving only minor details visible, which is that it is a tray of various objects. The cartouches of the king are left uninscribed.

In front of the king, facing the deities, are two male ram-headed anthropomorphic figures, which have been badly damaged due to cut marks. They are wearing the traditional kilt and bull's tail. The second figure is leaning forward to the offering table on which various objects have been placed.

In front of the two figures stands the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which the Dendera crown is placed. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus

sceptre. She is described as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, divine mother [...] of all the Gods...”.

Behind her stands the figure of Horus, wearing the double crown. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving no further information about details or features. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. He is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

REMARKS:

The offering altar has only been damaged partially; the right side has been left untouched by cut marks. The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

114. Hall of the Ennead (Inner vestibule – O), northern partition, lower register, eastern side of the door

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 56 (100); *Dendara* IV, pl. CCLXXII; Cauville 1990, 44

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh*

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks as well as major fractures in the stone. The entire figure, including the crown, has been badly damaged, leaving no details of features visible. The front of the figure, including the outstretched arm, the breast and the front part of the abdomen are totally erased due to a large fracture in the stone surface.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene. The scene is in general badly damaged due to cut marks but especially due to large fractures in the stone surface, erasing large parts of the scene. There is almost nothing preserved of the king, standing at the very left, except for the triple crown and the lower part of his legs. Only one of the couple of cartouches is still visible, though left uninscribed.

In front of the king is the female figure of the present investigation. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh*. No personal register of text is preserved of this figure.

Behind her is a male figure, wearing the double crown. He holds an *ankh* and an unknown sceptre. The surrounding text has been badly damaged, though it is most likely a form of Horus who is depicted.

REMARKS:

Minor etchings are visible in some places, though these will not be discussed here. Hathor is the tallest figure.

115. Hall of the Ennead (Inner vestibule – O), eastern partition, middle register (2nd from below), left side of the door

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 52 (101); *Dendara* IV, pl. CCLXXIII; Cauville 1990, 44

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: Non visible due to damage

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines still visible. Traces of blue colour are preserved on the crown of Upper Egypt as well as the double feather plume, and red colour is preserved on the crown of Lower Egypt; otherwise the crown is in a bad state of preservation. The main body, including the face, has been badly damaged and no details are visible. The throne has been left untouched by cut marks, though no details of any pattern or decoration are preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the *atef* crown, which has totally been removed from the block, though leaving the outlines still preserved. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The figure of the king has been badly damaged, leaving only the major outlines visible without any further information about any decorations. The personal text and the cartouches have been damaged, though the cartouches are uninscribed.

The figure in front of the king is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress. Due to the bad state of preservation no handheld objects are visible. The figure is seated on a throne. The personal registers of text have been damaged and not clear.

REMARKS:

The king is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

116. Hall of the Ennead (Inner vestibule – O), southern partition, lower register, western side on the doorframe

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 61 (137); Jequier 1920, III, pl. 64; *Dendara* I, 6-9, pl. XLVI; Cauville 1990, 44

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to both cut marks and to fractures in the stone surface. The crown has been damaged by cut marks, especially the crown of Upper Egypt, and the middle section of the crown. There are no facial features preserved due to the fact that the cut marks have been harsher and more intense in that area. The main body has been damaged by sporadically placed cut marks; one arm and the lower part of a leg have been badly damaged due to large fractures in the stone blocks. The *ankh* and the sceptre are both still clear and visible. The personal text surrounding the figure has been totally erased, leaving no details of the name of the figure.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the *atef* crown, followed and protected by a winged creature above his head, which has been badly damaged and not totally recognisable. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The figure of the king has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines still visible. The king stands before the deities. The cartouches are left uninscribed.

In front of the king and facing the deities is the smaller figure of Ihy, wearing the double crown and the royal diadem. The figure has been badly damaged leaving no further information. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands. The personal text has been badly damaged.

In front of Ihy stands the female figure of the present investigation. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap. She also wears the Dendera crown and is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The personal registers of text have been badly damaged and all the text is erased by cut marks.

Behind her is the figure of Horus, wearing an almost unrecognisable crown due to the bad state of preservation. The few outlines of the crown, which are still preserved, show the double crown and the double feather plume and minor fragments also include the ram horns. The figure is in general badly damaged due to cut marks but also due to fractures in the stone surface. The arm usually holding the *ankh* is missing due to a fracture. In his other hand the figure holds a *was* staff. The personal text of this figure is erased similarly to that of the female.

REMARKS:

Hathor is the tallest figure of the scene.

117. Hall of the Ennead, northern partition, lintel scene

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 61 (138f.) (Information not correct); Cauville 1990, 44

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved without any interference or disturbance.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Five figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the crown of Upper Egypt and the pharaonic beard. Behind his head is the small *sa sign* depicted as protection. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The figure is well preserved without any damage. He presents the figure of Ma'at. The cartouches of the king are left uninscribed.

In front of the king and facing the deities stands the smaller figure of Ihy on a table. He wears the double crown, the prince lock, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He is depicted naked. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands. He is described in the text as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor".

In front of Ihy is the female figure of Hathor depicted. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. She is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods".

Behind her is the figure of Horus seated on his throne. He wears the Edfu crown and a single crown *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure is well preserved including the facial features and relief details. Some colour is still visible on his crown and minor details of the pattern of the clothing are also visible. The figure is described in the text as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven".

Behind the figure of Horus is the figure of Harsomtus seated on a throne. He wears the double feather plume with a solar disc in its centre and a serpent around it. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. The figure is well preserved including all the relief details. He is described in the text as Harsomtus.

REMARKS:

There are traces of white colour in various places of the scene, indicating later plaster work or later interference. Harsomtus is slightly higher than the other deities.

118. Inner sanctuary (A), eastern partition, middle register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM VI*, 62 (147); *Dendara I*, 51-53, pl. LI; Cauville 1990, 44f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in general in a good state of preservation. Except for the damage caused by the joint of the stone blocks, the crown is in a good state of preservation. Minor parts of the main body are still preserved while the majority of the details have been badly damaged and destroyed by cut marks. The throne has been left without any cut marks. The major outlines of the body are clear. The *ankh* is preserved, while the sceptre has been damaged, mainly on its shaft.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Seven figures are depicted in this scene.

He wears the *khepresh* cap, though due to the bad state of preservation no further details are visible. Behind his head is a small figure or amulet depicted, though damaged and no longer determinable. Above his head, in the left corner is the vulture depicted with an outstretched wing in a guiding and protective manner. The king wears

an elongated kilt over the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He presents a ceremonial collar. His cartouches are left without any inscription.

The first deity in front of the king is the figure of the present analysis, Hathor of Dendera. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The text describes the figure as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...".

Behind her sits a figure of Horus wearing the Edfu crown and a single *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the crown untouched as well as the throne. The figure is described as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven".

Behind this figure of Horus is the figure of Ihy, depicted wearing the double crown, with indications of a prince's lock, a royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff. He is described as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor".

Behind Ihy is the figure of Hathor, wearing the large cow horns and solar disc resting on a low modus. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the crown and the throne untouched and preserved. She is described in the text as "Hathor, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky".

Behind the figure of Hathor is a human faced figure of Harsomtut, who wears the large solar disc and a single *uraeus* around it. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks leaving only the crown and the throne untouched. He is described in the text as Harsomtut.

Behind this figure is the figure of Tefnut, wearing a large solar disc with a single *uraeus* around it, on her head and she holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands.

REMARKS:

Hathor of Dendera is depicted higher than the other figures of the scene.

119. Inner sanctuary (A), eastern partition, top register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM VI*, 62 (147); *Dendara I*, 51-53, pl. LI; Cauville 1990, 44f

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 9



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved including all the relief details. The only visible damage of the figure is caused by three joints of the stone blocks and as always natural erosion of the colours.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Similar to the scene below, the king presents a bread offering to six deities. The king wears the white crown, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. His kilt is decorated with the long falcon feathers and the elongated kilt is linear in its relief pattern. The figure is well preserved including some red colour on his necklace. Only minor fractures in connection with the joints of the stone blocks disturb the image. The cartouches are left uninscribed.

In front of the king is the figure of Horus seated wearing the Edfu crown, possibly also a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure is well preserved including all the finer features. He is described as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven, the light-giver who comes forth of the Horizon”.

Behind the figure of Horus is the female figure of the present investigation seated. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace with two rows of beads. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The text describes the figure as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”.

Behind her is a male figure wearing the triple crown. He also wears the traditional wig and a prince lock. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure is well preserved including all the relief details. He is described as “Harsomtus, the son of Hathor, Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

Behind Harsomtus is Ihy, depicted wearing the double crown, the prince lock, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. The figure is well preserved, though it is more damaged than the other figures do to fractures in connection with the joints of the stone blocks. The figure is described as “Ihy, the great son of Hathor”.

Behind Ihy is the female figure of Isis, depicted wearing the large cow horns and the solar disc resting upon a low tiara of *uraei*. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. The figure is well preserved including all the minor features. She is identified in the text as Isis in her role as the mother goddess.

Behind the figure of Isis in another figure of Horus, who wears the double crown and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure is well preserved including all the relief details. Only smaller fractures in connection with the joints of the stone blocks are damaging the image. The figure is described in the text quite similar to that of the first Horus figure, “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven”, though here he is also described as the son of Osiris.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

120. Inner sanctuary (A), southern partition, lower register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 62 (150); *Dendara* I, pl. LXI; Cauville 1990, 44f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The crown is left in a good state of preservation together with the sceptre. Except for the hand holding the sceptre and the feet, the entire body has been badly damaged by cut marks. Only the outlines are left of the figure. The hand holding the sceptre and the feet are left with just minor cut mark damage.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the white crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted. He wears the male tunic and the bull's tail. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut

marks, though with the facial features and the necklace preserved. The king presents the figure of Ma'at. His cartouches are left uninscribed.

In front of the king and facing the deities is the smaller figure of Ihy, wearing the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks leaving no further details such as the prince lock. In his outstretched hand he holds a rattle with a small bird seated on its top, while the object held in his other hand is no longer visible due to later interference. The surrounding text has been badly damaged.

In front of the figure of Ihy is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The text describes the figure as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Ma'at the Great..."

Behind her is the figure of Horus, wearing the Edfu crown. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines still visible. The figure is described in the text as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven, he who comes forth from the Horizon". The text also includes the symbol of Heru-Behutet, i.e., the winged solar disc. The personal register of text of the figure of Horus has been damaged in the latter part.

REMARKS:

The scene is divided in two grey scales of the sandstone between the figure of Ihy and Hathor.

The figure of Hathor is depicted higher than the other figures of the scene.

121. Inner sanctuary (A), western partition, middle register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 62 (148); *Dendara* I, pl. LXII; Cauville 1990, 44f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The crown is in a good state of preservation while the rest of the figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible. The *ankh* has been damaged by cut marks, while the throne and the sceptre have been left without any damage.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

The figure of the king has been badly damaged, erased in various places, leaving no details of any facial features or head decoration. The only preserved details of the king are his kilt and an elongated kilt, both with the feather pattern and the bull's tail. The cartouches are left uninscribed though the solar disc and the serpents are followed by the inscription saying "Behutet, Great God, Lord of Heaven". The king presents two folded textile bands.

In front of the king sits Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap with the Dendera crown with a double set of cow horns and a single solar disc. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The figure is described as "Isis the Great, divine mother of Dendera, the cobra of Dendera...Mistress of the goddesses, the wife of all women (wives)".

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

122. Shrine of the Nome of Dendera (D), western partition, northern part of the inside decoration of the door

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM VI*, 65 (159e); *Dendara I*, pl. LXV; Mariette, *Dendérah II*, pl. 29 (a)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 8



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been damaged due to cut marks, which have been sporadically placed and without erasing all the details. The crown is in a good state of preservation with red colour preserved on the crown of Lower Egypt, the mid-line of the feathers, and the crown spiral; blue colour is preserved on the crown of Upper Egypt. Two sets of cow horns have been placed in this crown, one with a solar disc resting on the upper border of the red crown, and one, without any solar disc, in its normal location. The cap and the wig are fully visible, only slightly damaged due to the cut marks. The necklace is well preserved. The main body is preserved in spite of the cut marks, leaving fragments of red colour visible on the lower part of the dress. The *ankh* and the sceptre are also preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

The figure of the king has been badly damaged, mainly erasing the entire outlines, leaving no details visible. The crown has been badly damaged, only indicating that it once was either the crown of Upper Egypt or the *atef* crown. He is depicted wearing a kilt and the bull's tail, otherwise no details are visible. He presents two textile bands. The cartouches are left unscribed.

In front of him stands the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace with three rows of beads. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, the Two Ladies, the Rekhyt, Chieftess of the throne-room...".

REMARKS:

Blue, white and red colours are preserved in fragments of the hieroglyphic texts. The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

123. Shrine of the Nome of Dendera (D), southern partition, middle register, right

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM VI*, plan on p. 52 (178); *Dendara II*, pl. CXXI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in great condition including the original colours. The crown of Upper Egypt is coloured blue, while the crown of Lower Egypt is red. The double feather plume is in detail coloured in blue and white. The crown spiral is red. Blue, white and red colour decorates the vulture's wings, while the head is painted blue. The wig is painted black. The arm bracelet and the two hand bracelets are coloured blue with a yellow outline. The dress is decorated with red, blue and white colours, forming the falcon feather pattern. The *ankh* is blue and red, while the sceptre is yellow. The throne is decorated with small squares, painted in red, dark blue, turquoise and white colours. The object that has been painted in the corner box is no longer visible in detail, only showing red, blue and white colours. The background of the scene is painted white.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two main figures are depicted in this scene.

A standing pharaoh presents to the female figure. He wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. The crown is painted in blue, red and white colours. Behind his head is a small object depicted, though not totally preserved only possibly indicating a *sa* sign. Above his head, in the right corner, is the Horus falcon with an outstretched wing, decorated in red, blue and white colours. He wears the traditional kilt, which is decorated in a linear pattern in red, blue and white colours, and the bull's tail. The king presents the Dendera crown. The cartouches are left unincised.

In front of him is the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace, arm bracelet, bracelets and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The text described the figure as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, she who appears in her white crown, Chieftess of the red crown, she who dwells in her horns, she who shines in her double feather plume, she who shines in her cow horns and solar disc".

REMARKS:

The hieroglyphic signs are coloured in red, blue and white colours.

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

124. Shrine of Harsomtus (G), eastern partition, lower register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 68 (188); Mariette, *Dendérah*, II, pl. 46; *Dendara* II, pl. CL

CROWN OF THE SCENE: FEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the crown untouched. The crown is well preserved, including red colour fragments on the crown of Lower Egypt. The *atef* feathers are placed on the front side of the white crown and on the back side of the red crown. The wig has been badly damaged due to the cut marks, while the main part of the vulture cap is preserved. There are no facial features preserved and the main body is also badly damaged. The *ankh* and the sceptre are both preserved, though the *ankh* is slightly damaged in connection with the cut marks of the hand holding it. The personal register of text is well preserved including some fragments of colour of the signs.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the left side, wears the triple crown with three falcons sitting on its top, all of them wearing a solar disc on their head. He wears the *khat* cap covering the head and the neck, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The king presents the figure of Ma'at. The main figure of the king has been badly damaged due to cut marks and no further details are visible, though the crown and the top part of the cap are well preserved. The cartouches of the king are left uninscribed, decorated with a blue colour on its outlines and a white colour in the main field. The solar discs above the cartouches have fragments of red colour and the *uraei* are coloured blue. The words spoken by the king are slightly damaged but where preserved they are decorated in blue and red colours.

In front of the king and facing the deity is the smaller figure of Ihy, wearing the double crown and the royal diadem. He holds a nao-formed sistrum in his outstretched hand and in the other hand he holds an object most probably being the *menit* collar, though it has been badly damaged due to cut marks in connection with the hand. The figure of Ihy has been badly damaged, including the crown, and no further details are visible. The figure is described in the text as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor".

In front of him stands the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the female Edfu crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Ma'at of Dendera in the great house of the cobra...".

REMARKS:

The crowns of the king and Hathor are well preserved while the crown of Ihy has been damaged. The king is the tallest figure of the scene.

125. Shrine of the gods of Lower Egypt (H), northern partition, lower register above the door

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM VI*, 69 (167h); *Dendara II*, pl. CLVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible, though the crown and the throne have been left untouched. The *ankh* and the sceptre are also damaged, though still visible. No decoration is visible on the throne.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the crown of Upper Egypt; no further information is visible due to the bad state of preservation. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The crown and the entire figure have been badly damaged by cut marks. A small figure is depicted behind the head of the king, though no longer visible due to the damages. He adores the deities. The cartouches are left uninscribed.

In front of the king and facing the deities is the smaller figure of Ihy. He wears the double crown. No further details are visible due to the damaging cut marks. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar, both badly damaged due to cut marks. He is described in the damaged text as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor".

In front of the figure of Ihy is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. She is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the great Golden One...".

Behind her is another figure depicted, Sekhmet. This figure has been badly damaged, erased in its places, leaving no outlines of the facial features visible. The figure wears a large solar disc with a serpent around it. The object once depicted in her hand, which ought as the *ankh*, is no longer visible and the other hand is raised in a protective manner. The throne of the figure is left untouched.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

126. Mysterious corridor (C), southern partition, lower register, between the shrine of the gods of Lower Egypt and the shrine of Hathor

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 64 (168); *Dendara II*, pl. XCIV

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible. The crown is preserved with minor damage due to cut marks. The wig and the vulture cap are still preserved. Of the face it is only the details of the ear that are preserved, with the rest of the face damaged due to cut marks. Rather clumsy cut marks have destroyed the main body, though leaving some details and the outlines of the body. A deep fracture in the joint of the stone blocks has damaged the *ankh* and the fracture continues, though not as deep, over the figures' knees. Some details of the hand holding the sceptre are still visible. The sceptre is well preserved except for the area of the joint stones. The personal register of text is well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the special triple crown and also wears the *khepesh* cap, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign depicted for protection. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The king presents the figure of Ma'at, holding his other hand in a blessing manner. The cartouches of the king are left uninscribed. The body of the king has been badly damaged by cut marks. The background area shows traces of white colour.

In front of the king and facing the deity stands the figure of Ihy, wearing the double crown, the prince lock, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks.

In front of the figure of Ihy stands Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap. She wears the Dendera crown and is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text describes the figure as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”.

REMARKS:

The figure of the king is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

127. Mysterious corridor (C), northern partition, lower register, on the wall of the inner sanctuary

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 52 (157f.); *Dendara* I, 137f., pls. LXXVII, LXXVI

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been damaged by cut marks, though leaving some details still visible. The crown is in a good state of preservation except for a couple circular marks on the red and the white crown. There is also minor damage on the cow horns and the solar disc. The wig is almost entirely preserved; so is the vulture cap except for some minor damage due to cut marks, though leaving most details intact including the vulture's head. The head of the figure has been badly damaged by cut marks, leaving only the details of the ear visible. The necklace is mainly preserved, though damaged by cut marks. The main body, including the dress and all details, has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving the outlines and the details of the fingers of the hand holding the sceptre. Two joints of the stone blocks divide the figure under the shoulders and above the knees. The *ankh* has been damaged by cut marks, but most of it is still preserved. The sceptre is left untouched by cut marks. The personal register of text is mainly preserved, though a fracture in the stone block is damaging the top part of the second column.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the right side, wears a crown most likely being the triple crown. The stone has been damaged due to a large fracture in the stone, most likely as connected to the cut marks, leaving only some of the outlines of the crown. He also wears the *nemes* wig and a single forehead *uraeus*. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The figure of the king has been badly damaged due to cut marks, especially the head, arms and legs. He is consecrating offerings to the deities, holding a *sekhem* sceptre and another staff or sceptre together with the club in his other hand. The offering table includes birds, bread, cakes and different vessels. The cartouches are left uninscribed and without any colour traces.

In front of the table stands the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text describes the figure as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, [Lady of the Sky, Mistress] of all the Gods...”. A fracture in the stone surface has erased parts of the text.

Behind the female figure stands Horus, wearing the Edfu crown and a single crown *uraeus*. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. Horus holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. With an exception of the wig and the crown, the figure of Horus has been badly damaged by cut marks, leaving only the outlines to guide about its form. He is described in the text as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of the Heaven, the light-giver who comes forth from the Horizon".

REMARKS:

Traces of white colour are preserved in various areas of the scene, maybe indicating later plaster work. The figure of Hathor is slightly higher than the figures of Horus and the king.

128. Mysterious corridor (C), northern partition, lower minor register, on the wall of the inner sanctuary

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 52 (157f.); *Dendara* I, 89f., 119-122, 151-155, pls. LXXV, LXXVII, LXXIX

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged, mainly due to cut marks but also due to large fractures in the stone blocks. The crown has been badly damaged by fractures and cut marks, leaving only fragmentary outlines of its originally form. There are no facial features preserved and the main body has been badly damaged, erased in certain places, leaving only the hand holding the sceptre and the feet visible. The personal register of text is also damaged.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four main figures are depicted in this scene. The scene is in general in a bad state of preservation, damaged both by cut marks and large fractures in the stone blocks. Various figures are coming forth with offerings to three deities. The offering figures have been badly damaged, including the personal registers of text, and the focus will here be put on the deities.

The first deity is the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, daughter of Ra...". The text has been damaged in various places.

Behind her is a figure of Horus which is totally damaged and left without any outlines except the feet, which are still visible. The figure is described in the text as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of the Heaven, he who comes forth from the horizon".

Behind the figure of Horus is the figure of Harsomtus. His crown is preserved, the double feather plume with a solar disc in its centre, and the *ankh* and a *was* stave are also preserved, though in a bad state.

REMARKS:

The scene is in such a bad state, making any further description impossible. The figure of Harsomtus is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

129. Shrine of Hathor (J), southern partition, lower register, left side of the modern stair

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 71 (200); *Dendara* III, pl. CXC

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation with only a fracture due to the joint of two blocks splitting the figure's face. Another joint fragmentises the figure just over the knees. Minor damage due to natural erosion is visible on the lower part of the dress. The *ankh* and the sceptre are well preserved. The personal register of text is well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the left side of the scene, wears the white crown, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the pharaonic beard. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted, though damaged due to a fracture in connection with the joint of the stone blocks. The king wears a three rowed necklace and is depicted wearing the traditional kilt with the bull's tail. He presents the figure of Ma'at. The figure of the king is well preserved, though his legs and the lower part of the kilt have been badly damaged by cut marks. The cartouches are left uninscribed.

In front of the king and facing the deities is the smaller figure of Ihy. He wears the double crown, though no further details are visible due to cut marks. He presents a nao-formed sistrum and in his other hand he holds the *menit* collar. The entire figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks. He is described in the text as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor".

In front of the figure of Ihy is Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The text describes the figure as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Ma'at the Great daughter of Ra, Mistress of the Goddesses and Gods, the Powerful One, Chieftess of the house of the sistrum... Mehnyt...".

Behind her stands the figure of Horus, wearing the Edfu crown and a single *uraeus*. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. No further details are visible due to cut marks which have damaged the rest of the figure including the lower part of the crown. He holds an *ankh* and the *was* stave in his hands. The figure is described in the text as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven, he who comes forth from the horizon".

Remarks:

The female figure of Hathor has been left quite well preserved, while the male figures are all badly damaged. The figure of Hathor is depicted higher than the other figures of the scene.

130. Shrine of Hathor (J), southern partition, middle register, right side of the door

Raised relief
Sandstone
Date: Ptolemaic
Published: *PM* VI, 71 (200); *Dendara* III, pls. CXC, CXVIII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved with the exception of the area where the joints split the figure. One joint is damaging the face just on the line of the eye and the ear. The *ankh*, the sceptre and the throne are all well preserved. The personal register of text is well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four main figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the *khat* cap covering the head and the neck, well decorated with small curls in the relief. He also wears a single forehead *uraeus* and a royal diadem. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign depicted for protection. Above his head, in the corner, is the small falcon depicted stretching out his wings to protect the king and holds the sign of eternity. He is described in the text as “Behutet, great Lord”. He wears a well decorated necklace with several rows of beads. The king is dressed in the typical kilt and the bull’s tail. He presents two textile bands. The cartouches are left uninscribed.

In front of the king, facing the deities and seated on a high podium, is the figure of Ma’at. The upper part of Ma’at is slightly damaged and is further damaged due to a small fracture in connection with the joint of the stones. Otherwise Ma’at is well preserved.

In front of her, facing the king, is the smaller figure of Ihy. He wears the prince lock and the royal diadem. He is depicted naked. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands.

Behind the figure of Ihy is the female figure of Hathor seated on her throne. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and the *was* stave in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The figure is described in the text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Ma’at the Great daughter of Ra...”.

REMARKS:

All figures are well preserved, only damaged due to smaller fractures in connection with the joints of the stone blocks. The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

131. Shrine of Hathor (J), southern partition, top register, higher minor room

Raised relief
Sandstone
Date: Ptolemaic
Published: *PM* VI, 71 (200); *Dendara* III, 85f., pls. CXC

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure slightly damaged due to cut marks, which have been sporadically placed over the entire scene. The figure is further damaged due to minor fractures in connection with the two joints of the stone blocks. The first joint divide the crown from the head and the other joint splits the body just above the feet. The *ankh*, sceptre and throne are all preserved with damage due to cut marks. The personal register of hieroglyphs is also slightly damaged due to fractures in the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the very right, wears a khat cap covering the head and neck, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Above his head is the figure of the falcon holding the sign of eternity, described in the text as “Behutet, Great God, Lord of Heaven”. A small *sa* sign is depicted behind the king’s head. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull’s tail and holds a small close-mouthed vessel in his hand. The figure is well preserved including all the relief details, except for the facial features which have been slightly damaged due to cut marks. The figure is described in the text with two empty cartouches, with the royal titles written in the middle Ptolemaic style.

In front of the king, seated on a high podium, is the smaller figure of Ma’at. She holds and wearing her characteristic feather of Truth. The figure is well preserved.

In front of the figure of Ma’at is the figure of Ihy. He is depicted wearing a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the prince lock. He is depicted naked and holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands. The figure is well preserved including all the relief details. He is described in the text as “Ihy, the great son of Hathor”.

Behind the figure of Ihy is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. Her throne has been left undecorated. The figure is well preserved including all the relief details. She is described in the text as Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods and rulers, Powerful mistress of the divine Kingdom... Ma’at the great...”.

REMARKS:

Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

132. Shrine of Hathor(J), southern partition, top register, higher minor room

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 71f. (200 k); *Dendara* III, pl. CCII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 4



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been damaged in places due to cut marks as well as minor fractures, mainly connected with the joints of the stone blocks. The crown is separated from the figure due to a fracture in the stone block, though preserved without any damage. The face is preserved with only minor damage, centred on the eye. The lower part of the figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, centred on the legs and feet. The handheld objects are mainly undamaged, while the throne has been damaged in several places due to cut marks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the left side of the scene, wears the crown of Upper Egypt, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He is decorated with a multi-lined necklace and dressed in a kilt with the bull's tail. He presents the figure of Ma'at. The figure is well preserved, only damaged by a fracture in connection with the joint of the stone blocks. The cartouches of the king are left uninscribed.

In front of the king and facing the female figure is the smaller figure of Ihy, in the text described in his form as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor". He wears the double crown, the prince lock, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands.

In front of him is the female figure of the scene. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap. She also wears the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather and is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The figure is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who is in the great eternal Horizon... Mehnyt...".

REMARKS:

The relief work of the figures is not of the same quality as those below the niche. Here they are rather simple and sometimes over proportional, which is the case with the arms and hands of Hathor. The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

133. Shrine of the throne of Ra (M), northern partition, lower register above the door

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 72 (175 g-h); *Dendara* III, pl. CCXXII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 4



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation with all the major details preserved. The figure is only damaged due to smaller fractures in connection with the joints of the stone blocks. Two such joints divide the crown in three fragments, otherwise the figure is intact. The handheld objects and the throne are all preserved. The personal register of text is well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four main figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the special triple crown. The king is further wearing the *khepresh* cap, the prince lock, a royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted. Above his head, in the corner, is the small vulture depicted stretching out his wings to protect the king and holds the sign of eternity in its claws. Above his head, in the left corner, is the vulture with its outstretched wing depicted in a guiding and protecting manner. The figure of the king is well preserved including all the relief details, except for the lower part of the feet, which have been damaged due to a fracture in the opening of the door. He stands in an adoring position. The cartouches are left uninscribed and without any traces of colour.

In front of the king and facing the deities is the smaller figure of Ihy, described in the text as “Ihy, the great son of Hathor”. He wears the double crown, the prince lock, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. Except for his necklace, the figure is depicted naked. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands.

In front of the figure of Ihy is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown with an additional single *atef* feather attached to the back of the red crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace with two rows of beads. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The figure is described in the text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Mehnyt the Great cobra...”.

Behind her is another female figure, described in the text as Wadjet. She wears the *atef* crown. She holds an *ankh* in one hand while the other hand is held in a protective manner. The figure is in a good state of preservation with only one minor fracture dividing the top part of the crown from the rest of the figure.

REMARKS:

The figure of the king is depicted slightly higher than the other figures.

134. Crypt (entrance in the shrine of the throne of Ra)(1 sud), southern partition, eastern side of the entry

Raised relief

Limestone (and sandstone?)

Date: Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus Philopator Philadelphos

Published: *PM VI*, 86f. (75), plan on p. 82; Mariette, *Dendérah*, III, 224, 246-252, pls. 2, 5, 31; *Dendara V*, pls. CCCXIII, CCCXIV; Cauville 1990, 54-59; Waitkus 1997

CROWN OF THE SCENE: FEC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation, though badly damaged in the chest-abdomen area due to a large fracture in the stone block. The crown is well preserved with red colour still preserved on the crown of Lower Egypt as well as the solar disc. The ram horns and the cow horns are decorated with a dark blue colour. The *atef* feathers, placed on the front of the white crown and on the back of the red, are coloured yellow. A fracture divides the crown in its centre due to the joint of the stone blocks. The wig and the cap are well preserved including all the relief details. The main body is well preserved except for the above mentioned fracture. The throne is decorated with a large crossed pattern, painted with black colour. The *ankh* and the *was* stave are well preserved. The personal register of text is well preserved and some hieroglyphic signs are still decorated with red and blue colours.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

This scene is probably one of the most discussed and researched scenes in the Dendera temple. The information here will only be very brief. The king, who stands in the very right corner, wears the double feather plume with a solar disc in its centre and is resting upon the ram horns with two *uraei* rising up possibly wearing the solar disc on their head. The king also wears the *khat* cap here decorated with small curls, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus*. He is decorated with a three lined necklace and wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The figure of the king is well preserved, including some fragmentary red colour in various areas of his body. The eye of the king is exaggerated. He presents an altar (casket in *PM*) with the solar disc and the two *uraei*, the symbol of Horus, in its centre. The cartouches are well preserved, only slightly damaged due to a small fracture in connection with the joint of the stones.

In front of the king and facing the deities is the smaller figure of Ihy. He wears the prince lock and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and a nao-formed sistrum in his hands. He is described in the text as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor".

In front of Ihy is the figure of the Hathorian figure seated on her throne. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the female Edfu crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace with three main rows. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. She is described in the text as "Isis the Great, divine mother of Iatdit, she who dwells in Dendera...".

Behind her is a serpent rising up from a lotus growing inside a lotus boat. No further (symbolic) analysing will be done on this character. He is described as "Harsomtus, Great God who dwells in Dendera". The figure is well preserved.

Behind the serpent form of Harsomtus is another figure of Harsomtus depicted in full falcon costume. He wears the double feather plume, a solar disc and a single *uraeus*. The solar disc is painted red. He is described similarly to the serpent version of Horus, as "Harsomtus, Great God who dwells in Dendera, Lord/Master of Heaven". The figure is well preserved.

Behind the falcon Harsomtus is the figure of Ihy, wearing the double crown, the prince lock and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands and in between the two handheld objects, is a register of text now destroyed. The figure is well preserved with only minor damage. He is described in the text as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor".

Behind the figure of Ihy are the more discussed figures depicted. There are two gigantic lotus buds with two serpents inside, a *djed* pillar and smaller figures lifting the mentioned symbols up. This scene will not be further described here.

REMARKS:

There is a clear line, joint of the stone blocks, along the upper part of the scene, separating the scene into two different scales of grey-brown colour. The main figures are all depicted equal in size.

135. Crypt (entrance in the shrine of the throne of Ra) (1 sud), southern partition, eastern side of the entry

Raised relief

Limestone (and sandstone?)

Date: Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus Philopator Philadelphos

Published: *PM* VI, 86f. (70), plan on p. 82; *Dendara* V, pls. CCCCXXIV, CCCCXXVII, CCCCXXVIII;

Cauville 1990, 54-59; Waitkus 1997

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 11



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is mainly well preserved, though badly damaged in various places due to large fractures in connection with the joints of the stone blocks. The crown composition is divided into two parts leaving the area under the joint and of the supposed cow horns and solar disc damaged. The wig is well preserved. The face has been damaged over the ear, the cheek and the lips. The necklace is well preserved showing two rows of beads surrounding the main necklace board. The body is divided in two fragments due to damage in the joint of the stone blocks, splitting the body over its arms and knee. The same damage has erased the knee and a part of the lower leg. The feet are still well preserved. The throne is well preserved except for where the joint of the stone blocks divide it, like mentioned above. The *ankh* and the sceptre are well preserved, including all the details of the head of the *cucupha*, only with minor damage on the lower part of the sceptre. The shaft of the sceptre is coloured blue while the *cucupha* head is red. The personal register of text is mainly well preserved except for in connection with the joint of the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three main figures are depicted in this scene.

In the main scene is the figure of Ma'at seated and holds her feather, more an observer than an active participant. She is dressed in a cork screw wig with the royal diadem with a feather resting on her head. She is described in the text as "Ma'at, who dwells in the house of the Menit". Behind the figure of Ma'at is a large *menit* collar depicted, taking up as much space as the figure of Ma'at.

In front of the figure of Ma'at stands the smaller figure of Ihy, who is described in the text as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor". He wears in a single forehead *uraeus* and the prince lock. He holds a sistrum in one hand and an *ankh* in his other hand. Except for his necklace he is depicted naked.

In front of the figure of Ihy is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace with three main rows of beads. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The text describes the figure as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the chief Eye who appears in her beautiful white crown, the chieftess of her red crown, and her head shines in the solar disc Aten, chieftess of her horns, the Golden One".

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted higher than the other figures of the scene.

136. Crypt (entrance in the shrine of the throne of Ra)(1 sud), northern partition, eastern side of the entry

Raised relief

Limestone (and sandstone?)

Date: Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus Philopator Philadelphos

Published: *PM* VI, 86f. (69) plan on p. 82; Mariette, *Dendérah*, III, pl. 43; *Dendara* V, pls. CCCXIII, CCCCXIV; Cauville 1990, 54-59; Waitkus 1997

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved including fine details in the relief. Except for the damage caused by the joint of the stone blocks, the crown is well preserved. The joint of the stones is dividing the crown just above the cow horns and the sun disc. The wig, the vulture cap and the face is in good condition. The necklace is also well preserved with three minor lines framing the main board. A second joint divide the figure under the hands and just above

the hips. Minor damage is visible on the right arm of the figure, though leaving the *ankh* intact. The sceptre is well preserved, as well as the throne. The personal register of text is well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the right side of the scene, wears the white crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the pharaonic beard. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. He stands before the deities. The figure of the king is well preserved.

In front of the king, facing the deities stands the smaller figure of Ihy, described in the text as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor". He wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the prince lock. Besides the normal necklace he wears a chain with an amulet. Except for the necklaces he is depicted naked. He holds a nao-formed sistrum in the outstretched arm and the *menit* collar in his other hand.

In front of the figure of Ihy is the figure of Hathor seated. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown with an additional single *atef* feather attached to the back of the red crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The figure is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Mehnit, Mistress of her sistrum, she who satisfies her son Ihy".

Behind her is another form of Hathor, depicted in the form with a falcon body and human head. She wears the large cow horns and solar disc on a low modus. She is described in the text as "Hathor, Lady of Dendera".

REMARKS:

The form of the second figure of Hathor is unusual for the Temple of Dendera, though the majority of the figures, except for the main deities, are exaggerated and abnormal. The figure of Hathor is depicted higher than the other figures.

137. Court of the first feast (R), eastern partition, main register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM VI*, 59 (124); Mariette, *Dendérah*, II pl. 7 (e); *Dendara IV*, pl. CCCI; Cauville 1990, 60f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the main outlines visible. The hieroglyphic text is also damaged.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the very left, wears the triple crown. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail and holds the *sekhem* sceptre and two other sceptres in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the crown and the bull's tail untouched. Fractures in the stone block have damaged the relief. The king is described in the text with two empty cartouches with the royal titles written in the middle Ptolemaic fashion. The king consecrates offerings before the deities. It is an gigantic offering table with various objects.

In front of the offering table is the smaller figure of Ihy who is facing the king. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks and no head dress or decoration is visible. The figure is depicted naked with only a shawl hanging down from his shoulder. He holds one finger in his mouth and the other hand holds a now unrecognisable object. The hieroglyphic text is just as badly damaged as the figure, leaving only a vague outline of the name of Ihy.

Behind the smaller figure of Ihy is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown, though the cow horns and solar disc are not preserved due to the damage. She wears the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible. She is described in the damaged text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, the Eye (who is) the daughter, Lady of the divine Kingdom, female Ruler of the offerings, she who shines as gold”.

The figure behind Hathor is Horus. He wears the Edfu crown. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull’s tail and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible. The personal register of text is almost entirely erased due to cut marks.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

138. The Pure Place (R), eastern partition, middle register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 60 (131); Mariette, *Dendérah*, II, pls. 4f.; *Dendara* IV, pls. CCCVII-CCCX; Cauville 1990, 60f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: FEC 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks. The crown has been just as badly damaged as the main body, leaving only the main outlines visible. The *atef* feathers are placed on the front side of the white crown and on the back side of the red. There are only vague outlines preserved of the cow horns and solar disc. The main body, including the facial features, has been badly damaged, leaving only the main outlines visible. The throne has been left untouched, with blue coloured zigzag pattern painted on it. The *ankh* has been badly damaged, while the sceptre is in a little bit better state of preservation, though still damaged. The personal register of text is well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Two figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears a large solar disc with the *atef* feather rising up on each side of the crown resting upon the ram horns. He also wears the *khepre* cap. No further information is possible due to the bad state of preservation. He is dressed in a kilt and the bull’s tail. The king presents a nao-formed sistrum and a loop sistrum. The figure of the king has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the main outlines still visible. The cartouches are left uninscribed and untouched by cut marks.

In front of the king is the figure of Hathor seated on a throne. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap and female Edfu crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is described in the text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Raat, her ... does not exist... beloved mistress and divine wife...”.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted slightly higher than the figure of the king.

139. The Pure Place (R), southern partition, lower register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 61 (133); Mariette, *Dendérah*, II, pls. 2f.; *Dendara* IV, pl. CCCVI; Cauville 1990, 60f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged, almost entirely erased, due to cut marks, leaving only the main outlines visible. The crown has also been badly damaged. There is some blue and white colour preserved on the personal register of text's hieroglyphs.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the very left, wears the white crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail and holds an offering tray with two large libation vessels, elongated lotus flowers and a *was* stave. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving some traces of blue, yellow and white colour. The king is described in the text with two empty cartouches.

The figure in front of the king, facing the deities, is the smaller figure of Ihy. He wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He is depicted naked and holds an over dimensional nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands. The figure is in a bad state of preservation due to cut marks. The figure is described as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor".

Behind Ihy stands the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks. She is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the daughter (who is the) Eye, who has risen from ancient times, Ma'at...".

Behind Hathor follows Horus. He wears the Edfu crown. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and the bull's tail and holds an *ankh* and the *was* stave in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks. He is described in the text as "Horus of Edfu, Great God".

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

140. The Pure Place (R), southern partition, middle register (2nd from below)

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 61 (133); Mariette, *Dendérah*, II, pls. 2f.; *Dendara* IV, pl. CCCXI; Cauville 1990, 60f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure, including the crown, the sceptre and the *ankh*, has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible. The head of the sceptre is no longer visible. The personal register of text has been damaged.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Five figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the very left, wears the special triple crown. The crown has been badly damaged, though not as bad as the rest of the figure, of which hardly any outlines are preserved today. The offering object is also badly damaged, though identified as the figure of Ma'at. The cartouches of the king are left uninscribed.

In front of the king, facing the deities is the figure of Ma'at standing wearing an *atef* feather on her head. This figure is also badly damaged leaving only fragmentary outlines visible. The personal text is also damaged, though describing her as Ma'at. She holds her hands in a protective or blessing manner.

In front of the figure of Ma'at is the smaller figure of Ihy. He wears the double crown, holding a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar. No further information is visible due to the bad state of preservation of the figure. The handheld objects of the figure are also badly damaged. The text describes the figure as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor".

In front of the figure of Ihy is the female figure of Hathor standing. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as "Hathor-Opet, the Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Ma'at the Great daughter of Ra". The text has been damaged and not clear.

Behind her is the figure of Horus, wearing the Edfu crown. The figure, including the crown, is in a bad state of preservation due to severe damage by cut marks. The handheld objects are not clear. The text describes the figure as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven", though the text has been damaged in some places.

REMARKS:

Blue colour is preserved on the separating lines. Hathor is the tallest figure of the scene.

141. Staircase room above the passage room, northern partition, left main register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM VI*, 92, plan on p. 94 (without number) ; *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 8 (3); Mariette, *Dendérah I*, 216f.; Cauville 1990, 62f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines preserved. The crown is well preserved, though damaged by a fracture in connection with the joint of the stone blocks. The *ankh* and the sceptre are preserved with minor damage. The throne is well preserved, though without any signs of decoration.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the left side of the scene, wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible, though in fragments in various places. The lower part of the body is mainly left without cut marks. The cartouches are left uninscribed. The king presents the figure of Ma'at.

In front of the king is the figure of Hathor seated on a throne. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap. She wears the Dendera crown and is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra who is in his heart, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, female Ruler in Dendera, ruling mistress of the goddesses, Ma'at in the house of gold".

Behind her is the figure of Horus seated on his throne. He wears the Edfu crown. He holds a *was* stave, while the object in the other hand is totally erased due to a fracture in the stone block. The figure is in general badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the main outlines visible. The figure is described as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven, the light-giver who comes forth from the Horizon".

REMARKS:

The thrones have been left completely untouched by cut marks.
Hathor is the tallest figure of the scene.

142. Western stairway, left side

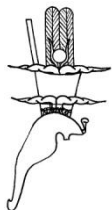
Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Cleopatra VII

Published: *PM VI*, 92, plan on p. 94 (without number); Mariette, *Dendérah*, pl. 21, text on pp. 200-209; Cauville 1990, 62.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 26



HANDHELD OBJECTS: Loop sistrum and a nao-formed sistrum

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The crown is in a good state of preservation. The wig is also well preserved with only minor damage. Of the facial features it is only the ear that still is visible. The eye, nose and lips have been damaged. A fracture has damaged the figure at the area next to the eye. The necklace is well preserved, showing several lines of beads. The handheld objects are well preserved and detailed.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

The scene is a long procession starting at the bottom of the stairway. This will not be described here. The figure of the queen wears a tripartite wig, a single forehead *uraeus* and a tiara of *uraei* and the crown of Arsinoë with a double set of ram horns, the first at the bottom of the crown, the second on top of the red crown. She is dressed in a very thin sheat dress (if dressed at all) and wears a necklace and bracelets. She holds a nao-formed sistrum and a loop sistrum in her hands. The cartouche belonging to the figure has been left uninscribed. The figure is described as the “Female Ruler (Queen) Lady of the two Lands”, ending in an empty cartouche.

REMARKS:

The figure of Cleopatra is depicted wearing an identical crown to this also in other places in Dendera. For these see *Dendara* III, pl. CCXVIII and II, XCIV.

143. Roof (of the outer hypostyle hall) structure, northern partition, under the modern stairway

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Roman

Published: *PM* VI, 80 (264f.), plan on p. 94 (264f.); *Descr. de l'Égypte* IV, pl. 28; *Dendara* I, pls. XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXX, XLII

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation, except for the face which has been badly damaged due to cut marks. Otherwise the figure is only damaged due to the joints of the stone blocks. All other details are clear.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the right side of the scene, wears the red crown with the *atef* crown in the place where normally the white crown is placed. two *uraei* are placed on the sides of the *atef* crown which is resting on the ram horns. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign depicted. The emperor is dressed in a kilt which is highly decorated together with the abdomen and the bull's tail. He holds two vessels. The figure is well preserved except for the face which has been badly damaged due to cut marks. Cut marks have also damaged parts of the arms and hands as well as the ram horns of the crown. The cartouches of the emperor states “Great House”, i.e., pharaoh.

In front of the emperor is the figure of Hathor seated on a throne. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap and the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Mistress of all the Goddesses, Mistress of all the Gods.”.

Behind her stands the figure of Horus who wears the female Edfu crown. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure is well preserved with only minor damaged in the facial area due to cut marks. He is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

REMARKS:

The scene is not clearly visible today due to the modern staircase built over it. The figure of the king is slightly higher than the figure of Hathor.

144. Door lintel, western Osirian Chapel

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 94 (9f.); Mariette, *Dendérah*, 287-293, pl. 1 (e); Cauville 1990, 78-81

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7 + low modus



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in general in a good state of preservation. The crown has some minor damage, on the bottom part of the white crown and on the cow horns and the sun disc, due to natural erosion. The face has been damaged due to cut marks, leaving no traces of facial features or details. The majority of the wig and the cap are well preserved. The main body is well preserved except for the arm that holds the *ankh*. That arm shows minor damage and so does the *ankh*. The throne and the sceptre are in a good state of preservation.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Six figures are depicted in this scene.

The first figure, depicted on the very left, wears the lunar disc in a crescent, usually the attribute of Khonsu. He wears the traditional male wig and the pharaonic beard. The figure is well preserved, only slightly damaged in the back due to the cut of the lintel. He is described in the text as Aah.

In front of this figure is the figure of Ihy, described in the text as “Ihy, the son of Hathor”. He is depicted wearing the double crown, the prince lock, the royal band and possibly also a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and a *menit* collar in his hands.

In front of the figure of Ihy is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed a low modus and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheath dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The figure is described in the text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, daughter of Atum”. Small hieroglyphic signs have faded due to natural erosion.

Behind her is a figure of Isis seated on a throne. She wears the large cow horns and solar disc and the double feather plume; all resting on a low modus. A single *uraeus* is depicted hanging down from her crown. She holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is described in the text as “the great goddess Isis”. The figure is slightly damaged due to cut marks.

Behind the figure of Isis is the figure of Horus, wearing the double crown and a single forehead *uraeus*. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. The figure is slightly damaged due to cut marks. He is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

Behind Horus is a female figure seated, whose crown has been destroyed and left without any outlines. The hieroglyphic text has been destroyed where it usually displays the name of the figure, leaving only the information “Lady of Dendera” and the title “Daughter of Atum” on the other. This female figure holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave.

REMARKS:

The figure of Isis is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

145. Kiosk of Hathor, western partition, middle interior register

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 101 (105) ; Jequier 1920, III, pl. 66 (1); *Dendara* I, pl. XLI; Cauville 1990, 65-67

LEFT SCENE:

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* staff

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in general in a good state of preservation. A break in the stone has damaged the back part of the wig, the vulture cap and the lower part of the crown. A joint between two stone blocks divide the crown in two fragments, with a fracture at the top of the crown. Except for the above mentioned damage, they are preserved in detail. The vulture head is still preserved, though slightly damaged due to natural erosion. Minor damage due to cut marks is visible on the chest and the arms of the figure. Otherwise the figure is well preserved including the throne, only damaged by the joint of the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four main figures are depicted in this scene.

The king wears the *khat* cap covering the head and the neck and a single forehead *uraeus*. The figure has been damaged due to cut marks, especially in the facial area. The cartouches are left uninscribed and in addition has the Horus name been left uninscribed. Besides the unwritten Horus name is the small figure of Nekhbet depicted wearing the white crown; placed above a cluster of lotus plants, symbolising the same. The king adores the deities.

In front of the king is the figure of Ma'at seated on a throne, facing the female figure. She holds her feather in her hands and is also decorated with a larger feather on her head. She is described in the text as "Ma'at, Daughter of Ra".

The figure of Ma'at is depicted just next to the smaller figure of Ihy, who wears the double crown. No further information is available due to cut marks but mainly due to fractures in the stone surface. He is described in the text as Harpocrates in his form of "Ihy, the great son of Hathor". The surrounding text of Ihy has been damaged.

In front of Ihy is the female figure of Hathor seated on a throne. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff in her hands. The figure is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all [the Gods], image of Ma'at the Great...". The text has been damaged due to a fracture in the stone surface. The deities are placed within a shrine.

RIGHT SCENE:

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and *was* staff

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The crown is preserved with the exceptions of the area around the cow horns (no sun disc is visible) and the top part where the joint of the stone blocks has damaged it. The vulture cap, the wig and the face has been badly damaged due to cut marks, stretching down to the chest and only leaving the outlines to guide about the original form. Parts of the arms, legs and hips are still preserved, though damaged by cut marks. The throne has been left un-destroyed. The *cucupha* head has been erased by cut marks, only with its outlines preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four main figures are depicted in this scene.

The king is here depicted without any crown and due to the bad state of preservation of this figure only the royal diadem is visible of any decoration. A small figure is depicted behind the head of the king, though no longer visible due to later damage. Here again he wears the elongated kilt. He adores the deities. The cartouches are left un-inscribed. Similarly to the left side, these cartouches are followed by an empty Horus name. The personal register is followed by a cluster of papyrus and the figure of Wadjet, wearing the red crown, though damaged; all of which are symbolising Lower Egypt. The figure of the king has been badly damaged due to both cut marks and to natural erosion. The cut marks have been centred in the facial area and the raised hand with less damage on the upper part of the body, i.e., the abdomen, leaving the lower part of the body, from the knees and down, untouched.

In front of the king, facing the figure of Hathor is the figure of Ma'at seated on a throne, holding her feather. The figure has been damaged both by cut marks and by natural erosion. She is described as being "Ma'at, Daughter of Ra" in the text.

In front of her and facing the figure of Hathor is the figure of Ihy standing, wearing the double crown. The figure, especially the facial area, has been badly damaged due to cut marks, natural erosion and fractures in connection with the joint of the stone blocks. In the damaged text he is described as "Ihy, great son of Hathor".

In front of Ihy is the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. The text describes the figure as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Ma'at the ruling daughter of Ra...". The text has been badly damaged due to fractures in the stone surface. The deities are placed within a shrine.

The winged solar disc is depicted above the entire scene with the additional pendant *uraei*. The curved part where the solar disc is depicted is crowned with a board of *uraei*.

REMARKS ON BOTH SCENES:

The two scenes form a unity in their own, with the two figures of Hathor sitting back to back, being the largest figures of the scene. The king is depicted as the Lord of Upper Egypt on one side and of Lower Egypt on the other side, clearly underlining that the two scenes are as looked upon as one scene. The deities are placed in two shrines but the floor level is uniting them into one structure rather than two. Above the scenes is a winged solar disc. The right figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks while the left figure has not.

146. Eastern stairway chamber (V), northern partition, lower register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemaic

Published: *PM* VI, 55 (85f.), plan on p. 52 (85f.); Cauville 1990, 62f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible, though the lower part of the body is only damaged by sporadically and randomly placed marks. The crown has been damaged by cut marks as well, though leaving the outlines of the details visible. No facial features are visible, though the face has not totally been erased. The back part of the wig still shows the curls, while the vulture cap has been badly damaged with only the major outlines preserved. The handheld objects are preserved, though the *ankh* has been damaged by cut marks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four main figures are depicted in this scene.

The king, standing at the left side of the scene, wears the *khepresh* cap with a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Behind his head is a small *sa* sign depicted for protection. Above his head, in the left corner, is the vulture depicted with outstretched wings, holding the sign of eternity. The figure of the king has been badly damaged due to cut marks, though leaving some of the details visible including some facial features. The objects that the king presents have been damaged by the same cut marks that damaged his hands, leaving only the top part intact, though showing that it is two incense cups. The cartouches of the king are left uninscribed.

In front of the king and facing the deities is the smaller figure of Ihy depicted wearing the double crown, the prince lock, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He is described in the text as “Ihy, the great son of Hathor”. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks and no details are visible except for the main outlines. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands.

In front of the figure of Ihy is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Hathor the Great... Chieftess of all the Gods, she with the beautiful face and she who is sweet of love”.

Behind her is another figure of Ihy. He wears the double crown and a single forehead *uraeus*. No further details are visible due to the bad state of preservation of the figure. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

147. Temple of Isis, enclosure wall, eastern partition, middle register (2nd from below)

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 102 (without number); *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 32; *Dendara* I, pls. XIII, XIV; Cauville 1990, 87f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1 + low modus



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and *was* staff

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved without any major damage. She is slightly damaged in the facial area due to cut marks. Otherwise the figure is only damaged due to fractures in connection with the joints of the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the very right, wears a *kheprsh* crown with a single forehead *uraeus* and a royal diadem. His crown is composed of a large solar disc and two *atef* feathers. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail and holds two mirrors in his hands. The figure is well preserved except for minor damage due to cut marks centred in the facial area. He is described in the text as Emperor Augustus.

In front of the emperor is the figure of Hathor seated on a throne. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She wears the traditional sheath dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The throne is left undecorated. The figure is well preserved except for some minor damage in the facial area due to cut marks. The figure is described in the text as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the Horizon...".

Behind the figure of Hathor is the anthropomorphic figure of Horus. He wears the Edfu crown. He is dressed in the traditional kilt and bull's tail and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The throne is left undecorated. The figure is well preserved except for minor damage on the facial area. The figure is described in the text as "Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven, Lord of Dendera".

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

148. Temple of Isis, western room, eastern partition, lower register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Roman (cartouches faded)

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 102 (9f.); *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 32; *Dendara* I, pls. XIII, XIV; Cauville 1990, 87f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 7



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible. The crown is also damaged by the cut marks, though with the details still visible. The cap and the wig are both damaged by cut marks; the wig does not seem to have any curls. No facial features are preserved. The main body has been badly damaged not only by the cut marks but also by fractures in the stone blocks, mainly centred on the lower part of the body. The *ankh* is slightly damaged in connection with the damage on the hand, while the sceptre is in a good state of preservation. The surrounding text has been damaged and not completely readable.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four main figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the left side of the scene, wears the triple crown. He wears the *khat* cap covering the head and neck, with a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Behind his head is a small monkey depicted and above his head, in the left corner, is the winged solar disc with a pendant serpent wearing the crown of Upper Egypt. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible. The cartouches have been damaged due to natural erosion and maybe also later interference, with the inscribed name faded and mainly unreadable. He presents the figure of Ma'at.

In front of and facing the king is the smaller figure of Ihy, wearing the double crown. No further details are visible of the figure due to the damage made by cut marks. The handheld objects are also damaged and vague in their appearance, though one is most definitely a rattle while the other might be either an *ankh* or a *menit* collar.

Behind the figure of Ihy is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave. She is described in the text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Ma’at the Great, Chiefess of Iatdit [...], satisfies the Gods [...]”. The text has been damaged and not clear.

Behind her is the figure of Horus, wearing the Edfu crown. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible. He is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

REMARKS:

The emperor is most likely Augustus, judging from the surrounding scenes. The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

149. Temple of Isis, western room, eastern partition, top register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM* VI, plan on p. 102 (9f.); *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 32; *Dendara I*, pls. XIII, XIV; Cauville 1990, 87f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been damaged by cut marks, though leaving most of the details and outlines visible. The crown is well preserved, only damaged by the joint of the stone blocks. The wig and the cap are also well preserved, though there are no signs of any curls of the wig. The face is only slightly damaged, in the area around the mouth; otherwise the details are mainly visible. The main body is still showing all the major outlines. The throne, the *ankh* and the sceptre are all well preserved, though without any decorating patterns visible. The surrounding text has been damaged and not completely clear.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three main figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing in a running position at the left side of the scene, wears the *atef* crown resting on the ram horns and with two *uraei* rising up wearing solar discs on their head. He also wears the *khat* cap covering the head and neck, with a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Above his head, in the left corner, is the winged solar disc depicted with a pendant serpent who wears the crown of Upper Egypt. The emperor wears a male tunic and the bull's tail. He presents a bird and in his other hand he holds a long club. The cartouches of the emperor are slightly damaged and not completely clear, though indicating the identity of the emperor as Augustus. The figure is well preserved, only with minor damage.

In front of the emperor is the Hathorian figure depicted. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne.

Behind her is the figure of Horus seated on a throne. He wears the double feather plume and a solar disc with an additional serpent in its centre. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure is well preserved including the facial features, though slightly damaged in areas of the main body.

The personal registers of text of both divine figures are unfortunately too unclear or damaged for the present author to absolutely translate them. The text of the Hathorian figure is here interpreted as “Hathor the Great” while that of the male figure most probably shows Harsomtut.

REMARKS:

The figures of the scene are equal in size.

150. Temple of Isis, western room, southern partition, middle register (2nd from below)

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM VI*, plan on p. 102 (without number); *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 32; *Dendara I*, pls. XIII, XIV; Cauville 1990, 87f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1 + low modus



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* staff

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been damaged due to large and sporadically placed cut marks, though leaving the majority of the details and outlines visible. The crown is well preserved, only slightly divided due to the joint of the stone blocks. The face is slightly damaged, though leaving most of the outlines of the eye, the ear, the nose and the lips. The wig and cap are well preserved, with minor damage due to the rough cut marks. The main body is well preserved with the same damage as described above. The throne, the *ankh* and the sceptre are all well preserved. The text is slightly damaged due to the joint of the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Five main figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the left side of the scene, wears the four-feathered crown resting upon a low and narrow modus. He wears the *khat* cap covering the head and the neck, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Behind his head is a small figure of a monkey depicted. The emperor wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The figure is well preserved in general. He is described in the text as Emperor Augustus. He presents either the sed-festival sign or a *naos*, the object is too damaged in order to recognise.

In front of the emperor, facing the deities and seated on a table, is the smaller figure of Ma'at. She holds her feather and is also depicted with a feather on her head. She is described in the text as “Ma'at, Great beloved Daughter of Ra”. The figure has been damaged due to cut marks, though leaving most of the details still visible.

In front of the figure of Ma'at is the smaller figure of Ihy, wearing the double crown, the prince lock, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and the *menit* collar in his hands. The figure is depicted naked. He is described in the text as Ihy.

In front of the figure of Ihy is the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff in her hands. The figure is seated on a throne. She is described in the text as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”.

Behind her is the figure of Horus who wears the Edfu crown and a single forehead *uraeus*. The crown is slightly damaged in the right corner due to later interference. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* staff in his hands. The figure is well preserved, including the facial features, only with minor damage due to sporadically placed cut marks. The figure is described in the text as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

REMARKS:

The emperor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

151. Temple of Isis, eastern room, western partition, lower register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Roman

Published: *PM VI*, plan on p. 102 (without number); *Descr. De l'Égypte*, pl. 32; *Dendara I*, pls. XIII, XIV; Cauville 1990, 87f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible. The upper part of the crown is mainly left untouched, while the lower part has been damaged by cut marks. The wig and the cap are both badly damaged, preserved without any details. There are no facial features preserved and the main body has been damaged in the same fashion. The handheld objects are preserved, though both damaged by the cut marks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor wears the double crown resting upon the ram horns and with two *uraei* rising up on the sides of the crown. He wears the *nemes* wig with a single forehead *uraeus*. Behind his head is a small *sa sign* depicted for protection. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The figure has been badly damaged leaving only the main outlines visible. The emperor presents a small circular vessel to the deities.

In front of the emperor and facing the deities is the smaller figure of Horus, wearing the red crown. The figure has been badly damaged and leaves no further information about any decorations or details. He holds a nao-formed sistrum and an *ankh* in his hands. He is described in the text as "Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris".

In front of the figure of Horus is a Hathoric figure. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre in her hands. She is described in the text as "Isis the great of *Iatdit*, Lady of Dendera...".

Behind her is a figure of Osiris, wearing the *atef* crown resting on the ram horns and a royal diadem. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the major outlines visible.

REMARKS:

The figures are equal in size.

152. Eastern gate, western partition on the northern side, lower main register

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM* VI, 108; Champollion 1844, II, 311-314; *Dendara* I, pls. IX-X; Cauville 1990, 87f.

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is mainly in good condition, today partially covered by bee hives. The details are clear and fully visible. The face has been damaged due to cut marks, leaving only the outlines of the eye, nose, lips and ear. The vulture head is well preserved. Hair locks are visible under the wig. The dress is decorated with the falcon feather pattern ending up in a linear pattern and a square board at the lower part of the dress. The *ankh* and the sceptre are well preserved, including the details of the *cucupha* head.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the right side of the scene, wears the red crown with a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. Above the red crown he wears the Osirian *atef* crown with two *uraei* rising up on the sides wearing solar discs on their head; all resting on the ram horns. He wears a decorated kilt and the bull's tail; the abdomen area is also decorated. He presents the field of reeds. He is described in the cartouches as Emperor Augustus.

In front of him stands the female figure of the present investigation. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace, arm bracelets and regular bracelets. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The figure is described in the text as "Hathor-Opet, the Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, female Ruler, Powerful One, living daughter of Atum".

Behind her stands Horus wearing the Edfu crown. He holds the *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The figure is well preserved, only slightly damaged. The personal text of this figure is describing him as Ihy.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is slightly higher than the other figures of the scene.

153. Eastern gate, northern partition on the southern side, lower main register

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM* VI, 108; Champollion 1844, II, 311-314; *Dendara* I, pls. IX-X

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 8



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is well preserved only with minor damage, especially in the face. The crown has been damaged by some minor circular marks while the facial features are barely visible due to damage made by cut marks. The painting and relief decoration of the dress are still visible, showing a linear white pattern. The handheld objects are well preserved.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the left side of the scene, wears the crown of Lower Egypt, decorated with a circular pattern, the *atef* crown, the cow horns and solar disc; all resting on the ram horns. He is also decorated with a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. His kilt is decorated in the relief and he also wears the bull's tail. He presents two plants. The figure is in a good state of preservation except for the face which has been damaged by cut marks. He is described in the text as Emperor Augustus.

In front of him stands the smaller figure of Ihy on a table lifted by the *sema* sign. He wears the double crown, the prince lock, a single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem. He holds an *ankh* in one hand, while suckling on the other. He is described in the text as "Ihy, the great son of Hathor". The figure has been badly damaged due to cut marks.

Behind Ihy stands the figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap and the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The hieroglyphic text describes the figure as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...".

Behind her a figure of Horus who wears the Edfu crown. He also has a single forehead *uraeus*. His clothing is decorated with the small circular feather pattern. The figure is in a good state of preservation but cut marks have damaged the upper part of the face. He is described as the "Horus, Great God, Lord of Heaven".

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

154. Eastern gate, eastern partition on the southern side, middle register (2nd from below)

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Augustus

Published: *PM* VI, 108; Champollion 1844, II, 311-314; *Dendara* I, pls. IX-X

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DEC 1



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a *was* stave

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation including relief details. The only visible damage, though not damage on the stone, are the bee hives scattered all over the figure. Three joints of the stone blocks leave the figure in four fragments. Traces of red colour are still visible on the double feather plume and the crown spiral and white colour on the crown of Upper Egypt. No other colours are visible. The face is slightly damaged due to a joint in the middle of the face, dividing it into two fragments. The dress is decorated with the falcon feather pattern ending up in a square linear pattern at the lower part of the dress. The handheld objects are well preserved, though the *cucupha* head is slightly damaged due to the joint of the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Three figures are depicted in this scene.

The emperor, standing at the left side of the scene, wears the triple crown with three falcons on top it. The crown also includes the back part of the red crown and on the other side of the triple crown, the front of the red crown and the spiral are visible. This crown composition rests on top of the *nemes* wig. The figure is in general in good condition but suffers from the same as the female figure, the bee hives. There are relief details on the emperor's kilt, showing the falcon, a flower and another central scene with two *uraei* with its middle section damaged. He also wears the bull's tail. The emperor presents a sphinx and an ointment cup. He is described in the text as Emperor Augustus.

The figure in front of the emperor is the female figure of Hathor. She wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap and the Dendera crown. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace and bracelets. She holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in her hands. The text describes her as "Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Golden One...".

Behind her stands the falcon headed figure of Horus. He wears the solar disc on his head. He holds an *ankh* and a *was* stave in his hands. The clothing is decorated with the small circular feather pattern. He is described in the text as "Horus, Great God of Edfu, who dwells in Dendera".

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted slightly higher than the figure of the emperor.

KALABSHA

155. Hypostyle hall, western partition, left side of the door, top register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Late Ptolemaic or Roman

Published: *PM* VII, 14 (20-21); Gauthier 1911, 210-221, pls. LXXIV-LXXVII; Berlin photos 1843

CROWN OF THE SCENE: DECA 3



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and a papyrus sceptre

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a good state of preservation including relief details. The only damage is due to the joints of the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Four figures are depicted in this scene.

The king presents to two deities, Hathor and Horus. The ruler wears the *atef* crown, with an additional solar disc and ram horns. The crown is also decorated with two *uraei*, one on each side of the *atef*, directly connected with the ram horns. He also wears the royal diadem. His face, which is made in far from the right proportions, is decorated with the traditional pharaonic beard. Behind his head is a small *sa sign* depicted for protection. He wears the traditional kilt and the bull's tail. The kilt has been decorated with a relief pattern, a simple copy of the normally used pattern. His right hand has been wrongly carved and shows the thumb on the opposite side. He presents the figure of Ma'at. The king is described as *pr* ʿ3 – the great house, i.e., the pharaoh, without any further titles.

In front of him is the seated Hathor who wears a tripartite wig and a vulture cap above which is placed the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather attached to the back of the red crown and two *uraei* wearing solar discs. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace and bracelets. She holds an *ankh* and a

papyrus sceptre in her hands, though the *ankh* is barely visible and tightly compressed in the narrow space between the knee and the other arm of the figure. The hand holding the sceptre is wrongly carved, now holding the shaft from the incorrect side. The bud of the sceptre is poorly carved and does not resemble its original form. The text is slightly damaged but it describes the figure as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky.”. The text is preserved with some pigments of red colour. The throne is decorated with the small feather pattern and an *ankh* and two *was staves* in the corner box, though irregular and far from the traditionally style.

Behind Hathor is a seated Horus figure, only indicated by its hieroglyphic inscription since the majority of the figure is destroyed and missing. Only the legs, the hand holding the *ankh* and the throne is left. The throne is decorated with vertical stripes and holds a fragmented crossed circle (most probably the city sign) in its corner box. He is described in the text as “Horus, Lord of Heaven”.

Behind the now missing figure of Horus is a sphinx with a human face, wearing the *nemes* wig and a pharaonic beard. The crown, if any, is now missing due to a fracture in the stone block. The figure is poorly carved without the right proportions. The figure is preserved without any hieroglyphic text or titles.

Above the sphinx, in the right corner, is a winged solar disc with a pendent *uraeus* depicted. This figure as well as the sphinx is depicted at the very right side of the scene with its top part relating to the middle section of the main scene and without any symmetrical relationship with the other three figures of the scene.

REMARKS:

The figure of Hathor is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

KARNAK

156. 4th pylon, southern partition, right side of the entry, lower register

Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and Cleopatra III as *theoi Euergetai*

Published: *PM* II, 79 (202 j)

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 5



HANDHELD OBJECTS: No longer visible

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a bad state of preservation due to natural wear and fractures in the stone blocks.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

The scene is only partially preserved, lacking the deity or deities that the figures are offering to. Three figures are depicted on the scene that is preserved: Ptolemy, Cleopatra and Hapi. The figure of Cleopatra wears the crown of Arsinoë. She wears a traditional sheath dress. Ptolemy and Cleopatra are offering two handheld vessels each. According to the hieroglyphic text and the cartouche the figure is “King’s wife, female ruler, Lady of the Two Lands (Cleopatra)”. Subsequently, the couple is described as the *theoi Euergetai* (II).

REMARKS:

The figure of Cleopatra is depicted as the tallest figure of the scene.

KHONSU TEMPLE, KARNAK

157. Right side of the hypostyle hall door leading in to the hall of the barque

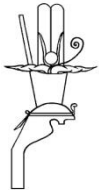
Raised relief

Sandstone

Date: Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and Cleopatra III

Published: *PM II*, plan XX; *Khonsu II*

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 15



HANDHELD OBJECTS: *Ankh* and an unknown object

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The figure is in a bad state of preservation both due to minor cut marks and to natural wear. The crown is in general well preserved with only minor damage. The feather plume is left undecorated (without the details) and the horns are shorter and broader than the usual crown. No clear details of the facial features are preserved except for the outlines of the ear. Two lines of pearls surround the main board of the necklace. A fracture in the stone in connection with the joint of the stone blocks splits the figure just under the knees.

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

The royal couple presents an offering to Khonsu.

The queen stands at the very right of the scene. She wears a tripartite wig, the royal diadem and a single forehead *uraeus* and the crown of Arsinoë. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and wears a necklace. She holds an *ankh* and an unknown object. The text describes the figure as “[...] Lady of the Two Lands (Cleopatra)”.

Subsequently, the couple is described as *theoi Euergetai* (II).

The king wears the *atef* crown with additional ram horns and a solar disc. He also wears the traditional pharaoh's beard. Traces of original relief details on his kilt are still visible and he also wears the bull's tail. He presents a pectoral to the deity; the relief is too badly damaged to identify the figures within the altar.

The figure of Khonsu wears the *atef* crown with additional ram horns and *uraei* with solar discs plus a solar disc in the centre of the crown. Though the crown of the deity is badly damaged and the left corner is missing. The face of the deity is totally destroyed and cut marks have damaged the rest of his body badly.

The left side of the figure is missing.

REMARKS:

The figure of the queen is depicted as higher than the other figures of the scene.

ARMANT

158. Block recorded from the northern register of the inner sanctuary (holiest of holy)

Sunken relief

Sandstone

Date: Cleopatra VII

Published: *Denkmäler IX* (Tafeln), abb. iv.B1.63 c

CROWN OF THE SCENE: AC 27



HANDHELD OBJECTS: offering tray

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

No longer preserved

ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

Nine figures are depicted in this scene.

The queen, standing at the very right, wears a tripartite wig, a vulture cap (the vulture wears a crown of the cow horns and solar disc) and the crown of Arsinoë. A single *uraeus* wearing a solar disc on its head is attached to the front of the red crown. The figure is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and holds an offering tray in her hands. The offering tray includes various objects such as oil, perfume, cakes etc. She is described in the text as “the great female ruler, daughter of Geb ... (Cleopatra)”.

In front of the queen are seven figures of Harpocrates depicted, all seated on thrones, holding the royal regalia in one hand while sucking on the finger of the other hand. They are all depicted naked only decorated with a traditional necklace as well as his typical necklace holding an amulet of the heart.

The first figure wears the triple crown. He wears the *nemes* wig, a single forehead *uraeus* and the prince lock. He is described in the text as “Harakhte, the youth who dwells in the Temple of Dendera”.

The second figure of Harpocrates wears the four-feathered crown resting on a *nemes* wig, a single forehead *uraeus*, the royal diadem and the prince lock. He is described in the text as “Horus-Shu, the great youth”. A connection with the deity Montu is also stressed in the text.

The third figure wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the prince lock. He is described in the text as “Harsomtut, the son of Hathor”.

The fourth figure of Harpocrates wears the *atef* crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the prince lock. He is described in the text as “Horus the youth who dwells in the city of Mendes...he who comes forth of the ram”.

The fifth figure wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the prince lock. He is described in the text as “Ihy, son of Hathor”.

The sixth figure wears the red crown, ram horns topped with the *atef* crown. He also wears a single forehead *uraeus* and the prince lock. He is described in the text as “the son of Sekhet (i.e., strength)”.

The seventh and last figure of Harpocrates wears the double crown, a single forehead *uraeus* and the prince lock. He is described in the text as “Horus the youth”.

The last figure of the scene, standing at the very left, is Isis. She wears a tripartite wig and a large solar disc on her head. She is dressed in the traditional sheat dress and is here depicted with her arms and wings outstretched and she holds an *atef* feather in her hand. Her name is written in the text above her head.

REMARKS:

The iconographical analysis is based on a copy of the relief scene made by Lepsius and published in his “*Denkmäler*”. Based on this the scene/figures will not be described in connection with their state of preservation.

III

ANALYSIS

Chapter III focuses on an iconographic and contextual analysis of the entire material, thus incorporating both scenes with Arsinoë, later Ptolemaic queens and later Hathoric figures. I base this analytical section on the methodological and theoretical premises that I presented in Chapter I, and on the material given in Chapter II. Initially, I analyse each pictorial element of the headdresses and the crowns that together constitute the basis for my classification of the crown compositions. I then proceed to deconstruct their individual units in order to study each their relation to its historical, iconographic applications and associations. This deconstruction includes an investigation of ‘size and relative placement’ of the structure for each element and unit, corresponding to my semiotic approach.²⁹¹ Subsequently, I reconstruct the complete crown compositions. Again, I analyse possible pictorial associations of the complete structure of the crown, incorporating previous, contemporary, and later crown compositions. Moreover, I investigate the symbolic position of the crown in a more general cultural perspective. The headdresses and crowns are presented in accordance with their individual details in Chapters III.1-2, whereas Chapter III.3 analyses the complete crown compositions.

The second section of the analytical part proceeds to investigate the contextual structure of the female figures who wear the crowns under study. I incorporate all pictorial units that connect physically (directly) with the image.²⁹² Thus, in Chapters III.4-5, I deal with handheld objects, clothing and decoration.

Chapter III.6 focuses on the complete contextual setting of the scenes in which the crowns are represented. I concentrate on the offerings presented in the scenes since these objects frequently denote the theme of the scene. Chapter III.6 presents also an analysis of the general setting, which is based on the correlation between all images included in the scenes. Chapter III.7 develops the concepts of figural associations. It concentrates on the overall pictorial structure and the association between the figures, approached conventionally as the organisation, or the harmony, of space. I investigate the ancient Egyptian organisation of iconography, incorporating the concepts of size, position and time. Moreover, Chapter III.7 presents a new approach to evaluating the hierarchy of the figures included in a relief scene. Here, I elucidate my instrument of a crown line.

So far, the analytical chapters have dealt with the iconographic settings of the scene. Chapters III.8-9, however, analyse the hieroglyphic designations of Arsinoë, the later Ptolemaic queens, and the Hathoric figures. The titles are approached with a methodology similar to iconography, based on semiotic and hermeneutic premises. Thus, the female designations are deconstructed, individually analysed, classified, reconstructed and studied in accordance with their associations, and finally correspondence to other individuals presented in the material.

My final analytical chapter, Chapter III.10, deals with a somewhat unconventional theme since it briefly investigates eradication and adjustment of visual representations of the scenes. This

²⁹¹ ‘Size and relative placement’ is described in Chapter III.7, referring to an intentional rearrangement/control of size and figural structure in a scene in order to emphasise the intended message (ex. tallest/largest figure equal the most important).

²⁹² See Morgan 1985, 7-9, and her approach to directly associated units.

chapter includes an analysis of cut marks and recuts of relief décor, traditionally related to iconoclasm or *damnatio memoriae*.

CHAPTER III.1 THE HEADDRESS

I consider the crown as a main individual indicator of hierarchic and socio-religious status, but I have chosen to include the headdresses as well in the classification of each complete crown type. Every detail of the headdress, therefore, can act as determining factors when establishing and classifying each individual crown type. The individual headdresses seldom relate to unique events or specific individuals. Instead, they associate with more general concepts, and they were used by a variety of divine and royal characters.

The different headdresses to be presented here include the tripartite wig, the vulture cap, the single forehead *uraeus*, and the royal diadem. This chapter sets out to morphologically analyse individually communicating units and elements that complement the crowns worn by queens and goddesses. Each pictorial unit/element will be described, analysed and related to others.

TRIPARTITE WIG (TW)

The wig that is illustrated in the material is generally referred to as a tripartite wig. It consists of shoulder-long, straight or braided hair that is divided into three sections, hence its name.²⁹³ It was a common practice to wear a wig in ancient Egypt and it could be worn in various lengths and styles. Royal persons and aristocrats wore wigs made of real hair, while people of lower classes, if wearing one at all, more likely had wigs made of wool, reeds or animal hair.²⁹⁴ Normally, the wig was styled with a combination of curled and plaited hair. Aristocratic women kept their hair and wig long, plaited and with the ends left loose. The long, plaited hair was sometimes decorated with beads, coloured woollen strings or even jewellery.²⁹⁵ In the material, the wig is represented in two styles, which are demonstrated in Table 2.

²⁹³ The earliest female wigs date back to the Predynastic period. Separate hair locks were found in the el-Lisht area during excavations, which suggest that locks were added separately once the main wig, if any at all, was placed on the head. See Green 2001, 73f.

²⁹⁴ See for example J. Wilkinson 1837, 355-357, 369-370.; Lucas 2003, 42f.

²⁹⁵ J. Wilkinson 1837, 369.

Table 2: Variations of the tripartite wig

Described here are the two styles of the tripartite wig as it is illustrated in the material. Each wig is presented with an illustration, the individual code, a description and the scenes in which it is documented.²⁹⁶ The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted within the column of later female figures in order to separate them from the Hathoric figures.



Illustration	Abbreviation	Description	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of wigs
	TW 1	The hair falls down on both shoulders and the back	1L-15R, 17, 20-34, 36	37-60, 62-141, 143-155, 156, 158	157
	TW 2	The hair is hanging down the back	16, 18-19, 35	142, 157	6

Table 2 demonstrates that all images of Arsinoë, the later Ptolemaic queens and the Hathoric figures wear a tripartite wig, except for no. 61.²⁹⁷ In the material, type TW 1 is the more favoured style, used by a majority of the images of Arsinoë, two of the later Ptolemaic queens, and all of the Hathoric figures. When Arsinoë is illustrated on the stelai, she wears this type exclusively. Type TW 1 also occurs frequently in temple reliefs of Arsinoë. As the exceptions, Arsinoë wears type TW 2 in three scenes located in the Edfu Temple,²⁹⁸ and in a scene situated in Tod.²⁹⁹ Cat. nos. 142 and 157 depict two later Ptolemaic queens wearing type TW 2. All other images wear type TW 1.

It is difficult to come to any conclusions about a general message communicated by the most common headdress (TW 1) since it occurs in such a large number of scenes. Type TW 2 places Arsinoë in Edfu, in scenes where she is paired with her husband-brother, dating to later Ptolemaic periods. However, other scenes in the Edfu Temple depict Arsinoë with type TW 1. I regard the dissimilarity between types TW 1 and 2 as an indication of artistic freedom or fashion.³⁰⁰

Herodotus describes that in contrast to other countries, it was customary for the Egyptians to shave their heads, leaving it to grow long only when in mourning.³⁰¹ They replaced their natural hair with wigs. Such a statement concerns mainly the elite, but it is documented as a custom also among commoners. The Greek historian explains that cleanliness was highly

²⁹⁶ As mentioned in Chapter II, all illustrations/drawings are made personally by the author if not otherwise stated.

²⁹⁷ However, cat. no. 61 is damaged. It is plausible to suggest that this image was furnished with a wig originally.

²⁹⁸ Cat. nos. 16, 18-19.

²⁹⁹ Cat. no. 35.

³⁰⁰ The material demonstrates a few examples, cat. nos. 9, 44, 82, 134, 152, of female figures who have hair locks under their wigs. Such detail suggestively indicates a form of artistic license.

³⁰¹ Hdt. 2, 37.

valued in the Egyptian society, and that the priests bathed several times daily.³⁰² Thus, men shaved their heads for reasons of hygiene.³⁰³ However, he goes on to say that women did not shave their head, but kept their natural hair.³⁰⁴ One must then ask oneself if the ancient Egyptians differentiated men from women in regards to cleanliness. In her study on wigs, J. Fletcher concludes that the main reason for the Egyptians to shave their head and wear wigs was to keep parasites, such as lice, away. Moreover, the wig protected the person from the sun, and it was considered a highly fashionable item to wear.³⁰⁵ When comparing Fletcher's conclusions, based on her modern studies of ancient Egyptian material, to those documented by Herodotus, it is surprising to find, therefore, that it was mainly women (the gender group which did not shave) who wore wigs.³⁰⁶ Is it reasonable therefore to assume that they did this mainly as a sign of cleanliness? In my opinion, women wore wigs foremost as a statement of status, and they followed the various trends of fashion. Therefore, I do not believe that the wig indicated cleanliness or religious purity.

Initially, the tripartite wig was created as a pictorial headdress for Hathor, but soon thereafter it decorated also the heads of other goddesses and queens.³⁰⁷ The wig is documented as mainly a female decoration, but also gods and kings could wear it. Osiris, for example, frequently wears the wig under his *atef* crown, something which is documented in both relief and sculpture.³⁰⁸ The difference in male and female wigs in the material is found in the arrangement of the ringlets (see figs.2-3).



Figs. 2-3: The figures show a male and female version of the tripartite wig. Details of cat. no. 88. Photos by the author.

³⁰² Hdt. 2. 37. See for example the newly excavated baths in front of the first pylon of Karnak, dating to the Ptolemaic period. I would like to thank archaeologist Moamen Saad for introducing me to these findings.

³⁰³ Fletcher 1994, 32.

³⁰⁴ Hdt. 2, 65.

³⁰⁵ Fletcher 1994, 32.

³⁰⁶ Fletcher 1994 compares the illustrated wigs to the physical wigs found in tombs dated to a period of over 4000 years. For example, see Juv. 6, 120.

³⁰⁷ Green 2001, 75.

³⁰⁸ Osiris is depicted with the tripartite wig in several temple reliefs, including Dendera. However, he is also documented with the wig on small *shabty* figurines where he is mummified and shows a closer tie to the deceased (one example being the figurine found in the tomb of Neferhotep in the Theban necropolis – TT 50). See Raven 1998, 232-236.

It is difficult to assess any cultural significance of the tripartite wig since it has no definite associations. Based on its frequent occurrence, it can plausibly be argued that it was an item of fashion and tradition. When Arsinoë and the later Ptolemaic queens were depicted with the tripartite wig, they reconnected with previous queens, traditional Egyptian goddesses, and the cultural conventions of fashion.

VULTURE CAP (VC)

The vulture cap was worn by royal women and female deities since the Early Dynastic period, and the element associated the wearer foremost with the goddess Nekhbet, and from the New Kingdom, also with Mut, Hathor and Isis.³⁰⁹ The vulture and its hieroglyphic sign (𐀀 - *nrt*) denoted the (divine) maternal role, and has a connection to the divine sky.³¹⁰ Therefore, it is not surprising that Nut wore the vulture cap in artistic representations.

The cap is generally illustrated as a vulture resting on its stomach above the female head, facing the same direction as the figure wearing it. The wings of the bird are stretched out and smoothly follow the curves of the sides of the head. It is mainly depicted above, and complementing, the tripartite wig. In the material, the vulture cap is represented mainly in one original style with various degrees of detailed relief.³¹¹ However, I have divided the vulture cap in three different types, incorporating also two styles with additional pictorial details attached to the head of the vulture.

³⁰⁹ The cap is documented in art from the 2nd Dynasty. Quibell 1904, pl. 66; Troy 1986, 117; Robins 2008, 67.

³¹⁰ *LGG* III, 251f.; O'Neill 2003, 755.

³¹¹ The variations in décor include a rather simple, undecorated and merely outlined styles, and a more elaborately detailed with each feather marked out.

Table 3: Variations of the vulture cap

The table shows an illustration, the abbreviated code, a description and the scenes in which the cap is documented. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted within the column of later female figures in order to separate them from the Hathoric figures.


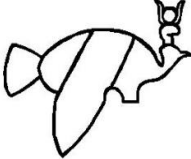

Illustration	Abbreviation	Description	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of caps
	VC 1	Traditionally illustrated vulture cap without any extra details or ornaments	1L-2R, 4-7, 9, 11-15R, 17, 20, 25, 26L-27, 29-34	37-57, 59-134, 136-141, 143-155, 156	145
	VC 2	The vulture head is accompanied by the head of a single <i>uraeus</i> (cat. no. 8) and two serpents are decorated also with the Hathoric cow horns and solar disc	8, 23-24		3
	VC 3	The vulture head is decorated with a Hathoric crown		158	1

Table 3 establishes that a clear majority of the female figures wear this headdress. It is difficult to make any correlation between the cap and any specific time, locality and individuality, similar to the tripartite wig. In the scenes of Arsinoë, the cap is documented in both stelai and temple reliefs, dating to a period from Ptolemy II to Ptolemy IV. Interestingly, most scenes that postdate Ptolemy IV illustrate Arsinoë without this headdress feature.³¹² All scenes dating to Ptolemy II (and Arsinoë's lifetime) show the vulture cap, except for cat. nos. 10 and 36 (and cat. no. 28 in its present state). The scenes of the Edfu Temple demonstrate an artistic irregularity, since two scenes include the cap, whereas the remaining four scenes illustrate Arsinoë without the headdress.

According to Table 3, three images of Arsinoë stand out as exceptions in the material, therefore belonging to type VC 2.³¹³ In this type, the vulture cap is accompanied by an additional *uraeus*. The serpent, moreover, wears a traditional Hathoric crown in the two latter scenes. These two latter figures, illustrated in cat. nos. 23-24, are located within the Karnak Temple complex (the Khonsu Temple and the Gate of Euergetes), in close proximity to each other.³¹⁴ Cat. no. 23 depicts Arsinoë as a beneficiary, paired with Khonsu, to whom Ptolemy II expresses his piety.³¹⁵ Arsinoë is positioned as an individual goddess, associated with the main

³¹² Cat. nos. 3 (Ptolemy V), 16, 21, 35 (Ptolemy VIII). Plausibly, Arsinoë wore the cap also in cat. no. 28, based on the surrounding scenes in the Philae temple. However, the scene is excluded from the table due to its current state of preservation (a large fracture has damaged the figure).

³¹³ Cat. nos. 8, 23-24.

³¹⁴ The *uraeus* of cat. no. 23 rises higher than that of cat. no. 24, most probably indicating only a different artist. Compare this detail of cat. no. 23 to the example given in fig. 7, illustrating Queen Amenirdis.

³¹⁵ My application of the concepts of benefactors and beneficiaries is presented in Chapter III.7, Relative placement – benefactor and beneficiary. The figural setting, including also the offering objects, is demonstrated in Chapter III.6.

deity of the temple in which the scene is located. Cat. no. 24 illustrates Arsinoë as a beneficiary, paired with Ptolemy II as the *theoi Adelphoi*, and with Ptolemy III as the active benefactor. Arsinoë is no longer depicted as an individual goddess (compared to cat. no. 23), but instead as a member of the deified sibling gods.³¹⁶ The two scenes do not provide any substantiation of a message intentionally communicated by the additional pictorial detail. Instead, the two scenes demonstrate a dissimilarity in regard to the cultic roles of Arsinoë, and, moreover, they date to different rulers.

Type VC 3 is based on the cap worn by Cleopatra VII in cat. no. 158. The scene was originally located in the Temple of Armant, most probably dating to the queen's lifetime since she is depicted as an active benefactor.³¹⁷ The basic style of the cap is decorated with an additional traditional Hathoric crown placed on the head of the vulture.

At this point, I cannot interpret the stylistic dissimilarities between the three types as due to anything else than artistic freedom or the local fashion at the time. The scenes that show the two latter types are not extraordinary in any aspects compared to the remaining scenes and cannot, therefore, be utilised as any cultural indicators.



Figs. 4-5: Previously unpublished, fig. 4 (left) can be labelled as a so-called sculptor's model dating to the Ptolemaic period. It shows the combination of the wig and vulture cap.³¹⁸ © Medelhavsmuseet, photo Ove Kaneberg; fig. 5 (right) shows an edited image emphasising the tripartite wig and vulture cap. Photo and editing by the author.

The vulture associates the wearer with the authority of Upper Egypt, with the maternal influence and with a traditional Egyptian part of the dualistic society when accompanied by the *uraeus*. The dualistic element is further attested in Nekhbet's role as one of the eyes of Horus

³¹⁶ See Chapter III.6, Dynastic scenes; Chapter III.8, *theoi Adelphoi*.

³¹⁷ Again, see Chapter III.7.

³¹⁸ Medelhavsmuseet (Mediterranean Museum), Stockholm, inv. no. MM18579.

(the other one is represented by Wadjet), connecting the deity (deities) with Hathor.³¹⁹ The vulture was praised for its excellent sight and hearing, and was a symbol of Upper Egypt already during the Predynastic period. This bird became an emblem closely connected with kingship from the time of the unification of the Two Lands.³²⁰ The vulture was included in the female iconography at an early period, but it is debated when it became associated with royal women. To my knowledge, the cap is documented as a headdress element exclusive to women.³²¹

The vulture and cobra together (see type VC 2) formed the Two Ladies of Egypt, symbolising aspects of femininity and control. The Two Ladies denotes the unification of the Two Lands, in the form of the goddesses Nekhbet of Upper Egypt and Wadjet of Lower Egypt,³²² their union is artistically documented as early as the 1st Dynasty.³²³ When unified, they are called *nbty* – the Two Ladies (see fig. 6). They symbolise dualism and unification, representing Upper and Lower Egypt, the sky and earth as well as the night sky and the solar eye, accompanied by their titles “Lady of the Sky” and “Lady of the Two Lands”.³²⁴ The Two Ladies were regarded as the defenders of not only the ruling pharaoh, but kingship in general.



Fig. 6: The image shows a Late Period scene of Nekhbet and Wadjet. They wear their personal attributes, the vulture and the cobra, represented in the vulture cap and the single forehead *uraeus*. From the Chapel of Amenirdis at Medinet Habu. Photo by the author.

³¹⁹ See Chapter III.9, Eye of Ra – the Hathoric daughter role. Also, see Troy 1986, 115-131, esp. 122-126.

³²⁰ This is documented, for example, in the wedding mace-head of Narmer, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. E 3632; Emery 1961, 46; Troy 1986, 80 fig. 52; B. Lesko 1999, 65.

³²¹ Except for some rather tentative examples, the vulture is documented as a cap in relief scenes from the 5th Dynasty and Queen Khentkaues I. From the 18th Dynasty the cap is a crucial part of the traditional female royal iconography and insignia closely connected with queenship. See Robins 2008, 67f.; Troy 1986, 117f.

³²² For Wadjet and her role as the *uraeus*, see below in this chapter.

³²³ Johnson 1990, 71.

³²⁴ Troy 1986, 123-125.

SINGLE FOREHEAD *URAEUS* (SFU)


The single forehead *uraeus* dates back to the Old Kingdom, and the reign of Pharaoh Sneferu.³²⁵ The Latinised Greek term *uraeus* most likely derives from the Egyptian sign  - *iʿrt*, referring to “the one who rears up” or “the coiled one”.³²⁶ As Table 4 shows, this headdress is represented in two types in the material. Similar to the vulture cap, the two types are separated due to additional details rather than a differentiation in the item itself.

Table 4: Variations of the single forehead *uraeus*

The two variations of the single forehead uraeus are based on the presence or absence of an attached royal diadem. The table display the types with individual illustrations, abbreviations, descriptions and the currently listed catalogue numbers. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted within the column of later female figures in order to separate them from the Hathoric figures.


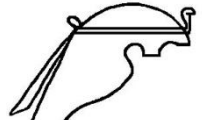
Illustration	Abbreviation	Description	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of <i>uraei</i>
	SFU 1	The single forehead <i>uraeus</i> is depicted without any visible connection to the royal diadem	36	58, 97, 142	4
	SFU 2	The single forehead <i>uraeus</i> is attached or connected to the royal diadem	3, 16, 18-19, 21-22, 35	157	8

Table 4 demonstrates that the single forehead *uraeus* was employed less frequently than the two previous pictorial details. SFU 1 is documented only once in the scenes of Arsinoë, dating to the reign of Ptolemy II. The two Hathoric figures included in this group are the only examples of Hathor wearing any form of single forehead *uraeus*;³²⁷ the SFU identifies the individual types of complete crown compositions.³²⁸ It is difficult to interpret any socio-religious message communicated directly by the SFU 1-unit since it was utilised for Arsinoë, Cleopatra and Hathor in different localities and times.

Type SFU 2 is listed as a headdress element worn by queens exclusively, including Arsinoë and Cleopatra III. All scenes postdate Arsinoë’s and Ptolemy II’s lifetimes, and they are concentrated mainly in the Temple of Edfu. The figural arrangement of these scenes, together with cat. nos. 3 and 35, are classed as dynastic.³²⁹ Assumedly, type SFU 2 associates the queens with their dynastic role, rather than an individual divine position.

³²⁵ Fakhry 1954, pl. XI A; Gardiner, Peet & Černý 1952-1955, Pl. II no. 5; Troy 1986, 119; Albersmeier 2002, 42. It was illustrated as attached to the king’s *nemes* wig already from the 1st Dynasty; Hoffman 1984, fig. 64; B. Lesko 1999, 72.

³²⁶ *LGG* I, 140f.; Andrews 1994, 75f.

³²⁷ See Chapter III.2, *Uraeus*.

³²⁸ See Chapter III.3.

³²⁹ See Chapter III.6, Settings of the scenes.

I consider that there may well have been no difference between these two types and that it is entirely plausible that SFU I also had a painted or narrowly carved diadem initially. The effects of natural erosion, damage, sunlight, and all other factors could well have negatively affected the thin line of a diadem on a relief. However, I cannot assume that the diadem was attached to the *uraeus* at all times in a conventional manner due to its evident absence in some scenes (especially cat. no. 142) and therefore, I retain a distinction between the two styles as represented in Table 4.³³⁰

Ancient Egyptian myths describe the serpent as having lidless eyes, thereby always able to protect the pharaoh.³³¹ The *uraeus*, or the risen cobra in common language, was closely connected with the Egyptian snake goddess Wadjet in her role as the protectress of Lower Egypt. Wadjet was worshiped throughout Egypt, but her cultic centre was located in the area of two cities Pe and Dep, joined together as Buto, in Lower Egypt.³³² The serpent was connected with the battle-stories of Horus and Seth, and she is sometimes described as the eye of Ra, the one who protects the divine ruler against evil.³³³ In the material, this can be compared with the Hathoric title “she whose fiery breath blasts against the enemies” listed in cat. no. 37.³³⁴

In accordance with the myth, Shu and Tefnut, the children of Ra (Atum), were lost in the primeval dark waters, to which he sent his Sole Eye, Wadjet or Hathor, to light it up, and to find and bring back the children. When Hathor/Wadjet, as the eye, returned with Shu and Tefnut to her father, she found that a new eye had taken her place as the eye of Ra. She raged against her father and wept many tears in despair, tears that created the first humans. Ra transformed Wadjet/Hathor into a risen cobra, the *uraeus*, and she became more powerful than any other deity. He placed her at his forehead so that she forever could watch out and protect him against any possible enemies.³³⁵

Moreover, pyramid texts describe how the cobra was given to the pharaoh by the god Geb to legitimate the pharaoh’s position as the monarch of the Two Lands.³³⁶ As the fearsome risen serpent on the brow of the pharaoh, Wadjet/Hathor protected him against evil and all enemies. Without her, the pharaoh would be lost.³³⁷ This is how the Hathoric goddess Wadjet became a frequent unit in the royal iconography (see fig. 6). By wearing the same attribute, the royal women were equally protected by a divine presence who no longer upheld the duality of male and female (as when placed on the pharaoh’s head), but rather became a different aspect of the same myth.³³⁸ The risen cobra symbolises Hathor (and other snake goddesses) as foremost the daughter, wife and protectress of the primeval and most powerful deity. The pharaoh or queen would forever be safe from harm when the unit was placed on his or her forehead.³³⁹

³³⁰ Diadems are documented in archaeological sources, thus suggesting that the band of the diadem in the reliefs actually represents a realistic, physical headdress detail. See Goebis 2001, 321f.

³³¹ Houlihan 1996, 174f.

³³² Modern Tell el-Fara’in.

³³³ Albersmeier 2002, 42.

³³⁴ See Chapter III.9, Eye of Ra – the Hathoric daughter role.

³³⁵ For this myth see for example Pinch 2002, 199f.

³³⁶ Hart 2005, 161.

³³⁷ Compare the myth of Hathor rushing out to the desert and abandoning Ra. See Chapter III.9.

³³⁸ Troy goes further and explains this as being related to the generational roles of mother and daughter, in which Wadjet is interpreted as the youth and Nekhbet as the mother; see Troy 1986, chapter II.6.2.3.

³³⁹ For more information on the significance of the *uraeus*; see Westendorf 1978; *LÄ* I, 562-567; *LÄ* III, 48-51. Egyptian dualism is a commonly recognised aspect of the Egyptian culture and will not, therefore, be dealt with in great detail here. I will repeatedly refer to the concept of Egyptian dualism, and as will be noted below, pluralism, and then refer to the cosmogony or cosmology that separate everything in the Egyptian nature into contradictions. Egyptian ideology was based on the belief that one thing could not exist without an opposite,

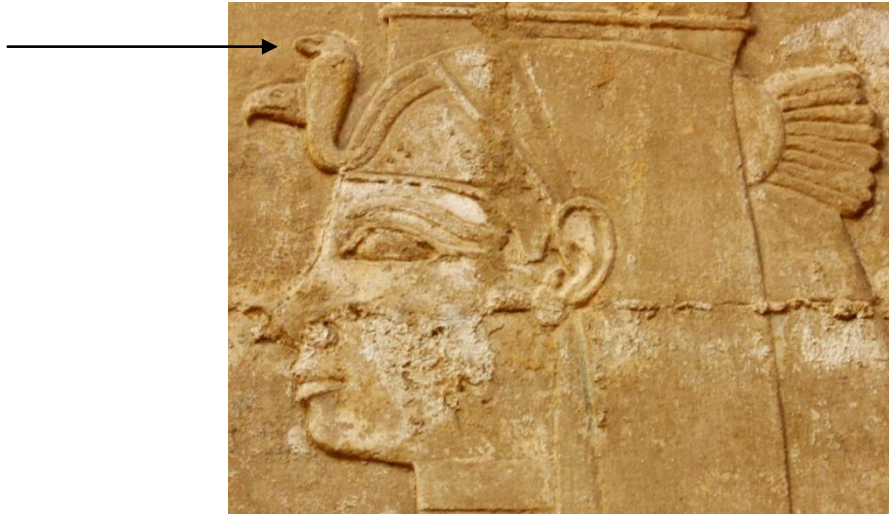


Fig. 7 shows a detail of the Two Ladies, here worn as a crown element by Queen Amenirdis I at the Osirian Chapel, Karnak. The arrow points to the *uraeus*. Photo by the author.



Figs. 8a-b: “Vatican Arsinoë” depicted with two forehead *uraei*.

Arsinoë was the first, and debatably the only Ptolemaic queen to wear the double *uraei*. In order to explain their individual roles as the protectress of Upper and Lower Egypt individually, the two *uraei* frequently wear the white and the red crown, respectively denoting these areas.³⁴⁰ Photos by L. Lundberg.

thus, light could not exist without the dark, and man could not survive without a female counterpart. Egyptian dualism was so deeply anchored in the society, that the people divided their country in two parts, Upper and Lower Egypt, but also in accordance with the fertile land (black) and the desert (red). These concepts have been dealt with by a great number of previous scholars and is explored also in other disciplines (psychology for example), and I, therefore, direct the reader to any of these instead. Two publications have been especially useful for me and I, therefore, refer primarily to these: Troy 1986, *passim*; L. Lesko 1991, *passim*. See also Wilson 1946, *passim*; Frankfort 1949, *passim*; Hornung 1996, *passim*; For a more recent publication, see Khalil 2009, Part I.

³⁴⁰ Calverley & Gardiner 1933, pl. 23; Smith & Redford 1976, pls. 20:2, 23:9, and figs. 35, 36, 41, 58; Lipińska 1977, 43; Troy 1986, 123f. Compare the additional *uraeus* mentioned above, illustrated in cat. nos. 8, 23-24. The two *uraei* are rarely depicted during the Late Period, though there are some exceptions during the Third Intermediate Period, only to once again come into fashion during the Ptolemaic Period. Arsinoë is documented

ROYAL DIADEM

Seven female figures are depicted with a royal diadem, including Arsinoë and Cleopatra III.³⁴¹ The diadem is represented as a thin ribbon, tied in a knot at the back of the head with long streamers hanging down, following the outlines of the wig. The main thin band is seldom marked on the head or wig, but is illustrated instead as a knot or a bow-tie at the back of the head. It is attached to a single forehead *uraeus* resting on the brow. All figures documented with the diadem also wear a single forehead *uraeus* affixed to it.

The royal diadem is connected to the *uraeus* and sometimes the vulture as well, which already has been demonstrated above. Egyptian terminology separated this headdress unit into headbands or fillets made of non-metallic materials and diadems mainly produced in metal.³⁴² As with many other iconographic details, the (cloth) headband served a practical function keeping the hair in place. These functional and simple headbands, which were used by commoners, were most probably made of linen.³⁴³ Apart from the more practical use of the headband, it was worn as pure decoration created with various details and decorative elements.

When decorating the head of a pharaoh or his queen, the practical function expanded to include also being a holder of brow ornaments (*uraeus* and vulture) and the material changed from textiles to gold or some other precious metal, thereby becoming a royal diadem, worn by kings and queens alike, sometimes by princes and princesses.³⁴⁴ The diadem is documented throughout Egyptian history from at least the Old Kingdom.³⁴⁵

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

According to Table 2, it can be concluded that the tripartite wig was a frequently used pictorial detail in the overall composition of female figures. It has proven to be difficult to attach any precise socio-religious interpretations or cultural connotations to the wig, since it is represented so often in the material. Similarly, it was a headdress worn by queens and goddesses alike, excluding any identifiable individual connections. The tripartite wig was connected with mainly female figures, since the pharaohs and the male deities wore the *nemes* or the *khat*. However, in the material the tripartite wig was worn also by processional male deities, mainly the *ka*-figures.³⁴⁶ Therefore, it cannot be stated that the wig was exclusively a female attribute.

wearing the double *uraeus* in statues such as those located today at the Museo Gregoriano Egizio (= Vatican Museum), inv. no. 22681; Leiden, Rijksmuseum F 1938/7.20; and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 38.10.

³⁴¹ Cat. nos. 3, 16, 18-19, 21, 35, 157.

³⁴² Headbands or fillets: *mdh*, *sj3t*, *sšnn*, *sšd*; diadems: *3ht*, *j3bt*, *nfr-ḥ3t*. LÄ VI, 45.

³⁴³ LÄ VI, 46. One can easily see the similarity with the diadem illustrated on the Greek-styled Ptolemaic coins, worn by queens and kings, as well as the two ribbons surrounding the double cornucopia on the coins of Arsinoë. The white, flat headband became a symbol of Hellenistic kingship connecting each individual ruler to Alexander as well as to Dionysus.

³⁴⁴ The single forehead *uraeus* and the royal diadem are together sometimes called the *uraeus* circlet. See Albersmeier 2002, 38-40.

³⁴⁵ Fakhry 1954, 584 with pl.11a.

³⁴⁶ *Ka* and *Ba* figures personify two aspects of the pluralistic soul. The *Ka* signifies the social aspect, and incorporates status and decorum of a person alive. The material emphasises male *Ka*-figures. The *Ba* represents the divine soul, which can move freely between the spheres and return on occasions to a bodily form. Isis and

Nor did the wig have any exclusive regional connections, since it was used by both Upper and Lower Egyptian deities.

Table 3 demonstrates that the vulture cap was also a common pictorial element worn by queens and goddesses. I have divided the element in accordance with additional details rather than a distinction in its individual style. One main type is presented as VC 1, which represents the conventional form. The subtypes, VC 2 and VC 3, include only a few figures each. The vulture cap in VC 2 is decorated in a more elaborate style, since the vulture is accompanied by an additional *uraeus*, sometimes wearing a Hathoric crown. The vulture of VC 3 is decorated with a traditional Hathoric crown and is represented in one scene only, cat. no. 158. The vulture cap is associated with Upper Egypt through the vulture goddess Nekhbet, and the headdress was an important part of the royal female iconography. The cap is at the same time connected with the Hathoric role (as Nekhbet represents a specific Hathoric aspect), in which the goddess protects the pharaoh. It was worn by women exclusively, and symbolises the divine power of protection given to the figure wearing it.

The single forehead *uraeus*, the risen cobra, symbolises Lower Egypt and is associated with Wadjet and Hathor in their roles as protector of the pharaoh. This element does not indicate any gender association, although the *uraeus* itself was feminine. The combination of the vulture and the cobra symbolises the Two Lands, Upper and Lower Egypt, the sky and earth, and the protection of the pharaoh, and is thus an excellent example of Egyptian dualistic symbolism.³⁴⁷

To summarise, the headdresses included in the material communicate an association with the Hathoric daughter role in which the goddess protects her father (or the individual wearing these elements). Generally, the units/elements are used too frequently throughout the Egyptian dynasties and include too many individuals to allow any deeper interpretation. I regard the most frequently occurring headdresses to communicate a message of royal and divine status. Moreover, they emphasised the unbroken lineage delivered from Ra through his divine children to include also the royal family who secured the continuation of the divine Kingdom.

CHAPTER III.2 THE CROWN

Whereas Chapter III.1 investigated the messages communicated by the headdresses, Chapter III.2 focuses on the components that together structure the crowns. This chapter analyses each individual unit of the crown of Arsinoë and the later Hathoric crown. The investigation primarily emphasises the ram horns, red crown, double feather plume, cow horns and the solar disc since these form the crown of Arsinoë and the structural foundation for the later Hathoric crown. The last sections of the chapter deal with additional units that develop and differentiate the later Hathoric crown from the crown of Arsinoë. As a result, Chapter III.2 includes the *atef* feather, the white crown and the double crown. The chapter presents each pictorial unit with a

Osiris are generally believed to personify the female and male *Ba*. See for example Karenga 2004, 180; Török 2009, 424.

³⁴⁷ Egyptian concepts of dualism will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

brief historical iconographic background, religious associations, and presentations of previous, contemporary and later wearers.


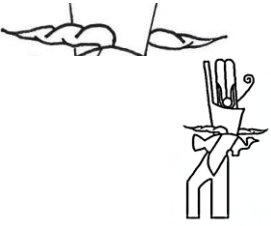
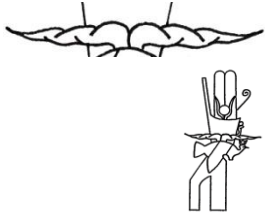
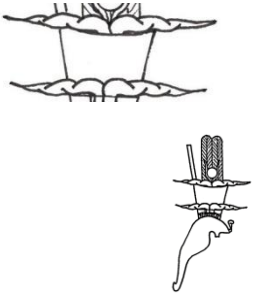
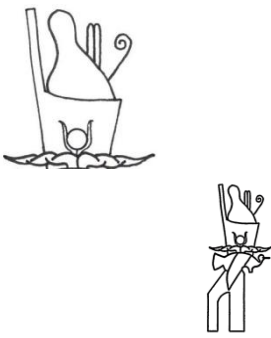
RAM HORNS (RH)



As a pictorial unit the ram horns represent a fundamental component of the crown of Arsinoë and the later Hathoric crown. The horns are placed horizontally, represented in different sizes and styles, with or without decorated inner details. Their structural position in the overall crown composition varies in relation to their context. I have divided the ram horns in five types based on their variation of style, position and size.

Table 5: Variants of the ram horns

The left column firstly shows a detailed illustration of the horns' structure and secondly an overall representation of their contextual association. The table shows the abbreviated form, a summarising description, and the listed catalogue numbers of each type. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted within the column of later female figures in order to separate them from the Hathoric figures.

Illustration	Abbreviation	Description	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of crowns
	RH 1	The horns are placed on top of the platform of the red crown, forming a base for the cow horns and solar disc. The horns are joined and shown in front of the crown. Both sides are fully visible.	2L-7, 10-11, 13-20, 22-26R, 34-35	156-157	28
	RH 2	The horns are placed at the base of the red crown, on top of a wig or cap. One horn is fully visible whereas the other is partially hidden, separated by the red crown. ³⁴⁸	9, 27, 29-33		7
	RH 3	The horns are placed at the base of the red crown, on top of a wig or cap, joined in the middle, both sides fully visible.	1L, 8, 12	158	4
	RH 4	The crown includes two sets of ram horns, placed on top of the platform of, and at the base of the red crown. Both sets are joined in the middle with all sides fully visible.		142	1
	RH 5	The horns are placed at the base of the double crown.		37-76, 78-141, 143-155	118

³⁴⁸ Cat. nos. 9, 27, 30-32 show a fully visible horn at the back part of the crown, whereas cat. no. 33 shows the horn on the front part instead. Cat. no. 29 is badly preserved.

Type RH 1 is the most frequently applied style of ram horns in the crown of Arsinoë. The horns are positioned on top of the flat part of the red crown, i.e., the platform, therefore forming a structural foundation for the double feather plume and additional crown units.³⁴⁹ This type is documented in temple reliefs and stelai alike, in crowns worn by Arsinoë and Cleopatra III.

The horns illustrated in the stelai, cat. nos. 2L-7, 10-11 and 13-15, have a basic style with clear outlines, but without any detailed inner pattern.³⁵⁰ These rather simple stylised horns are documented exclusively in crown compositions illustrated on the stelai. They are placed in a horizontal position, each side symmetrically arranged in terms of width.

Compared with the stelai, the horns in the temple scenes are more decorated, showing clear outlines and defined inner twined pattern. The two horns (left and right) are recurrently placed in an asymmetrical order based on their size and width. The horns in cat. no. 16, for example, spring up from an off-centred location (to the left), the twined pattern on the one side is different from the other, and the left-side horn is more elongated than the right. All horns included in type RH 1 are fully visible.³⁵¹

The second most frequent type, RH 2, is found mainly in the Philae scenes. The type also includes cat. no. 9, a scene which is fragmentarily preserved, and with an unknown provenance.³⁵² The horns are illustrated with only the most important outlines, thus stylised. Cat. nos. 31-32, as two exceptions, show some degree of decorative inner lines.³⁵³ Type RH 2 horns are placed above the vulture cap, thus below the red crown. The two horns are not joined at their centre and show one fully visible side and one partially hidden one. Only cat. no. 33 shows a fully visible front horn, partially hiding the back horn behind the red crown. Remaining crowns have a fully visible back horn, whereas the front is partly hidden. E. Vassilika suggests that these partially represented horns were meant to communicate a purely physical and practical application of the horns, as fastened to each side of the headdress.³⁵⁴ She suggests that the physical practicality of these horns is applied on a two-dimensional surface through the rotation of the horn of the far ear to be shown over the forehead.³⁵⁵ The present study, however, disproves such a stylistic convention, based on the opposite direction of the horns in cat. no. 33. Type RH 2 is recorded as a crown unit worn exclusively by Arsinoë, thereby excluding a stylistic continuation throughout the Ptolemaic period.³⁵⁶

RH 3 is documented in four scenes. The horns are fully visible, positioned above the vulture cap, thus below the red crown. When used by Arsinoë the horns are placed symmetrically, fully outlined and decorated only sparsely with inner patterns.³⁵⁷ When used by Cleopatra VII it has more elaborate inner decoration. The Ptolemaic queen in cat. no. 142 has an additional

³⁴⁹ Notice that type RH 5 only includes Hathoric figures, and therefore is excluded from the evaluation of the most frequent style in the crown of Arsinoë.

³⁵⁰ In cat. no. 3 only the right-side horn is completely visible.

³⁵¹ However, the outlines of the ram horns are rather vague in cat. no. 3, and I cannot dismiss the possibility that they might have had a different original form. The classification is based on the material as it is preserved to the modern viewer, but it is my personal consideration that cat. no. 3 should be included in this type.

³⁵² Previous scholars have suggested Memphis as a place of origin based on Arsinoë's title "Mother of Hep". See Chapter III.8.

³⁵³ Again, it is possible that the horns were decorated with painted inner details.

³⁵⁴ Vassilika 1989, 86 assumes that the crowns existed in a physical form. Compare the discussion presented by Dils 1998.

³⁵⁵ Vassilika 1989, 86.

³⁵⁶ They are, however, documented in various other crowns throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

³⁵⁷ Otherwise, the type includes Cleopatra VII.

set of ram horns, thereby determining the horns as an individual type. One set of horns sits above the headdress, whereas a second set rests on the platform of the red crown. The horns are placed symmetrically, illustrated with complete outlines and inner décor.³⁵⁸

The horns of the later Hathoric crown are documented in one distinct position (and style), placed at the base of the crown, sometimes separated from the head/headdress by a low modus or tiara of *uraei*. The width and degree of decoration vary between the individual crowns, but I regard such dissimilarities as a reflection of individualism by the local artists. The Hathoric horns are always fully outlined (if still preserved), placed symmetrically, and with both horns equally wide.

Intercultural symbolism?

In order to analyse the symbolic message communicated by the pictorial unit, the historical background of the ram should be mentioned. In Egyptian art, ram horns are represented in two basic variations: the twined, horizontal horns, and the downward-curved horns (see fig. 9). Ptolemaic temple texts describe the horns as “*hnwtj pḏ*” and “*bwj pḏ*”.³⁵⁹ A modern viewer generally imagines a ram/sheep with downward-curved horns rather than horizontal ones.³⁶⁰ Downward-curved horns, together with the double cornucopia, frequently identify Arsinoë on Greek-styled coins.³⁶¹ Prior to Arsinoë, Alexander the Great was depicted wearing the downward-curved horns in coins and other media, and was probably one of the main reasons why Arsinoë choose the curved horn as an attribute. In Egyptian religion these horns were used as attributes of deities such as Amun, Osiris and Khnum: all masculine.³⁶² However, the ram horns are evidently not the same horns as those illustrated in the crown of Arsinoë or the later Hathoric crown.

³⁵⁸ Cat. no. 142 is one of six figures in the Temple of Dendera wearing this crown. See Chapter II.1 for the reasons to exclude these scenes.

³⁵⁹ See Derchain-Urtel 1994, 30 with n. 18.

³⁶⁰ The breed with downward-curved horns was introduced to the Egyptians during the Middle Kingdom when they were brought in from the western parts of Asia. See Houlihan 1996, 22.

³⁶¹ See for example Mørkholm 1991, 63-70; Svoronos 1904, nos. 875-892.

³⁶² Consider also the criosphinxes (ram headed lions) decorating the avenues leading towards Karnak. See Redford 2002, 21.

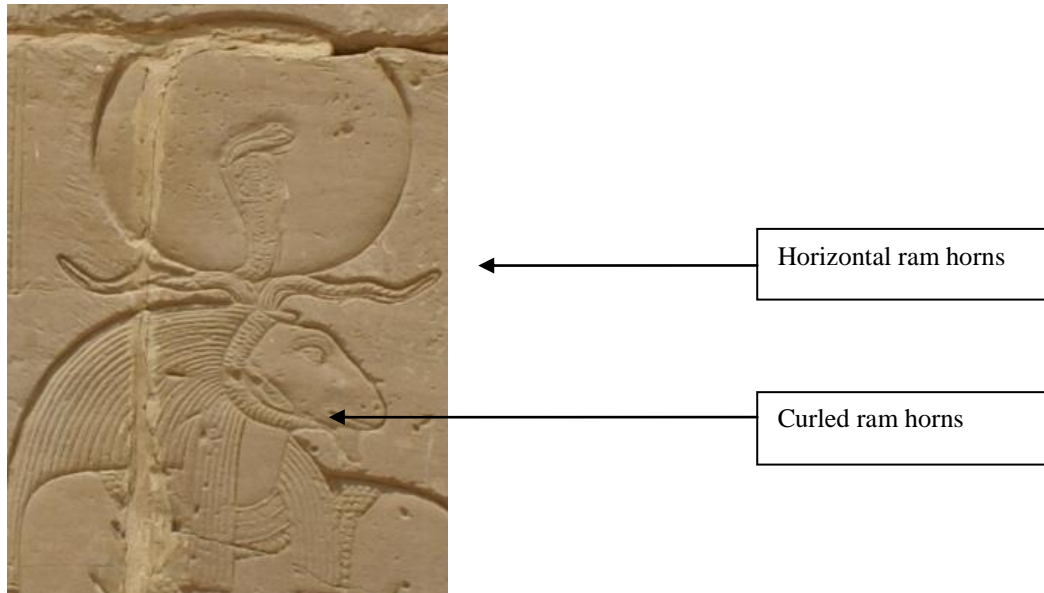


Fig. 9 shows Amun-Ra decorated with horizontal as well as curled horns.
Photo from the Hibis Temple by the author.

In the crown of Arsinoë, the horns are illustrated in a horizontal position, more or less twined. At first sight they are similar to the horns of a Kudu antelope, or possibly a goat, rather than those of a ram/sheep.³⁶³ The horns in the crown of Arsinoë are, however, identified with those of an ancient breed of sheep characterised by long, horizontally twined horns.³⁶⁴ Although this breed disappeared from Egypt during the New Kingdom, the sheep, or sometimes only their horizontal horns, kept a symbolic position in Egyptian iconography.³⁶⁵

Ancient texts do not describe the symbolism and communicated message of the ram horns as a part of the later Hathoric crown. Edfu and Dendera texts in general describe horns as additional ornaments. However, I consider the possibility that their symbolism was so obvious for an ancient viewer that there was no need to textually clarify them.

The horizontal horns are used as attributes for several deities, mainly as a component of larger compositions. Khnum, Mandulis, Ptah, Thoth, Ihy, Osiris, Sobek, Harpocrates, Khonsu, Geb, and Amun are all illustrated wearing these horns.³⁶⁶ Only a few deities, including Amun and Khnum, used the ram horns as an individual crown element. A brief comparison of these two deities shows that Amun had them more often. Therefore, it might be assumed that the ram

³⁶³ Compare the use of Kudu horns in Judaism, referred to as Yemenite Shofars.

³⁶⁴ Houlihan 1996, 22.

³⁶⁵ This breed, which was fleece-less, disappeared from Egypt and was replaced by the woolly sheep during the Middle-New Kingdom. See Houlihan 1996, 22f.

³⁶⁶ There are most probably further examples of deities wearing these horns, and those listed here should be seen as examples rather than as a comprehensive directory. The ram horns are documented in crowns when combined with the white crown; the red crown and two ostrich feathers; the double crown; the double crown and an additional *atef* feather; the Edfu crown; the Edfu crown resting upon the *khepresh*; the double crown with two ostrich feathers; the elaborated *atef* crown; red crown with an elaborated *atef* crown; the elaborated *atef* resting upon the *khepresh*; the *atef* resting upon the *nemes* wig; the *atef* resting upon the *khepresh*; the triple crown; the triple crown resting upon the *nemes* wig with or without *uraei*; the elaborated triple crown decorated with three falcons on top; the red crown with the triple crown and three falcons; the double feather plume and solar disc; the double feather plume; the special triple crown; the four feathered plume; the Dendera crown; the Dendera crown with additional *atef* feathers; the female Edfu crown; the red crown with a double feather plume and solar disc; the *anedjti* crown; the large solar disc and two ostrich feathers; the crown of Arsinoë. Most crowns also can occur in variants with two plain *uraei* or *uraei* wearing solar discs.

horn was originally an attribute of Amun or any of his local forms, for example, Banebdjedet.³⁶⁷

J. Quaegebeur was one of many to suggest that the horizontal horns of the crown of Arsinoë could be connected with Amun.³⁶⁸ P. Dils questions such an association, and instead suggests that Amun frequently wore curled horns, using the horizontal horns only as a structural support for a solar disc or double feather plume.³⁶⁹ I am not convinced by Dils' argument, since Amun sometimes is depicted wearing horizontal ram horns under an *atef* crown, which is in no need of structural support.³⁷⁰ So far, the only explanation which seems convincing to me is Quaegebeur's.

What historical or mythological factors lay behind the fact that Arsinoë was decorated with these horns? In this context, Arsinoë's historical socio-political position has to be considered. She was deified in her own right (as well as with her brother-husband) and incorporated in the official Alexandrian eponymous cult. As such she was directly associated with the chthonic cult of Alexander. Her official cultic name (and the official designation of the sibling gods) followed Alexander's in official dating formulas.³⁷¹ As will be demonstrated in Chapter III.8, Arsinoë was associated with Alexander by her official designations. She used the title "daughter of Amun", which is comparable to Alexander's "son of Zeus-Amun".³⁷² Arsinoë's cultic connection with Alexander is demonstrated in iconography. Following Alexander's deification as the son of Zeus-Amun in the Temple of Siwa, he was depicted with a ram's horn curling behind his ear.³⁷³ An iconographic association with Alexander, expressed in coins portraying Arsinoë, would be a plausible political motive in selecting the ram horns as a component of her personal crown. However, the horns of Amun as illustrated on the Alexander portraits (and equally on coins of Arsinoë) are curled, and not horizontally placed as in the Egyptian crown of Arsinoë.

Alexander's role as the son of Zeus-Amun appealed to both Egyptian and Greek inhabitants. For the Egyptians, Alexander was the son of Amun, the main god of the time, generally recognised as a ram. The Greeks regarded Alexander as the son of their most important deity, Zeus, and likened him with Dionysus. Therefore, Alexander, in his royal persona and cultic appearance, bridged the two cultures. The illustrated horn of Alexander linked him with the Egyptian ram. I would, however, like to suggest an association also with the Greek goat, based on Alexander's identification with Dionysus. In the Greek material, and subsequently in Egyptian sculptures, Arsinoë was attributed with an item associated with the goat, the *dikeras* – the double cornucopia. In Greek mythology, the cornucopia was connected with the she-goat Amalthea. Amalthea is described as the nurturer of the infant Zeus at Crete. After her death, her horns were made into a symbol of fruitfulness, and Amalthea was remembered and venerated by the Greeks in this form throughout the ages.³⁷⁴ This attribute was illustrated individually on the reverse of coins, or held by the queen when depicted on *oinochoai*, terracottas, figurines and sculpture in the round.

³⁶⁷ See cat. nos. 1 and 5, esp. in Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon.

³⁶⁸ Quaegebeur 1988, 43. See also Winter 1978.

³⁶⁹ Dils 1998, 1308f. Dils bases his scientific perspective on the assumption that the crown actually existed in a physical form.

³⁷⁰ This is based on the conventional illustration of the *atef* crown as resting directly on the neck and ears rather than on top of the head.

³⁷¹ See above in chapter I.4 for a brief introduction.

³⁷² This title will be intensively analysed in Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon.

³⁷³ See above in this section.

³⁷⁴ Dixon-Kennedy 1998, 93.

Another myth, written down by Diodorus, describes further connections between Amalthea and Zeus. With reference to an ancient Egyptian tradition, he says that the Libyan Zeus-Amun returned to his nurturer and impregnated her, later parenting a young Dionysus.³⁷⁵ The myth records an Egyptian influence in an otherwise Greek setting; a coming together of two ancient cultures resulting in a divine being, Dionysus, to whom the female bloodline of the Ptolemies counted their descent. This divine association is discussed further in a passage of Callixeinus, preserved in Athenaeus, describing the grand procession of Ptolemy II in Alexandria, in which a *dikeras* was carried by a figure of Dionysus.³⁷⁶ The double cornucopia was created particularly for Arsinoë during the reign of Ptolemy II, and is traditionally considered to symbolise either Arsinoë's close connection with her husband-brother, or with the Two Lands of Egypt.³⁷⁷ Although the double cornucopia is documented mainly in Greek visual arts, it also attributes the Queen on Egyptian statues.³⁷⁸ The cornucopia associates Arsinoë with the goat.

As a final example, I bring to mind Satyrus' description of the cult of Arsinoë, mentioning a prohibition concerning sacrificing goats.³⁷⁹ This statement is identical with Herodotus' account of the Mendesian veneration of the ram god, describing it as the only cult disallowing a goat as an offering and instead sacrificing a sheep.³⁸⁰ Later chapters demonstrate Arsinoë's religious responsibilities as a high priestess of Banebdjedet, the ram god of Mendes.³⁸¹

I have chosen to briefly mention Arsinoë's association with the goat in order to suggest an aspect of intercultural symbolism. Alexander was able to bridge the Egyptian and Macedonian cultures by claiming his descent from Zeus-Amun. Pictorially, Alexander's horn connects him with the ram and goat alike. Similar aesthetic aspects merged, but simultaneously kept their original frame of reference. Arsinoë was able to use the horns for a similar reason, combining her cultic associations with Aphrodite and Amun, and her dynastic link with Alexander. Such an intercultural symbolism is communicated in the Egyptian sculptures of Arsinoë holding the cornucopia.³⁸²

Arsinoë's socio-religious roles during her adult life in Alexandria are only sparsely documented and often of a vague nature. Similarly, this can be stated about her role in the Egyptian society. However, cat. no. 1 might shed light on this matter. The figures illustrated

³⁷⁵ Diod. Sic. 3, 68.

³⁷⁶ Ath. 197a; see also Fraser 1972, 233.

³⁷⁷ See for example Ashton 2001b, 83. See also Troxell 1983, 35-70 for a discussion of the coinage. Similarly, see von Reden 2007, 59.

³⁷⁸ This is clearly demonstrated in the limestone statue of Arsinoë, today located in New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 20.2.21.

³⁷⁹ *P.Oxy.* 2465, fr. 2, col. I. Satyrus' original work was called *On the demes of Alexandria*. See Fraser 1972, 229; Stephens 2005, 245. Satyrus was active among the Alexandrian scientific elite, and he is considered as one of the most important contributors to the understanding of the cult of Arsinoë in the Ptolemaic capital. His text describes a religious procession proceeding through the streets of Alexandria, incorporating the official priestess of Arsinoë, the *canephoros*. Satyrus describes how devoted worshippers of Arsinoë were told to place their sacrifice on an altar made of sand, or with sand placed on top of an already built altar and to sacrifice in front of their houses, on their roofs, or anywhere along the street where the procession passed. He moreover says that birds were a suitable offering, though he states that any offering would be accepted, except goats. The goat was frequently sacrificed to the honour of fertility gods, and as a symbol of fruitfulness it was foremost associated with Aphrodite and Dionysus. Pomeroy 1984, 33; compare Rosenzweig 2004, esp. 71.

³⁸⁰ Hdt. 2, 42.

³⁸¹ See esp. Chapters III.8-9.

³⁸² Previous scholars have demonstrated that goats and sheep were regarded similarly by the Egyptians. See Houlihan 1996, 22f.

in this scene are divided into two sections, a left and a right side, with figures who face each other. The left side represents the royal family, incorporating Ptolemy II, Arsinoë and a male figure designated “Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy”.³⁸³ Facing them, on the right side, is a newly incarnated ram on a podium, receiving offerings from the royal family. Behind him, also on a podium, stands a smaller figure of Harpocrates. Thereafter follows an anthropomorphic figure of Banebdjedet, representing the deceased ram god, after which stands his divine spouse Hat-Mehit. The last figure of the right side is Arsinoë. Arsinoë is thus depicted twice in the scene. She stands in an active position as a benefactor in the left side together with the ruling royal family, and as a beneficiary together with the local divine triad in the right. The central theme in this scene (also expressed in the text) is the commemoration of the deceased ram god Banebdjedet, and the celebrations of his incarnated soul into a new physical ram-body. One of many topics presented in this stela concerns Arsinoë when she was alive, and it describes her as the high priestess of Banebdjedet. Banebdjedet, who will be dealt with below, was a local form of Amun. He connected Arsinoë with this main Egyptian deity previously suggested as a fundamental source of symbolic association expressed in the ram horns of Arsinoë.

As documented above, these horizontal horns are mainly recorded in crowns worn by male deities prior to the composition of the crown of Arsinoë. Hieroglyphic texts designate Horus, Amun and Osiris, along with various pharaohs, as “Lord of the Horns”.³⁸⁴ The title describes the symbolic value of the horns, associated with kingship, and they express power, authority, control, prominence, and even divinity.³⁸⁵ I would like to suggest also a connection with the Two Lands based on the dualistic nature of the horns. Traditionally, these horns have been interpreted as symbolising the inundation and its fertility.³⁸⁶ Vassilika suggests in her study of Ptolemaic Philae, that the horizontal horns represent a trophy of war or hunt, and that they symbolised royal deification from the time of Amenhotep II.³⁸⁷ In her study on the *hptj* crown, Derchain-Urtel, on the other hand, more or less excludes any symbolic reference to the ram horns.³⁸⁸



Fig. 10: This scene depicts Thoth and Khnum with the horizontal horns as a component of larger crown compositions at the Temple of Dendera. The female figure is identified with Isis. Photo by the author.

³⁸³ See Chapter III.7, Conceptions of time.

³⁸⁴ *WB* I, 173f.; III, 109; see also Faulkner 1958 (*P.Brit. Mus.* 10569); *P.Chester Beatty* I. 3,6.

³⁸⁵ *LÄ* III, 9f.

³⁸⁶ Desroches-Noblecourt 1968, 40 with note 425.

³⁸⁷ Vassilika 1989, 86, with note 15. Vassilika theorises about the horns as “supplicating hands of an animal being slaughtered”. See also Leclant 1956, 128-145.

³⁸⁸ Derchain-Urtel 1994.

The ram itself symbolised respect and power, strongly connected with kingship.³⁸⁹ During the Ptolemaic period, and when worn by royalties other than Arsinoë, Cleopatra III and VII, the horns are frequently incorporated as a pictorial component of the *anedjti* crown or the triple crown, or as an additional unit in the composition when combined with the red crown and the *atef*.³⁹⁰ Most Ptolemaic kings were depicted with horizontal, twined ram horns. Thus, they continued an iconographic convention applied by so many previous Egyptian rulers.³⁹¹ Generally, the ram horns were seen as an addition to the royal regalia, connecting the person wearing it with the deities decorated with them.³⁹²

The symbolic value of the ram horns in the crown of Arsinoë and the later Hathoric crown has proven to be entwined in various cultural events and individuals. The later Hathoric crown was introduced during the reign of Ptolemy IV.³⁹³ I consider that the horns worn by Arsinoë were given to Hathor to emphasise a religious kinship equal to that between Arsinoë and Amun, as the daughter and father.³⁹⁴ This family-based association is equally valid for the original Edfu crown, the *hptj*, worn by Horus. In his role as the pharaoh, Horus was the son of Amun-Ra.³⁹⁵ The ram horns of the later composition crowns included here, therefore holds a meaning similar to the crown of Arsinoë, with a family-orientated basis.

To summarise, the ram horns were connected with Amun and his depiction as a ram god. The horns were associated with the solar cult, based on the assimilation between Amun, Ra and Horus. The association with the solar cult explains the presence of the horns in crown compositions worn by Harpocrates/Horus, since he represented a certain aspect of the daily journey of the disc. The combination of a divine kinship and the eternal journey of the sun disc, suggests that the horns were connected with rejuvenation, fertility and eternal life. This aspect merges with the message communicated in the Mendes stela, which describes a divine priestess-queen who entered heaven to join her divine family.³⁹⁶

³⁸⁹ Lurker 2002, 65.

³⁹⁰ These combinations are based on the crowns presented and documented as worn by the figures included in the current catalogue.

³⁹¹ For a more detailed account on previous pharaohs wearing this item see Dils 1998, 1315-1325. The ram horns are documented in the material when combined with the white crown; the red crown and two ostrich feathers; the double crown; the double crown and an additional *atef* feather; the Edfu crown; the Edfu crown resting upon the *khepresh*; the double crown with two ostrich feathers; the elaborated *atef* crown; red crown with an elaborated *atef* crown; the elaborated *atef* resting upon the *khepresh*; the *atef* resting upon the *nemes* wig; the *atef* resting upon the *khepresh*; the triple crown; the triple crown resting upon the *nemes* wig; the elaborated triple crown decorated with three falcons on top; the red crown with the triple crown and three falcons; the double feather plume and solar disc; the double feather plume; the special triple crown; the four feathered plume; the Dendera crown; the Dendera crown with additional *atef* feathers; the female Edfu crown; the red crown with a double feather plume and solar disc; the *anedjti* crown; the large solar disc and two ostrich feathers; and the crown of Arsinoë. Most crowns occasionally occur with two plain *uraei* or *uraei* wearing solar discs.

³⁹² *LÄ* III, 814f.; Stanwick 2002, 35.

³⁹³ The date is based on cat. nos. 54-55.

³⁹⁴ See Chapters III.9-10, esp. Daughter of Amon, and Eye of Ra – the Hathoric daughter role.

³⁹⁵ Horus was the son of Osiris but was also a continuation of the personality of Ra as the newborn solar disc in the morning. His titles place him in direct family lineage from Ra as well as Atum as the ruling king of the divine universe. See Chapter III.9, Hathor, the great mother. See also Derchain-Urtel 1994, *passim*, for these titles.

³⁹⁶ For a more detailed analysis of cat. no. 1, see Chapter III.7, Conceptions of time, and III.9, Daughter of Amon.

RED CROWN (RC)



The red crown as an individual pictorial unit illustrates a new category of analytical issues, caused by the lack of archaeological references. The main crown body, with its straight, vertical back, usually has a crown spiral (*h3bt*). Traditionally, both body and spiral are painted red. The red crown is documented in two styles in the overall material, based on the form of its lower end, and how it sits on the head of the figure wearing it. The more frequent style is worn mainly by male figures and by goddesses without a vulture cap. The crown follows the shape of the head, resting on the ears and the neck (see fig. 11). The second style, mostly worn by females, sits directly on the top of the head or the vulture cap, and is illustrated with a flat bottom (see fig 12). The red crown is always placed directly on the head in agreement with the second style when it is illustrated as a component of the crown of Arsinoë and the later Hathoric crown. A few exceptions illustrate the red crown sitting on a low modus or a tiara of *uraei*.



Figs. 11-12: Examples of the two types of the red crown. Fig. 11 shows Wadjet wearing a red crown with a flat bottom, resting directly on the top of the head. Fig. 12 illustrates a Persian pharaoh wearing a crown resting on the ears and neck. The figures were photographed by the author at Edfu and Hibis Temples, respectively.

The material allows an hypothesis about the stylistic background for the two styles of the red crown, although it remains limited within the total number of scenes. As mentioned above, the red crown on female figures is illustrated with a flat bottom, positioned straight on top of the head when the figure wears a wig or cap. Most goddesses and queens wear a tripartite wig and/or a vulture cap, hence the crown on top of the headdress. Goddesses without a tripartite wig or cap instead wear a red crown of the first type, resting on the neck and ears. Neith, Amaunet, Wadjet and Buto wear the red crown of the first type, without a wig or cap to support it. Kings and male deities are almost always depicted with the crown resting on the neck and ears. However, the crown is placed flat on top of the head when they wear a *nemes* or *khat* wig, or when illustrated in an anthropomorphic style with a falcon head.

It is plausible that the two styles indicate an Egyptian artistic convention. Firstly, I will consider the Egyptian workmanship and artistic approach to dimensions, including an

intentional adjustment of size and position.³⁹⁷ Egyptian artistry was controlled by stylistic conventions, including the systematic profile structure of figures in any relief scene. In such a scene, each iconographic element was illustrated in accordance with its most obvious features. A convention whereby the artist depicts the crown with a flat bottom, and on top of the head, would enable him to include a fully portrayed wig, and/or cap, which otherwise would be partially, or fully, hidden under the crown.³⁹⁸ This assumes that each pictorial detail was regarded important and a keeper of individual symbolism.³⁹⁹

Secondly, I reflect on the likelihood of how these crown types would function if they existed in a physical form. A wig alone would not be able to support a crown that rests immediately on top of the head, unless it was equipped with a metal or wooden instrument or structural “ramp”.⁴⁰⁰ However, archaeological records of wigs do not support such a suggestion. Preserved kerchiefs and wigs were mainly made of fabric and natural hair, respectively, neither of which would be able to independently lift a heavy crown. Furthermore, there are no indications of a structural support built in either kerchiefs or wigs.⁴⁰¹ I am well aware that there might be other possible explanations for this particular stylistic dissimilarity (alternatives regarding attachments to the head) of the red crown, other than those mentioned here. However, I leave this as an issue for further investigation, and choose instead to focus on the distinguished types of the red crown as it is recorded in the crown of Arsinoë.⁴⁰² These are divided in accordance with the position (or actual physical existence) of the crown spiral as the only differentiating item.⁴⁰³

³⁹⁷ See Chapter III.7 for the rearrangement of details in order to emphasise the intended message.


³⁹⁸ See Chapter I.4 for an introduction to Egyptian artistic conventions.

³⁹⁹ See Chapter III.1 for the vulture cap and tripartite wig.

⁴⁰⁰ In his article, Dils (1998, 1315-1325) states that a red crown of this second style would be impossible to wear in reality). Abubakr (1937, 48) compares the red crown with a cap, and dismisses the style with flat bottom that would rest directly on the head (which he includes on p. 52, Abb. 36). Abubakr 1937, 48-50 with note 1 on p. 48, suggest metal as a plausible material.

⁴⁰¹ See Chapter III.1; Fletcher 1994, *passim*.

⁴⁰² Goebis 2008, esp. p. 155, analyses the symbolism of the red crown based on its various hieroglyphic designations, including connotations of the colours red and green (both suggested in textual records).

⁴⁰³ Early scholars deconstructed the red crown in three parts based on the following hieroglyphic signs:  +



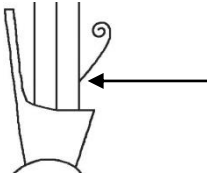
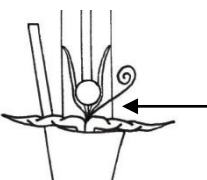
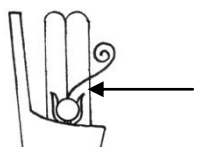
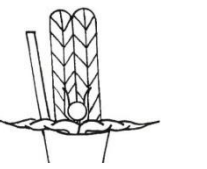
 + , and the spiral was interpreted as a sunbeam or associated with the feather of Ma'at. See Moret 1902, 285; Abubakr 1937, 47. In terms of material it has been compared to a metal wire, but unless archaeologist can provide a physical crown, all suggestions have to be seen as hypotheses.

Table 6: Variations of the red crown

*The arrows in the illustrations point to the position of the crown spiral. Each type is shown with an abbreviation, description, and listed catalogue numbers.*⁴⁰⁴

Illustration	Abbreviation	Description	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later Ptolemaic queens	Total number of crown
	RC 1	The base of the crown spiral is placed behind the double feather plume	1R-2R, 6-8, 11, 15L-R, 23-30, 32-35	158	23
	RC 2	The crown spiral rises from the ram horns, in front of the double feather plume and cow horns	4-5, 19	156-157	5
	RC 3	The base of the crown spiral is placed behind the cow horns but in front of the double feather plume	31 (possibly also including 1L)		1 (2)
	RC 4	No spiral	3, 10, 13-14, 16-18, 20, 22	142	10

RC 1 is the most common type, demonstrating a crown with a spiral rising up behind the double feather plume, thus only partially visible as it is partly hidden behind the plume, thereby making it impossible to establish the definite location of its placement. Figures wearing this type of crown are documented equally in stelai and temple reliefs. It is used by Arsinoë and Cleopatra VII.

The red crown of type RC 4 is intriguing due to the seeming absence of a crown spiral. The lack of this feature may simply depend on the current state of preservation. All the stelai recorded with this type have suffered from the wear and tear of time. The area surrounding the crown is often uneven, sometimes rough and scratched, possible indicators of negative adjustments. Thus it is possible that the crown spiral once existed. For example, the crown of cat. no. 10 is generally well preserved but its colours have faded, allowing the original colour of the stone to come through. The crown is surrounded by a light, yellow colour, faded in several areas, bringing forward the natural colour of the sandstone. The crown was originally painted with red colour, which has smudged surrounding details. The strong colours of this

⁴⁰⁴ Notice that the later Hathoric figures are excluded from the Table. These are instead listed with a double crown.

crown composition may suggest that the finer details were painted instead of engraved in relief.

The crowns of cat. nos. 3 and 13 demonstrate well-defined outlines, and although the surrounding surface of both scenes is slightly roughened, there are no visible indicators of any crown spiral. There are no pictorial details, lines, or irregularities within the crown, in the area of the red crown's platform that could support an original spiral. Therefore, I regard these crowns to have been created intentionally without a spiral. In terms of temple reliefs, cat. nos. 16, 18, 20 and 142 show no indications of an original spiral (see fig. 13), and, therefore, I cannot assume that the red crown was joined by a spiral at all times.⁴⁰⁵ Instead, I regard such scenes to demonstrate an exception of a convention.



Fig. 13: Detail of cat. no. 142 demonstrating a crown of Arsinoë without a crown spiral.

The two remaining types, RC 2 and 3, are only slightly dissimilar from RC 1. The spiral enters from the ram horns (RC 2) and from behind the cow horns (RC 3). RC 2 includes two figures of Cleopatra III, and three images of Arsinoë. RC 3 incorporates only one example, worn by Arsinoë in the Philae Temple. Arguably, the two latter types can result from the current fashion, but it could also depend on the local artist. Personally, I am in favour of the latter option since there is no evidential socio-religious or cultural associations attached to the differentiation.

⁴⁰⁵ Although cat. no. 22 lacks a spiral, it is badly affected by soot and therefore remains questionable.

“The Red One” of Lower Egypt

In art, the red crown was one of the oldest Egyptian crowns, documented as early as the Predynastic Period.⁴⁰⁶ It symbolises Lower Egypt, and is referred to mainly by the name *Deshret* (*dšrt*), meaning the “Red One”. It is also known as *jnj*, *w3dt*, *mh*, *nt*, *nbt*, *h3bt*.⁴⁰⁷ The crown was an attribute of Wadjet (amongst others) who was considered to be the goddess of Lower Egypt.⁴⁰⁸ As will be noted below, the red crown was a part of the double crown (the *shmty* – “the two powerful ones”), together symbolising the unification of the Two Lands. Generally in art the pharaoh wore the red crown on one side of a pylon, a gate or a door, whilst wearing the white crown on the opposite side. Such a display emphasised his power over the Two Lands. A few queens, including Hatshepsut, Amenirdis II, Arsinoë, Cleopatra III and VII, used the red crown. However, all these queens used it as a component in larger crown compositions. To my knowledge, no queen was depicted with a red crown as an individual/exclusive crown element.⁴⁰⁹

The red crown was frequently depicted in temple reliefs and stelai, but is rarely documented as royal insignia in pyramid- or funerary texts.⁴¹⁰ In addition to the royal usage of the crown, it was attributed to several deities throughout the pharaonic ages. A pyramid text describes the red crown as attributed to Ra in his association with Horus, and the crown functioned as a symbolic identification of Wadjet.⁴¹¹ Further, the text connects the crown with a cosmic feature represented by the morning star.⁴¹² The link with the morning star stresses the theme of rejuvenation, fertility and rebirth.⁴¹³ Apart from Wadjet, already mentioned other goddesses are documented wearing the red crown, such as Neith, Amaunet and Buto. Foremost, the red crown is associated with Geb.⁴¹⁴

The message communicated by the red crown is connected with male royal power and with female deities of Lower Egypt. It is associated with the Hathoric daughter role since Wadjet, the eye of Ra, is identified in its shape. I would, however, like to propose a connotation alternative to the traditional one. When combined with the white crown, the red crown forms the outer structure of a complete composition. The white crown rests within the red. I suggest that their symbolic structure has a religious symbolism comparable to the Hathoric cow horns and solar disc (the traditional Hathoric crown), in which the solar disc rests inside the horns. Hathor’s crown symbolises her protection of the divine king. A Hathoric textual designations listed in the material describes her as “the nest of the cobra”.⁴¹⁵ In my opinion, this title

⁴⁰⁶ Goebis 2001, 323f.

⁴⁰⁷ *LÄ* III, 812; Vassilika 1989, 85; Goebis 2001, 323.

⁴⁰⁸ Thus, the above listed hieroglyphic designation *w3dt*, meaning the “Green One”. Another title of the red crown was *nsrt*, the “Fiery One” referring to Wadjet. See a discussion on the contradiction in the colours red and green in Goebis 2008, 155-158.

⁴⁰⁹ Vassilika suggests that Arsinoë’s popularity made an Upper Egyptian representation, i.e., the white crown, unnecessary; a “missing” element which I regard as a most important indication of the meaning of the crown. She describes the crown of Arsinoë as including “Lower Egyptian crown, the Lower Egyptian falcon tail feathers and horizontal horns with sundisc on a vulture headdress”. Not only does she forget the cow horns of the crown, but concludes that symbolism was unnecessary. See Vassilika 1989, 94.

⁴¹⁰ For this discussion see Goebis 2008, 164f.

⁴¹¹ *PT* 404 §702b

⁴¹² Goebis 2008, 169. Compare the Hathoric role as the morning star. See Chapter III.9.

⁴¹³ Goebis 2008, 173.

⁴¹⁴ Several other gods are also associated with the red crown. Compare Atum’s crown in Chapter III.3.

⁴¹⁵ Cat. no. 89.

corresponds not only to the maternal role of Hathor,⁴¹⁶ but also to Wadjet as the personification of the cobra. The title, therefore, could describe a Hathoric maternal role, manifested in Wadjet as the cobra, protecting her offspring in the nest. Such a complex string of associations comes full circle by Wadjet's connection with the red crown. My suggestion is that the red crown alternatively functioned as a sign of protection, similar to the *uraeus* in Chapter III.1. In accordance with such an hypothesis, a combination of the red and the white crowns becomes a symbol of male and female, the fundamental components of Egyptian dualism.⁴¹⁷ As a double crown, the red crown expresses the female aspect, connoting the maternal role as she protects the child within her womb.

The white crown should, therefore, communicate masculinity, and I identify it (in this aspect) with Harsomtus as he arises from the horizon.⁴¹⁸ As a symbol of the birth of Harsomtus, the white crown can be associated with the primeval egg, which could explain the very peculiar form of the white crown. My hypothesis mainly relates to the combined form of the crown, but the maternal association of the red crown could be applied to also the crown of Arsinoë (the following chapters will introduce Arsinoë's dynastic maternal role). The presence of a red crown in the crown of Arsinoë could, suggestively, place the queen as a Hathoric mother of all descendants in the name of Ptolemy.

DOUBLE FEATHER PLUME (DFP)



The double feather plume in the crown of Arsinoë is identical to those incorporated in the traditional female crown, worn by queens, Hathoric figures, and the Divine Adoratrices of Amun. The plume of the later Hathoric crown has a similar structure, but is smaller in size. In the material, the double feather plume is documented in four variants, based on their size and position.

⁴¹⁶ See Chapter III.9, Hathor, the great mother.

⁴¹⁷ For the concepts of Egyptian dualism, see above, and primarily Chapter III.9 and Chapter IV.


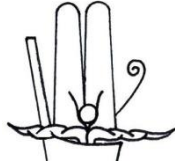



⁴¹⁸ See below, White crown. See also Chapter III.9, Hathor, the great mother. The hieroglyphic sign for horizon () is associated with the lotus and the birth of Harsomtus. Again, see Chapter III.9, and Chapter III.5, Corner box.

Table 7: Variations of the double feather plume

The left column shows an illustration of the feathers as they connect with contextual details. Especially notice from where the plume springs up. The following columns list individual abbreviations, descriptions, and current catalogue numbers. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted within the column of later female figures in order to separate them from the Hathoric figures.

Illustration	Abbreviation	Description	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of crown
	DFP 1	Large straight feathers rise from the platform of the red crown, straight or slightly curved towards the back of the crown	1R-8, 10-11, 13-20, 22-35	142, 156-158	39
	DFP 2	Small straight feathers rise up from the front of the double crown		38-48, 56-66, 68-75, 77, 79-93, 95-108, 110-123, 125-133, 135-137, 139-141, 143-155	103
	DFP 3	Small feathers rise from the atef feather		67	1
	DFP 4	Tall, straight feathers rest on a low modus	21, 36		2

The feathers of the crown of Arsinoë always rise up from the platform of the red crown, pointing either straight or slightly towards the back.⁴¹⁹ All figures wearing a fully visible crown of Arsinoë are depicted as type DFP 1: it is worn by Arsinoë, Cleopatra III and VII. The feathers in the crown of Arsinoë vary slightly within its type.⁴²⁰ However, the most striking distinction in style is conveyed through a comparison with the later Hathoric crown. All plume feathers documented in this later crown follow a style with small, straight feathers, rising from

⁴¹⁹ I have chosen to distinguish them according to their position in relation to their context. Therefore, I retain a systematic structure of classification, which is applied on each individual pictorial unit throughout the study.

⁴²⁰ Straight feathers with visible inner details (barbs) and joined in the middle: cat. nos. 3, 8, 34; feathers with thin, straight and separated feathers: cat. nos. 4-5; straight feathers, joined in the middle, no inner decoration: cat. nos. 1-2, 6, 11, 13-14, 16-20, 22-26, 31-32; feathers slightly leaning backwards: cat. nos. 15, 28-30, 33, 35; feathers slightly leaning inwards and joined in the middle: cat. nos. 7, 10, 27.

the double crown. As the only exception, cat. no. 67 shows small, straight feathers raising up from a front *atef* feather. These smaller feathers of DFP 2 are documented in a similar fashion in the Edfu crown (*hptj*) worn by Horus.⁴²¹

The feathers of type DFP 2 are occasionally decorated and preserved in relief details, illustrating a vertical midline and individual diagonal barbs, similar to those of type DFP 1. The feathers (including the *atef* variants) are documented in all crowns, except for those that are damaged or fragmentary. Similar to the ram horns and the red crown, the double feather plume is an essential iconographic unit in the crown of Arsinoë and its later variants.

In Table 7 is listed the double feather plume of cat. nos. 21, 36 as independent from the other types, based on its contextual differentiation and its presence in the traditional female crown. These feathers are always accompanied by cow horns and a solar disc.

The symbolism of the double feather plume

The double feather plume is traditionally associated with Min, Amun, and Ra (as familiar, sometimes assimilated as Amun-Min, Amun-Ra) (see fig. 14). Similarly, Montu and Horus use the crown when illustrated in an anthropomorphic form with a falcon-head. The two latter deities, however, wear the feathers chiefly as an iconographic component of a larger crown composition.



Fig. 14: Detail of the figure of Amun, Karnak, showing how feathers could be tied to the head.
Photo by the author.

Kings never wore the double feather plume as an individual crown element. Instead, the pharaohs incorporated the feathers into the *anedjti* crown, or as a unit of other larger compositions.⁴²² The double feather plume was worn by female deities such as Hathor and Isis

⁴²¹ Obviously, not all Hathoric crowns are listed in Table 7. The excluded crowns depict one or two *atef* feathers, replacing the double feather plume: cat. nos. 37, 49-55, 76, 78, 94, 109, 124, 134, 138.

⁴²² Compare Abubakr 1937, 40-46, for “die Horus-Feder-Krone”.

from at least the 18th Dynasty.⁴²³ It was implemented as an additional element in the traditional Hathoric crown, thus creating a new variant, the traditional female crown.⁴²⁴ The Divine Adoratrices are occasionally depicted with a plume resting on a low modus without any further pictorial additions. Such a crown is more connected with the original, individual crown element of the double feather plume (see figs. 15-18). There is also a symbolic correlation between the plume and the Holy Wedding, again stressing male and female connotations.⁴²⁵ In accordance with Egyptian religious practice, the God's wife entered into holy matrimony with Amun, a tradition which is documented from at least the New Kingdom.⁴²⁶



Fig. 15: The scene shows Queen Shepenwepet offering to three figures, including Queen Amenirdis. Both queens wear the double feather plume resting on a low modus. Photo from Medinet Habu by the author.

⁴²³ See for example Vassilika 1989, 91.

⁴²⁴ Troy 1986, 126. The first queen documented with the traditional female crown was Iauheyebu I, who was the mother of Sobekhotep III.

⁴²⁵ Compare Arsinoë's role as the high-priestess of Banebdjedet (cat. nos. 1, 5). See Chapters III.8-9, Chapter IV.3.

⁴²⁶ The Holy Wedding between the priestess and Amon symbolised the divine lineage and the rightful heritage of the throne. The queen was believed to have been impregnated by the god in a ritual, in order to give birth to the next pharaoh. See Troy 1986, chapter II, 4.3. See also Chapters III.9-10.



Figs. 16-18: The scenes show, from left to right, two generations of wives of the god, Queen Amenirdis and Queen Shepenwepet, at Medinet Habu. At the very right is a hieroglyphic sign, also at Medinet Habu. Photos by the author.

Egyptian texts describe the double feather plume as a symbol of the two eyes of Horus (or the two eyes of Ra).⁴²⁷ In accordance with the Egyptian convention, the double feathers express dualism. Male and female also join in the symbolism of this unit, since the two eyes of Ra/Horus emphasise the Hathoric daughter role.⁴²⁸

A further indication of a male and female association is expressed by the occasional identification with the divine siblings Shu and Tefnut, the children of Atum.⁴²⁹ As Atum's children, the feathers emphasise a cultic association with the sun and stress, moreover, a Hathoric connection when the cow horns and solar disc, or just the disc, are placed at the base of the double feather plume. I refer to the myth in which Hathor lights up in the primeval darkness, searching for the lost siblings, Shu and Tefnut.⁴³⁰ The Hathoric aspect is identified in Chapter III.9 as family-orientated throughout (thus including her roles as the daughter, sister, wife, and mother). The connection with the divine siblings can be compared to the deification of Arsinoë and Ptolemy II as the *theoi Adelphoi*.⁴³¹

⁴²⁷ *Edfou* VII, 109: "Your *3htj*-eyes are united as the double feather on your head, raising you above all the other gods"; *Edfou* VIII, 141: "Your *w3tj*-eyes are tied for you on your head..."; *Edfou* I, 425: "The eyes are the double feather on your head..."; see also Derchain-Urtel 1994, 35, 56. Compare "Amon-Ra, the king of the Gods, Behutet, (your) feathers are high and (you are) greater than all the other Gods", translation by Derchain-Urtel 1994, 35. The connection between Horus, the double feather plume and Amon is also stressed in a scene in the Temple of Edfu. Illustrating the two deities, this scene describes how Horus received the Edfu crown. Amon is described as directly linked with the two rightful eyes. See *Edfou* II, 295. *Edfou* VI, 271 describes the double feather as coming from the hand of Amon. See Derchain-Urtel 1995, 38. I interpret the description of the double feather coming from the hand of Amon as an association with Hathor in her role as the personification of the Hand of Amon (also Atum). See Chapters III.8 and III.10.

⁴²⁸ See Chapter III.9, Eye of Ra – the Hathoric daughter role.

⁴²⁹ Troy 1986, 128.

⁴³⁰ See Chapter III.9.

⁴³¹ See Chapters III.7 and III.9.

Written sources, documented in the Temples of Dendera and Edfu, describe the plume as the crown of Amun-Ra, with its feathers stretching all the way to the sky.⁴³² These texts refer to the double feather plume as a pictorial unit in larger crown compositions, i.e., the Edfu crown and the Dendera crown. Again, the feathers are associated with the two eyes of Horus (*wꜥꜣꜥtj* and *ꜣꜥꜥꜥtj*), which symbolise the sun and the moon, and therefore, connect with Shu and Tefnut once more.⁴³³ To summarise, the plume represents male and female, heaven and earth, brother and sister, man and wife, and the two wings of the sun (wings of Horus). The feathers convey a clear statement of dualism, with themes connecting with the solar cult. The feathers also provide a link with the divine trinity (sun and its children), and the divine (dynastic) lineage.

The physical origin of the feathers

For the ancient Egyptians, the two feathers were designated as *šwt* or *šwtj*. They are documented as a pictorial crown unit from the reign of Pharaoh Sneferu of the 4th Dynasty.⁴³⁴ The feathers retained their iconographic importance in art throughout Egyptian history, including the Roman period.⁴³⁵ The physical origin, or species identification, of the double feather plume is an issue of continuous debate amongst modern scholars. The problem chiefly relates to the original physical form of the feathers as the iconographic interpretation of the physical origin is associated with the symbolic meaning. As the Egyptian religion includes several birds with distinguished cultic roles and features, the debate continues.

Scholarly publications generally provide two options, falcon or ostrich feathers. The straight feathers are foremost interpreted as the tail feathers of a falcon, whereas the slightly curved plume is considered to be an ostrich feather.⁴³⁶ The physical appearance and structure of the two types support such interpretations (see figs. 19-20). The feathers of Arsinoë, the later Hathoric crown and the traditional female crown, however, cause great perplexity. These crowns have straight feathers. S. Albersmeier and E. Vassilika consider the feathers to have a physical resemblance with falcon feathers. Thus, they base their symbolic interpretations in relation to this bird.⁴³⁷ L. Troy interprets them as those of a falcon, arguing that the falcon feathers were feminine, while the ostrich feathers were more masculine.⁴³⁸ P. Dils disagrees and argues for an interpretation of the “Arsinoë feathers” as representing those of an ostrich based on the inner physical structure of the feathers.⁴³⁹

⁴³² *Dendara* IV, 100; *Edfou* IV, 89; *Edfou* VII, 109; Derchain-Urtel 1994, 34f. “Your two feathers (go out) to the sky. May you see heaven by means of them... Your east is at your left eye and your west is at your right eye. These two eyes of yours ... are set in your head like the two feathers.” New Kingdom sun hymn, translation by Troy 1986, 128, after Stewart 1960, 88 fig. 2.

⁴³³ For a general introduction see *LÄ* III, 48-51.

⁴³⁴ Traditionally, the feathers are described in their hieroglyphic form in the singular, in spite of their dualistic nature. I have applied this form when I refer to them as a plume. See Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1952-1955, pl. II no. 5; Troy 1986, 126; Derchain-Urtel 1994, 29 with n. 14.

⁴³⁵ Compare its modern usage as hat decoration.

⁴³⁶ Abubakr 1937, 38-42, describes the slightly rounded feathers of the *anedjti* crown as ostrich feathers. The crown which he refers to as “die Horus-Feder-Krone” depicts straight feathers, and the plume is classified as being tail feathers of a falcon. See subsequent notes for further, and more recent, references.

⁴³⁷ Albersmeier 2002, 54f.; Vassilika 1989, 94f.

⁴³⁸ Troy 1986, chapter II.6.3.1. However, it does not explain the ostrich feather as the personal attribute of Ma’at, who is feminine, or the falcon feathers worn by Amon among other male deities.

⁴³⁹ Dils 1998, 1305-1309.

Although many reliefs are preserved with details, it cannot be assumed that the ancients worried about biological exactitude. Instead, I refer to an intentional adjustment (control) of size and position in Egyptian art.⁴⁴⁰ The illustrations provided as figs. 19-20 demonstrate the actual, physical and structural resemblance between the feathers of the crown of Arsinoë and those of the two birds mentioned above (compare figs. 22-24). Based on the structural resemblance, both types of feathers may represent a natural forerunner. I would, however, like to add another possible candidate for the natural origin of the feathers. Although rarely illustrated in art, I regard the goose to be a plausible alternative to the birds already presented (see fig. 21).⁴⁴¹ The feathers shown as figs. 19-21 have been adjusted in size to compare primarily their structure. Their actual, physical sizes vary greatly, and therefore, accentuate the issue of the real physical existence of the crown and its individual units.⁴⁴² The symbolism of the falcon has been studied and discussed at great length, whereas specific studies focusing on Egyptian ostriches and geese, and their symbolic meaning are few and insufficient.⁴⁴³



Figs. 19-21 show a falcon feather (left), an ostrich feather (middle), and a goose feather (right). Notice the obvious similarity between the falcon and the goose feathers.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴⁰ See Chapter III.7.

⁴⁴¹ Neither is the ostrich illustrated frequently in reliefs. See below.

⁴⁴² See above (red crown), and the discussion in Chapter IV.4.

⁴⁴³ *LÄ* IV, 72-82; Laufer 1926; Darby, Ghalioungui & Grivetti 1977. Hieroglyphic texts designate the ostrich *njw*; see for example *LÄ* VI, 72

⁴⁴⁴ Each feather has been edited in order to highlight the outlines. For the original pictures see:

<http://www.themodernapprentice.com/feathers.htm> (2010-01-23);

<http://www.continentalfeathers.com/images/ostrichwingblackbig.jpg> (2010-01-23);

<http://www.friendsofjamaicapond.org/images/EmeraldBird/GreatHornedOwls/GooseFeather5463s.jpg> (2010-01-23).



Figs. 22-24: The images show (from left to right) the feathers of cat. nos. 8, 3 and 34.

As natural worshippers of the sun, the ostriches were venerated and associated with Ra and retained as such throughout the dynasties, although it never gained a clarified cultic status in Egyptian mythology or as a pure form in iconography.⁴⁴⁵ As a crown unit, the ostrich feather was introduced during the Old Kingdom, worn by deities from the 2nd Dynasty, and by pharaohs from the 4th Dynasty.⁴⁴⁶ It was initially worn by the god Ash, but the feather was chiefly connected with the deities Ma'at and Shu.⁴⁴⁷ As an attribute of Ma'at, the ostrich feather symbolises universal truth.⁴⁴⁸ Tomb iconography demonstrates the association between the goddess and the feather, particularly when the soul of the deceased is weighed on the scales against the feather of Ma'at.⁴⁴⁹ This goddess of truth was regarded as the personification of the divine balance, and the universal harmony, and she is one of the most ancient of Egyptian goddesses.⁴⁵⁰ Also Geb, Osiris, Arensnuphis, Ptah (when associated with Tanen) and Tutu used the unit.⁴⁵¹ However, when worn by these latter deities, the feather was applied mainly as an additional unit rather than an individual attribute.

Whilst the ostrich was (principally) excluded from the main mythology, the falcon was worshipped and given a most prominent position in Egyptian religion. It was venerated already by the early Egyptians, and was associated with kingship since the beginning of the historical period. The falcon appears in iconography at least from the late Predynastic period of Naqada III, and it was one of the most common avian hieroglyphs, a symbol of kingship.⁴⁵² Textual sources dating to the Old Kingdom designate the falcon *hr* – Hor, or Horus, “the distant one”, “the lofty one”.⁴⁵³ Horus was the divine ruling king, and his main role was to protect Egypt

⁴⁴⁵ For the symbolic and practical meaning of the ostrich eggs see Phillips 2009; for general information about ostriches see LÄ VI, 72-75. The connection with the most powerful solar deity could possibly explain the important function of the feather in the mouth-opening ceremony. See Vassilika 1989, 87.

⁴⁴⁶ LÄ VI, 77-81.

⁴⁴⁷ LÄ VI, 78; Vassilika 1989, 87.

⁴⁴⁸ See Chapter III.6, The figure of Ma'at.

⁴⁴⁹ Equally, Hathor is present in such scenes at all times.

⁴⁵⁰ For a general introduction on Ma'at including a good reference list, see LÄ III, 1110-1120.

⁴⁵¹ All examples are documented in scenes of the Philae temple by Vassilika 1989, 119.

⁴⁵² Archaeological documents dating from early dynastic periods show that the falcons were mummified and buried, similar to the sacred ibises. Houlihan 1996, 161.

⁴⁵³ Houlihan 1996, 160; Meltzer 2001, 119; 2002, 164f.

against its enemies.⁴⁵⁴ The falcon was closely connected with the sky and the sun, and could take many shapes and names. In addition to Horus, the falcon was also associated with Ra, Montu and Khonsu.⁴⁵⁵ It has been suggested that the feathers of the falcon tail symbolise Lower Egypt, based on Horus' cult centre at Heliopolis.⁴⁵⁶ However, he also had a cultic centre in Nekhen, and there are several other temples dedicated to our falcon-god throughout Egypt. Therefore, I do not limit the falcon feathers to exclusively represent Lower Egypt.

To my knowledge, no other scholar has considered the feathers as those of a goose/duck, although the bird is clearly associated with some of the most prominent deities in Egyptian religion. Often, the goose is confused with the duck, and most scholars seem not to bother about making any explicit distinction.⁴⁵⁷ The goose was initially an individual feature of Seb, the divine father of Osiris.⁴⁵⁸ As a hieroglyph, the goose symbolised a child, son or daughter, which according to Horapollon signifies the goose's self-sacrifice on behalf of her young.⁴⁵⁹ Herodotus states that it was sacred in Egypt.⁴⁶⁰ According to the Hermopolitan cosmology, it was a goose that laid the golden egg, symbolising the soul of the sun, thus equivalent to the sun-god Ra.⁴⁶¹ According to the myth, the earth was imagined as a Mother Goose who laid a golden egg every morning.⁴⁶² The Mother Goose was identified as Hathor. A child appeared from this egg, mothered by Hathor, and was described as the vanquisher of Darkness.⁴⁶³ The present relief material describes Hathor in her maternal role, as the mother of Harsomtut and Ihy.⁴⁶⁴ This story forms the basis for my interpretation provided above, of the double crown (red and white crowns) as a symbol of Hathor's protection of the golden egg. The golden egg is one of many figural descriptions of the rebirth of the sun in its daily journey.⁴⁶⁵

Furthermore, the goose was an animal sacred to Amun, sometimes recognised as "the Great Cackler", similar to Geb.⁴⁶⁶ In his association with Ra, Amun is described as "Amun-Ra, the beautiful Goose", or "the beautiful Goose of Amun-Ra".⁴⁶⁷ In one myth and in the shape of a ram-headed serpent (Kematef), Amun is described as having created, or fertilised, the golden egg mentioned above.⁴⁶⁸ Possibly due to its connections with Amun-Ra, the goose had erotic connotations, traditionally considered alluding to female sexuality.⁴⁶⁹

Thus, clearly, all three types of feathers have religious and symbolic significance. The falcon holds a prominent mythological position, illustrated in realistic and anthropomorphic shapes.

⁴⁵⁴ For general information, including a reference list, see *LÄ* III, 14-47.

⁴⁵⁵ There are numerous minor and local deities which are also connected with the falcon. However, this is not the place to list them all. The association with Ra will be emphasised further esp. in Chapter III.9.

⁴⁵⁶ Vassilika 1989, 87.

⁴⁵⁷ For example Houlihan 1996, 139-144, esp. p. 139; Massey 1907/2008, 21.

⁴⁵⁸ Budge 1904/2003, II, 94.

⁴⁵⁹ Horapollon, I, 53.

⁴⁶⁰ Hdt. 2, 72.

⁴⁶¹ Massey 1907/2008, 21f.

⁴⁶² The temple of Medinet Habu represents the location of this cosmic event. Gengen or Negeg are given as names of the primeval goose who laid the egg. See Pinch 2002, 120.

⁴⁶³ Massey 1907/2008, 22.

⁴⁶⁴ Harsomtut, as subsequent chapters will emphasise, personified the young Horus, son of Hathor. Following chapters show an association between Harsomtut, as the son of Hathor, and the lotus, the horizon, and the horns of Hathor. For Hathor's maternal titles, see Chapter III.9, Hathor, the great mother.

⁴⁶⁵ See also the title of Harsomtut in cat. no. 134, as the golden one who comes forth of the horizon. Chapter III.9 will demonstrate that "the Golden One" was applied as a designation of Hathor.

⁴⁶⁶ Tobin 2002, 21.

⁴⁶⁷ Budge 1904/2003, II, 374.

⁴⁶⁸ Pinch 2002, 101.

⁴⁶⁹ Houlihan 1996, 143. The goose was evoked in love poetry during the New Kingdom.

Although the ostrich and the goose are depicted in Egyptian iconography, they are excluded from the more religious sphere in regard to anthropomorphic representations. So far, the most evident connection for them is with the solar cult and there is a link with Amun, regardless of the sort of the feather. Their overall shared associations ultimately raise a question whether or not the physical original form actually mattered. According to Troy, there was no distinction between feathers prior to the 18th Dynasty.⁴⁷⁰ Egyptian art shows many inconsistencies in regard to the application of conventional feathers as divine attributes. Generally depicted with the ostrich feather, Shu occasionally wears four tall falcon tail feathers⁴⁷¹ Horus wears the four-feathered crown of falcon feathers, but he also wears the ostrich feathers as a structural part of other crown compositions.⁴⁷² When associated with Shu, Osiris abandons his traditional ostrich feathers in favour of the tall falcon tail feathers.⁴⁷³ Mainly in his role as Harpocrates, Horus wears the triple crown, consisting of several ostrich feathers. Outside the material, in Speos Artemidos, Beni Hassan, Sekhmet-Hathor wear the traditional female crown with ostrich feathers instead of the conventional straight feather plume. Evidently, the choice of feathers varied.



Figs. 25-26: Compare the straight feathers of the crown Arsinoë (left) to the ostrich feathers of the *anedjti* crown (right). Crowns illustrated in the Temple of Edfu. Photos by the author.

Egyptian art does not apply any firm conventions to any of the feathers. I question the importance of breeds since all three feathers associate with Amun-Ra. Instead, I consider the feather itself as a symbol. This standpoint regarding the religious connotations of the feathers concurs in general with many previous scholars such as Vassilika, Troy, and Albersmeier.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷⁰ Troy 1986, 126.

⁴⁷¹ For example, I have documented Shu wearing this four-feathered crown at the Philae temple.

⁴⁷² See esp. cat. nos. 52-53.

⁴⁷³ Vassilika 1989, 119.

⁴⁷⁴ Dils, however, dismisses this interpretation, stating that the feathers of the traditional female crown and the crown of Arsinoë were those of an ostrich. He questions how the feathers could be those of Amun, when the Amarna queens are depicted wearing them. This is a clear paradox of Egyptian art and religious history. Although Akhenaton distanced himself culturally from the traditional cult of Amun, the royal family retained much of previous customs and conventions. In iconography, the royal family of Akhenaton wore traditional headdress units, including the *uraeus*, the traditional female crown, and the double crown. Female members are depicted shaking the sistrum, which was an established ceremonial instrument used to evoke the spirit of Hathor (see Chapter III.4). In many illustrations, Queen Nefertiti wears the Two Ladies, the *uraeus* and vulture (see Chapter III.1). As mentioned above, the Two Ladies were traditionally referred to as the earthly manifestations of Nekhbet and Wadjet, the goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt. Further, the figure of Ma'at was frequently depicted as an offering during the Amarna period (see Chapter III.6). In fact, Nefertiti is one of only a few queens to be illustrated performing this offering. Although Akhenaton and his family worshipped mainly the sun disc, Aton, while regarding the light as the only true divine source, other deities were clearly still incorporated in

A Greek counterpart?

In the Greek material, there is no clear association with any of the birds mentioned above. However, Greek coins, including early casts of Arsinoë, frequently show the Ptolemaic eagle (see fig. 27). Traditionally, the bird is assumed to be associated with Zeus-Amun, with eternity, and possibly with apotheosis. Further, it is connected with the mythic Phoenix bird, the *Benu* bird of the Egyptians, which was associated with solar cult, fertility and rejuvenation.⁴⁷⁵

In a purely Greek forum, the eagle was associated with Apollo and Zeus, deities who could both be connected with solar cult and fertility.⁴⁷⁶ As depicted on Ptolemaic coins, the eagle is accompanied by a small cornucopia and/or a lotus, symbols referring to prosperity and fertility.⁴⁷⁷ The Greek material indicates an association with similar cultural aspects and values, although the bird is different. Thereby, the Greek counterpart supports the conclusion above, that the feather in general had an individual symbolism regardless of species.



Fig. 27 Coin depicting the Ptolemaic eagle. © Myntkabinettet, Stockholm

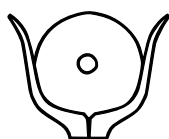
the religious agenda. In favouring the ostrich feathers for the female crowns, Dils bases his arguments on his conclusions that the crown of Arsinoë was male rather than female. He debates that the crown of Arsinoë includes only male elements except for the cow horns. However, one can argue that all the elements of the crown have also been worn by female deities (see Chapter III.3). Listed by Dils, all figures, except for the later Ptolemaic queens, preceding and succeeding Arsinoë, wear the Ramesside crown and not the crown of Arsinoë. With such rich material for a crown which is not identical to the crown of Arsinoë, I strongly object to Dils' decision in masculinising the crown of Arsinoë. So far, there is nothing to support a conclusion that this crown was masculine, unless the scholar considers Arsinoë in a male role as the pharaoh of Egypt. See Chapter IV for such a discussion.

⁴⁷⁵ Meyboom 1995, 129.

⁴⁷⁶ Hunter 2003, 151.

⁴⁷⁷ Amongst the Egyptians, the lotus was associated with the Nile and the primeval waters from which Harsomtut was born. See Chapter III.9. Also, see above, Ram horns.

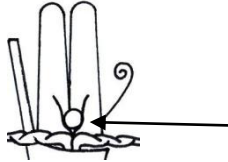
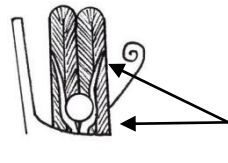
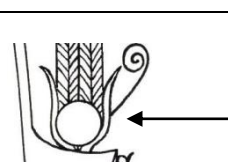
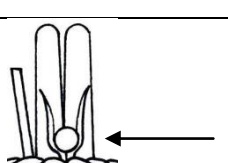
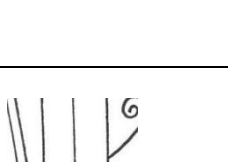
COW HORNS AND SOLAR DISC (CS)



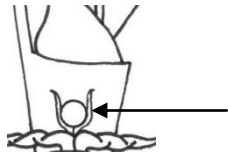
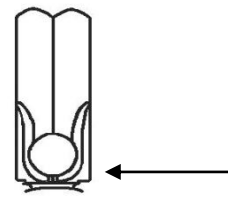
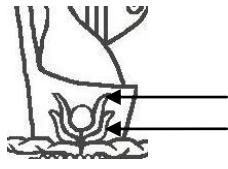
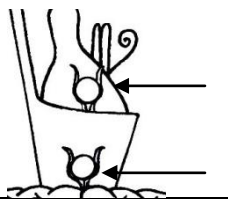

I have chosen to combine two individual pictorial units, the cow horns and the solar disc, in one element since their union denotes Hathor. I base my classification on their joined position, size and style. The cow horns and solar disc are divided in ten individual types.

Table 8: Variations of the cow horns and solar disc

In the illustration in the left column, the arrows point to the position and irregularities of the element. The Table lists abbreviations, descriptions and the catalogue numbers included in each type. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted within the column of later female figures in order to separate them from the Hathoric figures.

Illustration	Abbreviation	Description	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of crowns
	CS 1	The element is shown as a mere amulet above the platform and the ram horns	2L-3, 6-7, 10-11, 13, 15L-R, 18, 20, 25		13
	CS 2	The element is placed directly on the platform of the red crown. The horns are high, though remain within the dimensions of the feathers.	27-32		6
	CS 3	The element is enlarged and rests directly on the platform of the red crown.	8, 12		2
	CS 4	The element sits on the ram horns and the platform. The horns are high, occasionally with their tips protruding outside the boundaries of the feathers.	1R, 4-5, 14, 16-17, 19, 22-24, 26L-R ⁴⁷⁸	142, 156-158	15
	CS 5	Only the disc is depicted	34-35	155	3

⁴⁷⁸ Cat. no. 1R has been included in this group based on size, although (possibly) resting directly on the red crown.

Illustration	Abbreviation	Description	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of crowns
	CS 6	The element is placed on the ram horns, below the double crown		37-52, 54-60, 62-66, 68-73, 75-76, 78-88, 92-96, 98-104, 106-110, 113-116, 125-126, 128, 130, 134-138, 140, 143, 145L-147, 149-154	89
	CS 7	The element rests on a modus and is enlarged.	21, 36		2
	CS 8	Two sets of cow horns surround the solar disc	74, 89-91, 97, 105, 111-112, 117-121, 123-124, 127, 129, 131-133, 139, 141, 144, 148		24
	CS 9	The crown has two sets of CS-elements: the first set rests on the ram horns, and the second set sits on top of the platform of the red crown	122		1
	CS 10	Only cow horns are included, rising up outside the double crown	77		1

Five individual types of the crown of Arsinoë are recorded in the material. Another type relates to the two crowns worn by Arsinoë in cat. nos. 21, 36, and represents the traditional female crown. Thus, the material includes six styles of the CS-element worn by Arsinoë, whereas the additional four correspond to the later Hathoric crown.

The initial four types illustrate a united element of the horns and the disc. I have separated them as individual types based on their dissimilarities in size and position. CS 4 signifies the most frequent style. It is mainly depicted in temple reliefs. The cow horns stretch tall, with their tips protruding repeatedly slightly outside the outlines of the double feather plume. Arsinoë is illustrated alone or paired with Ptolemy II when she wears this type of CS-element. She is identified as Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos and with Ptolemy as *theoi Adelphoi*. Consequently, the style cannot relate to a specific cultic role of Arsinoë. The Temple of Edfu has several examples of this type. These scenes illustrate Arsinoë and Ptolemy II as

beneficiaries, receiving offerings as a couple from Ptolemy IV and VIII.⁴⁷⁹ All later Ptolemaic queens use type CS 4, which plausibly suggests an intentional selection in the pictorial continuation. I interpret the prominent position of the horns as associating with the Hathoric aspect of queenship.⁴⁸⁰

CS 1 is formed as an element in the smaller size of an amulet. This type includes the Edfu scenes where Arsinoë and Ptolemy II are joined by other ancestral couples and deities (thus, opposite to the theme of CS 4). Worn exclusively by Arsinoë, this type is mainly represented in the stelai.

Type CS 2 is clearly differentiated from the rest of the material, limited to the scenes from the Temple of Philae. The horns and the disc are identical in size to those of type CS 4. However, due to the ram horns' position below the red crown, the CS-element is dissimilar to type CS 4 (where they are positioned on the platform instead).

Illustrated in a highly enlarged style, cat. nos. 8, 12 signify two outstanding crown elements of the crown of Arsinoë forming type CS 3. Type CS 5 denotes a unit which shows only the sun disc, thus, excluding the cow horns. The type is represented by two images of Arsinoë and one Hathoric. I am aware that the type could be misinterpreted due to the current state of preservation of the scenes. Therefore, I cannot exclude the possibility that these crowns once included cow horns. However, as I have stated previously, I base my analysis on the crowns' present pictorial structure, and, therefore, cannot dismiss them.⁴⁸¹ Included in this type, cat. nos. 34-35 date to the reign of Ptolemy VIII, thematically classified as dynastic.⁴⁸² The scene of Kalabsha, cat. no. 155, is vaguely dated to the late Ptolemaic period, but I remain open for the possibility that the scene could date to the Roman period. This is the only scene illustrating Hathor of Dendera with the Dendera crown outside the Temples of Dendera and Edfu.

The Hathoric crown is divided into four individual types based on the same criteria as the crown of Arsinoë. The most frequently illustrated Hathoric type shows the horns/disc as an amulet situated on the ram horns below the double crown. This type includes all scenes from the Edfu Temple, unless a scene is damaged and has unidentifiable details and, therefore, is excluded.

CS 8 signifies the second most common Hathoric type. This element shows an original set of cow horns and solar disc, around which are placed another sets of horns (see figs. 28-30). To my knowledge, there is no modern reference to such an additional set horns. Occasionally, the additional cow horns symmetrically follow the original element in terms of direction. Cat. no. 97, for example, demonstrates such a depiction (see fig. 30).⁴⁸³ However, cat. no. 91 exemplifies an additional set of horns, curved slightly outwards, asymmetrically placed in relation to the original element (see fig. 29).⁴⁸⁴ The additional horns represented in cat. nos. 124, 144 reach only halfway compared to the original pair.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁷⁹ The excluded Edfu scenes illustrate the *theoi Adelphoi* in a dynastic theme surrounded by additional Ptolemaic ancestral couples, or, as in cat. no. 20, by other deities.

⁴⁸⁰ See Chapter IV for further discussions.

⁴⁸¹ See Chapter III.3 for the Ramesside crown.

⁴⁸² See Chapter III.6, Dynastic scenes.

⁴⁸³ Include also cat. nos. 117-118, 132-133, 139.

⁴⁸⁴ This also occurs in cat. nos. 74, 89-90, 111-112, 119-121, 123-124, 127, 129, 131, 141, 144, 148. The horns in cat. no. 105 are only vaguely recognisable due to later damage.

⁴⁸⁵ Furthermore, the base, or shaft, of the unit is mostly depicted in front of the additional horns. Nevertheless, cat. no. 90 shows a base in which the shafts of each set of horns are entwined.



Figs. 28-30: from left to right: the detailed images demonstrate the Dendera crown in cat. no. 91, with its detail marked; detail of the CS-element in cat. no. 91; detail of the CS-element in cat. no. 97. Compare the asymmetrically placed additional horns in figs. 28-29 to the symmetrical element in fig. 30.

Naturally, all the minor differences may be explained as indications of the individuality of the artist creating the scenes. Type CS 8, however, has an iconographic resemblance to the structure of a lotus flower. Subsequent chapters will demonstrate that Harsomtut, the great son of Hathor, frequently accompanies his mother in the scenes when she wears this additional set of horns.⁴⁸⁶ In his role as Hathor's son, Harsomtut was believed to have risen up from a lotus just after his birth, symbolising the newly risen sun (see fig. 31a-b). The iconographic structure of the element presented as CS 8, could therefore, arguably, be associated with this myth as well as with its traditional connotations at the same time.



Figs. 31a-b: The details of cat. no. 134 show the birth of Harsomtut (the serpent) arising from the lotus and the Hathoric barque. Compare the structure and symbolism with the additional set of cow horns above.

Two Hathoric types, CS 9 and CS 10, are represented only once. CS 9 shows an additional element of cow horns surrounding a disc, placed on the platform of the red crown. The crown, therefore, shows two individually complete CS-elements. CS 10 places the cow horns on each side of the base of the red crown. It lacks a solar disc. It is difficult to establish any theoretical reasons for such an inadequacy based on the lack of corresponding reference. The scenes are not outstanding in relation to the others. Consequently, types CS 9 and 10 are regarded merely

⁴⁸⁶ See mainly Chapters III.6, Corner box, and III.10, Hathor, the great mother.

as indications of the artist's hand. Type CS 6 is the most favoured Hathoric style, demonstrating the original set of horns and disc located below the double crown.

Cultural associations of the cow horns

The following section separates the cow horns and solar disc into individual elements in order to understand their uniqueness. Depicted as petroglyphs in Upper Egypt, the sacred role of the cow dates back to the prehistoric period.⁴⁸⁷ Bovine deities include both male and female variants, all linked with fertility and rejuvenation. The cow horns are mainly associated with Apis and Hathor, but were also used by deities such as Bat, Bucchis, Hesat, Mehet-Weret, Mnevis, and Shentayet.⁴⁸⁸ The horns are generally depicted in different styles based on the sex of the bovine. When depicted on a cow, they were either pointing straight up or bent slightly outwards. The horns of a bull were (slightly or fully) rounded inwards. Often, bovine deities were depicted with a solar disc between their horns. The bull symbolised mainly kingship, whereas the cow connoted maternity and the queen in her role as the nurturer of the forthcoming pharaoh.⁴⁸⁹

The cow and bull were equally venerated in Egypt as sacred animals. Mainly connected with "Hathor of Dendera, Lady of the Sky", the cow was also associated with Isis, Nut and other female deities.⁴⁹⁰ As the male bovine, the bull was venerated in three main forms: the Apis bull in Memphis; the Mnevis bull in Heliopolis; and the Buchis bull in Armant.⁴⁹¹

In Greek mythology, the bull symbolised the sun, whereas the cow was the moon.⁴⁹² The cow was mainly associated with Hera, or with the infidelity myth of Io, a priestess of Hera.⁴⁹³ Similar to the symbolic connotations of Hathor, the connection with Hera corresponds chiefly to fertility. Further, bovines were common sacrificial animals, dedicated in Hera's honour.⁴⁹⁴

Cultural associations of the solar disc

Foremost a symbol of Ra, the solar disc, Aten, was associated with fertility, rebirth, rejuvenation, reincarnation, etc. In the Egyptian myth, the disc changed its shape, name and appearance in accordance with the three phases of the day: at dawn, midday and evening.⁴⁹⁵ Magical texts describe the disc as Khepri in the morning, the scarab-faced deity of the East; as

⁴⁸⁷ See for example *LÄ V*, 257f.; Brass 2003, 103; Stockstad 2002, *passim*; Hanotte et al. 2002, *passim*. The presence of bovine bones in inhumation graves from the Badarian period has similarly shown that the cow had a special prehistoric cultic status. See Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, 42, 91-94.

⁴⁸⁸ See for example *LÄ V*, 261.

⁴⁸⁹ Compare the bull's ritualistic position in the Sed festival, and the rejuvenation ceremonies of the pharaoh. See below, primarily in Chapter III.7.

⁴⁹⁰ For this title of Hathor, see Chapter III.9.

⁴⁹¹ See Chapter III.8, Divine mother/mother of the god. See mainly cat. nos. 12 and 26, describing Arsinoë as the mother of Hep (=Apis). The Apis bull retained, and even expanded, its cultic prominence throughout Egypt during the Ptolemaic period. The cult centre and burial site of the Serapeion in Saqqara is one of many examples of this. For further reference about these masculine bovine cults, see mainly Crawford 1980; see also Houlihan 1996, 11-21, esp. 19f.

⁴⁹² Keightley 1866, 407.

⁴⁹³ Keightley 1866, 361.

⁴⁹⁴ Petropoulou 2008, 96.

⁴⁹⁵ Roberts 1997, 20-22.

Ra during the midday, a falcon-headed anthropomorphic deity wearing the solar disc crown; and as the ram-headed god Atum in the evening, when preparing for the nightly battles in the Underworld.⁴⁹⁶ However, in some myths Harpocrates/Harsomtus replace Khepri. Ra is protected by his mother Hathor during the night from the evil serpent Apophis to once again be reborn as the youngster Khepri the following morning. This myth explained the continuation of life, and gave the worshippers hope that good will prevail over evil.⁴⁹⁷

Previous sections have demonstrated how the Hermopolitan myth describes the solar disc as the light coming from the primeval egg laid at Medinet Habu, and nurtured by Hathor in the shape of a goose.⁴⁹⁸ The solar disc was worshipped as the great creator, who made heaven and earth, and everything dwelling within them. In the name of Ra, the disc ruled deities and men equally, although with constant need of his daughter-wife-mother Hathor, in her role as his protectress. As the ultimate source of life, the solar disc was the King of the Gods, the true father of the pharaohs and the primeval true master.⁴⁹⁹ Throughout the Egyptian ages, the solar disc was associated with various deities other than Ra, including Amun and Horus, and the goddesses Hathor, Isis and Ma'at.⁵⁰⁰

In Greek religion, the sun symbolised primarily Apollo and Helios. In Greek poetry, light and divinity, the personification and the god, were undivided. It is a myth similar to the Egyptian, where Helios is described as travelling across the sky in a chariot drawn by horses.⁵⁰¹ He used as his crown attribute a solar disc most similar to that attributed to Ra and other Egyptian solar deities.⁵⁰² Further, the Greeks associated the sun with the all-seeing eye, again comparable to the Egyptian myths. Parallel to the myth of Ra and his children Shu and Tefnut, the Greeks present Helios as the father of Eos and Selene.⁵⁰³



Fig. 32: Sekhmet at Kom Ombo wearing the solar disc. Photo by the author.

⁴⁹⁶ Borghouts 1978, 54; Silverman 1991, 36; Roberts 1997, 20.

⁴⁹⁷ Roberts 1997, 20-22. See Chapter III.9, *passim*.

⁴⁹⁸ Referred to in modern sources mainly as a disc, the sun was imagined more as a sphere by the ancients. For the myth of Ihy as the newborn sun, the son of Hathor, see L. Lesko 1991, 118.

⁴⁹⁹ For a general introduction see *LÄ V*, 156-180.

⁵⁰⁰ See Chapter III.9, Concluding summary, for my considerations concerning the Egyptian polytheism.

⁵⁰¹ See Parisinou 2005, 32 with notes 14f.

⁵⁰² Parisinou 2005, 32.

⁵⁰³ Hes. *Theog.*, 371-374.

The symbolism of the CS-element

Many Egyptian bovine figures used the cow horns and solar disc as an attribute. As a complete crown, however, it was mainly used by Hathor (or aspects of her). Therefore, I refer to this crown as the ‘traditional Hathoric crown’ (see fig. 33). Hathor appears in art during the Old Kingdom, illustrated in the Valley Temple of Mycerinus (Menkaure).⁵⁰⁴ The crown was attributed exclusively to Hathor until the New Kingdom when Isis usurped the crown, suggestively in order to accentuate the maternal associations between the goddesses.⁵⁰⁵ In order to clarify her individuality and her various alternative aspects, new and more elaborated crowns were developed for Hathor. Meanwhile, she kept her traditional Hathoric crown.



Fig. 33 shows Hathor wearing her traditional crown at Deir el-Medina.
Photo by the author.

The traditional Hathoric crown is generally regarded as symbolising the protective role of Hathor, the solar disc referring to Ra.⁵⁰⁶ Hathor, in her associations with Ra, was the mother and the daughter, the sister and the wife. She was entwined in Egypt’s entire cosmology. Every day she gave birth to a new sun, and was, therefore, regarded as a goddess protecting women in childbirth.⁵⁰⁷ Hathor guided the deceased through the obstacles of the Underworld, in order for them to be reborn.⁵⁰⁸ Hathor and Ra, in a mutual symbiosis, were responsible for the continuation of the universe.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁴ Reisner 1931, 123f. with pls. 36-46.

⁵⁰⁵ Isis was depicted with a plain traditional Hathoric crown, or combined with Isis’ individual attribute – the throne, which was positioned above the solar disc. The temple of Philae offers examples of both, see Vassilika 1989. For a continuation of the traditional Hathoric crown as the crown of Isis in the Nile mosaic of Palestrina in Roman times, see Meyboom 1994, 35.

⁵⁰⁶ *LÄ* II, 1024-1033.

⁵⁰⁷ See Chapter III.9, Hathor the great mother.

⁵⁰⁸ A general introduction is provided by Pinch 2002, 137.

⁵⁰⁹ Therefore, it is not surprising to find Hathor in an association with the moon during the Ptolemaic period (as the counterpart of Ra as the solar disc). Compare Delia 1998. Traditionally, there has been a limited scholarly attempt to explain the iconographic implementation, especially when Isis usurps the Hathoric attributes. Delia reinterprets Isis’ role based on Roman sources and refers to mainly Lucius Apuleius and Ovid. She interprets the traditional Hathoric crown, when worn by Isis, as a lunar symbol. Similar to the traditional roles of Isis, the moon symbolised female fertility, nurturing and rejuvenation.

Deities other than Isis, including Mut, Wadjet and Mehnyt, used the traditional Hathoric crown.⁵¹⁰ Such goddesses are described in texts as predominantly connecting with Hathor.⁵¹¹ The traditional crown of Hathor indicates a feminine connotation.





URAEUS (UR)



This pictorial unit communicates a symbolism fundamentally equivalent to the single forehead *uraeus* presented in Chapter III.1. The main dissimilarity is their individual placement, and their association with surrounding pectorals. The unit labelled as *uraeus* – UR is physically linked with the crown. It is categorised as four individual types, based on their position and additional pictorial details.

Table 9: Variations of the *uraeus*

Presented in the table are four types of the uraeus, represented with illustrations, abbreviations, descriptions and respective catalogue numbers. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted within the column of later female figures in order to separate them from the Hathoric figures.

Illustration	Abbreviation	Description	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of crown
	UR 1	A single <i>uraeus</i> is attached to the front of the red crown, sometimes wearing a solar disc.	2L-R, 8 ⁵¹²	49, 52-55, 67, 69, 158	11
	UR 2	Two uncrowned <i>uraei</i> rise from the sides of the double feather plume	35		1
	UR 3	Two <i>uraei</i> rise from the sides of the double feather plume, wearing a solar disc	7, 13, 18, 20	155	5
	UR 4	Tiara of <i>uraei</i>		37, 49, 56, 60, 66, 68, 70-71, 74, 81-82, 84,	22

⁵¹⁰ See Chapter III.9, for Hathor's association/assimilation with other goddesses.

⁵¹¹ The joined unit of the cow horns and solar disc is also documented in composition crowns, including the traditional female crown, female Edfu crown, Dendera crown, Dendera crown with additional *atef* feathers, and the crown of Arsinoë. The crown occasionally includes additional details, such as a tiara of *uraei*, pendant *uraeus*, rising *uraeus*, the *3st*-sign, the *nbt*-sign, the *nwt*-sign.

⁵¹² The *uraeus* of cat. no. 8 wears a traditional Hathoric crown.

				91-92, 94-95, 97, 100, 102, 106, 119, 142	
--	--	--	--	--	--

According to Table 9, type UR 3 is the most frequently applied *uraeus*, showing two cobras rising up along the outer sides of the double feather plume.⁵¹³ Two of the scenes of Arsinoë are located within the Edfu Temple, placing her with Ptolemy II, and together being referred to as *theoi Adelphoi*. These scenes date to the reign of Ptolemy IV and are classified here as dynastic.⁵¹⁴ Cat. nos. 7 and 13 represent Arsinoë on stelai: she is individually deified, receiving offerings from her brother. The stelai scenes date to the reign of Ptolemy II. Any symbolism relating to Arsinoë's cultic roles can be excluded based on the dissimilarities between the scenes representing type UR 3. The last example records Hathor in the Kalabsha Temple. There are no obvious correlations between the scenes of Arsinoë and Hathor (cat. no. 155).

Type UR 1 decorates the crowns of Arsinoë, Hathor, and Cleopatra VII. The scenes of Arsinoë are illustrated on stelai, and show her as a goddess (cat. no. 2) and as a living queen (cat. no. 8).⁵¹⁵ Both scenes display Arsinoë in a Hathoric role, as will be noticed below. The Hathoric figures represented in this type are located in the inner part of the Edfu Temple. The Hathoric scenes are differentiated in their location and time. There are no distinct connections between the scenes that can relate to the specific style of the crown *uraeus*.

As the most infrequent group, type UR 2 is represented in only one scene (cat. no. 35). The scene is preserved in a bad state, and I presume it originally belonged to type UR 3. However, this is an assumption based on a plausible original depiction and not on the image as it is viewed today. Therefore, I retain the separation.

UR 4 represents the most frequent type of all. It is a tiara of *uraei*. It is attributed to Hathoric figures and the later Ptolemaic queen illustrated in cat. no. 142. The unit is mainly illustrated in the Temple of Dendera, but also includes cat. nos. 37 and 49 in the Edfu Temple. The tiara functioned as a stylistic decorative base or ornament for a larger and heavier crown, thereby having the same function as a *modus*.⁵¹⁶

THE WHITE CROWN



The white crown is joined with the red crown in the later Hathoric crown, but excluded from the crown of Arsinoë. The white crown symbolised Upper Egypt, similar to the vulture, and was originally worn by the goddess Nekhbet. Except for its most commonly used name, *Hedjet*

⁵¹³ Notice that the catalogue numbers listed in type UR 1 include also Hathoric figures.

⁵¹⁴ See Chapter III.6, Dynastic scenes.

⁵¹⁵ See Chapter III.3, Sistrum.

⁵¹⁶ The *modus* or *kalathos* was usually a low flat circular base for a higher or heavier crown, and could be left undecorated or highlighted with a band of *uraei*. Albersmeier 2002, 52.

(*hdt*) – “the White”, or “Bright One”, it is also known as *wrrt*, *nfr*, *hk3w*, *stnw*, *šm^c*, *tpt*.⁵¹⁷ It was traditionally painted white, but is also documented in blue or green.⁵¹⁸ Accompanied by the red crown, the white crown is one of the most ancient crowns of Egyptian history.⁵¹⁹ It is represented on the famous Narmer palette, and mentioned in early dynastic pyramid texts.⁵²⁰ The white crown was used by pharaohs and deities, an individual attribute or as a unit of larger crown compositions. It was worn by Nekhbet and Horus, Atum (as the double crown), Osiris (together with the *atef* feathers), the sons of Horus, Mut, Satis, Sothis, among others (see figs. 34-36).⁵²¹ In addition to the traditional interpretation of the white crown symbolising Upper Egypt, I argue that it symbolises the primeval egg and Harsomtus as discussed above.



Figs. 34-36: L-R: Seti I at Abydos; Horus and Nekhbet at el-Kab respectively. Photos by J. Ward and the author.

To my knowledge, no queen wore the white crown as an individual attribute. It is, however, documented as a part of the double crown worn by Hatshepsut and Amenirdis II. Moreover, Amenirdis I carries the title “She who is crowned with the White One”, which indicates that she used this crown without additional elements.⁵²² Similar to the red crown, there are no archaeological remains of a physical white crown. It is, therefore, difficult to estimate a possible original material or inspirational source. Generally, the white crown is believed to have consisted of leather, although reed has been suggested by some.⁵²³

⁵¹⁷ *LÄ* III, 812.

⁵¹⁸ There are many examples of a turquoise “white” crown at Dendera.

⁵¹⁹ See above, Red crown.

⁵²⁰ For example utterances 239 and 524, see Faulkner 1969.

⁵²¹ *LÄ* III, 812.

⁵²² Troy 1986, 197, translates this title as “She who appears in the white one”.

⁵²³ Leather: Vassilika 1989, 85 with note 11; reed: R. Wilkinson 1994, 108f.

THE DOUBLE CROWN (DC)



Above, the white crown has been described as an individual unit of the later Hathoric crown. Also noted above, the white crown was combined with the red crown, together forming the double crown. It is in this double form that the crown appears in the later Hathoric crown.

The double crown, *pshent - p3 shmtj*, is documented in Egyptian representation since the Old Kingdom, and is combined with royal elements (such as the *nemes* wig) from at least the New Kingdom.⁵²⁴ The double crown symbolised the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt, but also the relationship between Ra and Hathor.⁵²⁵ In my opinion, it represented fundamental Egyptian beliefs as do most other cultic forms, relating to the eternal journey and reincarnation of the solar disc.

The crown was used by pharaohs and deities, including Horus and Atum, representing kingship and unification. Worn by mainly male figures, it was also used by Mut and female deities reflecting aspects of kingship. The material demonstrates the double crown's position in the later Hathoric crown and the *hptj* crown of Horus.⁵²⁶

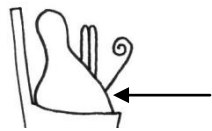
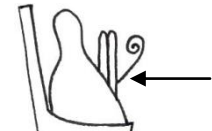
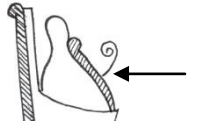
⁵²⁴ LÄ III, 813.

⁵²⁵ See above, Red crown.

⁵²⁶ See for example *Edfou* I, 243: "Take this crown of Upper Egypt and combine it with that of Lower Egypt..."; Derchain-Urtel 1994, 30.

Table 10: Individual types of the double crown

Each type is described with an illustration, abbreviation, description, catalogue numbers, and the total number of crowns. Since Arsinoë and the later Ptolemaic queens did not wear the double crown, the table gives only the later Hathoric figures.

Illustration	Abbreviation	Description	Cat. nos. ⁵²⁷	Total number of crown
	DC 1	The crown spiral arises from the white crown	38, 40, 42-45, 47, 51, 55-57, 59-60, 62-66, 68, 73-75, 77, 81-82, 85-86, 88-90, 92-93, 96, 98-101, 104-108, 110-123, 125-133, 135-137, 139-141, 143-152, 154-155	83
	DC 2	The crown spiral comes up from the double feather plume	39, 41, 46, 48, 58, 69-72, 79-80, 83-84, 87, 91, 95, 97, 102-103, 153	20
	DC 3	The crown spiral comes up from the <i>atef</i> feather	37, 49-50, 52-54, 67, 76, 78, 94, 109, 124, 134, 138	14

Based on a methodology equivalent to those presented above, the dissimilarities that formed the foundation of my categorisation are minor. The three types are differentiated exclusively by the position of the crown spiral. The spiral of DC 1 comes up from the white crown, whereas the spiral of DC 2 rises from the double feather plume. The last type, DC 3, appears from the *atef* feather which is placed in the front of the white crown. There are no obvious dissimilarities in the contextual setting that can support a divergent symbolic message communicated by the minor variations. Therefore, I retain the conclusions provided above (see Red crown) that the placement of the crown spiral most likely is based on the artist's hand.

THE *ATEF* FEATHER (*ATEF*)

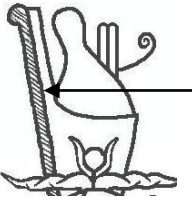
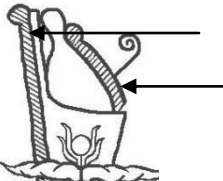
The *atef* feather will be described only briefly since it (the ostrich feather) has been analysed already above. The feather is depicted in totally 38 scenes, represented in the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather, the female Edfu crown and the Edfu crown.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁷ Cat. no. 61 is excluded from this table. Due to later damage, it is no longer possible to determine absolutely the type of the double crown.

⁵²⁸ See Chapter III.3.

Table 11: Individual types of the *atef* feather

Each type is represented with an illustration, abbreviation, description, catalogue numbers and the total number of figures. The unit is exclusively worn by the later Hathoric figures.

Illustration	Abbreviation	Description	Cat. nos.	Total number of crowns
	ATEF 1	An <i>atef</i> feather has been attached to the back of the red crown	42, 61-63, 65, 69, 72, 77, 81, 83-84, 88, 99-101, 106, 132-133, 136, 143, 153, 155	22
	ATEF 2	An <i>atef</i> feather has been attached to the back of the red crown and another to the front of the white crown	37, 49-55, 67, 76, 78, 94, 109, 124, 134, 138	16

As noted in Table 11, the *atef* feather is divided in two types in accordance with quantity and placement. ATEF 1 is the most frequently used type, relating to the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather. The feather is placed at the back of the red crown at all times. All figures are located in the Dendera Temple except for cat. nos. 42 and 155 which are situated in the Edfu and Kalabsha Temples respectively.

Type ATEF 2 illustrates two *atef* feathers, one at the back of the red crown and one in front of the white crown. It is registered in the Edfu and Dendera Temples. The scenes in the Edfu Temple concentrate around the inner part of the sanctuary, though also including a larger figure of Hathor on the front pylon.

As noted above, the *atef* (ostrich) feather is associated with the goddess Ma'at who personified universal truth and order. One could argue that the presence of an *atef* feather in the later Hathoric crown could indicate a Hathoric association with Ma'at, thus the daughter of Ra.

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

It is difficult to specify the symbolism of each individual part together structuring the crown of Arsinoë and the later Hathoric crown. Each unit demonstrates associations with various gods, goddesses, kings and queens. The structural units comprising the crown of Arsinoë have an equally individual significance, and their many positions indicate that it was not the placement that mattered as much as their actual presence.

It is generally accepted that the red crown was associated with kingship, an attribute of royal power. As an individual unit rather than a component in the double crown, the red crown symbolised Lower Egypt. It was associated with Amun-Ra, and with Hathor (including Wadjet as the serpent-aspect of Hathor). Moreover, I have suggested a symbolism which associates the red crown with the Hathoric maternal role, the female womb, as it protects the primeval egg (=the white crown). Prior to Arsinoë, the red crown was worn by two queens, Hatshepsut and

Amenirdis, as a unit in larger compositions. These queens had great political and religious importance, and were both commemorated in various artistic media and with a designation placing them as the wife of God or daughter of Amun.⁵²⁹ The unit is included as a fundamental structural part in the crown of Arsinoë. It is categorised in four individual types, based on the position and existence of the crown spiral.

The ram horns have been categorised as five individual types based on size and position. They have been identified as horns of the most ancient Egyptian breed of sheep, illustrated with twined, horizontal horns. The material frequently places the horns on the platform of the red crown, joined in the middle, or separated in one visible and one partly hidden section. The Philae scenes stand apart from the others, placing the horns below the red crown. These horns are separated, with one side only partially visible. The horns have been established as primarily associated with Arsinoë and the later female figures with Amun.

Traditionally referred to as the tail feathers of a falcon or those of an ostrich, I have approached the double feather plume problem with an additional candidate: goose feathers as a third plausible, physical model for the plume. However, I base my interpretations of the plume on a stylised form of the feather rather than on the breed of the bird. The double feather plume is documented in the crown of Arsinoë, the traditional female crown, and the later Hathoric crown. It fundamentally symbolised the dualism of all Egyptian religious concepts, associating with the male and female, husband and wife, brother and sister, father and daughter/mother and son, etc.

As a pictorial component of the larger structure of the crown of Arsinoë and the later Hathoric crown, the cow horns and solar disc are regarded here as directly associated with Hathor and her various family-oriented aspects. The depiction of an additional set of cow horns surrounding the original unit in type CS 8 has been suggested to reflect an emphasis on Hathor's maternal role as she gave birth to Harsomtut.

The white crown, the double crown and the *atef* feather have been included in this chapter based on their presence in the later Hathoric crown. I have emphasised the individual identification of the white crown with Upper Egypt, combined with an hypothesis that the crown symbolises the primeval egg. In such an association, the double crown becomes an expression of the conventional Egyptian dualism, incorporating the male and female existence in the eternal journey of the sun. Naturally, I have not dismissed the more traditional connection between the double crown and the Two Lands of Egypt.

Each crown unit is interpreted as a manifestation of the divine world and its legacy. By wearing them the royal couple distinguished themselves from commoners. The king and queen represented the sons and daughters of the gods, and manifested Horus and Hathor. Each crown, consequently, is an expression of kingship and divinity. The crown communicated a clear political and socio-religious statement of power and rightfulness, which was fully manifested in the compositions of the crown of Arsinoë and the later Hathoric crown. The following chapter will reassess the symbolism of each unit as they come together creating a complete crown composition.

⁵²⁹ See Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon.

CHAPTER III.3

CROWN COMPOSITIONS

Based on the individual details that were presented in Chapters III.1-2, Chapter III.3 proceeds to analyse the complete crown compositions. The crowns are initially divided into the crown of Arsinoë, worn by Arsinoë and the later Ptolemaic queens, and the later Hathoric crown, worn exclusively by Hathor of Dendera. As a second step, these two are subdivided based on the position, size and combination of the individual details that make the complete crowns: the crown of Arsinoë is divided into 27 types, and the later Hathoric crown into 29. As noted in previous chapters, the crown of Arsinoë is composed of the red crown, ram horns, double feather plume, cow horns and a solar disc. In addition to those, the later Hathoric crown includes also the white crown (which together with the red crown becomes the double crown), and occasionally an *atef* feather. One type includes one or more crowns that are identical in their complete structural composition.⁵³⁰ The chapter functions as an introduction to the crowns, and aims to explain their structural composition rather their symbolic meaning, which will be dealt with in the discussion in Chapter IV.

THE CROWN OF ARSINOË (AC)






The categorisation of crown types is consistent with the method of classification used for the individual pictorial units, following equal contextual criteria of size, position and combination. Twenty-seven individual types are classified among the 41 images that are documented wearing the crown of Arsinoë, incorporating the historical figures Arsinoë, Cleopatra III and VII.⁵³¹ Each type incorporates at least one crown, though it never exceeds five. The individual composition types of the crown of Arsinoë are arranged as follows:

⁵³⁰ Incomplete or fragmentary crowns are classified as individual types even if not all pictorial details are depicted. In such a classification I assume that the crown was complete in its original form, and I separate it from others based on its current state of preservation, therefore preventing one type to be wrongly identified with another.

⁵³¹ Cat. nos. 1L-20, 22-35, 142, 156-158. Cat. nos. 21, 36 are excluded from the crown of Arsinoë due to their contextual structure concurring with the traditional female crown. See below for this crown.

Table 12: Individual composition types of the crown of Arsinoë

Table 12 provides in the left column an illustration of each type, the abbreviated title (highlighted) and the pictorial structure,⁵³² commentary, listed scenes, and the total number of crowns. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted in the listed scenes in order to separate them from Arsinoë.

Illustration	Title and abbreviated units	Commentary	Scenes	Total number of crowns
	AC 1 TW 1 + VC 1 + RH 3(?)	Only three individual details are visible, thus showing an incomplete crown of Arsinoë.	1L	1
	AC 2 TW 1 + VC 1 + RC 1 + DFP 1 + CS 4	Not all details are visible, thus showing an incomplete crown of Arsinoë	1R	1
	AC 3 TW 1 + VC1 + UR 1 + RC 1 + DFP 1 + CS 1 + RH 1	The crown is decorated with an additional crown <i>uraeus</i>	2L-R	2
	AC 4 TW 1 + SFU 2 + RC 4 + DFP 1 + CS 1 + RH 1	The wig is decorated with a royal diadem	3	1
	AC5 TW 1 + VC 1 + RC 2 + DFP 1 + CS 4 + RH 1		4-5, 156	3

⁵³² The abbreviated titles of each unit are provided in previous chapters.






Illustration	Title and abbreviated units	Commentary	Scenes	Total number of crowns
	<p>AC 6</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + RC 1 + DFP 1 + CS 1 + RH 1</p>		6, 11, 15L-R, 25	5
	<p>AC 7</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 3 + RC 1 + DFP 1 + CS 1 + RH 1</p>	The crown is decorated with two crown <i>uraei</i>	7	1
	<p>AC 8</p> <p>TW 1 + VC2 + UR 1 + RC 1 + DFP 1 + CS 3 + RH 3</p>	The cow horns and solar disc are enlarged. The crown is decorated with a crown <i>uraeus</i> wearing the traditional Hathoric crown	8	1
	<p>AC 9</p> <p>TW 1 + VC1 + RC ? + RH 2</p>	The crown is fragmentarily preserved	9	1
	<p>AC 10</p> <p>TW 1 + RC 4 + DFP 1 + CS 1 + RH 1</p>		10	1


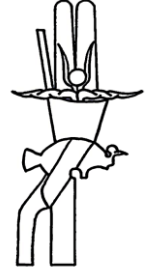
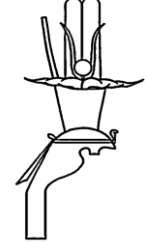



Illustration	Title and abbreviated units	Commentary	Scenes	Total number of crowns
	<p>AC 11</p> <p>TW 1 + VC1 + RC ? + CS 3 + RH 3</p>	<p>The crown is fragmentarily preserved</p>	<p>12</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>AC 12</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + RC 4 + DFP 1 + CS 4 + RH 1</p>		<p>14, 17</p>	<p>2</p>
	<p>AC 13</p> <p>TW 2 + SFU 2 + RC 4 + DFP 1 + CS 4 + RH 1</p>	<p>The wig falls behind the shoulder and is decorated with a royal diadem</p>	<p>16</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>AC 14</p> <p>TW 2 + SFU 2 + UR 3 + RC 4 + DFP 1 + CS 1 + RH 1</p>	<p>The crown is decorated with two <i>uraei</i>. The wig falls behind the shoulder and is decorated with a royal diadem</p>	<p>18</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>AC 15</p> <p>TW 2 + SFU 2 + RC 2 + DFP 1 + CS 4 + RH 1</p>	<p>The wig falls behind the shoulder and is decorated with a royal diadem</p>	<p>19, 157</p>	<p>2</p>
	<p>AC 16</p> <p>TW 1 + VC1 + UR 3 + RC 4 + DFP 1 + CS 1 + RH 1</p>	<p>The crown is decorated with two <i>uraei</i></p>	<p>13, 20</p>	<p>2</p>









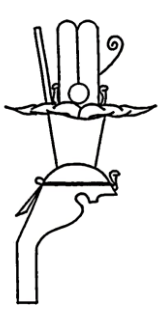


Illustration	Title and abbreviated units	Commentary	Scenes	Total number of crowns
	<p>AC 17</p> <p>TW 1 + SFU 2 + RC 4 + DFP 1 + CS 4 + RH 1</p>	<p>The wig is decorated with a royal diadem</p>	<p>22</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>AC 18</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 2 + RC 1 + DFP 1 + CS 4 + RH 1</p>	<p>The vulture head of the cap is accompanied by a crowned <i>uraeus</i></p>	<p>23-24</p>	<p>2</p>
	<p>AC 19</p> <p>TWI + VC 1 + RC 1 + DFP 1 + CS 4 + RH 1</p>		<p>26L-R</p>	<p>2</p>
	<p>AC 20</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + RC 1 + DFP 1 + CS 2 + RH 2</p>		<p>27, 29-30, 32</p>	<p>4</p>
	<p>AC 21</p> <p>TW 1 + RC 1 + DFP 1 + CS 2</p>	<p>The crown is fragmentarily preserved</p>	<p>28</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>AC 22</p> <p>TW 1 + VC1 + RC 3 + DFP 1 + CS 2 + RH 2</p>		<p>31</p>	<p>1</p>

Illustration	Title and abbreviated units	Commentary	Scenes	Total number of crowns
	<p>AC 23</p> <p>TW 1 + VC1 + RC 1 + DFP 1 + RH 2</p>	<p>The crown is only partially visible, not showing all details</p>	33	1
	<p>AC 24</p> <p>TW 1 + VC1 + RC 1 + DFP 1 + CS 5 + RH 1</p>		34	1
	<p>AC 25</p> <p>TW 2 + SFU 2 + UR 2 + RC 1 + DFP 1 + CS 5 + RH 1</p>	<p>The crown is decorated with two <i>uraei</i>. The wig is decorated with a royal diadem</p>	35	1
	<p>AC 26</p> <p>TW 2+ SFU 1 + UR 4 + RC 4 + DFP 1 + CS 4 + RH 4</p>	<p>The wig is decorated with a <i>uraeus</i>. A tiara supports the crown.</p>	142	1
	<p>AC 27</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 3 + UR 1 + RC 1 + DFP 1 + CS 4 + RH 3</p>	<p>The crown is decorated with a crown <i>uraeus</i>. The vulture wears a traditional Hathoric crown</p>	158	1

As demonstrated in Table 12, the composition type AC 6 occurs most frequently, structurally consisting of a traditional tripartite wig (TW 1) and a vulture cap (VC 1). The crown is composed of a red crown (RC 1) with a spiral coming up behind the double feather plume (DFP 1). The ram horns (RH 1) rest on the platform of the red crown together with an amulet of cow horns and solar disc (CS 1).

The four scenes (five figures) that show type AC 6 differ significantly in their individual context.⁵³³ Type AC 6 is worn by Arsinoë exclusively. Cat. no. 25 represents the only temple relief, while cat. nos. 6, 11 and 15 (L-R) are stelai. Arsinoë is the tallest figure in cat. nos. 5, 15 (L-R) and 25.⁵³⁴ She is positioned on the left side, facing right, in all scenes in accordance with the figural arrangement, though cat. no. 15 places her also on the right side. She is illustrated as a benefactor in cat. no. 15 (L-R), otherwise as a beneficiary.⁵³⁵ The scenes date to the reigns of Ptolemy II⁵³⁶ and Ptolemy III.⁵³⁷

The second largest group is type AC 20, including cat. nos. 27, 29-30, 32. The composition is based on a tripartite wig (TW 1) and a vulture cap (VC 1). The crown consists of a red crown (RC 1) with its spiral coming up behind the double feather plume (DFP 1). The ram horns are divided and placed below the red crown (RH 2). While the solar disc remains an amulet, the cow horns are depicted tall, stretching far up (CS 2). All scenes are located in the Philae Temple, depicting Arsinoë and dating to the reign of Ptolemy II.⁵³⁸ Arsinoë is placed as a beneficiary, standing behind Isis, the great mother. She is the tallest figure in cat. nos. 27, 29 and 32. She stands on the very left in three scenes⁵³⁹ and at the right in the fourth.⁵⁴⁰

The third most frequent type is AC 5 (cat. nos. 4-5, **156**). The figures wear a tripartite wig (TW 1) and a vulture cap (VC 1). The crown is structured by a red crown (RC 2) with a spiral coming up from the ram horns (RH 1), in front of the double feather plume (DFP 1). The horns are placed on the platform of the red crown. The cow horns and solar disc are placed in a prominent position (CS 4) above the ram horns. Overall, the three scenes are dissimilar in their iconographic layout as well as theme.⁵⁴¹ Cat. no. 4 illustrates the *theoi Adelphoi* participating in the Egyptian ceremony of the annuals, the reckoning of time.⁵⁴² It is a propagandistic dynastic scene, in which the ruling couple associates themselves with their deceased ancestors and the Egyptian deities. The scene dates to the reign of Ptolemy III, and illustrates Arsinoë as she accompanies her descendants on the left side. The scene is represented on a stela. Cat. no. 5 is a smaller copy of the better known Mendes stela (cat. no. 1). It places Arsinoë as an individual goddess, joined by Mendesian gods. Arsinoë is the tallest figure of the scene, and stands on the left side. The stela dates to the reign of Ptolemy II. Cat. no. **156** illustrates a living queen, Cleopatra III, in a benefactor's position standing behind the ruling pharaoh. Standing on the right side, Cleopatra is the tallest figure of the scene.

As demonstrated in Table 12, the remaining types include one or possibly two crowns. They are occasionally separated by a smallest pictorial unit, but foremost by a combination of

⁵³³ See Chapters III.3-6 for the (pictorial) contextual setting of the scenes.

⁵³⁴ See Chapter III.7 for the topic of relative scaling.

⁵³⁵ See Chapter III.7, Relative placement – benefactor and beneficiary.

⁵³⁶ Cat. nos. 6, 11 and 15.

⁵³⁷ Cat. no. 25.

⁵³⁸ See Table 24 for the date of each scene.

⁵³⁹ Cat. nos. 29-30, 32.

⁵⁴⁰ Cat. no. 27.

⁵⁴¹ See Chapter III.6 for the setting and the theme of the scenes.

⁵⁴² See Chapter III.6, Settings of the scenes.

factors. I have classified some crowns as individual types although some details are no longer visible and it is, therefore, possible that some types originally concurred with others. However, I cannot at this point, make any assumptions based on personal interpretations regarding the original form of the crowns that are now damaged or incomplete. Consequently, AC 1-2, 9, 11 and 21 are listed as individual types.

A comparison of the individual types demonstrates that the main differentiation is based on minor pictorial dissimilarities. Evidently, such distinctions could have an immediate effect on the symbolic message communicated by the specific crown type. For example, the cow horns and solar disc in types AC 8 and 11 reveal a plausible association with Hathor.⁵⁴³ Also, the presence of a royal diadem could specify a connection with the royal position of the figure, such as indicated in some of the scenes in the Edfu Temple (AC 13-15, 17).⁵⁴⁴ However, I do not believe that all minor differentiations expressed a certain symbolism, but instead that they are the result of an “artist’s hand”, thus expressing a form of artistic freedom. For example, the red crown has been divided in agreement with the position of the crown spiral: at this point, I cannot recognise a symbolic meaning based on such a differentiation, although it cannot be dismissed. As subsequent chapters will accentuate, there is no obvious socio-religious dissimilarity between the figures represented with the cow horns and solar disc in the size of an amulet, compared to the same pictorial element with elongated cow horns. Rather, it suggests an artistic influence on the image.

The 27 types listed in Table 12 are classified in accordance with the placement and size of each pictorial unit. If disregarding the individual size and instead base a comparison on their location, two differentiations are immediately noticeable. The location of the red crown, the double feather plume, the cow horns and the solar disc remain adequate, but the position of the ram horns differs. Therefore, I will approach the location of the ram horns as possibly marking the principal differentiation of the crown of Arsinoë. An analysis of the 27 individual types of the crown of Arsinoë has, thus, resulted in yet another classification, which disregards the minor pictorial differentiations, and instead focuses on the location of one pictorial unit, the ram horns.

Table 13: Crown of Arsinoë in accordance with the position of the ram horns

Two main styles are demonstrated in the table. Listed is also a description, the composition type of the crown and the number of types, and the individual scenes and the total number of crowns. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted in order to separate them from Arsinoë.

Style	Differentiation	Crown of Arsinoë – TYPE	Total number of types	Scenes	Total number of crowns
1	Ram horns are placed on top of the platform of the red crown	AC 3-7, 10, 12-19, 24-25	16	2L-7, 10-11, 13-26R, 34-35, 156-157	29
2	Ram horns are placed at the base of the red crown	AC 8-9, 11, 20-23, 27	9	8-9, 12, 27-33, 158	12

⁵⁴³ See Chapter III.8, Image of Isis and Hathor.

⁵⁴⁴ See Chapter III.6, Settings of the scenes.

AC 3-7, 10, 12-19 and 24-25 illustrate a crown with the ram horns positioned on top of the platform of the red crown, upon which the cow horns and solar disc rest, and from which the double feather plume raises. In contrast, AC 8, (9,) 11, 20, (21,) 22-23 and 27 depict horns that are placed at the base of the red crown, thus resting immediately on the head (wig/cap) of the female figure.

The crown with horns placed on top of the platform appears more frequently, including 16 AC-types, 29 individual figures. It is represented on stelai and temple reliefs equally. The temple reliefs are located in the Temples of Edfu, Karnak, Tod and Qasr Aguz. In terms of time, the scenes date to Arsinoë's lifetime, Ptolemy II, Ptolemy III, Ptolemy IV, Ptolemy V, Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra III.⁵⁴⁵ This "standardised" style includes all scenes with a dynastic theme,⁵⁴⁶ scenes that relate to a historical event⁵⁴⁷ and traditional divine veneration.⁵⁴⁸ Arsinoë is figurally established as both benefactor and beneficiary.⁵⁴⁹

The second variant appears in nine AC-types, including 12 individual figures. It is documented in stelai and temple reliefs, but is limited to the reign of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë's lifetime. The temple reliefs are located exclusively in the Temple of Philae. The three scenes dating to her lifetime place Arsinoë in an active benefactor's position. Problematically, these scenes are fragmentarily preserved and it is, therefore, impossible to determine whether Arsinoë was depicted independently or accompanied by Ptolemy II in a complete original scene.⁵⁵⁰ The Philae-scenes, cat. nos. 27-33, describe Arsinoë with royal epithets, plausibly dating to the period immediately following her death. According to the figural setting of cat. no. 158, Cleopatra VII is positioned as a (standing) benefactor.

My interpretation of the differentiation is that the crown of Arsinoë existed in two main styles, disregarding any pictorial size variation of the individual units. The two presented styles demonstrate one standardised (official) variant that was used throughout the Ptolemaic Dynasty, and one more personalised crown that was overlooked by later Ptolemies until Cleopatra VII included it in her iconography once again. It is tempting to suggest that the first style relates to Arsinoë as the divine Philadelphos, whereas the second style corresponds to her queenly position.

The crown of Arsinoë was the first personalised crown to be composed and granted for an individual queen.⁵⁵¹ In my opinion the crown was created for Arsinoë's personal cultural positions, incorporating her socio-religious and political roles. The crown underlined her position as a goddess, and her role as a ruling queen as will be further discussed below.⁵⁵² The symbolism incorporated in each unit of the crown placed the queen among the main deities of the Egyptian pantheon, and the complete composition signified eminence. In general, the crown made Arsinoë noticeable amongst previous and succeeding queens regardless of its

⁵⁴⁵ See Chapters III.5, III.6-8, and Table 24.

⁵⁴⁶ Cat. nos. 3-4, 16-22, 24. Cat. nos. 34-35 are both scenes with a dynastic figural setting, but they are excluded from Table 13 due to the absent cow horns.

⁵⁴⁷ For example, cat. no. 2 describes the historical events during and after the lifetime of Arsinoë.

⁵⁴⁸ Cat. nos. 2L-R, 5-7, 10-11, 13-15R, 23, 26L-R, 156-157, including also the veneration of Arsinoë. See Chapter III.6, Settings of the scenes.

⁵⁴⁹ See Chapter III.7.

⁵⁵⁰ Cat. no. 8 most probably excluded Ptolemy II.

⁵⁵¹ Previous queens have been depicted with either the traditional female crown (TFC) or very rarely with the double crown (DC).

⁵⁵² For the terms of date, see cat. nos. 8, 9, 12, 15, 26; see below, in Chapter III.7, and Table 24.

individually communicated message.⁵⁵³ All of these topics form the foundation of discussion as presented in Chapter IV.⁵⁵⁴

Pictorial precursors

A crown here referred to as the Ramesside crown is almost identical to the crown of Arsinoë. As figs. 37-39 show, it pictorially displays a red crown, double feather plume, ram horns and a solar disc, corresponding to the units presented here as RC 1, RH 1, DFP 1 and CS 5.⁵⁵⁵ It is dissimilar to the crown of Arsinoë because it lacks the cow horns. In its full composition, the Ramesside crown was used by male pharaohs exclusively.⁵⁵⁶ The crown is firstly recorded as crowning the head of Seti I in his temple of modern Gourna, though most preserved examples decorate the heads of Ramses II and III.⁵⁵⁷ Eventually, the Ramesside crown became a popular attribute for Graeco-Roman rulers.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵³ Subsequent analytical chapters will deal with the contextual setting of the scenes of Arsinoë and will expand the analysis concerning the communicated message of the crown of Arsinoë. Since this is an investigation that accentuates an Egyptian material exclusively, I do not wish to make any further assumptions or interpretations of the symbolic significance of the crown of Arsinoë in a Greek context. Each pictorial unit has demonstrated a possible association with the Hellenistic cultural forum. However, I consider a comprehensive investigation necessary in order to justify any conclusions concerning cultural connotations and possible denotations in a Greek setting.

⁵⁵⁴ I argue that such investigation should consider the portrayal of Arsinoë not only in an iconographic medium, but also the textual references (dedications, poems, hymns, idylls, etc.).

⁵⁵⁵ However, the Ramesside crown frequently includes minor additional units, such as the crown *uraeus* (here UR 1), or the pharaonic beard.

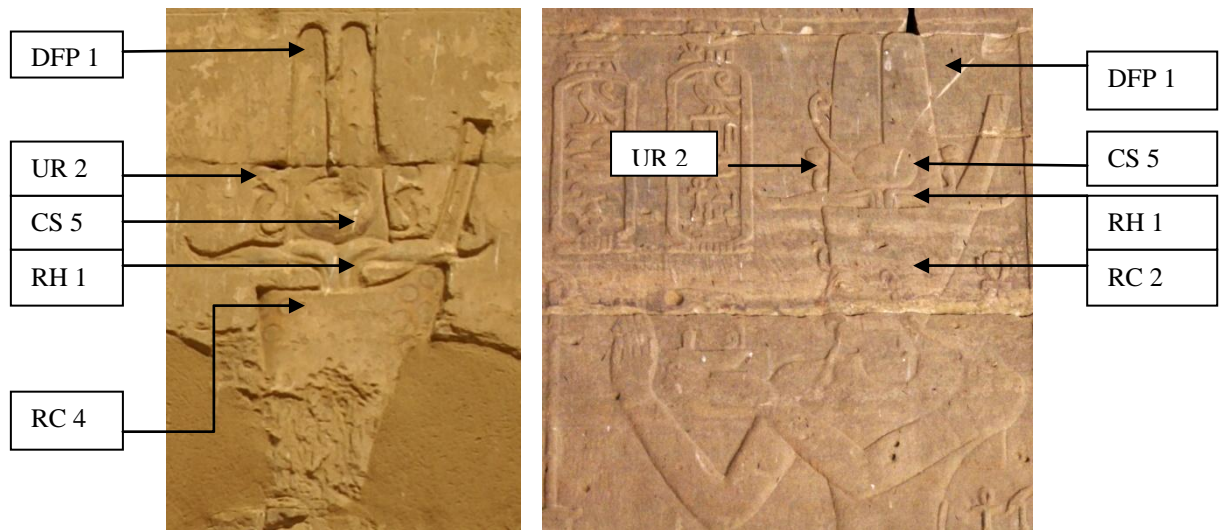
⁵⁵⁶ To my knowledge, there were no queens depicted with the Ramesside crown. See, however, types AC 24-25 considering the possibility that the missing cow horns of the crowns have faded over the years.

⁵⁵⁷ For Seti I, see Osing 1977, pl. 4. Designations other than the Ramesside crown might be more suitable for the attribute, especially regarding gender, and also since it is worn by pharaohs other than Ramses II and III. However, I have consciously tried to avoid an *initial* generalisation regarding gender issues, and therefore, I find it inappropriate to label it as a ‘male variant of the crown of Arsinoë’. Further, it would be incorrect to label it as such since the Ramesside crown was introduced far earlier than the crown of Arsinoë. Moreover, I wish not to follow Dils (Dils 1998, 1327-1330) in his generalisation of this crown and the crown of Arsinoë, as he lists both crowns in a table titled “Liste des scènes où le roi officiant porte la couronne d’Arsinoë”. My personal reference to this crown, the Ramesside crown, instead corresponds to the two rulers most often wearing this head attribute prior to the introduction of the crown of Arsinoë.

⁵⁵⁸ Dils 1998, 1316, lists 47 relief scenes dating to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, illustrating male rulers wearing the Ramesside crown.



Fig. 37: Ramses II wears the Ramesside crown at Karnak. Photo by the author.



Figs. 38-39: Later rulers wearing the Ramesside crown, from the Temples of Edfu (left) and Kalabsha (right) respectively. The abbreviations correspond to those presented in Chapter III.2.

Photos by the author.

As a complete crown composition, the Ramesside crown has previously been considered the only evident precursor of the crown of Arsinoë. It has been assumed to be a royal crown rather than divine.⁵⁵⁹ I do not dispute the royal denotation, but I would like to introduce and address as an alternative forerunner, a crown which only recently has come to my attention. This additional crown decorates a male figure depicted on a sarcophagus dated to the Late Period (27th Dynasty), originating in the Asiut area.⁵⁶⁰ As figs. 41a-b show, the figure sits on a throne

⁵⁵⁹ Dils 1998, 1315-1325.

⁵⁶⁰ Today, the sarcophagus is located in the museum of the faculty of Art in Alexandria, Egypt. I would like to kindly express my gratitude to the personal of the museum and the university for all the assistance and for the rights to publish this material.

on the right side of the scene, and wears a crown composed of a red crown (RC 1), double feather plume (DFP 1) and a solar disc (CS 5). He is textually identified with the primeval god Atum. Fig. 42 shows a second example of this crown in another scene of the sarcophagus. The ram horns and the cow horns are not depicted in this crown, but it still shows some fundamental structural similarities to the crown of Arsinoë and the Ramesside crown. Therefore, I acknowledge the crown of Atum as a possible symbolic forerunner, an original model of inspiration for the crown of Arsinoë. Fig. 40a-c demonstrates the stylistic similarity of the three crowns.

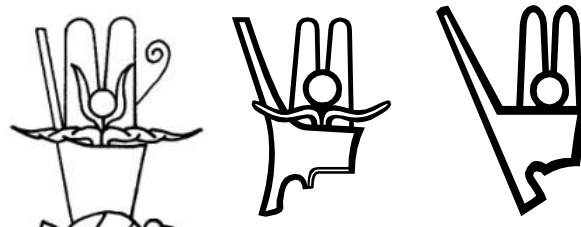


Fig. 40a-c, from left to right: Crown of Arsinoë (drawing by the author), Ramesside crown and Atum's crown (hieroglyphic signs *Jsh* S51A, S52).



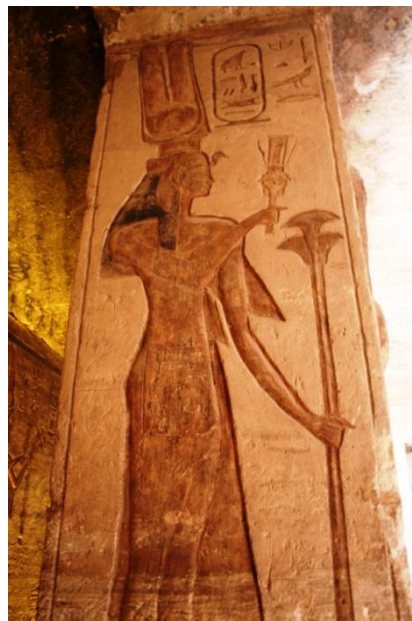
Figs. 41a-b: Scene and detail of the Alexandria sarcophagus. Photos by J. Ward.



Fig. 42: Scene of the Alexandria sarcophagus. Note the curled tops of the feathers (ostrich feathers) and relate to the analysis in Chapter III.2. Photo by J. Ward.

It has been demonstrated above that the crown of Arsinoë was created uniquely for the queen, and that it emphasised her position among other royal women since she was the first one to receive a personalised crown. Two relief scenes reveal that Arsinoë also used the traditional female crown (TFC), which has been included in the material in order to present a catalogue, as complete as possible, of reliefs illustrating Arsinoë.⁵⁶¹

As exemplified in figs. 43-44, the traditional female crown is composed of a high and straight double feather plume and a joint element of cow horns and a solar disc. The traditional female crown was initially associated with Hathor, complementing her traditional large cow horns and solar disc. However, as with the traditional Hathoric crown, the traditional female crown was eventually usurped by Isis and by pharaonic queens. The crown functioned as a female equivalent to the male double crown in terms of a royal attribute, and the majority of queens used it from the 13th Dynasty.⁵⁶² It was used by the Divine Adoratrices of Amun, occasionally illustrated without cow horns and solar disc. The crown became a standardised pictorial head attribute of all Ptolemaic queens when depicted in an Egyptian setting. Obviously, Arsinoë was an exception as she received her personalised crown, and although her crown was occasionally reused by Cleopatra III and VII, their main crown attribute was the traditional female crown.



Figs. 43-44: Wearers of the traditional female crown. Hathor at the Hibis Temple (left), and Nefertari at Abu Simbel (right). Photos by the author.

Cat. nos. 21 and 36 are the only (preserved) relief scenes in which Arsinoë wears the traditional female crown. Cat. no. 21 shows three figures and is located on the top register of the corridor of the Edfu Temple. Arsinoë stands behind a seated Ptolemy II on the left side, holding an *ankh* in her resting hand, and the other hand is held in a protective manner.⁵⁶³ Ptolemy and Arsinoë are the beneficiaries of the scene as they receive incense and libation from Ptolemy VIII.⁵⁶⁴ As will be further examined in Chapter III.6, this scene is a part of a dynastic

⁵⁶¹ Cat. nos. 21, 36. It is composed of pictorial units which are fundamental in the complete structure of the crown of Arsinoë.

⁵⁶² Robins 1993, 24.

⁵⁶³ For handheld objects see Chapter III.4; for the position in the scene see Chapter III.6.

⁵⁶⁴ For offerings of the scene see Chapter III.6

arrangement which in its entirety incorporates four individual scenes. Arsinoë is textually described as “Great wife, Arsinoë, Ptolemy’s divine wife”, and is, together with Ptolemy II, designated “*theoi Adelphoi*, the dwellers of Mesen [= Edfu]”. Arsinoë is the tallest figure of the scene.⁵⁶⁵

Cat. no. 36 was originally located on the right jamb of a gate in the Temple of Medamoud, but is now preserved as a block fragment.⁵⁶⁶ The scene shows two main figures, and a third smaller one which is vaguely visible in a position of *proskynesis*. Arsinoë is placed on the right side, in a standing position, and she holds a lotus flail. Ptolemy is placed in front of Arsinoë, sitting on a throne within a Sed festival pavilion, facing the same direction as Arsinoë. The scene dates to the reign of Ptolemy II and is a part of a rejuvenation theme commemorating his celebration of a Sed festival.⁵⁶⁷ Arsinoë is described as “Female King”, and is depicted as the tallest figure in the scene.

There is no obvious connection between the two scenes when comparing them. The geographical location, date, Arsinoë’s position in the scene, handheld objects, titles and the theme of the scene: are all different. The only similarity is that both scenes depict Arsinoë in a standing position behind Ptolemy, and that she is the tallest figure in the scene. These aspects are far from sufficient enough to explain why Arsinoë wears the traditional female crown in cat. nos. 21 and 36.⁵⁶⁸

THE LATER HATHORIC CROWN

The later Hathoric crown, traditionally designated *hptj*, has previously been analysed based on its male counterpart, used by Horus.⁵⁶⁹ The ‘male’ crown has been recorded elsewhere, divided in 78 types.⁵⁷⁰ The basic aesthetical composition consists of a double crown, double feather plume, ram horns, an *atef* feather (attached to the back of the crown), and (frequently) a single crown *uraeus* placed in the front of the red crown. The ‘female’ variant is accompanied by a set of cow horns which surround the solar disc, and is included in the present study based on its almost identical structure to the crown of Arsinoë. The crown connotes divine kingship, rejuvenation and eternal life through its association with Ra, Horus/Harpocrates, Hathor and

⁵⁶⁵ See Chapter III.7.

⁵⁶⁶ See Chapter III.7 and cat. no. 36.

⁵⁶⁷ See Chapter III.7, Conceptions of time.

⁵⁶⁸ For a continuation of this, see Chapter IV.

⁵⁶⁹ The main investigation of this crown was conducted by Derchain-Urtel (1994).

⁵⁷⁰ Throughout, I refer to the *hptj* crown instead as the ‘Edfu crown’ due to its main derivation (see below). Derchain-Urtel (1994) recorded 78 types of the crown worn by Horus and seven types worn by Hathor. The present investigation lists totally 29 Hathoric types and thereby expands Derchain-Urtel’s varieties with 22 types. The ‘male’ *hptj* crown, as it is worn by Horus, is documented in the temples of Edfu, Dendera and Philae. See Derchain-Urtel 1994; Kurth 1996; Cauville 1987; Vassilika 1989 (on the Philae crowns).

Amun.⁵⁷¹ In terms of time, the material dates the original *htpj* crown from the reign of Ptolemy IV to Trajan.⁵⁷²

The *htpj* is previously documented as a crown worn by Horus and Hathor, and its female form is divided here into four main models, totally listing 29 individual types.⁵⁷³ Each type is distinguished in accordance with its pictorial composition of individual units, followed by the temple location where they occur most frequently. The four main models of the later Hathoric crown are divided and designated as follows:

- Dendera crown (DEC)
- Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather (DECA)
- Edfu crown (ED)
- Female Edfu crown (FEC)

The Dendera crown (DEC)

The Dendera crown is designated in agreement with its most common place of depiction, and is divided in 11 individual types classified as follows:

⁵⁷¹ *Edfou* I, 425, describes the rejuvenation theme, in a scene where the Edfu crown is directly associated with the Sed festival illustrating Horus as the “*Lord of the heb-sed*”. The Sed festival was a ceremony of royal and divine kingship and power, in which the pharaoh regained his youth, and proved worthy of continuing his role as the earthly manifestation of Horus as the pharaoh. For a general introduction on the Sed festival see *LÄ* V, 782-790. See also Derchain-Urtel 1994, 56. Derchain-Urtel more or less excludes the ram horns from her analysis. See Chapter III.7 and cat. no. 36.

⁵⁷² The dates are based on the designations (cartouches) presented in the material, and on the acknowledged dating of the architectural structures where these scenes are located. The construction of the temple of Edfu (in its present form) was initiated by Ptolemy III, but to my knowledge, there are no scenes of Horus wearing the Edfu crown dated to this ruler. The reliefs of Dendera are of a later date, beginning from the reign of Ptolemy VIII. Personally, I have not come across any figure wearing the Edfu crown prior to the Ptolemaic period. For example, Dendera is one of the temples illustrating this crown, and it would be expectable to see this crown in the Mammisi of Nectanebo if the crown existed already at that time. However, Horus does not wear the Edfu crown there, but instead wears the more traditional double crown. The Edfu crown worn by Horus at Philae dates to a later period, and the scene indicates a recut of the crown itself (see Chapter III.10).

⁵⁷³ Compare the seven types presented by Derchain-Urtel 1994.

Table 14: Individual types of the Dendera crown

The 11 individual types of the Dendera crown are demonstrated with an illustration, abbreviated title (highlighted) and units, commentaries, scenes, and the total number of crowns.

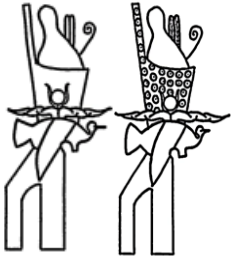
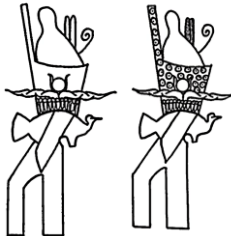









Illustration	Title and abbreviated units	Commentary	Scenes	Total number of crowns
	DEC 1 TW 1 + VC 1 + DC 1 + DFP 2 + CS 6 + RH 5	The crown is documented in a plain and a patterned style	38, 40, 43-45, 47, 57, 59, 64, 73, 75, 85-86, 93, 96, 98, 104, 107-108, 110, 113-116, 125-126, 128, 130, 137, 140, 1451-147, 149-152, 154	39
	DEC 2 TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 4 + DC 1 + DFP 2 + CS 6 + RH 5	The crown is documented in a plain and a patterned style	56, 60, 66, 68, 82, 92	6
	DEC 3 TW 1 + VC 1 + DC 2 + DFP 2 + CS 6 + RH 5		39, 41, 46, 48, 79-80, 87, 103	8
	DEC 4 TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 4 + DC 2 + DFP 2 + CS 6 + RH 5		70-71, 95	3
	DEC 5 TW 1 + SFU 1 + DC 2 + DFP 2 + CS 6 + RH 5	The crown is exclusively documented in a patterned style	58	1

Illustration	Title and abbreviated units	Commentary	Scenes	Total number of crowns
	<p>DEC 6</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 4 + DC 2 + DFP 2 + CS 8 + RH 5</p>	<p>Additional cow horns</p>	<p>91</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>DEC 7</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + DC 1 + DFP 2 + CS 8 + RH 5</p>	<p>Additional cow horns</p>	<p>89-90, 105, 111-112, 117-118, 120-121, 123, 127, 129, 131, 139, 141, 144, 148</p>	<p>17</p>
	<p>DEC 8</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + DC 1 + DFP 2 + CS 9 + RH 5</p>	<p>Additional cow horns and solar disc</p>	<p>122</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>DEC 9</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 4 + DC 1 + DFP 2 + CS 8 + RH 5</p>	<p>Additional cow horns</p>	<p>74, 119</p>	<p>2</p>
	<p>DEC 10</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + SFU 1 + UR 4 + DC 2 + DFP 2 + CS 8 + RH 5</p>	<p>Additional cow horns</p>	<p>97</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>DEC 11</p> <p>TW 1 + DC 2 + DFP 2 + CS 6 + RH 5</p>		<p>135</p>	<p>1</p>

The basic Dendera crown is composed of a double crown, ram horns, double feather plume, cow horns and a solar disc. All included types date between the reigns of Ptolemy VIII and Trajan, recorded in the Temples of Dendera and Edfu.⁵⁷⁴ I have subdivided the Dendera crown into 11 types based on size and relative placement of the pictorial units that structure the crown. The red crown is occasionally decorated with a circular pattern, which I regard as pure decoration and, therefore, structurally equal to an undecorated crown. Totally 80 Hathoric figures wear the Dendera crown. Hathor is always placed in an inactive beneficiary's position. Most scenes contextually include Horus, and/or Harsomtut, and/or Ihy.⁵⁷⁵

DEC 1 represents the most frequent individual type of the Dendera crown. It rests on a tripartite wig (TW 1) and a vulture cap (VC 1). The crown consists of a double crown (DC 1) with a spiral coming up from the front of the white crown, just below the double feather plume (DFP 2). Ram horns (RH 5) are placed in a conventional style, at the base of the double crown. The cow horns and solar disc are placed as an amulet (CS 6) above the ram horns. DEC 1 dates to a period between the reigns of Ptolemy VIII and Trajan, including Ptolemy IX, X, XII, Cleopatra VII, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula and Domitian.⁵⁷⁶ It is recorded in Edfu and Dendera.⁵⁷⁷ According to Table 14, DEC 3 is very similar to DEC 1, only differentiated by the position of the crown spiral: the spiral of DEC 3 arises from the double feather plume instead of the white crown. DEC 3 is attested during the reigns of Ptolemy VIII, Ptolemy X, Augustus and Caligula, located in Edfu and Dendera.

The second most common type is DEC 7. It has a second set of cow horns surrounding the solar disc (CS 8) which is the only detail separating DEC 7 from DEC 1.⁵⁷⁸ DEC 7 is only documented with a plain, undecorated red crown. It dates to the Ptolemaic period, with examples dating to also the reign of Augustus.⁵⁷⁹ This type is only documented in Dendera.

Similar to DEC 7, DEC 9 and DEC 10 are decorated with additional cow horns, but they are separated as individual types due to their additional detail. DEC 9 illustrates a tiara of *uraei*, while DEC 10 includes a single forehead *uraeus* (SFU 1). DEC 9 is documented twice, and DEC 10 once. DEC 9 is attested during the Ptolemaic period and Augustus.⁵⁸⁰ DEC 10 dates to the reign of Augustus. These two types are documented in Dendera exclusively.

Also DEC 6 includes an extra set of cow horns. The crown dates to the period of Augustus, located in the Temple of Dendera. It is separated from the others by an additional tiara of *uraei*, and by a crown spiral rising up from the feathers instead of the crown itself.

The two cow horns are also documented in type DEC 8. However, this type includes an additional solar disc, thus creating two sets of the element. The two sets of horns and discs are

⁵⁷⁴ A few Hathoric figures are textually referred to as Isis. For a further analysis and interpretation of these scenes, see Chapter III.9.

⁵⁷⁵ A few scenes include Isis, Ma'at, or minor deities. See main catalogue and Appendix I for each individual scene.

⁵⁷⁶ Ptolemy VIII: cat. no. 47; Ptolemy IX: cat. nos. 44-45; Ptolemy X: cat. nos. 40, 43; Ptolemy XII: cat. no. 38; Cleopatra VII: cat. no. 96; Ptolemaic: cat. nos. 73, 107-108, 110, 113-116, 125-126, 128, 130, 137, 140, 145L-146; Augustus: cat. nos. 85, 93, 147, 149-150, 152, 154; Tiberius: cat. no. 75; Caligula: cat. no. 104; Nero: cat. nos. 86, 98; Domitian: cat. no. 57; Trajan: cat. nos. 59, 65; Roman: cat. no. 151.

⁵⁷⁷ Edfu: cat. nos. 38, 40, 43-45, 47; Dendera: cat. nos. 57, 59, 64, 73, 75, 85-86, 93, 96, 98, 104, 107-108, 110, 113-116, 125-126, 128, 130, 137, 140, 145L-147, 149-152, 154.

⁵⁷⁸ See Chapter III.2, Cow horns and solar disc.

⁵⁷⁹ Ptolemaic: cat. nos. 111-112, 117-118, 120-121, 123, 127, 129, 131, 139, 141, 144; Augustus: cat. nos. 89-90; Nero: cat. no. 105; Roman: cat. no. 148.

⁵⁸⁰ Ptolemaic: cat. no. 119; Augustus: cat. no. 74.

separated in their position: one set is located at the base of the double crown, and the other sits on top of the red crown's platform. This crown is documented once in Dendera, dating to the Ptolemaic period.

DEC 2 and 4 are separated by the position of the crown spiral, otherwise identical. Both include an additional tiara of *uraei*. DEC 2 is documented with the circular decorating pattern, and dates to the reigns of Augustus, Claudius, Domitian and Trajan. DEC 4 predates DEC 2, as it is documented from the reign of Cleopatra VII. DEC 4 is also attested during the periods of Claudius and Nero. Both types are recorded in the Dendera Temple.

DEC 5 and 11 are located in the Temple of Dendera, separated due to their different headdresses rather than the individual crown units. DEC 5 dates to the reign of Domitian, and illustrates a single forehead *uraeus* (SFU 1) instead of a vulture cap (which is the conventional headdress). Otherwise, DEC 5 is identical to DEC 2. DEC 11 is illustrated without a vulture cap, and is otherwise equal to DEC 2. DEC 11 dates to the reign of Ptolemy XII.

The differences in size and position of the particulars separating the types are often minimal. The distinction is chiefly caused by the location of the crown spiral and the presence of an additional tiara of *uraei*. Two types demonstrate a crown composition that excludes the vulture cap, which otherwise is an essential element. In my opinion, it is unlikely that any of the minor differentiations correspond to a fundamentally dissimilar symbolism. However, the presence of the additional set of cow horns in types DEC 6, 7, 9 and 10 has a possible twofold symbolic connotation that corresponds to Hathor's maternal role, giving birth to the young Harsomtus.⁵⁸¹ Five of these scenes illustrate a full-size figure of Harsomtus, but the majority of the scenes exclude the son of Hathor.⁵⁸²

The Temple of Dendera depicts 70 of these crowns, whereas the Temple of Edfu records only 10 figures (demonstrated in types DEC 1 and 3). The number of figures represented in Dendera demonstrates that the title, the Dendera crown, is acceptable.

The Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather (DECA)

The Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather is identical to the Dendera crown except for its additional *atef* feather, which is placed at the back of the red crown. The DECA crown is listed and divided in nine individual types in 23 scenes. Two types include a decorated variant.

⁵⁸¹ See Chapter III.2.

⁵⁸² Cat. nos. 74, 91, 97, 118-119 include the figure of Harsomtus.

Table 15: Individual types of the Dendera crown with an additional atef feather

The nine individual types of the Dendera crown with an additional atef feather are demonstrated with an illustration, abbreviated title (highlighted) and units, commentaries, scenes, and the total number of crowns.

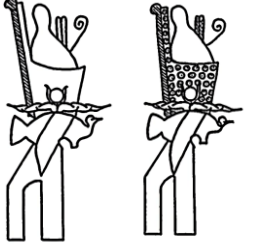
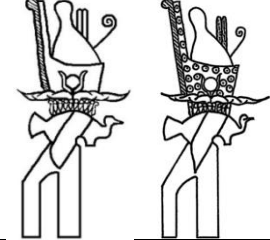
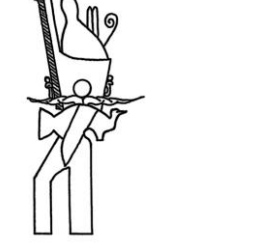

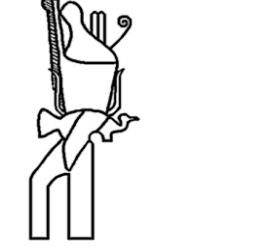




Illustration	Title and abbreviated units	Commentary	Scenes	Total number of crowns
	<p>DECA 1</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + DC 1 + DFP 2 + CS 6 + RH 5 + ATEF 1</p>	<p>The crown is documented in a plain and a patterned style</p>	<p>42, 62-63, 65, 88, 99, 101, 136, 143</p>	<p>9</p>
	<p>DECA 2</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 4 + DC 1 + DFP 2 + CS 6 + RH 5 + ATEF 1</p>	<p>The crown is documented in a plain and a patterned style</p>	<p>81, 100, 106</p>	<p>3</p>
	<p>DECA 3</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 3 + DC 1 + DFP 2 + CS 5 + RH 5 + ATEF 1</p>		<p>155</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>DECA 4</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + DC 1 + DFP 2 + CS 8 + RH 5 + ATEF 1</p>	<p>Additional cow horns</p>	<p>132-133</p>	<p>2</p>
	<p>DECA 5</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + DC 1 + DFP 2 + CS 10 + ATEF 1</p>	<p>The horns are located on the outside of the red crown</p>	<p>77</p>	<p>1</p>

Illustration	Title and abbreviated units	Commentary	Scenes	Total number of crowns
	DECA 6 TW 1 + VC 1 + DC 4 + DFP 2 + RH 5 + ATEF 1	Fragmentary preserved, unspecified details	61	1
	DECA 7 TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 1 + DC 2 + DFP 2 + CS 6 + RH 5 + ATEF 1		69	1
	DECA 8 TW 1 + VC 1 + DC 2 + DFP 2 + CS 6 + RH 5 + ATEF 1		72, 83, 153	3
	DECA 9 TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 4 + DC 2 + DFP 2 + CS 6 + RH 5 + ATEF 1		84, 102	2

As demonstrated in Table 15, many types of the DECA-group are classified on an individual basis, thus recorded only once. The most frequent type, DECA 1, is composed of a double crown (DC 1), double feather plume (DFP 2), ram horns (RH 5), cow horns and solar disc (CS 6), and an additional *atef* feather attached to the back of the red crown (ATEF 1). It is recorded in an undecorated and a decorated style. This type is represented in the Temples of Edfu and Dendera, dating to the reigns of Ptolemy X, Tiberius, Nero and Trajan.⁵⁸³ Type DECA 2 is in general identical to DECA 1, but differentiated by an additional tiara of *uraei*. The type is only recorded in the Temple of Dendera, and dates to the reigns of Caligula and Nero.⁵⁸⁴

DECA 3 is unique due to its individual composition, but also because of its location in the Temple of Kalabsha. It is the only variant of the later Hathoric crown documented outside the Temples of Dendera and Edfu. The DECA crown of Kalabsha is composed of a double crown (DC 1), double feather plume (DFP 2), ram horns (RH 5), a solar disc without the cow horns

⁵⁸³ Ptolemy X: cat. no. 42; Ptolemy XII: cat. no. 136; Tiberius: cat. no. 99; Nero: cat. nos. 88, 101; Trajan: cat. nos. 62-63, 65; Roman: cat. no. 143.

⁵⁸⁴ Nero: cat. nos. 81, 100; Caligula: cat. no. 106.

(CS 5), an additional *atef* feather (ATEF 1), and two raised *uraei* (UR 3). It (vaguely) dates to the Ptolemaic period.

Except for its *atef* feather, DECA 4 is identical to DEC 7, thus, including an additional set of cow horns surrounding the solar disc. DECA 4 is documented twice, in scenes dating to the Ptolemaic period, located in Dendera.⁵⁸⁵

The Edfu crowns (FEC & EC)

The female Edfu crown and the Edfu crown are collectively documented in 16 scenes, subdivided into nine types. I have designated the female Edfu crown after its main location and the presence of the cow horns as a gender indication.⁵⁸⁶ In its basic form, the female Edfu crown is composed of a double crown, ram horns, cow horns and solar disc, with two *atef* feathers replacing the traditional double feather plume. The first *atef* feather is placed at the back of the red crown, whilst the second feather is attached to the front of the white crown.

⁵⁸⁵ The remaining types of the DECA date to the Roman period and are documented exclusively in Dendera. See respective scene in the main catalogue (cat. nos. 61, 69, 72, 77, 83-84, 102, 153); see also Appendix I for a list including their abbreviated details.

⁵⁸⁶ See above in this chapter for a discussion on gender related classifications. The cow horns would then indicate a feminine version.

Table 16: Individual types of the female Edfu crown

The seven individual types of the female Edfu crown are demonstrated with an illustration, abbreviated title (highlighted) and units, commentaries, scenes, and the total number of crowns.








Illustration	Title and abbreviated units	Commentary	Scenes	Total number of crowns
	<p>FEC 1</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 4 + DC 3 + CS 6 + RH 5 + ATEF 2</p>		37, 94	2
	<p>FEC 2</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 1 + DC 1 + CS 6 + RH 5 + ATEF 2</p>		55	1
	<p>FEC 3</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + DC 3 + CS 6 + RH 5 + ATEF 2</p>		50, 76, 78, 109, 134, 138	6
	<p>FEC 4</p> <p>TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 1 + UR 4 + DC 3 + CS 6 + RH 5 + ATEF 2</p>		49	1

Illustration	Title and abbreviated units	Commentary	Scenes	Total number of figures
	FEC 5 TW 1 + VC 1 + DC 1 + CS 6 + RH 5 + ATEF 2	The crown spiral pierces the front <i>atef</i> rather than coming up behind it	51	1
	FEC 6 TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 1 + DC 3 + CS 6 + RH 5 + ATEF 2		52, 54	2
	FEC 7 TW 1 + VC 1 + DC 3 + CS 8 + RH 5 + ATEF 2	The crown has an additional set of cow horns	124	1



The seven types of the female Edfu crown date mainly to the Ptolemaic period, primarily located in the Temple of Edfu. Principally, FEC 3 forms an iconographic model for the other types in this group, and is the most frequent type of the female Edfu crown. The crown of FEC 3 rests on a tripartite wig (TW 1) and a vulture cap (VC 1). It is composed of a double crown (DC 3), ram horns (RH 5), cow horns and solar disc (CS 6) and two *atef* feathers (ATEF 2). FEC 3 dates to the reigns of Ptolemy VI, XII and Augustus, and it is documented in Edfu and Dendera.⁵⁸⁷

Type FEC 2 is almost identical to FEC 3, differentiated by the position of the crown spiral as it pierces the front *atef* feather when rising from the white crown, and it has an additional crown *uraeus* (UR 1). FEC 2 is the earliest record of all the later Hathoric crown compositions, dating to the reign of Ptolemy IV. It is located in the Temple of Edfu, and is depicted in a scene which is back to back with cat. no. 54. Cat. no. 54 corresponds to type FEC 6, dating to the same period.

⁵⁸⁷ Ptolemy VI: cat. no. 50; Ptolemy XII: cat. no. 134; Ptolemaic: cat. nos. 109, 138; Augustus: cat. nos. 76, 78.

Table 17: Individual types of the Edfu crown

The two individual types of the Edfu crown are demonstrated with an illustration, abbreviated title (highlighted) and units, commentaries, scenes, and the total number of crowns.

Illustration	Title and abbreviated units	Commentary	Scenes	Total number of crowns
	ED 1 TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 1 + DC 3 + RH 5 + ATEF 2		53	1
	ED 2 TW 1 + VC 1 + UR 1 + DC 3 + DFP 3 + RH 5 + ATEF 2	The crown includes both <i>atef</i> feathers and the double feather plume	67	1

The Edfu crown, as it is worn by Hathor, is only documented in two scenes, categorised as types ED 1 and ED 2. Neither of these types is equivalent to the most general type of the Edfu crown as it is worn by Horus. However, I categorise them with this title due to the lack of cow horns, and their pictorial resemblance with the “male” Edfu crown.

ED 1 is composed of a double crown (DC 3), ram horns (RH 5), two *atef* feathers (ATEF 2), and a single, frontally placed crown *uraeus* (UR 1). The crown dates to the reign of Ptolemy VI, and is located in Edfu. Type ED 1 is dissimilar to the original Edfu crown mainly due to the lack of the double feather plume. Possibly, the two *atef* feathers symbolically replace the plume.

ED 2 is composed of a double crown (DC 4), double feather plume (DFP 3), ram horns (RH 5), two *atef* feathers (ATEF 2), and an additional crown *uraeus* placed in the front (UR 1). With the exception of the front *atef* feather, this crown is equivalent to the most common “male” Edfu crown worn by Horus. It dates to the reign of Ptolemy VIII, and is located in Dendera.

Documented from the reign of Ptolemy IV, the Edfu crown and the female Edfu crown are roughly contemporary with the Dendera crown. This documentation is of greatest importance, since the crowns are recorded in the same locations, with the exception of Kalabsha. This suggests that they were created as indications of a special unifying role of the couple, Horus and Hathor. As shown in fig. 45, the Edfu crown worn by Horus is documented also in the Temple of Philae, where it appears in a few scenes.⁵⁸⁸ There, Horus is illustrated with Hathor, the latter using her traditional Hathoric crown. They address the same unifying role of the couple as has been documented here.⁵⁸⁹ Generally, Horus and Hathor are depicted together

⁵⁸⁸ All scenes illustrating Horus with this crown date to a period during, or after Ptolemy IV. Otherwise, Horus wears the double crown.

⁵⁸⁹ Their titles correspond to those described below.

when wearing these crowns. The crowns are separated by the same detail that separates the crown of Arsinoë from the Ramesside crown, i.e., the cow horns.⁵⁹⁰ Based on that they are generally depicted together, introduced at the same point, and that they are only represented in a few temples, I interpret the Dendera crowns and the Edfu crown as being created for Hathor of Dendera and Horus of Edfu, as wife and husband, sister and brother, divine queen and king.⁵⁹¹



Fig. 45 shows a detail of a scene in Philae. Horus wears the ‘original male’ Edfu crown. Note that his crown has been recut, indicated by the difference in depth (see especially the ram horns, double feather plume and the *atef* feather).⁵⁹² This scene dates to the reign of Ptolemy IV. Photo by the author.

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

Chapter III.3 has presented an analysis of the pictorial compositions that make the crown of Arsinoë and the later Hathoric crown. It must be emphasised that this chapter functions merely as an iconographic introduction as subsequent chapters present contextual aspects necessary for a general interpretation of the crowns and their cultural connotations.

The crown of Arsinoë has been divided in 27 variants based on size and position of each pictorial unit. The analysis, however, has demonstrated that such minor differentiations have little effect on the overall interpretation of a scene. As a contrast, the location of ram horns reveals a cultural connotation. Two main types of crowns, divided in accordance with the horns’ position on top or at the base of the red crown, indicate the existence of one official and one less recognised crown style: the official crown places the ram horns on top of the platform, whereas the alternative on top of the vulture cap (at the base of the red crown). The official crown was frequently used throughout the Ptolemaic period, and is documented in temples and sites throughout Egypt. It describes Arsinoë as the divine Philadelphos. The alternative crown

⁵⁹⁰ See above and Chapter III.2.

⁵⁹¹ See Chapter IV.4 for further discussion.

⁵⁹² For this topic, i.e., recutting of relief figures and its symbolic as well as artistic meaning, see Chapter III.10; Ward & Nilsson, forthcoming.

was primarily limited to the Temple of Philae, dating to the reign of Ptolemy II and focuses on Arsinoë's role as a queen.

The crown of Arsinoë has traditionally been compared with the (here) so called Ramesside crown. These two crowns are separated only by the cow horns present in the crown of Arsinoë. Both are acknowledged as royal crowns. Chapter III.3, however, demonstrates that another crown, worn by the god Atum, might have functioned as a pictorial model at the time of creating the crown of Arsinoë. The crown of Atum lacks some of the fundamental elements of the crown of Arsinoë, but structurally demonstrates similarities. As a consequence, the crown of Arsinoë may also be compared with a divine crown that symbolises celestial royal power.

The Ramesside crown and the crown worn by Atum can both be determined as male crowns. A female crown of comparison would be the traditional female crown, composed of tall feathers, cow horns and a solar disc. This crown was originally created for Hathor, but was later usurped by Isis and royal queens. Arsinoë is recorded using such a crown twice. The material has not been able to consistently provide any explanation of the inadequacy of Arsinoë's crowns. The two scenes representing Arsinoë with the traditional female crown are not comparable. I do not wish to agree with previous scholars concluding that such a depiction was due to an artistic mistake. However, since I cannot provide a contradicting hypothesis, I have to remain open for such a possibility.

To summarise, the crown of Arsinoë was a prestigious attribute created for Arsinoë exclusively. It symbolised royal power while simultaneously emphasising the queen's divine lineage. The crown combined some of the most ancient Egyptian pictorial elements, all of which connoted her socio-religious importance. Her crown, as will be demonstrated in Chapter III.7, would furthermore provide Arsinoë an iconographic instrument of showing individual importance. It was eventually reused by the later Ptolemaic queens Cleopatra III and VII.

The later Hathoric crown is a designation encompassing four individual styles used by Hathor of Dendera. The most basic form shows a structure composed of a double crown, double feather plume, ram horns, cow horns and a solar disc. The crown has previously been classified in accordance with its ancient name *ḥptj*. I have provided the crown a modern title in order to enable a separation from the male variant used by Horus. The four styles are divided in agreement with the same criteria as the crown of Arsinoë, based on the size and position of each pictorial unit. Each crown type describes local pictorial differentiations, listed as the Dendera crown, the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather, the female Edfu crown, and the Edfu crown. The results of the analysis show that one main title is acceptable for all four styles, since they all exclusively attribute Hathor in her role as Horus' wife, queen of all men.






The later Hathoric crown was introduced during the reign of Ptolemy IV and is attested throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. It is limited to the Temples of Dendera and Edfu, incorporating one example from the Temple of Kalabsha. Subsequent chapters will deal with contextual issues in order to provide a cultural foundation of an iconological interpretation. As a result, the later Hathoric crown will be compared with the crown of Arsinoë in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III.4 HANDHELD ITEMS



Chapter III.4 initiates an analytical part that focus on pictorial elements that are physically connected (attached) to the female figures (Arsinoë, the later Ptolemaic queens and Hathor). A contextual study will hopefully enable a greater understanding in the overall meaning of the crowns and how they correspond with other individual items as well as the more general theme of the scenes. As the first section of this contextual analysis, Chapter III.4 deals with handheld objects: it studies *ankhs*, sceptres and staves, notched palm branches, flails, sistra, and a physical pose showing hands held in a protecting manner. Arsinoë is associated with nine distinguished types of handheld objects (including hands held in a protecting manner), while the later female figures are shown with eight types. These items are held equally by deities and royalties, primarily without any direct association with the main theme of the scene. The objects of Chapter III.4 are separated from items presented as offerings by a pharaoh or ruling couple.⁵⁹³

Table 18: Handheld objects

The table shows individual objects that are held by the female figures. Each item is presented with an illustration, designation and listed catalogue numbers. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted within the column of later female figures in order to separate them from the Hathoric figures.

Illustration	Designation	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of items
	<i>Ankh</i>	1L-7, 10-11, 13-14, 16-24, 26L-34	37, 39-60, 62, 65-66, 68-102, 104-114, 116-141, 143-155, 157	147
	Papyrus sceptre	1R-2R, 4-7, 11, 13-14, 18, 23-24, 26L-R, 28, 30-34	39-41, 45-55, 58-64, 66, 71-72, 75-76, 81-84, 86-89, 91-93, 100, 102, 105, 107-108, 110, 112-113, 116-119, 121-122, 124-129, 133, 136-139, 141, 143, 146, 149, 151, 155	92
	<i>Was</i> stave		42, 44, 56, 67-70, 73-74, 77-80, 85, 90, 94-99, 101, 103-104, 106, 111, 120, 123, 130-132, 134-135, 144-145R, 147-148, 150, 152-154	42
	Notched palm branch	20		1
	Flail	12, 27, 29, 36		4

⁵⁹³ For such items, however, see Chapter III.6.

	Sistra	9, 15L-R	142	4
	Hand held in protective; blessing manner	3, 16-17, 19, 21-22, 35; 25		8

ANKH

As a heavily investigated topic, the *ankh* has previously been interpreted as a sandal strap, a phallic sheath, as associated with a bull's spine, or even as a mirror.⁵⁹⁴ The hieroglyphic sign of *ankh* – ʿnh, literally translates “life”, “to live”, “living”, “alive”, but also symbolises all living creatures in the nature, signifying growth and fertility.⁵⁹⁵ As the most frequently illustrated handheld object in Egyptian art, it is not surprising to find the *ankh* as the most common item also here. It occurs as an object held by Arsinoë 32 times (incorporating double scenes), by Cleopatra III once, and by Hathor on 112 occasions.⁵⁹⁶

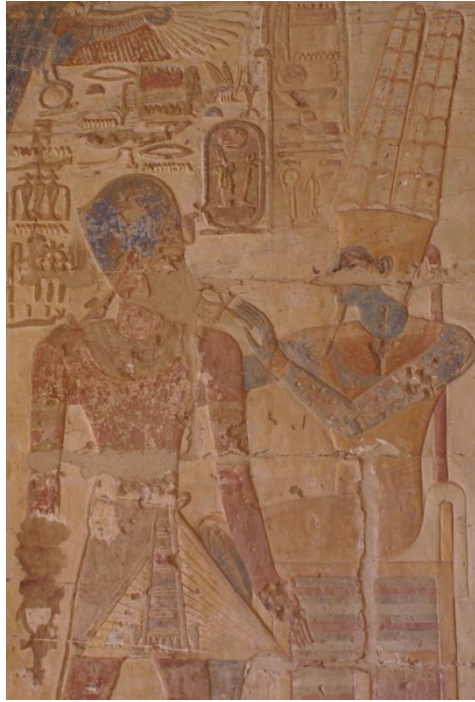
The *ankh* is held by royalties and deities equally: it is generally held in the resting/inactive hand, placed in line with the thigh, expressing a conventional message of life regardless of its holder. It is, however, also documented as a central element actively indicating the theme of a scene. As such it is associated with crowning or rejuvenation ceremonies, rites of purification, and with the transference of ancestral dynastic power (for these variations see figs. 46-47). In cat. no. 20, for example, the *ankh* hangs from the top of a notched palm, as it is handed over from the deceased ancestors (Ptolemy II and Arsinoë) to the ruling pharaoh (Ptolemy IV). The *ankh* is essential in Sed festivals, again emphasising a rejuvenation theme.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹⁴ See for example Sugi 2000, 103 with n. 2 for further reference.

⁵⁹⁵ *WB* I, 193.

⁵⁹⁶ Cat. nos. 1L-7, 10-11, 13-14, 16-24, 26L-34, 37, 39-60, 62, 65-66, 68-102, 104-114, 116-141, 143-155, 157. The exceptions of the convention of holding an *ankh* represent figures holding their hands in a protecting or praising manner, or when the handheld object is undetectable due to a too bad state of preservation of the detail.

⁵⁹⁷ Sugi 2000, *passim*. Also, the *ankh* is included in scenes illustrating the ceremony of opening the mouth, where the *ankh* is delivered to the deceased through the breath of the gods themselves (traditionally associated with Ptah or Amon). In these scenes the *ankh* represents eternal life. See cat. no. 1 and the description of Arsinoë's death. See below, in Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon, for a discussion about the triad of Alexandria, where Amon is described to have given Arsinoë the breath of life.



Figs. 46-47: Left scene: dressed in the full kingship regalia, and wearing the war crown, Hatshepsut receives life of Amun while holding an *ankh* in her resting hand. Photo from el-Kab by J. Ward. Right scene: Ramses II receives strength, prosperity and life in the Temple of Wadi al-Sebua. Photo by the author.

As another example of how this element rules the theme of a scene, cat. no. 89, fig. 48, shows Horus “feeding” Emperor Augustus with an *ankh*. Other examples illustrate *ankhs* in a stream, similar to water, poured over a pharaoh as a part of a cleansing ceremony.



Fig. 48: Detail from the Mammisi in Edfu illustrating the purifying stream of life. Photo by the author.

Other pictorial elements occasionally fuse with and morph the original form of an *ankh*, thus retaining its symbolism of life. Used for ritual libations, the *hes* vessel is based on the shape of an *ankh*, generally interpreted as representing life-giving water.⁵⁹⁸ At other times, the *ankh* assumes the shape of a flower, representing buds of a bouquet, or individually placed on branches.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁸ Sugi 2000, 103; *LÄ* III, 1014f. Vassilika 1989, 100, refers to this purification as ritual baptism.

⁵⁹⁹ See the discussion on the handheld object of Ptolemy II in cat. no. 14. See also Sugi 2000, 103. In Egyptian art, the ankh was one of the most popular items. It has been extensively investigated elsewhere, and is, therefore, only briefly analysed here. See instead *LÄ* III, 949-951, including a summarised reference list.

The material demonstrates a few examples of an unconventional depiction of the *ankh*, based on its physical position. As a first example, the *ankh* held by Arsinoë in cat. no. 3 is kept in front of her body rather than behind. Her arm is slightly raised as if holding a sceptre and the *ankh* is placed diagonal instead of conventionally vertical. The scene shows Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I as the ruling couple, standing on the right side of the stela. Shu and Tefnut stand on the opposite side of the scene, accompanied by three deceased generations of Ptolemaic couples (excluding Ptolemy I and Berenice I). Shu, as the first divine figure of the scene, holds an *ankh* in a pose equivalent to Arsinoë's. Based on his figural position and his sceptre that symbolises divine kingship, Shu links the ruling royal couple with their deceased ancestors.⁶⁰⁰ The other figures of the scene keep a traditional position, holding a sceptre/stave in front of them, and an *ankh* in the hand held behind the body. As the last figure of the scene, and with one hand raised in a protecting manner, I interpret Arsinoë as usurping a Hathoric role, protecting the entire dynasty. Her left-side position as the tallest figure of the scene emphasises her importance. This, combined with the presence of Shu and Tefnut (as the children of Ra and Hathor), establishes Arsinoë's Hathoric maternal aspect.⁶⁰¹ As the first and last figure of the divine line, holding their *ankhs* in identical positions, Shu and Arsinoë establishes a symbolic mother and child. Arsinoë becomes a Hathoric wet nurse and caretaker of the entire dynasty, while Shu represents the divine child, the royal heir, and the link to the ruling couple. At the same time, they represent the fundamental aspect of Egyptian religion: as male and female, human and divine, Shu and Arsinoë display the concept of dualism.

Arsinoë holds the *ankh* in front of her body in cat. no. 21, similar to cat. no. 3 but fully vertical. The scene illustrates Ptolemy VIII as the benefactor of the *theoi Adelphoi*. Arsinoë is, again, holding one hand in a protecting manner, and stands behind Ptolemy II. As Chapter III.6 demonstrates, also this scene is interpreted as a part of a dynastic setting where a ruling pharaoh relates himself with the divine powers of his ancestors. The scene is the only exception of temple scenes where Arsinoë wears a traditional female crown instead of her personalised crown. Other than such a differentiation, the scene does not provide any evident cause for an unconventional placement of Arsinoë's *ankh*.

As a last example of an unconventionally placed *ankh*, I have chosen cat. no. 10. The scene places Arsinoë on the left side as Ptolemy II's beneficiary. The king and queen are separated by a horned altar located in the centre of the scene. Arsinoë keeps one hand in front of her body as she leans towards the altar; the other arm is bent upwards behind her head. There, behind her, is a vertical sceptre-like unidentified object. The *ankh* is placed above this vertical object, from which it is physically separated by Arsinoë's arm. The *ankh* is not connected with the unidentified object in terms of proportion and symmetry, nor is it physically attached to Arsinoë. Instead, the *ankh* sits on top of the back of Arsinoë's hand. As a consequence of its very unusual placement, it is difficult to interpret its function and symbolic meaning.

The three scenes above exemplify exceptions of the conventional placement of the *ankh*. Their uniqueness, however, makes it difficult to determine any obvious cause of such a differentiation. Consequently, these scenes enquire additional scenes of comparison in order to understand a socio-religious association, if there was any at all.

⁶⁰⁰ For a full description of cat. no. 3, see Catalogue description.

⁶⁰¹ Such role includes the Hathoric qualities of a protecting mother lighting up in the primeval darkness as the Golden One. See Chapter III.9.

Unlike those with Arsinoë, scenes with later female figures follow clear artistic conventions. All standing figures recorded with an *ankh* hold it in a traditional manner, thus in their inactive/resting arm behind the back. All seated figures hold a fully horizontal or slightly diagonal *ankh*, with the lower end pointing away from them. When the figure is seated, the *ankh* is always held in the hand placed lowest.

SCEPTRES AND STAVES

Table 18 records sceptres and staves as the second most common group of handheld objects. Female figures chiefly hold a papyrus sceptre – *w3d*, and occasionally a *was stave* (*w3s*). Twenty-one images of Arsinoë and 68 Hathoric figures hold a papyrus sceptre,⁶⁰² while 42 Hathoric figures hold a *was stave*.⁶⁰³ None of the later Ptolemaic queens is represented with a sceptre or stave.

Usually included in the group of insignia, sceptres and staves represent objects having a greater symbolic function than a purely practical one.⁶⁰⁴ The papyrus sceptre shows a bloomed papyrus top, sometimes referred to as the bud of a lily, sitting on an elongated shaft or staff with a slightly thicker lower part. It symbolises protection, initially linked with Lower Egyptian deities, and with goddesses sent out to protect the divine pharaoh.⁶⁰⁵ Separated from the papyrus sceptre by a split lower end, the *was stave* has a form originating in a practical application to catch or control snakes.⁶⁰⁶ Its name derives from a hieroglyph, translated as “domination”, which is linked with its original function. Forming the top of the stave, the *cucupha* head, fig. 49, belongs to a mythological animal, the meaning of which has not been totally clarified so far. This stave was mainly held by male deities and pharaohs, but eventually occurs also as an attribute of female figures. Sceptres and staves in the material are always held in front of the figure. The uppermost part generally levels with the face of the figure (figures) when standing. The material provides nothing to suggest a significance other than the generally accepted symbolic interpretation.



Fig. 49: Detail from the Dakka Temple showing the upper part of a *was stave* and its *cucupha* head.
Photo by the author.

⁶⁰² Cat. nos. 1R-2R, 4-7, 11, 13-14, 18, 23-24, 26L-R, 28, 30-34; 39-41, 45-55, 58-64, 66, 71-72, 75-76, 81-84, 86-89, 91-93, 100, 102, 105, 107-108, 110, 112-113, 116-119, 121-122, 124-129, 133, 136-139, 141, 143, 146, 149, 151, 155

⁶⁰³ Cat. nos. 42, 44, 56, 67-70, 73-74, 77-80, 85, 90, 94-99, 101, 103-104, 106, 111, 120, 123, 130-132, 134-135, 144-145r, 147-148, 150, 152-154.

⁶⁰⁴ Other than sceptres and staves, insignia includes maces, spears, clubs, etc.: these additional objects are never held by any of the present female figures. All these items had a practical meaning originally, but the two types documented here had a more religious ritual significance.

⁶⁰⁵ Graham 2001, 166; *LÄ II*, 1024-1033.

⁶⁰⁶ Graham 2001, 165f.

Arsinoë's sceptre has a great importance in the overall iconological interpretation of cat. no. 13. This scene illustrates Arsinoë as Ptolemy II's divine beneficiary. She holds a conventional papyrus sceptre in a usual position in front of her body. The issue of interest, however, is the poor quality of artistry in regard to the sceptre(s), which is asymmetrical and far from conventional. In accordance with artistic principles, all details are supposed to be fully symmetrical in a finished official relief. However, separated in two pictorial parts by the hand holding it, the lower section does not agree with the upper part as they are (vertically) disorganised, as fig. 50 shows. Such a disarrangement of the details, I argue, suggests an unfinished relief, possibly a practice piece, never intended for the public.⁶⁰⁷



Fig. 50: Detail of cat. no. 13 showing the asymmetry of the shafts. A vertical straight (black) line is added to the scene in order to emphasise the poor quality in terms of artistic accuracy.

As a last item included in this section, the flail is only held by Arsinoë.⁶⁰⁸ The flail was originally a male attribute, which together with the crook denoted kingship and superiority.⁶⁰⁹ The female version of the flail has a hieroglyphic and symbolic meaning of protection, artistically separated from the male flail by a small supplementing detail of a lily or lotus-bud.⁶¹⁰ Apart from cat. no. 36, which depicts Arsinoë with the traditional female crown, these scenes show Arsinoë with her more “private” crown, which is limited to the reigns of Arsinoë

⁶⁰⁷ Compare Chapter III.10 for the topic of recutting.

⁶⁰⁸ Cat. nos. 12, 27, 29, 36

⁶⁰⁹ Graham 2001, 166.

⁶¹⁰ For more details and further references on the sceptres, staffs and staves, see *LÄ* VI, 1373-1389.

and Ptolemy II. This crown places the ram horns at the base of the red crown and has been suggested to associate with Arsinoë's royal position as a living ruler.⁶¹¹

SISTRUM

The sistrum, or rattle (*shm*), was a musical instrument primarily associated with the cult of Hathor.⁶¹² According to archaeological records, it was made of metal, mainly bronze, recorded throughout all dynastic periods (including the Roman Period).⁶¹³ It is documented in the material in two variants: I refer to the first type as a 'looped sistrum', and to the second as a 'nao-formed sistrum' (*sššt*).⁶¹⁴ A looped sistrum consists of a handle with a top loop, holding two to four horizontal bars or rods with small discs. These discs create the ceremonial tones believed to arouse the goddess.⁶¹⁵ As its name describes, the second type has a small *naos* placed on the handle instead of a pierced loop. The *naos* symbolised the temple, in which the goddess dwelt.⁶¹⁶

The sistrum is occasionally combined with a phallus, then described as the sistrum of Nebet Hetepet, symbolising Hathor's role as the hand of Atum.⁶¹⁷ Except for its association with Hathor, the sistrum was also connected with Ihy, the great son of Hathor. He is documented from the Old Kingdom, although his growth into a prominent youth deity dates foremost to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.⁶¹⁸ His hieroglyphic name illustrates a youngster holding a sistrum in his outstretched arm. As the sistrum player personified, Ihy symbolised the rebirth of the solar disc.⁶¹⁹

In the material, three images of Arsinoë and one later Ptolemaic queen hold one or several sistra.⁶²⁰ In the first scene, cat. no. 9, Arsinoë's sistrum is nao-shaped with a long and narrow shaft, leading up to a conventional Hathoric face with cow ears. The form of the *naos* is plain and traditional. The scene is fragmentary, making impossible a contextual analysis to determine any unique symbolism of the sistrum or any associations with surrounding elements.

The second scene shows Arsinoë holding two looped sistra on the left section (cat. no. 15L), and two nao-shaped sistra on the right side (cat. no. 15R). Arsinoë stands behind Ptolemy II, both actively performing religious rituals to evoke the deities placed on their opposite side. The sistra in cat. no. 15 (L-R) have a traditional symbolism, demonstrating an active event, also documented in cat. no. 142, which shows a later Ptolemaic queen who participates in a religious procession (heading towards the roof of the Dendera Temple). This relief, fig. 51, depicts a living queen who holds both types of the sistra.

⁶¹¹ See Chapter III.3.

⁶¹² In early literature, the sistrum was associated with secret initiations performed in the temples. Such texts include the creation myth from Gebelein. See Rundle Clark 1978, 88.

⁶¹³ Roberts 1997, 57f.

⁶¹⁴ This terminology is in agreement with Roberts 1997, 57f.

⁶¹⁵ The rattling of the sistra could sometimes have erotic connotations, referring to Hathor's role as the hand of god, when she masturbated Atum. Vassilika 1989, 108. See cat. no. 2, esp. as discussed in Chapter III.7.

⁶¹⁶ *LÄ* V, 959-965.

⁶¹⁷ Roberts 1997, 138. See Chapter III.9, esp. Lady of the Sky – the divine position of the wife. See also cat. no. 2L.

⁶¹⁸ Roberts 1997, 29-32.

⁶¹⁹ For more details on the cult and persona of Ihy, see Roberts 1997, 29-32. Ihy is frequently illustrated in the material, especially in scenes located at the Dendera Temple. See also Chapter III.9, esp. Hathor the great mother.

⁶²⁰ Cat. nos. 9, 15L-R; 142.



Fig. 51: Detail of cat. no. 142 showing a looped and a nao-formed sistrum.

As an object that expresses an active event, the sistrum was principally held/rattled by priestesses (or priests) to evoke, or arose, a divine spirit.⁶²¹ The sacred ritual created an ecstatic bond between the worshipper (benefactor) and the deity (beneficiary).⁶²² Due to this cultic and ceremonial nature of the sistrum, I interpret any given royal figure holding it as a person who is alive. An already deified royal figure, I argue, did not need to evoke a divine spirit, as he/she was regarded on an equal cultic level. Priest, priestess, king or queen, however, could use this instrument and actively express their piety and to come in contact with the god.⁶²³ I see the sistrum as an instrument that indicates an active position/performance of the figure holding it.⁶²⁴ In agreement with this interpretation, I conclude Arsinoë's role in cat. nos. 9 and 15 as a living priestess who performs a sacred religious ritual.⁶²⁵



Fig. 52: The musicians or female priestesses evoked a deity with their instruments, represented in one of the most famous sites of solar worship, the kiosk of Hathor on the Dendera Temple roof. Photo by the author.

⁶²¹ Priestesses were also decorated with a *menit* collar, another item that was highly associated with Hathoric cults.

⁶²² See Chapter III.7.

⁶²³ Ihy, as a deity, has to be regarded as an exception, since he personifies the sistrum.

⁶²⁴ For more information on an active contra inactive position, see Chapter III.7.

⁶²⁵ See the Mendes stela (cat. no. 1) documenting Arsinoë's role as the high-priestess of Banebdjedet.

HAND HELD IN PROTECTIVE MANNER


The present section deals with a figural pose rather than an object. It is a position which I refer to as ‘hand held in a protective manner’, occasionally also referring to ‘blessings/praises’.⁶²⁶ Pictorially, one hand is raised in front of the body, with the palm facing forward.⁶²⁷ Female figures keeping their hands in this position generally stand behind a seated spouse, holding an *ankh* in the opposite hand. Arsinoë holds her hand in a protective manner in seven scenes.⁶²⁸ All scenes show Arsinoë as the last figure of the scenes, standing behind a seated Ptolemy II (except for cat. nos. 3 and 35 when Ptolemy II stands).⁶²⁹ All these scenes describe the second Ptolemaic couple as the *theoi Adelphoi*, and each scene has a dynastic connection, which emphasises ancestor cult. Any given female figure that holds her hand (hands) in this pose of protection stresses an association primarily with Hathor and her role as the eye of Ra.⁶³⁰ As such it can be assumed that Arsinoë possesses a position as a Hathoric mother protecting the entire dynasty.⁶³¹

Hathor holds her hand in a protective manner in three scenes, all connected with mythological dynastic power. Cat. nos. 37-38 illustrate Hathor protecting Horus, while he transfers his power and guides the pharaoh through the battles against enemies. The central theme of the third scene, cat. no. 43, is transferable power of kingship, again showing Hathor as protecting Horus.⁶³² As a final example, cat. no. 157 depicts the later Ptolemaic Queen Cleopatra III as protecting Ptolemy VIII.

Scenes that illustrate this gesture are far too scarce to make a comprehensive material for any fundamental conclusions. However, based on the material, hands held in a protective manner indicate an association with ancestor cult and dynastic symbolism, emphasising a divine as well as royal lineage. These scenes and their dynastic symbolism always depict Arsinoë as well as Cleopatra III in the official crown that places the ram horns on top of the red crown’s platform.

A figure raising both hands is here described as blessing/praising.⁶³³ This position is only documented in cat. no. 25. All the scene’s 46 figures are positioned in this praising pose, together worshipping a pictorially centralised solar disc. The position expresses an active role of adoration.⁶³⁴

⁶²⁶ The hand itself is described to represent creative power. This stems from the myth describing how Atum (/Amon-Ra) created Shu and Tefnut by masturbation. Here, Hathor functions as the personification of the hand. For this myth see Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon; see Chapter III.9. Also see cat. no. 2L.

⁶²⁷  (*Jsesht* B63)


⁶²⁸ Cat. nos. 3, 16-17, 19, 21-22, 35.

⁶²⁹ Overall, many scenes depict the *theoi Adelphoi* as the last couple of a standing dynastic line (including scenes other than those where Arsinoë is positioned in a protecting or praising manner). Cat. nos. 4 and 18, however, place an additional couple in the end of the dynastic setting. In such exceptional scenes, the *theoi Adelphoi* are not regarded as the original ancestors of the dynasty since Ptolemy I and Berenice I represent the last standing couple. Below, in Chapters III.6-7, the individual positions of the scenes will be analysed in more detail.

⁶³⁰ Compare Vassilika 1989, 100f. See also Chapter III.9, Eye of Ra – the Hathoric daughter role.

⁶³¹ See Chapter III.7, Relative placement – benefactor and beneficiary.

⁶³² The theme is characterised by the figure of Ma’at. See Chapter III.6.

⁶³³  (*Jsesht* A30 – compare B18a).

⁶³⁴ See Chapter III.6.

NOTHCED PALM BRANCH

As an object held by the female figures under study, the notched palm branch is only documented in cat. no. 20. The palm branch is held in front of the figure similar to sceptres and staves: it is held by seated figures (cat. no. 20) and also by standing contextual figures (cat. nos. 4, 57). It is documented in scenes that describes the ceremony of reckoning of time (the annuals), associated with the crowning of a new pharaoh and with the Sed festival in which the pharaoh renews his power and kingship.⁶³⁵ Stated also in textual records, the message communicated by any given figure holding a palm branch is that he/she blesses the ruler with many years of rule and with many jubilees to come.⁶³⁶

In art, the palm is documented since the Predynastic Period, mainly expressed in a form of ceramic decoration.⁶³⁷ The palm was associated with Ra, and the crown of the tree was considered to manifest the solar deity.⁶³⁸ The tree was connected also with Thoth and Min, symbolising rejuvenation and fertility, i.e., eternal life. Except for the hieroglyphic association with eternity, the palm branch or leaf signified the year.⁶³⁹ The branch is occasionally decorated with additional pictorial elements, such as *ankhs*, cartouches, and a tadpole (or frog). It could also be placed as a crown element attributing Heh, personifying eternity.⁶⁴⁰

Similar to all other trees, the palm was an attribute of Hathor,⁶⁴¹ but it was also associated with Min. These two deities connect the palm branch with fertility and growth. It incorporates a dualistic conventional structure, in which male and female come together, laying the foundation of life. This observation is supported by the presence of Thoth and Seshat, who write and record the annuals of the pharaoh.⁶⁴² They connect the pharaoh with the royal and divine dynastic lineage and legacy.⁶⁴³

As an attribute of Hathor, I interpret the palm branch as having a meaning and symbolic function of eternal life. Any figure holding a palm branch gives divine protection directly to the pharaoh, and links him with his divine primeval father, Ra. I see the palm branch as a symbol of life and the life journey. This is, of course, strengthened by the significance of the palm hieroglyph, reading eternity. It is also substantiated by the additional *ankhs* that hang from the top of the palm branches in cat. no. 20.⁶⁴⁴ Conclusively, when the divine or royal ancestors hold the palm branch before the pharaoh, they hold the key to the journey of life, directly guided and protected by Hathor.

⁶³⁵ See *LÄ I*, 278-280 for the ceremonies of the reckoning of time (annuals).

⁶³⁶ Vassilika 1989, 99, 101. Compare the lower hieroglyphic register of Arsinoë in cat. nos. 1-2.

⁶³⁷ Lurker 2002, 94.

⁶³⁸ Lurker 2002, 94.

⁶³⁹ *WB II*, 429f.

⁶⁴⁰ See *LÄ II*, 1082-1085 for more information and reference on Heh.

⁶⁴¹ *LÄ IV*, 658f. Hathor is then designated “Hathor of the date palm”.

⁶⁴² Cat. no. 20; *LÄ I*, 278f.

⁶⁴³ In these scenes, Thoth and Seshat are depicted on the same side as the pharaoh, surrounded by symbols of kingship. Hathor and Horus are placed on the opposite side handing over the signs of life. Divine ancestors, if any, are placed on the same side as Hathor and Horus. In cat. no. 20, Arsinoë and Ptolemy II, as the (deceased) dynastic ancestors, join Hathor and Horus. For a discussion about the placement of the pharaoh contra deities in dynastic scenes, see Chapter III.7; Winter 1978, *passim*.

⁶⁴⁴ The dynastic legacy and the divine lineage are stressed in also cat. no. 4, where a circular cartouche is placed at the bottom end of the handheld palm branch.

Cat. no. 20 also includes a tree of life, which holds the primeval egg and the cartouche of the pharaoh.⁶⁴⁵ There, Pharaoh Ptolemy IV rises up from such a tree, which is identified elsewhere with a sycamore, indigenous to the county, and growing along the desert edge.⁶⁴⁶ The sycamore was sacred to the Egyptians, especially worshipped in the Memphite precinct of the Temple complex of Ptah.⁶⁴⁷ As the “Lady of the Sycamore”, Hathor was the main deity connected with the tree.⁶⁴⁸ It was planted in the temple areas and around the cemeteries.⁶⁴⁹ Based on Hathor’s association with burials and rebirth (fertility), I see this tree as symbolising the full life journey of birth, growth, fertility, rejuvenation, and finally rebirth in the Underworld. The tree is consequently interpreted as another symbol of Ra, and describes the daily journey throughout the divine universe.⁶⁵⁰

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

All handheld objects described in this chapter are held as either personal attributes that indicate a religious act (*sistrum*); as objects indicating royalty (*flail*); or as a link between deity and royalty (*ankh*, *sceptres*). Also, there are objects which are not direct attributes of the figure holding it, but instead an element indicating the theme of a scene (notched palm branch). Not an item, but instead a figural position, hand held in a protective (one hand) or praising (both hands) manner has been included in this chapter.

The objects linking the royalty with the deities are connected with life and protection, also including the notched palm branch as a symbol of the life journey. All these objects can be held by seated and standing figures, and by royal and divine figures equally. Most items are held by males and females, but the papyrus sceptre is considered as a female attribute exclusively.

As an exceptional handheld object, the *sistrum* expresses an active position of religious worship, linking the royalties with the deities. It was an attribute of Hathor, personified in her son Ihy. Here, the instrument has been interpreted as indicating a living royalty, based on the active position of a benefactor.

The symbolism of the individual handheld objects are primarily too general to establish any absolute associations with the crowns worn by Arsinoë, the later Ptolemaic queens and Hathor. However, the *flail*, which symbolises royalty and power, relates to the type of Arsinoë’s crown that places the ram horns at the base of the red crown, and which, in accordance with Chapter III.3, relates to Arsinoë’s royal position during her lifetime. Furthermore, when Arsinoë is illustrated in the gesture of holding the hand in a protective position (associated with dynastic ancestor cult), she always wear the more official and long lived crown-type, which shows the ram horns on top of the red crown’s platform.

⁶⁴⁵ See Chapter III.2, Red crown, White crown, and Double crown. See also Chapter III.9, Hathor the great mother.

⁶⁴⁶ B. Lesko 1999, 84.

⁶⁴⁷ B. Lesko 1999, 87. The tree is thereby also vaguely associated with Arsinoë in her Hathoric role as the wife of Ptah at Memphis.

⁶⁴⁸ In a role which she was worshiped since at least the Old Kingdom. For previous tree goddesses see B. Lesko 1999, 83f.

⁶⁴⁹ See for example the “framed” archaeological remains of the sycamore tree of Hatshepsut just below her temple at Deir el-Bahri.

⁶⁵⁰ Roberts 1997, 18-22.

CHAPTER III.5 DECORATION

Chapter III.5 present a brief analysis of clothing, sandals, and accessorising jewellery: items that are physically attached to the female figures under study. Similar to Chapter III.4, this section aims to provide a more general pictorial foundation aimed at enabling a deeper understanding of the crowns' significance within the complete scenes. In addition to these decorative details, I discuss a pictorial element being part of the throne. This feature is formed like a quadrate located in the lower back corner of the throne. It occasionally displays small illustrations, such as a lotus or a captured enemy. Although this detail is dissimilar to the decorating items worn by the female figures, it is a decorating element due to the composition of small illustrations within its frames. The framed quadrate is immediately attached to the figure through the physical contact to the throne. I refer to this detail as a 'corner box' based on its location on the throne, combined with its visual function as framing the smaller illustrations.

Table 19: Decoration

The table shows the application of clothing, jewellery and additional accessories. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted within the column of later female figures in order to separate them from the Hathoric figures. Finally, the total number of figures is listed.

Decoration	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of figures
Sheat dress	1L-7, 10-14,16-36	37-38, 40-41, 43-141, 142 , 143-155, 156-158	157
Elaborate sheat dress	8, 15L-R		3
Sandals	8, 15L-R		3
Necklace	9,12-13,16-19, 21, 24-25, 27-30, 32, 34-35	38, 43-45, 47-56, 58, 60, 62, 65-79, 81-82, 84, 90, 92, 95, 98, 102, 107-108, 111, 118-119, 122-123, 125, 129-130, 132-136, 147, 152-155, 157	78
Bracelet	8, 12, 18, 23, 28	56, 60, 65, 67-69, 71-72, 74-75, 82, 84, 123, 152, 154-155	21
Upper arm bracelet	12, 18, 28	123, 152	5
Ankle bracelet	8		1
Earring		82	1
Decorated corner box	20	72, 74-77, 80-81, 84-85, 87, 90-91, 97-98, 100, 105, 123, 138, 155.	20

SHEAT DRESS

Almost all female figures wear a traditional sheat dress. Representing the exceptions, the figures are either too damaged or are only fragmentarily preserved. The sheat is a tight dress without knots, seams or belt. As fig. 53 shows, the sheat usually has a relief pattern of long, tail feathers, at times painted in red, blue and/or white colours. The shoulder straps, placed next to the breast in accordance with the artistic conventions, are occasionally decorated with a small pattern. This pattern also decorates the lower end of the dress. The figures occasionally wear an additional thin shawl placed over the shoulders. A more elaborate style of the sheat dress shows a curved lower part where the fabric folds in layers. As a necessary element in the full depiction of all female figures, the dress cannot be assumed to be the attribute of any specific deity or theme.⁶⁵¹



Fig. 53: Detail of a decorated sheat dress showing a combination of small and elongated tail feathers.
Photo by the author.

Three images of Arsinoë wear an elaborated sheat, recorded in the two scenes cat. nos. 8 and 15.⁶⁵² Fig. 54 shows the lower part of this dress and exemplifies, at the same time, a pictorial combination with decorative sandals placed at Arsinoë's otherwise bare feet.⁶⁵³ The scenes place Arsinoë in an active position, where she either presents offerings or practices a religious ceremony.⁶⁵⁴ She is placed in an opposite position to the deity (deities) in both scenes. The three figures are textually described as "King of Egypt".⁶⁵⁵ Subsequent chapters determine the date of these scenes to Arsinoë's lifetime, based on her position and title.⁶⁵⁶ Other scenes that are related to Arsinoë's lifetime are preserved in fragments, making it impossible to establish a

⁶⁵¹ Compare the Isis dress with the centred knot. See for example Witt 1997, 126.

⁶⁵² Cat. no. 15 includes two images of Arsinoë.

⁶⁵³ Otherwise she is illustrated barefooted.

⁶⁵⁴ See Chapter III.6, Settings of the scenes; Chapter III.7, Relative placement – benefactor and beneficiary.

⁶⁵⁵ See Chapter III.8.

⁶⁵⁶ See mainly Chapter III.4, Sistrum, and Chapters III.7-8. For the hieroglyphic titles of Arsinoë, see Chapter III.8. See also Table 24 and Appendix I for the dating of the scenes and a general overview.

comprehensive and satisfying conclusion whether or not the elaborated sheat dress denotes a living queen.⁶⁵⁷



Fig. 54: The detail of cat. no. 8 shows the lower part of an elaborated dress and feet decorated with sandals.


SANDALS

According to the general convention, most figures in the material are depicted barefooted with only a few exceptions.⁶⁵⁸ Such exceptions are connected with the elaborated dress as described above. The sandals show a low, flat sole. A thin strap runs over the ankle, and is also attached to another strap that comes up from between the toes. Arsinoë wears sandals in cat. nos. 8 and 15.

JEWELLERY

Female figures in general are decorated with jewellery, including necklaces, bracelets, and earrings. Jewellery is a decorative element relating to both males and females, foremost connected with hierarchic status. The necklace is pictorially associated with the *menit* collar of Hathor, although the latter is indicated by an additional back part. The necklace could symbolise the arms of Atum, embracing any given figure wearing it, and as such it signified protection.⁶⁵⁹ Personally, I consider jewellery as pure decoration, primarily denoting status.

CORNER BOX

A traditional stylised Egyptian throne is illustrated in agreement with the hieroglyphic sign: . It is structured in three main sections: a backboard, a seat and a foundation. The corner box is located at the lower, back corner of the square part that makes the physical seat of the throne. The seat is frequently decorated with a square, circular or feather pattern, as fig. 55 shows. The corner box is separated from the main pattern by one or several lines (horizontal and vertical) framing the square. It includes one or several small relief or painted illustrations, displaying

⁶⁵⁷ The dress worn by Berenice II in cat. no. 4 is similarly elaborated, possibly indicating an association between the dress and a living queen.

⁶⁵⁸ Cat. nos. 8, 15 illustrate sandals.

⁶⁵⁹ Lurker 2002, 24. The collar of Atum is called an *aegis*, which was decorated with a feather pattern. When manufactured as a cultic object, it is depicted with either a falcon head or a *uraeus*, and it was made of gold. The *aegis* was represented on sarcophagi as the outstretched wings of Isis and Nephthys.

very limited variation, mainly representing a large lotus, a papyrus cluster with one flower and two buds, or the *sema* sign of unification.⁶⁶⁰

In the material, only thrones of temple reliefs are illustrated with decorated corner boxes, although undecorated boxes occur on the stelai (as a feature of the overall throne).⁶⁶¹ The thrones are, however, rarely preserved with this decoration.⁶⁶² Cat. no. 20 is the only scene with Arsinoë that displays a corner box. In this scene, the thrones of Arsinoë and Ptolemy show indications of an original painted pattern, but they are too indistinguishable for anyone to be able to establish any form. The thrones of Hathor and Horus, however, reveal vague painted outlines indicating large lotuses.

Several Hathoric thrones are decorated with a corner box. All these scenes are located in the Temples of Dendera and Kalabsha, thus excluding the Edfu scenes. Hathor's thrones are principally illustrated with lotus or papyrus buds, but other illustrations do occur. The corner boxes of surrounding gods are decorated with a limited quantity of figures, similar to Hathor's: the thrones of Isis are illustrated with a mythic bird, generally referred to by Egyptologists as a *rekht* bird, and a small star,⁶⁶³ and those of Horus and Harsomtus mainly show a *sema* sign, lotus flowers, or captured enemies in either a standing or kneeling position.⁶⁶⁴

The individual illustrations can attribute more than a single deity, although the corner box details hold a certain link to the deity seated on the throne. For example, Hathor is frequently accompanied by Harsomtus in scenes where her corner box shows a lotus.⁶⁶⁵ Harsomtus' thrones are illustrated with a *sema* sign, but also the lotus flower and captured enemies, each detail corresponding to different mythic roles. Each item, however, is also recorded as an attribute of other deities. Therefore, it would be dangerous to suggest, conclude or even assume anything about the figures of the corner boxes as representing individual attributes.⁶⁶⁶ I regard the material to be far too scarce in order to establish any conclusive explanation.

⁶⁶⁰ Lotus: cat. nos. 72, 74, 77, 84-85, 90-91, 97-98, 100, 105; papyrus: cat. no. 81; *sema* sign: cat. nos. 75, 80, 87, 123, 138. Decoration in relief: cat. nos. 72, 74-77, 80-81, 84-85, 87, 90-91, 97, 155; painted: cat. nos. 98, 100, 105, 123, 138.

⁶⁶¹ For example, see cat. no. 15R.

⁶⁶² This is based on their present state of preservation.

⁶⁶³ Cat. nos. 72, 81, 84-85 show Isis with this feature. For more information on the *rekht* bird see K. Griffin in his forthcoming doctoral thesis.

⁶⁶⁴ See cat. nos. 72, 74-75, 77, 80, 84, 90-91, 97, 105, 155.

⁶⁶⁵ Cat. nos. 72, 74, 77, 84, 91, 97 represent Hathor (with the lotus) accompanied by Harsomtus. See Chapter III.9, Hathor the great mother.

⁶⁶⁶ Clearly, this topic needs further investigation, including also scenes other than the present material.



Fig. 55: Examples of corner boxes in the material, including lilies, lotuses, *Rekht* bird with star, captured enemies, and papyrus cluster: all from Dendera. Photos by the author.

CHAPTER III.6 RELIGIOUS RITUALS

As a main indication of the theme in the overall scene, the first part of this section studies the physical positions and gestures of the pharaoh, or the royal couple, in order to identify the religious ritual and how (/if) it is connected with the studied crowns. The positions and gestures generally express a symbolic message⁶⁶⁷ and are represented and divided in the material in accordance with seven main themes: active sacrifice, adoration, smiting pose, rejuvenation/crowning ceremonies, dynastic, evocation, and/or processions. The aim is to understand these thematic religious and pictorial backgrounds in the complete relief scenes, which will function as a platform (together with additional contextual details) when discussing the crowns' function and meaning in Chapter IV. Ritual gestures symbolise veneration, subservience, honour and respect similarly to how the hierarchic structure is conveyed through the differentiation in height.⁶⁶⁸ For example, cat. no. 105 illustrates the emperor (Augustus) kneeling, which demonstrates his inferiority and respect to the gods in front of him.

The second part of this section deals with individual offering objects, which are analysed equally to the themes in order to establish a possible association with the crowns and their symbolism. Documented in art since Prehistory and as a part of the ritualistic expression, offerings can verify the theme of the scene in which it is represented, and as such it is an important indicator or determiner of the complete message communicated.⁶⁶⁹ In the material, offerings are documented as a part of ritual ceremonies connecting a benefactor with beneficiaries, a central act in all forms of ancient Egyptian worship. The objects in the material incorporate incense, the figure of Ma'at, libations and fluids, items of the natural flora,

⁶⁶⁷ See for example R. Wilkinson 1994, Chapters 8-9.

⁶⁶⁸ This is a topic which is developed in Chapter III.7. See also the Metropolitan Museum of Art's e-publication: <http://www.metmuseum.org/explore/publications/pdfs/egypt/divided/e-form.pdf> 2010-08-14.

⁶⁶⁹ See for example Vassilika 1989; 1998, *passim*. Bovine burials at Napta shows evidence of early veneration associated with burials and funerary cult. See Englund 2001; Leprohon 2001.

ointments, textiles, crowns, staves, collars, and the slaying of an enemy. There are all connected with dynastic ancestor cult, the ruler cult of the pharaoh, and with traditional veneration of deities.

SETTINGS OF THE SCENES

Table 20: The setting of the scenes

The table shows the ritual acts, which are divided in scenes with Arsinoë, later female figures and the total number of scenes that depict the item. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted within the column of later female figures in order to separate them from the Hathoric figures.

Type of scene	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of scenes
Active offering	1L, 2L-R, 5-11, 13-19, 21-24, 26-33, 35	40-45, 47-50, 54-56, 58-59, 61, 66-68, 70-79, 82-83, 85-86, 90-93, 95, 97-101, 105-113, 117-124, 126-127, 129-132, 134, 137, 139-141, 143, 146-148, 150-155, 156-158	116
Adoration	25, 34	60, 103, 125, 133, 145L-R	8
Inactively standing before the deity		65, 81, 116, 136	4
Smiting scenes	3	37-38, 51	4
Rejuvenation or crowning ceremonies	4, 20	62, 89	4
Dynastic scene	3-4, 16-22, 24, 34-35		12
Evoking/arousing the god ⁶⁷⁰	9, 15L-R	39, 44, 57, 64, 80, 84, 87, 94-95, 138, 142 , 144	14 (15 figures)
Procession		52-53, 69, 88, 96, 102, 104, 128, 142	9
Additional/other		46, 135, 149	3

Active sacrifice

The most frequently depicted theme in Egyptian relief scenes is when a king or queen presents offerings directly to the gods. Two main Egyptian formulas were used to describe the act of sacrifice, labelled either *hṯp* - “sacrifice”, “to satisfy”, “to be pleased”, or *hṅk* - “to present”, “to give”.⁶⁷¹ The ancients utilised this religious act as an esoteric instrument to maintain universal order.⁶⁷² They also believed that it would protect them against evil or possible enemies. It was an act of appreciation or a manifestation of prayer.⁶⁷³

Although the gods never asked for material offerings, they expected recognition and respect. Through the offerings, the benefactor entered the divine sphere in which he/she represented

⁶⁷⁰ See Chapter III.4, Sistrum.

⁶⁷¹ *WB* III, 118f., 186-196; *LÄ* IV, 584.

⁶⁷² See below, The figure of Ma’at.

⁶⁷³ Hornung 1996, 197.

humankind in general.⁶⁷⁴ In such a meeting, the sacrificed object was regarded as a gift from the humans to the gods. The humans was not supposed to expect the god to return the gift. However, many probably hoped that the gods would return the act and bless them with similar qualities.⁶⁷⁵ The deity or deceased ancestor, to whom the benefactor presented his offerings, was regarded as the Lord/Lady, or Father/Mother of the sacrificed objects. As such, the god was able to appreciate the object and return the gift even greater.⁶⁷⁶ Scholars frequently refer to this form of offering as *do ut des*, I give so that you may give.⁶⁷⁷ However, as E. Hornung points out, prior to the humans asking for anything, the almighty gods had already provided it.⁶⁷⁸

A sacrifice was an instrument of communication as it mediated the royalties' respect and thankfulness towards the gods. It was believed to increase the gods' presence. The act of sacrifice further ensured the humans with divine protection, and kept the fearsome side of the gods suppressed. It also showed the pharaoh's capability of communicating and interacting with the divine world.⁶⁷⁹

The illustrated theme on a relief was regarded as equally efficient as an actual physical performance.⁶⁸⁰ Therefore, when the pharaoh or ruling couple presented their offerings in a scene, the ceremony might not actually have taken place in real life. Thus, it is plausible that the ritual was physically recorded only in the relief, which obtained an esoteric value equal to a physical ritual, although the pharaoh was never personally attending the particular temple/site.⁶⁸¹

As a general and commonly occurring theme, which corresponds to a vast number of scenes (thus, many different individual crown types), this active offering ritual needs further clarification. It will be further explored below when analysing the individual offering items.

Adoration

In scenes of adoration, a king or queen stands before the gods without any offerings. Their hands are raised in a praising manner or resting alongside their thighs.⁶⁸² Since both express adoration, I have separated them in accordance with their physical positions, consequently referred to as 'adoration' (= raised hands) and 'standing before the god' (= resting hands).⁶⁸³ The act of adoration was performed by the ruling couple when they entered the divine sphere and by the Egyptian people when they occasionally approached their king. The act demonstrates piety, respect and veneration.⁶⁸⁴ I have separated this act from the scenes showing the ritual of sacrifice based on the additional pictorial elements displayed in the latter type. As mentioned in Chapter III.4, above, cat. no. 25 is the only scene in the material showing a pose of praise. The act of adoration and standing before the god are otherwise

⁶⁷⁴ Hornung 1996, 203.

⁶⁷⁵ Englund 2001, 564.

⁶⁷⁶ See Chapters III.8-9, Divine mother/mother of the god, and Hathor the great mother.

⁶⁷⁷ Vassilika 1989, 98.

⁶⁷⁸ Hornung 1996, 204.

⁶⁷⁹ Hornung 1996, 205.

⁶⁸⁰ Teeter 1997, 154.

⁶⁸¹ See the smiting scenes described below.

⁶⁸² See Chapter III.4, above, for hands in a praising pose.

⁶⁸³ Compare Hornung 1996, 203-205; Baines 1991, 125-127.

⁶⁸⁴ See Gardiner's sign-list, A30.

exclusively documented as being expressed by male rulers in the material. As an example, Ptolemy VIII adores his deceased ancestors, the *theoi Adelphoi*, in cat. no. 34, and several later rulers (Ptolemaic and Roman) are equally shown in such a manner.⁶⁸⁵ There is no evident, unique connection (as dissimilar to the other themes) between this act and the crowns worn by Arsinoë or Hathor.⁶⁸⁶

Ritual of slaying the enemy

Elsewhere described as war scenes, I have chosen to label the smiting scenes in agreement with their illustrated theme, represented by a pharaoh slaying his enemies.⁶⁸⁷ Cat. no. 3 shows a pharaoh (Ptolemy V) smiting a single captive enemy, whereas cat. nos. 37-38 show a pharaoh (Ptolemy XII) leaning over, being ready to smite a group of human foes. Cat. nos. 37-38 are positioned on the front pylon in a heavily enlarged size in accordance with the Egyptian conventions of such scenes, whereas cat. no. 3 is placed on the upper part of a stela. All scenes have a dynastic association, which is relevant for the overall interpretation of the crowns as will be demonstrated in Chapter IV. This dynastic association is, however, far from limited to this theme as will be clarified below.

Smiting scenes communicate and commemorate a pharaoh's victory (victories), documenting his strength and power to uphold universal harmony.⁶⁸⁸ Although some scholars consider these scenes as representing factual historical events, I regard smiting scenes rather as an instrument of propaganda where the pharaoh demonstrates his authority.⁶⁸⁹

I have included cat. no. 51 under this topic, since (/although) it represents the only scene where the pharaoh kills an animal, in this case a hippopotamus. The spearing or harpooning of a hippopotamus symbolised the pharaoh's (or god's) victory over all evil things in life.⁶⁹⁰ I regard the smiting and the spearing scenes to demonstrate a similar symbolism, although the object is different (human contra animal).

Rejuvenation or crowning ceremonies

The theme of rejuvenation or crowning includes purification rites and jubilees, such as the Sed festival.⁶⁹¹ Table 20 demonstrates that four scenes, cat. nos. 4, 20, 62 and 89, express this theme. As noted previously, rejuvenation scenes frequently place the ruler in an inactive position as he receives the attention of surrounding deities. The pharaoh encounters the protection and strength of the gods, sometimes also from his deceased ancestors. As noted in Chapter III.4, this type of scene includes pictorial elements such as notched palm branches, the tree of life, and the writing instruments of Thoth and Seshat. Cat. no. 20 represents the pharaoh (Ptolemy IV) rising up from the tree of life, while Thoth and Seshat write his annuals and deliver his name. On Ptolemy IV's opposite side, Horus, Hathor and the divine ancestors

⁶⁸⁵ Cat. nos. 60, 65, 81, 103, 116, 125, 133, 136, 145L-R. See Table 20 for each pose.

⁶⁸⁶ None of the later Ptolemaic queens are incorporated in this theme.

⁶⁸⁷ See also Vassilika 1989, 104.

⁶⁸⁸ Hall 1986; Gilbert 2004, 88f.

⁶⁸⁹ Compare Teeter 1997, 155f.

⁶⁹⁰ Compare Säve-Söderberg 1953, who specialised in the symbolism of the hippopotamus in New Kingdom Theban tombs.

⁶⁹¹ LÄ IV, 579-584.

witness the ceremony, while they symbolically wish for him many years of rule expressed by their handheld objects.⁶⁹²

The royal couple represented all humans, at the same time being considered as divine through their royal legacy. The subsequent Chapter III.8 demonstrates how some of the royal titles reflect such a divine legacy for both kings and queens, including the designations “son of Ra” and “Daughter of Amun”. When the royalties entered their position as kings and queens, they surpassed mortality and became earthly manifestations of Horus and Hathor.⁶⁹³ In contrast to the gods that remained in the divine sphere, the royal couple hovered between the human and divine and had to prove their right to enter the celestial universe.⁶⁹⁴

Initiated by the crowning ceremony, the royal accession was celebrated annually as a part of the official festivals.⁶⁹⁵ The rejuvenation rituals of the Sed festival were illustrated similarly to the crowning ceremony and the reckoning of time.⁶⁹⁶ The Sed festival (literally *Heb-sed*) was principally celebrated when a pharaoh had ruled Egypt for 30 years.⁶⁹⁷ It was a ceremony in which the pharaoh had to prove himself worthy of a continuous rule. Consequently, the ruler had to complete rituals connected with physical performance. Once he had passed all tests, the king was once more crowned with a double crown, and he was shown to the people as a rejuvenated ruler of Egypt.⁶⁹⁸ The Sed festival is represented in cat. no. 36, but Chapter III.7 will reveal that also cat. nos. 1-2 allude to such an event.

The theme of rejuvenation/crowning relates primarily with dynastic propaganda, but as such a general topic it is difficult to establish a precise association with the crowns worn by Arsinoë and Hathor.⁶⁹⁹

Dynastic scenes

The Egyptian priesthood could comprehend and, therefore, incorporate the principles of Alexandrian ruler cult in the conventional royal cult, consequently venerating the Ptolemies side by side with renowned pharaohs such as Ramses II and Nectanebo II.⁷⁰⁰ As J. Quaegebeur has expressed previously, the main difference between Greek ruler cult and conventional Egyptian veneration of the Ptolemies was the latter’s exclusion of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I.⁷⁰¹ This official native Egyptian ruler cult of the Ptolemaic couples has, however, received limited modern scholarly attention. As many scholars dedicate their research to the Alexandrian cult, which is well documented in various artistic and textual

⁶⁹² See Chapter III.4.

⁶⁹³ See Troy 1986, chapter II.2.4; Silverman 1991, 70f.

⁶⁹⁴ Silverman 1991, 62-64.

⁶⁹⁵ For example, see Spalinger 1998, 243.

⁶⁹⁶ However, each ceremony has its own set of pictorial indications and units. See Chapter III.4, and also below in this chapter.

⁶⁹⁷ However, history demonstrates many examples of Sed festivals that were celebrated prior to a 30 year rule.

For example, see Uphill 1965, *passim*.

⁶⁹⁸ For a summary, see Najovits 2003, 155f.

⁶⁹⁹ Similar to adoration, above, none of the later Ptolemaic queens are illustrated in scenes with this theme.

⁷⁰⁰ For the royal cult in Memphis, and the correlation between the priest of (Ptah and) Arsinoë and his brother who served as the priest of Nectanebo, see Quaegebeur 1980 and Crawford 1980.

⁷⁰¹ Quaegebeur 1988, 42.

media, the Egyptian ruler cult of the Ptolemies remains undefined and possibly misunderstood.⁷⁰²

In accordance with Table 20, 12 individual scenes of Arsinoë are classified as dynastic.⁷⁰³ All scenes where a ruling pharaoh faces his deceased ancestors are categorised as dynastic, regardless of indicated additional themes.⁷⁰⁴ Although there are various examples of a divine dynastic association, the later material does not include any scenes where the ruler connects himself/herself with his/her deceased (human) ancestors. The scenes that are included in this theme are limited to depicting Arsinoë, thus excluding the later Ptolemaic queens and Hathor. This is an important factor when comparing the scenes to the individual types of the crown of Arsinoë. Regardless of the more detailed types, as presented as the first analytical step in Chapter III.3, and instead focusing on the second for the position of the ram horns (as presented in Table 13), all scenes that are here classified as dynastic show Arsinoë wearing her crown with ram horns located on top of the red crown's platform. As suggested in Chapter III.3, this type was used as the more official and generally recognised crown throughout the Ptolemaic Dynasty, which naturally is emphasised by the dynastic theme.

Dynastic scenes in the material represent a (later/descendant) Ptolemaic ruler presenting offerings to Ptolemy II and Arsinoë. Cat. nos. 3-4, 16-22, 24, 34-35 thematically associate a ruling pharaoh with Ptolemy II and Arsinoë as the *theoi Adelphoi*. The *theoi Adelphoi* are chiefly illustrated in individual scenes, some of which relate to surrounding scenes that depict succeeding dynastic couples in a similar style.⁷⁰⁵ The *theoi Adelphoi* are only occasionally placed in a larger dynastic scene, depicted in a line with previous (*theoi Soteres*) or succeeding Ptolemaic couples (*theoi Euergetai*, *theoi Philopatores*, *theoi Epiphanes*).

Starting with the lesser frequent scenes, deceased Ptolemaic couples are placed in an ancestral line in four of the dynastic scenes,⁷⁰⁶ including two or more divine couples.⁷⁰⁷ These scenes vary in their contextual settings. All scenes are associated with ancestral worship and the transfer of dynastic power, but there are no other direct pictorial aspects linking them to each other. Cat. no. 3 illustrates an act of handing over mythological and royal power of kingship. It shows Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I as the royal benefactors associating themselves with the divine royal children Shu and Tefnut, and three previous generations of Ptolemaic rulers (*theoi Adelphoi*, *theoi Euergetai*, *theoi Philopatores*).⁷⁰⁸ The second scene, cat. no. 4, refer to the ceremony of reckoning of time, crowning, and the ruler cult. This scene shows the ruling couple, Ptolemy III and Berenice II, standing on the same side as their deceased ancestors and deities associated with crowning ceremonies, while on an opposite side to several national paired gods and goddesses. The third scene, cat. no. 18, shows a traditional act of sacrifice where the new pharaoh (Ptolemy IV) worships his royal and divine ancestors (*theoi Soteres*, *theoi Adelphoi*, *theoi Euergetai*, together with Hathor, Horus and Harpocrates). The last scene,

⁷⁰² For example W. Otto 1905, I, 137-163; Fraser 1972, Chapter 5; Clarysse & van der Veken 1983; Hölbl 2001, chapter 3.

⁷⁰³ The dynastic scenes will be analysed more in detail in the subsequent Chapter III.8, *theoi Adelphoi*. Therefore, I present only a summary of the symbolism of the theme.

⁷⁰⁴ This does not exclude the scenes to be included also in connection with other themes, such as cat. no. 3 (included as both smiting and dynastic scene).

⁷⁰⁵ Such scenes are placed on a lower or an opposite relief register.

⁷⁰⁶ The term, 'line', is used here to describe a position where the figures are placed as in a queue or row.

⁷⁰⁷ Cat. nos. 3-4, 18, 35.

⁷⁰⁸ See Chapter III.4, above.

which is divided in two figural (horizontal) lines, is an offering scene, in which the ruling couple present incense to their ancestors.⁷⁰⁹

The other and more frequently illustrated dynastic scenes depict a ruling pharaoh who presents offerings to an individual ancestral couple.⁷¹⁰ These scenes, cat. nos. 16-17, 19, 21-22, 34, are mutually, contextually comparable, in contrast to the four scenes described above. All scenes illustrate the *theoi Adelphoi* as beneficiaries, with Ptolemy IV, alternatively Ptolemy VIII, as their benefactor. The ruler presents ointment and cloth in cat. no. 16 (Ptolemy VIII) and cat. no. 19 (Ptolemy IV), and incense and libation in cat. no. 17 (Ptolemy IV) and cat. no. 21 (Ptolemy VIII). The rulers keep other religious poses in cat. no. 22 (Ptolemy IV) and cat. no. 34 (Ptolemy VIII). These items might not demonstrate an immediate correlation between the scenes. In order to show this connection, the scenes have to be analysed in accordance with their structural placement and their association with surrounding scenes. All these individual scenes are structurally connected with one, alternatively three surrounding scenes, symmetrically organised in terms of location. Scenes dating to Ptolemy IV (cat. nos. 17, 19, 22) structurally relate the scene to the *theoi Adelphoi* with another one that shows the *theoi Euergetai*, while those that date to Ptolemy VIII (cat. nos. 16, 21, 34) are connected with scenes that individually show the *theoi Euergetai*, *theoi Philopatores*, and the *theoi Epiphanes*.

Cat. no. 16 is located in the top register, in the eastern partition of the outer hypostyle hall of the Temple of Edfu. The scene immediately below shows the same ruler, Ptolemy VIII, presenting incense and libation to the *theoi Epiphanes*. Two additional individual scenes are placed in a completely opposite location, thus in the western partition, and show Ptolemy VIII venerating the *theoi Euergetai* and *theoi Philopatores* respectively.

Cat. no. 17 is located in the middle register, in the northern partition of the offering hall of the Edfu Temple. In the scene placed immediately below is shown the veneration of the *theoi Euergetai*. Cat. no. 19 is located in the middle register of the same temple, in the eastern partition of the inner sanctuary. Ptolemy IV is shown presenting incense and libation to the *theoi Euergetai* in the scene located immediately below.

Cat. no. 21 is one of totally four scenes as figs. 56-57 show. It is located in the top register, in the western partition of the corridor of the Temple of Edfu. One of the three related scenes is located immediately beneath, and the other two on the opposite side of the temple, thus in the eastern partition. The four scenes are placed totally diametrical. Ptolemy VIII presents ointment and cloth to the *theoi Epiphanes* in the scene immediately below cat. no. 21, and corresponding items to the *theoi Euergetai* on the eastern partition. Corresponding to cat. no. 21, he presents incense and libation to the *theoi Philopatores* in the top eastern scene. Cat. nos. 22 and 34 follow a similar positional pattern. All scenes are located in the Temple of Edfu except for cat. no. 34, which is placed in the Temple of Qasr Aguz.⁷¹¹

⁷⁰⁹ For a more detailed description of cat. no. 35 see below, alternatively the main Catalogue description.

⁷¹⁰ Cat. nos. 16-17, 19, 21-22, 24, 34. Cat. no. 25 is different to the other scenes, since it illustrates gods and royalties worshipping the solar disc. However, the scene remains connected with the dynastic setting through its structural position and surrounding context as discussed above.

⁷¹¹ Cat. no. 22 is located in the top register, western partition of the inner hypostyle hall. The scene immediately below shows Ptolemy IV venerating the *theoi Euergetai*. Cat. no. 34 is placed back to back with the scene illustrating the *theoi Euergetai*, while another two scenes are separated from the first two by a door. The latter two scenes depict the *theoi Epiphanes* and the *theoi Philopatores*.



Figs. 56-57: The dynastic setting of scenes relating to cat. no. 21. Photos by the author.

As noted above, I classify a dynastic scene in accordance with a figural arrangement that shows a pharaoh facing his deceased ancestors (thus acting as their benefactor) regardless of additional themes, but I also include all scenes that depict more dynastic couples/figures than the actual ruler/rulers.⁷¹² Thus, I include all scenes that illustrate one or several royal couples keeping a position as beneficiaries, incorporating also those that express a theme of rejuvenation or crowning, as recorded in cat. nos. 4 and 20. Based on these criteria, I agree

⁷¹² Chapter III.6, Dynastic scenes.

with J. Quaegebeur's identification of the dynastic scenes, opposed to E. Winter before him.⁷¹³

These dynastic themes are fundamentally based on a ruler's claim of divine ancestry, pictorially identifying or associating his ancestors with Horus and Hathor. The individual scenes always incorporate the *theoi Adelphoi*, but only occasionally their subsequent ruling couples.⁷¹⁴ Based on the identity of the benefactor, the total number of dynastic couples varies. They incorporate, at the most, seven ancestral couples or individuals, starting with the *theoi Soteres* and ending with Ptolemy VII. Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra III mark the last dynastic ruling couple to venerate their ancestors, always depicted as benefactors.⁷¹⁵

The *theoi Soteres* are primarily excluded from the pictorial dynastic scenes, but are occasionally mentioned in textual records in regard to the official dating formula. Pictorially, the *theoi Soteres* are never included in scenes that date to Ptolemy VIII. The material reveals that this ruler claimed his ancestry from the *theoi Adelphoi* instead, and that he regarded them as the original founders of the dynasty.

The scenes that figurally incorporate the *theoi Soteres*, cat. nos. 4 and 18 (textually mentioned in cat. no. 3), date to the reigns of Ptolemy III and IV. This is intriguing at first since other scenes that date to the same periods exclude this first Ptolemaic couple. However, there may be a conventional differentiation based on the cultic aspects that are communicated in these scenes compared to the others. The first scene, cat. no. 4, is classified here as a crowning/rejuvenation ceremony, which is emphasised in the iconographic setting. The ruling couple stands on the same side as their deceased ancestors (*theoi Adelphoi* and *theoi Soteres*), and are accompanied by Thoth and Seshat. Ptolemy I and Berenice I are symbolically comparable to the divine couple Osiris and Isis, whereas Ptolemy II and Arsinoë are shown in a more individual style.⁷¹⁶ These two couples are also textually differentiated: the *theoi Soteres* are (individually) described as the divine mother and father, while Ptolemy II and Arsinoë retain their royal names.

In my opinion, this scene indicates that Ptolemy III acknowledged his grandparents in their role as the first Ptolemaic dynastic couple, since he provided them with divine positions conjunctive with the conventional Egyptian administration of deceased pharaohs (fusing with Osiris). The scene designates them as the divine father and mother, reflecting their roles as Osiris and Isis. As a contrast, Ptolemy II and Arsinoë are placed in figural religious positions equal to those of Horus and Hathor. The scene, consequently, refers to two ruling royal couples, an event made possible only through the application of an iconographic administration: pictorial temporal adjustment.⁷¹⁷

Making the theme of cat. no.4, the pharaoh obtains the divine royal soul at the time of coronation, describing a direct entrustment of power, commended by the living royal siblings to their successors. Ptolemy II and Arsinoë are portrayed as physically attending the ceremony, and as personally transferring their rulership to Ptolemy III as their successor. This

⁷¹³ As mentioned previously, Winter 1978 separated the dynastic scenes according to the figural arrangement, excluding scenes of ruling couples placed on the same side as the deities and deceased ancestors. Compare Quaegebeur 1989; 1998.

⁷¹⁴ Cat. nos. 24-25 are exceptions that only include the *theoi Adelphoi*.

⁷¹⁵ Compare cat. no. 95, which shows Cleopatra VII and Caesarion associating themselves with traditional deities instead of ancestors.

⁷¹⁶ See the main Catalogue Description, cat. no. 4, for a full description.

⁷¹⁷ See Chapter III.7.

transference of kingship is emphasised by the presence of Thoth and Seshat. In my opinion, the scene not only accentuates dynastic power *per se*, but also a direct continuation and pure lineage, authorising the king as the earthly manifestations of all divine rulers. Once he finished the coronation ceremonies, Ptolemy III completed his rulership and could symbolically step out of the celestial zone of oblivion (to which he would return once more at the time of his death) and return to the human sphere to claim his kingship.

Based on the coming together of two time periods, referring to two ruling royal couples, cat. no. 4 agree with the concepts of temporal adjustment as will be analysed in Chapter III.7, below. Ptolemy III demonstrates his undeniable ancestry from the initial Ptolemaic couple, and shows himself as a rightful heir of his preceding rulers, Ptolemy II and Arsinoë, at the same time.

Ptolemy III's different approach towards the ancestors (*theoi Adelphoi* and *theoi Soteres*) is emphasised in cat. nos. 24-25. Previous chapters have identified the right Ptolemaic couple in cat. no. 25 with Ptolemy III and Berenice II at the time of their coronation ceremonies, contradicting previous identifications of the couple with Ptolemy I and Berenice I.⁷¹⁸ To my knowledge, there are no textual or pictorial recognitions of the first Ptolemaic couple on the Gate of Euergetes. Instead, the ruling couple connect themselves with their parents exclusively (in terms of royal ancestry). Scenes attached to cat. no. 24 emphasise this kinship even further as Ptolemy III receives his Horus name only when he is associated with his parents. As mentioned previously, Berenice II stresses her kinship with the *theoi Adelphoi*, being described (together with Ptolemy III) as deified at the head of the gods (also referring to the divine sibling gods).⁷¹⁹ Ptolemy III and Berenice II stressed such an immediate kinship in various scenes of the Gate of Euergetes, accentuating the instant transfer of power from one generation to the next. At the time, it was not a matter of determining a dynastic lineage from the initial Ptolemaic couple or Alexander the Great. Instead, Ptolemy III and Berenice II chose to validate their continuous rule through their ancestry from Ptolemy II and Arsinoë and the native pantheon.

The figural organisation in cat. no. 18 is completely dissimilar to cat. no. 4, as it presents the ruling pharaoh in an offering position facing his divine dynastic family: Horus, Hathor, and Harsomtus, followed by his Ptolemaic ancestors. The theme is no longer that of a coronation, but instead of a king who performs his duties in sacrificing to his ancestors. The last couple of the scene is identified as the *theoi Soteres*: they are no longer comparable to Osiris and Isis, but with Ptolemaic ancestors in general as they wear the same attributes as the *theoi Euergetai*. The *theoi Adelphoi*, however, are pictorially separated from the others based on their individual iconographic compositions.⁷²⁰ Whereas the other dynastic scenes express a conventional reconnection with ancestors, depicting the king as he claims his right to the throne, cat. no. 18 illustrates a traditional offering scene, lacking an immediate pictorial reconnection in terms of the object of offering.

In terms of figural arrangement, cat. nos. 4 and 18 are distinguished from the other dynastic scenes primarily based on the position of the last female figure: she stands in a traditional pose holding an *ankh* and a sceptre, whereas other dynastic scenes show the deceased queen holding her hands in a protective manner. As suggested in Chapter III.4, I interpret the latter position as Hathoric, corresponding with the protection of the entire dynasty. Cat. nos. 4 and

⁷¹⁸ See Chapters III.7-9.

⁷¹⁹ Compare Quaegebeur 1988, 48 with n. 44; 1989, 97.

⁷²⁰ See Chapters III.2-5.

18 refer to Berenice I as the last female figure of the dynastic line, but neither one of the scenes illustrate her as the dynasty's protectress. Her figural position is equivalent to all other female figures in the scenes. Her role as a Ptolemaic ancestor is acknowledged, but she is not entrusted a Hathoric role.

The public eponymous records were modified during the reign of Ptolemy IV, traditionally regarded as explaining the sporadic, limited reference to the *theoi Soteres* in dynastic scenes.⁷²¹ The material, however, demonstrates that such a modification only had an indirect impact on the conventional Egyptian settings. Ptolemy IV includes the *theoi Soteres* in cat. no. 18, but prefers to emphasise his kinship with the *theoi Adelphoi* in his coronation scene, here cat. no. 20. Furthermore, Ptolemy I and Berenice I are excluded from all other dynastic scenes which date to Ptolemy IV.⁷²²

In my opinion, this reflects the fundamental difference between the cults addressing the first and second Ptolemaic couples. The *theoi Soteres* are included as ancestors but never as founders, which is an imperative distinction. Their successors venerated the first Ptolemaic couple in the same way as they acknowledged the importance of Ramses II and Nectanebo II in Memphis, and respected their divine royal soul as a part of the overall Osirian concept. However, these Egyptian reliefs never recognised them as the physical founders of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

All other dynastic scenes illustrate Arsinoë as the last figure of the scene (thus, contrasting cat. nos. 4 and 18), identifying her as the main protectress of the dynastic family. Her official designations describe her as the "divine mother", "divine mother of his mothers", and as the "royal mother". Similarly, Ptolemy II is described as the "divine father".⁷²³ They are always pictorially distinguished from additional couples; Arsinoë with her personal crown and Ptolemy with either the *anedjti* crown or the Osirian crown, always as an opposite to the other male ancestors. They are associated with Hathor and Horus, but the pictorial setting also shows a connection with Shu and Tefnut, as the children of Ra, in accordance with their designations as rulers. According to the material, the ancestor cult of the *theoi Adelphoi* followed traditional Egyptian principles of royal cult, but had a more prominent continuation than most pharaonic forerunners.⁷²⁴ All scenes postdate the lifetimes of both Ptolemy II and Arsinoë: an important conclusion since this separates the native Egyptian ancestor cult from the Alexandrian eponymous cult, as Greek sources primarily document a ruler cult of living couples (as opposite to here).⁷²⁵ As far as the material reveals, the conventional Egyptian iconographic records remained separate from the eponymous Alexandrian accounts throughout the dynasty.

Arsinoë's political importance cannot be denied in the material: she is placed in a cultural position equivalent to her brother-husband. However, it clearly shows that Arsinoë was never venerated as an individual goddess by her descendants in the Egyptian temples after the reign of Ptolemy II: she was always worshipped as the dynastic mother, as a co-regent, and as the

⁷²¹ For example, Quaegebeur 1989, 94f.; compare the discussion in Ashton 2003, 124.

⁷²² Compare the above cited hieroglyphic text that describe Ptolemy IV as beloved of the local gods, the *theoi Adelphoi*, *theoi Euergetai*, and including also his own deified self as the *theoi Philopatores* together with Arsinoë III. Evidently, the *theoi Soteres* are excluded. See Quaegebeur 1989, 101 with n. 48.

⁷²³ Most dynastic scenes refer to the couple as the *theoi Adelphoi*.

⁷²⁴ Among other exceptions, Ramses II and Nectanebo II were still venerated in Egyptian temples during the Ptolemaic Period, as noted above.

⁷²⁵ It is generally accepted that the cult of the *theoi Adelphoi* was institutionalised already during Arsinoë's lifetime, c. 272 B.C. See *P. Hib.* II 199; Clarysse & van der Veken 1983, 4f.; Quaegebeur 1989, 95.

female equivalent to Ptolemy II. This conclusion has a most profound significance when comparing the reliefs with other artistic media, such as Egyptian textual records. Arsinoë's individual cult in Memphis, where she was paired with Ptah, is generally acknowledged, and additional sources describe her personal association with a vast number of deities.⁷²⁶ In terms of dynastic cult, however, Arsinoë did not gain a continuous divine status as an individually venerated goddess equal with the traditional gods, as far as the most public records demonstrate. Instead, I would like to suggest that the ancient sources that refer to her individual cult originate in a more private sphere.⁷²⁷

In terms of dynastic veneration of Arsinoë, my conclusion is that she was worshipped in harmony with the native Egyptian conventions of ruler cult, as a co-founder of the true dynastic lineage.

Dynastic scenes validate the legitimacy of a ruling pharaoh. They simultaneously emphasise the importance of the deceased ancestors and their position in history as well as in the eternal celestial sphere. Overall, the dynastic scenes throughout represent Ptolemy IV and Ptolemy VIII as sole benefactors except for cat. no. 35, which also includes Cleopatra III.⁷²⁸ The presented offerings are identified as either libation and incense or ointment and cloth.⁷²⁹ They do not seem to be regulated by an obvious individual positional organisation, although they are always placed conventionally in terms of symmetry. Scenes illustrating the *theoi Adelphoi* are, furthermore, always positioned as the top (highest located) scene.

The scenes show a continuation of the conventional Egyptian principles of ruler cult, although fail to provide any detailed information in terms of priesthood or any additional cultic practicalities. Such an information must instead be investigated outside the material, in connection with priestly burials, similar to the Memphite priesthood and the documentation of the cult of Arsinoë recorded on tomb stones.⁷³⁰

Evoking/arousing the god

As seen in Chapter III.4, the sistrum was an instrument used to evoke and arouse the deities, mainly Hathor. I do not regard the sistrum as a sacrifice object *per se* but instead as an instrument inserted to indicate an active ritual. Consequently, it is included here since it regulates the theme of a scene. The sistra in Chapter III.4 were held by Arsinoë and later

⁷²⁶ See a similar approach by D. J. Thompson 1988; compare Crawford 1980; Quaegebeur 1980; Hölbl 2001, 102.

⁷²⁷ Certainly, this ties in with the interpretation suggested by Quaegebeur 1989, 108.

⁷²⁸ Due to the bad state of cat. no. 35 it is difficult to present an absolute identification of all the figures. The ruling couple are identified as Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra. Identified are also the *theoi Philopatores*, *theoi Euergetai* and the *theoi Adelphoi*. The first male figure of the upper scene is described in the text as Ptolemy VI Philometor. The designation of the first male figure of the lower scene only states "Ptolemy", relating to either Ptolemy I (if the couple behind him is the *theoi Epiphanes*), Ptolemy V (if the couple is the *theoi Soteres*), or Ptolemy Eupator, the brother of the ruling king. It is very unlikely that the figure represents Ptolemy I since Berenice I is absent. Instead, the most probable alternative of identification is Ptolemy Eupator. The figure is depicted as a king, not as a prince, indicating a history of rule. Judging from the position of the *theoi Adelphoi*, as the last couple of the lower register, it is not likely that the fourth couple (on the upper part) represents the *theoi Soteres*. According to Egyptian conventions, the *theoi Soteres* would have been placed behind the *theoi Adelphoi*. With their position, as being the couple after the *theoi Philopatores*, it is most likely that the couple is the *theoi Epiphanes*.

⁷²⁹ See below.

⁷³⁰ Such investigation, however, remains unexplored also here based on the limitation of the thesis.

Ptolemaic queens. This section also includes male rulers performing the ritual indicated by a sistrum. Two scenes are located in the Temple of Edfu, while additional scenes are registered in Dendera. In terms of time, they range from Arsinoë's lifetime to Trajan. As an attribute of Hathor, it is not surprising to find her (or an aspect of her) present in all scenes with this theme. There is no evident connection between this theme and the crowns worn by Arsinoë, Cleopatra VII and Hathor.

Processions

Scenes that I classify as processional concur with the scenes located on *dadoes* and in stairways. The stairway processions in the material illustrate a king and queen surrounded by an assortment of deities walking to, or from, the roof where ceremonies took place. Dado-scenes chiefly represent a pharaoh in procession, followed by divine personifications of the national fauna or geographic sites. The male and female personifications are decorated and surrounded by flowers, plants and small birds. They often hold a tray with *hes* vases, papyrus or lotus flowers, and with a centred *was* staff. Processional offerings are considered as royal gifts from the nature.⁷³¹

OFFERINGS

Offerings are presented in accordance with the most frequently illustrated theme of the scenes: an active sacrifice. As a part of the daily temple ritual, priests maintained the cult statues of the gods and presented to them with various offerings. Throughout the Egyptian history, the king was depicted in this position, fulfilling his responsibilities. It was his duty to accomplish the daily rituals, but the pharaoh could delegate his tasks to priests acting on his behalf.⁷³² This section studies the sacrifice of ointment, incense, the figure of Ma'at, textile, wine and water, field of reeds, ceremonial collar, libation and *hes* vessel, crowns, dado offerings, spearing enemies, offering trays and the *sekhem* sceptre. As mentioned in Chapter III.4, I differentiate offering objects from handheld objects based on their direct and indirect effect on the theme. While handheld objects are rather impersonal, thus common for all, offering items can express a direct message from the benefactor to the beneficiary. The benefactors that present offerings are almost always identified as royalties: otherwise the scene changes to a reversed theme, when the god returns a gift, or actively participates in a royal ceremony.⁷³³








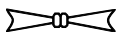




⁷³¹ Compare Vassilika 1989, 113. As additional scenes, the pharaoh is depicted in a running position in cat. no. 46. Here, he holds a *sekhem* sceptre and a flail. In cat. no. 149 the emperor runs with a bird and an oar in his hands. In general, these combinations of handheld items and the running position are interpreted as connected with the Sed festival. Other variants of handheld objects occur elsewhere, and as the units change, so does the immediate but not fundamental meaning. In the Philae temple the pharaoh is depicted mainly with the *hes* vessel, an oar, or a bird. Cat. no. 135 is located in the crypt of Dendera, and similarly to its surrounded scenes, it focuses on the ceremonial objects rather than the deities. Here, the figure of Ihy is followed by Ma'at and an enlarged *menit* collar. The running position is referred to elsewhere as *Vogellauf*. See Vassilika 1989, 10f.; Kees 1915, 61-72.

⁷³² Teeter 1997, 149.

⁷³³ See above in this chapter, and below, in Chapter III.7.




Table 21: The most frequent offering objects

The objects are illustrated in the left column⁷³⁴ followed by designations: they are divided into scenes with Arsinoë and the later female figures. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted within the column of later female figures in order to separate them from the Hathoric figures. The total number of scenes with these items are recorded in the last column.

Illustration	Designation	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of scenes
	Incense	1L, 2L-R, 5, 14-15R, 17, 21, 23-24, 27-28, 30, 35	54-55, 67, 95, 107, 146	21
	Figure of Ma'at	2R, 26L-R	43, 68, 71, 79, 82, 92, 97, 117, 120, 124, 126, 129, 132, 140-141, 148, 155	20
	Wine and water	2L, 10-11, 31-33	40, 56, 73-74, 101, 105, 131, 143, 151, 156	14
	Flowers ⁷³⁵	1L, 2L-R, 5, 14-15R, 23, 27-28, 30, 35	153	13
	Libation and <i>hes</i> vessel	17, 21, 35	49, 54-56, 67, 73-74, 96	11
	Ointment	1L, 16, 19	47, 75, 90-91, 154	8
	Offering tray/table	18	83, 86, 95, 113, 137, 139, 158	8
	Textile band or clothing	1L, 8 (?), 16, 19	121-122, 130	7
	Field of reeds	5, 14, 27	59, 111, 152	6
	Crowns		50, 58, 93, 100, 112, 123	6
	Dado offerings		69, 88, 96, 102, 104, 128	6
	<i>Sekhem</i> sceptre	18	41, 70, 110, 127, 137	6

⁷³⁴ The illustration provides a general image since some groups include several variations.

⁷³⁵ This group also includes the flowers that are placed above a censer stand.

Illustration	Designation	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of scenes
	Ceremonial collar	15L-R	76, 118	4
	Slaying enemies	3	37-38, 51	4
	Other offerings, including unrecognisable and unidentified items	1L, 2L, 6-7, 13	45, 48, 57, 61, 63, 66, 72, 78, 83, 85, 95, 98-99, 106, 108, 114-115, 119, 135, 147	18

Incense

As demonstrated in Table 21, incense is the most frequently depicted offering in the material, documented in 21 scenes. It is subdivided in three variants. I regard all three variants as indicators of an active position of the benefactor.⁷³⁶ The first type of incense is illustrated as a censer stand placed in front of the benefactor, in height usually reaching to the knees of a standing pharaoh.⁷³⁷ It is generally depicted with a long and narrow shaft, curved and widened in both top and bottom. This item is never held by Arsinoë, the later Ptolemaic queens or Hathor, and is instead always connected with a male ruler/benefactor.

The benefactor is physically connected with the censer stand by the occasional act of pouring a libation upon it. Scenes of this kind, in which the censer stand is central to the offering act, are categorised here as dynastic, as the act links the benefactor with his deceased ancestors. The censer stand itself does not seem to hold any deeper symbolic significance. The object connected with it, however, acts as a direct connection, determining the setting or the theme of a scene.⁷³⁸ Otherwise, the censer stand is disconnected from the benefactor, and as such regularly holds a *nemset* vessel and a flower. All scenes with a physically disconnected stand date to the reign of Ptolemy II, except for cat. no. 15, which dates to Arsinoë's lifetime. Arsinoë is always illustrated as a beneficiary, except for cat. no. 15 where she accompanies Ptolemy II as a benefactor.

The two Hathoric scenes, cat. nos. 54-55, include a stand upon which the pharaoh (Ptolemy IV) pours a libation. They are surrounded by scenes that express crowning, rejuvenation and the association with deceased dynastic ancestors.⁷³⁹ Cat. nos. 54-55 depict the pharaoh as an active benefactor as he associates himself directly with the mythological royal couple, Hathor and Horus. These scenes support the suggestion made above that the symbolic meaning is placed in the offering object rather than in the stand itself.

The second type included in this group is a small handheld vessel illustrated with one or several flames or pellets.⁷⁴⁰ The third type consists of a small incense cup held by a long and

⁷³⁶ See Chapter III.7.

⁷³⁷ Cat. nos. 2L-R, 5, 14-15R, 17, 21, 23, 27-28, 30, 35, 54-55.

⁷³⁸ For the symbolic meaning and a further discussion on water and libation, see below.

⁷³⁹ See cat. no. 20 which is located in the same part of the temple.

⁷⁴⁰ Cat. nos. 1L, 21, 146.

stylised arm (censer).⁷⁴¹ The arm is generally decorated with a falcon-head. The censer arm was made of bronze and, in addition to its metal hand and falcon-head, it was depicted with a cartouche in its centre holding the incense or pellets.⁷⁴² Vassilika suggests that the censer arm possibly could be read as a rebus for the king, where the falcon-head symbolises a pharaoh's Horus name.⁷⁴³

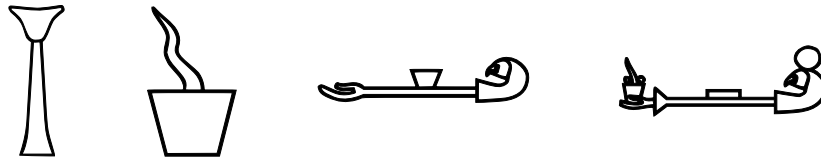


Fig. 58: Censing in various styles.

It is generally acknowledged that incense offerings symbolised ancestor cult, where the benefactor justifies his divine and dynastic legitimacy and legacy.⁷⁴⁴ Foremost, censing had a meaning of purification closely connected with divine fragrance or sweat.⁷⁴⁵ Incense could symbolise the eye of Horus and was also used in funerary ceremonies and cult.⁷⁴⁶ There is no unique connection between the incense and the crowns worn by Arsinoë or Hathor.⁷⁴⁷

The figure of Ma'at

As demonstrated in Table 21, three scenes of Arsinoë and 17 Hathoric scenes show the figure of Ma'at as an offering.⁷⁴⁸ However, neither Arsinoë nor Hathor holds this item personally, and is, instead, always held by a male benefactor.⁷⁴⁹ Ma'at is depicted in a crouching/squatting position placed on a *nb* sign (☪), held in the royal palm in all scenes. Cat. nos. 2R, 26L, 68 illustrate Ma'at with an ostrich feather crowning her head as her only attribute; cat. nos. 26R, 43 depict the goddess with a crown feather, and with an *ankh* in her hand; cat. nos. 71, 79, 82, 92, 97, 124, 132, 141, 148 (?) and 155 present Ma'at with an ostrich feather as a crown, also holding a feather in her hand; cat. no. 126 represents the goddess without any additional attributes;⁷⁵⁰ cat. nos. 117, 120, and 129 show her (without the crown feather) holding an unidentified object in her hand.⁷⁵¹ Cat. no. 140 is too damaged to envision possible additional attributes.

The sacrifice of Ma'at is closely associated with royal and divine rulership, through which the benefactor proves to uphold universal order or truth. The figure of Ma'at symbolises the

⁷⁴¹ Cat. nos. 17, 24, 35, 54-55, 67, 95, 107.

⁷⁴² Fischer, 1963; Beinlich 1978; Vassilika 1989, 105.

⁷⁴³ Vassilika 1989, code CNC.

⁷⁴⁴ Bell 1985, 283; see also the discussion in Winter 1978, *passim*; Quaegebeur 1989, *passim*; Vassilika 1989, 104f.; *LÄ V*, 83-86.

⁷⁴⁵ Compare Plu. *Alex.* 4. 4-5; See esp. *P. Mil. Vogl.* VIII 309, AB 36, for Posidippus' description of Arsinoë as sweating. See Lurker 2002, 39.

⁷⁴⁶ Vassilika 1989, 105.

⁷⁴⁷ None of the later Ptolemaic queens are included in a scene with this offering object.

⁷⁴⁸ Cat. nos. 2R, 26L-R 43, 68, 71, 79, 82, 92, 97, 117, 120, 124, 126, 129, 132, 140-141, 148, 155.

⁷⁴⁹ None of the later Ptolemaic queens are included in scenes with this item.

⁷⁵⁰ Though, she was most probably illustrated with an attribute originally, but it is no longer visible due to the state of preservation of the scene.

⁷⁵¹ The handheld object is unidentifiable due to the state of preservation.

transitory power of kingship, initially from Ra to Horus and subsequently to the pharaoh.⁷⁵² Ma'at personified universal truth, justice, morality and order. She represented a true and pure way of living, and it is through her that the soul of the deceased can continue to the next life after weighing the soul against her feather.⁷⁵³ It has been suggested elsewhere that the offering of Ma'at was meant to protect the pharaoh from evil.⁷⁵⁴

As an example of Ma'at as a figure of sacrifice, I chose cat. no. 26, fig. 59. The scene is located on a lintel block on the eastern gate at Karnak, commonly referred to as the Gate of Nectanebo, leading in to the (back part of the) temple complex. Demonstrated by the crowns worn by Ptolemy II, the two sections of the scene represent Upper and Lower Egypt.⁷⁵⁵ The right section (cat. no. 26R) represents Ptolemy II presenting the figure of Ma'at to Amun, Khonsu and Arsinoë. The left section (cat. no. 26L) depicts the same ruler accompanied by a female figure, again offering the figure of Ma'at, here to Amun, Mut and Arsinoë. In the overall scene, Arsinoë enters the role of both mother and daughter as she replaces Mut on the right side and Khonsu on the left.⁷⁵⁶ Arsinoë's positions in the two sections show a goddess fully incorporated in the divine family, in a Hathoric mode as daughter (of Amun and Mut), wife (of Amun) and mother (of Khonsu).⁷⁵⁷



Fig. 59: Unfinished figure of Ma'at in cat. no. 26L. Notice her crown feather.

The scene stresses an intentional dynastic and divine lineage expressed by the symbolism of Ma'at. Arsinoë functions as a link between the spheres. The scene has a dynastic association, but it does not describe ancestor cult as it is recorded above. Instead, I regard this scene to be associated with a direct royal cult, establishing the personal cult of Arsinoë. Such a dynastic connection between a ruling king and his deified queen is supported by the presence of an additional female figure who stands behind Ptolemy in the left section. Subsequent chapters determine this figure as Arsinoë in her queenly role. Cat. no. 26L, thereby, relates to cat. no. 1, which depicts Arsinoë as a queen presenting offerings to herself as a goddess.⁷⁵⁸ Her double appearance strengthens the dynastic theme where the queen is fully incorporated in the

⁷⁵² Derchain-Urtel 1994, 44.

⁷⁵³ For more information on Ma'at see for example Roberts 1997, 32-37, and more recently Karenga 2004, *passim*.

⁷⁵⁴ Fairman 1958; Vassilika 1989, 106.

⁷⁵⁵ See Chapter III.2, The red crown; The white crown; The double crown.

⁷⁵⁶ See Chapter III.7.

⁷⁵⁷ The scene is all through studied in Chapter III.7.

⁷⁵⁸ Compare Quaegebeur 1988, 46 and the scene of Ramses II where he is positioned as both benefactor and beneficiary.

Egyptian religious practice acting as the manifestation of Hathor and as a God's wife at the same time.⁷⁵⁹

In the Hathoric material, all scenes that present the figure of Ma'at are related to a divine dynastic legacy rather than a family-oriented lineage. Thus, in cat. no. 43, the pharaoh (Ptolemy X) associates himself with the divine ruling couple, Hathor and Horus. Positioned centrally at the back (main) wall of the Edfu temple, this scene expresses righteousness and a wish to belong. Through the handheld figure of Ma'at, the pharaoh demonstrates to the divine royal couple that he upholds universal order. He proves himself worthy of the royal titles.

As a second example, cat. no. 82 illustrates an emperor (Augustus) who presents Ma'at to Hathor. He is accompanied by the small figure of Ihy. Based on the symbolism of Ma'at and with Ihy by his side, the emperor stresses his kinship with the primeval dynastic mother to whom he also proves himself worthy. I suggest that the small figure of Ihy emphasises a "new" pharaoh linking himself with the divine ruling family, promising to uphold justice with their help and support.⁷⁶⁰

There are no obvious associations between the figure of Ma'at and the crowns worn by Arsinoë and Hathor, neither with those worn by the male figures (both benefactor and beneficiary).⁷⁶¹ For example, in scenes that include Ma'at, the pharaoh wears a white crown (cat. nos. 97, 117, 120, 129, 132), *anedjti* crown (cat. nos. 68, 71), special triple crown (cat. nos. 43, 124, 126, 140), triple crown (= *hemhem*, cat. no. 148) or an elaborated *atef* crown (cat. no. 155). Ptolemy II wears a *kheprsh* (war crown) in cat. no. 2R, whilst wearing the white and red crowns respectively in cat. nos. 26L-R. Nor are there any evident connections between Ma'at and the figural arrangements in the scenes. The king is located on the right side as well as left, and sometimes, but far from always, is he the tallest figure of the scene. The total number of figures differs in the scenes, including three or more.

Wine and water

In agreement with Table 21, wine, water or milk offerings are documented in five scenes with Arsinoë and in eight Hathoric scenes.⁷⁶² Cat. no. 33 represents a single rounded vessel, generally described as a water container.⁷⁶³ Cat. nos. 2L, 10-11, and 151 illustrate a smaller circular wine vessel. A single vessel is depicted in cat. no. 131. It is a close mouthed type traditionally referred to as a *nemset* vessel. Cat. nos. 40, 101, 105, 143 show two handheld vessels of a rounded type chiefly containing wine. Two close mouthed vessels are presented by Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy in cat. no. 156. This type of vessel could hold wine, water or milk. Two of the Philae scenes, cat. nos. 31-32 illustrate a pharaoh (Ptolemy II) holding a tray with four *nemset* vessels of water. Finally, cat. nos. 56 and 73-74 show a ruler (56: Domitian, 73: an unidentified Ptolemaic king, 74: Augustus) performing a libation, pouring from a small, rounded, horizontally placed vessel. As with many previous offering items, there seem to be no obvious or unique connection with the crowns worn by Arsinoë, Cleopatra III or Hathor.⁷⁶⁴

⁷⁵⁹ See Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon.

⁷⁶⁰ See Chapter III.7. See esp. cat. nos. 97 and 117.

⁷⁶¹ Hathor, however, primarily wears the Dendera crown in these scenes, but since she also wears the Female Edfu crown and the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather, it is not possible to make an absolute link

⁷⁶² Cat. nos. 2L, 10-11, 31-32; 40, 56, 101, 105, 131, 143, 151, 156.

⁷⁶³ Vassilika 1989, 111.

⁷⁶⁴ The scenes of Cleopatra VII do not depict this item.

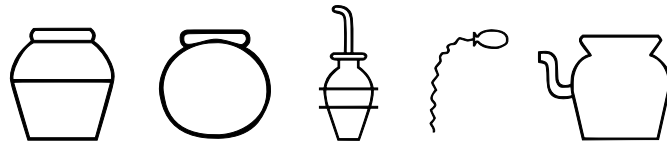


Fig. 60: Examples of vessels containing water or wine.

Wine was used in religious ceremonies, recorded in various offering lists as associated with fertility and life.⁷⁶⁵ It was used during festivals and official ceremonies, otherwise favoured by aristocrats and royalties.⁷⁶⁶ Osiris is occasionally described as the “Lord of wine”,⁷⁶⁷ but the liquid is foremost associated with Hathor. In the story of the *Destruction of Humanity*, Ra sends out Hathor in her role as the eye, to punish his enemies.⁷⁶⁸ The goddess changes character and becomes the savaging Sekhmet. She rages against all things possible. When Ra witness the destruction caused, he regretted his decision and tried to stop Hathor. The goddess, however, had reached a blood-thirsty mood, or *persona*, and could not be stopped. Ra then flooded the land with beer and wine, coloured red in order to resemble blood, and as such attracted and intoxicated Hathor. As she drank the blood-red wine and entered a drunken stage, she became the “Drunken One” and was celebrated as such annually. Therefore, wine was in many ways connected with Hathor in her role as the drunken mistress, the goddess of love, music and dance, venerated by the humans in her cult centre in Dendera.

Water is documented as a pure libation and in purifying ceremonies connected with crowning or the Sed festival.⁷⁶⁹ Like so many other offerings, water symbolised life and rebirth, referring to the wealth and fertility brought by the inundation.⁷⁷⁰ Osiris was the main god associated with annual flooding of the Nile, and was as such worshiped as “Lord of the water”.⁷⁷¹ Water was the life-important substance originating in the primeval matter from which all things alive were considered to derive. Through its primeval position as everything’s life-giver it was associated with the divine maternal role and femininity. Priests, royalties and cult statues were purified with water believed to hold divine essence, bringing them closer to divine eternity.

Libation and *hes* vessel

As a continuation of the vessels described above, libations and *hes* vessels form a category on their own. The body of a *hes* vessel, as fig. 61 shows, was originally based on the shape of an *ankh*, showing an elongated and narrow lower body, rounded shoulders, narrow neck, and a wide mouth. It is foremost represented in the material as a vessel holding libations. A libation is characterised by one or several zigzag lines demonstrating the liquid poured from a *hes*, or occasionally a smaller circular vessel. Cat. nos. 17, 21, 35, 54-55, 67 show a libation being poured from a *hes* vessel upon a censer stand, whereas cat. nos. 56, 73-74 illustrate the smaller circular vessel from which the libation pours straight to the ground. The material also includes *hes* vessels held vertically in the hand (hands) (cat. nos. 49, 96), and as placed on an offering table associated with processional dado-scenes (cat. nos. 69, 88, 96, 102, 104, 128, 139). The

⁷⁶⁵ Petrie 1923, 135; Petrie 1927, nos. 393-400.

⁷⁶⁶ For general information see Poo 1995, *passim*, or Murray 2000, *passim*.

⁷⁶⁷ Lurker 2002, 130.

⁷⁶⁸ See for example Vischak 2002, 159f.

⁷⁶⁹ See Chapter III.4, *Ankh*.

⁷⁷⁰ Kees 1912, 66; Vassilika 1989, 105.

⁷⁷¹ Lurker 2002, 127f.

symbolism of libation has been clarified in the section above.⁷⁷² There is no apparent association between the item being offered and the crowns worn by Arsinoë or Hathor.⁷⁷³

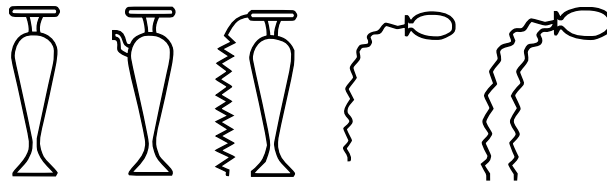


Fig 61: Examples of libation vessels.

Flowers

Table 21 lists 13 scenes with flowers as offerings. Flowers occur as an individual handheld plant (cat. no. 28), although the majority of the scenes illustrate flowers as an additional element placed on top of censer stands (cat. nos. 2L-R, 5, 14-15R, 23, 27-28 and 30). Cat. nos. 35 and 153 illustrate handheld flowers arranged in a slightly bent columned bouquet. Cat. no. 1 depicts a lotus in the shape of a columned vertical plant without a stalk. There is no obvious connection between the flower and the crowns worn by Arsinoë or Hathor.⁷⁷⁴

I interpret a lotus placed above a censer stand as indicating the nature of the incense. Similarly, I interpret the lotuses in cat. no. 1L as indicating the physical nature of the (scent of the) ointment which Ptolemy II strokes on the nose of Banebdjedet.

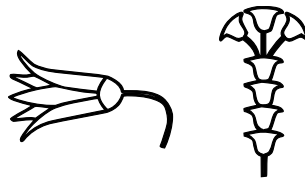


Fig. 62 Variants of flowers.

The lotus flower is traditionally associated with primeval mother goddesses, i.e., Hathor/Nut, who gives birth to the sun each morning.⁷⁷⁵ According to its physical nature, the blue lotus opens up in full bloom with the sunrise; it closes again at sunset, and withdraws below the surface only to resurface and bloom once more the following morning.⁷⁷⁶ Consequently, the ancient Egyptians associated the lotus with the daily journey of the solar disc based on its physical circle, and it was as such designated as “the redolent flower, the soul of Ra”.⁷⁷⁷ As the personification of the morning sun, symbolising rebirth and rejuvenation, Harsomtut is depicted as a naked child sitting inside a bloomed lotus.⁷⁷⁸ Also Ihy is described as “the child who shines in the lotus”.⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷² See Water and wine. A libation is traditionally believed to have symbolised the limbs of Osiris. Compare Vassilika 1989, 105; also, see Blackman 1912, on the symbolism of libation in funerary rites.

⁷⁷³ Arsinoë is depicted with a traditional female crown in cat. no. 21, while the other two scenes show her wearing her personal crown with the ram horns placed on top, thus the more official variant.

⁷⁷⁴ The later Ptolemaic queens are not depicted in scenes with this item.

⁷⁷⁵ Chapter III. 3 initiated a discussion concerning Harsomtut’s birth from a lotus. See also Pinch 2002, 158.

⁷⁷⁶ Lurker 1980, 77f.

⁷⁷⁷ Armour 2001, 1. As a symbol of Khepri (who was identified as the morning sun), the beetle that pollinated the lotus supports an association with the solar disc.

⁷⁷⁸ For a general introduction on the myth of Harsomtut with further reference see see LÄ V, 1080f.; see also Pinch 2002, Lotus.

⁷⁷⁹ Pinch 2002, 158.

In general, flowers were believed to contain divine fragrance, or godly essence.⁷⁸⁰ As a bouquet, flowers could assume the shape of *ankhs*, or as stems crowned with *ankhs*. By offering this item, the pharaoh was seen as a benefactor of life.⁷⁸¹

Ointment

Three scenes of Arsinoë and five Hathoric scenes include as an offering a small cup containing ointment.⁷⁸² Cat. no. 1L demonstrates that ointment could also be held immediately in the hand instead of in a cup, described in the text to be placed on the nose of Banebdjedet. Cat. nos. 16 and 19 combines ointment with a piece of folded cloth, symbolising daily temple purifications.⁷⁸³ The cup of ointment is occasionally placed in front of the paws of a small sphinx (cat. nos. 47, 90 and 154). Arsinoë always wear her more official crown (the crown with ram horns located on top of the red crown's platform), and Hathor always wears the Dendera crown in these scenes.

The ancient Egyptians used a broad spectrum of oils and waxes for religious ceremonies and personal body care. Ointment was mainly used in purification rites associated with temple or burial ceremonies,⁷⁸⁴ and was placed on cult statues after their daily cleansing.⁷⁸⁵ The substance was based on oil or wax, mixed with scents of flowers, herbs, aromatic wood, spices or myrrh.⁷⁸⁶ It was considered magical as it was connected with Ra, who wept tears in the shape of bees.⁷⁸⁷ The scent of oils and waxes was also interpreted as divine fragrance through which any given benefactor shared the qualities of the god. As such, ointment is depicted as raised to the nose or, as in cat. no. 1, stroked on the nose of a deity.

Offering trays and tables

Eight scenes include a handheld offering tray or an offering table upon which are placed an assortment of food, flowers and fluids. I refer the reader to each item analysed in this chapter.

Textile band or clothing

In the material, cloth as a gift to the gods is rendered as a looped textile band. It is represented in three scenes of Arsinoë (possibly four if including cat. no. 8) and in three Hathoric scenes.⁷⁸⁸ Cloths (*mnht*) are mainly depicted as two folded bands of textile, held in one or both hands of

⁷⁸⁰ Compare the hieroglyphic title of Arsinoë “She who fills the palace with her beauty”, corresponding to the divine fragrance. See cat. no. 1(M), esp. Chapter III.8. Compare Troy 1986, A4.

⁷⁸¹ Vassilika 1989, 111; *LÄ* I, 837-840.

⁷⁸² Cat. nos. 1L, 16, 19; 47, 75, 90-91, 154.

⁷⁸³ See below.

⁷⁸⁴ Lurker 2002, 27.

⁷⁸⁵ Lurker 2002, 27.

⁷⁸⁶ The oils and waxes were based on either animal fat or plants, though beeswax was preferred. For more information about wax, oil and fat see Serpico & White 2000, *passim*, esp. p. 390.

⁷⁸⁷ For one of these myths see Lurker 2002, 32. The bee was furthermore connected with royalty and pharaonic power, which is documented in the royal title of the bee and sedge. See Chapter III.8, King of Upper and Lower Egypt; see Chapter IV.1.

⁷⁸⁸ Cat. nos. 1L, 16, 19, 47, 75, 90-91, 154.

the worshipper. It was used in the daily rituals of dressing cultic statues.⁷⁸⁹ The material occasionally show folded cloth combined with ointment.⁷⁹⁰ While there is not an evident connection between this item and the crown of Arsinoë, Hathor always wear the Dendera crown in these scenes.

Field of reeds

Three scenes of Arsinoë and three Hathoric scenes depict as a sacrifice a field of reeds (*sht*).⁷⁹¹ It signifies the growing fields in which Hathor protects the baby Horus, symbols of fertility, rejuvenation and protection. The hieroglyphic sign for the field indicates an offer made in order to secure abundance and power.⁷⁹² In the material, and also in general, the field of reeds is illustrated as three fully grown reeds separated by three stubs representing incipient reeds. I do not dispute the traditional interpretation of this sign as associating with eternal life and rebirth. The presence of the field of reed in cat. no. 5 is associated with the theme of the scene, showing Ptolemy II celebrating the newly incarnated ram god alongside with the recently deceased Queen Arsinoë, reborn as a full divine character. There is no evident association between this item and the crown of Arsinoë, but Hathor always wears the Dendera crown when the field of reeds is presented as an offering.

Crowns as offerings

Crowns do not occur in any of the scenes with Arsinoë or later Ptolemaic queens, but is represented in six Hathoric scenes. Cat. nos. 50 presents an Edfu crown, corresponding with the crown Hathor wears without (visible) cow horns and solar disc. The king wears an elaborated crown composition, not at comparable to the offering object.

The presented crowns in cat. nos. 58 and 100 are stylised, shown in the shape of a circle. It is stated elsewhere that such stylised crowns are associated with wreaths made of precious metal, and symbolise justification.⁷⁹³ It is an attribute of Horus, in his role as a victor of enemies. In the two scenes, the ruler wears a special triple crown (cat. no. 58: Domitian), and a variant of the *atef* crown (cat. no. 100: Nero), thus without any significant pictorial correlation.

In cat. no. 91, Emperor Augustus presents the red and the white crowns individually. Hathor wears a Dendera crown in this scene, while the emperor wears a red crown. As the last examples, the ruler offers a Dendera crown with double cow horns, which is identical to the crown worn by the recipient Hathor. The unnamed Ptolemaic rulers wear a special triple crown (cat. no. 112) and a double crown (cat. no. 123).

One of the two scenes that textually describe the composition of the Dendera crown and Hathor's power over it concurs with the presentation of the crown as an offering. Cat. no. 123, fig. 63, illustrates the unidentified Ptolemaic ruler dedicating a Dendera crown to Hathor.⁷⁹⁴ Her designation translates as follows: "... She who appears in her white crown, Chieftess of the

⁷⁸⁹ Blackman & Fairman 1943; Vassilika 1989, 110.

⁷⁹⁰ Cat. nos. 16, 19.

⁷⁹¹ Cat. nos. 5, 14, 27, 59, 111, 152.

⁷⁹² Gardiner's sign-list: M20.

⁷⁹³ Vassilika 1989, 109.

⁷⁹⁴ See cat. no. 135.

red crown, she who dwells in her horns, she who shines in her double feather plume, she who shines in her cow horns and solar disc”.⁷⁹⁵ The designation combined with the presented crown could possibly relate to the original event of introducing the crown as an additional element of Hathor.



Fig. 63: Detail of cat. no. 123 showing an unnamed Ptolemaic ruler presenting a Dendera crown.

Vassilika notes that crowns presented as offerings at Philae never concur with the crown worn by the deity due to the motivation of the king to receive the qualities of the crown he offers.⁷⁹⁶ In the material, however, cat. nos. 112, 123, and possibly also cat. no. 50, record crowns identical to those worn by the beneficiary. Based on this correlation, I have to disagree with Vassilika’s hypothesis, and instead propose that it is aimed directly at the goddess, emphasising a certain aspect at the given time. It possibly incorporates an aspect of temporal adjustment, where the offering of a crown relates to the initial introduction of this imagery.⁷⁹⁷ The later Hathoric crown was introduced during the reign of Ptolemy IV, and the presence of these crowns could possibly commemorate the initiation of a new aspect of the goddess.

Dado offerings

Processional scenes that include divine personifications (Nile-gods, field-goddesses, Ka-personifications, geographic personifications, etc.) are placed on the very bottom register (dado) and are commonly referred to as dado-scenes.⁷⁹⁸ These are represented in six Hathoric scenes. These processional scenes generally alternate female and male figures surrounded by iconography from the natural fauna, including small birds and Nile plants. The figures hold trays chiefly consisting of *hes* vessels, papyrus and lotus flowers and a *was* sceptre. Offerings brought forward by these figures and the king symbolise the splendour of Egypt and the abundant natural resources of the country. These scenes show Hathor wearing the two variants of the Dendera crown, and although they are separated by the additional *atef* feather, which concurs with the location of the scenes (the Temple of Dendera).

⁷⁹⁵ See Chapter III.9.

⁷⁹⁶ Vassilika 1989, 109.


⁷⁹⁷ See Chapter III.7.

⁷⁹⁸ See above, Processions.



Fig. 64: Detail of cat. no. 88 showing common dado offerings: *hes* vessels, lotuses and a *was* stave.

Sekhem stave

The *sekhem* stave () is represented in one scene with Arsinoë and five Hathoric scenes.⁷⁹⁹ Cat. no. 18 illustrates Ptolemy IV holding a *sekhem* stave in his right hand, and a mace and an additional small, straight sceptre in his left hand. A large offering table presented with various types of food and fluids is placed in front of him. The scene has a dynastic theme since Ptolemy IV reconnects with his deceased ancestors. He wears an *atef* crown placed within the red crown.

Cat. no. 41 shows Ptolemy X holding a *sekhem* stave in his right hand, while holding a mace and an elongated stave traditionally referred to either as *aba* sceptre (*ʿb3*) or *kherep* sceptre (*hrp*).⁸⁰⁰ He wears a triple crown. The same combination of staves and maces are presented in cat. no. 70 by Emperor Claudius, wearing a double crown. Also the unnamed Ptolemaic king in cat. no. 127 presents these three objects, while wearing a triple crown. The ruler in cat. no. 110 equally holds this combination of staves and maces, while presenting a table of offering to the deities. This ruler wears an *anedjti* crown placed on a squared cap. The *sekhem* stave is presented also by the unidentified Ptolemaic ruler in cat. no. 137. He also holds a mace and an *aba* sceptre. The offering table which is located between him and the deities covers most of the scene, including various items of food, fluids, flowers, etc. The pharaoh wears a triple crown. Hathor always wears the Dendera crown in these scenes.

In these scenes, the *sekhem* stave is always held in the right hand, frequently placed in a horizontal position. Most of the rulers also grasp a mace and an additional sceptre/stave, held in the opposite hand. The triple crown seem to be the most frequently applied headdress when holding these items. However, since other examples of crowns are equally recorded, it is impossible to establish any conventional relation between offerings and crowns.

The stave was traditionally utilised in both temple and funerary rituals. It is described to be held in the right hand and to be waved four or five times over the offerings as the ritual was carried out.⁸⁰¹

⁷⁹⁹ Cat. nos. 18, 41, 70, 110, 127, 137.

⁸⁰⁰ Vassilika 1989, 101 with n. 62.

⁸⁰¹ Gardiner 1957, 509.

Ceremonial collar

The presentation of a ceremonial collar is illustrated in one scene (two sections) of Arsinoë and two Hathoric scenes. Necklaces are depicted in a broad spectrum of variants, differentiated mainly by the numbers and styles of beads or decorating pattern. The two sections of cat. no. 15(L-R) depict Ptolemy II wearing a double crown while presenting a ceremonial collar. In cat. no. 15L, the collar consists of five rows of beads, while 15R shows four. The necklaces presented in the scenes of Arsinoë have a rounded bottom part, whilst the Hathoric scenes present necklaces with a squared (cat. no. 76) or only slightly curved lower part (cat. no. 118). The collars presented in the Hathoric scenes are multi-lined holding seven to eight rows of beads/pearls.

In the material, all collars are documented in an “open” style ready to be placed on the beneficiary’s neck.⁸⁰² The Hathoric collars have decorated terminals, documented in the shape of papyrus flowers.⁸⁰³ The two collars recorded in the scenes of Arsinoë have undecorated terminals. The ruler wears a double crown in cat. no. 76, and a cap in cat. no. 118, without any visible indications of a connection between the offering object and the crown worn by the benefactor. Neither is there any unique association between the sacrificed item and the crowns worn by Arsinoë and Hathor.

The pectoral medallion symbolised the sun and the moon, and, as it was with jewellery in general, the necklace was believed to contain superhuman, magical powers. The collar is connected with the daily rituals of dressing the cult statues.⁸⁰⁴

Smiting enemies

Table 21 demonstrates that the theme of slaying one or several enemies by spear is illustrated in one scene of Arsinoë and in two Hathoric scenes (three when including the slaying of a hippopotamus).⁸⁰⁵

A single enemy is illustrated with his hands tied behind his back, and is positioned on his knees in front of Ptolemy V in cat. no. 3. The enemy is a male who is shown with shoulder-long hair, a beard, and possibly fully naked (otherwise with only a thin strap around his waist).⁸⁰⁶ Ptolemy V wears a double crown and is accompanied by his spouse as they greet their deceased ancestors.

The Hathoric scenes, cat. nos. 37-38, are located on respective side of the front pylon of the Temple of Edfu, following the most conventional architectural part to illustrate smiting scenes.⁸⁰⁷ The pharaoh (Ptolemy XII) holds with his left hand a group of foes in their hair,



⁸⁰² “Open” refers to the opposite of tied up in the lock:

⁸⁰³ Falcon-heads, cow-heads, and *naos*-shapes are also known, although not documented here. See also Vassilika 1989, 109f.

⁸⁰⁴ For a general introduction to jewellery and magical amulets, see Andrews 1994.

⁸⁰⁵ Cat. nos. 3, 37-38, 51. This is a theme which has already been analysed above, and therefore, I will focus on the pictorial element rather than its symbolism.

⁸⁰⁶ The details are somewhat unclear, although the figure is fully preserved.

⁸⁰⁷ See for example J. Griffiths 1948, 421-423 for human sacrifices; for general information about this kind of scene see Hall 1986.

while raising his right arm ready to smite them with a mace. Both scenes illustrate the ruler with an *atef* crown resting on a set of ram horns. There is no obvious connection with the crown worn by Hathor.

Included here is also cat. no. 51, demonstrating a ruler (Ptolemy IV) spearing a hippopotamus. As noted above, killed animals associate with evil and the enemies of Horus/the pharaoh.

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

Chapter III.6 has provided an analysis of various religious rituals, including offerings, that are presented in the 158 scenes. The first part of the chapter has studied the thematic settings of the scenes. The most frequently illustrated setting has proven to be an active act of sacrifice, when a pharaoh presents objects as an active benefactor facing the deities and/or his deceased ancestors.

Except for the act of presenting offerings, the first part documents scenes of a ruler adoring or standing inactively before the deities. Although they differ in their setting from the active offer, they are essentially of a similar nature, with an aimed direction from the ruler to the gods.

Dissimilar to the active offering scenes, the material presents scenes of a pharaoh smiting captured enemies. In such, the pharaoh proves himself as a ruling king capable of bringing victory to Egypt, while simultaneously keeping the country safe.

A few scenes have been classified in accordance with a theme of rejuvenation and crowning. These scenes demonstrate a reversed setting, where the immediate focus is placed on the ruler rather than the deities. Generally, the divine figures of Thoth and Seshat are located on the same side as the king, whereas the divine royal couple, Horus and Hathor, and possibly also the deceased ancestors are found on an opposite side.

The ancestors are also incorporated in scenes classified as dynastic. A ruling pharaoh addresses his deceased ancestors, with or without the divine royal couple. These scenes foremost depict the pharaoh with individual previous ruling couples, directly or indirectly associated with surrounded scenes illustrating other ancestral couples. Other scenes represent the ancestors in a line, where the founders of the family are located at the very back.

The sistrum was studied in Chapter III.4 as a handheld object used to evoke/arouse the deity. This chapter emphasises the earlier conclusion, that it was an object ruling an active act performed by the benefactor, indicating a living ruler.

Processions are among the most frequently applied settings. They are traditionally located in stairways, or on the very lowest registers, in the latter place referred to as dado-scenes. The processional setting depicts a king bringing gifts of Egypt to the gods with the help of male and female local and national personifications.

Most importantly, the study of thematic settings could confirm that there is a symbolic meaning in the different placement of the ram horns in the crown of Arsinoë. All scenes that have been classified as dynastic in this chapter, concur with the official variant of the crown

of Arsinoë, which shows the ram horns on top of the red crown's platform. Other thematic settings seem to lack such a unique association.

The second part of this chapter provides the reader with a study of offerings indicating a theme of the scenes. The most frequently depicted offering is incense, which has been subdivided in three categories based on their shape. Regardless of its form, incense connects a ruler with his divine and royal lineage, and therefore, it is not surprising to find this object in most dynastic scenes. As a result of the analysis of incense, it is possible to suggest that the censer stand itself holds no greater symbolism, but that the communicated message is placed instead on the object placed upon it. The stands/tables are signs of what was intended by the scenes, and, as such, not without meaning.

The figure of Ma'at is also among the more frequently depicted offerings in the material. Ma'at is associated with kingship and the upholding of universal order, and has the most profound impact on Egyptian concepts of truth. The figure of Ma'at was utilised throughout the Egyptian art history as an indicator of divine royal continuation, linking the ruling couple with their deceased ancestors as well as with the divine solar force himself.

This chapter has furthermore studied ointment, wine and water, libations, ceremonial collars, crowns as offerings, dado-offerings, speared enemies, offering trays and tables, and the *sekhem* stave. Most importantly, it has been emphasised that these offerings associate with the eternal cycle, incorporating rebirth, fertility, and rejuvenation. All offerings included in the material have a profound mythic anchoring, but they also have a more practical function as they are included in the daily temple rituals at the same time. The symbolic values of the offerings are fundamentally similar to each other, and foremost establish a bond between the benefactor and the beneficiary.

Although the offerings very rarely show a unique connection with the crown of Arsinoë, the material shows that Hathor often wears the Dendera crown, or occasionally the Dendera crown with an additional *atef* feather, in these scenes. However, since she is depicted also wearing the two other variants in active offering scenes, it is difficult to come to any absolute conclusion. Furthermore, throughout the analysis it has been elucidated that there are very few associations between the crowns worn by the benefactor and the offerings which he presents.

CHAPTER III.7

SIZE, POSITION AND TIME

Chapter I introduced the historical background of the Egyptian geometric order and the artistic principles in accordance with which the artist worked and the new analysis method applied to these principles.⁸⁰⁸ The previous section in Chapter III (Chapter III.6) analysed the thematic settings of the scenes. These ideas are further explored in the present section as I study the concepts of size, position and time, combined with a new approach to how a modern viewer can read Egyptian reliefs. The present section refers to relative relations in art, as an active and deliberate use of specific details in a scene which directly or indirectly emphasise one or

⁸⁰⁸ Chapter I.2 presents a general introduction to the ancient grids and how I use horizontal lines as an analytical instrument. It further describes my development of, and addition to, the ancient system, providing a summary of my new supplemental method for measuring the figures.

several cultural aspects in order to transmit a specific message to the viewer. I divide this section into three main, individual topics, referring to size, position and time. The concepts of size and position has been investigated previously, individually referred to as ‘relative scaling’ and ‘relative placement’, these terms will be used also here. While size is a frequently occurring topic of discussion, position is less noticed in modern publications.⁸⁰⁹ In this section, furthermore, I introduce a new approach that develops the already established concepts of size and position, and expand them with additional analytical aspects and instruments in order to enable a reassessment of how to read Egyptian art. Most importantly, I introduce in this section a new tool of measuring the importance and hierarchic order of the figures in a scene based on their complete structure, using the height of the crown as the uppermost level of comparison.⁸¹⁰ In regard to Egyptian reliefs, the concept of time is an individual topic which, is primarily unexplored.⁸¹¹ Whereas relative scaling and placement are directly indicated in a pictorial form, temporal adjustment is the result of an iconographic interpretation: it is readable only between the lines.⁸¹² I apply the concepts of size and positional as a theoretical foundation when approaching time: thus, all three aspects are interconnected and occasionally mutually dependent.

The relative relations in art as approached here are based on an ancient system of related horizontal lines, occasionally combined with a grid work. Traditionally, the Egyptians used grids and horizontal lines when creating a scene in order to determine the correct measurement, size and position of each figure. At the same time, the grids enabled the artist to actively regulate individual details in order to emphasise a certain section or the overall message of the scene, following encoded principles recognised by the ancient Egyptians. Since there were no obvious attempts to reproduce natural details in a three-dimensional scene, every pictorial detail was depicted in its most recognisable visual form (some more than others), placed in a harmonious arrangement that follows these grids or horizontal lines (the enhanced images of figs. 65-66 demonstrate traditional examples of the application of a grid system). Although I acknowledge the importance of the ancient mathematical and geometrical background of these grids/lines, they are applied here entirely as an instrument for measuring the figural positions as indicators of status.

⁸⁰⁹ R. Wilkinson 1994, Chapters 2-3 (including scale and position); Robins & Fowler 1994, 8 (scale); Bianchi 2004, 117 (scale). Relative position is related to ‘temple symbolism’, which, however, does not agree with freestanding stelai. For temple symbolism, see Baines 1976, 14; 1990, *passim*; 2007, *passim*.

⁸¹⁰ See Chapter I.2.

⁸¹¹ The renowned study of Groenewegen-Frankfort 1951 concentrates primarily on the change of time as it appears when illustrating the transfer to the Underworld, after the physical death. An Art Historian may use an interdisciplinary approach and incorporate concepts and ideas provided and discussed within the disciplin of Philosophy. Olson 2000, Chapter 7, summarises and discusses traditional philosophical works in regard to the concepts of time, including scholars such as Kant, Hegel, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Derrida, Husserl, etc. See also Gombrich 2000, *passim*. For the ancient Egyptian terminology of time (linear and connected with the solar disc – Ra – *Neheh*; eternal and connected with the Underworld – Osiris – *Djed*), see Brecklinghaus 2002, 221f.

⁸¹² ‘Temporal adjustment’ is used here in agreement with the acknowledged general terminology within postmodern theory. For a summary and discussion, see Murphy 2005, *passim*, esp. p. 126.



Figs. 65-66: Details of grids from the Tomb of Ramose, Valley of the Nobles, left; a Nile crown worn by the god Hapi in Edfu, right. The images show the remains of an original red-painted grid, in which the figures were placed in accordance with the artistic principles. Fig. 65 demonstrates how the lower outline of the kilt follows the horizontal line, and the figure's feet are placed along another horizontal line. Fig. 66 shows how the horizontal lines regulate the upper and lower outlines of the plants. Photos by J. Ward and the author.

Egyptian art was in many ways different from modern ideas of art. Although sometimes applying realistic elements and proper proportions, the Egyptians often adjusted details of each individual figure. This adjustment covered all artistic media, stretching from reliefs to small shabty figurines carefully placed inside the tombs by commemorating family members. The two-dimensional figures of the material are structured in agreement with an assortment of associated pictorial elements. The particulars (and whole figures) could be adjusted in size and position in order to emphasise a specific cultural aspect, or to show a fusion between two individual gods.⁸¹³ Horus, for example, wears the double feather plume with a solar disc when he appears as an adult Harsomtus, while he wears the male Edfu crown (the double crown prior to the Ptolemaic period) in his royal position as Horus of Edfu.⁸¹⁴ As described in Chapter I.2, each image was carefully arranged in terms of space, scale and contextual composition in order to communicate a comprehensive message to the viewer. The (re-)adjustment of such factors conveys the relative importance of each figure and the associations between the individual characters. The fundamental principles of administrating elements make the tallest figure the most important; a concept which will be reassessed here in terms of how to measure full figural size.⁸¹⁵

⁸¹³ For example, Amon-Min, Harakhte (Horus and Ra), etc. Compare Arsinoë-Isis-Hathor.

⁸¹⁴ See for example cat. no. 74 for Harsomtus, and cat. no. 56 for Horus of Edfu. Compare cat. nos. 52-53, and the various Horus-figures with dissimilar crowns. The headdresses and the crowns in the material show a great assortment of minor structural dissimilarities, based on a readministration of size and position of one or several details. I present such divergences in the previous Chapters III.2-4, where they provide the basis for the pictorial classification of individual types.

⁸¹⁵ Robins 2008, 21f. See Chapter I.2 for a general introduction of the ancient system.

RELATIVE SCALING

Relative scaling here refers to an adjustment of size of any given figure or pictorial element in order to emphasise a hierarchic order. This order determines the relative height of the figures, and it can regulate all minor details as well. The cow horns of the crown of Arsinoë, for example, are occasionally scaled down to the size of an amulet, or alternatively enlarged. It is generally accepted that the tallest figure of the scene has the greatest hierarchic status, previously measured in accordance with a horizontal line following the top point of the head, the tip of the nose, or the fringe.⁸¹⁶ Wilkinson once stated that individual differences in height were the result of pure artistic freedom,⁸¹⁷ but the modern viewer has to consider that the artist was heavily ruled by the intended message of the image. The images were actively and intentionally altered, here relating to the enlargement of one object as expressing its higher hierarchic position within the contextual setting of the scene.⁸¹⁸ By using such enlargements of any given pictorial unit of a scene, the hierarchic structure was easier to recognise, and the importance of each figure was clarified.⁸¹⁹

Relative scaling may also relate to age differentiation. Children and youths were distinguished from adults by their smaller size. Youngsters, here represented mainly by the gods Ihy and Harsomtus, measure half the size of the adults in a common scene. As an example, cat. no. 32 illustrates Ptolemy II sacrificing to Isis, a child and Arsinoë. The youngster is smaller in relation to the adults. His identity remains debatable since the text does not identify him: he could be interpreted as either Harpocrates, son of Isis, or the rejuvenated adolescent aspect of Ptolemy II in accordance with artistic conventions.

Similarly, a (human) wife could be reduced in size, generally smaller when standing next to her husband, sometimes hardly reaching up to his knees. This diminution acknowledges a queen as the female royal element of the cultural dualism, but at the same time clarifies that the king is the more important figure in agreement with the message communicated by the monument or scene.⁸²⁰

As mentioned in Chapter I.2, each pictorial element was ruled by the harmony of space and scale, and every individual grid-square and horizontal line was controlled by mathematical and

⁸¹⁶ Bianchi 1988, cat. 14; Vassilika 1989, 14 note 74; R. Wilkinson 1994, chapter 2. This is an artistic convention which was applied frequently in Egyptian art. Relative scaling was introduced together with other iconographical settings during the early dynastic period and developed during the Old Kingdom, where it was represented mainly in funerary art. The use of relative scaling is documented clearly in the famous sculpture of a male dwarf who is equalised in size to his wife through the adjustment of the elements. In this case, the dwarf is placed on a podium, which enables him to reach up to the level of his spouse. See Russmann 1989, 40f. with fig. 14; Schäfer 1919/1974, 234. For a general introduction to Egyptian art, the principles of two-dimensional (as well as three-dimensional) art, and their artistic creational composition, see Robins 2008, 21f. My application of horizontal lines is described below.

⁸¹⁷ R. Wilkinson 1994, 39.

⁸¹⁸ The cultic objects in the crypts of Dendera are given a prominent role, sometimes larger than the deities depicted next to them. This underlines the usage of the crypts as an important ceremonial place, closely related to these objects. Further examples of this relative scaling can be seen in the various war scenes, in which the pharaoh is depicted leaning over his so much smaller enemies in an active position ready to smite them. This latter theme became very fashionable during the New Kingdom with Ramses II and III being two obvious examples, a tradition which was continued by the Ptolemies (compare cat. no. 37-38).

⁸¹⁹ Of course, this is represented not only in the relief work but also in sculpture as well as architecture.

⁸²⁰ Abu Simbel is an example of this relative scaling, as Nefertari is depicted in a little figure next to the legs of her husband in the outside rock-cut sculptures. However, she is more important than Hathor and Isis as she is taller than they are when placed together inside the neighbouring temple.

geometrical orders.⁸²¹ The order of the horizontal lines followed four main bodily particulars, incorporating (from below) a base line upon which the figures stand, knee line, shoulder line and head line (measured more or less from the top of the head), occasionally combined with additional lines arranged in conformity with the breast, navel, hip and calf.⁸²² These traditional orders, however, lacks a horizontal line adequately binding all crowns together, which is demonstrated in the material by a great variety of crown compositions in different styles and sizes.⁸²³ I have, therefore, developed a method incorporating the crown as an instrument and element of individualism, which I suggest functions as the most evident variable particular that can determine a comprehensible and visible differentiation in terms of height. Thereby, I use the ancient horizontal lines as tools to measure and determine the connections between individual pictorial elements, while the new crown line is applied as an instrument of establishing the hierarchic structure.

Combined with the application of the new instrument (crown line), a series of horizontal lines, regardless of number, are drawn above (added to) an original photographic reproduction, following the bodily elements mentioned over, in order to present a basic correspondence between the particulars. A base line follows the feet of the figures, drawn in accordance with their physical connection to the ground. Seated figures are measured in agreement with the lower outline of their thrones. Exceptions include youngsters or smaller figures (such as Ihy), who occasionally stand on a podium or another pictorial element, measured in agreement with the thrones. Lines of the base, calf, knee, hip, navel, breast, shoulder and head in general follow the adult figures of the scenes, common for all, rarely showing any individual inconsistencies.⁸²⁴ If such do occur, I measure the line based on the higher point/figure to use as a line of comparison in terms of physical space.⁸²⁵

As a traditional basis for measuring individual importance, the head line is commonly referred to as ‘isocephaly’, described as “the characteristic of depicting heads of figures at the same level, as in a painting.”⁸²⁶ It is a method of regulating all the figures in a scene by a straight horizontal line, based on the highest point of their heads.⁸²⁷ This regulation is generally believed to prevent figures from looking down at another, foremost based on modern conceptions of social behaviour.⁸²⁸ I do not consider the head line as an appropriate instrument to utilise when establishing a hierarchic structure of a scene, however, since its main aim was to regulate the position of the head, concurring with the administration of other body parts. As mentioned on many occasions, I do not separate the crown from the head of a complete figure, and consequently employ the head line as a supplement rather than a fundamental demarcation

⁸²¹ Lepsius 1897, 234; Kielland 1955, 8f.

⁸²² *LÄ II*, 1201f. I refer to the latter lines as supplementary rather than as direct references. The main catalogue is accompanied by Appendix IV showing a selection of scenes, arranged with this system of horizontal lines. As mentioned in Chapter I.2, Old Kingdom tombs show early examples of grids with horizontal lines following the top of the head, fringe, neck/shoulder, armpit, elbow, hip, knee and base. See Lepsius 1897, 234 (Anhang II).

⁸²³ See foremost Chapter III.3.

⁸²⁴ I measure the calf, hip, navel and breast according to their centred point, and the shoulders and head in agreement with their uppermost point. Below are listed various examples of scenes adequately following these traditional horizontal lines and those demonstrating irregularities.

⁸²⁵ See, however, cat. no. 135, fig. 83, below, which has a head line based on two Horus-figures rather than the tallest figure based on the analysed topic.

⁸²⁶ R. Wilkinson 1994, 46; Head 2008, 514f. See also Chapter I.2 for a general introduction.

<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/isocephaly> (2010-08-06).

⁸²⁷ Scholars occasionally use the fringe, tip of the nose or the chin as alternative elements. See Vassilika 1989, 14 note 74.

⁸²⁸ See R. Wilkinson 1994, 46f. Looking down at another would, according to modern social standards, have a negative significance.

of social or other significance.⁸²⁹ Thus, I consider it necessary when measuring height as an indicator of status on the figures, to use the total height of the figure, including crown, rather than only its head line.

I do not regard minor differentiation between the figures measured in accordance with any one of the bodily lines as sufficient to indicate a hierarchic order: this is why I have developed a new, supplemental instrument for measuring importance, here referred to as a crown line.

The crown line

The method which I present as (measurements of) the crown line applies to Egyptian reliefs exclusively. According to this method, I draw a (imaginary) horizontal line based on the highest peak or detail of the highest crown (crowns). I compare the level of this highest crown to the level(s) of the surrounding crowns, from which the vertical differences of space communicate the intended structural hierarchy: any given difference shows the individual hierarchic positions of the figures of a scene. In other words, the figure wearing the highest crown is the most important figure of the scene.

The previous chapters have demonstrated that each unit of a crown composition had its individual symbolic value, communicating a joint message when placed together. The crown of Arsinoë was created for the queen explicitly. It distinguished her from any surrounding female figures, and strengthened her position in the scene. As each figure received a personal crown, he/she obtained his/her hierarchic positions in the full setting. A figure could increase its size by utilising the crown as a non-regulated element of scale.

Let me demonstrate the importance of the crown line as an instrument with an example from the material. Cat. no. 26L, fig. 67, illustrates Ptolemy II (and Arsinoë) facing Amun (-Ra), Mut and Arsinoë.⁸³⁰ In this relief the male figures lack (major parts of) their bodies, but their crowns are still visible. Their identity is established in the hieroglyphic text. As one of Egypt's most important deities, it was essential to emphasise Amun's prominence in illustrations. The scene shows Amun wearing his traditional crown – a tall, double feather plume. As the crown is present, it enables me to measure the hierarchic structure and the relation between the figures of the full scene. Amun's double feather plume is the tallest of all crowns: therefore, based on the evaluation of the crown line, Amun is the most important figure of the scene according to my method of the highest crown line.

⁸²⁹ This is in agreement with the theoretical premises presented in Chapter I. See also R. Wilkinson 1994, chapter 2; Vassilika 1989, 14 note 74.

⁸³⁰ For my identification of the royal female figure behind Ptolemy see below in this chapter.



Fig. 67: Detail of cat. no. 26L showing the differentiation in height in terms of a crown line.

Another reason for introducing and developing the method of the crown line is that I have observed inconsistencies in the use of isocephaly in Egyptian art. As mentioned above, Wilkinson states that isocephaly was applied in order to prevent figures from looking down at another.⁸³¹ However, the two uppermost horizontal lines of cat. no. 11, fig. 68 below, show the problems with isocephaly: the top of Ptolemy II's head is slightly higher than the heads of Arsinoë and Hathor, and far higher than those of Horus and Sarapis. In fact, the head of the Pharaoh reaches the same level as the solar crown of Sarapis. Evidently, the head line fails to organise the figures adequately in accordance with a common horizontal line, although the shoulder line does. Such a discrepancy could indicate that the relief was created in haste. More importantly, it demonstrates that the theoretical foundation of isocephaly is inadequate and needs reconsideration.

If equalising the discrepancy in the head line by combining it with the measurements of the crown line, however, it is clear how the height of the figure of Horus is comparable to the height of the king in agreement with my method. Therefore, the structure of status reveals that the King and Horus hold the highest rank within the scene, with Arsinoë third.

⁸³¹ R. Wilkinson 1994, 46. This is, to my knowledge, a modern conception of ancient Egyptian art.



Fig. 68: The scene shows Ptolemy II (far right) venerating (from right) Harsomtus on the podium, Horus, Hathor, Sarapis and Arsinoë. Five horizontal lines have been added to the original scene, showing Horus and Ptolemy II as the tallest figures according to the crown line. The shoulder line is common for all, while the knee line is limited to the adults. Notice the variation in the head line between Arsinoë, Sarapis and Ptolemy II. The image is a detail of cat. no. 11.

Cat. no. 13, fig. 69, is a second example of a scene with a hierarchic structure on which the application of a crown line might shed new light. The scene depicts Ptolemy II and Arsinoë, and has been a topic of an ongoing scholarly debate regarding the placement of the figures and the indicated social positions. Quaegebeur has argued that Arsinoë has a superior role based on her placement on the left side, where she stands in the position occupied by the ‘beneficiary’ and also faces right, symbolising dominance as discussed in the introduction.⁸³² However, due to Ptolemy’s position as the higher figure according to the rules of isocephaly, Bianchi declared an equal status between the figures based on Ptolemy’s slightly higher head line.⁸³³ Utilising the crown line as an instrument for measuring hierarchy, Arsinoë is identified as superior in height, which agrees with Quaegebeur’s idea and her placement.

Ptolemy’s head line is hidden underneath his crown, which is why I followed the (visible) top of Arsinoë’s head instead, indicating a level equal to Ptolemy’s eye brow.⁸³⁴ In terms of corresponding pictorial elements, the head line regulates the uppermost part of the vulture head (of the cap). Whereas Ptolemy’s navel is placed somewhat higher, the shoulder and hip lines are common for both figures. The shoulder line controls the position of Ptolemy’s elbow, and the hip line corresponds with the upper outlines of the couple’s hands. By adding another (imaginary) horizontal line following the lower outlines of Arsinoë’s hand, the scene reveals another irregularity in terms of scale, noticeable when comparing the couple’s hands. In terms

⁸³² Quaegebeur 1971, 239. See also Quaegebeur 1970, *passim*. For my terminology of benefactor and beneficiaries, see below.

⁸³³ Bianchi 1988, cat. 14.

⁸³⁴ The figures are evidently differentiated also if using the nose or eye brow as a point of measurement, such as presented by Vassilika 1989, 14 note 74.

of a general artistic administration, cat. no. 13 shows a great discrepancy: a topic which is further discussed below.

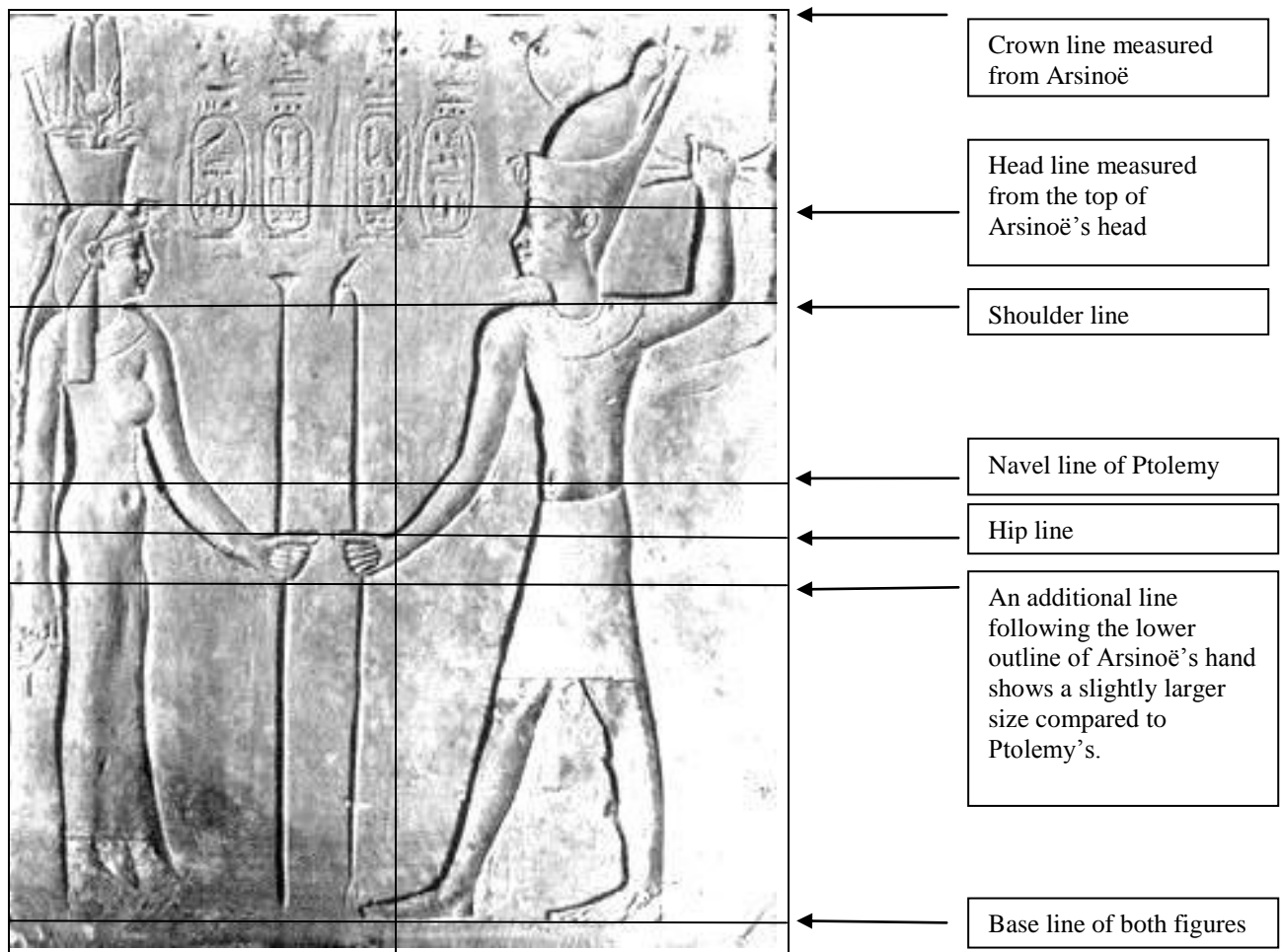


Fig. 69: Various horizontal lines are added to this detail of cat. no. 13, showing Ptolemy II and Arsinoë. Ptolemy II can be interpreted as the taller figure according to the rules of isocephaly. However, according to the crown line, Arsinoë is the taller figure (feathers reaching to the top of the grid).

The process of estimating the cultural status of each figure according to the crown line is combined with a study of the correlation of other pictorial components.⁸³⁵ In order to conduct such an analysis, I use the conventional ancient Egyptian horizontal lines of measurement as described above.⁸³⁶ Below, figs. 70-73 will demonstrate my application of these lines in accordance with the head, the shoulder, the knee, and the base upon which the figure stand, combined with the new crown line. As the first example, two main lines, following the knee and base, join Ptolemy II and Arsinoë equally in cat. no. 10, fig. 70. The knee line simultaneously concurs with the top, flat surface of the altar placed between the couple. All other horizontal lines, however, fail to unite the corresponding elements of the king and queen. To demonstrate the physical difference in terms of space, the lines of the crown, head and

⁸³⁵ Such correlation is important to document in order to understand the complexity and entirety of any given scene. Bodily associated lines that do not correspond with another may indicate the lack of an original grid, a poor state of artistry, or a scene carried out in haste. It could, furthermore, identify a relief as a workman's draft never meant to be shown to the public.

⁸³⁶ See Chapter I.

shoulders are based on the image of Arsinoë as she marks the higher points.⁸³⁷ Arsinoë's left-side position combined with her height (being slightly taller than Ptolemy II) demonstrates that she is the subject of the scene. All other differentiations, in terms of height and based on the horizontal lines, are interpreted here as indications of poor artistry rather than of a hierarchic order.⁸³⁸

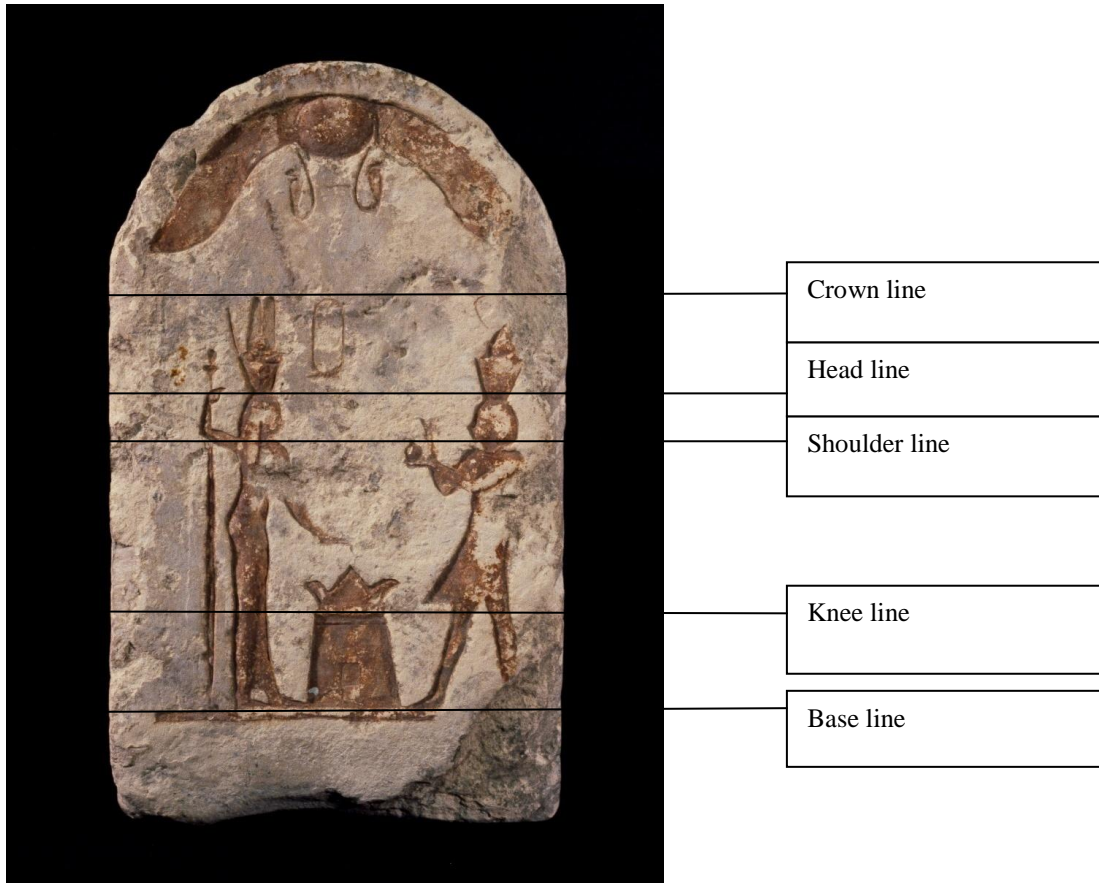


Fig. 70: Cat. no. 10 shows Ptolemy II presenting sacrifices to Arsinoë. Five horizontal lines have been added to the original scene, all following Arsinoë's bodily elements.

⁸³⁷ Her shoulder line corresponds with Ptolemy II's chin and the back part of his wig. The other two lines do not adequately connect with any other pictorial element.

⁸³⁸ See below for a possible differentiation between stelai and temple reliefs.



Fig. 71: Cat. no. 15R shows Ptolemy II and Arsinoë (right) venerating the local deities of Athribis (left). Five horizontal lines have been added. Arsinoë's crown line is the highest, thereby making her the subject of the scene. The shoulder line is based on the figures' resting arms.

The lines added to cat. no. 15R, fig. 71, rule the position of the head, shoulder, knee and base for all standing figures. The figural elements of the seated Osiris concur with the lines of the head and shoulders, and the lowest part of the throne follows the base line shared by all. The crown line clearly establishes Arsinoë as the more important figure, and it agrees with the upper outline of her cartouche (the head line provides a lower line). Smaller insufficiencies in terms of corresponding pictorial elements in the figure of Osiris may suggest that the artist did not arrange the scene according to a grid, and/or that the work was carried out in haste. As will be demonstrated below, details of a seated figure generally share horizontal lines with standing adult figures, which accordingly should have joined Osiris' corner box with the knee line, and his shoulders with the main shoulder line.⁸³⁹



Fig. 72: Cat. no. 26R shows Ptolemy II (far right) holding Ma'at before (from the right) Amun, Khonsu and Arsinoë at Karnak. The crown line establishes Amun as the most important figure of the scene. Note that all the other lines are equal for all the figures, as far as can be seen.

⁸³⁹ For the corner box, see Chapter III.5. See fig. 76, cat. no. 84, below.

The crown line in cat. no. 26R, fig. 72, authenticates Amun as the figure of highest rank, placing Arsinoë as second. In terms of the traditional horizontal lines, only those of the head and shoulder join the figures accurately since the male figures lack their lower bodies. The head line of the main characters creates a crown line for the offering figure of Ma'at (wearing her traditional *atef* feather as a crown), while the shoulder line functions as her base line (if excluding the *neb* basket in which she is seated). The crown line remains the only (visible) indication of a hierarchic differentiation.

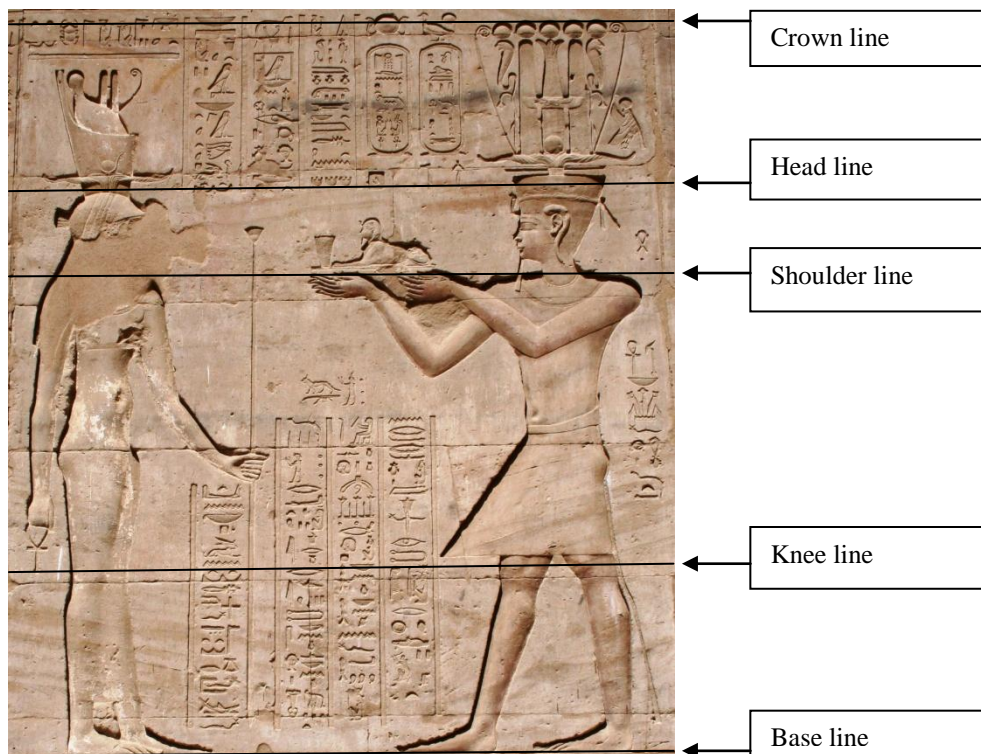


Fig. 73: Cat. no. 47 show Ptolemy VIII and Hathor of Dendera in the Edfu Temple. The crown line establishes Ptolemy as the more important figure. The four lower lines are similar for both figures.

Fig. 73, cat. no. 47, shows Ptolemy VIII and Hathor of Dendera. The four lower lines accurately join the figures in terms of space and scale, and the crown line, as the most evident individual line, establishes Ptolemy as more important in terms of status. Their shoulder line concurs with Ptolemy's hands and the tray holding a sacrifice, and the knee line agrees with the lowest point of Hathor's *ankh*. This scene evidently follows the ancient principles of geometrical symmetry.

This brief analysis of figs. 69-73 reveals that the temple reliefs (figs. 72-73) were created in accordance with the ancient conventions of a geometrical system, as each pictorial element is regulated by traditional horizontal lines. The four lower (traditional) horizontal lines link the figures according to a clear level of symmetry. The stelai (figs. 69-71), on the other hand, seem to lack any clear geometrical directives: they were plausibly created without a grid or system of horizontal lines, instead following the individual hand of the artist. As such, the figures and contextual elements were based on the artist's interpretation of iconography and the message to be reproduced, possibly disregarding the sacred symbolism embedded in the traditional

geometrical orders.⁸⁴⁰ All scenes consistently show that the crown line most evidently indicates the highest hierarchic standing among the figures.

Let me continue to demonstrate the importance of using the crown line as an instrument with further examples from the material, to which are added a few more horizontal lines, also in order to study the correspondence between contextual elements. As a first example, I have added two supplementary horizontal lines to cat. no. 79, fig. 74, relating to the navel and hip (nos. 4 and 5), which are combined with the five lines used above. The scene, thus, incorporates seven horizontal lines. The supplementary lines demonstrate in more detail how all particulars are connected in a clear symmetrical relationship of mathematic calculations. Evidently, the crown line differentiate the figures, and, thus, indicates rank. Labelled as no. 2, the head line joins the heads of Emperor Augustus and Hathor, whereas Horus' head is somewhat lower based on his anthropomorphic character (shown with an animal head). This line simultaneously marks more or less an individual crown line for the offering figure, Ma'at. The shoulder line, which is common for all adults, regulates Ma'at's lower outlines and Augustus' right hand. Marked as no. 4, the navel line again connects the adult figures, as it incorporates the smaller figures of Ihy, forming their shoulder line. The hip line joins Augustus and Hathor, although placed slightly too high in regard to Horus. This line makes a navel line for the two youngsters and fixes the upper part of the adults' hands. The knee line, here no. 6, binds together all adult figures, while it functions as a base line for the youngsters. The two figures of Ihy are placed on top of the Egyptian unification symbol, the *sema*, which connects them with the base line common for all. Overall, the scene displays highly calculated positions for each pictorial element.



Fig. 74: Cat. no. 79 shows Emperor Augustus (to the right) presenting the figure of Ma'at to Hathor and Horus (left), accompanied by two figures of Ihy (middle). The scene has seven horizontal lines: 1: crown line; 2: head line; 3: shoulder line; 4: navel line; 5: hip line; 6: knee line; 7: base line.

⁸⁴⁰ A possible differentiation between stelai and temple reliefs will be further discussed below.



Fig. 75: Cat. no. 82 illustrates Emperor Augustus (to the left) with Ihy and Hathor. Seven horizontal lines are added to the photographed scene: 1: crown line; 2: head line; 3: shoulder line; 4: navel line; 5: hip line; 6: knee line; 7: base line.

In fig. 75 the crown line places Hathor as the more important figure based on only a minimal physical differentiation in height. Most horizontal lines below connect Augustus and Hathor, except for the navel and hip lines which are slightly higher on Hathor. The head line functions as an individual crown line for the offering (figure of Ma'at wearing an *atef* feather), and the general shoulder line forms its base line. The knee line of the adults follows the lowest point of Ihy's outstretched arm. The navel line directs the lower point of the elbows of the adults, and the hip line becomes an individual crown line for Ihy who stands on the base line common for all. The figure of Ihy is regulated, therefore, by other norms than for the youngsters in fig. 74, above.

When comparing (foremost) fig. 75 (cat. no. 82) to fig. 74 (cat. no. 79) it is evident that the lower horizontal lines lack an absolutely defined principle for regulating contextual particulars since they vary. In fig. 74 the shoulder line moderates the highest point of Augustus' hand (compare Ptolemy VIII's in fig. 73), whereas it pierces it in fig. 75. This can be compared with the hip line in fig. 69 which controls the upper outlines of the hands, whereas it pierces the centre of Hathor's hand in fig. 75. These irregularities indicate that the horizontal lines were arranged according to a fundamental principle, but that additional pictorial elements could be adjusted independently.



Fig. 76: Cat. no. 84 shows Emperor Nero (far left) before (from the left) Hathor, Isis and Harsomtus. Nine horizontal lines are added to this scene: 1: crown line; 2: head line; 3: shoulder line; 4: navel line; 5: hip line; 6: knee line; 7: base line; *a*: breast line; *b*: calf line.

Fig. 76, cat. no. 84, represents an example of a scene with seated figures. The details of the scene enables an increase of horizontal lines, including a breast line and a calf line, marked as *a* and *b* respectively. The crown line establishes Nero as most important. The head line is common for all except for Harsomtus, who is illustrated as an anthropomorphic figure with a falcon head (consequently having a lower head line than the others). The main head line guides the upmost point of the sistrum (held by the emperor), which is bordered on its lower end by the breast line, no. 3, which also establishes the lower part of the wigs of Isis and Harsomtus. The navel line, no. 4, connects the figures, piercing all their elbows. No. 5, Nero's hip line, concurs with the seat of the thrones, representing a knee line for the deities. The main knee line, no. 6, agrees with the highest point of the corner box. Line *b* links Nero's calf with the base line of the deities, and with the lower point of the seats and corner boxes. The emperor's base line connects him with the base of the thrones of the deities. Again, the crown line separates the figures in height, establishing Nero as the most important, whereas all the other lower lines follow symmetric regulations.

The scenes studied above confirm that temple reliefs were regulated and adjusted by a series of horizontal lines created to connect individual elements according to geometrical principles. The importance of applying a crown line as an instrument has been established and substantiated as the most evident horizontal line determining a hierarchic order within a scene. In order to investigate all aspects of the scenes in regard to horizontal lines, three scenes are examined below, based exclusively on the pictorial units of the crowns. Since the crowns are excluded from the ancient overall horizontal systems, I will study their details in order to confirm or dismiss a possible correspondence of individual units of the crowns. Such an analysis develops the foundation of my implemented theory of a crown line as an individual indicator of status. I have added a series of horizontal lines to all three examples/scenes based on the integral structural parts of the crown of Arsinoë.

Fig. 77 shows an enhanced detail of cat. no. 3, illustrating Ptolemy II and Arsinoë. Four horizontal lines are added to the photographed representation, incorporating the crown and head lines described above with two additional lines based on individual details of the crown

of Arsinoë. In fig. 77 a linear relationship between the top of the double feathers of Arsinoë and the highest point of her cartouche is expressed, and the crown line clearly establishes Arsinoë as more important. Line 2, the highest point of Arsinoë's cow horns, relates to an upper part of Ptolemy II's *atef* crown, although excluding the small disc on top. The platform of the red crown does not match any of the individual pictorial details in Ptolemy's crown, whereas the head line connects the couple.

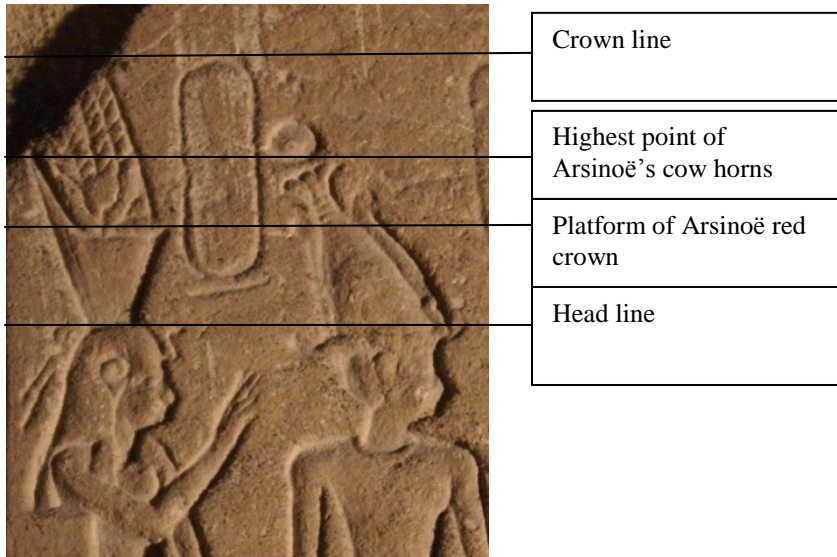


Fig. 77: Detail of cat. no. 3 showing Ptolemy II and Arsinoë.



Fig. 78: The detail of cat. no. 4 shows Ptolemy II and Arsinoë: 1: crown line; 2: highest point of Arsinoë's cow horns; 3: upper outlines of Arsinoë's ram horns (and lower outlines of cow horns); 4: platform of Arsinoë's red crown; 5: head line; 6: fringe/ear line; 7: line following the nose tip; 8: chin line.

In fig. 78, cat. no. 4, Arsinoë's superiority over Ptolemy II is demonstrated in terms of height and based on the crown line. The upper horizontal lines provided are based on the details of the crown of Arsinoë (nos. 1-4), the lower ones follow her facial features (5-8). The upper lines show no obvious connection between the individual details of the crown of Arsinoë and the crown worn by Ptolemy II. On the other hand, the lower lines, following the fringe or the eye brow, the ear, the nose tip and the chin, generally concur. Fig. 78 displays the uniqueness of each crown structure, thus confirming my theory of a crown line as based on an individual symbolism.



Fig. 79: The detail of cat. no. 13 shows Ptolemy II and Arsinoë: 1: crown line; 2: highest point of Arsinoë's cow horns; 3: platform of Arsinoë's red crown; 4: head line.

Once more recalling cat. no. 13, fig. 79 shows a scene with Ptolemy II and Arsinoë to which have been added horizontal lines, similar to the two previous scenes. The crown line is confirmed above to establish Arsinoë as more important. Line no. 2 demonstrates a consistency between the highest points of the red crown and the cow horns in the crown of Arsinoë, but it does not correlate with any details in Ptolemy's crown. Line 3 follows the back of Ptolemy's hand, but it is unrelated to Ptolemy's crown details.

The three examples together reveal that the crown was a very individual pictorial element, and if there were two or more shown, they were not regulated externally by any corresponding lines. Although the units of a crown may show a general geometrical order within a crown composition, there is nothing to suggest a contextual correlation. This validates the crown line as the most obvious and direct instrument in understanding ancient Egyptian hierarchic structures as far as reliefs are concerned. As a result of introducing and applying my new method of a crown line, Table 22, below, it can be demonstrated that Arsinoë is the tallest figure, consequently the most important, in 22 scenes (23 figures) and equal to the other figures in five scenes. Except for cat. no. 142, all later Ptolemaic queens are depicted as the tallest figure. Hathor is the tallest figure in 74 scenes (75 figures), and equal to others in another 13 scenes. There is no evident association between height and the type of crown worn by Arsinoë, the later Ptolemaic queens and Hathor.

Table 22: Height of the female figures according to the crown line

The table lists first scenes that establish the female figures as the tallest, and secondly those that are equal to surrounding figures. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted within the column of later female figures in order to separate them from the Hathoric figures.

Height	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of figures
Tallest figure	2R, 3, 5-8, 10, ⁸⁴¹ 13, 15L-R, 17, 19-20, 22-25, ⁸⁴² 28-29, 31, 33-34, 36	39-41, 45-46, 48, 50-51, 57, 59, 61-66, 68, 70-72, 76, 80-82, 85-87, 90, 92-93, 95, 97-99, 101-104, 106-109, 111-114, 116, 118-123, 125, 127, 129-132, 135-141, 145L-148, 152-155, 156-158	101
Equal height with surrounding figures ⁸⁴³	4, ⁸⁴⁴ 18, 27, 32, ⁸⁴⁵ 35 ⁸⁴⁶	49, 54-56, 60, 67, 73-74, 83, 88, 100, 149, 151	18

Pictorial elements as tools of height (size) regulation

Above, figs. 74 and 76 have revealed the utilisation of alternative particulars as instruments to increase the height of any given figure. Frequently, the material identifies a throne or a *sema* sign as such an instrument. Accordingly, fig. 80, the Mendes stela, illustrates on the right side a naturalistically represented ram standing on a podium. The artist manages to maintain the ram's realistic form and still correlate it with surrounding figures in accordance with a common head line by adding a plinth upon which the ram stands. The scene provides another example of relative scaling in order to express an age differentiation. Standing behind the naturalistic ram, Harpocrates is half the size of the adults. His importance, however, is indicated and increased by adding a podium that enables him to reach a higher level, although remaining differentiated from the adults. Due to the conventions of representative age in Egyptian art, Harpocrates would never attain a position fully equal to the adult figures surrounding him.

⁸⁴¹ The crown spiral of Ptolemy reaches almost as high as the full crown of Arsinoë, although slightly differentiated.

⁸⁴² Arsinoë is illustrated as the tallest figure in her immediate surroundings in cat. no. 25. However, in the full scene, she is placed on an equal level with Montu.

⁸⁴³ This sometimes does not include all surrounding figures, but just the tallest figures. See the notes of the individual cat. nos.

⁸⁴⁴ Arsinoë is equal in size with Seshat and Berenice II, all figures of the left section of this scene. The tallest figure overall is Amon-Ra, who is standing on the right section.

⁸⁴⁵ Arsinoë is the same height as Isis in cat. nos. 27 and 32, although both are higher than Ptolemy II.

⁸⁴⁶ Arsinoë is higher than Ptolemy II, but equal to Berenice II.

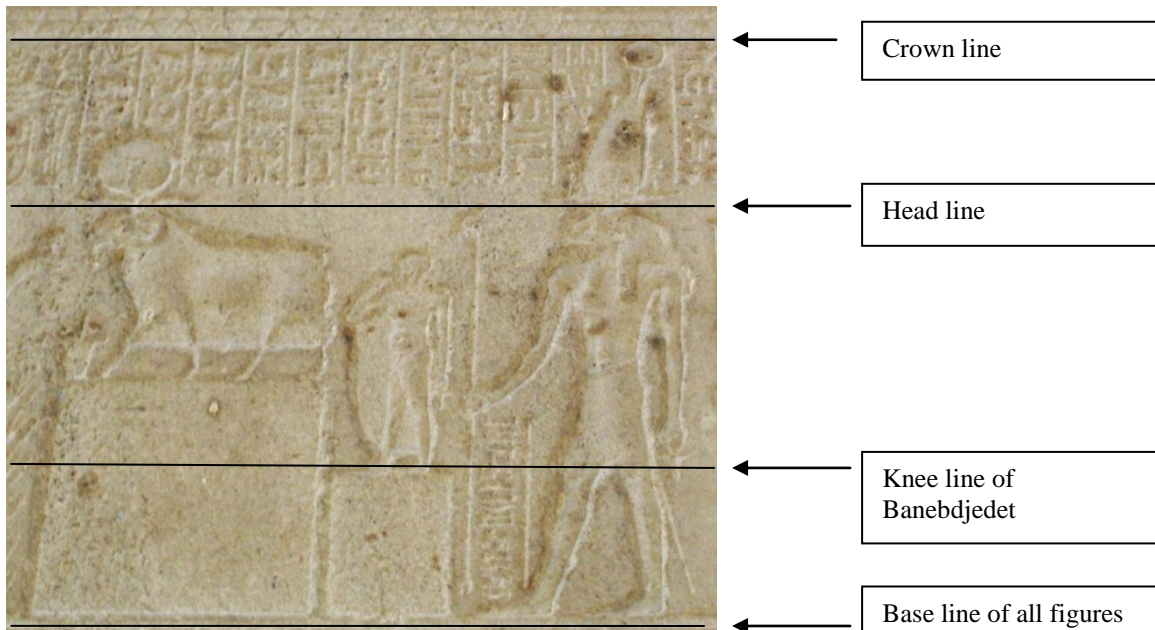


Fig. 80: The detail of cat. no. 1 shows, from the left, the newborn, incarnated ram god, followed by Harpocrates and the deceased Banebdjedet, all identified in the hieroglyphic text. All horizontal lines are based on the adult Banebdjedet. The knee line concurs with the platform upon which Harpocrates stands. The head line unites the adult Banebdjedet with the newly incarnated ram.

As a non-biologic part of the figure, the crown is an optional addition to each individual, but its direct attachment to the body enables it to be included as a status indicator. Similarly, any figure could be enhanced, or generally size manipulated, by the inclusion of handheld objects. In terms of the crown line, fig. 81 establishes Queen Cleopatra (I) as more important as she reaches a higher level than her husband, Ptolemy V. However, through the utilisation of a handheld object (spear), Ptolemy V attains a height equal to his sister-wife. Consequently, I identify the couple as hierarchically equal.⁸⁴⁷

⁸⁴⁷ Of course, this is of great interest due to the theme of the scene, which I classify as dynastic. See Chapter III.6, Dynastic scenes.

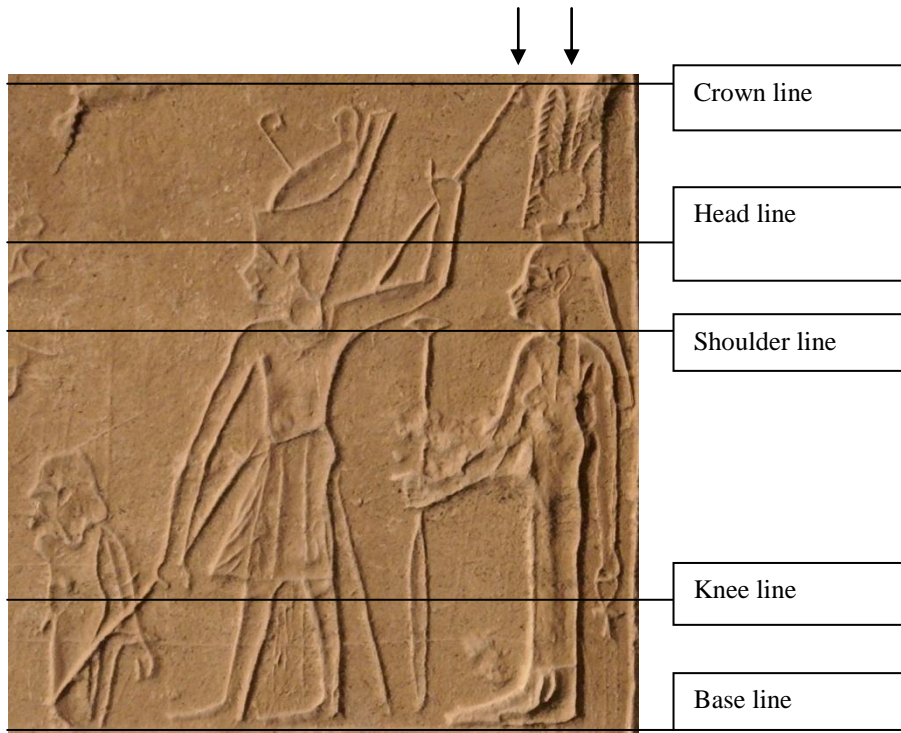


Fig. 81: The detail of cat. no. 3 shows Ptolemy V, Cleopatra I and the captive enemy. The crown line establishes Cleopatra as the more important figure, but due to the height of the handheld object, Ptolemy V increases his size. Thus, the couple reaches an equality of size by an application of additional elements.

The magnification of images, as a form of relative scaling, was also used for individual pictorial elements and non-human illustrations. Some of the scenes in the crypts of Dendera, figs. 82-84 (cat. nos. 134-136), demonstrate such an amplification. Ceremonial objects, such as the *menit* collar and the *djed* pillar, are illustrated in a size equivalent to the human and the divine figures of the scenes, considerably larger than their actual size.



Fig. 82: The detail of cat. no. 134 shows an example of enlarged particulars, such as the *djed* pillar and the two gigantic lotus buds. Photo by the author.



Figs. 83-84: The left scene, cat. no. 135, shows (marked with a vertical arrow) the enlarged *menit* collar located behind Ma'at and Ihy, with Hator positioned in the left opposite corner. The right figure, cat. no. 134, demonstrates the size manipulated falcon-figure of Horus together with the newborn Harsomtus, as a serpent, and Hator. The horizontal lines refer to the crown, the head, the knee, and the base. The head line is based on Hator. The relative scale of the falcon figure has evidently been manipulated and does not correspond to a realistic size. Photos by the author.

As a final example of relative scaling, I choose to examine the cartouche, although it has a more textual significance.⁸⁴⁸ The text inside the cartouche has a linguistic value, but I regard the shape of the cartouche to have a symbolic essence, being a part of the overall scene.⁸⁴⁹ The cartouche reflected royalty and a divine legacy, simultaneously identifying the figure(s) illustrated.⁸⁵⁰ Cartouches in general follow certain principles of position: they are foremost located in a personal register of text, placed in front of the head of the figure they describe.⁸⁵¹ However, the material reveals a few examples of scenes, exclusively located in the Philae Temple, making Arsinoë's cartouches unconventional.⁸⁵² These plausibly date to the period immediately following Arsinoë's death, thus to the reign of Ptolemy II. The unusual placement of Arsinoë's designations may indicate an artist unaware of all conventions, or, as I argue, a transit period relating to Arsinoë's death, as she advanced from a queen to full goddess. The irregularity of these cartouches, however, relates more to relative placement than scaling.⁸⁵³

⁸⁴⁸ The full context of the scene, I argue, must be included in any given iconographic/semiotic investigation. Compare R. Wilkinson 1994, 46f.

⁸⁴⁹ It is common knowledge that the cartouches could be left un-inscribed during the Graeco-Roman period.

⁸⁵⁰ The hieroglyphic sign of a cartouche has a symbolic significance of eternity and power.

⁸⁵¹ These are principles which are followed in a majority of the scenes under current study.

⁸⁵² Cat. nos. 27-29. Compare cat. no. 36 which lacks a traditional identification of the queen. See below and Chapter III.8.

⁸⁵³ Not all royal figures are preserved with a cartouche, and some cartouches are left un-inscribed, either by intention or due to natural wear and tear. The lack of a descriptive cartouche prevents an absolute identification of the figure.

In order to briefly study a possible arrangement of the cartouches in accordance with horizontal lines, I have chosen a few examples from the material. This could possibly shed some light on the applied artistic conventions. Even if the hieroglyphic designations have faded over time, the royal figures in cat. no. 3, fig. 85, are preserved with individual cartouches. These are dissimilar in size, width, position, and symmetry. The two added lines in fig. 85 follow the uppermost and lowest points of Arsinoë's cartouche (far left), unequal to the others as they are placed on either a higher or lower level or are smaller. Some are deeply carved, other shallower. This dissimilarity indicates that the artist created the relief without using a conventional grid system. Consequently, it can be concluded that cat. no. 3 is not ruled by traditional principles of proportion, and that the asymmetric order indicates a relief probably created in haste.

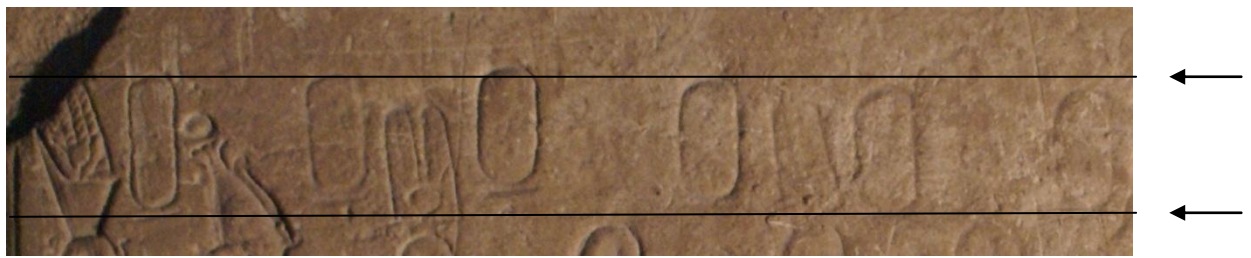


Fig.85: The image shows the six royal cartouches of cat. no. 3. Two indicating lines are added to the image based on the uppermost and lowest points of Arsinoë's cartouche.

Opposite to cat. no. 3, cat. no. 4, fig. 86, displays cartouches that seemingly follow an artistic grid, but that show another irregularity. According to Chapter III.8, below, a cartouche is in general surrounded by both preceding (prefix) and succeeding (suffix) hieroglyphic text, placing traditional royal titles as prefixes and more individual epithets as suffixes. If a scene includes two or more royal figures, their titles are (visually) organised according to a common style, including corresponding prefixes and suffixes. The cartouches in cat. no. 4, however, are on some occasions placed above the epithets, alternatively below, although the complete text (incorporating both cartouches and epithets) always remains within a constant space.⁸⁵⁴



Fig.86: This detail of cat. no.4 shows the personal register of text of two Ptolemaic couples. A grid system has been placed above the photographed original. The position of the cartouches and the epithets are dissimilar, but the overall text more or less follows an equal scale.⁸⁵⁵

⁸⁵⁴ The differentiation relates to the character of the figure it describes. Ptolemy II's and Arsinoë's cartouches are documented above the epithets, opposing the cartouches of the *theoi Soteres* which are placed below.

⁸⁵⁵ The scene could not be photographed in a direct front angle due to the light reflection in the protecting glass. As a consequence, the reproduced photograph was taken slightly from the side, and is, therefore, not completely horizontally accurate.



Fig. 87: This detail of cat. no. 15L shows Ptolemy II and Arsinoë.
The cartouches are dissimilar in their structural organisation, but are equal in size and position.

In the overall material, the structure of the cartouches indicates that a grid or horizontal lines has been used. Although minor variations occur, most cartouches are equal in size.⁸⁵⁶ This brief analysis, however, demonstrates that the placement of the hieroglyphic designations does not follow the same conventions as iconography in general.⁸⁵⁷

Non-symbolic size representation?

In his discussion on equality of size, Wilkinson provides the reader with two examples of (what he interprets as) non-symbolic size representation.⁸⁵⁸ Firstly, he refers to seated and crouched figures as not falling within the limits defined by the common horizontal lines (based on surrounding standing figures), secondly to a pharaoh in a smiting pose who is compared to his equally sized captured enemies. I disagree with Wilkinson's theory of non-symbolic size representation, based on the conventional calculations applied in Egyptian art as documented above. The material makes it obvious that each pictorial unit was carefully chosen in order to stress a certain figural aspect or an overall relationship. I chose the figure of Ma'at as an example since she is illustrated in a squatting position in several scenes. She is placed on a plinth in cat. no. 131, fig. 88, in order to increase her height, here becoming even taller than the ruler.

⁸⁵⁶ The temple cartouches of Arsinoë, cat. nos. 16-18, 21-22, 24, 34-35, are mainly on the same level as those of Ptolemy II, while being smaller compared to the cartouches of the ruling monarch in the same scene. However, some scenes, cat. nos. 19, 25, illustrate the cartouches of Arsinoë and Ptolemy II on an equal level and size to those of the ruling pharaoh. In scenes where Ptolemy II sacrifices to Arsinoë the cartouches are placed on either an equal level, cat. nos. 23, 26, 30, 33, or on a totally different level, cat. nos. 27-29, 31-32. In the latter position, the cartouche of Arsinoë is located on a higher horizontal level (cat. nos. 27-28, 31), next to the knees (cat. no. 29) or on a higher vertical level in the main personal register (cat. no. 32).

⁸⁵⁷ This brief analysis of the (royal) designations cannot be applied to the Hathoric titles, since those designations follow other conventions, and does not use a cartouche.

⁸⁵⁸ R. Wilkinson 1994, 46f.

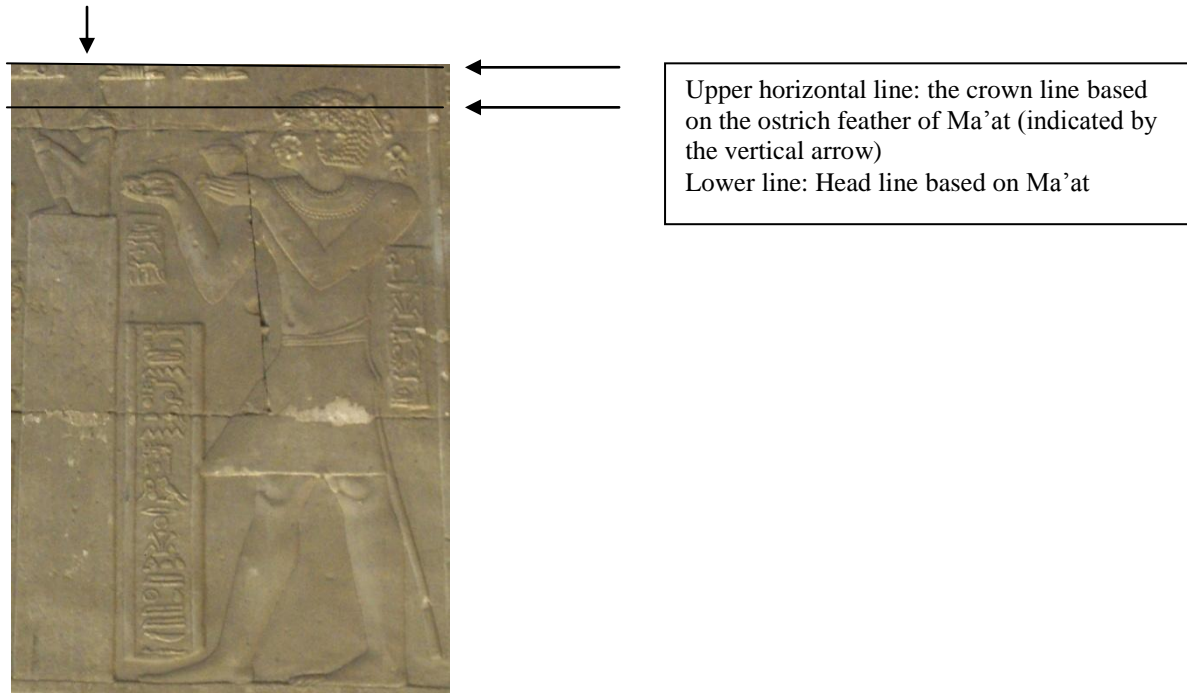


Fig. 88: The detail of cat. no. 131 shows an unidentified Ptolemaic king standing behind the figure of Ma'at. The artist manages to increase the height of Ma'at by adding a plinth. Ma'at's head line concurs with the highest point of the King's eye brow.

Wilkinson's second example, referring to the pharaoh and the captured enemies, may have symbolic associations with social status. The size of the front enemy reveals his individual cultural status, and as the scene establishes his importance, the pharaoh simultaneously proves his own power since he managed to defeat this foe. Consequently, I cannot recognise the scene as focusing on the enemy, but interpret it instead as a reflection of a pharaoh managing to uphold Ma'at, universal harmony, by defeating such a strong enemy. The triumph over evil, even when it was equal in rank to the pharaoh, was the greatest victory for any king and it placed him in his correct cultural position as the embodiment of the all so powerful Horus. The enemies in the material, cat. nos. 3, 37-38 (51: hippopotamus), are all depicted in a smaller size.

RELATIVE PLACEMENT

—

BENEFACTOR AND BENEFICIARY

Relative placement refers to an (re-)arrangement of location of the images of a scene. It encompasses the figures' directional positions, and their association with others. Relative placement also applies to the (re-)location of pictorial details. The ram horns of the crown of Arsinoë, for example, are occasionally located below, alternatively above, the red crown.⁸⁵⁹ Here, an active position refers to a figure who worships, is in motion, or dynamically participates in a ceremony. Figures placed in an active position generally stand on the opposite side of the deities, symbolically separating themselves from the divine world. This position is frequently held by the pharaoh, or the royal couple, illustrated as performing a sacrifice.⁸⁶⁰ He, or she, is the active benefactor.

⁸⁵⁹ For my interpretation of this dissimilarity is given in Chapter III.3.

⁸⁶⁰ For examples of temple symbolism within the positions, see Baines 1976; Vassilika 1989.

To my knowledge, it was exclusively the ruling pharaoh/queen who could be in the position of active adoration.⁸⁶¹ It is implausible that a ruling pharaoh/queen would illustrate his/her father/mother or ancestor in this position: based on the Egyptian religious conventions, the deceased pharaoh was believed to enter the Underworld as a manifestation of Osiris.⁸⁶² As such he was no longer separated from the divine world. Based on this convention, and if not otherwise stated, I date all scenes with Arsinoë in an active benefactor's position to her lifetime. Optionally, these scenes refer to her social position as queen. An inactive beneficiary's position correspondingly determines the figure as deities, alternatively deceased ancestors, receiving the veneration of the ruling pharaoh. Inactive deities are thus referred to as beneficiaries.

As noted above, Egyptian temple reliefs generally follow certain conventions. As an example, in his article about temple symbolism, J. Baines states that field processions, depicted at the bottom register, always lead to the inner sanctuary. In most scenes, the king faces the *naos*, whilst deities face outwards.⁸⁶³ I refer to this type of correlating placement as a 'directional position'. A king facing inwards and the deities outwards, emphasise the symbolic principles of the pharaoh as a visiting benefactor, piously honouring the deities, the beneficiaries and the dwellers of the temple. Although it was custom for the pharaoh to bring forward sacrifices, the material includes scenes depicting him in a running, kneeling or a smiting position. Pharaonic conventions furthermore regulate that all deities are in a standing pose when illustrated in a lower register, on dado decorations, jambs and pillars: otherwise, gods located in any other structural part of the temple should be seated on a throne.⁸⁶⁴ Table 23, below, documents the positional placement of the female figures under current study.

⁸⁶¹ However, cat. no. 25 expresses a similar theme where 46 individual deities praise the sun disc. Notice that I separate adoration from praising in accordance with Chapter III.6, Settings of the scenes.

⁸⁶² See cat. no. 1 and Arsinoë's deification, describing how her soul left her body to join with the heavenly gods.

⁸⁶³ Baines 1976. Vassilika 1989, 14f. has documented exceptions in this convention, where the king faces away from the inner sanctuary. She concludes that this is connected with the statement of the scene, in which the function of the room is emphasised.

⁸⁶⁴ See Vassilika 1989, 17 for a similar discussion on the results of her studies on Philae.

Table 23: Positions of the female figures

The various positions are classified in the left column according to benefactor, beneficiary, the side of the scene, and the physical placement as standing or sitting. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted within the column of later female figures in order to separate them from the Hathoric figures.

Position in the scene	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of figures
Benefactor	1L, 8-9, 12?, 15L-R, 26L	142, 156-158	11
Beneficiary	1R-7, 10-11, 13-14, 16-19, 21-24, 26L-35 ⁸⁶⁵	37-88, 90-141, 143-155 ⁸⁶⁶	149
Left side (facing right)	1L, 2R, 3-5, 7-15L, 16, 18-21, 23-26R, ⁸⁶⁷ 28-30, 32, 35	38, 43-47, 50, 53, 55, 58-59, 66, 71-80, 95-97, 105-106, 108-112, 121, 123, 127-128, 131, 134-136, 143, 145R, 147, 151-152	74
Right side (facing left)	1R-2L, 6, 15R, 17, 22, 26L, 27, 31, 33-34, 36	37, 39-42, 48-49, 51-52, 54, 56-57, 60-65, 67-70, 81-94, 98-104, 107, 113-120, 122, 124-126, 129-130, 132-133, 137-141, 144-145L, 146, 148-150, 153-155, 156-158 ⁸⁶⁸	89
Standing	1L-19, 21-36	37-38, 43, 47-49, 52-62, 64-71, 73, 78-79, 82-83, 86, 88-89, 92-96, 99, 102-104, 106-107, 109-111, 113-116, 120, 122, 124, 126-129, 137-140, 142, 146, 148, 151-154, 156-158	111
Sitting	20	39-42, 44-46, 50-51, 63, 72, 74-77, 80-81, 84-85, 87, 90-91, 97-98, 100-101, 105, 108, 112, 117-119, 121, 123, 125, 130-136, 141, 143-145R, 147, 149-150, 155	52

In Table 23 it can be seen that Arsinoë is standing in all scenes except cat. no. 20.⁸⁶⁹ Consistent with a previous statement, the principles of directional position in reliefs frequently regulate the placement of the divine figures in accordance with the architectural location of the scene: all gods are supposed to be seated on thrones if the scene is located in any of the higher registers.⁸⁷⁰ Seven of Arsinoë's temple scenes are located in higher registers, indoors and outdoors: however, six of these scenes contradict the general convention, as the Arsinoë, the divine Philadelphos, is standing.⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶⁵ Notice the scenes not included, cat. nos. 20, 25 and 36. These scenes represent "reversed" themes as described in Chapter III.6. The position of Arsinoë in cat. no. 20 could be referred to as a reversed benefactor, referring to how she in her divine role participates in the crowning/rejuvenation ceremony of Ptolemy IV. Cat. no. 25 illustrate all figures in a praising position, although all figures are divine. Cat. no. 36 depicts Arsinoë in a standing position behind Ptolemy II when he celebrates a Sed festival. Due to its theme, cat. no. 36 cannot be labelled in accordance with the terminology of benefactor and beneficiary.

⁸⁶⁶ Notice the excluded scene cat. no. 89, where the female figure stands as a "reversed benefactor".

⁸⁶⁷ Notice that Arsinoë is illustrated on both a left and a right side of cat. no. 26L.

⁸⁶⁸ The body of the Ptolemaic queen in cat. no. 142 is positioned as in a right position, following the surrounding figures. However, her head, similar to the head of Ptolemy, is turned in an opposite direction.

⁸⁶⁹ In general, all figures in the stelai are placed in a standing position, except for the four deities of scene cat. no. 15.

⁸⁷⁰ Baines 1976; Vassilika 1989.

⁸⁷¹ Cat. nos. 16-17, 19, 21-22, 34.

The later Ptolemaic queens, Cleopatra III and VII, always stand, following the conventions. Hathor keeps an upright position in 68 scenes, and a seated one in 51.⁸⁷² She stands in scenes placed on the lower register, in processions, on gates/door jambs, on dado decoration, pillars and on large-scaled depictions on walls. She sits on a throne on higher registers, lintels, in the crypt, and, as an exception, on the framed scene of the kiosk of Hathor in Dendera. The Hathoric figures all follow the ancient principles.

Arsinoë is predominantly placed in a left-side position, looking right. Twenty-nine of the totally 36 scenes illustrate Arsinoë on the left side, whereas 12 scenes place her in the opposite direction, looking left.⁸⁷³ A few scenes, cat. nos. 1-2, 15, 26, place Arsinoë on both sides simultaneously. Cat. no. 2 moreover enhances Arsinoë's overall hierarchic position by placing her two images back to back (facing out) in the very centre of the scene.⁸⁷⁴ She becomes the immediate focal point. The later Ptolemaic queens stand on the right side, looking left, throughout. Cat. no. 142, however, illustrates the queen standing with her body in one direction, following the direction of the main procession, while turning her head unconventionally in the opposite direction. Forty-five Hathoric figures are placed in a left side position, while 74 are located on the right side. There is no evident connection between the directional position and the type of crowns worn by Arsinoë, the later Ptolemaic queens and Hathor.

The principles of directional position are directly associated with temple symbolism, incorporating the correlation of architectural parts. However, such connotations are insignificant when analysing free-standing stelai. In my opinion it is the individual position of the figures within the scene that are relevant. Arsinoë keeps a left-side position in all stelai (including the double-scenes) except cat. no. 6, where she stands on the scene's right side. Clearly her position is of importance.⁸⁷⁵

As stated above, cat. no. 13 shows Ptolemy II and Arsinoë. Arsinoë has a left-side position and is taller than Ptolemy II according to the crown line, which together I interpret as her superiority in the scene. One of the many irregularities displayed in the scene concerns Ptolemy's stance: he follows the conventional position of a male ruler in general, but his left arm is raised behind his body, indicating an active movement, and he holds an object still unidentified.⁸⁷⁶ Previously, most scholars have interpreted Ptolemy's position as non-Egyptian, or as Hellenised Egyptian and the scene has, as a consequence, been labelled in such terms. However, several individual hieroglyphic signs from Gardiner's A-series show male figures in positions similar to Ptolemy's, putting these suggestions in doubt.⁸⁷⁷

As another example of traditional principles of hierarchy, I have chosen cat. no. 14, fig. 89. Including two sections, the stela illustrates Arsinoë with Amun-Min and Ptolemy II on one


⁸⁷² Notice the scene where she appears on both sides: cat. no. 145L-R.

⁸⁷³ The seeming erroneousness in numbering, 36 scenes total instead of 41 (29+12), depends on the scenes that place Arsinoë on both sides, and the additional figure in cat. no. 26L.

⁸⁷⁴ See cat. no. 26 for Arsinoë and cat. nos. 54-55 for Hathor.

⁸⁷⁵ According to the traditional principles of hierarchy, a left side position represents individual superiority. See for example Bianchi 1988, cat. 14.

⁸⁷⁶ Such a figural position does not concur with any others as analysed in Chapter III.6.

⁸⁷⁷  (*Jses* A59, A59a). I consider this relief a working piece, a draft, or a practice object: the cartouches are shallowly etched and the sceptre and stave are asymmetrical in their composition. I suggest that also Ptolemy's second handheld object is incomplete (rather than purely unconventional).

side, and Ptolemy II, Wadjet and Harsomtus on the other. Arsinoë is located in the right half, in a left-side position (looking right). There she stands behind Amun-Min, being the inactive beneficiaries of Ptolemy II. In the left section of the scene, Ptolemy presents offerings to Wadjet and a smaller figure of Harsomtus. Based on the crown line, Amun-Min is the tallest figure of the overall scene, accordingly establishing him as the more important figure. Arsinoë reaches almost as high which indicates her individual rank as the second most important figure. The positional relationship between Arsinoë and Amun-Min is stressed in the text, describing them as father and daughter. In respect of the divine principles, it would be unacceptable to illustrate Arsinoë taller than her divine father, and instead, she have to be placed second.⁸⁷⁸ Cat. no. 14 shows a clear hierarchic ranking system, and the relative placement coincides with and is strengthened by the sacred words.



Fig. 89: Detail of cat. no. 14, showing Ptolemy II far left and far right as a benefactor, with Amun-Min and Arsinoë on the right, and Harsomtus and Wadjet on the left side. Horizontal lines are added to the photo in order to establish a hierarchic order.

Ihy is one of the most interesting figures exemplifying relative placement in the Hathoric scenes.⁸⁷⁹ He is placed in two alternating positions, looking at either the pharaoh or the deities, occasionally both. Ihy is placed primarily in a directional position equal to the pharaoh's, looking at Hathor and potential additional deities.⁸⁸⁰ These scenes frequently demonstrate a figural correlation with the goddess Ma'at (as is shown in fig. 90), illustrating her either as an individual goddess,⁸⁸¹ or as an offering figure presented by any given ruler.⁸⁸² Ma'at's directional position always concurs with Ihy's. Ihy keeps this position also in scenes where the ruler praises, adores, or evokes the deities.⁸⁸³ These scenes represent examples of themes dissimilar to the traditional offering act.

⁸⁷⁸ See, however, cat. no. 2 below.

⁸⁷⁹ See for example *LÄ II*, 1003-1011 for a general introduction to Ihy, also including a reference list.

⁸⁸⁰ Cat. nos. 39, 44, 57, 60, 62, 65, 68, 79-80, 82, 92, 97-98, 106, 108, 114-117, 120, 124-126, 129-130, 132-136, 139-140, 145-146, 150-151.

⁸⁸¹ Cat. nos. 130, 135, 140, 145, 150. For example, cat. no. 130 illustrates Ma'at seated on a podium.

⁸⁸² Cat. nos. 68, 79, 82, 92, 97, 117, 120, 124, 126, 129, 132.

⁸⁸³ See Chapter III.6. Praising: cat. nos. 60, 125, 133, 140, 145; evoking (using sistra, *menat*, or mirrors, all items connected with Hathor): 39, 44, 57, 80, 106; standing before the deities (adoring): 65, 116, 136. Cat. no. 62 represents a scene of the reckoning of time. Four scenes (cat. nos. 90, 139, 146 and 151), however, illustrate a traditional offering act.

Ihy represents, together with Ma'at, royal rebirth, rejuvenation, and even crowning. His *persona* symbolises eternal youth. Based on their corresponding directional positions, I suggest that Ihy acts on behalf of the pharaoh, accordingly representing the adolescence of the pharaoh.⁸⁸⁴ Ihy becomes a benefactor and as such I interpret Ihy as linking the divine and royal spheres: he personifies the religious act. The dedication of Ma'at symbolises royal power and a pharaoh's success in upholding universal order.⁸⁸⁵ Her presence strengthens the suggested rejuvenation theme.



Fig. 90: Detail of cat. no. 97. The offering of Ma'at is shown with Ihy in a directional position looking at Hathor.

Ihy can also stand with the deities and look towards the pharaoh in his alternative directional position. Such scenes frequently show a traditional offering theme as opposed to the previous directional position. The pharaoh, as exemplified in fig. 91, presents incense, libation, ointment, offering-tables and trays etc.⁸⁸⁶ I interpret Ihy in this directional position as a fully addressed deity. He is the divine son of Hathor and a beneficiary of the pharaoh's worship.

The two alternative directional positions of Ihy exemplify the concepts of relative placement. The difference may seem trivial at first, but Ihy's positions illuminate the importance of each detail in order to understand the overall communicated message of any given scene.

⁸⁸⁴ Compare the role of Harpocrates, and the significance of the hieroglyph of youth, as it is illustrated through the figure of Ihy.

⁸⁸⁵ See Chapter III.6.

⁸⁸⁶ See Chapter III.6. Cat. nos. 45, 59, 70-720 74, 78, 73, 85, 90-91, 95-96, 99, 131, 137, 148, 153. Two scenes, cat. nos. 71 and 148 illustrate Ma'at as an offering, while cat. no. 45 shows the pharaoh evoking the deities with a sistrum. Therefore, the three latter scenes represent the exceptions. I include cat. nos. 37-38, illustrating the pharaoh in a smiting position.



Fig. 91: Ihy facing Emperor Augustus. Detail of cat. no. 78.

Arsinoë is represented as a benefactor in five, possibly six, scenes (encompassing six, possibly seven, figures).⁸⁸⁷ This position concurs with her royal crown, documented in cat. nos. 8-9 and 12, which places the ram horns at the base of the red crown and relates to her royal position as a living ruler.⁸⁸⁸ However, since the other scenes illustrate her with the “official” and more long lived crown, I cannot establish an absolute association. She performs an active religious act in cat. nos. 9 and 15, expressed by the shaking of the sistrum.⁸⁸⁹ Cat. no. 9 illustrates her unaccompanied. Cat. no. 15 depicts her in a double scene with the ruling pharaoh, Ptolemy II and four local deities. Cat. no. 8 shows her holding an unrecognised object presented (?) to an unidentified deity. The pictorial and textual information provided in cat. nos. 12 and 26L is not sufficient enough to establish any connections. All these scenes (suggestively) show Arsinoë in a directional position opposite to that of the deities, being actively engaged in an event, establishing her as an active benefactor. As such, I interpret Arsinoë as a living queen. Consequently, I date these scenes to Arsinoë’s lifetime which concurs with my suggested interpretation of her “royal crown” in Chapter III.3.

In the later material, all Ptolemaic queens are benefactors, and all Hathoric figures represent beneficiaries. There is no evident connection with the type of crown since the ram horns are placed both on top of and at the base of the red crown. Cat. no. 89 shows Hathor in an inactive position as a spectator rather than beneficiary.⁸⁹⁰ I identify (interpret) all figures who are placed in an active position, acting as benefactors, as kings and queens during their lifetime. I find it unlikely for a ruling king to order an artist to create a religious scene depicting a person other than the king himself.⁸⁹¹ Except for the socio-political reason, it would oppose also the conventions of Egyptian religion, according to which the deceased pharaoh became Osiris.⁸⁹² I

⁸⁸⁷ Cat. nos. 1L, 8-9, 12, 15L-R, 26L(-R?).

⁸⁸⁸ See Chapter III.3, above.

⁸⁸⁹ See Chapter III.6, Settings of the scenes.

⁸⁹⁰ This scene has a theme of rejuvenation and expresses the reckoning of time. See Chapter III.6.

⁸⁹¹ As the ruler, the pharaoh was considered to manifest Horus on earth. Similarly, he was regarded as the earthly, living son of Ra. Correspondingly, the queen represented the earthly form of Hathor, the daughter of Ra. It would be unaccepted to portray a deceased pharaoh as the living Horus offering to the deities. Compare Troy 1986, chapter II.2.4.

⁸⁹² For general information on Osiris including references, see LÄ IV, 623-633.

apply the same socio-religious convention also to the queens, unless the scene in fact demonstrates a development of time, such as in the Mendes stela (cat. no. 1).⁸⁹³

As described above, the concepts of a benefactor and beneficiary are here suggested to be regulated by an active or inactive position of the figure. However, as with all artistic principles there are exceptions. I use cat. no. 20 as an example. The scene shows Ptolemy IV with Thoth and Seshat, and Ptolemy II with Arsinoë, Hathor and Horus. The central theme is Ptolemy IV's crowning and rejuvenation, a rebirth of his royal soul: he ascends from the tree of life, surrounded by symbols of kingship. Thoth and Seshat write his royal annuals and present to him his royal name. They break the positional principles, as they stand on the same side as the pharaoh, thus in a directional position opposite the other deities. Thoth and Seshat, as noted previously, are associated with kingship and the ruling pharaoh: they are connected with the human world regardless of their individual divinity, and they actively participate in the religious event, positioned with the human ruler. They give the king their blessing and guidance, as he obtains their attention. Consequently, their positions contradict the convention: symbolically, Ptolemy IV is the beneficiary and Thoth and Seshat his benefactors. The scene, thus, has a reversed theme.⁸⁹⁴ Ptolemy II, Arsinoë, Hathor and Horus, however, keep a conventional inactive stance, inactively monitoring the ceremony. They are separated from the king in terms of both space and posture.

Cat. no. 25 is another unique scene in the material. Including two royal couples, all figures are divine,⁸⁹⁵ the object of their veneration is a large solar disc located in the centre of the scene.⁸⁹⁶ The 46 deities and the two royal couples are divided equally on both sides of the solar disc. The *theoi Adelphoi* stand at the far left and the other royal pair (here identified as the *theoi Euergetai*) stands at the far right. All anthropomorphic figures praise the sun disc, placing them as divine benefactors. The sun disc have to be identified as the scene's only beneficiary.

CONCEPTS OF TIME

Chapter III.7 has so far presented visual attestations of an active pictorial administration and the relativity of Egyptian art. The concepts of time, however, are dissimilar to those of size and position and, to my knowledge, have never been properly studied within the artistic field of Egyptian reliefs. Traditionally, time is presented as relative or absolute, primarily in terms of providing a date for the object under study.⁸⁹⁷ Others approach the concept of time in accordance with the cultural differentiation of maker and viewer, when considering the linear, temporal development that separate them. However, the concepts of time are studied here in accordance with the intended period(-s) of time communicated in the iconographic composition of the relief, and incorporate not only the 'objective' time, but also the 'phenomenal, subjective' one.⁸⁹⁸ Thus, as a modern viewer, I endeavour to decode the ancient

⁸⁹³ See below, Temporal adjustment.

⁸⁹⁴ See Chapter III.6.

⁸⁹⁵ For my identification of the couple as the *theoi Euergetai*, see Chapter III.8; see also Chapter III.6, Settings of the scenes.

⁸⁹⁶ See Chapter III.9, Concluding summary, for my opinion about the Egyptian theological system and the dualistic origin of all gods (the male and female sun/light).

⁸⁹⁷ For a recent example, see Artioli 2010, Chapter 2.5, esp. pp. 130f.

⁸⁹⁸ The term 'objective' refers to the (absolute) spatial time as it is measured by clocks, thus a (2-dimensional) linear development, while 'phenomenal, subjective' describes (relative) time which is based on individual experiences that goes beyond the common perception (thus, 3-dimensional). See Havel 1996, *passim*; Murphy 2005, 122.

maker's pictorial code in order to understand his/her original, intended message in terms of relative time, which is unlimited when dismissing traditional perceptions of scale and shape.

The fundamental indications of temporal adjustments are embedded in the association of pictorial elements, and defined in the combination of iconography and text. As mentioned in the introduction, above, the concept of time depends on those of relative scaling and placement. It is made comprehensible only when reading between the lines (symbolically speaking), manifested indirectly in a scene's figural arrangement.⁸⁹⁹

Temporal adjustments here refers to an artist's deliberate use of elements in order to express one or several time periods other than the present, thus signifying relative time. Normal Egyptian artistic conventions limit any depicted time period to a contemporary time or to the past since each scene was believed to represent a human physical or divine event, and as such could not depict the future. Thus, time by necessity refers to a past. This study of (relative) time is important when establishing the date of the crown of Arsinoë, primarily in order to understand its overall ideological significance. A scene that shows Arsinoë as a queen or high priestess would suggest that she received and used her crown as a symbol of authority already during her lifetime.

Based on its complexity, I have chosen to approach the concepts of relative time with three individual examples from the material, divided as case studies 1-3. These are followed by an analysis of cat. no. 26, which provides an example of a scene where all aspects and concepts of size, position and time come together.

Case study 1 – the Mendes stela

Cat. no. 1 depicts eight main, and four minor figures. The scene is crowned by a winged solar disc and two pendant *uraei*. Illustrated on the lower section of the relief, the main figures are separated from the solar disc by a frieze of stars. On its left side, the scene illustrates three royal figures bringing offerings to the deities. The right side presents five divine figures, including Arsinoë. The stela is named after its place of origin, Mendes, and the deities are identified as its local triad: Banebdjedet (represented twice: as deceased and reborn), Hat-Mehit and Harpocrates. The following analysis will concentrate on an identification of the left-side figures.

Here referred to as cat. no. 1L, the left side illustrates two male figures, positioned in front of, and behind Arsinoë. In their personal registers of text, the two male figures are described with similar titles and epithets.⁹⁰⁰ In the main text (below the relief scene), the second male figure is described as Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy. Traditionally, the two male figures are referred to vaguely as Ptolemy II and Ptolemy the son: such labels, however, raise further questions.

⁸⁹⁹ Conceptions of time is a topic which is frequently discussed within the discipline of Philosophy, but more rarely in Art History – especially in regard to Egyptian reliefs. A general idea is presented by Freedman 2003, 48, stating that "...time is represented as a multidimensional space, rather than a straight line, which various cultural groups inhabit and influence as their ideas coexist and collide".

⁹⁰⁰ The front figure is described as "the living King, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the sacrifices (or of actions) (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amon) Son of Ra, like him, loved by him, the Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)| may he live forever, beloved by Ba, the great god, the living Ra". The back figure holds the titles "Lord of the Two Lands (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amon)| the son of Ra, Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)". As stated in the introduction, all translations are mine unless stated otherwise.

Due to his age at the time, scholars generally agree that the second male figure cannot be identified with Ptolemy III. Some scholars therefore suggest that this figure should be identified with Ptolemy, the son of Arsinoë and Lysimachus.⁹⁰¹ The circumstances surrounding the history of Arsinoë's son are troublesome due to inconclusive sources. Written sources describe Ptolemy II's co-regency with a man known to the modern world as Ptolemy the son. Lasting for *c.* eight years, between 267-259 B.C., this joint rule ended after Ptolemy the son's participation in a revolt in Miletus.⁹⁰² Although his identity is inadequately substantiated, most scholars believe that this man was the son of Arsinoë and Lysimachus.⁹⁰³ The Mendes stela is frequently used to verify the identification of Ptolemy's co-regent as the son of Arsinoë. I will study the stela with full iconographic and semiotic methodologies prior to approaching the issue of identification. I will compare the pictorial elements associated with the two male figures respectively, and evaluate their individual correlation to Arsinoë. To distinguish the two figures before making an identification, I will call them the 'front figure' and the 'back figure', referring to their positional correspondence with Arsinoë.

The front figure, fig. 92a, wears a double crown, including a single forehead *uraeus* and a royal diadem. He wears the traditional kilt with a bull's tail. He stands in front of, and looks at the newly incarnated ram god Banebdjedet. His posture suggests that he is about to stroke myrrh (from the handheld cup) on the ram's nose, which is a prominent and most active action, clearly stating his status as a ruler.⁹⁰⁴ The front figure is depicted as independent, in a somewhat isolated position a bit apart from the figures behind him. No minor figures accompany him. He is illustrated, I argue, as a sole ruler of Egypt, personally performing the active offerings to the new ram. I identify this figure with the monarch of Egypt at the time of the creation of the stela, thus Ptolemy II. His social position as the living, ruling pharaoh is further strengthened by his immediate physical contact with the ram, as he rubs myrrh on the ram's nose. His titles are associated with a ruling pharaoh.

⁹⁰¹ Derchain 1985, 36.

⁹⁰² *PP* VI 14542; *P.Sorb.* 2440; *P. Louvre* 2424; *Gr. Dem. Medinet Habu* 77; *P.Hib* 1.100; see also Huss 1998, 229f., including a translations into German.

⁹⁰³ For other proposals of whom this 'Ptolemy the son' might be, see Huss 1998, 229. The most common suggestions include Ptolemy III; Ptolemy the son of Arsinoë (II) and Lysimachos; an older son of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë I; a son of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II. See also the website of C. Bennet on Ptolemaic genealogy, which is continually updated: <http://www.tyndalehouse.com/Egypt/ptolemies/genealogy.htm> (2010-08-12).

⁹⁰⁴ See above and Chapter III.6.



Fig. 92a-b: Detail of the front figure (left) and back figure (right).

The back figure, fig. 92b (above), wears a *khepresh* crown – the blue warrior crown, with an additional single forehead *uraeus*. He wears a leather kilt with a bull's tail, instead of the traditional kilt. He holds folded cloth and a vessel in his hands. Neither size nor pictorial elements (such as a prince lock⁹⁰⁵) suggest that this back figure refers to a youngster: I regard him as adult.

The back figure of Ptolemy and Arsinoë are linked in accordance with their associated surrounding elements. Therefore, I choose to analyse them as a pair prior to comparing the back figure with the front figure of Ptolemy. Fig. 92c shows that Arsinoë is illustrated with a cluster of papyrus, whereas the back Ptolemy's contextual setting shows a cluster of lotuses. These plants generally represent Lower and Upper Egypt (papyrus=Lower, lotus=Upper). Arsinoë and Ptolemy are accompanied and protected by the smaller-scaled figures of the falcon – Horus and the vulture – Nekhbet respectively. These avian creatures signify principally Lower and Upper Egypt (Harakhte – Heliopolis, and Nekhbet – el-Kab).⁹⁰⁶ The falcon of Arsinoë is described as “Horus of Behutet, he who spreads his wings, he who gives protection to his mother”. The text of the vulture states “Nekhbet, the White One from Nekhen, Great vulture, she who will protect her son with her wings”.



⁹⁰⁵ For the side lock, commonly referred to as a ‘prince lock’, see the figures of Ihy.

⁹⁰⁶ See Chapter III.1.




Fig. 92c: Detail of cat. no. 1. The left arrows show the two pictorial elements that correspond to Upper Egypt and the back figure of Ptolemy. The right arrows indicate the corresponding elements of Lower Egypt and Arsinoë. The rectangle shows the insignia, as discussed below.

I interpret this part of the scene as associating Arsinoë with Hathor as the mother of the falcon, and Ptolemy with Horus the son, which is indicated by the two attached smaller figures combined with their individual textual descriptions: I read the two birds as indicators of personal aspects of the royal couple, thus presenting Arsinoë as the maternal vulture (as the mother of the falcon), and Ptolemy as Horus the son (nurtured by the vulture).⁹⁰⁷ In addition to such an identification, the complexity of Egyptian religion allows at the same time a matrimonial relationship between Hathor and Horus (Arsinoë and Ptolemy II), and as such they ruled the world.⁹⁰⁸ I see the pictorial association between Arsinoë and the back figure of Ptolemy representing Upper and Lower Egypt based on their immediate contextual surrounding: I identify Arsinoë's association with the back figure as similar to the multifaceted relation between Hathor and Horus, together communicating the socio-religious foundation of dualism, upon which everything in Egyptian culture rested.


Behind the back figure of Ptolemy and the vulture, the scene shows a standard, which, to my knowledge, is unique (see fig. 92c, above). The insignia is composed of two hieroglyphic signs,  and  (*nb-t3*), traditionally translated as “Lord/Lady of the Two Lands”.⁹⁰⁹ It also includes a set of large cow horns, within which are placed two empty “Horus cartouches” crowned with two minor Horus figures.⁹¹⁰ The first falcon wears the red crown and the second, the white crown. The text connected with the insignia has previously been translated as “King of Upper Egypt and King of Lower Egypt, the two Horuses, the brothers are united ...

⁹⁰⁷ See Chapter III.8, Divine mother/mother of the god; Chapter III.9, Hathor the great mother.

⁹⁰⁸ See Chapter III.9, Lady of the sky – the divine position of the wife.

⁹⁰⁹ Compare the drawing published by Kamal 1905, 159-68, pls. LIV, LV, where this sign is interpreted as  (*mr*).

⁹¹⁰ The Horus name was (the original) one of totally five royal titles that distinguished the pharaoh from commoners. See Chapter IV.1.


Lands”.⁹¹¹ Instead of translating the hieroglyphs  – *sn-sn (sn.w)* as “brothers” (as previously), I interpret them as “siblings”.⁹¹² This makes the latter part of the text “the siblings are united”: i.e., Ptolemy II and Arsinoë, instead of the two male figures. As a result, this unique insignia describes two regents, based on the two individual Horus cartouches, who are protected by the nurturing Hathoric horns.⁹¹³ I interpret the pictorial element as describing a joint rule of two individuals.

The individual iconography of the back figure of Ptolemy determines him as a war lord. Regulated by the symbolism of Upper Egypt, he is identified as the King of Egypt’s southern part. Textually, he is described as “Lord of the Two Lands (Strong is the soul of Ra, beloved of Amun) the son of Ra, Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)”. This is Ptolemy II’s official designation. In the main text, however, he is described as Ptolemy the son, possibly indicating a youngster, but the adult figure does not support such an identification. Instead one may recall one of Ptolemy II’s most common designations, establishing him as Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy.


An identification of two male figures is provided above: Ptolemy II, the son of Ptolemy I, is represented twice within the left side of the Mendes stela, based on an active and intentional temporal adjustment, indicated by the contextual pictorial elements. Their pictorial differentiation relates to two distinguishable time periods. The back figure represents Ptolemy II as the King of Upper Egypt, co-ruling Egypt with a living Arsinoë. According to the iconography and text, Arsinoë is referred to as the ruler of Lower Egypt. Therefore, the back part of the left side, which illustrate Arsinoë and Ptolemy together, corresponds to joint regency. The front figure of Ptolemy shows a sole ruler celebrating the rebirth and rejuvenation of a ram. In my opinion, the scene also describes Ptolemy’s rebirth as an individual ruler following the death of Arsinoë. This rebirth was made possible in the ceremonies of a Sed festival.⁹¹⁴ The death of Arsinoë, Ptolemy’s co-regent, would have been a plausible reason for the king to prove himself worthy as Egypt’s ruler. The lower hieroglyphic register of the divine Arsinoë, standing on the right side of the scene, supports this theory. She states “I pray for you to the master of the Gods, so that he gives you numerous years as a king (i.e., of rule)”.⁹¹⁵ Cat. no. 1 documents Ptolemy’s official commemoration of his deified sister-wife through his appearing in the same scene in two different time frames, as both her wife and her widower.

Case study 2 – the Sed festival Gate of Ptolemy II

Cat. no. 36, fig. 93, is rarely discussed elsewhere, and when it has, it has provoked many questions.⁹¹⁶ Sambin and Carlotti analysed the Sed festival Gate of Ptolemy II, to which cat. no. 36 belongs. The gate is preserved only in fragments, and the present scene is only partially preserved. It depicts the upper parts of the second Ptolemaic royal couple, and the head of a venerating unidentified figure facing them. Ptolemy II stands in a festival pavilion, attributed by royal regalia, including the red crown, the flail and the crook. The queen stands behind him, outside the outlines of the pavilion. She wears the traditional female crown and holds a flail. The back part of the female figure is missing. The queen is much taller than Ptolemy based on

⁹¹¹  Also, see *Urk II*, 30 (Mendes stela. C. 9); Roeder 1959, 174.

⁹¹² For example, see the translation of *mr-sn* – Philadelphos, the sibling-loving and not just brother-loving.

Similarly see the composition of the sibling-gods, the *theoi Adelphoi*:  – *ntr.w-sn.w*.

⁹¹³ See Chapter IV.1 for a continuous discussion on the Horus-name.

⁹¹⁴ See below, cat. no. 36.

⁹¹⁵ Compare the lower hieroglyphic register of Arsinoë in cat. no. 2R.

⁹¹⁶ Sambin & Carlotti 1995; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 31.

the crown line, indicating her more prominent role. Ptolemy is described in the cartouche as a living king, “Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)”.⁹¹⁷ His position within the festival pavilion underlines the rejuvenation theme of the gate. The topic of analysis, however, is the identity of the female figure.



Fig. 93: Cat. no. 36. Drawing by J. Ward

The queen is not identified in the traditional personal register of text as this space is blank. Instead a female title is located in a position opposite the royal couple, above the head of the figure venerating them.⁹¹⁸ The hieroglyphic signs are written in a scale much larger than Ptolemy’s. In their present state they translate as “female king (= Queen)”.⁹¹⁹ The designation alone does not provide an absolute identification of the queen. It can refer to either Arsinoë I or Arsinoë II. However, a contextual dedication dating to Ptolemy III describes a renovation of the monument originally built by Ptolemy II and Arsinoë. Arsinoë is described as the daughter of Amun.⁹²⁰ Thus, in terms of time and based on the contextual scenes, I identify the figure as Arsinoë II. Further, such a determination corresponds with two fragmentary architectural blocks located in the same vicinity. These show Arsinoë’s complete royal title, listing both Birth name and Throne name as seen in fig. 94a-b.⁹²¹

⁹¹⁷ Contextual scenes list Ptolemy’s complete official royal title. See Sambin & Carlotti 1995, 391.

⁹¹⁸ An absolute translation of the hieroglyphs is impossible due to the fragmentary state of the stone block.

⁹¹⁹ This translation is one of the options presented by Sambin and Carlotti. The block is fragmentary and the text could be disrupted. Another option presented by Sambin and Carlotti suggests a translation reading [servant] or [priestess] of the royalty/queen. They dismiss an association between the large hieroglyphs and the figure venerating the couple. They cannot, however, dismiss a possibility that the text places the queen equal with the king. See Sambin & Carlotti 1995, 407.

⁹²⁰ Sambin and Carlotti propose that Ptolemy III’s dedication to his parents should be seen as part of the ancestor cult, thus correlating with the Osirian theme expressed elsewhere on the gate. Arsinoë Philadelphos’ name is textually mentioned several times in contextual scenes. See Sambin & Carlotti 1995, 408, 412. For Arsinoë’s title, daughter of Amon, see Chapter III.8.

⁹²¹ See Chapter III.8 and IV.1.



Fig 94 a-b: full-size block (upper picture), and detail of Arsinoë's designation (lower picture). The title reads "King's wife, sister, daughter (Daughter of Amun)| (Arsinoë)| the divine Philadelphos". Photographs from Medamoud by the author.

Cat. no. 36 expresses a theme of the Sed festival of Ptolemy. In such a ceremony, the queen was a most important element.⁹²² Traditionally, a Sed festival was celebrated after 30 years of rule, and subsequently each third year.⁹²³ Other possible reasons for celebrating the festival include civil unrest, war, or any other situation which might have questioned the competence of the pharaoh. Ptolemy ruled Egypt for more than 30 years, but I find it more likely to place the ritual closer to the lifetime of Arsinoë since she is illustrated in the scene. There were some political affairs during the early years of Ptolemy's rule that might have triggered his need to demonstrate his capability to continue ruling. I would like to suggest five main events:

1) The event of Ptolemy I's death: when Ptolemy II became a sole ruler of Egypt. The Sed festival scene, however, cannot refer to that time since the queen has been identified as Arsinoë II. At the time of Ptolemy I's death, Arsinoë was still married to Lysimachus, and accordingly not a queen of Egypt. 2) The First Syrian War is another plausible event. In terms of time Arsinoë was a ruling queen of Egypt. Her position as Ptolemy II's co-regent, managing and governing Egypt's civil affairs, made it possible for the king to actively participate and win the war.⁹²⁴ However, a pharaoh who returned victorious after a war was certainly already regarded as competent to continue his rule. Therefore, I do not believe that the First Syrian War was a plausible cause for a Sed festival.

3) Arsinoë's death makes a third optional event, based on the interpretation of her socio-political position as Ptolemy's co-regent. As noted, Arsinoë remained in Egypt when Ptolemy fought the First Syrian War. During this time, she had an impact on Egypt's public domain, and (as subsequent chapters show) she had a religious role as a high priestess, following the

⁹²² Among many things, she upheld the divine dualism of the royal couple. For example, see the ceremony of Amenhotep III and the roles of Tiye. In such context, Tiye is occasionally described as the great royal wife, thus unidentified. Sambin and Carlotti 1995, 407-410, 412.

⁹²³ See Troy 1986, 68-70.

⁹²⁴ For a general introduction, see Hölbl 2001, 37-40. See cat. no. 1L, and Ptolemy as a war lord.

footsteps of the renowned and politically powerful Divine Adoratrices.⁹²⁵ As a co-regent in control of internal affairs, to whom Ptolemy II turned for advice, Arsinoë was considered an important element in the overall Egyptian society. Also, immediately after Arsinoë's death, Egypt was threatened by various international affairs which would put Egypt and the new, sole ruler in danger. Based on her socio-political importance combined with the following civil unrest, I suggest the event of Arsinoë's death as a cause for Ptolemy's Sed festival. As such it would have taken place when Ptolemy returned to the throne as a sole ruler and faced political instability.

As the fourth and fifth options, one can list 4) the Chremonidean War and 5) the ending of Ptolemy's third co-regency after the dispute with Ptolemy the son.⁹²⁶ At this time, Ptolemy had no royal spouse. Neither are there any obvious connections with Arsinoë to support the two last options: this is also based on the established concepts of time in Egyptian art, preventing an artist from recording a future event – thus, Ptolemy would have no spouse.

Arsinoë is depicted standing outside the outlines of the festival pavilion. Her position is inactive, a beneficiary, and she is placed on the same side as the living ruler. Thus, the positional directions are reversed. In terms of comparison, the reader can recall from above that Thoth and Seshat are placed on the same side as the ruling pharaoh in scenes with a theme of rejuvenation, crowning or purification.⁹²⁷ The Sed festival is generally acknowledged as having a theme of rejuvenation.

Ptolemy's and Arsinoë's positions demonstrate their close relation. However, it is possible to consider Arsinoë in a role similar to Seshat based on the rejuvenation theme.⁹²⁸ As such she provided a divine link between the ruling pharaoh and the celestial universe. The opposite position of her title, and its magnified size, could suggest a twofold aspect of the queen. She is a royal queen, Ptolemy's co-regent, the main cause of the event. She was simultaneously a goddess providing Ptolemy divine protection in his rebirth as a sole ruler. Thus, I interpret the scene, cat. no. 36, as postdating Arsinoë's lifetime. Her importance is made evident by the applications of relative scaling, as she is the tallest figure of the scene. Also the size of her title is enlarged in scale compared to the hieroglyphs of Ptolemy. It is suggested that her presence in cat. no. 36 is to explain the extraordinary circumstances that caused Ptolemy to celebrate the sed festival. Although no longer alive, Arsinoë's presence simultaneously with Ptolemy was of great importance: cat. no. 36 demonstrates how the ancients applied temporal adjustments in art, to stress certain aspects of time and events, describing the cause of the event, which would have taken place immediately after her death.⁹²⁹

⁹²⁵ See Chapters III.9; IV.2.

⁹²⁶ See above, and the second male figure of cat. no. 1.

⁹²⁷ Chapter III.6, Rejuvenation and crowning ceremonies.

⁹²⁸ As mentioned above, Thoth and Seshat were almost always included in rejuvenation scenes, especially those that show a crowning ceremony, or, as here, a Sed festival. See Chapter III.6.

⁹²⁹ Cat. no. 14 postdates Arsinoë's lifetime, but provides further evidence to support my identification of Arsinoë's death as the cultural background for Ptolemy II's first Sed festival. The pictorial theme calls attention to fertility, based on the depiction of Amon-Min with an erected penis and the field of reeds presented by Ptolemy on both sides. As noted especially in Chapter III.6, fertility is associated with rebirth and rejuvenation. Such theme, I argue, relates with Arsinoë's cultic rebirth as she entered her father's divine sphere after her death. In terms of comparison, the Alexandrian sculptured triad expresses Arsinoë's transformation from a ruling queen ("The One who sees Horus and Seth, Her appearance is more beautiful than the sun and the moon, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Greatly feared/respected throughout Egypt, Great of prestige, She who care for her brother and keeps him safe") to an indefectible goddess (Amon states that he makes her into a goddess amongst the already existing deities, and that she is given life through his nostrils in order for her *ba*/soul to receive eternal life and for her body to be forever rejuvenated). The right section of cat. no. 14 relates with the

Case study 3 – the Pithom stela

Cat. no. 2, the Pithom stela, is divided in three individual sections as fig. 95 (a-d) shows.⁹³⁰ Two of these, described as cat. nos. 2L-R, illustrate Arsinoë. The third scene (without Arsinoë) commemorates the worship of Atum. My aim here, however, is to investigate each section in order to understand its individual meaning and how each relates to temporal and general artistic adjustment.



Fig. 95a shows the full scene of cat. no. 2. Each section is marked by a rectangle (1-3) which concurs with enlarged details below: 1) Ptolemy II (far left) with a textually unidentified god. 2) Ptolemy II (left) with (from the left) Atum, a textually unidentified goddess, and Arsinoë. 3) Ptolemy II (far right) with (from the right) Atum, Osiris, Horus, a textually unidentified goddess, and Arsinoë.

Fig. 95b, the very left scene (unnumbered in the main catalogue since Arsinoë is not depicted) shows Ptolemy II wearing the blue war crown (*kheprsh*), sacrificing a Wadjet-eye to a textually unidentified god. The male deity holds the royal insignia, has a prince lock and wears a large composition crown (composed of a red crown and a triple crown), identified based on the overall message communicated in the text as Atum. The prince lock, furthermore, establishes Atum as a youngster, and as such, I associate his role with the morning sun, the

statements expressed in the Alexandrian triad, and therefore, communicates a message similar to cat. no. 1R and 5. See Troy 1986, II.3.2, for titles of queenship and their link with the cultural positions. “She who sees Horus and Seth” associates Arsinoë directly with the religious position as a priestess. I want to draw to attention also the left side of cat. no. 14, in order to consider its association with the theme expressed in cat. nos. 1-2, 26L-R, and 36. The symbolism of the field of reeds held by Ptolemy combined with the figural setting, showing Harpocrates and Wadjet, conveys an indirect association with Ptolemy’s rejuvenation ceremonies that took place during his first Sed festival. He stands before Wadjet, who symbolises the power of Lower Egypt. Harpocrates, as noted above, occasionally expresses a rejuvenated aspect of the royal *persona*. Ptolemy wears the white crown and sacrifices the field of reeds in a pictorial section that I interpret as emphasising his need of rejuvenating himself as a ruler of Lower Egypt. In addition to the already analysed scenes, I interpret cat. no. 14 as an iconographic example of Ptolemy’s requirement for a Sed festival in order to assume the complete conventional royal responsibilities after the death of Arsinoë, including the rule of Lower Egypt. His obligation to claim his right is strengthened by Arsinoë’s kingship title and her state of transformation as she reunites with her divine father, Amon-Min.

⁹³⁰ My (somewhat freely) translations listed below generally agree with Roeder 1998, 108-128, if not otherwise stated.

first stage of the sun's daily journey.⁹³¹ I associate this very left section with the first main textual part, which describes Ptolemy as a sole ruler, travelling to the city of Pithom. There he participated in the opening ceremonies at the Temple of Atum, a god who is textually described as Ptolemy's father. This first textual section also describes Ptolemy's journey to Asia, where he found, and subsequently returned with to Egypt, several cult statues of Egyptian deities. It describes a pharaoh dealing with official affairs on his own. Pictorially, the blue war crown symbolises a pharaoh as a war lord.⁹³² It is linked with Ptolemy's journey to Persia. The object of sacrifice, the Wadjet-eye, is believed here to signify Ptolemy's gratefulness towards his divine father, for receiving his protection whilst travelling in foreign countries. Moreover, Wadjet with her fiery spirit was believed to keep the pharaoh safe from his enemies.⁹³³ Furthermore, I associate the Wadjet-eye with Atum, who, based on his prince lock, represents a youngster: the female cobra was responsible for keeping her newborn (rising sun) safe from harm.



Fig. 95b: Detail of the third scene to the far left of cat. no. 2: it shows Ptolemy II (far left) with Atum as the newborn sun-god, protected by the Hathoric Wadjet-eye.

In terms of a chronological order, the scene to follow should be cat. no. 2L. However, in order to identify the two unlabelled goddesses, I will begin with cat. no. 2R. This section, fig. 95c, shows Ptolemy wearing a war crown, presenting the figure of Ma'at to a group of deities. Ma'at, as noted in previous chapters, symbolises the concept of universal order, and she establishes a link between the human and divine rulers. Held by the pharaoh, she encompasses the aspects of transferable royal power and kingship.⁹³⁴ The divinities in this section are

⁹³¹ Atum, in other words, assumes the traditional role of Ra as the solar god. See Chapter III.9. Compare Roeder 1998, 112, who suggests an association with Harakhte based on the main text. However, the main text also lists Khepri, who is generally accepted as symbolising the morning sun. Therefore, I oppose Roeder's suggestion and instead identify the youngster aspect in Khepri. See line 3 in the main text for this textual section (= Roeder 1998, 116).

⁹³² See above, the back figure of Ptolemy II in cat. no. 1.

⁹³³ The serpent (i.e., Wadjet) is also represented as a crown attribute of the pharaoh.

⁹³⁴ See Chapter III.6.

identified in their personal registers of text as Atum, Osiris, and Arsinoë.⁹³⁵ The third male figure and the female one that stand in front of Arsinoë, however, are textually unidentified. The male god is identified in the main text as Horus, which can be combined with his conventional pictorial composition (falcon-head, double crown).⁹³⁶ The goddess wears a traditional Hathoric crown – large cow horns and solar disc, and holds an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. The crown traditionally is attributed to Hathor, but the reader can recall from Chapters III.2-3 that Isis usurped this crown and frequently used it in later dynastic times. Based on the figural arrangement, I identify this goddess with Isis, as the mother of the Osirian triad.⁹³⁷ Isis is mentioned in the main text, supporting this identification.



Fig. 95c: Detail of cat. no. 2R: it shows (from the right) Ptolemy II with Atum, Osiris, Horus, Isis and Arsinoë. The presented figure of Maat emphasises a dynastic theme.

Corresponding to cat. no. 2R, the last section of the main hieroglyphic text (in relation to Arsinoë) reads: “...he founded a large royal city and gave it the great name of the daughter of King Ptolemy. A temple was built in honour of Queen Arsinoë Philadelphos. He placed images (i.e., statues) of his divine sister in the temple. All the ceremonies were practiced by the priests in connection with the building of the Temple of their father Atum, the great god, who dwells in the city of Teku, like it is made in all the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt...”

The text describes Arsinoë entirely as a goddess. She receives the proper veneration in a temple built by Ptolemy. The siblings are described equally in terms of status, since they are both referred to as the children of Atum. Otherwise, they are separated according to the concepts of the human and divine. Cat. no. 2R places Arsinoë as the figure standing at the very

⁹³⁵ As noted above, Roeder 1998, 116 suggests an identification of Atum (the youngster in the far left scene) with Harakhte based on the main text (line 2), whereas I identify such an associated form (fuse) with Khepri, who is also mentioned in the text. Instead, I connect the hieroglyphic name of Harakhte with this figure of Atum, which corresponds with the midday sun, the divine ruling king, often referred to as Harakhte (Horus-Ra). See Chapter III.9 for the mythology of the sun’s daily journey, and how this relates with the material.

⁹³⁶ See Roeder 1998, 114, 116. Horus is identified in his role as the unifier (= Harsomtus) “Harsomtus, Great God, Lord of Teku (= Pithom)”.

⁹³⁷ Thereby, I agree with Roeder 1998, 112, although I separate this goddess from the one in cat. no. 2L. Roeder suggests instead that Isis (in cat. no. 2R) is illustrated in a Hathoric aspect, to which he connects the description of Hathor as the mother in the main hieroglyphic text.

left, protecting the divine family: a figural position that denotes importance.⁹³⁸ Her kinship with Atum, the first figure in the divine line, is stated in the main text: she is his divine daughter. Pictorially, such an association is only indirectly demonstrated since they are separated spatially by the Osirian family. The connotations of the Osirian triad emphasises a dynastic continuation. Therefore, I interpret cat. no. 2R as illustrating every ruler's immortality, personified in the figure of Osiris, relating to the death and divine rebirth of Arsinoë. It expresses the continuation of power through the descendants, manifested in the image of Horus. Atum is the main source of life and he is everyone's primeval father. Isis has to be interpreted as the great mother, nurturing and providing the royal heir a safe haven. Indirectly, she is portrayed as Ptolemy's divine mother, since he is the earthly manifestation of Horus. Arsinoë is associated with all these deities, and establishes a comprehensible bridge between the divine royal house and the human. Ptolemy is associated with the divine legacy of kingship through the symbolism of Ma'at, his handheld offering. He presents a symbol of transferable royal power, showing himself as Atum's son, the Osirian family's legitimate dynastic heir, and connects with Arsinoë as a clarification of an eternal royal kinship. Ptolemy is associated with his former co-regent and simultaneously emphasises that he now acts as a sole ruler, just as was seen in the case of the Mendes stele regarding Arsinoë. He ensures the deities and his sister-wife that he retains universal order in accordance with the concepts of Ma'at.

The complexity of the scene is manifested in various contradictions, most of which relate with Arsinoë. Pictorially, Arsinoë is illustrated as the most prominent figure of the scene. She stands at the very left, protecting everybody, and she is the tallest figure. The fact that she is taller than her divine father contradicts the fundamentals of religious artistic principles. Such a distinction must be understood as a great indication of Arsinoë's importance in the scene. I interpret this hierarchic dissimilarity as relating to the building of her temple and Ptolemy's active worship of his former queen. The scene stresses her individual divinity and her role as one who bridges the two worlds. Her divine kinship with Atum is recognised, but their positional distance reveals that other aspects have a greater meaning in the scene. Most importantly, I relate her hierarchic position to her physical death, when she joins the primeval pantheon. Aiming at Ptolemy, she states in her lower hieroglyphic register "I wish for you to celebrate numerous Sed festivals (with the blessing) of the gods." Her statement relates the scene to cat. nos. 1 and 36 (above), and supports my hypothesis that the cause of Ptolemy's festival was her death. Such a theme is strengthened by Ptolemy's handheld figure of Ma'at, and her symbolism of transferable power. Consequently, I interpret cat. no. 2R as relating to a period of time immediately following the death of Arsinoë. The theme of the section is determined as the continuation of dynastic power, and the rejuvenation of a sole regent of Egypt, Ptolemy II. Thus, cat. no. 2R is the only section that corresponds to the "real" time (the time of creating the relief), and is, therefore, differentiated from the others. However, it is the combination of these three sections that form the basis for my hypothesis of temporal adjustment/relative time.⁹³⁹

Reversing chronologically, cat. no. 2L, 95d, shows Ptolemy wearing an *anedjti* crown, holding two small cups. The deities of the scene include Atum, Arsinoë and a textually unidentified female figure. The goddess wears attributes identical to Isis in cat. no. 2R: a traditional Hathoric crown, an *ankh* and a papyrus sceptre. The second section of the main text reads, "Year 12, the first month of the flood, day three of His Majesty's rule, the King pronounced

⁹³⁸ See above.

⁹³⁹ See above. Temporal adjustment refers to a scene that corresponds to more than one period of time, and cat. no. 2R is the "real" time section to which the others can be compared.

his wish and he travelled through Egypt together with the Queen who is Great of Praise, Lady of Loveliness, Sweet of Love, Wife of the King, Mistress of the Two Lands, Arsinoë, Daughter of the King, Lord of the Two Lands, Ptolemy (I), the divine Philadelphos.⁹⁴⁰ They arrived in the Eastern Nome of the Harpoon, it was the city of their⁹⁴¹ father Atum. The King discussed with his sister, the Wife and Sister of the King, to protect Kemet against enemies...”



Fig. 95d: Detail of cat. no. 2L showing (from the left) Ptolemy II with Atum, Hathor and Arsinoë.

This text describes Arsinoë as a living queen, actively participating in official affairs. Furthermore, it recounts that Ptolemy II discussed with Arsinoë how to protect Egypt against enemies. This proclamation reveals a great respect towards Arsinoë. There was no reason to document a discussion of civil affairs between the Ptolemaic siblings if such never took place. Such an affirmation in any other given situation would have been seen as an indication of royal weakness. Ptolemy turned to Arsinoë for advice. As a sole ruler discussing official concerns with his spouse, Ptolemy would not be able to claim his success in upholding universal order as illustrated in cat. no. 2R: in my opinion the text is rather a declaration of a socio-political equality between Ptolemy II and Arsinoë, expressing co-regency. Accordingly, I identify cat. no. 2L as referring to a period of time when Arsinoë was alive.

Any given identification of the two additional divinities of cat. no. 2L depends on the determination of the two surrounding scenes. In terms of time, the very left scene relates to a period prior to the siblings' marriage. The right section has been established as postdating Arsinoë, showing her as completely divine. Textually, cat. no. 2L refers to Arsinoë's lifetime, to her role as Ptolemy's co-regent. Atum is illustrated in all three sections. He is already described in his aspect of the divine primeval father (cat. no. 2R), and the very left scene relates to Atum as the divine King, expressed foremost in the royal insignia. According to the artistic conventions of practicality, there is no need to pictorially repeat any of these aspects. In

⁹⁴⁰ See Chapter III.8 for my translations of Arsinoë's titles. Compare Roeder 1998,

⁹⁴¹ Compare Mueller's (2006, 195) translation "her father".

order to establish a third aspect of Atum, his relationship with the goddess of the scene needs to be clarified.

The main text mentions Hathor as the great mother.⁹⁴² Hathor, so far, has not been identified among the depicted figures. As a consequence, based on her pictorial composition, her name being mentioned in the main text, and because she is the only remaining goddess for such a recognition, I suggest that the goddess of cat. no. 2L is Hathor. Generally, Hathor is acknowledged in her relation with Atum as the Hand of God/Atum (later dynastic periods: Amun). This Hathoric aspect is described in the creation myth, when Atum masturbates and creates Shu and Tefnut. The hand that performed the sexual act was given a feminine title, and she was identified with Hathor, venerated as a maternal fertility goddess.⁹⁴³ The two divine figures can, thus, be identified as Atum and Hathor.

The scene illustrates Hathor in a pair with Atum, in a triad if incorporating Arsinoë. Arsinoë's cultural position, however, has been clarified as a living queen rather than a pure goddess, and this rules her role in the triad. As a living queen, she was regarded as an earthly manifestation of Hathor. Simultaneously, she was the divine daughter of Atum, also described in the main text. I consider the scene to express both these aspects. Based on the active artistic temporal adjustments this section relates to Arsinoë's lifetime, even though cat. no. 2R refers to a period of time that postdates her: I interpret her position in cat. no. 2L as showing her religious role as high priestess.⁹⁴⁴

Chapter III.8, below, demonstrates that high priestesses/queens were frequently associated with Tefnut, revealing yet another example of Egyptian religious complexity. Atum and Hathor, as mentioned above, created Shu and Tefnut. Hathor's role as the great mother is stressed in the main text. Therefore, I interpret Arsinoë's role in the triad primarily as an assimilated form of Tefnut, the daughter of Atum and Hathor. However, based on the complexity of Egyptian religion and the artistic adjustments of the scene, Arsinoë is, at the same time, shown as a living manifestation of Hathor. Cat. no. 2L places Arsinoë in one of the most fundamental Hathoric aspect, as it combines several characters in one *persona*. These can be summarised as follows: the living Queen Arsinoë reflects 1) the Hathoric daughter role as Tefnut, 2) the matrimonial aspect as the wife of Atum (high priestess), and based on the sexual union in the Holy Wedding, she assumes also 3) the maternal character providing the dynasty a divine heir.⁹⁴⁵

The scene reveals a further example of iconographic adjustments. Arsinoë, as the ruling queen, creates a cultural bridge through her position as the high priestess. She was considered divine, but simultaneously human. Her placement among the deities accentuates her divine legacy, but she is equal to her (living) husband-brother in the text. Her role enables Ptolemy to connect with the deities, and as the brother of Tefnut Ptolemy manifests Shu. The iconography and textual record come to a full circle, as the royal couple is textually described as children of Atum (read "...of their father Atum").⁹⁴⁶ The text describes the couple as Atum's benefactors, relating to their royal responsibilities as high priest and high priestess, confirming the suggested time period (during their lifetimes) for the scene.

⁹⁴² "Mother Hathor, Lady of Anet". For a complete translation of the section, see Roeder 1998, 116.

⁹⁴³ See Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon; Chapter III.9, Eye of Ra – the Hathoric daughter role.

⁹⁴⁴ See Chapter III.8.

⁹⁴⁵ For the Holy Wedding and the religious position of the high priestess, see Chapters III.9-10, IV.2, 4.

⁹⁴⁶ See cat. nos. 3-4.

To summarise, the Pithom stela postdates Arsinoë, but still refers to her as alive, an excellent illustration of the concept of temporal adjustment, recorded above in cat. nos. 1 and 36. Cat. no. 2 furthermore demonstrates the individuality of each illustrated section. Every section has been linked with different time periods, following a chronological order in a direction from the left to right. Each individual scene relates to a textual section. Historically, the Pithom stela firstly describes Ptolemy as a sole ruler prior to his marriage with Arsinoë. Secondly, it refers to a time period when Arsinoë and Ptolemy ruled Egypt together as co-regents, attaining their religious responsibilities as high priest and high priestess. Thirdly, it records the period following the death of Arsinoë, explaining the motif for Ptolemy's first Sed festival. Arsinoë's importance is emphasised further by her midpoint position in the scene. Her personal register of text stresses her dualistic nature as human and divine, since she is described as the image of Isis and Hathor.⁹⁴⁷ The title reflects Arsinoë's role as co-founder of the dynasty through the connection with Isis. It also describes her in her cultic role, as the earthly manifestation of Hathor and as high priestess.

Religiously, each section of the Pithom stela emphasises Atum. The overall scene displays the myth of Atum simultaneously and in agreement with the Ptolemaic history. It describes Atum as the divine ruling master, as the father of all gods and humans, and as the divine husband of an earthly wife manifested in the high priestess, further, cat. no. 2 in its entirety is an excellent example of an active artistic adjustment, pictorial relativity, incorporating all three rearrangements of size, position and time to further its message.

SUMMARISING THE CONCEPTS OF SIZE, POSITION AND TIME

As mentioned above, I have chosen to analyse cat. no. 26 as an example of an overall active and deliberate artistic adjustment in order to summarise all topics presented above: incorporating the (re-)adjustment of size, position and time in order to emphasise a theme or character expressed in the scene, which will enable a general interpretation and conclusions of the crowns in Chapters IV and V.

Located on the lintel of the so-called Gate of Nectanebo in Karnak, cat. no. 26, in its present state, lacks the outer stone blocks that previously would have completed the scene's iconographic setting. The scene was never finished and it is the only Ptolemaic relief on the eastern gate of Karnak. The few additional decorated registers of relief date to Pharaoh Nectanebo II. Most of the gate, however, has remained undecorated.

In terms of an overall pictorial setting, this lintel scene is divided in two halves, here registered as cat. nos. 26L-R. Ptolemy stands facing inward in both sections. Cat. no. 26R illustrates King Ptolemy II wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt, presenting the figure of Ma'at to a divine triad consisting of Amun, Khonsu and Arsinoë. On the left side, cat. no. 26L, Ptolemy II is illustrated wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt, dedicating the figure of Ma'at to Amun, Mut and Arsinoë. All figures are identified in the hieroglyphic personal registers of text (consisting of a detailed and clear composition of signs).

In the overall scene, all the male figures are incomplete. The upper parts of Ptolemy, Khonsu and (right-side) Amun are complete down to the minor details. The upper part of Amun on the

⁹⁴⁷ See Chapter III.8.

left side, however, shows only his crown – a double feather plume, which is complete in its details and carved in a deep sunken relief. The rest of his upper body has been neglected, as the stone surface remains untouched. There are no visible indications of an artistic attempt to attach this crown element to a body. Consequently, Amun lacks a torso, arms and head. This left figure of Amun is the only male figure illustrated with lower extremities, showing the legs of a male figure seated on a throne. The upper edge of Amun’s leg (s) has a clear and finished relief cut, but there are no indications of joining his legs to a torso, arms and head to complete the figure.⁹⁴⁸

As documented in fig. 96, two thin outlines mark the beginning of a kilt on the left-side figure of Ptolemy II, suggesting that the artist began working on the lower extremities. These outlines, however, are only shallowly etched and do not join at a lower point. I interpret this abnormality as an indication of artistic work that was unexpectedly interrupted. Such an hypothesis is supported by the artistic quality of Ptolemy’s hand, as it is only partially outlined.

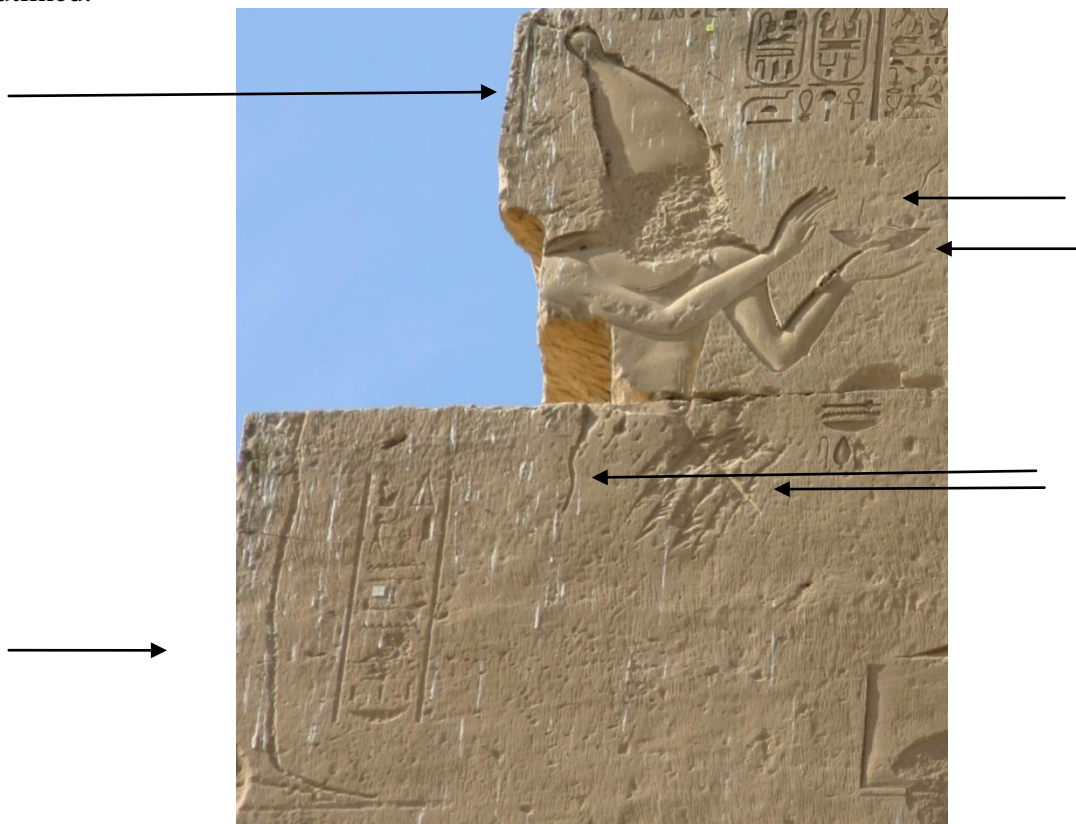


Fig. 96: Detail of cat. no. 26L showing the lower part of a female body. The left arrows point to the relief line of the personal register of text (top) and the lower part of the female body, including the lower hieroglyphic register (bottom). The right arrows show the unfinished outlines of Ptolemy and Ma’at.

All female figures, as opposed to the male ones, have their full bodily outlines, although still unfinished in terms of details. The right-side Arsinoë is carved in a much deeper relief compared to the two females of the left section. The sceptre and the text of Arsinoë’s lower hieroglyphic register (26R) are also cut deeper than those of the left figures. A discrepancy in the depth of the hieroglyphs in the right-side Arsinoë’s lower hieroglyphic register indicates a working process starting from below. Similarly, her sceptre is well defined on its lower end, whereas it is shallower above.

⁹⁴⁸ The offering figure of Ma’at in cat. no. 26L looks almost identical to the left figure of Amun. Only the lower part of the body, combined with her individual crown attribute, the feather, was completed.

The scene reveals yet another female figure located in a standing position behind Ptolemy II in cat. no. 26L. A front outline identifies the lower part of a female dress and the front part of feet. In front of her are listed her spoken words. The rest of her image is missing since the stone blocks have been removed or fallen down, thus fragmentising the scene.⁹⁴⁹ A sharp vertical line behind Ptolemy's head indicates an original personal register of hieroglyphs, once identifying the female figure.

An identification of this female figure is a topic that relates to the encoded principles of position and time equally. King Ptolemy, who is associated with this female, stands as an active benefactor. This position has been concluded above to indicate a living ruler.⁹⁵⁰ Due to the strict conventions of Egyptian art, the female figure standing behind the king must have had an active position corresponding to Ptolemy's. Thus, the scene showed a female figure in a protective stance, or as performing a religious ritual.⁹⁵¹ As mentioned above, the principles of Egyptian art placed only one female figure in this position: a living queen.⁹⁵²

If we accept that the female figure behind Ptolemy II is his spouse, this raises further questions, foremost about the date of the scene. In order to answer this question it is necessary to establish the queen's identity.⁹⁵³ In accordance with my conclusions above (cat. no. 36), combined with the depiction of two divine images of Arsinoë Philadelphos, the royal woman behind Ptolemy II in cat. no. 26L must be Arsinoë II. In terms of time, her position as an active benefactor places the scene in Arsinoë's lifetime.⁹⁵⁴ Such an identification is very important when studying the crown of Arsinoë, since it establishes a use of it prior to her complete deification, based on the two additional figures depicting the queen.

Arsinoë's seemingly sudden death could possibly explain the unfinished relief: if she was alive when the artist began his work, he followed the ancient conventions in placing a queen as a benefactor behind the king. Her sudden death, however, would put the artist and priest in an awkward position if they had chosen to proceed in their work. It would be unconventional for an artist to continue engraving a relief of a queen positioned behind the living ruler if she was no longer alive. It would have been inappropriate, since the queen's soul was believed to ascend and join the Egyptian pantheon immediately after her death. Furthermore, the Egyptians believed that any form of artistic representation symbolised an actual event, regardless of an actual physical participation.⁹⁵⁵ The souls of the figures depicted in a scene were thus captured or embedded in the illustration. I do not believe that a deceased queen could have been represented as alive if no additional information is provided in the scene to suggest an active temporal adjustment.⁹⁵⁶

⁹⁴⁹ None of the stone blocks on the ground relate to this structural part.

⁹⁵⁰ See Chapter III.4, Sistrum, Chapter III.6, Settings in the scenes. See also above in this chapter.

⁹⁵¹ See Chapter III.4, Hand held in a protective manner.

⁹⁵² So far, I have not recorded any Egyptian temple scene depicting a ruling couple in an active position unless they are both alive. See the figural display in cat. no. 1, above.

⁹⁵³ As generally known, Ptolemy II married twice in his life; with Lysimachus' daughter Arsinoë I, and with Arsinoë II, daughter of Ptolemy I and Berenice I, thus, sister of Ptolemy II. Although Ptolemy II was renowned for having many mistresses, especially Bilistiche, he never took another wife after the death of Arsinoë (II).

⁹⁵⁴ The missing stone blocks behind Ptolemy in cat. no. 26R could have included another figure in terms of space. This suggests the illustration of another queen. The Egyptians always structured the figural settings symmetrically, indicating that Ptolemy initially was accompanied by a female figure.

⁹⁵⁵ See Chapter I.2.

⁹⁵⁶ Compare cat. no. 1 which is different since the text expresses various periods of time, and states that it commemorates a past while simultaneously honouring the contemporary situation. See further below.

Cat. no. 26 conveys that the royal couple, Ptolemy and Arsinoë, uphold universal order (expressed by the figure of Ma'at). The titles of Arsinoë, when she stands with the deities, place her in a socio-religious position as the wife of Amun, thus, as the high priestess.⁹⁵⁷ Arsinoë's dual position as benefactor and beneficiary is represented also elsewhere. Cat. no. 1 illustrates Arsinoë as a queen and goddess, and prior to her, Ramses II was depicted in this manner. Above in this chapter, Ihy's dual representation has been presented. Similar to my interpretation of Ihy, I define Arsinoë's positions as reflecting her twofold cultural nature as a divine queen. Pictorially, Arsinoë functioned as a cultural bridge between the humans and gods. Culturally, she acted as such in her role as high priestess and could therefore be accepted on the same side as the divinities.

Cat. no. 26 relates to the concepts of relative placement as it places Arsinoë as benefactor and beneficiary equally. At the same time, these positions identify two different time periods and, therefore, emphasise the fundamentals of temporal adjustment in accordance with the above.⁹⁵⁸ It summarises also the concepts of relative scaling, primarily communicated by the figure of Amun who is identified as the main subject in the scene based on his tall feather plume. The figural composition of Amun is unique, as he is depicted without an upper body (torso, arms, and head) but with a crown still claiming his hierarchic position.

Based on the information provided in Chapters III.6-7, Table 24, below, demonstrates the result of my reassessment of the material regarding dating. Note that most scenes concur with a traditional dating. Those scenes that I have reevaluated to date to Arsinoë's lifetime are highlighted and enlarged. The Table also provides a foundation for all chapters below.

⁹⁵⁷ See Chapter III.8, *passim*. See also Appendix II.

⁹⁵⁸ Arsinoë's sudden death might have interrupted the artist from finalising the relief, but it does not explain the overall bizarre relief work. Arguably, the artist began his work from the top blocks and continued downward, which the left figure of Ptolemy demonstrates. The images of Arsinoë, however, immediately question this working progress, since the lower parts of these images are carved much deeper than the upper ones, indicating he started at the bottom and worked up. Arsinoë's death cannot provide any reason for three, arguably four, fully outlined female figures when all males are incomplete. Neither can her death explain the unfinished state of the remaining gate. Normally, an undressed gate would have been reused, or redressed if already decorated. Certainly, Arsinoë's death cannot account for the reasons why Nectanebo II had only the gate's lower registers decorated. To my knowledge, this scene has no counterparts in traditional Egyptian art. There are other reliefs that are unfinished, but these are generally preserved with a painted grid system, and the drafted figures reveal that they still await a finishing relief work. For example, such unfinished scenes are documented in the Tomb of Ramose (18th Dynasty) in the Valley of the Nobles in Thebes, or in the small incomplete Chapel of Nitokris at Medinet Habu. The relief work of the tomb of Ramose is preserved with painted grids and drawings still awaiting its final relief scene. There is a clear workman's schedule and developing progress visible, which is far from similar to the scene of cat. no. 26. The scenes of the latter example, the chapel of Nitokris, follow the same artistic pattern as the Tomb of Ramose, with a clear step-by-step development. Other unfinished relief scenes demonstrate various indications of a working progress. Cat. no. 26, however, does not follow any traditional artistic conventions of development at all.

Table 24: Dating of the scenes

The left column lists each ruler, which dates the scene. The last column shows the total number of scenes dating to each ruler. The later Ptolemaic queens are highlighted within the column of later female figures in order to separate them from the Hathoric figures.

Date according to ruler	Scenes with Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of scenes
Arsinoë's lifetime	8-9, 12?, 15, 26⁹⁵⁹		4 (5?)
Ptolemy II	1-2, 5-7, 10-11, 13-14, 23, 26-33, 36		19
Ptolemy III	4, 24-25		3
Ptolemy IV	17-20, 22	54-55	7
Ptolemy V	3		1
Ptolemy VI		49-53	5
Ptolemy VIII	16, 21, 34-35	46-48, 67, 156-157	10
Ptolemy IX		44-45	2
Ptolemy X		39-43	5
Ptolemy XII		37-38, 134-136	5
Cleopatra VII		95-96, 142, 158	4
Ptolemaic		73, 107-133, 137-141, 144-146, 155?	37
Augustus		74, 76-80, 82-83, 85, 87, 89-94, 97, 105, 147, 149-150, 152-154	24
Tiberius		75, 99	2
Caligula		103-104, 106	3
Claudius		68-70	3
Nero		71-72, 81, 84, 86, 88, 98, 100-102	10
Domitian		56-58	3
Trajan		59-66	8
Roman		143, 148, 151	3

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

In Chapter III.7 three aspects of message-bearing, artistic adjustments are demonstrated: size, (directional) position and time. In the new methodology presented here, grids and horizontal lines are applied to photos of reliefs as instruments to measure and evaluate the structure of a scene. An ancient geometric connection is acknowledged, but only occasionally employed here in order to draw attention more fully to the visual associations of elements: thus, the thesis does not consider the more mathematical aspects that are traditionally associated with ancient grids, but looks at a new avenue of research. A horizontal head line has previously been used in order to measure the height of the main characters of a scene: this method is commonly referred to as isoccephaly, in which all major heads are the same size more or less. A horizontal line can be drawn across the tops of their heads. The head line is recognised in the material, but is used only as a supplementary or complementary line. In my study, I have realised the importance of the crown as an integral part of any figural representation, and its individuality as an essential part of the message of the relief but found no mention of it in the ancient

⁹⁵⁹ Cat. no. 26 is dated to both Arsinoë's lifetime and to the reign of Ptolemy II. For the twofold dating, see Chapter III.8, Image of Isis and Hathor.

divisions and geometry of the grid: thus, I have introduced an additional horizontal line as part of my method of study, referred to as a crown line. A horizontal line is drawn using the top of the highest crown, thus clearly indicating who the tallest figure is of a scene; the differences of height reveal the hierarchic order. The tallest figure is thus interpreted as the most important. The crown/crown line as it is presented here has never before been used as an indicator of status. As has hopefully been shown, this is the only indication of social order that adequately ranks the figures hierarchically. Variations in size do not indicate artistic freedom, as some earlier scholars believed, but rather emphasise specific aspects of a certain figure according to message to be communicated to the viewer, as other scholars have expressed.

The principles of a crown line show best the topic of relative scaling. The concepts of size have been explained as referring to an adjustment of scale of any given image or individual element. These aspects were altered and/or implemented in order to accentuate hierarchic order. In the material Arsinoë's prominent role is demonstrated based on the crown line. Similarly, Hathor and the later Ptolemaic queens are frequently illustrated as the tallest figure (based on the crown line). The concept of relative scaling of smaller items is regulated by equal criteria as the figures and their associations are exemplified with the help of traditional horizontal lines below the crown line.

The second aspect of active adjustments – relative placement – describes the positional variations of figures and elements in a scene. It refers to the overall pictorial arrangement, and it encompasses directional variations. The main figures have been distinguished according to an active or inactive position, establishing them as benefactors or beneficiaries. A traditional scene generally illustrates a pharaoh presenting offerings to the deities, classifying the ruler as an active benefactor and the deities as inactive beneficiaries. As with all artistic conventions, scenes occur with reversed positions: the pharaoh receives the attention of the deities. Such scenes associate with the topics of rebirth, rejuvenation and crowning, and frequently include Thoth and Seshat writing and handing over the official royal name to the king. These scenes often include inactive deities, monitoring the event.

The topic of relative placement has demonstrated that one figure's stance can clarify the overall theme of the scene. Ihy, the great son of Hathor, is associated with the pharaoh and personifies royal youth/rebirth when his body faces the deities. Such a scene reveals associations with the goddess Ma'at, and the principles of royal power. As assimilated with the pharaoh, personifying royal youth, Ihy acts as a benefactor. When grouped with the gods, facing the pharaoh, he is understood as one of the gods, acknowledged as such, and consequently acting as a beneficiary.

The final example of artistic adjustment – temporal adjustment – deals with the concepts of time. Most Egyptian scenes illustrate the pharaoh with any given deity. Scenes incorporating a pharaoh were believed to commemorate an actual event regardless of the ruler's physical participation. Each element in an artistic composition represented an aspect of the soul of the object of depiction. Accordingly, Egyptian art was limited to a contemporary time or to the past: future events were never portrayed (or were part of a person's soul). Thus, a person could be in the same scene twice, once when he or she was alive, once when he or she was dead or at another time of her/his life.

Three examples have been chosen to demonstrate the concept of temporal adjustment. Cat. nos. 1-2 and 36 vary greatly in their individual compositions, but relate in a common theme. The scenes describe more than one time period simultaneously, each one describing Arsinoë as

a living queen, co-ruling Egypt with Ptolemy II while also referring to the period following the death of Arsinoë, when Ptolemy II ruled Egypt alone. All three scenes relate to the topic of rejuvenation, directly or indirectly mentioning Ptolemy's Sed festival. The study of cat. nos. 1-2 and 36 suggests that Arsinoë's death caused Ptolemy to celebrate a Sed festival in order to proclaim and demonstrate his capability of maintaining a continuous rule. The three scenes illuminate the importance of analysing every aesthetic detail in order to understand not only the overall message of the scene, but possibly more importantly the rest of the information provided: by using the methods explained above and looking at the importance of each individual figure and each section in a scene, allowing them to communicate their individual messages prior to investigating the whole scene and the texts, the viewer can gain a much fuller understanding of the message behind it and its relation to the context and background of the scene as well as its place in the social and chronological development of the society.

Chapter III.7 has provided alternatives to the traditional scholarly approach to art. It has demonstrated the importance of understanding each element in its complete structure. A relief scene can be recognised by any given layman according to its immediate visual effects, encompassing its fundamental cultic value, its splendour of colours, the skills of the artist etc. A closer scientific approach will establish the theme of the scene, the identities of figures, date, material, etc. Chapter III.7 has provided a possibility to read (between) the lines of iconography, and enables any given viewer a comprehensible structure still applied in art today.

CHAPTER III.8

HIEROGLYPHIC TITLES OF ARSINOË

As part of the contextual analysis, performed to enable a greater understanding of the significance of the crown of Arsinoë, the present section deals with Arsinoë's hieroglyphic titles. Together, these titles provide a textual clarification of Arsinoë's socio-political and religious roles, which will be put in comparison with the symbolic message communicated in the crowns. This section, thus, functions primarily as a factual and analytical foundation of textual material.

Children received birth names immediately after birth to ensure the safety of their souls if something would go wrong in an early stage of life.⁹⁶⁰ Regarding female royalties, titles could be given to a queen or princess through their dynastic and divine legacy, but also as a merit. Queens were provided with designations based on religious positions, including Arsinoë's epithet Philadelphos – the brother-loving. Traditionally, a queen received a name that was connected with the pharaoh's title when they were united in marriage.⁹⁶¹

The symbolic value of the individual titles of a queen was equivalent to the king's designations throughout all pharaonic periods. The most important title for a royal woman was "Great wife of the king". This designation separated her from concubines, officially illuminating her position as a sole queen. Similarly, the title "Mother of the king" was greatly valued: it indicated status, pure royal blood and legitimacy. Together with the previous title, "Mother of

⁹⁶⁰ LÄ III, 540-542.

⁹⁶¹ Tyldesley 2006, 155.

the king” placed a royal woman at the top of the social hierarchy. Equally, it was an honour to be called “Sister of the king”. Below, further examples are listed of titles expressing a royal woman’s connections with the pharaoh, including “Daughter of the king” and “Wife of the king”.⁹⁶²

The titles of Arsinoë are numerous, and they appear in many variants. Some of her totally 41 designations, however, occur more frequently than others, and due to the great variety, I have chosen to concentrate the analysis on the most recurrently appearing designations of Arsinoë.⁹⁶³ However, the chapter also provides examples of designations of less regularity. These less frequent titles are studied as a material of comparison, appearing in relation with one or several of the chief designations.⁹⁶⁴ The chapter includes the few listed titles of the later Ptolemaic queens, but the Hathoric designations are presented in the subsequent free-standing chapter. The most recurrent designations are listed as follows:

⁹⁶² Among others, these titles regulated and established the dualistic harmony of male and female. For the Egyptian dualism see Troy 1986, *passim*.

⁹⁶³ The number refers to the titles listed in the material, thus excluding titles represented on statues and other artistic media used for comparison.

⁹⁶⁴ Frequently, the stelai include a main text, located below the relief scene. Any reference to this main text is abbreviated as M (i.e., main text; compare left and right side of the scene: L and R). For the comprehensive list of titles see Appendix II.

Table 25: The most frequently applied designations of Arsinoë

The table shows Arsinoë's designation with a transliteration and hieroglyphic form. The later Ptolemaic queens are found in corresponding footnotes. The total number of scenes that list each title is listed in the final column.

Designation	Transliteration	Hieroglyphs	Cat. nos.	Total number of examples
King's daughter, sister, wife (Royal daughter, sister, wife)	<i>s3t nsw, snt nsw, hmt nsw</i>		1R, 1M, 2L, 2R, 8, 23, 26L-29, 31-32	13
King of Upper and Lower Egypt or King of Lower Egypt	<i>nsw-bit; bit (t3wy)</i>		5, 7-8, 13-15R	7
Lady of the Two Lands ⁹⁶⁵	<i>nbt t3wy</i>		2L, 2R, 5, 11, 23, 26L-28, 30-33	13
Mistress of the Two Lands	<i>hmt t3wy</i>		1L, 1M, 2M	3
Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt	<i>hmt rsy mhwt</i>		28, 31-32	3
Daughter of Amun ⁹⁶⁶	<i>s3t Imn</i>		12-14, 23-29, 31-32	13
Theoi Adelphoi	<i>ntr w-sn w</i>		3-4, 16-19, 21-22, 24-25	10
Divine mother, royal mother, divine mother of his mothers	<i>mwt ntr</i>		16-20, 22, 34-35	8
Image of Isis and Hathor ⁹⁶⁷	<i>Is.t tjt h.t-hr (tjt Is.t h.t-hr)</i>		2, (26R)	2

⁹⁶⁵ Include the later Ptolemaic queens of cat. nos. 142, 156-157.

⁹⁶⁶ See cat. no. 1M "Beloved of the ram". Also see cat. no. 158 "Daughter of Geb".

⁹⁶⁷ Compare cat. nos. 2L, 2R, 12-13 "Beloved of (all) the gods"; cat. nos. 2L, 2R, 12, (possibly cat. no. 14) "She who is in the heart of Shu".

KING'S DAUGHTER, KING'S SISTER, KING'S WIFE

According to Table 25 Arsinoë is described as “King’s daughter, sister and wife” (=Royal daughter, sister and wife) 13 times. The full title also occurs in the following alternations: “King’s daughter, sister, his greatly beloved wife”,⁹⁶⁸ “Sister, daughter of the King of Upper Egypt, greatly beloved wife of the King of Upper Egypt”,⁹⁶⁹ “Daughter, sister of the King of Upper Egypt, king’s great wife”,⁹⁷⁰ “King’s daughter, sister of the King of Upper Egypt, king’s great wife”,⁹⁷¹ “King’s wife, sister [and daughter]”,⁹⁷². These titles can also be compared to the designations listed in cat. no. 13 (possibly also cat. no. 14): “She who is in the heart of the king”.⁹⁷³ Cat. no. 156 designates Cleopatra in a less elaborated style: “Wife of the king”.

The first title, “King’s daughter”, was frequently used among royal women throughout the pharaonic periods.⁹⁷⁴ The royal position indicated by it could make possible a queen’s accession to the throne based on her bloodline, combined with a temporary lack of male heirs.⁹⁷⁵ The social position indicated by the title could, however, also constitute a risk during the Ptolemaic period. As Ptolemaic descendants, the princesses were often caught up in political affairs, as they sealed alliances through marriage.⁹⁷⁶

“Sister of the king” was introduced at a far later date (12th Dynasty) compared to “King’s daughter”.⁹⁷⁷ The title strengthened a queen’s dynastic bonds, but it was not necessarily connected with queenship. Interestingly, this title was also used by wives outside the royal house during the New Kingdom.⁹⁷⁸

The third title, “Wife of the king”, separated the main spouse from any mistresses or harem women.⁹⁷⁹ It was eventually strengthened by an additional prefix, ‘great’, thus stating “Great

⁹⁶⁸ Cat. no. 1R.

⁹⁶⁹ Cat. no. 1M.

⁹⁷⁰ Cat. no. 23.

⁹⁷¹ Cat. nos. 26L-R.

⁹⁷² Cat. no. 28.

⁹⁷³ Alternatively, it reads “The one who is united with the heart of the king”, see Troy 1986, 183, A3/10.

⁹⁷⁴ Here, including cat. nos. 1L, 1R, 2L, 2R, 2M, 8, 26L-27, 29, 31-32. Compare cat. nos. 1M, 2M, 23 “Daughter of the king of Upper Egypt”; cat. no. 3 “Daughter of Ptolemy”; cat. no. 8 “Great daughter”. Further, compare cat. nos. 1M, 28, 31-32 “Princess”.

⁹⁷⁵ Compare the circumstances when Queen Sobeknefru ascended the throne. As the last ruler of the 12th Dynasty, the daughter of Pharaoh Amenemhet III ruled Egypt in her own right. See Grimal 1992, 171; Ryholt 1997, 213f.; Troy 2003, 95f.

⁹⁷⁶ If she did not become a queen, the daughter of the king most likely became a priestess of Hathor. Princesses were housed in the royal harem. There, this title separated the princess from other women, accrediting her higher rank and status.

⁹⁷⁷ Cat. nos. 1L, 2R, 2L, 2R, 8, 27-29, 31-32. Include also cat. nos. 1M, 23, 26L-R, 29 “Sister of the king of Upper Egypt”; cat. no. 16 “Sister-wife of Ptolemy”; cat. no. 21 “Divine sister of Ptolemy”. Also, see Troy 1986, 194. See Troy 1986, 194, listing “Sister of the king” as an epithet (the initial) of Queen Dedyt, the sister-wife of Amenemhet I.

⁹⁷⁸ Tyldesley 2006, 155.

⁹⁷⁹ Cat. nos. 1L, 2L, 2R, 2M, 8, 27-29, 31-32. Also include cat. no. 1R “His greatly beloved wife”; cat. no. 1M “Greatly beloved wife of the king of Upper Egypt”; cat. nos. 8, 23, 26L-R “King’s great wife”; cat. no. 16 “Sister-wife of Ptolemy”. The title appears in records during the Old Kingdom when it was used to designate Queen NyMa’athap, the wife of Khasekhemwy, and the mother of Djoser. See Tyldesley 2006, 26-35; Troy 1986, 193.

wife of the king”: the position of the main spouse was no longer questionable and the children of a main spouse were always regarded as the legitimate heirs of the throne.⁹⁸⁰

The three amalgamated titles, “King’s daughter, king’s sister and king’s wife”, were applied as an epithet of queens between the 17th and the 25th Dynasties, reintroduced c. 750 years later as an epithet of Queen Arsinoë.⁹⁸¹ The merged title connects a queen with at least two male generations of the royal house as it associates her with her father and brother. The queen enters a mythological role as Hathor in her relationship with Ra and Horus by combining the three titles.⁹⁸²

All scenes that designate Arsinoë as “King’s daughter, sister and wife” date to the reign of Ptolemy II, including also two scenes dated to Arsinoë’s lifetime. “Daughter, sister and wife” places Arsinoë in a direct royal lineage, explaining her royal ancestry and her relation to the ruling king.⁹⁸³ I regard the titles to describe a royal woman, a queen, rather than a goddess. The title ultimately legitimated the true queen as she claimed her authentic bloodline, legacy and rank.

The title describes Arsinoë in cat. no. 8 and simultaneously places her in an active position as a benefactor. My interpretation of a benefactor’s active position has been motivated in previous sections as indicating a living queen. The presence of this royal title in cat. no. 8 supports this interpretation.

Arsinoë is described as “King’s daughter, sister of the King of Upper Egypt, king’s great wife” in cat. no. 26 (L-R), corresponding to the traditional queenly title. It does, however, also provide further evidence to support my hypothesis, presented in Chapter III.7, of Arsinoë’s socio-political position as Ptolemy II’s co-regent. The basis of this statement is found in the description of the king, underlined in the title above. The pictorial scene presents Ptolemy II as the King of Upper Egypt in cat. no. 26L, indicated by the white crown. Suggestively, the title “Sister of the King of Upper Egypt” could relate to Ptolemy’s figural position in this left section since he represents this role there. It is, however, crucial to recognise the pictorial structure of the full scene, and combine cat. no. 26L with its right counterpart. There, Ptolemy II wears the red crown, symbolising his regency of Lower Egypt. The full scene consequently illustrates Ptolemy II as the ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt simultaneously. The titles of Arsinoë are identical on both sides of the lintel, neither one describing Arsinoë as the sister of the King of Lower Egypt, therefore excluding an obvious association with Ptolemy II in any given side. Based on the Egyptian concepts of symmetric harmony and the symbolic arrangement of the figures in the full scene, Arsinoë’s title cannot refer to only one of the two

⁹⁸⁰ There are, however, instances when there are no heirs in the main marriage when the responsibility falls on children born by a mistress.

⁹⁸¹ The merged title was very unusual. For queens prior to Arsinoë, see Tyldesley 2006, 82-85; Grajetzki 2005 also includes mistresses and harem women.

⁹⁸² There are other documents describing Arsinoë as “King’s daughter, sister and wife”. These are, however, excluded from the material due to their artistic medium. For example, Arsinoë is designated with this title on a statue in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 20.2.21, see Albersmeier 2002, cat. no. 106. Compare *LdR* IV, 239-245; Quaegebeur 1998. Cat. nos. 1M, 2M, 23, 26L-R, 29 lists Arsinoë in a family-orientated relation with her father and brother respectively as the “King of Upper Egypt”. As noted previously, I interpret this title as describing co-regency.

⁹⁸³ The earliest documented female royal titles that connect the queen with the king date to the early Old Kingdom. “Daughter of the king” was introduced as a queen’s title during the 3rd Dynasty as an epithet of Queen Hetephernebtj, the wife of Pharaoh Djoser. However, this appeared as a title of the daughters of the pharaoh already from the time of Shepsetipet, in a stela from Saqqara (3477); *PM* III:2, 444; Troy 1986, 152; Tyldesley 2006 38-40.

figures of Ptolemy II. Instead, I connect this scene with previous examples of scenes indicating co-regency between Ptolemy II and Arsinoë. The queen is described as in a socio-political position as a pharaoh of Lower Egypt. The title is, furthermore, connected with her figural position as a ruling queen behind Ptolemy II in cat. no. 26L.⁹⁸⁴

All scenes listed with the current main title, “King’s daughter, sister and wife”, date to the reign of Ptolemy II. Arsinoë is foremost illustrated as a beneficiary, standing on an opposite side from her husband-brother, indicating a divine role. However, based on the results presented in the previous Chapter III.7, cat. nos. 1-2, 26L also refer (directly or indirectly) to Arsinoë’s lifetime. Similarly, cat. no. 8 pictorially places her as a living queen.⁹⁸⁵ Remaining reliefs, cat. nos. 23, 27-29, and 31-32, most probably date to a period immediately following her death.

I interpret the merged title “King’s daughter, sister, and wife”, as referring to a living queen, with or without the aid of an active temporal adjustment. I regard the title, when describing Arsinoë after her death, as a powerful political statement, in which the queen functions as a binding link between the pharaoh, deities, and the royal dynastic ancestors.

As an example of comparison from another artistic medium, a fragment of a sculptured crown relates to Arsinoë’s title “King’s daughter, sister and wife”.⁹⁸⁶ The fragment dates to the Ptolemaic period, and includes the title “King’s daughter, sister, wife, great royal wife, she who satisfies the heart of Horus”.⁹⁸⁷ The full title is equivalent to Arsinoë’s designations, especially in cat. nos. 8 and 1M.⁹⁸⁸ Except for its royal symbolism, the crown-text is associated with Hathor and her relations with Ra and Horus. This elaborated title portrays Arsinoë in a complete Hathoric role, indirectly placing Ptolemy II as the earthly manifestation of Horus.⁹⁸⁹

⁹⁸⁴ See Chapter III.7, Conceptions of time. Cat. no. 26 is analysed further below, King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

⁹⁸⁵ Argumentatively, one could question why “King’s daughter, sister and wife” does not occur in cat. no. 15, a scene that places Arsinoë as a benefactor, dating to Arsinoë’s lifetime. This scene, however, focuses instead on a full royal title of kingship, describing her as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt”. See below, King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

⁹⁸⁶ It is a fragment of a statue crown of Arsinoë from the temple of Isis in ancient Koptos, modern Qift, now located in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College, London, inv. no. 14521.

⁹⁸⁷ For a full transliteration see Albersmeier 2002, 113 (no. 88); Compare Troy 1986, C3/4 who refers to the title as “Sister of the king of Upper Egypt, Daughter of the king of Lower Egypt”.

⁹⁸⁸ Compare the title of Arsinoë listed by Troy 1986, 185, which reads “the one who brings peace to the heart of Horus”.

⁹⁸⁹ I regard the textual connection between the queen and Horus as symbolising the pharaoh as an earthly manifestation of Horus. Now of an unknown location, the stela of Saft el-Henneh describes Arsinoë with the triple title. Arsinoë is depicted as the last figure of totally seven deities to whom Ptolemy II presents offerings. All deities are illustrated in a standardised squatting position. This position is associated with mainly the figure of Ma’at (who is the second deity of the scene). Here, Arsinoë is connected with Horus, Hathor and Harsomtus. Again, the item dates to the reign of Ptolemy II. It supports the dynastic association described above. The title describes Arsinoë also on a priest stela from Saqqara, now in the British Museum, BM 1029. It designates her “King’s daughter, sister and wife, the Daughter of Amon, Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos”. See Quaegebeur 1989, 246, no. 1, who describes it as (stela of Nesisty) Stela British Museum No. 379; *PM* III, 23, 743; Troy 1986, 178; see also *LdR* IV, 241 for an illustrated text. Based on early drawings made during the early 19th century, and later published by Brugsch, this text has subsequently been wrongly translated with the title “ruler” or “ruler of Egypt”. See *Thes. Inscr.* IV. Quaegebeur 1989 shows that this title has been incorrectly drawn. See Quaegebeur 1989, *passim*.

KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT

Arsinoë is described as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt” or “King of Lower Egypt” seven times (six scenes) in the material.⁹⁹⁰ Such (male) royal titles of Arsinoë have previously been dismissed based on the traditional dating of the reliefs as belonging to the period following Arsinoë’s death. For many years, Quaegebeur unsuccessfully debated for a kingly position of Arsinoë, mainly basing his arguments on textual reference.⁹⁹¹ I intend to continue Quaegebeur’s imperative work by shedding some new light on the dating quandary. In order to do so, the scenes are investigated also according to their pictorial context, including the correlation between pictorial and textual frameworks. Therefore, I investigate the possibilities to reevaluate the date of the scenes where Arsinoë is designated as the King of Egypt in order to see if they possibly could belong to her lifetime instead.

Cat. no. 5 is a smaller copy of the more renowned Mendes stela (cat. no. 1). It depicts Arsinoë as a goddess and places her on the divine side exclusively.⁹⁹² Similar to cat. no. 1, the main theme is the celebration of the newly incarnated ram god, combined with the deification of Arsinoë.⁹⁹³ The minor Mendes stela dates to the reign of Ptolemy II. It has been demonstrated above that the main Mendes stela manipulates size, position, and time in order to capture the full written context also in the pictorial setting.⁹⁹⁴ Supposedly, the communicated message of cat. no. 5 concurs with the original stela.

Arsinoë’s complete individual designation in cat. no. 5 reads: “King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Banebdjedet)| Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë Philadelphos)”. The titles “King of Upper and Lower Egypt” and “Lord of the Two Lands” (here translated “Lady”) traditionally describe male pharaohs, but these titles are listed in Arsinoë’s personal register of text. The importance of this placement must be considered and comprehended. Egyptian conventions structured and regulated the registers of text, the personal designations and epithets were attached directly to the figure.⁹⁹⁵ Cat. no. 5 retains such conventions since it lists Arsinoë’s name and personal epithet.

The overall title associates Arsinoë with the local ram god, Banebdjedet. According to the principles, male names were incorporated in female titles as emphasising a family-oriented relationship, such as father-daughter or brother-sister.⁹⁹⁶ Cat. no. 5 lacks such a family-oriented connection. Instead, I consider the text placed in her personal register of text to refer exclusively to Arsinoë. Banebdjedet’s name was possibly incorporated in Arsinoë’s title in order to stress an intended aspect of Arsinoë, and can as such be compared with “Beloved of the ram”, which describes her elsewhere.⁹⁹⁷ Suggestively, it refers to Arsinoë’s lifetime role as the high priestess of Banebdjedet. This religious role emphasises Arsinoë’s royal position,

⁹⁹⁰ Cat. nos. 5, 7-8, 13-15R.

⁹⁹¹ Quaegebeur 1970; 1971; 1988; 1989.

⁹⁹² Compared to the main Mendes stela, which places her also on the royal side.

⁹⁹³ As noted in Chapter I.4, Arsinoë received a divine title already during her lifetime, referring to her individual designation *thea Philadelphos*, and to the title which she shared with Ptolemy II, the *theoi Adelphoi*.

⁹⁹⁴ See Chapter III.6, and below in this chapter.

⁹⁹⁵ The text remains centred on the figure that it describes in cat. nos. 27-28, although there are inadequacies in the placement of the hieroglyphs.

⁹⁹⁶ See Troy 1986, 192-195, C Kinship. For example, Arsinoë’s title in cat. no. 16 includes the name of Ptolemy, but only as an object relating to the description “Sister and wife of...”. See below, Daughter of Amon.

⁹⁹⁷ Cat. no. 1.

places her as a living queen and links her with the ruling power, not only as a female royal spouse, but as a King of Egypt.

Pictorially, cat. no. 5 differs from cat. no. 1 in the overall scene. The smaller stela illustrates Ptolemy II presenting offerings to Banebdjedet, Isis and Arsinoë.⁹⁹⁸ As noted above, Egyptian conventions placed deities according to family relations, generally illustrating a father, mother and child of a local triad. Cat. no. 5 depicts Arsinoë as the triad's child, as an adult daughter parented by Banebdjedet and Isis.⁹⁹⁹ Arsinoë is indirectly also represented in a Hathoric position as the daughter of Ra since Banebdjedet is textually described as the "Living soul of Ra".

Arsinoë is the tallest figure of the scene according to the crown line, which emphasises and indicates her thematic role in the scene.¹⁰⁰⁰ The central theme is rebirth, which is also indicated by the field-offering brought forward by Ptolemy II. The theme of rejuvenation/rebirth relates to the newly incarnated ram god, but simultaneously also to the deification of Arsinoë as she enters the Underworld as a completely developed goddess. This message/theme is correlated with cat. no. 1. The simultaneous divine rebirths of Banebdjedet and Arsinoë are stressed in Arsinoë's title which synchronises them. However, in terms of time, cat. no. 5 provides no information to conclusively suggest a date of creation. Therefore, cat. no. 5 cannot assist in reassessing the dating quandary regarding Arsinoë's assumption of the kingly titles.

Cat. no. 7 illustrates Arsinoë in a standing position on the left side of the scene, as a beneficiary receiving offerings from Ptolemy II. A horned altar is placed between them. Arsinoë is the tallest figure of the scene based on the crown line. She is designated "King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Arsinoë Philadelphos)". Her eminent position on the left side, opposite Ptolemy II, and the illustrated altar between them, suggest that Arsinoë is referred to as a fully developed goddess. Based on Arsinoë's clarified divine role, cat. no. 7 cannot answer the question if Arsinoë received the title of kingship prior to her death.

Cat. no. 8, however, can possibly shed some light on this issue. Arsinoë alone is depicted in a benefactor's position. As noted in Chapter III.7, I regard such an active position to indicate a living king or queen. She is dressed in an elaborated sheath and wears sandals, indicating a queen alive according to Chapter III.4. The very fragmentary image of the deity, to which she presents offerings, is crowned with a crescent and a lunar disc, according to previous scholars linking the figure to Thoth or Khonsu.¹⁰⁰¹ Suggestively, this crown could also connect with the Apis bull. The bull is generally depicted with shorter bovine horns, smoothly following the outlines of a solar disc. Cat. no. 12 supports such an identification and places Arsinoë in a Hathoric maternal role, as she is textually described as "Mother of Hep (Hep = Apis)". Furthermore, the prominent scale of the cow horns and solar disc in Arsinoë's crown in cat. no. 8 may indicate an association with Hathor as the mother of Apis.¹⁰⁰²

⁹⁹⁸ Cat. no. 1L-R include also the royal family and additional deities.

⁹⁹⁹ See below, Daughter of Amon.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Her size has a great value in understanding her importance in the scene, since the conventions generally prohibited any given daughter from such position. See Chapter III.7.

¹⁰⁰¹ See *LÄ* IV, 192-196; see also Albersmeier & Minas 1998, 22-27 regarding this figure and possible interpretations of identification to which one might add the figure of an ibis-bird due to its connection to Thoth. The crown can also be worn by yet another figure if that deity is expressing another aspect of either Thoth or Khonsu.

¹⁰⁰² See Chapters III.2-3. Chapter III.2, moreover, studied the crown *uraeus* in cat. no. 8, wearing the traditional Hathoric crown as an additional pictorial unit.

Arsinoë's full title (see fig. 97) in cat. no. 8 reads: "Great of Sweetness, Great of Praise, King's daughter, King's wife, Great daughter, King's sister, (the king) who loves her and she loves him, King's great wife, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Arsinoë Philadelphos)|, the Rightful". Several of these epithets suggest a living and ruling queen, which strengthen the iconological interpretation of the relief as dating to Arsinoë's lifetime. As noted above, Arsinoë is described with royal titles ranking her higher than any other contemporary royal woman.¹⁰⁰³ The title "Great daughter" provides and secures her with a higher social rank. It determines her as the firstborn daughter in a legitimate royal marriage, comparable to "Great wife" above.¹⁰⁰⁴ This title places Arsinoë socially above her younger sister, Philotera, who received a posthumous cult similar to Arsinoë.¹⁰⁰⁵ Furthermore, "Great daughter" allowed Arsinoë to claim her legitimate royal ancestry and her own right to descend the throne, indicated also by her last title as "the Rightful".



Fig. 97: Detail of cat. no. 8 showing the hieroglyphic text.

All her epithets in cat. no. 8 underline Arsinoë's socio-political position as a rightful heir of the throne of Egypt. Considerably, Arsinoë was raised as the future ruler of Egypt during her first eight years, thus prior to the birth of Ptolemy II. Returning to Egypt as an adult, Arsinoë could claim power through her legacy. As the "Great wife", Arsinoë underlined her social position mainly against the former wife of Ptolemy II, Arsinoë I, the daughter of Lysimachus, who was expelled from the Alexandrian court of an unknown date in close connection with the return of Arsinoë (II). In terms of social status, I regard the titles listed in cat. no. 8 as more significant for a living queen than for a posthumous goddess. Consequently, I interpret Arsinoë's designations in cat. no. 8 as concurring with the iconographic interpretation noted above, dating to Arsinoë's lifetime.¹⁰⁰⁶

As another scene that includes the title currently under study, cat. no. 13 describes Arsinoë as "King of Lower Egypt, the Two Lands (she who is in the heart of the king, Beloved of (all) the

¹⁰⁰³ See above in this chapter, King's daughter, sister, and wife.

¹⁰⁰⁴ "Great daughter" dates back to the New Kingdom, but was used very rarely. Compare the title "Great daughter of the king whom he loves" which was given to Queen Satamon II, daughter and wife of Amenhotep III. See Troy 1986, 195.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Also, there were step-siblings that threaten the positions of Arsinoë.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Compare the title of Arsinoë on the 'Vatican statue' (see above) as "Inherent princess", and later as "First" (see "Great").

gods)| Daughter of Amun, Lady of the crowns, (Arsinoë Philadelphos)]”.¹⁰⁰⁷ The scene also shows Ptolemy II, textually referred to as “King of (?) Egypt, (Powerful is the soul of Ra, Beloved of Amun)| Son of Ra, Lord of the Two Lands (Ptolemy)]”. Structurally and symbolically, these titles agree apart from their personal Birth names. Ptolemy’s title is damaged and in parts indistinguishable. He is arguably described as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt”, but in respect of Arsinoë’s title, it is possible that Ptolemy’s title correspondingly reads “King of Upper Egypt”.¹⁰⁰⁸ Ptolemy and Arsinoë equally employ full royal titles, including Birth names and Throne names. Arsinoë’s “(she who is in the heart of the king, Beloved of (all) the gods)]” is equivalent to Ptolemy’s “(Powerful is the soul of Ra, Beloved of Amun)]”. Further, there is a gender oriented distinction between the designations, describing Arsinoë as “Daughter of Amun”, compared to Ptolemy’s “Son of Ra”. Moreover, Arsinoë’s “Lady of the crowns” correlates with Ptolemy’s “Lord of the Two Lands”.

So far, the hieroglyphic titles listed in cat. no. 13 have provided fully comparable hierarchic ranks between Arsinoë and Ptolemy II. Both are regarded as rulers of Egypt. The pictorial context places Arsinoë on the left side of the scene, standing in an inactive position, being the tallest figure of the scene. Based on her inactive position as a beneficiary, cat. no. 13 cannot date to Arsinoë’s lifetime. If, however, considering her individual deification to have taken place during her lifetime such a date becomes plausible.

Corresponding with cat. no. 13, Arsinoë’s full title in cat. no. 14 reads “Daughter of Amun, Lady of the crowns (Arsinoë Philadelphos)| King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Two Lands, [(she who is in the heart of the king/Shu] Beloved of [(all) the gods)]”. Although it is partially damaged, the title once more describes Arsinoë in a hierarchic position equivalent to her brother-husband.¹⁰⁰⁹ Her association with Amun-Min is noticeably emphasised in the pictorial as well as textual scene.¹⁰¹⁰ Cat. no. 14, similar to cat. no. 13, cannot provide substantiating evidence that could connect Arsinoë’s kingship title with her lifetime.

The figural arrangement in cat. no. 15 has been analysed in previous chapters, and the scene has been redated to Arsinoë’s lifetime based on her active role as a benefactor.¹⁰¹¹ This iconographic determination proves its importance once more, as Arsinoë is textually described as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Arsinoë”. Ptolemy’s title is different from this conventional kingship title, and instead reads “Lord of the Two Lands (“Powerful is the soul of Ra, Beloved of Amun)| Lord of the crowns (Ptolemy)]”. Arsinoë’s designation stresses a direct superiority, while Ptolemy’s more elaborated complete title emphasises his broad register of divine associations. Both titles describe kingship, assumingly revealing equal social ranks.

The title “King of Upper and Lower Egypt” is a highly debated issue also in regard to other queens than Arsinoë.¹⁰¹² Listed in the material, six scenes designate Arsinoë as a King of Egypt. All scenes date to the reign of Ptolemy II, arguably including two scenes dated to Arsinoë’s lifetime based on her active position. All scenes illustrate Arsinoë as the tallest

¹⁰⁰⁷ Her titles are divided in two registers of personal text which includes two cartouches. Two cartouches are generally connected with male titles, although they occur also as designating “non-ruling” queens.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Compare cat. nos. 1M, 2M, 23, 26L-R, 29 describing Ptolemy I and II respectively as “King of Upper Egypt”.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ptolemy II’s title reads “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands (powerful is the soul of Ra)| son of Ra, Lord of the Two Lands (Ptolemy)]”.

¹⁰¹⁰ For this topic, see below Daughter of Amon.

¹⁰¹¹ See Chapter III.6.

¹⁰¹² See Quaegebeur 1970, including further references. Also, see Albersmeier & Minas 1998, 6f. Compare Hazzard 2000, who dismisses the importance of Arsinoë, and disregarding all the reliefs as indicating kingship.

figure in the scene apart from cat. no. 14, placing her as the second tallest figure after Amun-Min. Arsinoë is described with this title exclusively on stelai.

As an object of comparison, a statue of Arsinoë now located in the Vatican Museum holds another key to understand Arsinoë's political position during her lifetime.¹⁰¹³ Its hieroglyphic text describes the queen as follows: “Princess, Daughter of Geb, Governess, Daughter of the Merhu bull, Great of Completion, Great of Praise, Daughter of the King of Lower Egypt, the Sister and Wife, Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, Image of Isis, Beloved of Hathor, Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë Philadelphos, Beloved of Atum, the Lord of the Two Lands”. Various titles listed on the statue obviously have a great symbolic value, but most importantly it describes Ptolemy I as the King of Lower Egypt (“Daughter of the King of Lower Egypt). In my opinion, this geographical limitation of rule could relate to the last stage of Ptolemy's regency, when he co-ruled with Ptolemy II, suggestively dividing their responsibilities in accordance with Upper and Lower Egypt. As I have argued above, such a co-regency was practiced later, between Arsinoë and Ptolemy II, and I consider Arsinoë as Ptolemy I's successor, taking over his responsibility of Lower Egypt.

“Ruler”

Arsinoë's title “Ruler of (Upper and Lower) Egypt” obviously relates to “King of Egypt”. Two, possibly four, scenes describe Arsinoë with this title, all located in the Temple of Philae.¹⁰¹⁴ The full titles of cat. nos. 31-32 describe Arsinoë as “King's wife, daughter, his sister, Daughter of Amun, Lady of the Two Lands, (Arsinoë)| the divine Philadelphos, Princess, Great of Praise, Lady of Sweet Love, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Ruler of Egypt**, Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë)” (cat. no. 32 includes: “may she live forever”). Arsinoë was the only royal person ever to be described with the combination of hieroglyphs, – *hk3t 3t Kmt*, “Ruler of Egypt”, highlighted in the text above.¹⁰¹⁵

My discretion in only possibly including the titles listed in cat. nos. 27-28 is based on their current state of preservation, and due to their contextual composition. The text is fragmentary, only partially readable, and the signs are placed asymmetrically and outside the traditional registers.¹⁰¹⁶ They are not as elaborated as cat. nos. 31-32, as they individually read “King's wife, daughter, and his sister, Daughter of Amun [...brother/sibling][...], ruler [...], Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë)| Philadelphos” (cat. no. 27), alternatively “Princess, Great of praise, Lady of (all) the people, Sweet of Love, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, King's wife,

¹⁰¹³ Museo Gregoriano Egizio, inv. no. 22681. The statue of Ptolemy = Museo Gregoriano Egizio, inv. no. 22682. Compare also the Saqqara stela, British Museum, inv. no. 1029, that describing Arsinoë's sister Philotera as “Sister of the King of Upper Egypt, Daughter of the King of Lower Egypt”. *LdR* IV, 221; *PM* III, 23, 743.

¹⁰¹⁴ Cat. nos. 31-32, and possibly cat. nos. 27-28.

¹⁰¹⁵ However, later Ptolemaic queens held similar titles, here listed in cat. nos. 142, 156, 158 as “Great ruler”. Compare the title documented by Champollion 1844, 214, on the ancient road/route between Aswan and Philae, which describes Arsinoë as “King's wife, daughter, and sister, Daughter of Amun [...], Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë), [...] the divine Philadelphos, Great of praise, Lady of Sweet Love, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of Egypt, Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë)| may she live forever/the eternally living”. The crook was introduced as a sign of kingship during the Middle Kingdom, but Arsinoë was the first queen to receive this title. See Troy 1986, 196.

¹⁰¹⁶ The full hieroglyphic text, however, remains within the individual space of the figure it describes.

sister [...], Daughter of Amun, Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë)| the divine Philadelphos” (cat. no. 28).

The partial title “King’s wife, daughter, (his) sister, Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë” is identified in all four scenes. However, when combining the text that is presented individually in cat. nos. 27-28 it corresponds with the designations in cat. nos. 31-32. This combination is plausible when regarding their structural location and the theme of surrounding scenes. Cat. nos. 27-28 are situated on the Gate of Philadelphos, illustrating Ptolemy II with the red crown on one side and the white crown on the other side.¹⁰¹⁷ Each side independently correspond to Ptolemy’s socio-political position as King of Upper Egypt and King of Lower Egypt. Consequently, the scenes have to be combined in order to understand the overall communicated message, which symbolises Ptolemy’s rule of a united Egypt. Therefore, when combined, cat. nos. 27-28 suggestively relate with the titles listed in cat. nos. 31-32.

All Philae-scenes connote rulership and power.¹⁰¹⁸ I interpret the titles in cat. nos. 27-28, 31-32 as expressing Arsinoë’s royal position rather than a purely divine role, regardless of the fact that they postdate Arsinoë’s lifetime. They communicate, I argue, a message of Arsinoë’s individual royal power which subsequently was handed over to Ptolemy II.¹⁰¹⁹

To conclude, eight scenes (nine figures) describe Arsinoë with male royal titles, including “King” and “Ruler of Egypt”. The titles of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë are frequently comparable. The two reassessed scenes, here dated to Arsinoë’s lifetime, indicate co-regency, shared between Arsinoë and Ptolemy respectively as the King of Lower Egypt and King of Upper Egypt.

LADY OF THE TWO LANDS

This section joins three individual, but very comparable titles under one thematic umbrella, functioning as female equivalents to male kingship titles, thus expressing queenship. These three female titles individually translate “Lady of the Two Lands”, “Mistress of the Two Lands”, and “Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt”. Since all three designations relate to a queen’s hierarchic authority, their main differentiation is based on the choice of wording. The female determiners $\overline{\text{III}}$ – *nb (t.) t3wy* and ∇ – *hnwt* are inadequately and inconsistently translated by scholars, both referred to with the English words “Lady” and/or “Mistress”.¹⁰²⁰ I base my translation on an established translation of the male equivalent of the most frequent title, thus translating $\overline{\text{III}}$ – *nb (t.) t3wy* as “Lady” corresponding to “Lord”.¹⁰²¹ Consistently, but without any corresponding male title, I translate the alternative designation ∇ – *hnwt* as “Mistress”.

“Lady of the Two Lands” is listed in 13 scenes and is Arsinoë’s most frequently occurring queenship title. It is also recorded as a designation of the later Ptolemaic queens in cat. nos. 142 and 156-157. “Lady of the Two Lands” was applied for a queen similar to “Lord of the

¹⁰¹⁷ See cat. no. 26L-R, above.

¹⁰¹⁸ Eventually, “Ruler” was applied as a royal title by also later Ptolemaic queens. Although it became a female title of queenship, it can be assumed that it was considered still as a male epithet at the time of introduction for Arsinoë. For variations of spelling of “Ruler”, see *WB* III, 170-174.

¹⁰¹⁹ See above, King’s daughter, sister and wife.

¹⁰²⁰ Compare Troy 1986, D1/4 and D2/12-13; *LGG* translates both words, *nb.t.* and *hnwt*, as “Herrin”.

¹⁰²¹ *WB* II, 227 (female form, p. 232).

Two Lands” for a pharaoh, together referring to a ruling couple.¹⁰²² Arsinoë’s epithet “Lady of the Two Lands” is documented both in stelai and temple reliefs. All these scenes date to the reign of Ptolemy II.

“Mistress of the Two Lands” describes Arsinoë in two stelai (cat. nos. 1-2), and occurs as a title thrice. The stelai dates to the reign of Ptolemy II.¹⁰²³ Textually and pictorially, cat. no. 1 refers to Arsinoë directly as a living queen. Cat. no. 2 textually describes her as a queen, combined with a corresponding indirect pictorial representation based on the arguments presented in foremost Chapter III.7, above. Based on this previous chapter, I include “Mistress of the Two Lands” as an indication of temporal adjustment as it refers to a living queen. In the material, this title designates Arsinoë exclusively.

Similarly, “Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt” is documented as a designation that exclusively describes Arsinoë. Three of these scenes are located in the Temple of Philae, and date to the reign of Ptolemy II.¹⁰²⁴ There, the title is combined with other royal titles, including “Lady of the Two Lands”. As noted above, the Philae scenes postdate Arsinoë’s lifetime, though referring to her royal position, again emphasising the concepts of temporal adjustment.¹⁰²⁵

The three individual queenship titles described above date to the reign of Ptolemy II. I regard them as titles that describe a living queen, similar to “King’s daughter, sister and wife” (above). This interpretation is supported by the later Ptolemaic queens (as well as all previous queens) who used the titles in scenes that show them in active positions. Any pharaoh’s legitimacy to ascend the throne was provided via a female bloodline. Such a royal lineage was claimed based on the royal mother, or through a royal sister to whom the pharaoh married.¹⁰²⁶ Queens held an important role as a throughout connecting royal force, based on her divine legacy, which was established through her associations with Isis and Hathor.¹⁰²⁷ Essentially, the three titles symbolise queenship as a female counterpart of the pharaoh.¹⁰²⁸

¹⁰²² “Lady of the Two Lands” was introduced as a title of Queen Ahhotep I during the New Kingdom, although it dates back to the Old Kingdom as an epithet of female deities. This title is documented for Hathor from the Middle Kingdom. Troy 1986, 134, there described as “Mistress of the Two Lands”. Compare Grajetzki 2005; Tyldesley 2006.

¹⁰²³ The title was initially introduced during the Middle Kingdom, and was used as an alternative to “Lady of the Two Lands”.

¹⁰²⁴ “Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt” was introduced as an epithet of Queen Tiye during the New Kingdom, see Grajetzki 2005; Tyldesley 2006.

¹⁰²⁵ These titles are recorded in various other artistic media, such as the ‘Vatican Arsinoë’ (see above); priest-stela, Museum of Vienna, inv. no. 153; statue of Arsinoë in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 20.2.21 (“Lady of the Two Lands”); fragment of a statue crown, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College, London, inv. no. 14521; fragment of a sculpture-triad, Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum inv. no. 11261 (“Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt”). See Quaegebeur 1998 for a full list; compare *LdR* IV, 239-245, for illustrated texts. Relating to her queenship role, cat. no. 28 describes Arsinoë as “Lady of (all) the people”.

¹⁰²⁶ A stela from Abydos depicts the New Kingdom Pharaoh Ahmose offering to his grandmother Tetisher, commemorating her important dynastic role. In the text it is stated “I have remembered the mother of my mother and the mother of my father, the great royal wife and king’s mother, Tetisheri...” see Roberts 1997, 3.

¹⁰²⁷ For general information about Hellenistic queens, see Macurdy 1932; Pomeroy 1984; Carney 2000.

¹⁰²⁸ Joined together, the royal couple were made equals of the divine pairs, such as Shu and Tefnut, Isis and Osiris, Hathor and Horus. Therefore, it is not surprising to find these queenship titles as also determining goddesses.

DAUGHTER OF AMUN

Table 25 shows that 13 scenes designate Arsinoë as “Daughter of Amun”.¹⁰²⁹ This title is always placed as a prefix to the name “Arsinoë”. As such, it is placed above or in front of Arsinoë’s Birth name cartouche. Cat. no. 12, however, places “Daughter of Amun” within a second cartouche, thus symbolising a Throne name.¹⁰³⁰ All scenes illustrate Arsinoë as a beneficiary, although cat. no. 26L shows her also as a benefactor standing behind Ptolemy II. “Daughter of Amun” is represented in both stelai and temple scenes, limited to the reigns of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III. The assumption of the title “daughter” in connection with Amun was a clear political and religious statement, which connected Arsinoë with older Egyptian traditions, and with Alexander the great, who was appointed as the son of Zeus-Amun.

To my knowledge, the title is never recorded in pictorial temple reliefs prior to Arsinoë. It does, however, occur in other artistic media, describing a few previous queens, such as Hatshepsut and the Divine Adoratrices of the 25th and 26th Dynasties.¹⁰³¹ Prior to the Ptolemaic period, “Daughter of Amun” occurred in variations such as “Daughter of Amun whom he loves” and “Daughter of Amun who is on his throne”.¹⁰³²

A combination of Arsinoë’s figural position in cat. no. 23 (paired with Khonsu) and the current title, directly associates her with the most important (local) deity, Amun. The scene and the title together place Arsinoë and Khonsu as siblings, fathered by Amun. Through his dynastic kinship with Arsinoë, also communicated by additional epithets in Arsinoë’s designation, the scene expresses also Ptolemy II’s divinity. In terms of an active artistic adjustment, and based on the figural arrangement, Ptolemy II becomes an earthly manifestation of Khonsu.

Cat. no. 23, accompanied by cat. nos. 24-26R, is located within the Temple complex of Karnak, the main cult centre of Amun (-Ra). This official designation, “Daughter of Amun”, places Arsinoë in a most prominent socio-religious position, valid for both a queen and goddess (compare fig. 98).

¹⁰²⁹ Cat. nos. 12-14, 23-29, 31-32.

¹⁰³⁰ See Chapter IV.1. Cat. nos. 23-26R situate “Daughter of Amun” immediately before Arsinoë’s Birth name, whereas cat. nos. 13-14, 27-29 and 31-32 separate it by another epithet. Thus, cat. nos. 13-14 reads “Daughter of Amun, Lady of the crowns (Arsinoë)|...”, while cat. nos. 27-29 and 31-32 states “Daughter of Amun, Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë)|...”.

¹⁰³¹ See Sander-Hansen 1940, 21f.

¹⁰³² See Troy 1986, 177f., 181, for name combinations.



Fig. 98: This block from Karnak (found in relation to the Opet Temple) designates Arsinoë as “King’s wife, Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë, the divine Philadelphos”.¹⁰³³ Photo by the author.

The two scenes that date to the reign of Ptolemy III are located in the proximity of the other scenes that describe Arsinoë with this title (cat. nos. 23 and 26L-R). The artist suggestively copied already listed designations of Arsinoë when he created the scenes of cat. nos. 24-25 nearby. Cat. no. 24 expresses the transit of royal power from one generation to the next, and surrounding scenes describe Ptolemy III and Berenice II as the royal heirs. The *theoi Adelphoi* are placed on an opposite side from the ruling pharaoh, but they are described with royal titles appropriate for a living couple. Suggestively, the scene expresses a socio-religious sphere where divine and human meet.

This hypothesis is supported by the pictorial structure of cat. no. 25, which shows the *theoi Adelphoi* standing on the very left side behind a long line of deities, and the *theoi Euergetai* on the right side in an equal, but mirrored, position. The left section is separated from the right by a large solar disc, to which the scene’s totally 46 figures express their praise. The scene is located on the southern face of the southern gate of Karnak, the Gate of Euergetes, opening up in full alignment with the Khonsu Temple. The right royal couple has been identified elsewhere as the *theoi Soteres*,¹⁰³⁴ but I dispute such an identification based on surrounding pictorial scenes, all of which depict Ptolemy III (occasionally including Berenice II). The socio-religious situation during Ptolemy III is also to consider, since the first Ptolemaic couple was excluded from the official eponymous cult and dynastic ancestral worship until the reign of Ptolemy IV.¹⁰³⁵ The overall theme of the Gate of Euergetes visualise the transfer of dynastic power, handed over from Ptolemy II and Arsinoë to Ptolemy III and Berenice II.

¹⁰³³ Notice the male suffix (-f) in Arsinoë’s cartouche.

¹⁰³⁴ See Winter 1978, *passim*, including further reference.

¹⁰³⁵ P. Grad. 10 (= SB 6283(b)); Oates 1964, 55; Fraser 1972, II, 369 n. 237.

The right royal couple in cat. no. 25 lack official cultic titles corresponding with the *theoi Adelphoi* on the left side. The lack of such divine titles alludes to a period of time when the ruling couple attended official crowning ceremonies, and received access to the dynastic power by their divine ancestors and traditional Egyptian deities in order to become the *theoi Euergetai*. It is more plausible that Ptolemy III and Berenice II chose to be illustrated in person rather than to be excluded in favour of their deceased grandparents. The Gate of Euergetes, constituting the architectural medium of cat. nos. 24-25, communicates a message of royal continuation of power, and the significance of the inherited divine bloodline.¹⁰³⁶ Based on the general theme of the gate, I interpret cat. no. 25 as a part of the commemoration of Ptolemy III's and Berenice II's official deification. Arsinoë's title, "Daughter of Amun", verifies a royal divine connection, enabling the ruling couple to link themselves with Arsinoë as her dynastic divine children.

As an object of comparison, a statue base provides further information about Arsinoë's title.¹⁰³⁷ The front section of the base reads ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ, whereas an hieroglyphic inscription translates as follows (titles that describe Ptolemy (I and II) are placed within brackets): "Great Bat, Daughter of Amun, God's wife, Sister of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Lord of the Two Lands, Powerful is the soul of Ra, Beloved of Amun,) Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë. Great splendid One, Beloved of Ra, Wife of the king, (son of Ra, Lord of the Crowns, Ptolemy,) Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë. The respected, Beloved of Ptah, Sister of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Lord of the Two Lands, Powerful is the soul of Ra, Beloved of Amun,) Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë. The intelligent, Beloved of Thoth, Daughter of the king, (Lord of the Two Lands, Chosen by Ra, Beloved of Amun, Lord of the Crowns, Ptolemy,) Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë. Beloved of Amun-Ra, the Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, who is on the top of Karnak (?), (Beloved of) Mut, the great Lady of Asheru, (Beloved of) Khonsu-in Thebes-Nefehotep."

Arsinoë is described as Amun's daughter five times, combined with "Beloved of Amun-Ra". Her connection with other deities, including Thoth, Ptah, Ra, Mut and Khonsu, places her on an equal status with all gods. Arsinoë is furthermore described as the Great Bat, which associates her with the most ancient cow goddess, who eventually merged with Hathor. This syncretism, between Arsinoë and Hathor (Bat), has traditional values and parallels with a designation translating "God's wife".¹⁰³⁸

The religious position of God's wife

The titles "Beloved of Amun", "Beloved of the ram" and "Beloved of (all) the gods" are associated with "Daughter of Amun".¹⁰³⁹ They allude to a Hathoric role, referring to a daughter, sister, wife, and mother of the god.¹⁰⁴⁰ The titles correspond to a religious position

¹⁰³⁶ See below, *theoi Adelphoi*.

¹⁰³⁷ Oriental Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 10518. Compare the granite base from ancient Koptos – modern Qift, with the full title "Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos", See *LdR* IV, 241; *Urk* II, 73; also on the limestone statue of an unknown provenance, now located in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 20.2.21, with the full title "King's [daughter], king's [sister], king's [wife], Daughter of [Amo]n, Mistress of the Two Lands, Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos who lives forever". See cat. no. 166 in Walker & Higgs 2001, 166f.

¹⁰³⁸ Albersmeier 2002, no. 45 with taf. 2a. British Museum inv. no. 1029 (379 by Quaegebeur) designates Arsinoë as "Daughter of Amun" combined with "Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos Isis". See Quaegebeur 1989, no. 1, for more details.

¹⁰³⁹ Cat. nos. 1R, 1M: "Beloved of the ram"; cat. nos. 2L-R, 13-14: "Beloved of (all) the gods".

¹⁰⁴⁰ See above, King's daughter, sister, and wife.

traditionally referred to as ‘God’s wife (of Amun)’, stressing cultic responsibilities held by a high priestess. Designations that describe the God’s wife were given to living queens, simultaneously linking her with the pharaoh and god, establishing a dynastic legacy.¹⁰⁴¹

“God’s Wife” has its cultural roots in a female cultic role that was initially described as “musician priestess”, dating to the 4th Dynasty.¹⁰⁴² Female priestesses were regarded as earthly manifestations of Hathor.¹⁰⁴³ Primarily, the queen held the office as high priestess, which associated her with the main deity of the temple. She was appointed personally by the king. As high priestess, the queen unified with the king in his role as high priest, symbolising the unification of the divine essence of dualism. Any given male god could reach out to a priestess, connecting himself with the human world in order to receive daily offerings and perform his tasks. This unification indirectly symbolised the coming together of the earth and sky.¹⁰⁴⁴

The queen, as high priestess, used titles such as “Wife”, “Protectress”, and “Mother of the God/Divine mother”, initially being epithets and descriptions of Hathor.¹⁰⁴⁵ Arsinoë is described with these titles both during and after her lifetime.¹⁰⁴⁶ A queen became the God’s earthly wife when she assumed the religious position as high priestess.¹⁰⁴⁷ She was synchronised with Hathor as the eye of Ra, as the mother, daughter, wife and sister of the solar deity.¹⁰⁴⁸ As God’s wife, the queen was also regarded a political representative of royal authority, thereby becoming equally powerful as the king.¹⁰⁴⁹

Priestesses worshipped and aroused the god by the application of instruments, chants and dance. They vibrated the *menit* collar and rattled the sistra in order to evoke the divine spirit (fig. 99).¹⁰⁵⁰ From the New Kingdom the titles of high priestess increased to also include “God’s Hand”,¹⁰⁵¹ “God’s wife of Amun”, “Divine Adoratrice”, and “Daughter of Amun”, the latter being one of the most common epithets of Arsinoë.¹⁰⁵²

¹⁰⁴¹ However, similar titles are documented during the Graeco-Roman period that describe Hathoric aspects of Mut and Isis. Blackman 1921, 13.

¹⁰⁴² Blackman 1921, 9f.

¹⁰⁴³ All forms of high priestesses were in one way or the other associated with Hathor as the counterpart of Horus.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Blackman 1921, 10-13.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Blackman 1921, 11 with notes 4-10.

¹⁰⁴⁶ See below Divine mother. See the royal titles above, King’s daughter, sister, and wife.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Blackman 1921, 12 with note 5, shows that Ahhotep I was the first recorded queen to hold the title; Troy 1986, chapter II.4; 161, 188, assigning the first recorded case to be Ahmose-Nefertari; Troy 2003, 103, again stating Ahmose-Nefertari as the first queen to hold the title.

¹⁰⁴⁸ See Hathoric titles.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Troy 2003, 103. The high priestess was traditionally the chief of the concubines, and was, generally, married to the high priest of Amon.

¹⁰⁵⁰ See Chapter III.4, Sistrum.

¹⁰⁵¹ See Chapter III.7 for a connection between “God’s Hand” and cat. no. 2L. The title symbolised the hand of Atum, who by masturbation gave birth to Shu and Tefnut. The myth describes the hand as a feminine element, Hathor. The title is associated with the sexual role of Hathor, which in turn played an important role in the life of the queens, in securing true heirs to the throne.

¹⁰⁵² Compare Troy 1986, chapter II.2.4.

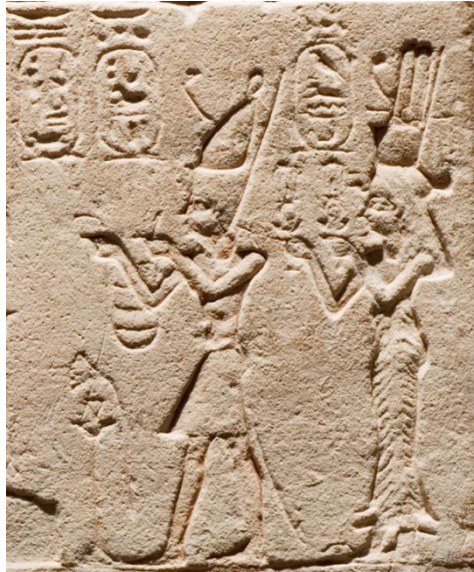


Fig. 99: Detail of cat. no.15R showing the ruling couple, Ptolemy II and Arsinoë, in a religious act. Arsinoë is depicted as high priestess and rattles two sistra as a part of the ceremony.

A title of comparison translates “Mistress of Eternity, Lady of the solar disc (=Aton)”, alternatively “Lady of all that the sun disc encircles”, or “Mistress of the whole circuit of the solar disc”.¹⁰⁵³ This title describes Arsinoë in cat. nos. 26L-R. It has previously been documented as a title of only three queens, all from the 25th-26th Dynasties: Amenirdis I, Shepenwepet II and Ankhnesneferibre.¹⁰⁵⁴ These three queens were inducted as “God’s wives”. The correlation between Arsinoë and the god’s wives of the Third Intermediate Period/Late Period has been observed elsewhere, but to my knowledge it has not been investigated properly by modern scholars. Interestingly, in the list of titles compiled by Troy, Arsinoë shares nine (identical) official titles with Ankhnesneferibre and 13 with Amenirdis I, to which can be added various additional titles of a similar nature.¹⁰⁵⁵

An older Egyptian text describes the initiation of a God’s wife, directly connecting Arsinoë’s title in cat. no. 26 with such a traditional religious role:¹⁰⁵⁶ “...went into the house of Amun-Ra-Sonther, the prophets, *we^ceb*-priests, lectors – the temple staff of Amun – following her, the great courtiers in front. She did all that was customary at the induction in the Temple of a God’s Adorer of Amun. The scribe of the God’s book and nine *we^ceb*-priests of this temple helped her fastened the amulets and all the ornaments of a God’s wife, the God’s Adorer of

¹⁰⁵³ Blackman 1921, 28f.; van Oppen 2007, 5: “Mistress of the Whole Circuit of the Sun-Disc; Troy 1986, 196, translates the word *ḥmw.t* as “lady” (here translated as “mistress”) and *nb* as “all”, which in this study is translated as “lady” due to its placement within the sentence. Troy (among others) further translates *šnw* as “encircles”, while I interpret it as *šn* “eternity”. The sign *šn* can be translated “eternity” or “protection”, and is depicted sometimes held in the claws of a falcon/vulture stretching out its wings protecting the pharaoh. Also, it is depicted in connection with the “reckoning of time-symbolism”. The sign *šnw* has the circular form of a cartouche, and can be translated “everything that the sun encircles”. Since the *šnw*-sign in itself can be translated as “everything that the sun encircles” I do not believe that there would be a need to add the *nb*-sign in the present sentence, especially not when written directly in front of *itm* – Aton, or the solar disc. Thereby there are two female epithets in the full sentence, “Mistress of Eternity” (or Eternal Mistress) and “Lady of the solar disc”. The general symbolism, however, remain similar.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Troy 1986, 196, though excludes Shepenwepet II, who I have documented with this title at Medinet Habu.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Arsinoë and Ankhnesneferibre: Troy 1986, A1/7, A1/9, A2/1, B3/10, B4/11, D1/10, D2/1, D2/3, D2/15; Arsinoë and Amenirdis I: Troy 1986, A2/1, B3/9, B3/10, B4/11, C3/1, C4/1, D1/4, D1/10, D2/1, D2/13.

Compare van Oppen 2007, 468, who correlates Arsinoë with Tiye in relation to the Sed festival.

¹⁰⁵⁶ The title concurring with Arsinoë’s has been underlined to easier recognise it.

Amun. (She was crowned with the double-plumed diadem and) was appointed Mistress of Eternity, Lady of the solar disc (after which her titular was enunciated.) All the customary were done for her as they were initially done for Tefnut.”¹⁰⁵⁷

The epithet applied for Arsinoë in cat. nos. 26L-R, which is identical to the underlined text above, identifies her with previous queens known as “God’s wife” and “Adorer of the God/Divine Adoratrice”. This text validates the cause for including the double feather plume in the crown of Arsinoë,¹⁰⁵⁸ and, suggestively, “Mistress of Eternity, Lady of the solar disc” may equally confirm the solar disc as a particular in the crown of Arsinoë. As described in Chapter III.2, the solar disc was mainly an attribute of Ra, placing a “Lady of the solar disc” in a Hathoric personification of a protectress, associating with the earthly role manifested in the priestess, also including Arsinoë.

Another association with the religious position as God’s wife is demonstrated in an additional title of Arsinoë in cat. no. 1, which describes her as “High priestess of Banebdjedet”.¹⁰⁵⁹ This title determines Arsinoë as an earthly wife of the local ram god of Mendes, i.e., a God’s wife.¹⁰⁶⁰ Arsinoë’s induction to this role was certainly a strong socio-religious claim. Both king and queen gained a stronger and more respectful socio-religious position as they called on the most important roles of Egyptian culture. With Arsinoë in this position, they were able to jointly rule Egypt since the high priestess was considered a representative of the royal power in case the pharaoh was absent.¹⁰⁶¹

Cat. no. 1(M) describes Arsinoë as “She who belongs to the Lord”. Traditionally, “Lord” has been interpreted as referring to Ptolemy II. However, I identify “Lord” with Banebdjedet, as the Lord of Mendes, based on Arsinoë’s additional titles and the theme of the scene, throughout associating Arsinoë with the ram god.¹⁰⁶² The sentence “She who belongs to the Lord” is placed in the first section of the main text. This initial part describes the marriage of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, and their time together while Arsinoë was alive. I interpret this title as referring to Arsinoë as a queen alive. Thus, the designation “She who belongs to the Lord” places Arsinoë as God’s wife already during her lifetime. Arsinoë’s role as high priestess, an earthly manifestation of Hathor, is further emphasised in her lower hieroglyphic register in cat. no. 1L, as she states “I protect you in (= wearing) your crown...”. I do not regard this statement to address King Ptolemy II, but as a direct promise to Banebdjedet. With these words, Arsinoë usurped the Hathoric role as protecting her father, brother, son and husband, all manifested in Banebdjedet.¹⁰⁶³

¹⁰⁵⁷ Translation based on Blackman 1921, 28f.

¹⁰⁵⁸ See Chapter III.2. Compare the titles listed by Troy 1986, D3/4-7 relating to the double feather plume.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Compare Khereduankh’s (mother of the more renowned Old Kingdom architect Imhotep) claim to be Banebdjedet’s daughter. See Warner & Fernández-Armesto 2003, 296.

¹⁰⁶⁰ The oldest titles describe the high priestess as “Chief of the female musicians” as well as “Chief of the concubines (of Amon)”. Troy 1986, 187, describes the high priestess’ role of Arsinoë with the documented title “Great one of the *hnr*-harem of the sister of the god”.

¹⁰⁶¹ Compare the political situation during the 25th Dynasty when Amenirdis I “ruled” Upper Egypt in her role as the God’s wife of Amon, cantered in Karnak, while her brother, Shabaka, ruled Lower Egypt with his centre in Memphis. See for example Blackman 1921, 16.

¹⁰⁶² The reference to this title is located in the main text of the stela. The designation is placed in connection with Arsinoë’s royal position, also describing her as the high priestess, and that she is “Beloved of the ram”. See the main Catalogue and Appendix II for the full text.

¹⁰⁶³ See Chapter III.2, Ram horns.

Arsinoë is furthermore described as “Beloved of the ram”, comparable to the titles mentioned above.¹⁰⁶⁴ This title strengthens the bonds between the god and his human protectress and wife. It has been concluded elsewhere that when a royal figure is described as beloved of a god, he or she becomes a form of that deity.¹⁰⁶⁵ Such a syncretism relates with Arsinoë’s title in cat. no. 5, which describes her with a royal title, a personal name, and the name of Banebdjedet.¹⁰⁶⁶ I interpret her full assumption of his designation as assimilating them as a divine couple with similar characteristics as documented between Hathor and Ra/Horus/Amun.¹⁰⁶⁷

Arsinoë’s Hathoric role as God’s wife is underlined also by additional titles listed in the material, such as “Sweet of love” (cat. nos. 1M, 2M, 28), “Lady of sweet love” (cat. nos. 31-32), “Lady of loveliness” (cat. no. 2M), “Great of sweetness” (cat. no. 8), “Beautiful in appearance” (cat. no. 1M), “She who fills the palace with her beauty” (cat. no. 1M).¹⁰⁶⁸ All these titles are informatively valuable since they place Arsinoë in a traditional mythological position, which emphasises the relationship between a king and his wife, comparable to Horus and Hathor. The listed titles have a rather erotic nature, since sweetness, beauty, love and fragrance symbolise the female scent. These titles connect Arsinoë with the Holy Wedding, in which the god impregnates the God’s wife to bring forth the next pharaoh.¹⁰⁶⁹ Female scent, the queen’s sweetness, and the priestess’ beauty are all connected with a religious position that was associated with Hathor as the divine eye, the eye of Ra.¹⁰⁷⁰

Each designation listed above establishes a righteous and respectable position for Arsinoë within a conventional Egyptian society. The divine lineage indicated by the titles strengthened the social positions of any given queen employing them.¹⁰⁷¹ The role of Arsinoë as a God’s wife (of Amun) can be summarised by the words of Sander-Hansen: “...die Grundlage denn

¹⁰⁶⁴ Compare the ‘Vatican Arsinoë’ (see above).

¹⁰⁶⁵ Bell 1985, 290 with note 222.

¹⁰⁶⁶ See above and Chapter IV.1.

¹⁰⁶⁷ See cat. no. 1L and the title “Holder of the sacred insignia”. It should be clarified that all the above mentioned titles of the Mendes stela are listed either in 1L or in the first part of the main text (=1M), both describing a living Queen Arsinoë. When comparing the titles to the right-hand figure an absolute distinction is visible. There she is described in a more formal manner, combining her royal titles with her spoken words, addressing Ptolemy II, making sure that her former brother-husband will be taken care of with the help of the master of the Gods.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Compare the title of Arsinoë in the Alexandrian triad, Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, inv. no. 11261, “An appearance more beautiful than the sun and the moon”.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Troy 1986, chapter II. 4.

¹⁰⁷⁰ The symbolism of the eye was communicated by incense presented in an act where the ruling pharaoh related himself to his ancestors, see Chapter III.6 and below, *theoi Adelphoi*. Some titles are connected with the Ptolemaic worship of Isis in her temple at Philae. There, Isis is occasionally illustrated in a Hathoric style with large cow horns and solar disc, and as the mother-goddess married to Amon. Many of the scenes date to the reign of Ptolemy II. The following text is one example of such text: “Oh Isis, the great divine mother, Lady of Philae, God’s wife, God’s Adorer, God’s Hand, the divine mother, the great wife of the king [...] ¹⁰⁷⁰ she who fills the palace with her beauty and fragrance [...] sweet of love, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt [...] Princess, Great of Praise [...]”. These titles of Isis describe Arsinoë elsewhere, including scenes that date to her lifetime. Isis is not described with either of these designations when placed together with Arsinoë. Suggestively, Arsinoë and Isis reached a full assimilation. Based on iconography combined with the written words, the Hathoric mother-goddess Isis becomes one with God’s wife and daughter of Amon, Arsinoë. See Zabkar 1988, hymn 3, with a full hieroglyphic text, transliteration and an English translation, slightly dissimilar from that presented here.

¹⁰⁷¹ Aside from the title “Daughter of Amon”, Ptolemaic queens were honoured with titles such as “Daughter of the God”, “Daughter of Geb”, “Daughter of Ra”, etc., all of which described Arsinoë II and occasionally Cleopatra VII. See Troy 1986, 181.

auch vorhanden, da “die Gotteshand”, d.i. Hathor, allgemein als Gemahlin wie als Tochter des Allherrn angesehen wird.”¹⁰⁷²

THEOI ADELPHOI

The Egyptian form of the title “Sibling gods”, *ntr.w sn.w*, is a direct translation of the original Greek form, ΘΕΟΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ. I have chosen to refer to this title as “*theoi Adelphoi*”, a transliteration of its original form, since it is the most commonly recognised form describing the divine couple Arsinoë and Ptolemy II. The material lists this title only when the couple are depicted together.¹⁰⁷³ In agreement with Table 25, the designation “*theoi Adelphoi*” is recorded in ten scenes: all postdate the couple and date instead to the reigns of Ptolemy III, Ptolemy IV, Ptolemy V and Ptolemy VIII. Two scenes, cat. nos. 3-4, are illustrated on stelai, while remaining scenes are situated in the Temple of Edfu (cat. nos. 16-19), and on the Gate of Euergetes, Karnak (cat. nos. 24-25). Additional titles that surround “*theoi Adelphoi*” generally connect them with one of the main gods of the temple (or local shrines) as temple sharing deities.¹⁰⁷⁴ They are described as “Lords of the house of Hathor”,¹⁰⁷⁵ “Lords of the house of Ra”,¹⁰⁷⁶ “Lords of Mesen (= Edfu)”,¹⁰⁷⁷ or as “Dwellers of Mesen”,¹⁰⁷⁸ “Dwellers of Karnak”,¹⁰⁷⁹ “Dwellers in the Temple of Horus”.¹⁰⁸⁰

Cat. no. 3 textually describes Ptolemy II and Arsinoë as “*theoi Adelphoi*”. The title is listed in the main text below the figural scene, as a part of the official dating protocol, listing the appointed eponymous priests and priestesses. The active benefactors, Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I, present a captured enemy in front of the divine couple Shu and Tefnut, followed by the Ptolemaic dynastic ancestors, *theoi Philopatores*, *theoi Euergetai* and *theoi Adelphoi*.¹⁰⁸¹ The latter couple is pictorially separated from the other dynastic ancestral couples, indicated mainly by their crowns,¹⁰⁸² combined with Arsinoë’s Hathoric position.¹⁰⁸³ The scene exemplifies dynastic propaganda, showing a ruling couple reconnecting with their ancestors in order to gain their power. The ruling couple associate themselves also with the mythological children of Ra, Shu and Tefnut, in an act where Shu hands over a *khepesh* sceptre of Horus to the pharaoh.¹⁰⁸⁴

A comparison between the main text and the pictorial scene shows an inadequacy. The text lists names of the priest of Alexander, *theoi Soteres*, *theoi Adelphoi*, *theoi Euergetai*, *theoi Philopatores* and the *theoi Epiphanes*, also documenting the official priestesses of Berenice II

¹⁰⁷² Sander-Hansen 1940, 21.

¹⁰⁷³ The form *Philadelphos*, *mr-sn*, is of course related to the same position, though in itself not indicating divinity. The difference of Philadelphos written with and without the prefix of divinity, *thea* or *ntr*, has already been discussed above, especially in connection to the scenes of Philae, cat. nos. 27-28, 31-32.

¹⁰⁷⁴ See Nock 1930, *passim* (reprinted with additions and comments 1972).

¹⁰⁷⁵ Cat. no. 16.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Cat. nos. 18, 22.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Cat. no. 17.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Cat. no. 21.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Cat. no. 24.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Cat. no. 19.

¹⁰⁸¹ See Chapter III.6, Dynastic settings.

¹⁰⁸² As mentioned in Chapter III.6, Arsinoë wears her personal crown, while surrounding queens wear the traditional female crown; Ptolemy II is the only deceased male ancestor wearing a crown (*atef*).

¹⁰⁸³ See Chapter III.6.

¹⁰⁸⁴ The *khepesh* sceptre (*hpš*) has a traditional association with the authority to rule. See Vassilika 1989, 99, for more information.

and Arsinoë, the *athlophoros* and *canephoros*.¹⁰⁸⁵ The text refers to the official Alexandrian eponymous ruler cult, while the pictorial scene excludes Alexander and the *theoi Soteres*. The scene, furthermore, follows Egyptian conventions exclusively. Combining text and imagery, cat. no. 3 indicates an assimilation between the Alexandrian eponymous cult and the native Egyptian ruler cult. The figural arrangement of the *theoi Adelphoi* (as the last couple of the scene) suggests that Ptolemy II and Arsinoë retained their official role as the founders of the dynasty, regardless of the textual information. It limits the official religious position of the *theoi Soteres* as the founders of the dynasty to the reign of Ptolemy IV, since cat. no. 3 dates to the reign of Ptolemy V, which emphasises Ptolemy II and Arsinoë as the founders.¹⁰⁸⁶

Dating to the reign of Ptolemy III, also cat. no. 4 describes Ptolemy II and Arsinoë as “*theoi Adelphoi*”. The hieroglyphic designation, *ntr. w sn. w*, is placed above the head of Ptolemy II, between the individual cartouches of the couple. The title also occurs in the main text, where it is used to describe Ptolemy II and Arsinoë as Ptolemy III’s parents. The following textual section states their cultic title in connection with the eponymous priesthood, similar to cat. no. 3, also including the name of Arsinoë’s *canephoros*.¹⁰⁸⁷ The text in cat. no. 4 indicates an assimilation of the Alexandrian eponymous cult with the native Egyptian worship of ancestors, although it is, again, separated from the pictorial scene. Based on the nature of the text, as an official dating formula, it is difficult to make any assumptions of an assimilation of the two alternative ruler cults. The scene focuses on the deification of Ptolemy III and Berenice II, and expresses their induction to the traditional Egyptian royal cult.¹⁰⁸⁸ The main event described in the pictorial scene refers to the writing of the annuals, performed by Thoth and Seshat.

Cat. nos. 16-19, 21-22 are located in the Temple of Edfu, dating to the reigns of Ptolemy IV and Ptolemy VIII. As demonstrated above, all scenes illustrate a ruling pharaoh who presents offerings to his dynastic ancestors.¹⁰⁸⁹ Arsinoë is depicted throughout in a standing position behind Ptolemy II. The couple is generally described with individual titles located in their personal registers of text, and with their shared title in the board-register that crowns the scene. Thus, they kept their individuality simultaneously with their divine royal position as Hathor and Horus. Cat. no. 24, concurs with previous scenes as Ptolemy II and Arsinoë are described with individual titles in the personal register of text and as a couple in the top register. This scene dates to the reign of Ptolemy III. Also, cat. no. 25 dates to Ptolemy III, but places the shared title above the head of Ptolemy II, between their individual cartouches.¹⁰⁹⁰

The scenes in the material indicate that the *theoi Adelphoi* were regarded as the founders of the Ptolemaic Dynasty. The pictorial material follows Egyptian conventions, and the scenes are located mainly in Upper Egypt. The combination of these two factors is important, since native Egyptian ruler cult is traditionally differentiated from the Alexandrian ruler cult. Stelai with a dynastic setting seem to have functioned as a link between the two. All scenes that describe the couple with this title postdate their lifetime, and always in a conventional dynastic setting that

¹⁰⁸⁵ *Urk II*, 171 (= line 6-8).

¹⁰⁸⁶ See *P. L. Bat.* 24 (= Clarysse & Van der Veken 1983) and the eponymous priesthood. Ptolemy I and Berenice were venerated by Ptolemy II and Arsinoë, but it was not until the time of Ptolemy IV that the couple received an official (temporary) position as the founders of the dynasty. See cat. nos. 16-17, 19-22, 34-35, dating to Ptolemy IV-VIII, where the *theoi Soteres* are excluded from the official dynastic ancestors.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *Urk II*, 126 (= line 5).

¹⁰⁸⁸ See cat. nos. 24-25.

¹⁰⁸⁹ See Chapter III.6, Dynastic settings.

¹⁰⁹⁰ The dynastic scene of cat. no. 35 describes Ptolemy II and Arsinoë with individual titles exclusively.

expresses the transfer of power from one generation to the next.¹⁰⁹¹ In terms of iconographic arrangement, the *theoi Adelphoi* are separated from other ancestral couples.¹⁰⁹² Arsinoë is frequently illustrated as the tallest figure of the scene based on an item which also distinguishes this couple from the others – the crown. Arsinoë wears the crown of Arsinoë (except for cat. no. 21), and Ptolemy II either an Osirian *atef* or an *anedjti* crown. All other females, without any exceptions, wear a traditional female crown. All other males wear one of the above mentioned crowns, the *atef* or *anedjti*, opposed to the one worn by Ptolemy II (i.e., if Ptolemy II wears the *anedjti*, such as in cat. no. 18, the other males are dressed in the *atef*, or vice versa). These scenes show Arsinoë standing behind Ptolemy II, raising her hand in a protective manner.¹⁰⁹³ Her hand's pose combined with her position as the last figure of the left side, suggestively indicates a socio-religious position as the protectress of the entire dynasty, also including the ruling royal couple.¹⁰⁹⁴

I classify all scenes mentioned above as dynastic regardless of their figural arrangement as mentioned in Chapters III.6-7.¹⁰⁹⁵ The main symbolic theme of these scenes is a ruling pharaoh who claims his right to the throne, and demonstrates his pure dynastic legacy and royal blood. The Gate of Euergetes presents a scene of comparison, as it provides Queen Berenice II with a title that places her as the heiress of the *theoi Adelphoi*.¹⁰⁹⁶ This title underlines the importance of not only an individual scene, but also the full setting or composition of scenes under one associated theme. It has been argued elsewhere that the link between a ruling pharaoh and his ancestors is too unclear if placed on an opposite side.¹⁰⁹⁷ I, however, believe that such a separation was necessary in order for the king to claim his right to the throne. This claim would be available only through the death of the previous ruler (rulers).

Exceptions include scenes that express crowning or rejuvenation themes, such as cat. no. 4, which provides further examples of pictorial adjustment, and emphasises that time is not a main subject, but instead the ceremony itself. All figures in cat. no. 4 are equally illustrated as sons and daughters of Ra. The scene is unique due to its dualistic arrangement, depicting all figures in pairs/couples, including the gods on the right side. The first Hathoric goddess on the right is coupled with Amun-Ra; Hathor with Horus; Tefnut with Shu, and the fourth female figure with a male counterpart now missing. The scene clarifies a divine legacy and places the Ptolemaic couples in a direct line with the primeval constitution of Egyptian religion.¹⁰⁹⁸ Ptolemy III and Berenice II clarify their dynastic legacy through the association with the deceased ancestors and emphasise their right to rule as they connect themselves with the divine rulers, Horus and Hathor, as husband and wife. The ruling monarch gains strength and emphasises his divine royal heritage, while he claims his true right to the throne.¹⁰⁹⁹

¹⁰⁹¹ To my knowledge, the couple is never described as “*theoi Adelphoi*” when they actively perform a religious ceremony, such as is demonstrated in cat. nos. 1L, 15L-R, 26L-R. Compare, however, the Greek styled Ptolemaic coinage, which designates the couple with such title during their lifetime.

¹⁰⁹² See Chapter III.6.

¹⁰⁹³ Cat. nos. 3, 16-17, 19-22.

¹⁰⁹⁴ See also Chapter III.4, Hands held in a protective manner.

¹⁰⁹⁵ See Winter 1978 for his discussion on the differences in these two groups.

¹⁰⁹⁶ See for example Quaegebeur 1989, 97. See also below, Chapter III.8.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Winter 1978, *passim*.

¹⁰⁹⁸ The *theoi Adelphoi* may be interpreted as manifestations of Shu and Tefnut as the divine siblings. Such association is demonstrated in esp. cat. no. 2 where Ptolemy II and Arsinoë are described as the children of Atum.

¹⁰⁹⁹ The dynastic relationship was stressed also through the introduction of the couples as temple sharing deities long after their initial deification. Isis Arsinoë Philadelphos, the *theoi Adelphoi* and the *theoi Euergetai* were introduced as temple sharing gods in the temple of Hermonthis in year 149/148 B.C. Although of an unknown origin, *P.Yale.46* describes a priest who was active in a temple of Amon and Arsinoë, including also the *theoi*

DIVINE MOTHER/MOTHER OF THE GOD

Seven scenes list “Divine mother/mother of the god” as a title describing Arsinoë. This title foremost indicates a divine cultic position rather than a royalty/queen. It is associated with the already discussed titles “God’s wife” and “Daughter of Amun”, once more portraying Arsinoë in a Hathoric role. As a title of comparison, “Royal mother (= mother of the king)” describes a queen in an obviously differentiated social position, but still similar to the previous title since the pharaoh was regarded divine.¹¹⁰⁰ Postdating her lifetime, cat. no. 16 designates Arsinoë as “Royal mother”, while cat. nos. 34–35 title her as “Divine mother of his mothers”. Both titles are associated with Hathor’s dynastic aspects, including her roles as the mother, daughter, sister, and wife of Ra/Horus/Amun. All dynastic ideas are based on this mythological structure.

As “Divine mother” Arsinoë is always paired with Ptolemy II, occasionally including later Ptolemaic couples. Based on the figural arrangement, I interpret “Divine mother” as a purely dynastic title. A living queen more likely would refer to titles such as “King’s daughter, sister, and wife”.¹¹⁰¹ “Divine mother” describes Arsinoë in a socio-religious position from which her descendants could claim their royal ancestry and true bloodline. It explains her individual role, but more importantly serves as a female equivalent of the divine father, frequently describing Ptolemy II in these scenes.¹¹⁰² The material indicates that “Divine mother” was applied as a designation of Arsinoë long after her death.

As an alternative to the dynastic theme associated with this title, cat. no. 12. describes Arsinoë as “Mother of Hep” (the Apis bull). Once again, the title assimilates Arsinoë with Hathor and divine motherhood. The title is directly connected with the personal cult of Arsinoë at Memphis, where she had her own temple and priesthood, being closely associated with Ptah. The crown of Arsinoë in cat. no. 12 shows enlarged cow horns and solar disc, also pictorially suggesting an assimilation. “Mother of Hep” places Arsinoë in a full assimilation with Sekhmet/Hathor as the Memphite divine mother of the so important Apis bull, while the above documented scenes focus mainly on the dynastic ruler cult.¹¹⁰³

Adelphoi and the *theoi Euergetai*. The text underlines a clear separation between the official dynastic cult, i.e., that of the *theoi Adelphoi*, and the individual cult of Arsinoë. Here, yet again, Arsinoë is associated with Amun, possibly as his divine wife. An inscription documented on a small sandstone altar found in the precinct of the Sarapis temple at Hermopolis Magna further describes the *theoi Adelphoi* as sharing a temple with the *theoi Euergetai* to whom statues and shrines were dedicated by the cavalry located in the area. See *P. Yale*. 46; Quaegebeur 1971, 243 n. 19; Wace, Megaw & Skeat 1959, *passim*; Fraser 1972, 234; II, 384 n. 256.

¹¹⁰⁰ “Divine mother” was introduced rather late in the Egyptian history, appearing only occasionally between the times of the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic Dynasty. “Royal mother” was utilised continually throughout all periods, pausing after the Third Intermediate Period, to once again be held by queens of the Ptolemaic Dynasty. Troy 1986, 192, lists Queen Udjashu (26th Dynasty) as the last queen described with this title. Here, however, cat. no. 16 demonstrates that the title was still in use during the Ptolemaic Dynasty. Also, see Tyldesley 2006, 26.

¹¹⁰¹ See above.

¹¹⁰² Dynastic scenes describe all deceased females with similar titles, including “Divine mother” and “Royal mother”. Similarly, the male deceased ancestors are described with identical titles, including “Divine royal father”.

¹¹⁰³ For more information on the Apis bull and its importance throughout the Ptolemaic period see Crawford 1980.

IMAGE OF ISIS AND HATHOR

The title “Image of Isis and Hathor” describes Arsinoë in cat. no. 2 (L-R). This epithet has a twofold meaning since it communicates both the socio-political role and the religious role of the queen. It connects Arsinoë with two of the most essential Egyptian goddesses, together ruling and determining the arrangement and identification of each section of the whole scene.¹¹⁰⁴ In this way, the title “Image of Isis and Hathor” summarise the complete concept of Egyptian temporal adjustment as it is studied in Chapter III.7. Since the Pithom stela already has been analysed according to its pictorial setting, I focus instead on a comparison with similar titles held by Arsinoë elsewhere.

Once again returning to cat. no. 26, fig. 100, the lintel-scene reveals a section of a hieroglyphic text which I would like to reassess. Initial publications mark this section as damaged or no longer visible,¹¹⁰⁵ whereas more recent scholars have translated it in agreement with Sauneron “la mere divine d’Apis-réplique-de-Ptah, la souveraine¹¹⁰⁶ de tous les animaux sacres”.¹¹⁰⁷ The hieroglyphic signs are represented as follows:

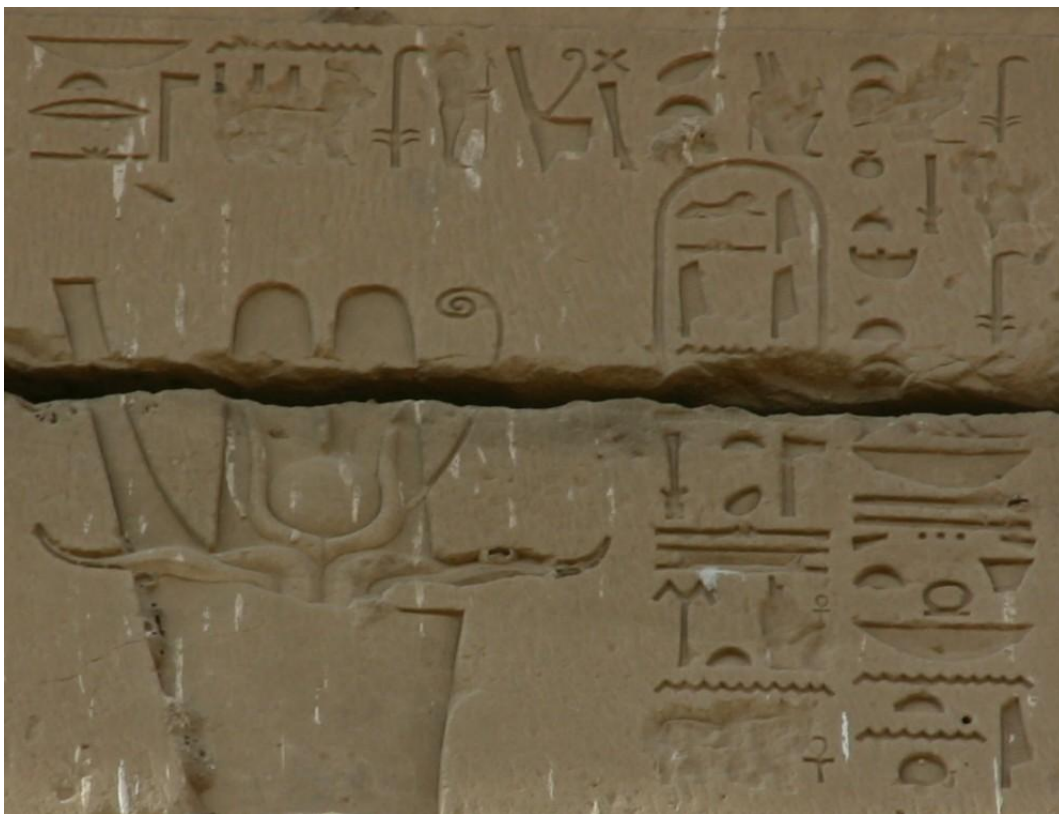


Fig. 100: Detail of cat. no. 26R showing the hieroglyphic text.

¹¹⁰⁴ See Chapter III.7.

¹¹⁰⁵ *LdR* IV, 240 F.

¹¹⁰⁶ Compare Quaegebeur 1978, 262; Huss 1994, 101, translating it instead in its male form, thus the king.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Mwt - ntrjt - njt - ḥp - ʿnh - whm - nj - Pth - njšwt - nj - ʿwt - nbt - ntrjt*.

I would, firstly, like to stress the manifold symbolism expressed in the sign of Isis, referring to the goddess herself simultaneously as aspects of maternity.¹¹⁰⁸ Further, I prefer to translate the latter sign of the bull (and its plural ending) as “souls” rather than “animals”.¹¹⁰⁹ Consequently, I suggest a transliteration as follows: *3st - (mwt) - m - n - hp-ꜥnh- whm- n- Pth- nsw- n- k3.w- nbt ntryt*.¹¹¹⁰ I retain a symbolic association with the goddess Isis, and in doing so, I translate it as “Divine mother (Isis) of the living bull (=Hep/Apis), the manifestation of Ptah, the King of all souls, Lord of sacredness”. A complete translation of the designation of Arsinoë hence reads: “Daughter of the king, sister of the King of Upper Egypt, King’s great wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Mistress of Eternity, Lady of the sun disc (Aten), Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë, the divine Philadelphos, Divine mother (Isis) of the living bull, the manifestation of Ptah, the King of all souls, Lord of sacredness.”

Based on the analysed signs, the complete text describes Arsinoë as a living image of Isis, the mother of Apis. Also, the subsequent passage stresses an association with Ptah. Ptah was responsible for the opening of the mouth ceremony, and as he blew repeated life into the deceased physical body, he allowed the soul to become immortal and join the celestial sphere. This theme is also described in cat. no. 1, which places cat. no. 26R in a period of time immediately following the death of Arsinoë.¹¹¹¹ This title demonstrates yet another example of temporal adjustment, since the scene represents a ruling queen who stands in an active position behind Ptolemy. It further supports the suggestion presented in Chapter III.7, that it was the death of Arsinoë that interrupted the artists to complete the scene. Finally, the link with Apis is associated with cat. no. 12, which describes Arsinoë as the mother of Hep (=Apis).¹¹¹²

Conclusively, the reassessed section of Arsinoë’s designation places the queen in a religious position associated not only with Isis, but also with Ptah and Apis. The translation of the text provides with supporting material for the concepts of temporal adjustment, demonstrating that cat. no. 26 arguably was created during the lifetime of Arsinoë, but interrupted by her sudden death. The artist plausibly engraved the hieroglyphic text as his last task, after outlining the essential attributes of the deities in order not to disrespect them.

As a first object of comparison from another artistic medium, Arsinoë is described in connection with Isis and Hathor on the “Vatican statue”.¹¹¹³ The designation reads “Image of Isis, Beloved of Hathor”, which, again, associates the queen with the two goddesses. As a second object of comparison, a now lost relief scene, once recorded and copied in the quarries of Masara, names Arsinoë as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Isis-Arsinoë”.¹¹¹⁴ The copy of the relief shows two individual sections of one general scene. Ptolemy II presents offerings

¹¹⁰⁸ LGG I, 61-65.

¹¹⁰⁹ Thus, transcribing the signs as *k3.w*.

¹¹¹⁰ *whm - n - Pth* was used also as a title of Apis, see *WB* I, 344, though excluding the present combination of hieroglyphic signs. *LGG* VIII, 188f., document the title “Der das Leben des Ptah wiederholt”, though it does not list the signs of cat. no. 26. The following description, *nsw- n- k3.w- nbt -ntryt*, can be compared with *nsw-n-ꜥwt - nbt- ntryt*, listed in *LGG* IV, 323, again as a title of Apis.

¹¹¹¹ Compare the statue-triad now located in Alexandria, which describes how Amon blows repeated life into Arsinoë. Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, inv. no.11261. Compare Callim. *Apoth. Ars.* (= F 228); see Macurdy 1932, 127-128; van Oppen 2007, 311.

¹¹¹² Compare the text of the ‘Vatican Arsinoë’ (see above), where she is described as the daughter of the Merhubull, a title otherwise describing Isis.

¹¹¹³ Inv. no. 22681 (see above).

¹¹¹⁴ Howard-Vyse & Perring 1842, 100f. with no. 9; see Quaegebeur 1978, 251, for further references on this relief.

to an unknown deity, Khonsu-Ra-Harakhte and Isis-Arsinoë on the left section, and to Ra, Shu and Tefnut on the right.¹¹¹⁵ The scene is crowned with two sets of winged solar discs and is further decorated with papyrus and lotus clusters on each side. The figures are depicted within the outlines of a stylised *naos*. The figure of Khonsu-Ra-Harakhte is described as a child who comes forth from the eye of Ra, and is documented wearing a triple crown. His title is important, since Arsinoë is included in the triad, in a position of a divine mother, and thereby, the pictorial arrangement once again links her with Hathor as the eye of Ra. Similarly to cat. no. 2, Arsinoë is associated equally with Isis and Hathor, textually with Isis and pictorially with Hathor. The figure missing from the copied scene could possibly be identified as Amun, based on the characterised aspect of Khonsu. Certainly, such an identification would support Arsinoë's religious role as a God's wife during her lifetime. Similarly, this identification could date the scene to Arsinoë's lifetime, by the application of relative placement.¹¹¹⁶ The right section illustrates the primeval family, including Ra and his two children, Shu and Tefnut. Similarly to cat. no. 2, I regard the two scenes to interconnect, showing two facets of the same descriptive palette.¹¹¹⁷

ROYAL TITLES

The divine legacy was made unquestionable and comprehensible by the application of royal names, traditionally including five individual designations: the Horus name, the Two Ladies name, the Golden Horus name, the Throne name (*praenomen*), and the Birth name (*nomen*).¹¹¹⁸ As described above, each child was given a personal name immediately after birth in order to protect his or her soul in case of an early accident or sudden demise.¹¹¹⁹ However, in order to separate the royalties from commoners, the royal names were created, developed and intended to strengthen and highlight the true divine nature of the pharaoh, and he was, therefore, given designations validating this legacy.

The Horus name

The Horus name presented and legitimated the pharaoh as a divine ruler. Regularly (but not always), the name was placed within a rectangle crowned by a falcon (see fig. 101), denoting the royal palace and divine kingship.¹¹²⁰ Originally, the Horus name was the only official

¹¹¹⁵ Compare the notes of Howard-Vyse & Perring (1842, 100f. with no. 9) as they state: "In the centre is the name of the "Queen Ese-Arsinoë", the sister, and the wife of the king; and she appears to offer incense to "Amoun-ra" and to "Khonsu"...". The position of the queen cannot be that of a benefactor since she stands as the last figure of the left scene, facing in the same direction as the other deities – toward the king. See Chapter III.7.

¹¹¹⁶ As the queen, the high priestess and the God's wife, Arsinoë was regarded divine and could therefore be placed on the same side as the traditional gods through figural adjustment/relative placement.

¹¹¹⁷ The textual association of Arsinoë and Isis is documented also in a priest stela from Saqqara = British Museum inv. no. 124: "King's daughter, sister, and wife, Daughter of Amon, Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos, Isis". Compare Arsinoë's title listed in *OGIS* 30. For examples of Greek material, see the faience vases (*oinochoai*) in D. B. Thompson 1973. Compare also Arsinoë's position as a temple sharing goddess in the temple of Hermonthis (modern Armant) = *P.Lond.* 590; *P.Petrie* I 25, 2 Z. 1; II 46 Z. 9.

Documents outside the material that describe Arsinoë's association with Isis originate chiefly in the area of Alexandria or Fayyum. Interestingly, it is in the "Greek areas" where Arsinoë is assimilated almost completely with Aphrodite. It is generally accepted that Aphrodite was the Greek equivalent of Hathor. See Quaegebeur 1971, for more general information and further references.

¹¹¹⁸ von Beckerath 1984, 2-36; *LÄ* III, 540-556.

¹¹¹⁹ The soul, in other words, was connected to the name.

¹¹²⁰ Manchip White 1970, 10. Budge 1908/2004, xiii, refers to the rectangle as *serekh* corresponding to the king's funerary building and, therefore, the house of the royal *ka*.

royal name of the pharaoh, and as it dates to the first dynasties, it is the oldest recorded royal designation.¹¹²¹ The fundamental significance of a Horus name was to describe the pharaoh as an earthly manifestation and incarnation of the sun-god Ra, materialised in his kingship role as the falcon (= Horus).¹¹²² Based on Horus' earthly manifestation in the pharaoh, and on the royal spirit, it is not surprising that the Horus name occasionally is referred to as a *ka* (= soul) name.¹¹²³

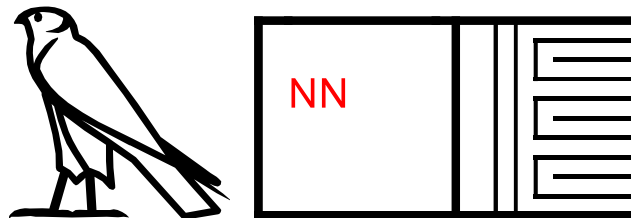


Fig. 101: Horus name. Signs after *JSesh*.

Among the examples of Horus names as provided by J. von Beckerath, some read as follows: “Powerful heart”, “Divine being”, “He who satisfies the Two Lands”, “He who upholds Ma’at”, “He who lives in the heart of the Two Lands”, “Lord of Ma’at”, “Strong bull arising in Thebes” and “Image of the gods”.¹¹²⁴ Ptolemy II is included as one of only a few rulers having all five royal names listed in one document. This document, the Pithom stela (here listed as cat. no. 2) describes him as “Strong Youth”, relating him to the youngster Harpocrates.¹¹²⁵ Prior to him, Ptolemy I assumed the Horus title “Whose might is great, the valiant ruler”.¹¹²⁶ Some of the male Horus titles listed by von Beckerath correspond to official designations of Arsinoë, and I find Arsinoë’s title “Image of Isis and Hathor” particularly interesting as it is associated, in a feminine form, with “Image of the gods”.¹¹²⁷

von Beckerath includes in his list queens who are described as pharaohs, incorporating the Divine Adoratrices of the Third Intermediate Period.¹¹²⁸ Prior to the Ptolemaic queens, (at least) four female rulers were given a Horus name. Sobeknefru was the first female king to be described with a Horus name, translating “Beloved of Ra”.¹¹²⁹ Sobeknefru’s Horus title is documented as one of Arsinoë’s titles, although outside the current material.¹¹³⁰ This title connects the female ruler directly with the original solar deity. As noted in Chapter III.8, titles that describe royalties as “Beloved of” communicate a message of belonging, and identify

¹¹²¹ Brier & Hobbs 1999, 61.

¹¹²² *LÄ* III, 540.

¹¹²³ Gardiner 1957, 72.

¹¹²⁴ von Beckerath 1984, 11f.; see also Gardiner 1957, 72.

¹¹²⁵ See the main catalogue for further references to cat. no. 2.

¹¹²⁶ von Beckerath 1986, 118.

¹¹²⁷ See above, Daughter of Amon.

¹¹²⁸ He lists Nitocris (6th dynasty), Sobeknefru (12th dynasty), Hatshepsut (18th dynasty), Taworset (19th dynasty), Shepenwepet I, Amenirdis I, Shepenwepet II, Amenirdis II, Nitocris I, Ankhnesneferibre, Nitocris II (all belonging to Third Intermediate Period). Included in his list are also the majority of the Ptolemaic queens who at any point were given a royal designation.

¹¹²⁹ von Beckerath 1984, 67. Troy 1986 excludes this title for the queen.

¹¹³⁰ See above.

them with certain aspects of the deity.¹¹³¹ This designation identifies the king/queen with the divine essence that is encapsulated in the god or goddess with whom he/she is associated.¹¹³²

Several of Arsinoë's titles agree with previous male and female rulers' Horus names as demonstrated below. However, at no point was Arsinoë provided with a name placed within the rectangular structure that conventionally formed a Horus name in texts. It is, though, important to recognise the complexity of the Ptolemaic development of the Middle (/Late) Egyptian language: the Graeco-Roman Period offers various examples of adjustment of text and iconography.¹¹³³ It is reasonable to question whether Arsinoë was in an essential need of the conventional structure of an official Horus name, or whether a Horus name listed freely in the text would be equally accepted by the native Egyptians.

Excluding the rectangular cartouche, I identify in the main titles three plausible suggestions of a Horus name for Arsinoë: "Beloved of the ram", "Image of Isis and Hathor", and "Banebdjedet".¹¹³⁴ The first two titles have already been classified as valid Horus names, as they are recorded for Sobeknefru ("Beloved of the ram"),¹¹³⁵ and as the male form "Image of the gods".¹¹³⁶ The third alternative, however, needs to be reassessed in order to understand its importance here.

Arsinoë's complete designation in cat. no. 5 translates as "King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Banebdjedet)| Lady of the Two Lands (Arsinoë)| Philadelphos", which has caused a multi-generational debate.¹¹³⁷ This full title is presented with two cartouches, one lists "Banebdjedet". A cartouche traditionally determines a *praenomen* or *nomen* (Throne and Birth name), but such a convention may be disregarded, since Arsinoë's official Throne name was "(She who is in the heart of Shu, beloved of all the gods)",¹¹³⁸ occasionally alternating "Shu" with "King".¹¹³⁹ The modern debate, however, concerns "Banebdjedet" and, to some degree, "Lady (Lord) of the Two Lands". As mentioned above, I identify these as personal titles of Arsinoë based on their location in her personal register of text.¹¹⁴⁰ I interpret "Banebdjedet" as placing Arsinoë as an immediate female incarnation/manifestation of the local ram god, emphasising her direct lineage as a descendant of Ra. "Banebdjedet" reconnects Arsinoë with the original applications of a Horus name, such as were documented during the very first Egyptian pharaohs, describing the ruler with a name of a god.

¹¹³¹ Compare the textual records that describe Ptolemy IV as beloved of the native gods as well as of the *theoi Adelphoi*, *theoi Euergetai*, and the *theoi Philopatores*, thus including himself and Arsinoë III. See Quaegebeur 1989, 101 with n. 48.

¹¹³² As the second female king described with a Horus name, Hatshepsut assumed the title "Powerful of souls", *Wsr-t-k3w*, which is a female formula unique to the queen. As will be further discussed below, Hatshepsut was one of the queens with whom Arsinoë's designations concur with most. See von Beckerath 1984, 84; Robins 1999, 103f.

¹¹³³ See Chapters III.7-8, above, and III.10, below.

¹¹³⁴ Troy 1986 excludes any reference to this title.

¹¹³⁵ Cat. no. 1. Include also the various titles listed in the 'Vatican sculpture of Arsinoë' (see above): "Beloved of Hathor", "Beloved of Atum", and the Chicago statue base mentioned above: "Beloved of Ra", "Beloved of Ptah", "Beloved of Thoth", "Beloved of Amon-Ra", "Beloved of Mut", "Beloved of Khonsu".

¹¹³⁶ See above.

¹¹³⁷ See above, Daughter of Amon.

¹¹³⁸ Cat. nos. 2L-R, 12. See Chapter III.8. See Troy 1986, (A1/30), for the alternative translation "She who is united with the heart of Shu, beloved of the gods".

¹¹³⁹ Cat. nos. 13-14. See below.

¹¹⁴⁰ Exceptions would include a textual family-orientated association, but such is not offered in cat. no. 5. See above.

An identification of “Banebdjedet” as Arsinoë’s Horus title validates my iconographic interpretation of cat. nos. 1 and 5 as reflecting not only the rebirth of the physical ram, but also the incarnation of Arsinoë. The two stelai pictorially identify Arsinoë as Banebdjedet’s daughter, combined with her role as his high priestess in cat. no. 1. This description is comparable to the title assumed by the mother of the deified vizier Imhotep (3rd Dynasty), which describes her as “Daughter of Banebdjedet”.¹¹⁴¹ To my knowledge, no other preserved ancient records provide a list of high priestesses of Banebdjedet prior to Arsinoë. As a local alternation of Amun, however, any high priestess of Banebdjedet is equivalent to the God’s Wives of Amun in Karnak, as will be discussed in more detail in subsequent sections. My conclusion, based on the material, is that the official designation “Banebdjedet” functioned as an intentional and legitimate official Horus name of Arsinoë. The ancient conventions of connecting a Horus name with the primeval divine solar force, Ra, are adequately followed in the main text of cat. no. 1, describing Banebdjedet, and therefore Arsinoë, as the soul of Ra.¹¹⁴²

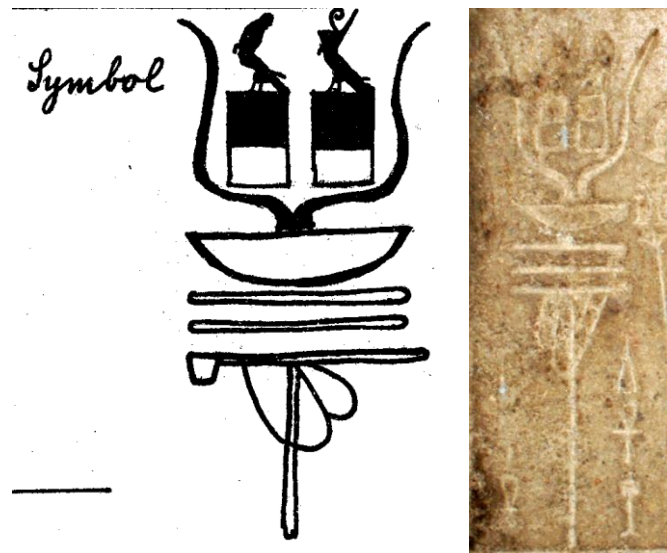
Arsinoë is described as “Banebdjedet” in no other scene than cat. no. 5, but her connection with the ram god is textually and pictorially emphasised also in cat. no. 1. In terms of establishing the actual existence of a Horus name, it is important to return to the unique insignia located behind the back figure of Ptolemy II in cat. no. 1 which is presented in Chapter III.7. It is structurally compiled of a standard base (usually connected with geographical *nomes*), hieroglyphic signs symbolising rulership of the Two Lands, and a set of large cow horns holding two empty Horus names crowned by falcons, who in their turn wear the white crown and red crown respectively (figs. 102-103). The contextual hieroglyphic text states *sn.sn (sn.w)*, identified here as “siblings” rather than “brothers”, and as such recognising the insignia as a determiner of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë.¹¹⁴³ The insignia, consequently, indicates the existence of two individual Horus names, describing Ptolemy II as the King of Upper Egypt and Arsinoë as King of Lower Egypt. This identification agrees with the figural arrangement and contextual setting of the scene, pictorially emphasising a socio-political state of co-regency.¹¹⁴⁴ The empty Horus name combined with the theme of cat. no. 1 emphasises Arsinoë’s assimilation with Banebdjedet, and presents Arsinoë not only as his daughter and high priestess, but also as the one who maintains his incarnated soul. Based on my conclusions in Chapter III.7 concerning an active temporal adjustment used in cat. no. 1, the left image of Arsinoë in cat. no. 1 (cat. no. 1L) is textually and pictorially described as a living and ruling queen, thus appropriately in agreement with the existence of a Horus name.

¹¹⁴¹ Warner & Fernández-Armesto 2003, 296.

¹¹⁴² See above, Daughter of Amon, for the analysis and presentation of the iconography of the scenes.

¹¹⁴³ Compare Revez 2003. See above, Chapter III.7.

¹¹⁴⁴ Ptolemy II is described as the King of Upper Egypt based on the vulture and lotuses, whereas Arsinoë surround herself with the Heliopolitan falcon and papyrus, symbolising Lower Egypt.



Figs. 102-103: Images of the insignia illustrated behind the couple in cat. no. 1. Left: copy from Sethe 1904 (=Urk II), II.30. Note how Sethe's illustration is a mirror opposite of the photograph (detail of cat. no. 1) to the right. Photo by the author.

The Nebty name

The second royal designation related to conventional Egyptian kingship is the Nebty name, the designation of the Two Ladies (see fig. 104).¹¹⁴⁵ In terms of visual identification, the vulture and serpent are primarily placed as individual signs in front of the personal name, although occasionally (frequently during the Old Kingdom) occurring indirectly within the main title itself, incorporated in titles such as “He of the Two Ladies”.¹¹⁴⁶ Although not as ancient as the Horus name, the Nebty title dates back to the Early Old Kingdom.¹¹⁴⁷ It follows the conventions of Egyptian dualism, as it incorporates a feminine feature of male power.¹¹⁴⁸ It symbolises the pharaoh's rule of the Two Lands, Upper and Lower Egypt, denoting his political position as a unifier of north and south.¹¹⁴⁹ Scholars frequently regard this dualistic significance of the Nebty name as parallel with the *nsw-bit* title – “King of Upper and Lower Egypt”.¹¹⁵⁰ It corresponds to the presence of the vulture and risen cobra on the king's forehead, hence also signifying divine protection.¹¹⁵¹

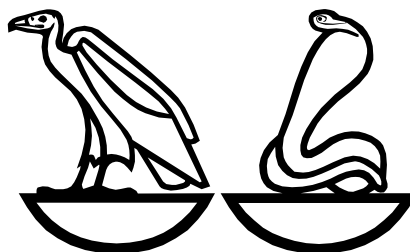


Fig. 104: Nebty, the Two Ladies. Hieroglyph after JSesh.

¹¹⁴⁵ For a general introduction, see Frankfort 1978 (1948), 46.

¹¹⁴⁶ von Beckerath 1984, 18.

¹¹⁴⁷ Petrie 1900, Pl. XI, no. 1 (CG 31773); von Beckerath 1984, 13-18.

¹¹⁴⁸ For the feminine aspects, see Troy 1986, II.6.

¹¹⁴⁹ Brier & Hobbs 1999, 61.

¹¹⁵⁰ Gardiner 1957, 72.

¹¹⁵¹ Morkot 2005, 153f. Troy 1986, 115, incorporates a discussion concerning the eternal rejuvenation expressed by the Two Ladies as representing the divine mother and daughter.

In his compilation of pharaonic titles, von Beckerath provides examples of Nebty titles such as “The Two Ladies are the dwellers of the two chapels”, “Companion of the Two Ladies”, and “He of the Two Ladies”.¹¹⁵² Relating to Arsinoë, the Pithom stela presents Ptolemy II as “(The Two Ladies) Whose might is great”,¹¹⁵³ his father before him was designated “Who possesses the Two Lands with power as ruler”.¹¹⁵⁴

The female pharaoh Sobeknefru assumed a Nebty name corresponding to the traditional feminine title of Egyptian dualism, reading “Daughter of the gracious One, Lady of the Two Lands”.¹¹⁵⁵ Hatshepsut’s Nebty name reads “Flourishing of years”, explained by G. Robins as an unusual combination of a Two Ladies designation, as it obviously neglects a direct association with the dualistic character of the vulture and cobra.¹¹⁵⁶ The female king Tawosret was describes as “The one who establishes Egypt (the founder or organiser), the vanquisher of foreign lands”. To my knowledge, no other queen was given an official Nebty name according to the strict conventions that identify the Two Ladies in front of the personal name. However, as noted above, personal names occasionally refer to the vulture and cobra indirectly in the main designation, and it is, therefore, not unlikely to find this alternation in official records during later periods, corresponding to the fashion of the Old Kingdom.¹¹⁵⁷

As with the Horus name, I locate indications of a Nebty name in cat. no. 1 among Arsinoë’s official titles in the main text, and following the words “she was given the divine titles...”¹¹⁵⁸ One of these epithets reads “she who received the two forehead *uraei*”. This title reasonably refers to the double *uraeus* placed in Arsinoë’s forehead in royal sculptures, associated with the Two Ladies as described in Chapter III.1.¹¹⁵⁹ Again recalling my conclusions provided in Chapter III.7 (Concepts of time), Arsinoë is portrayed as a ruling queen in cat. no. 1, which enables an identification of a Nebty title in use during Arsinoë’s lifetime.

As a title of comparison, Arsinoë is described in the Mendes stela as “Holder of the sacred insignia”. An interpretation of this title could be twofold, or even tripartite, but rather than associating “sacred insignia” with any handheld items or the unique insignia placed behind the couple, I interpret the words as symbolising the crown of Arsinoë as a compilation of various sacred attributes.¹¹⁶⁰

¹¹⁵² von Beckerath 1984, 16-18.

¹¹⁵³ See the main catalogue, cat. no. 2, for full reference.

¹¹⁵⁴ *LdR* IV, 218 (XI).

¹¹⁵⁵ von Beckerath 1984, 67.

¹¹⁵⁶ Robins 1999, 104.

¹¹⁵⁷ It could be questioned why Arsinoë concerned herself with the very ancient traditions of royal names when the Graeco-Roman period is renowned for its development of, and decadent approach to the hieroglyphs of the conventional Middle Egyptian. However, Arsinoë utilised various designations that had not been in continuous use since the Old Kingdom, or possibly the Middle Kingdom. In the material, Arsinoë is described as the mother of Hep (Apis), which I have associated (above) with the designation “Daughter of the Merhu bull”, listed in the ‘Vatican statue’. The latter name describes only two previous queens, dating to the Old Kingdom, and to the Third Intermediate Period with the God’s wife Ankhnesneferibre. Although outside the material, Arsinoë’s designation “Beloved of Thoth” can be compare to the Old Kingdom descriptions of the queens as priestesses of Thoth. These aspects are naturally interesting, as they indicate a close connection between the royal house and the priesthood. There are no indications to suggest that Arsinoë had any personal knowledge in the ancient Egyptian language. Compare Quaegebeur 1971, 247f. with n. 54; Troy 1986, A1/9 and B2/14; van Oppen 2007, 99-101.

¹¹⁵⁸ See main catalogue, cat. no. 1.

¹¹⁵⁹ In the material, Arsinoë is illustrated with the combined vulture and *uraeus* in cat. nos. 8, 23-24, emphasising the symbolism of this title.

¹¹⁶⁰ Sculptures of Arsinoë are often recognised and identified due to the double *uraei*, which was unique for her amongst the Ptolemaic queens. See Ashton 2000. Pictorially, the Two Ladies changed from being represented as

During the Ptolemaic Period, the Nebty title was identified with the Greek title κύριος βασιλειῶν (“Lord of the Crowns”).¹¹⁶¹ As a female equivalent, “Lady of the crowns” designates Arsinoë twice in the material (cat. nos. 13-14), previously determining three queens only: Karomama II Merymut (22th Dynasty) and the two Divine Adoratrices Shepenwepet I and Ankhnesneferibre.¹¹⁶² An identification of “Lady of the crowns” as an official Nebty name in cat. nos. 13-14 is possible based on its textual location outside a cartouche, never replacing the prefix of the Throne name (“Son of Ra”, here “Daughter of Amun”) as discussed below.¹¹⁶³ Based on the pictorial context, arrangement of figures and textual reference to Arsinoë’s official designations, I argue that the title presented in cat. no. 1 is most credible as an official Nebty title.

The Golden Horus name

The third official royal title, the Golden Horus title, is described less adequately in ancient sources. In terms of textual arrangement, it is located in front of the Birth name, though occasionally in front of the Throne name, but it rarely followed any obvious regulations (as compared with the two previous titles).¹¹⁶⁴ In terms of visual recognition, it is shown as a falcon sitting on a hieroglyphic sign for gold (𐀓) (fig. 105), signifying a pharaoh’s association with the pure light – Ra, and Horus’ victory over Seth.¹¹⁶⁵ Egyptologists frequently relate the Golden Horus name with a heavenly aspect of kingship, thus incorporating titles such as “He who belongs in the solar heaven”, “The falcon of the solar sky”, or “Heir of the solar sky”.¹¹⁶⁶ Pharaohs generally used a designation that related to the shining, golden character of the sun god, expressed in titles such as “The golden falcon (or Falcon of gold)”, “Powerful is the golden falcon”, or “He (Amun) modelled me as a falcon of gold”.¹¹⁶⁷ The secondary connection, Horus’ triumph over Seth, is emphasised in the titles “He who is above his enemy”, and “Superior to his enemies”.¹¹⁶⁸ Interestingly, Ptolemy II assumed an official Golden Horus name reading “Who his father has raised to the throne”,¹¹⁶⁹

a vulture and a cobra to two cobras from especially the 18th dynasty. The double *uraeus* is documented from the beginning of the New Kingdom, attached to a diadem on a statue of Ahmose Nefertari. From the Third Intermediate Period, the double *uraeus* was worn only by a few queens, either regarded as co-regents or actual sole rulers. These include Amenirdis I, Amanirenas, Amanitore, and, as argued here, Arsinoë. Compare Albersmeier 2002, 43; Maehler 2006, 217-219. See also Maehler 2003, *passim*.

¹¹⁶¹ Gardiner 1957, 73.

¹¹⁶² Troy 1986, D2/15. Troy does not list any examples after Arsinoë.

¹¹⁶³ Suggestively, cat. nos. 13-14 provide modern scholars with an opportunity to study the development of conventional Egyptian royal titles, since both stelai include Arsinoë’s royal Birth and Throne names with the prefixes “King of (Upper and) Lower Egypt” and “Lady of the Two Lands”. For the title “Lord/Lady of the Two Lands” and its identification as an additional title to the royal designations, see von Beckerath 1984, 37-40. Compare Chapter III.9, Lady of the Sky – the divine position of the wife. Compare Sobeknefru’s Nebty name, which includes the title “Lady of the Two Lands”.

¹¹⁶⁴ *LÄ* II, 740; *LÄ* III, 541.

¹¹⁶⁵ Frankfort 1978, 46. During the Old Kingdom, the Golden Horus name could be indicated by two falcons over the hieroglyph for gold. It would be interesting to investigate a possible association between the two eagles represented on Ptolemaic coins, occasionally struck in gold.

¹¹⁶⁶ von Beckerath 1984, 24.

¹¹⁶⁷ von Beckerath 1984, 24f.; Gardiner 1957, 73.

¹¹⁶⁸ von Beckerath 1984, 22.

¹¹⁶⁹ See the main catalogue, cat. no. 2, for further references. To my knowledge, Ptolemy I’s Golden Name is not recorded.

which I consider as comparable to Arsinoë's title "Rightful" (cat. no. 8). The same text places Arsinoë as the firstborn (and hereditary) daughter by the application of "Great Daughter".¹¹⁷⁰



Fig. 105: The Golden Horus name (hieroglyph after *JSesh*)

The golden Horus name occurs less frequently among female pharaohs than the two previous. To my knowledge, Sobeknefru and Hatshepsut were the only queens who used a complete conventional structure of a Golden Horus name.¹¹⁷¹ Sobeknefru's official golden title translates as "The Golden Falcon, Stable of Appearance", whereas Hatshepsut's is documented in two alternations: "Divine of appearances/crowns"¹¹⁷² and "The female Horus of fine gold".¹¹⁷³ The complexity of Hatshepsut's Golden Horus names is described by G. Robins, who concludes that both alternatives had been used previously as Nebty or Horus names.¹¹⁷⁴

Corresponding with the above mentioned designations, I argue that the Mendes stela once more provides a plausible title. Arsinoë is described in the main text as "Beautiful of appearance", relating to the two previous female kings' designations. Although not identical, the two Divine Adoratrices Amenirdis I and Ankhnesneferibre are described with elaborated designations beginning with the words "Beautiful of appearance...".¹¹⁷⁵

The Throne name

The fourth royal designation is generally referred to as a Throne name, coronation name, or *praenomen*.¹¹⁷⁶ After the Middle Kingdom, this title became the most important official designation of a pharaoh, establishing his socio-political power as ruler.¹¹⁷⁷ It was bestowed upon the pharaoh on the day of his coronation, as he ascended the throne. In terms of a textual prefix, the *praenomen* is primarily recognised as following *nsw-bitj*: it is literally translated as "He who belongs to the sedge and the bee", and places the pharaoh as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt.¹¹⁷⁸ Occasionally, the sedge and bee were replaced by "Lord of the Two Lands", comparable to Arsinoë's title in cat. no. 5 as mentioned above. The personal name following

¹¹⁷⁰ See above, King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

¹¹⁷¹ Compare von Beckerath 1984, 24-26, 67 (Sobeknefru), 84 (Hatshepsut).

¹¹⁷² Robins 1999, 85f.

¹¹⁷³ Gardiner 1957, 73.

¹¹⁷⁴ Robins 1999, 105.

¹¹⁷⁵ Troy 1986, A2/16. Outside the material, Arsinoë is described as the "Respected", see the Chicago statue-base already mentioned above. Certainly, "Respected" can be related to Arsinoë's title in the Alexandria triad (inv. no. 11261), which reads "Greatly feared throughout Egypt". The latter title could possibly associate with the Ptolemaic interpretation of the Golden Horus name as denoting Horus' triumph over Seth. See above.

¹¹⁷⁶ Gardiner 1957, 72f. ; Frankfort 1978, 46f.; von Beckerath 1984, 27.

¹¹⁷⁷ von Beckerath 1984, 27.

¹¹⁷⁸ Gardiner 1957, 73. Compare the Greek translation of the prefix as βασιλεὺς τῶν τε ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω χωρῶν.

this prefix is generally placed within a cartouche. Pharaonic coronation names principally reveal an association with Ra,¹¹⁷⁹ incorporated in titles such as “Eternal is the Justice of Re”, “The manifestation of Ra remains”, “The soul of Ra comes into being”, “Lord of truth is Ra”,¹¹⁸⁰ or the early Ptolemaic example “The heir of the Sibling-loving Gods (*theoi Adelphoi*), who is the chosen of Ra, the living image of Amun” (Ptolemy III).¹¹⁸¹ The latter title also emphasises the king’s royal legitimacy as the heir of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë.

Female pharaohs, including the majority of the Divine Adoratrices of the Third Intermediate Period received a Throne name during their lifetimes. New Kingdom’s female King Sobeknefru is described as “Sobek is the soul of Ra”; Hatshepsut assumed the title “The true one of the soul of Ra” (Ma’at-ka-Ra), possibly placing her in a socio-religious position as an earthly manifestation of the goddess Ma’at.¹¹⁸² Queen Tawosret used the name “Daughter of Ra, Beloved of Amun”: a title equivalent to two individual epithets of Arsinoë.¹¹⁸³ The Divine Adoratrice Shepenwepet I assumed a Throne name reading “She who is in the heart of Amun” (alternatively “United with the heart of Amun”),¹¹⁸⁴ whereas her descendants associated themselves with Mut in various literary forms.¹¹⁸⁵

Three scenes in the material include a generally accepted Throne name of Arsinoë, translating as “She who is in the heart of Shu, Beloved of all the Gods”.¹¹⁸⁶ This title (either alternative) identifies her with Tefnut, paired with Shu, similar to the Divine Adoratrices centuries earlier.¹¹⁸⁷ Arsinoë’s association with Tefnut has already been mentioned above, and is especially noticeable in cat. nos. 2-3. The Pithom stela describes Arsinoë as “Daughter of Atum”, and the royal couple as the children of Atum. Furthermore, cat. no. 2L places Arsinoë in a physical setting where she is related with the Hathorian sexual aspect as the Hand of God – the Hand of Atum.¹¹⁸⁸ According to the myth, it was the Hand of Atum that gave birth to Shu and Tefnut. Cat. no. 3 places the divine sibling couple (*theoi Adelphoi*) in a dynastic scene revealing their claimed hereditary lineage from Shu and Tefnut. Pictorially, Arsinoë’s figural position and details of her image correspond to the figure of Shu, again demonstrating an association between the queen and Tefnut.¹¹⁸⁹

The second part of Arsinoë’s coronation name, “Beloved of all the Gods”, signifies conventional designations of both males and females. Examples of male pharaonic titles that incorporate “Beloved of...” includes (just to mention a few) “Beloved of Hathor”,¹¹⁹⁰ “Beloved of Amun”,¹¹⁹¹ “Beloved of Ma’at”,¹¹⁹² and “Beloved of Ptah”.¹¹⁹³ “Beloved of

¹¹⁷⁹ However, the pharaohs of the Old Kingdom did not necessarily include the name of Ra. See Gardiner 1957, 74. See also Robins 1999, 105.

¹¹⁸⁰ Gardiner 1957, 72-75; von Beckerath 1984, 27-32.

¹¹⁸¹ *LdR* IV, 254 (Pl. XXXVIII).

¹¹⁸² Robins 1999, 106. Compare the alternative reading as “Ma’at is the soul of Ra”, similar to “Sobek is the soul of Ra”.

¹¹⁸³ von Beckerath 1984, 92.

¹¹⁸⁴ von Beckerath 1984, 106.

¹¹⁸⁵ For Amenirdis I, Shepenwepet II, Nitocris I and Ankhnesneferibre, see von Beckerath 1984, 109, 112f.; *LÄ* I, 197 (Amenirdis I).

¹¹⁸⁶ Cat. no. 2.

¹¹⁸⁷ Compare Troy 1986, A1/28.

¹¹⁸⁸ See Chapter III.7, Conceptions of time.

¹¹⁸⁹ See Chapter III.4. A relief now lost to the modern world was once documented in the quarry of Masara and displayed Arsinoë with Shu and Tefnut. See Howard-Vyse & Perring 1842, p. 100f. with no. 9; see also Quaegebeur 1978, 251. Similarly, the ‘Vatican statue’ of Arsinoë describes Arsinoë as “Beloved of Atum”.

¹¹⁹⁰ For example Thutmose III, Gardiner 1957, 72.

¹¹⁹¹ For example Seti I, von Beckerath 1984, 236 (E3).

Amun” was favoured by Alexander the Great, followed by Ptolemy I and II.¹¹⁹⁴ Among the female kings, Sobeknefru is described as “Beloved of Ra”,¹¹⁹⁵ Hatshepsut as “Beloved of Amun who created her beauty”,¹¹⁹⁶ and Tawosret as “Beloved of Amun”.¹¹⁹⁷ The Divine Adoratrices also received Throne names, similar to Arsinoë, such as Amenirdis’ title as “Daughter of Amun of his body whom he loves”, and Shepenwepet II as “Beloved of Amun, the daughter who is created by Atum”.¹¹⁹⁸

The reliefs describe Arsinoë as “Beloved of the ram”, which can be combined with other artistic media that describe her in a plethora of associations, including “Beloved of Amun”, “Beloved of Ra”, “Beloved of Atum”, “Beloved of Ptah”, “Beloved of Thoth”, “Beloved of Amun-Ra”, “Beloved of Khonsu”, and “Beloved of Mut”.¹¹⁹⁹ The latter designation once more associates Arsinoë with the Divine Adoratrices. Arsinoë’s Throne name follows the conventions of Middle Egyptian designations, emphasising her relation with the divine sphere and her responsibilities as their heir and female manifestation. The fact that Arsinoë is recorded with an official and recognisable Throne name and, more importantly, a male prefix has caused a heated debate regarding her political role while alive.¹²⁰⁰

Arsinoë’s *nsw-bitj* title has been discussed by a number of scholars throughout the years.¹²⁰¹ In his 1970 publication, Quaegebeur lists the titles “Lady of the Two Lands”, “Mistress of the Two Lands”, and “(great) sovereign (here: ruler) of Egypt” as equivalent to the Greek form βασιλίσσα.¹²⁰² However, all these titles demonstrate a female aspect, and can be interpreted as pure queenship determiners.¹²⁰³ *Nsw-bitj*, on the other hand, is identical with the male title βασιλεύς, although cat. no. 13 limits her sovereignty to Lower Egypt rather than the Two Lands. Prior to Arsinoë, Meritneith, Nitocris, Hatshepsut, and Tawosret were described with this official prefix *nsw-bitj* – “King of Upper and Lower Egypt”, documented here in six scenes, including seven figures of the queen.¹²⁰⁴

Previous scholars have concluded that the description “King of Upper and Lower Egypt” is an honorary title given to Arsinoë by Ptolemy II in connection with her posthumous deification, based on the lack of material predating Arsinoë’s death.¹²⁰⁵ J. Quaegebeur refers to the

¹¹⁹² For example Ramses II, von Beckerath 1984, 236 (H1a).

¹¹⁹³ For example Seti II, von Beckerath 1984, 241 (E).

¹¹⁹⁴ *LdR* IV, 216; von Beckerath 1984, 285, 287; see cat. no. 2 in the main catalogue.

¹¹⁹⁵ See above for Sobeknefru’s Horus name.

¹¹⁹⁶ Troy 1986, A1/19.

¹¹⁹⁷ von Beckerath 1984, 92 (Throne name: “Daughter of Ra, beloved of Amon”).

¹¹⁹⁸ Troy 1986, A1/13, A1/15, A1/16.

¹¹⁹⁹ The titles are listed in the ‘Vatican statue’ and the Chicago statue-base. J. Quaegebeur (1971, 245 with n. 41) noted the association between “Beloved of Ptah” and the coronation rites (and the *s3 R^c*-title) in Memphis during the later Ptolemaic period. It cannot be seen as a pure coincident that Arsinoë was worshiped alongside Ptah (as his consort and therefore assimilated with Tefnut) in Memphis.

¹²⁰⁰ See below for an elaborate discussion concerning Arsinoë’s kingship, including additional titles and an iconographic interpretation.

¹²⁰¹ Arsinoë used the title “Great House” in demotic text, traditionally translated as “Pharaoh”. For this title and its recurrence during the Ptolemaic period (amongst queens), see Pestman 1967, 28, 42, 46, 50, 54, 56 (etc.); van Oppen 2007, 463.

¹²⁰² Quaegebeur 1970, 204.

¹²⁰³ See Troy 1986, II.6-7.

¹²⁰⁴ Cat. nos. 5, 7-8, 13-15R. See Chapter III.8, King of Upper and Lower Egypt. Compare Quaegebeur 1970, 204f.; Robins 1999, 105f.

¹²⁰⁵ For example E. Otto 1960, 143-152; Burstein 1982, 197-212; Carney 1991, 154-172; 2000, 225-228.

Compare, however, van Oppen 2007, esp. Part Four, 4, and his approach to Ptolemaic Queens in accepting them

Chremonidean War and the Mendes stela, and how Arsinoë is described as influential although the documents postdate her lifetime.¹²⁰⁶ The material, however, argues against the traditional dating of at least two documents that describe Arsinoë as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt”, and I suggest a date that instead belongs to Arsinoë’s lifetime based on her figural position as an active benefactor.¹²⁰⁷ The title “the Rightful” in cat. no. 8 agrees with this conclusion, and emphasises Arsinoë’s inherit right to rule.¹²⁰⁸

The Birth name

The fifth official royal designation was the Birth name, *nomen*. This encircled Birth name was not, however, limited to the pharaoh, but was always given to royal women (including princesses). The Birth names of the king and queen (and princes and princesses) were differentiated primarily by gender, describing them according to the divine titles “Son/Daughter of Ra”, occasionally replaced by “Beloved of Amun” or, as during later periods, “Lord/Lady of the crowns”.¹²⁰⁹ The function of the royal Birth name was to control and establish a genealogy, and to declare a divine dynastic lineage between the ruling pharaoh and the primeval divine ruler, Ra.

As a contrast to the male coronation prefix *nsw-bitj* (King of Upper and Lower Egypt), Sobeknefru’s, Hatshepsut’s and Tawosret’s Birth names had a female prefix reading *s3t R^c*, “Daughter of Ra”.¹²¹⁰ They simultaneously used alternative prefixes, such as “Lady of the Two Lands” and “Mistress of the Two Lands”, equivalent to Arsinoë, who is never described in the material as the son or daughter of Ra, but as “Daughter of Amun”, corresponding to the alternative prefix mentioned above.¹²¹¹ Two of these scenes date to Arsinoë’s lifetime and are, therefore, comparable to the prefixes of the previous female kings.¹²¹²

Conventional Birth names placed a pharaoh/queen in a precise and well chosen association with one or several deities. Consequently, each individual *nomen* had a religious significance. The name Amenhotep, for example, translates as “Amun is pleased”, and Thutmosis as “Born of the god Thoth”.¹²¹³ Whereas traditional pharaonic personal names structurally describe an association with any given deity, the Ptolemaic rulers retained their original Greek name, directly transcribed to Egyptian hieroglyphs. The name of Ptolemy was written in a structured combination of signs, whereas Arsinoë’s Birth name is recorded in various hieroglyphic arrangements such as the material demonstrates.¹²¹⁴

as more powerful than has been acknowledged previously, although emphasising that their main role was as the female counterpart of the male pharaoh.

¹²⁰⁶ Quaegebeur 1970, 206. Hazzard 2000, 96 with n. 90, denies that Arsinoë had any political power, and dismiss the three Egyptian documents that describe Arsinoë as king. He uses S. Pomeroy rather than ancient sources.

¹²⁰⁷ Cat. nos. 8, 15.

¹²⁰⁸ See above.

¹²⁰⁹ For the female titles see above; Frankfort 1978, 47; von Beckerath 1984, 33; *LÄ* III, 540f. See above and Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon.

¹²¹⁰ *LdR* I, 341-343 (Sobeknefru); *LdR* II, 236-250 (Hatshepsut); *LdR* III, 145-148 (Tawosret). However, Tawosret is also documented with the male title “Son of Ra”.

¹²¹¹ Cat. nos. 12-14, 23-29, 31-32.

¹²¹² See Troy 1986, A1/12.

¹²¹³ Clayton 2006, 100 (both examples).

¹²¹⁴ See Appendix III.

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

Many of the titles studied in this chapter relate to the pictorial units and elements included in the crown of Arsinoë. “Daughter of Amun”, “Beloved of the ram”, “Banebdjedet”, “She who is the high-priestess of Banebdjedet” are all designations associating Arsinoë with the ram, explaining the presence of the ram horns.¹²¹⁵

Along with titles from other artistic media, “She who is the high priestess of Banebdjedet”, and “Daughter of Amun” demonstrate Arsinoë’s socio-religious position as a God’s wife. Traditional Egyptian texts have shown that the double feather plume was included in the sacred regalia of a God’s wife, and therefore, these designations also elucidate the presence of the plume in the crown of Arsinoë.

The titles “(the living) image of Isis and Hathor”, “Divine mother”, “Mother of Hep”, and the titles with a sexual connotation (“Sweet of Love”, “She who fills the palace with her beauty”), as well as the unique “Mistress of Eternity, Lady of the solar disc”, correspond to Arsinoë’s religious position as an earthly manifestation of Hathor, and the Hathoric maternity aspect of nurturing the dynasty. Evidently, these titles explain the application of the cow horns and solar disc as a joint pictorial element in the crown of Arsinoë.

To explain the presence of the red crown in the crown of Arsinoë, previous scholars have stressed a divine association between Arsinoë and Geb which is documented through the title “Daughter of Geb”.¹²¹⁶ However, I prefer to link Arsinoë with the red crown by its political symbolism, thus expressing a ruler of Lower Egypt. My interpretation is supported by Arsinoë’s title “King of Lower Egypt”, and the reference to Ptolemy II as the “King of Upper Egypt” in other scenes. I do not dismiss previous scholars’ connection between Arsinoë and Geb, but I find it more plausible to associate her crown with the royal, religious, and divine spheres, also including a connection with her political position as the King of Lower Egypt.

Arsinoë’s titles listed in the material demonstrate a continuation of native Egyptian traditions. Various designations correspond to prominent queens of the pharaonic era, including Hatshepsut and Tiye. Personally, however, I find most interesting the clear continuation of the official designations applied for queens of the Third Intermediate Period/Late Period. Chiefly, Arsinoë’s epithets correspond with titles that describe Amenirdis I and Ankhnesneferibre in their religious positions as god’s wives. One obvious example is “Eternal Mistress, Lady of the solar disc” which is unique and documented as a title of only four queens, including Arsinoë and the god’s wives.¹²¹⁷

Chapter III.8 has analysed the most frequent titles used by and/or for Arsinoë. Official designations were given to royal women at the time of their birth and later by marriage – as a merit – or in connection with a religious position as a priestess. In addition to her most renowned epithet – Philadelphos, the sibling/brother-lover, three designations occur more often than the others, including “King’s daughter, sister, and wife”, “Lady of the Two Lands” and “Daughter of Amun”. The first title places Arsinoë in a royal socio-political position, providing her with an official recognition of her true royal bloodline. All scenes presenting

¹²¹⁵ Compare Dils 1998, 1308f.; van Oppen 2007, 82.

¹²¹⁶ Troy 1986, A1/7; Sauneron 1960, 107 n. 6; Quaegebeur 1978, 258; Quaegebeur 1988, 45, 47; Dils 1998, 1305, 1307; van Oppen 2007, 82.

¹²¹⁷ Previous modern scholars have documented the title as applied to only three queens, excluding Shepenwepet.

this title date to the reign of Ptolemy II, including two scenes (re-)dated here to Arsinoë's lifetime.

“Lady of the Two Lands” appears in the material as frequently as “King's daughter, sister, and wife”. It places Arsinoë (and the later Ptolemaic queens) in a distinct socio-political role as a queen and an official feminine counterpart of the king. “Lady of the Two Lands” is accompanied by two additional titles, “Mistress of the Two Lands” and “Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt”, together communicating a symbolic message providing the queen an outstanding socio-political position.

“Daughter of Amun” designates 13 images of Arsinoë. The title can be compared to the pharaoh's designation “Son of Ra”, and has a very similar socio-religious value. “Daughter of Amun” places Arsinoë as God's wife, and her role as the high priestess is demonstrated in additional titles such as “Beloved of the ram” and “High priestess of Banebdjedet (= local form of Amun)”. Arsinoë, as the high priestess, entered the sacred role as the earthly manifestation of Hathor, including the rather sexual aspect of the goddess as the hand of Atum/Amun/god. Also the title “Mistress of Eternity, Lady of the solar disc” connects Arsinoë with the traditional high priestesses. The title describes only a few previous queens, all of which served as “God's wives”, “Divine Adoratrices”, or “Hand(s) of God”.

The title “King of Upper and Lower Egypt” represents a debatable issue in regard to queens. Six scenes describe Arsinoë with this title. All scenes date to the reign of Ptolemy II, also including two scenes that I date to Arsinoë's lifetime based on her active position in the scene. Arsinoë marks the tallest figure of all scenes, excluding cat. no. 14. Arsinoë is described with this title exclusively on stelai. I regard the title “Ruler” as related to “King of Upper and Lower Egypt”. “Ruler of Egypt (=Kemet)” is documented in a few Philae-scenes and is applied exclusively for Arsinoë throughout the entire Egyptian history. Succeeding Ptolemaic queens retained the title, though listing only “Ruler”.

Arsinoë and Ptolemy II are described together by their venerating descendants as “*theoi Adelphoi*”. The title does not occur at any scene where Arsinoë is illustrated alone. I have interpreted all scenes listing this title as having a dynastic setting or theme. These scenes express a descendant worshipping his deceased ancestors in order to reconnect with his royal-divine legacy, and to validate his right to the throne.

Arsinoë's titles “Divine mother” and “Royal mother” again associate her with dynastic ancestor cult. The designation is recorded in scenes postdating Arsinoë's lifetime, frequently also describing succeeding queens placed in an equal position to Arsinoë.

My final example of Arsinoë's titles relates to her socio-political position as a queen and her purely divine role as a goddess. “Image of Isis and Hathor” associates Arsinoë with the divine representatives of the celestial dynastic mother (Isis), and the divine ruling queen (Hathor).

CHAPTER III.9

HATHORIC ASPECTS

Since this study focuses mainly on the crown of Arsinoë and the various cultural roles of its wearer(s), Chapter III.9 is limited to only the most frequent titles of the Hathoric figures as they reflect the symbolism embedded in the developed crown composition, referred to here as the later Hathoric crown.¹²¹⁸ As I suggest that the later Hathoric crown is a developed form of the crown of Arsinoë, Chapter III.9 aims to explore the religious aspects that the titles describe in order to compare the results in Chapter IV, below (thus following the same method as in Chapter III.8 when presenting the titles of Arsinoë).

The first part of this section deals with Hathoric titles, which are used as a factual foundation when establishing the various Hathoric aspects in the second part. All designation under study follow a conventional textual statement “the spoken words of...”.¹²¹⁹ Longer textual descriptions of Hathor, especially dating to later Roman periods, are limited to the initial individual epithets since it would be a too large task to analyse all of them while remaining within the theoretical framework of the thesis. This chapter only includes Hathor’s title when wearing the later Hathoric crown. Additional titles are to be found in the material listed as references in the main catalogue, incorporating the main contextual figures of the scenes.

I want to clarify that this is not a throughout linguistic presentation or an analysis of a full Egyptological scale. If not otherwise stated, all designations included are liberally translated by me, although most individual epithets are also listed with reference corresponding to lexica generally acknowledged by scholars. Regardless of a rather liberal approach and selection of designations, I regard it necessary to include a section studying the most frequently applied titles in order to identify specific aspects of the Hathoric figures when wearing the later Hathoric crown. A comparative analysis between the cultural aspects of Arsinoë, the later Ptolemaic queens and the Hathoric figures is made possible only when also including an investigation of Hathor’s designations.¹²²⁰


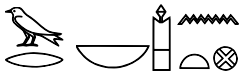
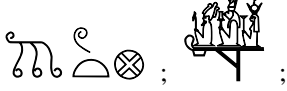


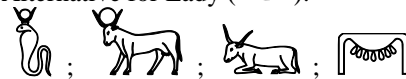




¹²¹⁸ As mentioned in previous sections, the main pictorial differentiation between the crown of Arsinoë and the later Hathoric crown is the presence of the white crown in the latter composition. For the detailed description of the crown of Arsinoë and the later Hathoric crown (including the Dendera crown, the Dendera crown with an additional atef feather, the Edfu crown and the Female Edfu crown), see Chapters III.2-3. As mentioned previously, I refer to the goddesses wearing the later Hathoric crown by using a general term ‘Hathoric figures’, the reason for which will be emphasised below.

¹²¹⁹ *dd - mdw - in*

¹²²⁰ This is a topic which will be dealt with in Chapter IV, below.

Table 26: The most frequently utilised designations of the Hathoric figures

The listed designations are shown in a hieroglyphic form with a transliteration. The last two columns list the current scenes and total number of figures that are described with the title.

Designations	Hieroglyphic form	Transliteration	Scenes	Total number of figures
Hathor		<i>ht-hr</i>	37- 39, 41-55, 58-62, 64-73, 75- 86, 88-90, 92, 94-113, 117-120, 122- 133, 135-141, 143-155	107
(Great Lady) of Dendera	 Alternative for Dendera:    Alternative for Lady (☽): 	<i>Nbt - wrt - Twnt</i>	37-40, 42-55, 59-64, 66-90, 92, 94-103, 105-113, 117-120, 122-133, 135-139, 141, 143-148, 150, 153-155	102
Eye of Ra		<i>Irt - R^c</i>	37-40, 42-50, 52-55, 60-62, 64, 66-81, 84-86, 88-94, 96-113, 117-120, 122-133, 135-141, 143-148, 150, 152-153, 155	99
Lady ¹²²¹ of the Sky	 Alternative for Lady (☽):  	<i>Nbt - pt</i>	37, 42-43, 45, 47-49, 51, 59, 61-62, 64, 66, 68-72, 74-90, 92-103, 105-106, 108-110, 112-113, 117-120, 123-127, 129-131, 133, 135-136, 138-141, 145L-148, 150, 152-155	83

¹²²¹ Included is also the title Mistress of the Sky.



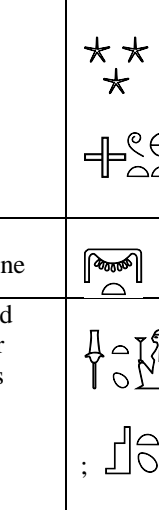

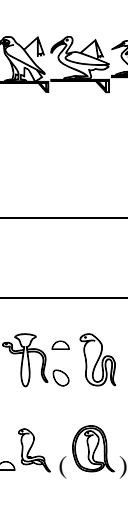
Designations	Hieroglyphic form	Transliteration	Scenes	Total number of figures
Mistress of (all = ) the Gods (Goddesses)	 Alternative for Gods ¹²²² : 	<i>hnwt - ntrw - nbw</i>	37, 42-43, 45-48, 58-59, 61-62, 64, 66, 68-90, 92-95, 97-106, 108, 112-113, 117-120, 123-126, 127, 129-131, 133, 135-136, 138-141, 143, 145L- 148, 150, 152-154	83
Golden One		<i>Nbt</i>	47, 52, 60, 64, 69, 101, 125, 135, 154	9
Associated with other goddesses		<i>Šhmt ; M^ct ; W3dt ; Ypt ; (3)st ; Mhnyt</i>	37, 43, 47, 54, 58, 68-69, 71-72, 79, 82-83, 87, 91, 93, 96, 98, 100-101, 104-107, 120-121, 124, 129-134, 139-141, 145L-R, 148, 151-152	54 ¹²²³

Table 26 demonstrates that 107 female figures are indisputable designated as Hathor. Eight scenes are partially fractured or too damaged in general for enabling any form of textual identification.¹²²⁴ Five scenes designate the female figure as “Isis”.¹²²⁵ Based on iconography, the figural arrangement of the scenes, and in agreement with previous scholarly work determining similar figures as Hathor, I retain a general terminology ‘Hathoric figures’ when referring to these female figures.¹²²⁶

Hathor’s hieroglyphic sign translates “the domain (house, temple, mansion etc.) of Horus”.¹²²⁷ Her name is traditionally interpreted as relating to her original role as Horus’ mother, but I would like to also include her protective aspect as Horus’ wife and companion, guarding the legacy and continuation of the divine dynastic lineage. With her roots as a primeval goddess, Hathor was regarded as a fertility goddess who was able to procreate with or without a male counterpart.¹²²⁸ She usurped and developed the initial cultic roles of Bat, principally relating to feminine power and strength.¹²²⁹ As a goddess of fertility, she was venerated in association with the inundation of the Nile, and therefore also with Sothis (Sirius star), regulating the

¹²²² The title includes also the Ennead.

¹²²³ Cat. nos. 58, 69, 71, 82-83, 100, 104-106, 129, 140 include several associated deities, and therefore raise the total number of figures (= total amount of occurring associations).

¹²²⁴ Cat. nos. 40, 56-57, 63, 74, 87, 114, 116.

¹²²⁵ Cat. nos. 91, 93, 121, 134. However, as demonstrated below, the textual reference to Isis contradicts an iconographic identification with Hathor.

¹²²⁶ *LGG I*, 61-67 (3st).

¹²²⁷ *LGG V*, 75f.

¹²²⁸ Compare Bleeker 1967, 28.

¹²²⁹ B. Lesko 1999, 81.

annual flooding.¹²³⁰ Due to her fertility role, pregnant women turned to Hathor for support and protection. Men and women could equally ask for her blessing to be able to conceive a child.

The second most frequent epithet in the material is “Lady of Dendera”, listed in totally 102 scenes. The title identifies the main/original cult centre of Hathor. This goddess was venerated in temples all over Egypt, chiefly representing individual aspects of Hathor (alongside her more general and national roles). Thebes, for example, represented Hathor of the West (Western Mountain), i.e., a Hathoric role relating to mortuary ceremonies and cultic rebirth.¹²³¹ Another Hathoric aspect was revered on the West Bank of Thebes, where temple reliefs illustrate Hathor as a cow, and signifying her role as the mother of the pharaoh. Her maternal protecting role was also worshipped in one of the earliest Hathor Temples, located in Gebelein. Similar to Gebelein, the Temple of Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai was built up around a “cave of Hathor”, though it venerated the goddess as the “Turquoise One”.¹²³² As a final example of comparison, the Ptolemaic Temple of Hathor in Deir el-Medina focused on the goddess as the “Golden One”.¹²³³

The Temple of Dendera emphasised Hathor’s family-orientated aspects as the wife of Horus and as the mother of Ihy (and Harsomtus). As demonstrated below, Hathor’s associations with Ra were always present in iconography and textual records. The indisputable denotation between Hathor and Dendera is documented in the present material also in the Hathoric title “Dendera the Great”, signifying Hathor as a personification of her own temple.¹²³⁴ The material refers to Dendera as the goddess’ cult centre. As a contrast, cat. nos. 58 and 87 illustrate other figures of Hathor, wearing the traditional Hathoric crown, stressing the seven souls (*Ka*) of Hathor with different geographic origins. Based on the material, Dendera was indisputably considered as Hathor’s home when she wore the later Hathoric crown.¹²³⁵

As a consort of Ra, Hathor was believed to personify the entire Ennead (see 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏), including the title “Mistress of all the Gods”.¹²³⁶ Throughout the ancient dynasties, Hathor was associated with many gods, and was, similarly, assimilated with a vast number of goddesses. Her many religious aspects made her more adjustable than any other goddess; roles that throughout denoted her family-orientated character as a mother, wife and daughter. In this context, and as the first family-related designation, Hathor was described as “Eye of Ra”.¹²³⁷

Hathor was foremost a female companion of Ra and was as such regarded as a solar goddess.¹²³⁸ Egyptian mythology divides the day into three phases, incorporating dawn, noon and evening. The phases are labelled according to the position of the solar disc and its correspondence to the Egyptian belief system of immortality and eternal rejuvenation. Thus, a

¹²³⁰ Cat. no. 67. For example, Hathor is designated “Lady Sothis”, or “Lady of Sothis” in the temple of Dendera. See *LGG* IV, 127 (*Nbt-spd*). Compare the identification of Hathor as Menhit, the serpent goddess who personified the tide and flood of the Nile (and not to be confused with Menit (= the collar of Hathor) or Mehnyt (= the *uraeus*). See *LGG* III, 305f.

¹²³¹ B. Lesko 1999, 99-111.

¹²³² *LGG* V, 182.

¹²³³ B. Lesko 1999, 82-98.

¹²³⁴ Cat. no. 38.

¹²³⁵ As described in Chapter III.3, the traditional Hathoric crown is Hathor’s most recognised crown variant, composed of large cow horns and a centred solar disc, while the later Hathoric crown is composed of elements primarily identical with the crown of Arsinoë, though with an additional white crown.

¹²³⁶ B. Lesko 1999, 82. Also, see further below in this section.

¹²³⁷ Hornung 1996, 154; *LGG* I, 424.

¹²³⁸ Roberts 1997, 8.

“newborn” morning sun is described as the scarab-shaped deity Khepri, or in later times as the youngster Harsomtus/Harpocrates. The midday sun was referred to as the eternally ruling divine king Ra. As the final phase of the sun before setting, the Egyptians referred to the disc as Atum, a ram headed old man.¹²³⁹ Hathor’s family-oriented roles are generally related to the solar disc, but few modern scholars actually associate her three characteristic aspects with the three phases of the sun.¹²⁴⁰ She is frequently acknowledged as a mother of the morning sun, regardless if the sunrise is described as Khepri or Harsomtus/Harpocrates.¹²⁴¹ Furthermore, as his wife, she accompanies Ra on his triumphs throughout the day, while she becomes a daughter of the older father figure Atum in the evening.

EYE OF RA, THE HATHORIC DAUGHTER ROLE

The eyes of Ra were considered to stress the twofold nature of universal antitheses, symbolising the sun and moon, joy and rage, attraction and fear, creation and destruction etc.¹²⁴² Both eyes personified Hathoric aspects, and they are, most frequently, recognised as the celestial Wadjet.¹²⁴³ The eye of Ra is, primarily, associated with the Hathoric daughter role and her protection of the divine and human king. The eye of Ra was, according to one myth, sent out to light up in the primeval darkness and there find the two lost children of Atum (-Ra) – Shu and Tefnut. When she successfully returned, she found in her place another eye, designated the “Glorious One”. Grieving her father’s betrayal, she created the first humans with her tears before her father had the chance of correcting his mistake. To make her happy again, Atum (-Ra) transformed her into a fearsome *uraeus*, and placed her in his forehead for eternal protection.¹²⁴⁴

As the eye of Ra, Hathor also represented a fearsome side, considered to personify the sometimes deadly heat of the sun. She is described as a temperamental lioness or wild cat running off to the desert after a fight with her father. As such, she received the name Sekhmet and her periodical absence was associated with solar eclipses.¹²⁴⁵ In the material, this additional designation, “Sekhmet”, is registered in cat. nos. 37 and 107. During the Ptolemaic period, this Hathoric aspect was connected with the Sirius star and the annual inundation of the Nile. As the eye of Ra, Hathor retained the fearsome side as the *uraeus* placed in the forehead to protect against enemies not only Ra, but also the pharaoh and the queen.¹²⁴⁶

¹²³⁹ Roberts 1997, 20 with note 1: “I am Khepri in the morning, Ra at noon, And Atum in the evening”.

¹²⁴⁰ Traditionally, Hathor is described to accompany each representation of the solar phases without any further identification of her individual aspects. Instead, most scholars focus on her protective role during the night and how she gives (re-) birth to the young sun disc each morning. For example, see B. Lesko 1999, 82f.; Vischak 2002, 160f.; Pinch 2002, 137f. On the contrary, Roberts presents a comprehensive investigation of the connections between the phases of the sun and the Hathoric aspects. See mainly Roberts 1997, chapters 3-5.

¹²⁴¹ See Chapters III.3 and III.6 for the image of Harsomtus rising up from the lotus flower and its possible connection with the additional cow horns of type CS 8.

¹²⁴² For example, see the mythic story of the destruction of mankind in L. Lesko 1991, 110f. The eye of Ra is described as also the eye of Atum, or the eye of Horus. The individual eyes have slightly different roles, but with a most similar connotation.

¹²⁴³ In the material, the personal registers of text in cat. nos. 47, 58, 69, 100 stress the association with Wadjet. See below. For a summary of all her titles, see *LGG* VIII (register), 127-136.

¹²⁴⁴ See Roberts 1997, 137f. Other names connected with the risen cobra include for example Iaryt and Mehnyt.

¹²⁴⁵ Pinch 2002, 130.

¹²⁴⁶ Roberts 1997, chapter 1.

Additional titles in the material associate with the frequent designation “Eye of Ra”. Here, the pure daughter role is stressed 30 times, described in the designations “Daughter of Ra”, “Ma’at”, or “Ma’at the great daughter of Ra”.¹²⁴⁷ Ma’at, as mentioned in Chapter III.6, as the goddess who symbolised and personified the Egyptian concepts of universal order, truth, harmony, justice, etc. (though there are no modern English words adequately corresponding with its original notion). Pictorially, Ma’at is identified with her single *atef* feather, positioned either on her head, and/or held in her hand.¹²⁴⁸ More importantly (here), Ma’at was considered to be the daughter of Ra, and as such representing a particular Hathoric role. As a personification of a cultural concept and being an emphasised Hathoric figure, it is not surprising that Ma’at did not receive any greater individual architectural importance.¹²⁴⁹ Instead, Ma’at was mainly worshipped in association with other gods and goddesses, of course including Hathor.¹²⁵⁰

Except for her more frequent designations (“Hathor the great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”), cat. no. 68 describes Hathor with the daughter title “Ma’at the great daughter of Ra”. This association/assimilation between Hathor and Ma’at is also stressed in the personal register of Horus, and through the offering figure of Ma’at, which is presented by the emperor (Claudius).

The offering of Ma’at is a central theme also in cat. no. 71, a scene once more designating Hathor in this assimilated form: “Ma’at, daughter of Ra in the House/Temple of Ma’at, greatly beloved goddess”. Hathor wears the Dendera crown, type DEC 4, and is equal in size to the emperor (Nero), though taller than the figure of Horus, who stands behind her. The emperor presents the figure of Ma’at according to the already described expectations, a personification of universal order or truth, incorporated in the persona of Hathor.¹²⁵¹

Cat. no. 82 illustrates a theme similar to the scenes above. Hathor is described as “Ma’at the great” and “Daughter of Ra”. Similar to previous scenes, the emperor (Augustus) presents Ma’at as an offering figure, and is accompanied by the smaller figure of Ihy. Hathor wears the Dendera crown, type DEC 2.

Cat. no. 43 is the fourth and final example of scenes where the title and offering of Ma’at coincide. The scene, which is located in the Edfu Temple, places Hathor in a standing position behind Horus, wearing a Dendera crown, type DEC 1. She is equal in size to the pharaoh (Ptolemy X), though taller than Horus, stressing her importance as his necessary protectress.

The material also includes the title “Raat” (Raetawy, Rait), referring to the female Ra/sun, again associating Hathor with Ra.¹²⁵² The designation “Raat” functioned purely as a response to the conventional Egyptian dualism, listing male and female pairs with corresponding notions

¹²⁴⁷ Cat. nos. 43, 54,62, 68-69, 71, 77, 79-80, 82, 84, 87, 96, 98-99, 101, 104-105, 120, 124, 128-131, 139-141, 145L-R, 148. See also *LGG* VI, 107f. *s3t R^c*.

¹²⁴⁸ In the material, Ma’at is represented as an individual goddess (rather than an offering unit) in cat. nos. 130-131, 135, 140, 145L-R.

¹²⁴⁹ Ma’at did not receive any temple of her own prior to the New Kingdom, and apart from her appearance in funerary and rejuvenation ceremonies, she remained, foremost, in the background in favour of other deities. Similarly, very few scenes actually illustrate Ma’at as a beneficiary in an active offering scene. Instead, and most frequently, she faces the same direction as the benefactor. For a general introduction see *LÄ* III, 1110-1119.

¹²⁵⁰ Another example of such association is documented in cat. no. 104: Ma’at-Opet. See Chapter III.6, The figure of Ma’at.

¹²⁵¹ See Chapter III.6, The figure of Ma’at.

¹²⁵² Ex. cat. nos. 42, 82-83, 95. Compare *LGG* IV, 642-646; *LÄ* V, 87-89.

and hieroglyphic titles.¹²⁵³ The material similarly documents the title “Mehnyt” symbolising a form of Hathor when she transformed from the eye to the risen cobra (*uraeus*) and is placed in the forehead of her father Ra. Twelve scenes in the material includes “Mehnyt”, all of which are located within the Temple of Dendera.¹²⁵⁴


Another title of comparison is “The Golden One”, describing a few Hathoric figures in the material.¹²⁵⁵ In her role as the golden one, Hathor takes place in her own crown as the solar disc.¹²⁵⁶ This is certainly another Hathoric paradox, as her horns in the crown symbolise her protection of Aten – the sun disc and personification of Ra. The symbolism explains her role as a protectress of all precious metals, foremost gold.¹²⁵⁷ The title, “Golden One”, is documented in its pure form in nine scenes. The individual scenes vary in their figural and contextual arrangements. As one example, cat. no. 52 is located in the stairway of the Edfu Temple, representing together with cat. no. 53 two sections of a larger arrangement of a procession leading to the roof. Cat. no. 52 illustrates six figures, while cat. no. 53 displays three, together counting nine deities. The figures represented in these two scenes include six local and national forms of Horus, two Hathoric figures, and one image of Ra. The crowns worn by the Hathoric figures are differentiated in one main aspect: the CS-element is excluded from the crown in cat. no. 53. In cat. no. 52, all figures of Horus wear unique crowns. Similarly, the two figures of Horus in cat. no. 53 are illustrated with individual headgear.¹²⁵⁸ Ra wears a (male) Edfu crown, identical to the crown worn by Horus of Edfu. The two scenes are positioned opposite each other, but the figures face the same direction as they all move forward to the roof.

The figural arrangement in cat. no. 52 places Ra (-Behutet) as the head of the group, followed by Horus of Edfu wearing an Edfu crown. As the third figure, Hathor wears a female Edfu crown, type FEC 6. In the text, Hathor is described as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu (...), the shining Golden One of the Gods, she (who is in the centre) of the Ennead”.¹²⁵⁹ I regard her title to describe her role in the scene adequately to her relations with the surrounding figures. The three subsequent figures of Horus respectively wear a four-feathered crown, a double feather crown with a solar disc, and a double crown. Based on his position, I consider Ra as the most important figure of the scenes, leading the others forward. He is their creator, their father, their primeval ruler, etc. His hierarchic position and his connection with the main deity of the temple are stressed in his title as Ra-Behutet (=Ra of Edfu). The identification of Ra as a sun-god of Edfu supports the symbolic message communicated by his Edfu crown.¹²⁶⁰ Hathor’s connection with Ra is clarified with the title “Eye of Ra”, denoting her role as his daughter and protectress.

The second figure in the scene is described in the personal register of text as “Horus of Edfu, Great God, Lord of Heaven, he who comes forth of the Horizon”. He wears an Edfu crown, stressing his kinship with Ra, and is textually referred to as a divine pharaoh. Horus of Edfu,

¹²⁵³ Other examples include of course the Ogdoad of Hermopolis: Nun and Nunet; Heh and Hauhet; Kek and Keket; Niau and Niauet. See also Amon and Amunet.

¹²⁵⁴ Cat. nos. 69, 71-72, 82-83, 100, 104-106, 129, 132-133.

¹²⁵⁵ Cat. nos. 47, 52, 60, 64, 69, 78, 83, 101, 125, 135, 154. The hieroglyphic signs  (*Nbt*) can be translated as both “Golden One”, “Lady”, and as a determiner of Hathor. For example, see *LGG IV*, 155: *Nbt-t3-rr* (= “Lady of Dendera”); and 183: *Nbwt- ntrw* (= “Golden One of the Gods”).

¹²⁵⁶ *PT Utt.* 705; B. Lesko 1999, 88; Pinch 2002, 137.

¹²⁵⁷ The people venerated Hathor as the Golden One chiefly in the Ptolemaic temple at Deir el-Medina. See Robers 1997, 9.

¹²⁵⁸ However, the crowns represented in cat. no. 53 are illustrated also in cat. no. 52.

¹²⁵⁹ “She who is in the centre/middle/heart of the Ennead”, compare *LGG IV*, 442 *ntr-šps-imy-wty-psdt*.

¹²⁶⁰ Otherwise (and if in an anthropomorphic form), Ra is depicted chiefly with a solar disc.

the son of Ra, is the main deity of the temple, and as the legitimate royal heir he is the most obvious symbol of kingship. Hathor's connection with this figure of Horus is textually indicated by her title "She who dwells in Edfu". The designation places Hathor as a visiting goddess originating elsewhere, similar to Arsinoë's position at Philae. Hathor's provenance is stressed in her title as "Hathor of Dendera".¹²⁶¹ As demonstrated further below, Hathor's chief role at Edfu was the divine wife of Horus, and their unification was celebrated annually for 13 days. According to the scene, she is a queen of the Gods, bringing forward a future king, symbolised in Harsomtus, the son of Hathor and Horus.

Behind the figure of Hathor are three additional figures of Horus. I regard their positions to accentuate an active application of temporal adjustment (although, it does not relate to an actual physical time since the scene exclusively illustrates deities). All three figures represent aspects of Horus placed in different time periods, showing Harsomtus as a youngster (the new and rejuvenated Horus-Ra); Horus of Edfu as a ruling king, and Horus the elder as the wise older man. An application of temporal adjustment allows the three figures to coincide. I interpret the three figures of Horus as simultaneously symbolising the three different stages of the journey of the sun, described elsewhere as Khepri/Harsomtus, Ra, and Atum; all aspects of Ra. All figures of Horus, thus, link with the three previous images due to their identification and kinship with Horus, Ra and Hathor.

I interpret cat. no. 52 as symbolising the eternally continuing legacy of the divine dynasty, in which Ra is the key-holder of life, and where Hathor and Horus, as his children and manifestations, fulfil their responsibilities of the infinitive reincarnation. The female Edfu crown, FEC 6, supports Hathor's role in the scene, as I interpret the two feathers of Ma'at (*atef*) to symbolise the unification and universal dualism while upholding its order throughout the life journey.¹²⁶²

Hathor's position in the centre of the figures of cat. no. 52 relates to her title "She who is in the centre of the Ennead" when also including cat. no. 53, thus counting nine gods totally. As noted above, Hathor, as the eye of Ra, denoted the entire Ennead, and her position in cat. no. 52 stresses her eternally rejuvenating functions as the daughter, wife, and mother of Ra. Her opposite gestalt, the Hathoric figure of cat. no. 53, is described with the somewhat different epithet "She who rejoices in the rays of the Ennead".¹²⁶³ I associate this textual differentiation with their dissimilar crowns. Hathor's crown in cat. no. 52 includes all pictorial details of her traditional crown, and she is positioned as the ruling divine queen, in the centre of the Ennead, in the centre of the scene, and in the centre of the legend of the dynastic continuation. In cat. no. 53 her most fundamental attribute is missing. The title "She who rejoices the rays of the Ennead" might symbolise a Hathoric transformation, as she proceeds to the roof to fulfil her divine role and accomplish the unification with Horus. Cat. no. 53 demonstrates a Hathoric aspect that is different from all her roles in cat. no. 52. Instead of being in the centre of all things, she receives the blessings of the Ennead, and the rays that she rejoices might indicate the creation of Hathor's role as the eternal protectress of Ra. Additional titles in cat. no. 53 place Hathor in a cultural position as a powerful, ruling queen rather than in the complete spectrum of family-oriented aspects.¹²⁶⁴

¹²⁶¹ See above.

¹²⁶² Chapter III.2.

¹²⁶³ Compare *LGG V*, 36 *h^c-psdt-m-hddwt-s*.

¹²⁶⁴ Somewhat similar, cat. no. 47, describes Hathor as "Hathor of Dendera, Eye of Ra, who dwells in Edfu, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Gods, Wadjet, the Ruler of the Kingdom, the Golden One of the Ennead and the divine kingdom".

The title “Eye of Ra” is documented in 99 scenes, and is, together with other daughter-titles, one of the most important Hathoric aspects in the material. The role is associated with the protection of Ra as well as the defence of the kingdom and the living pharaoh. This role is stressed in all Hathoric crowns since they incorporate the cow horns that protect the solar disc, also including the traditional Hathoric crown and the traditional female crown.¹²⁶⁵

LADY OF THE SKY, THE DIVINE POSITION OF THE WIFE

The title “Lady of the Sky” (or “Lady of Heaven”) is documented in 83 scenes. As noted above, the translation of *Nbt* as Lady is based on the male equivalent, *nb* – Lord.¹²⁶⁶ Consequently, Hathor’s “Lady of the Sky” relates to Horus’ “Lord of Heaven”. As noted, I translate the *pt*-sign differently, using the two equivalent words “sky” and “heaven” in order to easier identify the male and female forms, corresponding to Horus and Hathor.¹²⁶⁷

The similarities in the crowns worn by Horus and Hathor are many; they are mainly separated by the cow horns worn by Hathor. Their pictorial association is apparent. The title “Lady of the Sky” affirms their relationship as equal rulers, the harmonised duality of male and female. “Lady of the Sky” describes a female ruler of the sky, the kingdom of all gods. The title was applied for almost all goddesses throughout the Egyptian history, including Isis, Neith, Mut, Bastet, Ma’at, Wadjet, Sekhmet, and obviously Hathor and royal queens.

Most scenes that describe Hathor as “Lady of the Sky” illustrate her in company of Horus. Cat. no. 81, however, is an exception to the convention of such a figural arrangement. Hathor is paired with Isis in this scene, the latter being textually described as “Isis the great of the Isis Temple in Dendera (*Ist dit*), dweller of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Gods...”. Almost identically, Hathor is described as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, originating (has risen from) in primeval times, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Gods...”. The two goddesses are equal in height, wearing most similar decoration, and are positioned more or less as equivalents. The crowns, however, are unrelated, and so are the details illustrated in the corner boxes. Horus is not included in the scene in his traditional anthropomorphic form, but is depicted in the shape of a solar disc with two pendant *uraei*, located above the head of the emperor (Nero). The text between the *uraei* designates the disc as “Behutet, the Great God, Lord of Heaven”. I suggest an interpretation of Isis as a daughter

¹²⁶⁵ It is, however, excluded from the Edfu crown, ED 1 and 2, when worn by Hathor.

¹²⁶⁶ See above, Chapter III.8, Lady of the Two Lands.

¹²⁶⁷ “Lord of Heaven” is listed in the main catalogue, and its occurrence demonstrates that it was an epithet mainly designating Horus of Edfu. Horus of Edfu was regarded a divine pharaoh, son of Ra/Osiris and Isis. In the material he chiefly wears a male Edfu crown rather than his more conventional double crown. See the study presented by Derchain-Urtel 1994. The scenes demonstrate that the Edfu crown was introduced during the reign of Ptolemy IV. However, since the material excludes many additional scenes of Horus in the Edfu Temple, I cannot present an absolute conclusion on the date of the introduction of the male Edfu crown. Further, I regard it necessary to remain cautious when (if at all) conducting an absolute dating if such is based exclusively on relief scenes, since there are several scenes that have been usurped or recut. It might, however, be stated that the temple structure of Edfu traditionally is dated to the reign of Ptolemy III and its main reliefs from Ptolemy IV and forward, thereby excluding previous rulers. This can also be said about Dendera which in its present relief state dates from Ptolemy XII and forward (Mammisi: Ptolemy VIII). There are a couple of figures of Horus wearing this crown at Philae, though then dated to a later Ptolemaic period and, thereby, excluding a previous date.

instead of her conventional maternal role. The pictorial and textual similarities correspond with the complexity of the Hathoric family-orientated roles, when combining the daughter-mother-sister-wife-roles. The scene demonstrates how the smallest pictorial units can hold a key to the understanding of a full figural arrangement. Hathor's position as "Lady of the Sky", relates to her aspect as a divine queen, supported by the small pictorial figure illustrated in the corner box of the throne, showing a cluster of papyrus. Isis' corner box shows an image of a *rekht* bird and star. This pictorial element is suggested elsewhere to relate to a place of worship for the people, but I would like to add an association with the Sothis star, demonstrating an individual aspect of Isis.¹²⁶⁸

Hathor is placed in a seated position in cat. no. 87. The emperor (Augustus) evokes/arouses her spirit, as he is accompanied by seven Hathor figures and the two Hathoric sons Harsomtut and Ihy. The seven figures of Hathor are described according to geographic locations, equally illustrated wearing a traditional Hathoric crown (large cow horns and solar disc). The main figure of Hathor is described in the text as "Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the all Gods of Dendera...". Pictorially, she is differentiated from the other Hathoric figures by her crown, wearing the Dendera crown, type DEC 3. "Lady of the Sky" does not designate any of the other Hathoric figures, and therefore, the title emphasises an intentional separation from the others relating to her cultural position as the divine wife of Horus.

Cat. no. 89 illustrates Hathor and Horus. She wears a Dendera crown, type DEC 7, and he a (male) Edfu crown. Hathor is described as "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods". The scene emphasises a rejuvenation theme, as the emperor (Augustus) is given eternal life by the deities, denoting a dynastic ceremony. Hathor of Dendera and Horus of Edfu are positioned in inactive positions, mainly monitoring the ceremony. Their presence, however, is very symbolic since they represent the mythological dynastic couple, divine rulers, whose power the emperor gains access to through the ceremony.¹²⁶⁹ The emperor is accompanied by the figures of Atum and Montu.

The unification of Hathor and Horus emphasises the completion of ancient Egyptian dualism, also incorporating the inseparable links between the Temples of Dendera and Edfu. The annually celebrated matrimony between the divine king and his queen is communicated in the reliefs, but also in the hieroglyphic designations of both deities. Both temples document the annual festival of matrimonial festivities, and how the cult statue of Hathor was brought out from the inner sanctuary of Dendera to sail up the Nile to Edfu for the 13 days of unification.¹²⁷⁰ Due to their close links, I find it very difficult to agree with the academic traditions of modern scholars that date the Temple of Dendera (as it is preserved today) from the reign of Ptolemy XII and forward. The Temple of Edfu, in its present form, dates to the reign of Ptolemy III (at least according to the hieroglyphic texts), and several reliefs reveal the continuation of the unification ceremonies of Hathor of Dendera and Horus of Edfu. Chapter III.10 emphasises the utilisation of an architectural and pictorial reorganisation, here referred to as a figural recut. Such a recut demonstrates that especially the Dendera temple has been pictorially reorganised, including the removal of previous rulers' names in favour of the king or emperor of the time. In that respect, I consider the two temples to have been (re-)built during (re-)concurring phases of time.¹²⁷¹

¹²⁶⁸ See Griffith, forthcoming.

¹²⁶⁹ On the crowning and rejuvenation theme see Chapter III.7.

¹²⁷⁰ Roberts 1997, 14f.

¹²⁷¹ However, this is an issue which needs further investigation, and this is not a place to deal with it.

The matrimonial relation between Hathor and Horus chiefly reflects the Hathoric family-orientated aspect of the wife. However, although Horus was an individual deity, he was also associated with Ra, as his son and as the manifestation of the ruler of Egypt.¹²⁷² The relationship between Hathor and Horus reflects yet another complexity of Egyptian religion, not only displaying the couple as lovers, but also as siblings (children of Ra), as mother and son, as father and daughter, and as equal rulers of the Two Lands and the divine Kingdom. Their importance as the divine rulers reflected further in the religious transformation of the pharaoh and his queen who were regarded as the earthly manifestations of Horus and Hathor.


The Hathoric queenly role

Hathor's queenly role among the deities is emphasised primarily in the title "female Ruler" (=queen).¹²⁷³ Eight scenes located in the Edfu and Dendera Temples describe Hathor with this title.¹²⁷⁴ Other titles that correspond with "female Ruler", is "Lady of the rulers",¹²⁷⁵ "Lady of the ruler in her barque",¹²⁷⁶ and "Mistress of all the Gods and Rulers".¹²⁷⁷ Yet another title expressing queenship is "Chieftess", here followed by a genitive "of the Gods", "of the Goddesses", "of the house of the sistrum", "of the throne of Ra", "of the Great Ennead", "of the Two Lands and the divine Kingdom", "of the Red crown", "of her horns", and "of *Iatdi*".¹²⁷⁸ All scenes that refer to Hathor as a chieftess are located exclusively in the Dendera Temple, and date to the late Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

Cat. nos. 123 and 135 apply the title "chieftess" in connection with a description of the Dendera crown, which has a special importance here. The Hathoric title in cat. no. 123 translates as follows: "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, she who appears in her white crown, Chieftess of the red crown, she who dwells in her horns, she who shines in her double feather plume, she who shines in her cow horns and solar disc". Cat. no. 135 lists the following designation: "Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the chief Eye who appears in her beautiful white crown, the chieftess of her red crown, and her head shines in the solar disc Aten, chieftess of her horns, the Golden One". The titles describe each individual pictorial units included in the Dendera crown.¹²⁷⁹ Both Hathoric figures wear the Dendera crown (type 7 and 11), according to which they mark the tallest figure in the scenes. They date to the Ptolemaic period and place Hathor in an identical figural arrangement as a beneficiary, sitting on a throne on the left side. They equally wear an *ankh* and a *was* staff.

Cat. no. 123 illustrates an unnamed pharaoh who presents a Dendera crown to Hathor as an offering (whereas cat. no. 135 depicts Ma'at and Ihy in an opposite position to Hathor in a scene having a ceremonial theme). Generally, the sacrifice of a crown refers to the symbolism communicated in each pictorial unit.¹²⁸⁰ However, I would like to suggest that the act in this

¹²⁷² Similar to Hathor, Horus was described as the son of Ra, but was also his manifestation as the midday sun. For example, see Roberts 1997, chapter 2.






¹²⁷³  - *hk3t*. See *LGG* V, 536.

¹²⁷⁴ Cat. nos. 43, 45, 47, 75, 93, 137, 141, 152.

¹²⁷⁵ Cat. no. 61.

¹²⁷⁶ Cat. no. 106.

¹²⁷⁷ Cat. no. 131.

¹²⁷⁸ Cat. nos. 62, 66, 68, 71, 73, 78-79, 81, 84-86, 90, 92, 122-123, 129, 135, 146, 148.   - *hnty...* *LGG* V, 886-934 (compare    - *hryt*).

¹²⁷⁹ Chapter III.3.

¹²⁸⁰ Chapter III.6.

scene also relates to the introduction of the crown composition as an attribute of Hathor.¹²⁸¹ The act of presenting an “original” Dendera crown to Hathor would connect the Ptolemaic ruler to his ancestor at the time of the introduction. Thereby, the Ptolemaic pharaoh also brings in dynastic propaganda and ancestor cult in a scene where he venerates the main deity of the temple. Arguably, the crown could also symbolise the temple area itself, since the room of its location is labelled “shrine of the nome of Dendera”. With this symbolism, the crown retains all the qualities gathered inside the holy precinct. The two scenes determine and communicate that the Dendera crown was a crown composition over which Hathor “ruled”.

Also the designation “Mistress of all the Gods” is associated with Hathoric queenship. As demonstrated in Table 26, the title is documented in 83 scenes.¹²⁸² Following “Hathor (the Great), Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, and Lady of the Sky”, “Mistress of all the Gods” frequently appears as a fourth individual epithet, occasionally followed by an adverb or an additional dative, such as “in Heaven”,¹²⁸³ “of the gods”,¹²⁸⁴ “of Ra (?)”,¹²⁸⁵ “in the ancient Sky”,¹²⁸⁶ “of Dendera”,¹²⁸⁷ and “in the ancient Land”.¹²⁸⁸ The title sometimes literally refers to goddesses.¹²⁸⁹ Various scenes include reference to the Ennead, with a communicated message similar to “Mistress of all the Gods”. Cat. no. 48 refer to Hathor as “Golden One of the Ennead and the divine Kingdom” and cat. no. 69 presents another example of Hathor as “Golden One of the Ennead”.

The union between Hathor and Horus was celebrated in the third month of *Shemou*, and was called “the beautiful reunion”, lasting for 13 days.¹²⁹⁰ Egyptian texts that describe the festival speak about Hathor with most noble adjectives, including “the desired magnificent one”,¹²⁹¹ “her alike does not exist” (or variations of the same title),¹²⁹² “the admirable and beautiful one”,¹²⁹³ “greatly beloved one”,¹²⁹⁴ “great female Edfu”,¹²⁹⁵ “the beautiful chieftess of the goddesses”,¹²⁹⁶ or “she with the beautiful face and she who is sweet of love”.¹²⁹⁷ Hathor’s matrimonial role did not, however, refer exclusively to her union with Horus, but also with Ra. As noted above, Ra was incapable of keeping Egypt or the divine Kingdom safe from its enemies without having Hathor by his side. Hathor became Raat, the female Ra, and complemented Ra in all aspects of his persona. The material demonstrates that Hathor travelled on a celestial barque, equivalent to the barque of Ra.¹²⁹⁸ Also, the material places Hathor as a chieftess of the throne of Ra, actually placing her on a higher hierarchic rank than her father-

¹²⁸¹ For the dating of the crowns see Tables 24, 28.

¹²⁸² Table 26 reveals that, in agreement with previous scholars, the hieroglyphic star-sign is included as indicating gods. *LGG* V, 188f. (*hnwt-ntrw*), compare *LGG* IV, 84 (*nbt-ntrw* and *nbt-ntrw-nw-pt*). However, I would also like to stress an association with the physical stars. For a most general introduction to the dekan, the star gods, and the zodiac, see Budge 1904/2003, 304-316.

¹²⁸³ Cat. no. 61.

¹²⁸⁴ Cat. no. 47.

¹²⁸⁵ Cat. no. 62.

¹²⁸⁶ Cat. no. 70.

¹²⁸⁷ Cat. no. 87.

¹²⁸⁸ Cat. no. 95.

¹²⁸⁹ Cat. nos. 68, 82 (gods and goddesses), 121, 129 (gods and goddesses), 141, 143.

¹²⁹⁰ Roberts 1997, 14f.

¹²⁹¹ Cat. no. 58 (cat. nos. 59, 151: the magnificent...).

¹²⁹² Cat. nos. 68, 73, 83, 106.

¹²⁹³ Cat. no. 70.

¹²⁹⁴ Cat. no. 71.

¹²⁹⁵ Cat. no. 75.

¹²⁹⁶ Cat. no. 78.

¹²⁹⁷ Cat. no. 146.

¹²⁹⁸ For example, see cat. nos. 58, 64, 77, 83, 98-100, 106.

husband-brother-son.¹²⁹⁹ It was with reference to the matrimonial aspect of Hathor as Ra's wife that the ruling pharaoh described himself as the son of Ra and the son of Hathor.¹³⁰⁰

The theological concept of androgyny, here represented by Hathor and Ra, and by Hathor and Horus, provided a necessary instrument to explain the eternal rebirth and a cosmological amalgamation.¹³⁰¹ The union between Hathor and Ra mainly corresponds to the solar cult, while the matrimony between Hathor and Horus refer more to the sky and the heavenly kingdom (although still connected with the solar theology). Hathor's associations with Ra and Horus emphasise constant rebirth, fertility, maturity, and physical death before once more reaching a reincarnation. Therefore, I consider that Hathor's hieroglyphic sign does not only correspond to her maternity of Horus/Harpocrates/Ihy/Harsomtus, but also to all her additional family-orientated aspects, including her matrimonial status as the female equivalent to the ruling god.

HATHOR, THE GREAT MOTHER

As the mother of the morning sun, Hathor is associated with other maternal goddesses, such as Nut, Isis, Opet, etc. Associations like these are documented in Hathor's personal register of text only in the Temple of Dendera.¹³⁰² Eight scenes describe her as Hathor-Opet, a title which also could be translated as Hathor the divine mother.¹³⁰³ The hieroglyphic sign of Nut is used to describe Hathor's role as the lady of the Sky in another eight scenes.¹³⁰⁴ Traditionally, the hieroglyph – *pt* – is translated in association with the Sky (Heaven), but I would like to also stress Nut's maternal role (then with a transcription of *Nwt*), as she gives birth to the sun disc each morning.


Five scenes completely dismiss the name "Hathor", describing the goddess instead as "Isis the Great". Arguable, this designation could determine her as Isis, but the iconographic context combined with additional titles demonstrates that the five figures represent Hathor. The figural setting of cat. no. 91 displays four figures, described in the text as Emperor Augustus, Ihy, Isis and Harsomtus. The emperor indicates with his fingers that he prepares to stroke ointment on the deities. Harsomtus is illustrated as the tallest figure of the scene based on the crown line. The Hathoric figure's designation states "Isis the Great, divine mother, Lady of *Iatdit* (= the Isis Temple of Dendera), she who dwells in Dendera, Lady of the Gods (the Golden One of the Gods), Eye of Ra, the Mistress, the ruling Lady of the Kingdom...". Many of these epithets evidently relate to Hathoric designations listed in the material. This Hathoric figure wears a Dendera crown with an additional set of cow horns surrounding the solar disc. According to previous sections, such a pictorial element suggestively corresponds with the birth of

¹²⁹⁹ See cat. no. 85.

¹³⁰⁰ B. Lesko 1999, 88.

¹³⁰¹ For a presentation of the Egyptian androgyny, see Troy 1986, chapter I.2.

¹³⁰² For example, cat. nos. 71, 82-83, 98, 106, 140, 152 place Hathor in connection with Opet. The hieroglyph that, among other things, describes childbirth also represents the goddess Nut. Such hieroglyphic sign is included in various Hathoric titles in the material, including cat. nos. 58, 71, 83, 88, 98, 103, 106, 140. Cat. nos. 78, 82 include also the title "Mother of all mothers".

¹³⁰³ Cat. nos. 58, 71, 82-83, 98, 106, 140, 152.  *ht-hr Ipt*. See *LGG VIII* (register), 369 for this association. For Opet's maternal connotations see Pinch 2002, 149. See also *LÄ III*, 172-176 (*Ipet*); *LÄ IV*, 501-506 (*Nilpferd*).

¹³⁰⁴ Cat. nos. 58, 71, 80, 83, 88, 98, 106, 140.  or . Evidently, cat. nos. 58, 71, 83, 98, 106 and 140 display both associations, with Opet and Nut.

Harsomtus, who is illustrated as accompanying the Hathoric figure. The title of Harsomtus describes him as the son of Hathor.

The name “Isis” is changed in the ending register of this scene to describe her as “the female Horus” (indicated by a falcon wearing a traditional Hathoric crown). The ending register lists several epithets describing Hathor elsewhere in the material, such as “Powerful”, “Raat”, “Lady of Dendera”, “her image (is the) original”, etc. She is furthermore described in the lower hieroglyphic register of Augustus as a powerful mother and as the eye. The smaller figure of Ihy is described, as in general, as the powerful son of Hathor (Ihy faces the same direction as the deities behind him).¹³⁰⁵ Other than the title “Isis”, this scene pictorially and contextually identifies the female figure with Hathor of Dendera. Therefore, and in agreement with comparable previous scholarly documents, I regard the title “Isis” to merely function as an indicator of Hathor’s maternal role, similar to “Opet” and “Nut”.¹³⁰⁶ Conclusively, I identify the female figure of cat. no. 91 as Hathor of Dendera.

Pictorially, cat. no. 93 is very similar to cat. no. 91. The three illustrated figures are textually described as Augustus, Isis and Harsomtus. The emperor presents the white and the red crowns of Egypt. The deities are equally taller than the emperor. Again, the Hathoric figure wears a Dendera crown, type DEC 1. She is described as “Isis the Great, divine mother, Lady of *Iatdit*, she who dwells in Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, female Ruler of the Two Lands [...], Lady of Dendera, (female) Ruler, the Lady of the Divine Lands.” It describes a goddess according to the most frequently utilised Hathoric titles. “Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods” appears in the same order as in the Hathoric titles, and again she is described as “Lady of Dendera”.

Also this scene describes Harsomtus as the son of Hathor. The lower hieroglyphic register of the emperor lacks indications of identification, as the text utilises hieroglyphic signs acting as determiners of Hathor and Isis. The titles listed in the ending registers are also vague, though repeating the name “Isis”. Once more, I interpret the goddess as Hathor based on the iconographic and the contextual arrangement with Harsomtus as the son of Hathor.

Cat. no. 121 is contextually and textually unlike the previous two scenes. It illustrates an unnamed Ptolemaic pharaoh who presents cloth to the Hathoric figure. She wears a Dendera crown with an additional set of cow horns surrounding the solar disc. She is described as “Isis the Great divine mother, the cobra of Dendera...” and later in the text “Mistress of the goddesses, the wife of all women (wives)”. Neither the pharaoh’s lower hieroglyphic register nor does the ending register reveal any absolute identification of Isis or Hathor.

Cat. no. 134 is located in one of the crypts of the temple.¹³⁰⁷ The scene illustrates Ptolemy XII presenting offerings, being assisted by Ihy (facing the same direction as the pharaoh). This female figure is the first benefactor, followed by various manifestations of Horus-Harsomtus-Ihy. The left end depicts two giant lotus buds, raised with the help of several smaller figures. The Hathoric figure is equal in height to the falcon-shaped Horus according to the crown line. She wears a female Edfu crown and is described (in summary) as “Isis the Great, divine mother of *Iatdit*, she who dwells in Dendera...”. Cat. no. 151 is the last scene that describes the Hathoric figure as Isis. The scene communicates the birth of Horus the child, and pairs the Hathoric figure with Osiris.

¹³⁰⁵ See Chapter III.7, for the significance of Ihy’s alternative positions and additional figural arrangements.

¹³⁰⁶ *LGG I*, 70.

¹³⁰⁷ See Chapter III.7 for the enlarged cult objects.

Harsomtus and Horus are described as the offspring of the Golden One (as the Golden Child), and Ihy as the son of Hathor. Standing by the pharaoh, also this figure of Ihy is described as the son of Hathor. As noted above, the Golden One is a frequently applied title of Hathor, but it also occurs as a determiner of Isis and other mother-goddesses. However, I retain an identification of the figure as Hathor due to the theme of the scene, as it illustrates the birth of Harsomtus rising up from the lotus flower (and his mother's barque).

The five scenes are located in the Temple of Dendera. Three scenes include Harsomtus (four if including the birth of Horus). Two scenes illustrate the additional cow horns surrounding the solar disc, suggestively associating with the birth of Harsomtus. Cat. nos. 91, 93, 121, 134 and 151 are the only scenes in the material that describe the Hathoric figure with a title other than "Hathor". To my knowledge, no other goddess than Hathor is documented wearing a Dendera crown or a female Edfu crown, except for the figures described above. The figural arrangement, the additional epithets, and the textual reference surrounding the female figures identify her with Hathor rather than Isis. I regard the designations of the female figures in cat. nos. 91, 93, 121, 134 and 151 as emphasising Hathor's maternal role, clearly associated with the birth-role of Isis. The presence of Harsomtus in the majority of the scenes supports this hypothesis further.

In the material, cat. nos. 78 and 82 describe Hathor as "Mother of all mothers". As documented above, cat. no. 82 also designates Hathor in connection with Opet, evidently stressing this maternal role. Additional scenes document the goddess with the titles "...her son Ihy...",¹³⁰⁸ "royal mother",¹³⁰⁹ and as "Mother of the Horizon".¹³¹⁰ Cat. no. 44 is the only scene in the Temple of Edfu recording a maternity role of Hathor when wearing a later Hathoric crown.

Except for her individual epithets, Hathor's role as the wife of Horus is mainly represented in titles describing her two sons, Ihy and Harsomtus. Sixty scenes document Ihy and/or Harsomtus as "Ihy the Great son of Hathor", "Ihy the powerful son of Hathor", "Harsomtus son of Hathor", or "Harsomtus great son of Hathor".¹³¹¹ Harsomtus and Ihy were the sons of Hathor of Dendera and Horus of Edfu, reflecting different forms of the overall *persona* of Horus and Ra. They are recognised in a generalised form as Harpocrates through the hieroglyphic sign of a youngster suckling his finger.¹³¹² Harpocrates, literally meaning the young Horus, had many cultic aspects similar to his parents. As noted, he takes the role of Ihy, the great son of Hathor, as the personification of the sistrum. Further, he appears as Harsomtus (*hr-sm3-t3wy*) in a role denoting Horus, the unifier of the Two Lands.¹³¹³ In the material, the main iconographic difference between Ihy and Harsomtus is their indicated age. Harsomtus is chiefly illustrated as an adult, while Ihy (with only a few exceptions) remains a small youngster. However, a few scenes illustrate both sons as children, or similarly as two adults. Ihy generally holds a sistrum and sometimes also a *menit* collar, placed in a position where he faces either the ruler or the deities.¹³¹⁴ I have previously suggested that Ihy symbolises youth

¹³⁰⁸ Cat. no. 136.

¹³⁰⁹ Cat. no. 122.

¹³¹⁰ Cat. no. 44.

¹³¹¹ Cat. nos. 38-40, 44, 46, 62, 65, 68-72, 74, 77-78, 80, 83, 85, 87, 88, 90-99, 102-104, 106, 108, 117-120, 124-126, 129-133, 135, 136, 139-140, 144-146, 148, 150-151, 153. Other scenes that illustrate Ihy or Harsomtus are chiefly too damaged to read the text, but a few scenes describe the sons without a direct family-orientated title. For example, cat. no. 45 describe Ihy as the sistrum player.

¹³¹² *hr-p3-hrd*, see *LGG* V, 281f.

¹³¹³ *LGG* V, 287.

¹³¹⁴ See Chapter III.7.

itself when facing the deities (similar to Harpocrates' main form). I interpret Ihy as stressing the rejuvenated character of the ruler in scenes with a crowning, rejuvenation, or a dynastic theme indicated by the offering figure of Ma'at. Alternatively, I interpret Ihy as symbolising the cultic (musical) ceremony itself when (still facing Hathor) the pharaoh shakes the sistrum.¹³¹⁵

Harsomtus, like Horus of Edfu, was represented as an earthly manifestation by the ruling pharaoh. Thereby, Hathor also becomes the royal mother.¹³¹⁶ Previous chapters have mentioned the myth of the birth of Harsomtus, rising, sometimes in the shape of a serpent, as the Golden One from a lotus.¹³¹⁷ Harsomtus represented the newborn solar disc (thus, Ra) as it rose in the Horizon every morning.¹³¹⁸ According to the myth, Harsomtus was born from a blue lotus (symbolising Hathor) in the primeval waters. As such, Harsomtus personified the lotus.¹³¹⁹ In the material, this personification explains the presence of the lotus flower as a figural decoration in the corner box of Hathor.¹³²⁰ Further and as suggested above, Hathor's role as the lotus flower giving birth to Harsomtus, the golden solar disc, might indicate the additional cow horns surrounding the disc in some crown compositions.¹³²¹

Regardless of his form, Horus was a solar deity personifying Ra's youth and dynastic rulership. The relationship between Horus and Hathor as husband and wife must, therefore, be interpreted as reflecting Hathor's role as the wife of Ra. The close association between Horus and Ra is also stressed in the *persona* of Harakhte, represented as a falcon-headed anthropomorphic figure crowned with a solar disc.¹³²² Harakhte is illustrated in cat. no. 154, positioned behind Hathor of Dendera.

THE HATHORIC *PERSONA*

In the material, Hathor is always depicted in a human form, thus excluding alternative anthropomorphic and bovine shapes.¹³²³ She is an inactive participant, accepting the veneration and offerings from the pharaoh(s), though occasionally observing a rejuvenation ceremony.¹³²⁴ The Hathoric aspects that are depicted in the material are noticeably different from other conventional forms of Hathor. The later Hathoric crown, for example, was never used as an attribute for Hathor as Lady of the West – the protectress of the dead, thus, it excludes all associations with funerary rites and the Underworld/death-cult. This exclusion naturally correlates with the symbolism embedded in the concepts of temple cult, and the active veneration of the gods in their more general forms. None of the temples included in the material are recognised as related with funerary cult.¹³²⁵

¹³¹⁵ See Chapter III.7. Indeed, the figure of Ihy is an interesting pictorial figure, of which, unfortunately, very little has been investigated. The different positions of Ihy, facing the ruler or the deities, certainly need further scholarly attention.

¹³¹⁶ Compare the maternal title in cat. no. 122.

¹³¹⁷ Cat. no. 134.

¹³¹⁸ Roberts 1997, 20.

¹³¹⁹ Pinch 2002, 158.

¹³²⁰ See Chapter III.5.

¹³²¹ Chapter III.2, Cow horns and solar disc.

¹³²² For Harakhte see *LÄ* II, 956-962.

¹³²³ Evidently, the iconographic structure of the Hathoric image in the material has developed into a more standardised form, very dissimilar from its original shape. Compare Bleeker 1973, 22-24, 30-33.

¹³²⁴ Notice the difference between Hathor's participation in the ceremony in cat. no. 20 and her inactive position in cat. no. 89. Of course, the main pictorial difference is the crown.

¹³²⁵ Compare the Temple of Osiris in Abydos.

Similarly, there is no description of Hathor as a cow walking in the marshland, which would symbolise her protection of the infant Horus.¹³²⁶ Neither is she the pharaoh's wet-nurse, since the record excludes the traditional theme of an infant ruler suckling the Hathoric cow. These themes are related to a more direct ruler cult, commonly represented in scenes covering the walls of Mortuary Temples and Houses of Millions of Years.¹³²⁷ Again, neither one of the temples represented in the material are acknowledged as associated with pure ruler cult.

The Temples of Edfu and Dendera (as well as Philae and Kalabsha) are known as emphasising pure veneration of the deities, primarily Hathor and Horus, and the annual festivals that were connected with these. The material describes Hathor of Dendera and Horus of Edfu as a ruling divine couple, representing male and female aspects of solar cult, which culminated in their wedding during the Festival of Reunion, and the birth of a divine royal heir, Harsomtus. All Hathoric aspects that are represented in the material associate her immediately with the solar cult, emphasising her eternal kinship with Ra. The religious symbolism communicated in the material places Hathor in an undeniable cultic position as a primeval solar goddess, strengthened by the occasional designation Raat as noted above. All Hathoric figures are identified with Hathor of Dendera, and therefore eliminate any alternative geographic associations or local variants.

Hathor of Dendera as represented in the material incorporates three individual but corresponding aspects: the mother, the wife, and the daughter. All these roles symbolise an immediate kinship with Ra. She is his total antonym, and as such she opposes even his natural, linear development in terms of aging. This result in a Hathoric timeline reversing the concepts of time: following the phases of the sun, Hathor starts her day as the divine mother giving birth to the sun (sunrise/Harsomtus/Khepri), followed by the midday matrimonial aspect (wife and co-regent of Horus of Edfu, Ra, Harakhte, the divine solar king), and ending as the old wise man's (Atum/sunset) protective daughter.¹³²⁸ Based on this reverse aging process, the Hathoric roles that are depicted in the material demonstrate the fundamentals of an active and intentional temporal adjustment on a divine scale. Possibly, this is the strongest indicator of how the ancient Egyptians regarded the concepts of time. Hathor was unique in her reversed aging, but the other deities were fundamentally unlimited by normal time and space, such as cat. nos. 52-53 show.¹³²⁹

As noted above, all Hathor's roles are connected with different manifestations of Ra, the primeval and principal solar force. The scenes in the material show a very limited pictorial association between Hathor of Dendera, wearing the later Hathoric crown, and contextual figures. She appears alone in a few scenes, but is mostly illustrated together with Horus of Edfu, Harsomtus and/or Ihy.

The figural combination of Hathor and Harsomtus corresponds with the Hathoric maternal role: Hathor is textually described as his great mother. Harsomtus is primarily depicted as an adult, placed behind his mother, without any clear pictorial, physical connections between the

¹³²⁶ However, the smaller indirect image of this cow is represented according to the conventions in the processional scenes.

¹³²⁷ See for example Hatshepsut's Temple in Deir el-Bahri, or Thutmose III's Temple further down on the West Bank.

¹³²⁸ See above.

¹³²⁹ See above. Esp. cat. no. 52 show several time periods, referring to Horus' development and aging as the youngster Harsomtus, the ruling King Horus of Edfu, and as the old wise man in Horus the elder. The scene also shows Ra, the most primeval form of the solar force, wearing Horus' Edfu crown.

two. I can conclude that Hathor's maternal role as Hathor of Dendera in the material separates her from other more direct aspects of motherhood: this generally place her in a direct birth and nurturing position, and is often represented in Graeco-Roman *mammisis*.¹³³⁰ When she wears the later Hathoric crown, Hathor of Dendera is a mature, independent and confident great mother, principally associating herself with an adult son. I interpret this dissimilarity of roles as relating to Hathor's position as a mother of an adult son, thus an already ruling pharaoh. In terms of "time concepts" and how these relate to the solar cycle, I identify this independency with her transformation from mother to wife, reflected in the adulthood of Harsomtus, as he accepts his responsibilities and becomes Horus of Edfu, husband of Hathor of Dendera.¹³³¹

Ihy is rarely included as a full-size figure, but instead as a youngster half the size of the adults, physically disconnected from Hathor.¹³³² His role is concluded above to primarily relate to themes other than Hathor's maternity, but their relationship and kinship is almost always stated textually, as Ihy is named as the great son of Hathor. Occasionally when Ihy is depicted as an adult, he has a figural position equivalent to Harsomtus', which cat. no. 95, fig. 106, shows.



Fig. 106: Detail of cat. no. 95 showing (from the right) the youngster Ihy followed by Hathor, Horus of Edfu, Harsomtus, Ihy, and Hathor of Dendera.

In the pictorial structure of the scenes, the son (sons) sits on a throne or stands behind Hathor, physically disconnected from their mother. As demonstrated in Chapter III.7, such figural organisation relates with an overall hierarchic system as well as kinship. Developing my hypothesis of relative placement as presented in Chapter III.7, I argue that (any given number of) additional figures strengthen and identify the unique mythological aspect intended for the main figure in a scene, although they retain their individuality at the same time. For example,

¹³³⁰ See above. The material does not identify any birth-scene of the pharaoh, neither does Hathor of Dendera hold an infant in her arms or breast-feed a young Harsomtus. Compare cat. no. 32 (Isis and the young pharaoh).

¹³³¹ Hathor's maternal aspect is expressed also in the designations, including her individual titles and those describing Ihy and Harsomtus. See above. Compare the figural setting and the age differentiation with Isis and Harpocrates, or even Mary and Jesus in the subsequent iconographic development. The maternal role of Hathor when wearing the later Hathoric crown possibly relates with the traditional character of Mut as the mature and wise mother in the Theban triad. Such an association is documented also between the royal queens and Mut from the Third Intermediate Period. See Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon.

¹³³² As noted in Chapter III.7, Ihy represents an in-between deity with a twofold connotation, relating him with the youth of the pharaoh, or placing him as the personified sistrum-player that evokes his mother.

Isis is included in some scenes, figurally positioned behind Hathor. These scenes textually refer to Hathor as the mother, and in accordance with the discussion above, a pictorial association with Isis emphasises Hathor's maternal role at the same time as it describing two individual goddesses.¹³³³ Such an association is emphasised also in textual records, as they describe Hathor as Opet, Nut, and Isis: all recognised as mother goddesses.

Hathor's second solar related aspect establishes her as the wife of the midday sun, as the feminine heavenly partner, completely equal to the male divine ruler. I see this as the only time throughout the day when male and female, and all other antonyms concur: it is a moment of complete universal harmony. In accordance with this role as the midday sun's companion, Hathor is textually described as Raat, the female equivalent to Ra. This role, as the divine wife, is primarily indicated by Hathor's pictorial association with Horus of Edfu, but also textually in her designations.¹³³⁴ Their union was celebrated in the 13 days festival of the Beautiful Union, which was a part of the Holy Wedding.¹³³⁵ It is by no accident that most scenes illustrating Hathor with Horus the King are located in the Temple of Edfu. All scenes show Hathor as an individual goddess: she is never physically attached to Horus, which could have been illustrated as holding hands or holding her arm around him.¹³³⁶

Hathor's matrimonial role is traditionally associated with sexual aspects, but the material does not provide evidence to substantiate an absolute direct identification of Hathor as the Hand of God.¹³³⁷ Consequently and although these sexual aspects are incorporated in the matrimonial position, I interpret them as secular. Instead, I interpret Hathor's mythic position as the wife primarily as a validation of the cultural dualism, as a female equivalent to the male: such a combination was necessary to provide an eternal continuation of the celestial universe.

The last stage of Hathor's reversed aging refers to her as the daughter, although none of the scenes accurately portray her as a girl. Instead, the material shows a unilateral adult woman, pictorially indifferent from her other aspects. Textually, she is described as Ra's daughter, associated with Wadjet, Ma'at, and Tefnut. Her daughter role primarily represents the eternal rejuvenation and the irregular/nonlinear development that consequently keeps the male solar god safe from harm. Hathor's daughter role is different to the other two since none of the scenes show an iconographic association with her father: the wise old man, the elderly form of Ra, the personification of the sunset, Atum, is never included in the pictorial setting. The identification of Hathor in her daughter role is based on textual records exclusively.

¹³³³ Naturally, Hathor of Dendera as Horus' associate in the scenes of the Temple of Edfu supports his identification as the divine king. In regards to the Temple of Dendera, it is possible to also incorporate the smaller Temple of Isis and the two *mammisis* that are located within the vicinity.

¹³³⁴ See above. I regard all male deities as descendants of Ra. Therefore, when I refer to Horus of Edfu as Hathor's husband, I retain a reference to also Ra, since Horus reflects an aspect of Ra as the ruling divine king. I disagree with van Oppen 2007, 57 when he separates Hathor from other female (maternal) goddesses because she could not be paired with one exclusive male deity. He primarily compares Hathor with Isis and Hera, both of which were paired with one main god. However, the material can demonstrate also a matrimonial relation between Isis and Amon. Furthermore, the material demonstrates four scenes when Isis is identified with Hathor of Dendera, the celestial wife of Horus. The Egyptian theology provides yet again more examples of its complexity.

¹³³⁵ This union was also connected with the queen's position as the high priestess. Compare the union between Aphrodite and Adonis in Arsinoë's festivities in Alexandria. For further discussions of this theme, see van Oppen 2007, 118f.

¹³³⁶ The general depiction of divine wives, however, concurs with Hathor's: without physical contact.

¹³³⁷ The sexual connotations are recorded as embedded in all three aspects of Hathor. Compare cat. no. 2L and the identification of Hathor as the Hand of God.

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

Chapter III.9 has established that the later Hathoric crown attributed Hathor of Dendera exclusively. This identification is supported by a title that personifies her with her main cult centre: Hathor represented Dendera and the female counterpart of Horus of Edfu long before the later Hathoric crown was introduced, but there seem to have been a need for a personalised Hathoric iconography during the reign of Ptolemy IV when it was introduced. The later Hathoric crown remained a personal attribute of Hathor in contrast to her previous crowns (the traditional Hathoric crown and the traditional female crown) that were usurped by Isis and royal women. Cat. no. 155 is the only example of Hathor wearing the later Hathoric crown in a scene located outside the Temples of Edfu and Dendera. Therefore, it is most important to emphasise that her personal register of text describes her as “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky”.

According to the material, Hathor of Dendera was the daughter, mother, wife and queen of eternity. She was a companion vital for all stages of the sun and all that the disc encircled. Regardless of her shape, Egypt with its divine Kingdom was unsafe without her as its protectress. In all her roles, Hathor was described with a vast number of designations. Each family-orientated role is portrayed with additional titles associating/assimilating her with other goddesses. As such, I consider Hathor as an original female divine entity from whom all other goddesses stemmed.

In my opinion, the Egyptian pantheon originated in two entities, a male and a female, Ra and Hathor, as a response of natural phenomena. The sun was worshipped as an essential part of life, thus evolving into the vivid myths about its different stages and its effect on the nature. Throughout the (ancient) centuries, the Egyptians labelled the different forms of the sun, including its rays and its circuit, and everything that it came in contact with. The Egyptian designations “gave life” to various forms of nature, and included animals in order to express a clear symbolism of the natural cycle of life. Once it was engraved in stone, each hieroglyphic sign and every pictorial unit was forever encapsulated with the divine spirit of its original form.

I consider the broad spectrum of individual Egyptian deities to have been created as a result of an expanding religious understanding, including cosmology and natural events. A male and a female deity could not sufficiently explain nature’s structure as the Egyptian theology developed and gradually became more complex. Therefore, in my opinion, the mythology increased to include a vast number of divine entities, each and everyone communicating one or several natural fundamentals of life. The very complex theological structure enables an eternal continuation of the original divine soul. Eventually, the primeval celestial soul also reached the humans as Horus manifested himself as the son of Ra in the living pharaoh.¹³³⁸

The material emphasises the divine birth event with the titles “(she who is) the Horizon” (Hathor), “he who comes forth of the horizon” (Horus/Harsomtus/Ihy), “she who shines in the Horizon” etc. Pictorially, cat. no. 134 demonstrates the birth of Harsomtus from a lotus flower in Hathor’s divine barque. The newly incarnated form of Ra, the solar disc arising from the horizon, is stressed in all Hathoric titles of maternity. Harsomtus and Ihy are throughout

¹³³⁸ A very similar concept of the universe was presented to the ancient Greeks in the name of philosophy, as Plato guided his pupils in his theory of forms (ideas). For example, Plato, *Republic* III, 402f., V, 472-483, VI-VII, 500-517. For a compilation of Plato’s reference to his theory of forms/ideas, see Ross 1951.

described as the great sons of Hathor. Designations associating Hathor with other mother-goddesses include the names of Isis, Opet and Nut. I identify all five Hathoric figures who are textually described as Isis (cat. nos. 91, 93, 121, 134 and 151) as Hathor based on the iconographic structure of the scenes, and most importantly, based on their crowns. The hieroglyphic sign depicting Isis and her determining seat is utilised as an indication of maternity also in cat. no. 26. There, it describes Arsinoë as the divine mother of Hep/Apis.

Ra ruled the universe in his full form in the midday. He was venerated in the name of Aten (the solar disc), Amun-Ra, Harakhte, etc. As his companion, Hathor entered a role as Ra's wife, his sister, and his equal ruler. The material describes Hathor as "Raat" (the female Ra) and "Chieftess of the throne of Ra". Her role as Ra's female counterpart is also emphasised in the designation "female Ruler", and she is described as "Mistress of all the Gods" in a vast number of scenes. The relief scenes demonstrate that as the companion of the midday sun, Hathor was venerated in her fertile, sexual forms. She was a God's wife, whose form manifested in the high priestess/queen.

Throughout, Hathor's matrimonial and queenly aspects are emphasised in titles describing her as "Lady of the Sky", "Female Edfu", "Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt", "Mistress of the Two Lands", etc. Here, the textual sources refer to Hathor's role as the wife of Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, the ruling spirit of Ra. She personifies the sanctuary of Dendera similarly to how Horus personified Edfu. She was venerated as the eternally ruling queen of heaven and earth alike.

The Egyptian conventions of androgyny, the twofold structure of the universe, are reflected in the complex order of development throughout the day. Hathor went through a reversed evolution. She initiated the day as the mother, proceeded to the matrimonial aspect as the ruling queen, and, finally, she reached the position as the divine daughter of Ra, the Wadjet, in the afternoon. In the material, the Hathoric daughter role is chiefly emphasised in the designations "Eye of Ra", "Daughter of Ra", and "Daughter of Atum". However, Hathor is also described with titles associating/assimilating her with other goddesses, including Ma'at and Wadjet. These goddesses were individual divine entities, but I regard them equally to the forms of Ra that refer to limited theological aspects of the original divine source, Hathor. Ma'at personified the concept of universal truth, and it is her feather that is used in the mythic weighing of the feather for the soul. However, Hathor is present at all times in scenes where the deceased enters the Underworld, and the designations included in the material demonstrate a Hathoric origin. Similarly, Wadjet became the Hathoric form that referred implicitly to the eye that lit up in the primeval darkness.

Hathor's reversed aging/evolution confirms the conventional twofold architecture of the Egyptian theological androgyny, based on the primeval beings of Hathor and Ra. Hathor's development cannot proceed in agreement with the natural journey of the sun disc if she encompassed Ra's counterpart/opposite at all times. She was forced in a reversed direction to secure the continuation of the eternal incarnation. She had to "grow young" when Ra transformed into his final position of the day, manifested in the old and wise Atum. Therefore, Hathor took the form of the moon disc to shine in the night in a shape equal to the form of her counterpart during the day.¹³³⁹ Her evolutionary position had to contradict his if the fundamentals of the Egyptian theology were to remain credible.

¹³³⁹ See the discussion about the traditional Hathoric crown and her plausible identification of the disc as a moon disc when it was worn by Isis: Delia 1998, *passim*. See Chapters III.2-4 regarding cat. no. 8.

CHAPTER III.10

ERADICATION AND ADJUSTMENT OF VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS

Even though the issue and symbolic consequences of (later) eradication and adjustments of Egyptian reliefs have been acknowledged among art historians, it has been in a matter of generalisation without any detailed technical overview.¹³⁴⁰ This is an issue which has been unnoticed or neglected as an element of Egyptian reliefs, which is understandable since it was never included in the original scene.¹³⁴¹ However, using the words of C. Hedrick, “Nevertheless, it must be recognized that silence and erasures are themselves signs”.¹³⁴² I have chosen to briefly study this topic based on its direct impact on the scenes as they are preserved for the modern viewers. Possibly of greater importance here, it will become evident below, that the crowns are almost always preserved, thus protected from any eradication. In my opinion, it is a topic that holds an important key, which can enable scholars of today to read art in a new light and to better understand the concepts of ancient Egyptian symbolism as it was approached by (contemporary and) later cultural groups. Similar to any other element of the scenes, I will study this topic in order to see if there are any relevant connections with the crowns, and if there are any differentiations between the crowns and other pictorial elements in terms of destructive adjustments.

The title that I apply, ‘eradication and adjustment of visual representation’, involves two separate aspects: cut marks and recuts – marks that have deliberately damaged and mutilated figures of the original scene, and an artist’s reuse, rearrangement or transformation of an earlier relief. Both of these features must be acknowledged in order to understand Egyptian art and its value also during the last ancient centuries.

CUT MARKS

While an art historian would take his or her stand point in the consequences of these marks based on their character as a destructive agent, and as such categorise them within the recognised concepts of iconoclasm or *damnatio memoriae* – damnation of memory, I will present these marks with a more technical and methodical approach and establish their physical impact on the scenes and demonstrate the need of a new terminology that includes Egyptian art, prior to a generalisation of their effects. My applied term, ‘cut marks’, refers to small scratched, etched, hacked, and/or dotted cuts that are caused by a chisel or any other sharp object.¹³⁴³ These are recorded solely in temple reliefs, and I thereby exclude cat. nos. 1L-15R (that represent the stelai) from this section. In terms of temple location, these deliberate, destructive marks are focused mainly on the area within the figural outlines, while the flat, undecorated background has been left undamaged.¹³⁴⁴ The marks are characterised primarily

¹³⁴⁰ However, descriptions of the acts of destruction are often found in early Christian written records, such as documented by Libanius during the late 300s. See Frankfurter 1998, Chapter 7, esp. pp. 277-284.

¹³⁴¹ Art historians, however, frequently mention the erasure of the imagery of Hatshepsut and Akhenaton as general examples of *damnatio memoriae*. See for example Meskell 2004, 8; Varner 2004, 13f.

¹³⁴² Hedrick 2000, xii.

¹³⁴³ Modern references are very limited in their technical description, if including any, in regard to the concepts of iconoclasm or *damnatio memoriae*. For an introduction to Egyptian artists’ tools, see Clarke & Engelbach 1990, Appendix I.

¹³⁴⁴ See Table 27, below.

by one deep cut where the chisel has hit the surface, occasionally followed by a shallower “tail”, as fig. 107 shows. The material shows cut marks that were caused by either rectangular and narrow-headed chisels, or chisels with a square or even circular edge. Table 27, below, will demonstrate the most frequent placement of cut marks within the scenes.



Fig. 107 shows narrow elongated singular cuts to the right and broader cuts with a short “tail” to the left, all of which have been caused by a rather wide, larger chisel. Detail of cat. no. 42.

Table 27: Placement of cut marks on the female figures

The Table shows bodily and contextual elements (left column) that have been damaged or erased by cut marks. The later Ptolemaic queens are incorporated and highlighted in the column that lists the later female figures. The last column lists the total number of damaged figures.

Scenes with: ↓ → Damaged area:	Arsinoë	Later female figures	Total number of figures
Crown	– (none)	59, 68, 70, 75, 86, 89, 94, 96, 101, 103-104, 109-110, 114-116, 127-128, 137-138, 140, 146, 148, 151	28
Head/face	16-17, 19-27, 29, 31, 34	37, 39-42, 45-46, 48, 51, 54-57, 59-68, 70-71, 73, 75-80, 82-83, 85-87, 89, 91-96, 99-101, 103-106, 109-110, 112-116, 118, 120-122, 124-128, 130, 137-141, 143-148, 151-153, 157	99
Breast	16-17, 19-23, 25, 29, 34	39-42, 45-46, 48-49, 51, 54-57, 59-66, 75-80, 85-87, 89, 91-96, 99-101, 103-106, 109-110, 112-116, 118, 120-122, 124-128, 130, 137-141, 145L-146, 148, 151	80
Arms/hands	16-17, 19-29, 31, 34	37, 39-42, 45-46, 48-49, 51, 54-55, 57, 59, 61-66, 75-80, 85-87, 89, 91-96, 99-101, 103-106, 109-110, 112-116, 118, 120-122, 124-128, 130, 137-141, 144-146, 148, 151	87
Legs/feet	16-17, 19-22, 24-29, 31, 34	37, 39-42, 45-46, 48, 51, 54-55, 57, 60-66, 76-80, 85-87, 89, 91-96, 99-101, 103-106, 109-110, 112-116, 118, 120-122, 124-130, 137-141, 144, 145R-146, 148, 151	84
Handheld objects	17, 21, 29	59, 61, 63-65, 86, 92, 96, 100-101, 109-110, 114-115, 127-128, 137-140, 146, 148, 151	26 (+2 <i>ankh</i>)
Hieroglyphic titles	24, 26L-R, 29, 31	61, 63-65, 86, 92, 94, 109-110, 113-116, 128, 137, 140	21
Full scene	–	61, 63-65	4

Table 27 shows an obvious concentration of cut marks in the facial area: based on the total number of temple reliefs (again: extracting the stelai from the studied material), 69% – 99 scenes have been mutilated in this area. An enhanced photo of Arsinoë in cat. no. 16 (fig. 108), for example, shows cut marks that have damaged her facial uncovered areas, although her crown, wig and vulture cap are preserved.



Fig. 108: This detail of cat. no. 16 shows cut marks that have been intentionally placed to damage the face, neck, and arms, while the wig, crown, and dress remain intact and unharmed.

As a second example, fig. 109, cat. no. 26L shows that two types of cut marks have damaged Arsinoë's face, wig and vulture cap, but her crown is preserved in full detail. A first series of devastating marks are located in the area around Arsinoë's crown, including the flat background and the lower part of the (back) hieroglyphic text. These marks have been caused by a larger rectangular chisel: they are placed in a linear sequence, together creating a diagonal pattern. Such a linear pattern is frequently noticeable on non-dressed stone blocks and block-faces that were never intended for relief work. A brief overlook of any Egyptian temple, as they are preserved today, will show that blocks with this type of undressed exterior were normally placed in concealed architectural parts, and were never intended to be viewed (see fig. 110). Identical or similar series of elongated linear (vertical or diagonal) marks often cover entire quarry-faces/walls throughout Egypt.

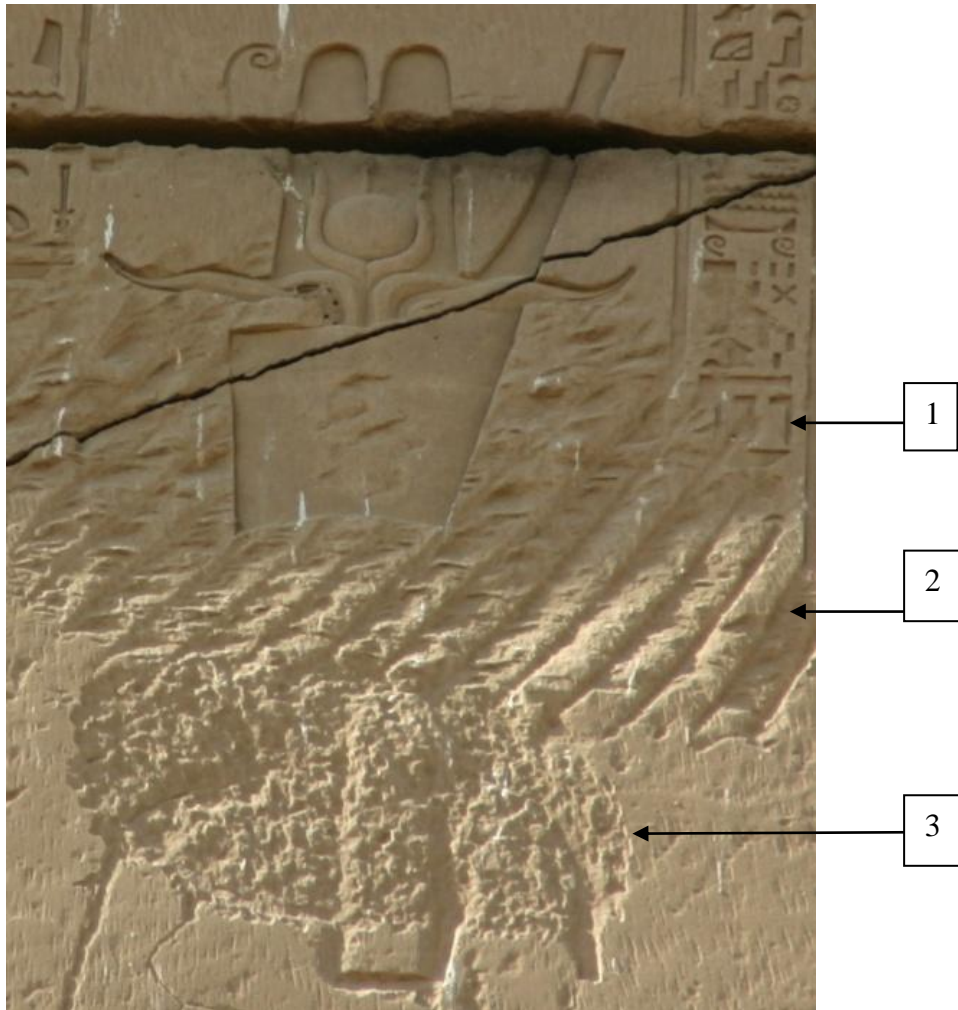


Fig. 109: Detail of cat. no. 26L. The arrows point to the hieroglyphic text (1) and the two types of cut marks (2-3).



Fig. 110: Detail of the undressed section of the northern gate at Karnak. The rough faces of the stone blocks show diagonal, elongated chisel marks that are identical to the pattern surrounding the crown of Arsinoë in cat. no. 26L. The relief of the decorated faces (N-S) dates to the reign of Ptolemy III. Photo by the author.

The first series of marks in cat. no. 26L can, arguably, be compared with quarry marks that were created at the time when the stone was quarried (see fig. 110, above). Such a classification could explain why the marks are overlapped by the relief of Arsinoë's crown, which is carved 'over' the quarried surface. In terms of time, Arsinoë's crown must have been carved after the marks, based on its physical interruption as it divides the (earlier) linear pattern. The surface of the crown is smooth, but was never finished since a few previous cut

marks illuminate its centre. Opposed to their physical contact with the crown, these marks have damaged and interrupted the hieroglyphic text located behind Arsinoë. The hieroglyphs are carved deeper, and have been overlapped by the marks: the hieroglyphic script has to predate the marks based on the physical interaction. The obvious discrepancy between the three elements (the two series of marks and the crown of Arsinoë) indicates three different working stages: the ‘quarry marks’ predate Arsinoë’s crown, but postdate the hieroglyphic signs. Arsinoë’s crown, as engraved over the marks, has to be considered as a final addition to /alteration of the relief. The three phases of workmanship, I argue, disproves an identification of the mark as made at the time of quarrying, and instead correspond to a stage of dressing – or rather redressing – the stone (thus, identified as dressing marks).¹³⁴⁵

The quality and style of the hieroglyphs, incorporating depth and combination of signs, are comparable to Arsinoë’s personal register of text. They are, however, different in regard to scale: the signs used in Arsinoë’s text are somewhat larger. The hieroglyphic text located behind the crown refers to Amun-Ra and his lordship in Karnak, and does not mention Arsinoë (or any other royalty) at all. Due to the lack of historical names, an absolute date cannot be established.¹³⁴⁶ Based on the three phases of workmanship, the “style” of the marks, and a textual discrepancy, I interpret this first series, the dressing marks, as relating to the removal of an original crown (and head) in order to replace it with the (head and) crown of Arsinoë.¹³⁴⁷ Thus, I interpret the original relief of the lintel scene as predating the Ptolemaic Period.

A second series of cut marks is concentrated within an oval area below the first:¹³⁴⁸ it consists of many small, narrowly placed dots, created by a much smaller chisel compared to the first, and has devastated face, wig and shoulders. The original outlines of Arsinoë’s shoulders and tripartite wig still illuminate the marked surface, while all other details have been erased completely. These marks are placed over, thus overlap Arsinoë’s relief, which determines the marks as later than the relief. Such an identification of successive order suggests that the cut marks have been placed deliberately in this area to erase the head, while all physically attached items, such as the crown, have been unharmed.

Table 27 shows that cut marks have disfigured 60% of the scenes in the uncovered area of the arms/hands, and 58% of the legs/feet.¹³⁴⁹ Another 80 scenes, making 53% of the total amount, have been mutilated in the breast area. Together with the face, these uncovered areas of the body record the highest concentration of cut marks, while additional pictorial elements that are attached physically to the body are better preserved (unharmed).

Table 27 shows that the crowns have been mutilated in (only) 28 scenes (19%): all are worn by figures included in the later Hathoric scenes, thus all crowns of Arsinoë are preserved.¹³⁵⁰ Similarly, most handheld objects and thrones are preserved without any later eradication. Cat. no. 85, fig. 111, for example, shows Hathor on a throne: her body is covered with small, irregularly placed cut marks, while her crown, handheld objects, and throne are completely undamaged, retaining a smooth, completed relief surface.

¹³⁴⁵ For the architectural terminology and introduction to Egyptian dressing of stone blocks, see Clark & Engelbach 1990, Chapter IX; .

¹³⁴⁶ Theoretically, the text may date to Ptolemy II – Arsinoë, Nectanebo II, or possibly, an even earlier pharaoh.

¹³⁴⁷ See below, recutting; compare the concepts of *damnatio memoriae*.

¹³⁴⁸ Its lowest part follows the lower outline of an original necklace (see fig. 109, above).

¹³⁴⁹ Referring to 87 contra 84 scenes.

¹³⁵⁰ Thus, all crowns of Arsinoë and the later Ptolemaic queens are preserved without any later adjustments. Figs. 102-3, above, demonstrate an intentional preservation of the crown of Arsinoë.

Table 27 shows four scenes (2%), and equally only a few full figures, that are erased in their entirety. As an example, all figures are completely eradicated in cat. no. 61: the images are levelled (down) with the flat background, while the hieroglyphic registers are preserved. The main outlines of Hathor's figure (originally made in a raised relief) are revealed by a visual contrast between the cut marks and the smooth surface that makes its background. Based on such a distinction, it is possible to determine Hathor's form and identify her crown as a Dendera crown. Scenes that show these overall destructive cut marks may have been prepared for a recut in order to replace the scene with a new figural composition.¹³⁵¹

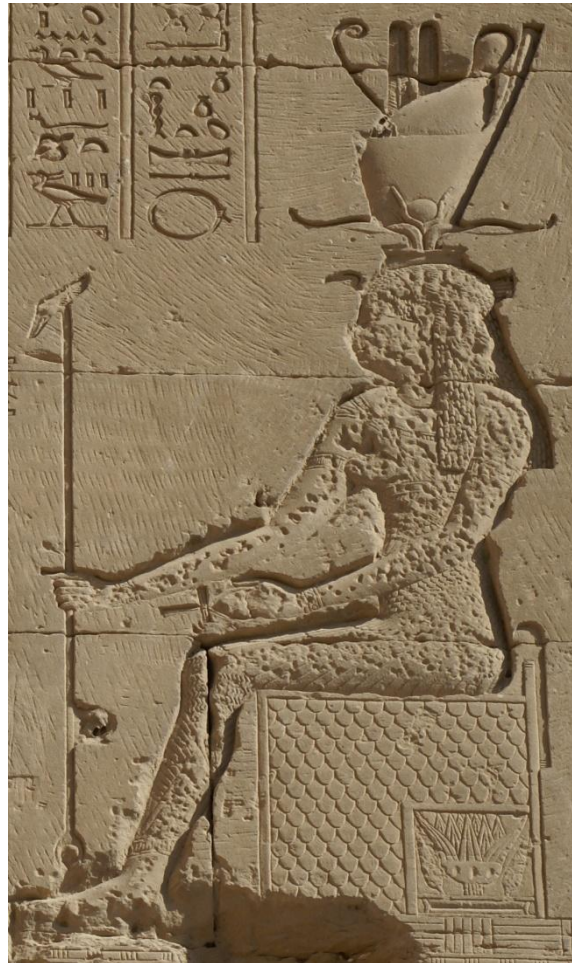


Fig. 111: This detail of cat. no. 85 shows how Hathor's uncovered areas of the body are covered by cut marks, while her crown, handheld objects, and throne are preserved.

As another imperative element of the entire scene, the hieroglyphic texts have been included in this study as well. Hieroglyphic script has been damaged in 21 scenes (14%), but never in their entirety. As a scene of demonstration, cat. no. 26 shows a few individual signs that have been deliberately and precisely damaged: all erased signs in the personal registers of Arsinoë originally related to divine names and individuals, incorporating the names of Amun, Ptah, Apis and Isis (fig. 112), though keeping Arsinoë's personal name intact. In the main scene,

¹³⁵¹ See below, recutting. The preserved hieroglyphic designations in cat. no. 61, however, limit the identities of possible new figures, indirectly disproving such assumption.

most hieroglyphs that illustrate birds are erased, including owls, falcons, ducks and vultures.¹³⁵²

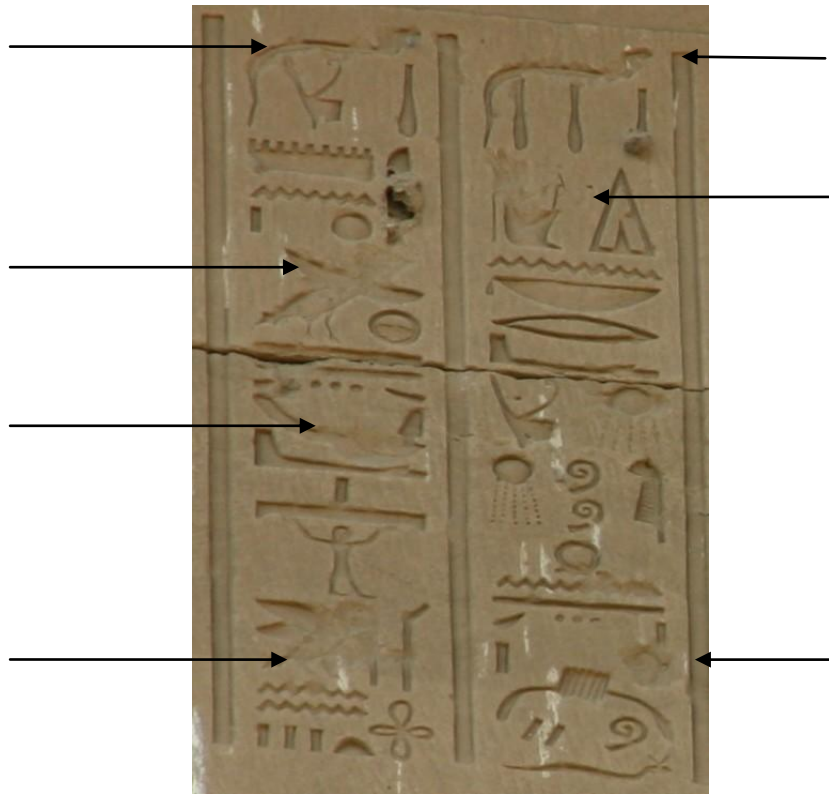


Fig. 112: Section of Amun's title in cat. no. 26R.
The arrows points to the damaged/erased signs.

In the material, cut marks are documented on all heights, levels, registers, and architectural elements. As an example, cat. no. 25 forms a minor board that runs above the main lintel scene on the Gate of Euergetes, Karnak: it is far above normal reach (the gate is 21m high¹³⁵³), but almost all figures have been mutilated. A mound of mud could have created the access required to reach this height, if one assumes that these marks were made at a far later date.¹³⁵⁴ However, such a suggestion is instantly disproven by cat. no. 24, a scene which is located on the second register (measured from below) on the same gate: the figures are defaced exactly like those in cat. no. 25. One must assume that both scenes were damaged at the same time, and, therefore, that the person behind the marks had to have used some form of ladder in order to reach the highest lintel scene, thus being convinced to reach these figures.

As they are recorded in the material, cut marks do not always follow an easily understood 'destructive pattern'. The hands, feet and faces of all the figures in cat. no. 24 have been mutilated, but legs, arms, breasts and necks remain unharmed. As fig. 113a-b shows, the image of Arsinoë in cat. no. 19 is damaged by cut marks, but her facial features are still

¹³⁵² Interestingly, none of the hieroglyphs in the personal register of Amon or Ptolemy II are damaged in cat. no. 26L, while the bird-signs and a few others are erased in the nearby register of Mut, and in the lower hieroglyphic register of Arsinoë at the far left of the scene. Goldwasser 1995, 79, argued that birds have been erased since their earthly manifestation could fly away. See also Meskell 2004, 8f.

¹³⁵³ Arnold 1999, 167.

¹³⁵⁴ It is commonly known that the East Bank of ancient Thebes, after the fall of paganism, was gradually covered by layers of mud from the annual inundation of the Nile. Luxor Temple, as an example, was not cleared from its mud until 1885. See Frank 2007, 271.

noticeable. Her left arm and both feet are mainly undamaged, but her right arm, hand and both legs have been eradicated.



Figs. 113a-b: These two details of cat. no. 19 show how the upper body of Arsinoë has been damaged by cut marks, but the left arm and hand are preserved (left). The enhancement of the lower part (right) demonstrates how the feet are preserved, whereas the legs are damaged.

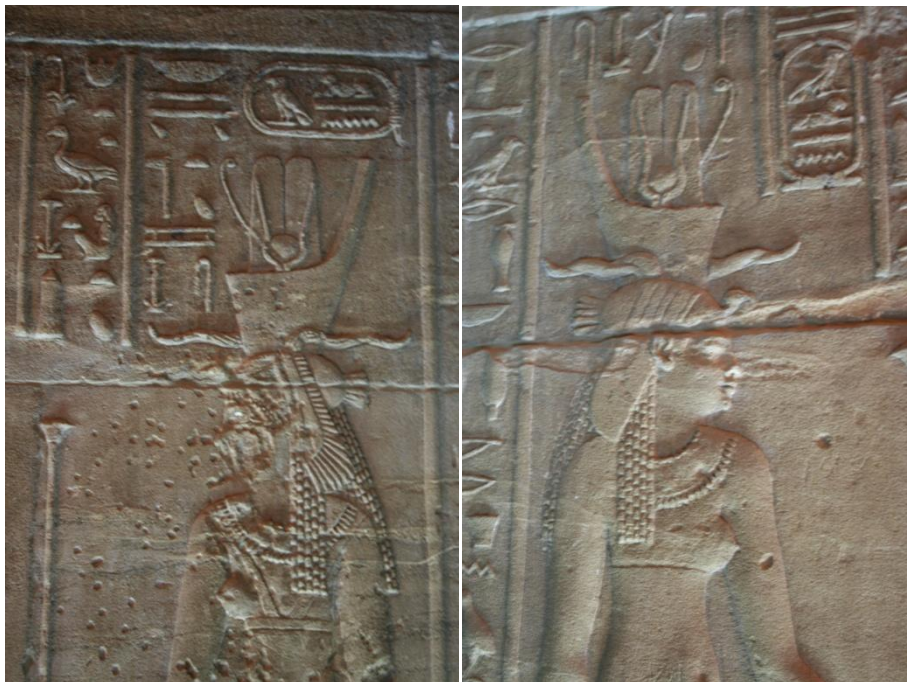
Correspondingly, one erased element is not necessarily damaged when it is attached to another figure, even though they are placed in the same scene. Hathor's throne in cat. no. 42, for example, has more or less been decimated by cut marks, while Horus' throne remains intact. Further, cut marks have mutilated Horus' crown in cat. no. 66, while Hathor's head attribute is preserved in full detail. The material demonstrates various additional alternations of these irregularities that occasionally have caused damage to one element or figure, but ignores another.

In addition to individual areas of the body and other precise details, this irregular pattern of cut marks interferes on occasions with specific (entire) figures in a scene.¹³⁵⁵ Cat. no. 49, for instance, illustrates Hathor and Horus standing next to each other. All elements that form the figure of Horus are erased, except for his kilt and crown. The figure of Hathor, on the other hand, is completely unharmed. Another example that demonstrates an intentional differentiation between similar and directly connected scenes is cat. nos. 54-55. These scenes are placed next to each other in a centred position in the so called mysterious corridor at the Temple of Edfu: all figures have been damaged by cut marks, except for the figure of Horus in cat. no. 55, who is preserved. Similarly, the figure of Hathor in cat. no. 122 is well preserved, while the unnamed Ptolemaic king is entirely destroyed due to later desecrations.

Cat. nos. 37-38 are located at the front pylon of the Temple of Edfu. Cat. no. 37 is placed on the left side of the main entry, and cat. no. 38 on the right side. In cat. no. 37, Hathor has been mutilated in various sections, including her uncovered areas of the face, hands and feet, all of which are intact in cat. no. 38. The symbolism of these scenes is comparable, and to my understanding there is no major representational difference between them that could explain the deprivation on one part but not the other.

¹³⁵⁵ 'Irregular pattern' refers to the adjustment with one figure's crown while leaving another one's untouched.

This bizarre differentiation of devastating cut marks also occurs in scenes of Arsinoë. Cat. nos. 31-32 are located in the inner sanctuary of the Temple of Philae (see figs. 114-115). When entering the room, cat. no. 31 is situated on the left side, and cat. no. 32 on the right. Both scenes illustrate Ptolemy II as an active benefactor who presents offerings to Isis and Arsinoë. Cat. no. 32 includes also the smaller figure of Harpocrates, who is breast-fed by Isis. All figures in cat. no. 31 have been damaged by cut marks. Their headdresses and crowns, however, are unharmed. As a contrast to her image in cat. no. 31, Arsinoë in cat. no. 32 is preserved in full detail, without any later adjustments. In the same scene, the face, legs and arms of Ptolemy are erased. Isis' face has been eradicated in its entirety, which most plausibly should be seen as an act incorporated in the religious program of iconoclasm, since the entire stone block has been removed. The two scenes in the inner sanctuary of the Temple of Isis at Philae are differentiated only in minor details, and, to my knowledge, present no obvious pictorial or textual information that can explain this irregularity.



Figs. 114-115: Details of cat. nos. 31-32 showing one damaged (left) and one intact (right) image of Arsinoë.

Some scenes demonstrate a pattern of cut marks that is so irregular that its “function” and “identity” as a destructive agent is questionable. In cat. no. 127, for example, the entire physical figure of Hathor has been damaged by an irregular series of cut marks, while her crown and handheld object show only a few individual marks or dots. The latter elements are completely visible, thus, retaining their original symbolism and esoteric value (fig. 116).

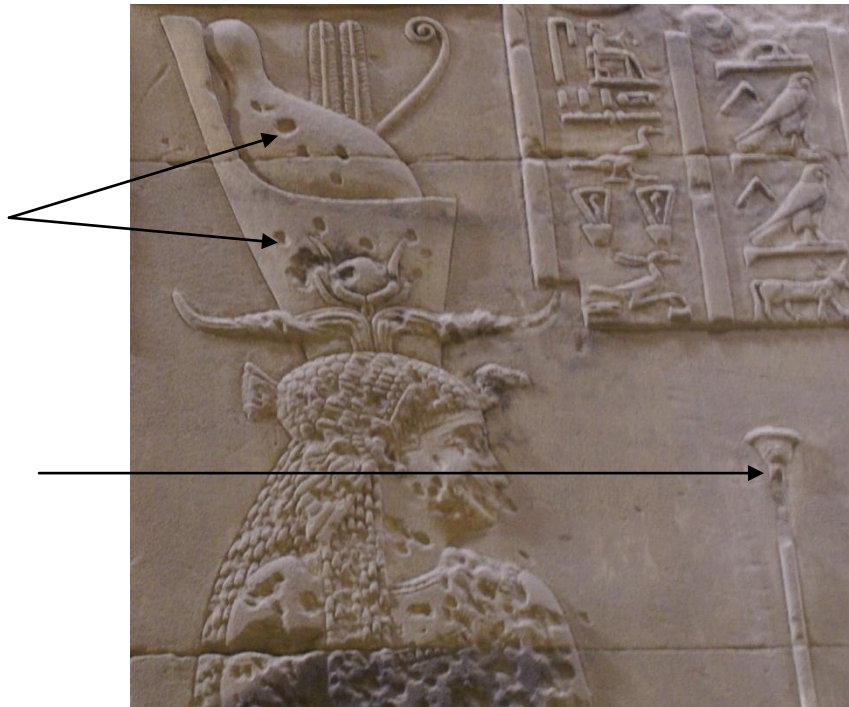


Fig. 116: This detail of cat. no. 127 shows the cut marks on Hathor's figure. The arrows point to the few irregularly placed cut marks. Note the (only) two marks on the papyrus bud of the sceptre.

Scenes that show a completely eradicated individual figure in an undamaged context may, at first, be compared to scenes of Hatshepsut or Akhenaten: their images and names were erased (/damaged) by later generations due to socio-religious differentiations. This kind of mutilation is, as mentioned above, generally referred to as *Damnatio memoriae* – a modern term that reflects the Romans' obsession with recognition and glory.¹³⁵⁶ The fundamentals of the expression are based on the shared ancient belief that the soul was immortal and that each individual could be remembered through representation and name, and that a magician could bring back life to the person depicted in an iconic image.¹³⁵⁷ However, the Egyptian religion and ideology are different from the Roman. Thus, in my opinion and in this context, the term '*Damnatio memoriae*' needs to be expanded, reconsidered, or completely abandoned in favour of a more general terminology that is applicable on also other ancient, ideological concepts.

As mentioned above, an image was considered to hold the essence of the soul, or an event even if the person depicted never executed it in his or her physical form.¹³⁵⁸ Therefore, any form of physical eradication would harm the purity and perfection of the (divine) soul and prevent the deceased from entering the Underworld. It is, however, difficult to establish such an association in regard a scene like cat. no. 122: the pharaoh or queen cannot be identified as they are named with an empty cartouche.¹³⁵⁹ Erased figures, furthermore, represent also deities, indicating that there are other cultural fundamentals behind such an adjustment.

¹³⁵⁶ For the concepts of *damnatio memoriae*, see Varner 2004, *passim*, esp. pp. 13f. regarding Pharaonic Egypt.

¹³⁵⁷ Varner 2004, 8f.

¹³⁵⁸ See Chapter III, *passim*.

¹³⁵⁹ The material includes a vast number of scenes of a pharaoh venerating Hathor of Dendera, where the cartouches have been left uninscribed. Scholars still debate over the significance of these empty cartouches, frequently arguing for an association with the political instability and the conflicts surrounding the throne and the rapid changes of monarchs/heirs. Vassilika 1989, 40 suggests that the empty cartouches are simply unfinished, that the artist did not have the opportunity of completing his work. However, so far, I have not been convinced by any existing theories. Although it is not the subject of the present study and it should be further

As mentioned above, another scholarly term that relates to the issue of cut marks is ‘iconoclasm’, which refers to a religious faction that has existed since the introduction of Platonism and philosophy.¹³⁶⁰ Iconoclasm refers to any form of religious objection to, or adjustments with art that expresses a message of a non-orthodox value, but it was not necessarily implemented to erase the past, but to adapt it into a new cultural setting.¹³⁶¹ Initially, iconoclasm was associated with the contradiction between material and the divine, but from the time of Emperors Leo III and Constantine V (7-8th Century AD), iconoclasm was called upon also in the hunt and prosecution of pagans, when thousands of pagan religious artefacts were destroyed.¹³⁶² Modern scholars seem to generally agree that cut marks were caused by early Christians, or alternatively Muslims. However, based on this very brief investigation, I would like to argue for other alternatives.

The person, or more likely group of people, that negatively adjusted a scene, clearly specified on precise parts. Most scenes in the material show cuts primarily in the uncovered areas of the body, such as the face, neck, breast, hands, and the feet. In contrast, the dress, headdress, crown, handheld objects, and the throne, are foremost preserved in full detail. These details could naturally indicate an identification of an iconoclastic program, but all scenes that show an opposite destruction, which has focused on mutilating the dressed sections, while leaving uncovered areas unharmed (see fig. 113a-b, above), indicates that there are other fundamentals behind this act of devastation.¹³⁶³ The placement of marks suggests that the person was aware of the value of each pictorial element – that he/she understood their meaning – which indicates some form of respect and knowledge in regard to conventional Egyptian symbolism: the crowns and other attributes of authority have been undamaged in a clear majority of the scenes.¹³⁶⁴ The destructive agent does not separate styles but elements: a crown was a crown regardless of its pictorial composition. Assumingly, the crown itself was considered a holder of the symbolic value, which consequently spared it from an otherwise eradicating chisel. Similarly, staves and sceptres are primarily preserved, but the *cucupha* head of the *was* staff is often damaged, which suggest a personal recognition of the message communicated by this detail.¹³⁶⁵

investigated, there are indications which have come to my attention while working with the present material, suggesting a possibility that some empty cartouches are connected with female regency, i.e., Cleopatra III and Cleopatra VII (incorporating also cartouches of male figures). However, until I have conducted any further studies, I have to keep a more general standpoint in classifying them plainly as Ptolemaic, thus covering more than one historical ruler who might have caused reactions comparable to those of Hatshepsut and Akhenaton. For further information, see *CAH*² IV, 73 with note 38, theorising that the empty cartouche of Xerxes at the Serapeion in Saqqara was due to political reasons. See also British Museum EA 1325 (stela) where the male benefactor is described with empty cartouches, but is identified as Caesarion in the demotic script below; Walker & Higgs 2001, no. 173.

¹³⁶⁰ Besançon 2000, 1. Lib. 30.8-9 describes Christian devastation of temples during the 380s as “...hasten to attack the temples with sticks and stones and bars of iron. ... Then utter desolation follows, with the stripping of roofs, demolition of walls, the tearing down of statues and the overthrow of altars, and the priests must either keep quiet or die. After demolishing one, they scurry to another and to a third, and trophy is piled on trophy. Such outrages occur even in the cities, but they are most common in the countryside”.

¹³⁶¹ Most recently, see Kleiner 2010, 210 on Christian iconoclasm. See also Meskell 2004, 8.

¹³⁶² Louth 2007, 55.

¹³⁶³ Thus, the face is the most common area of destruction, but there are examples of scenes where other elements are damaged when the face is untouched.

¹³⁶⁴ See Frankfurter 1998, 277-279., documenting that the pagan priests had the choice of keeping quiet or to be killed during the Christian devastation of temples. Frankfurter (p. 279) suggests that the Christians’ destruction of pagan temples “begs for interpretation beyond simply ascribing it to a biblical fundamentalism”.

¹³⁶⁵ To my knowledge, the symbolism of the *cucupha* has been lost to modern scholars.

This can be concluded in regard to also the hieroglyphic texts, since only specific signs have been erased.¹³⁶⁶ Although I agree in general with O. Goldwasser's theory that the hieroglyphs represent metaphors in numerous incarnations, I do not agree with his belief that birds were erased because their spirit could fly away: each creature in nature had various souls, some of which were not limited by their physical appearance.¹³⁶⁷ Moreover, the material has demonstrated a lack of continuity even within one particular register or complete scene. As noted above, not all birds are erased from cat. no. 26. I argue that the person or group behind these marks was inducted in the (sacred) knowledge of the ancient tradition of writing: otherwise, he would not specify on only a few signs.¹³⁶⁸ In my opinion, this person/group was aware of the message communicated by each pictorial element, including the crowns, thrones, and the handheld objects: all express an immediate association with divine power, represented by both deities and royalties. The deliberate selection of elements implies a deeper knowledge also of a general Egyptian symbolism and iconography. Therefore, I cannot agree completely with the traditional viewpoint that all cut marks are related to iconoclasm.¹³⁶⁹ I must, however, emphasise that I only refer to cut marks in the material. I acknowledge some later adjustments as connected with iconoclasm, such as the removal of Isis' head in cat. no. 32, Min's erected penis and other pictorial elements that have a sexual symbolism (primarily not included in the material). Many Egyptian temples were reused and restructured in order to become the house of the Christian god, later they were used also by the Muslims. Numerous temple walls demonstrate the presence of devoted pilgrims, leaving their historical mark in the form of religious graffiti. Based on this, I will not argue against the existence of iconoclasm in Egypt, but I cannot, at this point, dismiss the indications of also other possibilities as they are presented in the material.

Based solely on the material, I cannot identify a specific group of people responsible for these cut marks (which would provide an argument for, or against, iconoclasm). However, this brief investigation has raised several questions, opening up for further research. In my opinion, it is important to extend the modern concepts of iconoclasm and *damnatio memoriae*, and to possibly include new aspects or even use a different terminology, which the material demonstrates. Perhaps, an identification of a socio-religious movement does not necessarily succeed the ancients by far in terms of time. I argue that such a faction could be found in a very close relation, in time and religion, to the people who originally carved the relief. It would not be the first time in history that people destroy their secrets rather than handing them over in the dawn of a new era.

¹³⁶⁶ A great example of traditional iconoclasm is described by Abbot Shenoute of Atripe, who spoke about the difference between paganism and Christianity, and how to make the Egyptian temples into a place of Christian worship. He states about the hieroglyphs "If previously it is prescriptions for murdering man's soul that are in there, written with blood and not with ink alone – [indeed,] there is nothing else portrayed ... except the likeness of the snakes and scorpions, the dogs and cats, the crocodiles and frogs, ... the likeness of the sun and moon ... – where these are, it is the soul-saving scriptures of life that will henceforth come to be in there... and His son Jesus Christ and all His angels, righteous men and saints [will be portrayed on these walls]: Michigan manuscript 158, published in Young 1981, 353f.; Frankfurter 1998, 265.

¹³⁶⁷ Goldwasser 1995, *passim*, p. 79 in regard to the birds.

¹³⁶⁸ In a way, this includes also Goldwasser's theory of the birds since he assumes that the destructive agent had knowledge in the metaphor of these creatures.

¹³⁶⁹ Again, 'cut marks' is a term that I use to easily describe the damage documented in the material and is not recognised as an established, precise term within art history.

RECUTTING

The applied term ‘recutting’ refers to an original relief that has been reused, redressed, changed, or completely erased in order to make room for a later layer or to transform into a completely new relief. It is an unconventional topic to study, and if the modern viewer accept a wider perspective – and acknowledge the term as included also in applications other than the deprivation of one’s memory – and use it in a more generalised form, recuts could and should fall under the concepts of *damnatio memoriae* or ‘palimpsest’ (scraped clean and used again).¹³⁷⁰ As will be demonstrated below, the material shows examples of recutting of primarily divine figures, and I apply the term ‘recutting’ also on scenes where the artist occasionally made a mistake, and consequently had to change the relief into its correct disposition, such as figs. 117-118 show below. As mentioned in the section’s introduction, I will not present any larger analysis of this issue, but in my opinion recutting must be acknowledged as an artistic element embedded in the scene as it is preserved today: it can be used as an instrument in reading Egyptian art and how it has developed throughout the ancient centuries.

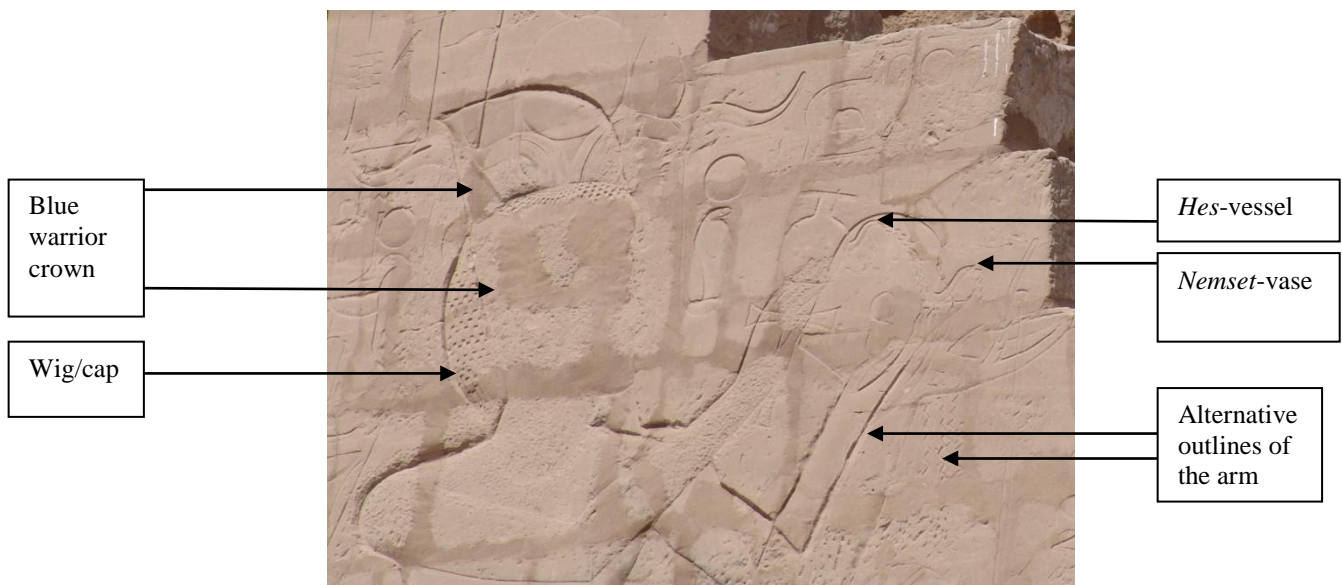


Fig. 117: Detail from one of the pylons in Karnak. The crown has been changed from the blue warrior crown to/from a curled wig/cap with horns and a solar disc (the *anedjti* crown in full view). Also the handheld object is changed, from a *hes*-vessel to a *nemset*-vase. Note the outlines of the lower arm and hand and how they have been recut. Photo by the author.

¹³⁷⁰ See for example Varner 2004, 8. For the concepts of palimpsest and its application not only on manuscripts, see (for example) Bornstein & Williams 1993.



Fig. 118: This detail from the Temple of Medinet Habu shows a recut of a pharaoh. Notice how the artist has changed the position of the arms. Photo by the author.

There are many traditions how to analyse and read Egyptian art, to which the present thesis presents further options: these are presented especially in Chapter III.7, above. In agreement with these, the material demonstrates alternatives which could be included in the topic of artistic adjustments: I consider that recutting, or even refashioning, incorporates a rearrangement, development, and/or continuation of Egyptian art.¹³⁷¹ The concept of *damnatio memoriae* has already provided modern scholars with an understanding of how the ancients considered previous art, and my aim with this brief section is to develop these thoughts and show how fashion developed, and how temples were artistically redressed in order to communicate a message more up to date. As an end result, I aim to reconnect this concept with the development of the crown of Arsinoë and argue for a continuation in the later Hathoric crown in Chapter IV.4, below. A more comprehensive analysis of recutting during the Ptolemaic and early Roman periods could shed light on socio-political events, represented by mainly the pictorial elements that are connected immediately with the pharaoh. Possibly of an even greater importance, such a study might increase modern scholars' understanding of ancient Egyptian religion and its development on a local and national scale.

Ancient Egyptian art is structured by a series of conventions that are imperative for the modern understanding of socio-political and religious symbolism. However, irregularities that break the principles can be just as important: they may express individuality or reflect a cultural change, local peculiarity, an unusual aspect of a certain deity, or even an artistic freedom. Artistic exceptions to the principles are not easily listed in statistics, and they rarely form valid substantiations for an argument. However, unconventional aspects of art cannot be denied: their pure existence communicates a message, regardless of cultural connotations.¹³⁷²

Ancient Egyptian traditions have regulated the architectural structure of relief scenes since the very beginning of artistic representation. In general, a rectangular scene includes one or more

¹³⁷¹ Compare Hedrick 2000, xii: "So, paradoxically, the *damnatio memoriae* works to confirm memory even as it dishonors it".

¹³⁷² See also above.

benefactors facing one or several beneficiaries.¹³⁷³ A finished scene traditionally describes each illustrated figure with a personal register of hieroglyphic text, vertically placed in front of the figure's crown, occasionally continuing in a horizontal register located above the head of the figure that it describes. Similarly, each figure is accompanied with a lower hieroglyphic register, located vertically in front of the feet and knees of the figure. The relief scenes are frequently enclosed by ending registers of text, and sometimes, by a board of text that runs above the heads of all figures (visually forming a rectangular frame). Previous sections demonstrate the conventions of figural arrangements and geometric correlations, and an artist could ensure that each pictorial and textual element was placed correctly by the application of such principles.¹³⁷⁴ Pictorial elements did not connect spatially unless they were intended to, such as a handheld object relates to the hand. Scenes in the present material, however, demonstrate alternatives to the conventions.

Compared with traditional Egyptian recuts, such as shown in figs. 117-118, above, the first example in the material concerns minor details. In cat. no. 37, the structure of Hathor's crown includes a traditional crown spiral, which is carved in a depth that corresponds to contextual details. A second spiral, however, is vaguely noticeable just above the first (fig. 119a), carved much shallower in what seems to be a first attempt of carving: consequently it indicates a recut. Proceeding downward, including the back-feathers of the vulture and the wig, the back of the head shows traces of an earlier image based on various irregularities in the relief work (see fig. 119b). The crown, the raised hand, and the right leg, as additional indications, are carved much deeper compared to the relief of the face. An irregular stone block points out under the raised arm, possibly suggesting an original lowered arm. The area surrounding the head shows chisel marks and it has an unpolished surface, thus giving an impression of an unfinished relief. Further, the edges of the chest are harsh and imprecise, dissimilar to other details. In terms of comparison, the relief of Hathor in cat. no. 37 is not as deep as that of Hathor in cat. no. 38, and the crown spiral of Hathor in cat. no. 37 is placed much lower compared to the same in cat. no. 38. I use all these details as indicators of a recut relief.

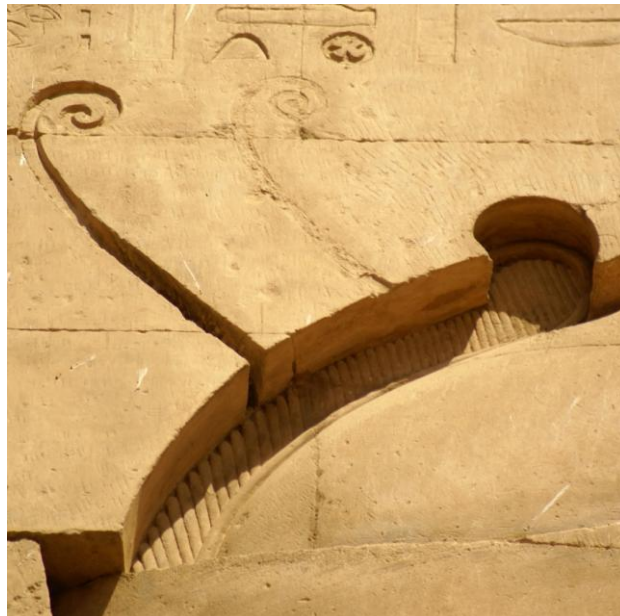


Fig. 119a: Detail of cat. no. 37 showing two crown spirals differentiated in their depth and position.

¹³⁷³ See Chapter III.7.

¹³⁷⁴ See Chapters I.2, III.7-8.



Fig. 119b: Details of cat. no. 37. The arrows point to areas of possible recut.

Possibly, cat. no. 65 is the most interesting scene in terms of recutting. The scene dates to the reign of Trajan, thus making a late addition to the material. The emperor stands before Hathor, separated from the divine figures by the smaller figure of Ihy, who stands on a podium (the *sema* sign). The scene is damaged by cut marks and smaller fractures, but the shapes of the figures remain fully visible.¹³⁷⁵ The issue of interest in this scene is Hathor's lack of feet: as fig. 120 shows, the feet have been removed, or cut off by the structural base as a result of what I interpret as a recut, suggestively taking place during the Roman Period.¹³⁷⁶ This suggestion is supported by the structure of the registers of texts: as an example, the emperor's front hand interrupts the lower hieroglyphic register spatially, which, again, indicates a redesign of the relief. Further, it lacks the ending registers of text. Thus, the scene cannot have been created in accordance with any absolute conventions. The board that encloses the figures was created in a raised relief, and was prepared to receive hieroglyphs, but is now partially damaged and shows a deeper relief as a contrast to the original one: I read this relief as unfinished. The removed feet of Hathor do not only exemplify a recut, but moreover indicates an artistic workmanship performed in haste.

¹³⁷⁵ See above.

¹³⁷⁶ See the main Catalogue Description and Catalogue Plates.



Fig. 120: Detail of cat. no. 65.

The arrow points to the area where the feet should have been.

Cat. no. 98 is another scene that has been recut, which, in its latest composition was composed of figures in a raised relief. Suggestively, the scene was at first decorated with figures in a sunken relief, based on the background surface of the hieroglyphic registers which has a much higher level of relief than the surface behind the main figures. Thus, the depth between the relief and the background vary between the textual sections and the figural ones. The background of the hieroglyphs would generally have been carved at a level that was equal to the main background, but are instead preserved within raised sections that enclose and separate the text from the main scene. Further, the visual frame that encloses the text has been interrupted in its lower outline, and similar cuts occasionally interfere with parts of the hieroglyphic signs, thus creating an incomplete order. Moreover, the front tip of the ram horns included in Hathor's crown pierces her personal register of text and interrupts the last hieroglyphic sign, thus creating an asymmetrical scene.

Located in the same area of the temple, cat. no. 105 has similar recuts as the previous scene. The relief has been (re-)carved in a simple and unprincipled technique. As fig. 121a shows, the text register behind the emperor is carved almost diagonal instead of vertically straight: these signs and those in the lower hieroglyphic register are completely different to those that are represented in the upper personal registers (of all figures), which are carved much shallower and are smaller in size. The upmost part of the lower hieroglyphic register is harshly cut, which has erased the top part of the sign of Ra.



Fig. 121a: This detail of Emperor Augustus in cat. no. 105 shows various levels of recut. The arrows point to the structural/textual elements that are described above. Note the difference in size and style between the personal register of text (above) and the two lower registers.

In the same scene, Ptah's personal register lacks the lower details of each sign. Further, the flat background area around him indicates a re-carving before the scene was damaged by cut marks. In the latest relief, there are no pictorial elements that are connected with Ptah's hand. However, as fig. 121b shows, two minor details reveal an original handheld object, which was removed in order to make the surface flat as it is preserved today: I do not believe that the removal of the handheld object concur with the cut marks in terms of time.

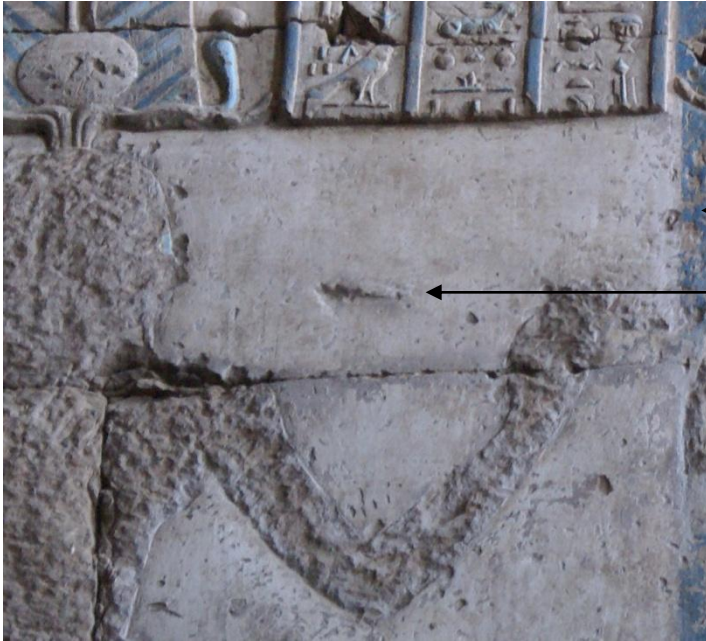


Fig. 121b: Detail of cat. no. 105. The arrows point to the indications of previous handheld objects. Notice the interrupted lower line of hieroglyphs in the personal register of text.

In terms of time, cat. no. 59 is one of the latest scenes in the material, as it dates to the reign of Trajan. The large number of small hieroglyphs that are pressed into one register of text follow a Roman style recorded in various sites throughout Egypt. Fig. 122 shows the register of text located above the head of Hathor: the text and the crown are damaged by cut marks, and a small fracture has erased the original hieroglyphic signs. However, the preserved main outlines of the crown show a crown that was carved in a different relief depth compared to the hieroglyphs: the signs are deeper carved and are preserved in more details. More importantly, the (later) hieroglyphic signs are placed in a location where the upper outlines of the crown should have been, including the highest part of the red crown, the egg-shaped top of the white crown, and the rounded top outlines of the double feather plume. This physical connection between the hieroglyphs and crown, and the two blocks, indicates that the signs were added to the scene on a later occasion, thus suggesting a recut of the original scene.



Fig. 122: Detail of cat. no. 59. The arrows show the locations where the crown connects with the hieroglyphs.

The figures of the court of the first feast in Dendera, represented here as cat. nos. 137-138, show many indications of recutting. In cat. no. 137, the deities and their personal texts are carved differently from the offering table and the dedicatory inscription that is placed above it: the background of the personal texts is higher than that of the offering text, and the signs of the offering text are larger than the personal registers.¹³⁷⁷ All items that are placed on the offering table and the signs of the surrounding text are carved out completely from the background surface. In contrast, the text and some smaller details that surround the figures, remain within an unfinished raised (block-formed) background: thus the hieroglyphs are not properly carved.¹³⁷⁸ Moreover, some hieroglyphic details have been interrupted by the rough cut of the edge of the relief.

Cat. no. 138, fig. 123, shows further indications of recutting: 1) the background surface of the horizontal text above the king is deeper than the main relief. 2) The *s*-signs (𓂏) in the text are turned in different directions. 3) The signs in the personal registers are interrupted by a cut similar to cat. no. 137. 4) The relief of the king interrupts his lower hieroglyphic register and 5) Hathor's lower hieroglyphic register is disorganised in favour of her foot (compare fig. 118, below). 6) The two empty cartouches of the king are placed asymmetrically, and are unequal in size. More importantly, 7) two minor details are preserved within the right cartouche, which demonstrate and confirm that the scene has been reused and changed.¹³⁷⁹



Fig. 123: Detail of cat. no. 138. The left-side arrows show the lowered background above the head of the king, and point to the different *s*-signs. The right-side arrows point to the two details that are preserved within the right cartouche, which verifies an earlier date of the original relief.

¹³⁷⁷ Compare the female title in cat. no. 36.

¹³⁷⁸ Such an “enclosed” background leaves the text in a block-form.

¹³⁷⁹ The hieroglyphic registers in cat. no. 62 reveal further examples of text interrupted due to the methods of recutting, or, possibly, in the (re-)making of the scene. Cat. no. 62 may, however, not be a case of a later recut, but instead an example of a late date of artistry, since the relief is very poor and sloppy made in general. Cat. no. 130 includes some minor elements that indicate a recut of the relief. The tip of the ram horns of the crown of Hathor interrupts the hieroglyphic text, similar to cat. no. 98. Further, some of the lower outlines of the hieroglyphic registers are cut in an irregular line rather than the traditional horizontal ending.



Fig.124: This detail of cat. no. 142 shows how the elbow (left) and kilt (right) interrupt the hieroglyphic text.

As the only Hathoric scene outside the Temples of Dendera and Edfu, cat. no. 155 is located in the Temple of Kalabsha. The reliefs are in general very simple and made without any greater finesse: they look like modern cartoons rather than traditional Egyptian images. Exaggerated eyes occupy the greater part of their faces, and the proportions of the figures are no longer those of conventional standards. The hieroglyphs are very simple, diverged in size, and the artist has overlooked the finer details: this indicates that the artist no longer used any proper matrices or measurements in the act of creation, and can be related to the stylistic development (read artistic decadence) during the late Ptolemaic and Roman periods. However, there are also many indications of recutting: some reliefs are actually illuminated by details of an earlier scene. The hieroglyphs in cat. no. 155 are carved in a sunken relief, whereas the main figures are styled in a raised relief. The background area is rough with irregular and fully visible chisel marks, some sections are unfinished. The cartouches of surrounding scenes list various names and titles of rulers: one scene describes the king as “Ptolemy, may he live forever”, another cartouche gives the name of Amenhotep (II) Aakheperura. Some cartouches are left blank as during the late Ptolemaic period, but the designation primarily states *pr-ḥ* – the great house, i.e., the pharaoh.



Fig. 125: Detail of cat. no. 155 demonstrating a poorly carved (newer) relief.



Fig. 126: Detail from Kalabsha showing a pharaoh described as Ptolemy. Note how the field of reeds interrupts the lower part of the cartouche, and see the harsh chisel marks in the background. Photo by the author.

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

This brief analysis has dealt with two aspects of later adjustments, referred to here as ‘cut marks’ and ‘recutting’ – corresponding to marks that have deliberately damaged the original scene, and an artist’s usurpation or transformation of an earlier relief. These two features have been included and analysed in order to regard all aspects of the scenes as they are preserved for the modern viewers. The topic of eradication and adjustments of visual representation is generally overlooked, occasionally unnoticed, since it is not an artistic element of the original

scene. However, I argue that these two aspects can be used in order to understand how the ancient Egyptian symbolism was looked upon by contemporary as well as later cultural groups.

Various examples show that a group of people deliberately erased certain aspects of a scene, and that the cut marks were intentionally placed in accordance with surrounding elements. The material reveals that the crowns, handheld objects, and the thrones have been primarily untouched by cut marks. The hieroglyphic texts are principally undamaged, but distinctive signs are erased on occasions, which I read as an indication of an understanding of the symbolism, including the words and the language itself. Today, and as it was during ancient times, an erased face is associated with dishonour and shame: in art history, the removal of certain elements of a figure is connected with iconoclasm, the modern term *damnatio memoriae* or even palimpsest. However, if the cut marks that are documented in the material are related only to these concepts and their ideological connotations, why did they not erase all the symbolic elements that were associated with paganism, superiority and control? There is no information in the present study that can identify the cut marks as caused by the hands of a specific later ruler, or by later religious groups of Christians and Muslims. Instead, the material indicates that the responsible person or group was introduced in the symbolism and culture of the ancient Egyptians: possibly, the scholarly attention should be turned towards the last priests of the ancient Egyptian society, who in the age of Christianity's introduction tried to protect the divine spirits of paganism depicted on the temple walls.

The analysis of recutting in the material shows that several scenes have been reused, usurped, or completely rearranged in order to transform and create a new scene with details and figural arrangements more up to date. This section has presented only a few (of many) examples: these emphasise that modern scholars can no longer overlook later adjustments as a part of reading Egyptian art in a more general perspective. Further studies could possibly enable a greater understanding of Egyptian artistic, political and socio-religious factors as they were considered, used, and erased by different groups. Today, scholars date a relief scene based on the name listed in a cartouche, but further studies of recutting could provide reconsiderations and reassessments, and open up a broader spectrum of possibilities.

IV

DISCUSSION

The iconographical analysis as presented in Chapter III aimed to establish Arsinoë's various cultural roles as they are communicated firstly in her crown, secondly in the contextual setting of the scene, and thirdly in the later material (thus, scenes depicting the later Ptolemaic queens and the Hathoric figures). In the present chapter, Chapter IV, all artistic aspects come together and form a foundation for an iconological interpretation. Although the discussion is based on the material as it is presented in Chapter III, the individual sections of Chapter IV are divided in accordance with Arsinoë's roles, thus following the main aim of the study. This aim is to establish how the artistic representation correlates with Arsinoë's three individual but connected socio-political roles – female pharaoh, high priestess and goddess. Such a determination will function as a foundation when discussing how the crown of Arsinoë is relevant for the introduction of the later Hathoric crown (Chapter IV.4). The two initial sections deal with Arsinoë's socio-political or religious aspects: kingship, priesthood, and divinity. I will argue that the living Arsinoë received her personal crown as a result of her prominent social role as politically equal to her husband-brother, her religious devotion to the native Egyptian cults, and her respect of ancient traditions.

Each section will be discussed in accordance with the general material, thus all artistic aspects of the scenes, prior to joining them in a third section that deals with the significance of the crown of Arsinoë and how it pictorially incorporates all cultural aspects. The last section aims to establish a correlation between Arsinoë's cultural roles and those of Hathor of Dendera, and to understand the political background and initial intent for the introduction of the later Hathoric crown.

CHAPTER IV.1

ARSINOË AND ROYALTY

KING AND QUEEN

Arsinoë's socio-political role as one of the most important Ptolemaic queens is indisputable. The reliefs demonstrate that Ptolemaic queens after her reused her personal crown, and usurped designations created exclusively for this second Macedonian Queen of Egypt. In addition to the reliefs, sculptures and coins bear witness of a continuation of also the double cornucopia and the double cobra.¹³⁸⁰ The present material reveals that Arsinoë was regarded as the female founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty, and dynastic relief scenes show her descendants venerating her in this role together with Ptolemy II.¹³⁸¹

Traditionally, a queen was regarded as the pharaoh's female counterpart, and as a couple they retained the universal structure of divine androgyny.¹³⁸² Chapter III demonstrates how everything in life that is encompassed by the earthly and divine landscapes was arranged according to two protagonists. The relationship between male and female royalties – the king

¹³⁸⁰ The double cobra eventually developed into three. See Bothmer 1960, 145-147, no. 113; Troy 1986, 124f.; Ashton 2001, 154f.; Albersmeier 2002, 45f.; Maehler 2006, 215-217.

¹³⁸¹ See mainly Chapter III.6, see also below, Chapter IV.4.

¹³⁸² Compare Troy 1986, 2-4, for a definition of queenship according to the concepts of androgyny.

and queen – manifested such cultural conventions universally, representing humans and gods equally. As an example of their inseparable unification, Chapter III.7 describes the importance of a queen’s presence during the celebrations and ceremonies of the king’s Sed festival: she was considered a Hathoric source of his rejuvenation and eternal incarnation, enabling him to proceed as a youthful ruler. Any given queen was regarded as a crucial counterpart in all cultural aspects and was responsible for the survival of kingship. The present chapter acknowledges the concepts of queenship, but deals primarily with (female) kingship, and how the artistic material expresses Arsinoë’s hierarchic position as equivalent to the role of Ptolemy II.¹³⁸³

Throughout ancient and modern narration alike, historians have endeavoured to establish as accurate a list of Egyptian pharaohs as possible, including or excluding female kings such as Hatshepsut and Tawosret. Modern scholars base their records on four main ancient sources – the Palermo Stone, the Turin Royal Canon, Abydos’ King list, and Manetho’s *Aegyptiaca* – combined with a variety of additional fragmentary descriptions.¹³⁸⁴ The problems of creating an accurate pharaonic king list are immense, due mainly to the individual dating formulas of each individual pharaoh, but also to the differentiation between the Gregorian calendar and the ancient Egyptian time reckoning. Those dealing with the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods face even further challenges due to the introduction of additional calendar systems. Since the majority of the ancient sources that record a king list predates the Ptolemaic Period, they are of little help in regard to Graeco-Roman rulers, especially the kingship role of Arsinoë. Nor can Manetho shed any light on this issue, since he (supposedly) wrote the Histories during the reign of either Ptolemy I or II. Therefore, to my knowledge, there are no ancient records postdating Ptolemy II that list the Ptolemaic kings, including or excluding possible female rulers.¹³⁸⁵ Instead, I have to turn to modern scholars and narration subsequent to the ancient period.

Most modern scholars follow A. Samuel’s work listing each male Ptolemy, I-XII (sometimes all through to Ptolemy XV), and ending with Cleopatra VII, occasionally including in their discussions the political positions of Cleopatra II-III and Berenice IV.¹³⁸⁶ Arsinoë is excluded from modern scholars’ king lists, although her political involvement remains a topic of discussion. Few scholars include any records of Ptolemaic co-regencies in their chronological lists, although a few briefly discuss the co-regency of Ptolemy I and II as a topic of investigation following W. Murnane’s “Ancient Egyptian coregencies”.¹³⁸⁷ Generally, modern publications completely disregard the shared rule between Ptolemy II and Ptolemy the son (Ptolemy Nios). Whereas the co-regency between father and son (Ptolemy I and II) lasted for *c.* two years, the later joint rule lasted longer, *c.* 267-259 B.C., according to ancient sources, but the identification of Ptolemy the son remains ambiguous.¹³⁸⁸ The shared regency

¹³⁸³ The hierarchic positions are based on my implemented method of the crown line as presented in Chapter III.7.

¹³⁸⁴ Waddell 1940; Gardiner 1959/1988; Breasted 1906, I, 76-167; compare the Karnak Tablet, South Saqqara Stone, Saqqara Tablet, and the records of Herodotus (Hdt. 2, *passim*), Diodorus Siculus (Diod. Sic. 1, 70-72) and Eratosthenes (= Eratosth. *FGrH* 241 F 1a = Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.138.1-3).

¹³⁸⁵ Certainly, such a list would clarify some of the dating problems and the issues of throne ascension during the Mid-Late Ptolemaic Period.

¹³⁸⁶ Samuel 1962; compare Bagnall & Derow 2004, Table I, listing male rulers exclusively (Ptolemy I-XIV) with Cleopatra VII as co-ruler; Stanwick 2002 includes important queens in his chronological list.

¹³⁸⁷ Murnane 1977.

¹³⁸⁸ *P. Sorb.* inv. 2440; *P. Louvre* 2424; *Gr. dem Medinet Habu* 77; *P. Hib.* 1.100. Compare Cadell 1998, 1; see also Ch. Bennett’s web page: http://www.geocities.com/christopherjbennett/ptolemies/nios_i.htm#Nios (2009-01-03). Chapter III (esp. Chapter III.7) demonstrates previous attempts of identifying the second male figure of the Mendes stela (cat. no. 1) as Ptolemy the son.

between Ptolemy II and Arsinoë has been consistently overlooked in modern sources, and, although reference to such does occur, any considerations are stated without comprehensive investigations. Therefore, my aim here is to bridge this insufficiency by adding a discussion about the prospect of co-regency between Ptolemy and Arsinoë to the modern debate, considering all aspects of kingship according to the sources that structure the material.

The present section will discuss the socio-political roles of Arsinoë and how these relate to the principals of kingship. I have to emphasise that I do not, under any circumstances, argue for a sole rule by Arsinoë, but instead for co-regency between Ptolemy II and Arsinoë based on the results provided in the material.

Within the modern disciplines of Egyptology and classicism, most scholars agree that the concepts and perceptions of Egyptian kingship are very complex.¹³⁸⁹ To the modern scholar's disappointment, there is a distinct lack of ancient sources that sufficiently describe a kingship definition.¹³⁹⁰ The roles of the pharaoh can be approached from various directions, and one ancient medium does not necessarily correspond to another. The definition within textual records is also diverged, describing the qualities and conceptions of the king according to any given topic of discussion. However, regardless of the medium, most ancient sources agree on a few socio-religious fundamentals that together structure the role of a pharaoh and what was expected of him. The areas of discussion here are based on the iconographic distinction, the official designations, and the divinity; further, on the pharaoh's responsibilities, such as performing the cultic practices and keeping Egypt safe from her enemies, thus upholding the concepts of Ma'at. All these topics are connected in a concluding discussion in Chapter IV.3 that presents my interpretations of the crown of Arsinoë in its relation to the topic of kingship.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF KINGSHIP

Every pharaoh was considered divine from the time of the royal proclamation (divine birth), in which he was traditionally identified as an heir of the previous pharaoh. The godly character of the pharaoh was emphasised in his genealogy, claiming a divine kinship and at the same time dismissing an actual mortal father: he was regarded the son of Amun-Ra, mothered by an earthly representation of Hathor (= the queen). The direct lineage between the ruling pharaoh and the almighty solar deity was emphasised in the Turin King list and Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*, both beginning with a list of the primeval gods.¹³⁹¹ From the time of his coronation, the pharaoh became an earthly manifestation of Horus, the son of Ra, the eternal ruler. The complexity of Egyptian rulership has already been analysed in various forms, and Chapters III. 6-9 show how Ra assumed different forms throughout the day, most prominent as the midday sun – the aspect of full kingship. This, the third level of transfiguration, reveals Ra as the overall powerful light, manifested as a strong falcon, described as Horus, and corresponding to the eternal royal rule and triumph over evil.¹³⁹²

The pharaoh was considered a mediator between the human and the divine spheres, as he represented the gods and humans equally. The theological concepts placed the pharaoh in a cultural position out of reach for the humans, and his rule was based on divine criteria rather

¹³⁸⁹ For example, see Frankfort 1978.

¹³⁹⁰ See Bierbrier 1980, 100; Troy 1986, 104.

¹³⁹¹ See above.

¹³⁹² Assmann 2001, 108.

than human ones.¹³⁹³ As a consequence, his divinity retained his absolute power over the people: as soon as he fulfilled the royal ceremonies of coronation he became their high priest, magician or sorcerer, and it was he alone who could control the concepts of Ma'at on earth.¹³⁹⁴

Pictorial regalia and representation

The principles of royal iconography are as complex as the overall concepts of kingship, and the modern understanding of the symbolism embedded in ancient Egyptian regalia remains fragmentary. Chapter III presented various royal attributes that denote kingship: one of the most important was the crown, primarily the double crown with its symbolism of the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt. As described in Chapter III.2, the double crown was occasionally separated into the red and white crowns. The pharaoh is documented wearing the respective crown in temple structures individually corresponding to Upper and Lower Egypt, and at the same time symbolising Nekhbet and Wadjet as the Two Ladies of North and South.¹³⁹⁵ The red and the white crowns, individually and combined, belong to the most ancient royal attributes in Egyptian iconography: very much based on the Narmer palette, they are interpreted as signifying royal power.¹³⁹⁶ In addition to the more traditional interpretations of these crowns, I have suggested an association with the Hathoric nest and the egg, signifying the eternal and unbreakable bond between Hathor and Ra.¹³⁹⁷

Chapters III.1-2 presented an analysis of all pictorial units/elements included in the headdresses and crowns, describing the *uraeus* as the most obvious element to relate to kingship. The risen cobra was placed in the forehead of the pharaoh, primarily as a sign of divine (Hathoric) protection, but also as emphasising the pharaoh's protective role of his subjects.¹³⁹⁸ The ram horns were also analysed, denoting Egyptian kingship and connecting the pharaoh with prominent deities such as Amun and Horus.¹³⁹⁹ They appear primarily (in addition to the divine crowns) in the *anedjti* crown, which, in various locations throughout Egypt, is associated with war and the triumph over evil.¹⁴⁰⁰ The ram horns formed an integral part of the crown of Arsinoë, and similarly of the later Hathoric crown, making the royal crown unique for the headgear of queens. To my knowledge, no other females wear the ram horns as a fundamental part of a crown composition.

In addition to the crowns, the royal attributes incorporated various sceptres, staves and maces, the most prominent signs being the crook and flail.¹⁴⁰¹ Arsinoë holds a lotus-shaped flail in four scenes, which, according to Table 24, date to her lifetime (cat. no. 12) and to the reign of Ptolemy II (cat. nos. 27, 29, 36). Depicting Arsinoë with a lotus-flail, cat. no. 36 relates to the theme of Ptolemy II's Sed festival. He is depicted as a ruling pharaoh in accordance with all

¹³⁹³ Najovits 2003, 153.

¹³⁹⁴ See for example Najovits 2003, 153. See also Chapter III.6, The figure of Ma'at. See subsequent sections for Arsinoë's roles as high priestess and goddess.

¹³⁹⁵ In the material, the Gate of Philadelphos in Philae demonstrates such a partition, and Ptolemy II wears the red and white crowns separately in cat. nos. 26L-R.

¹³⁹⁶ CG 32169; more recently Morenz 2004.

¹³⁹⁷ See Chapter III.2.

¹³⁹⁸ Stanwick 2002, 34.

¹³⁹⁹ See Chapters III.2-3.

¹⁴⁰⁰ This is a personal reflection, which I intend to investigate further in another context.

¹⁴⁰¹ The material includes only one scene of Ptolemy II holding these items (cat. no. 36), otherwise presenting the pharaohs in a position of active veneration. Scenes that postdate Ptolemy II depict him mainly with the conventional *ankh* and *was* staff. See Morkot 2005, 153, for a general introduction of Egyptian regalia.

Egyptian artistic conventions, and the festival pavilion encircles him. Although Ptolemy is the direct subject of the scene (and the entire gate), I have concluded in Chapter III.7 that Arsinoë is of fundamental importance as she functions as the key for comprehending the communicated message of the entire gate. Including various degrees of royal propaganda and traditional celebrations of rejuvenation, the complete Sed festival Gate of Ptolemy (Medamoud) illustrates Arsinoë only in this one scene. Her physical position behind Ptolemy, her iconographic attribute (the flail), and her designation as a female king, indicate a living and ruling queen.¹⁴⁰² As argued, I interpret such a description as emphasising the fundamental reason why Ptolemy was in need of an early rejuvenation ceremony. It refers to a living Arsinoë, Ptolemy II's equal, and his co-regent, but her presence is limited to only this one scene: I use cat. no. 36 as an argument (in Chapter III.7) for establishing Arsinoë's death as the cause of Ptolemy II's first Sed festival. The conventional regalia held by Ptolemy in this scene demonstrate a rejuvenated and powerful sole ruler of Egypt, who managed the tasks of the ceremonies due to the support and guidance of his deified sister-wife, thus following the principles of the Hathoric mode.

Aside from the pictorial attributes immediately connected with the main image, the theme of smiting an enemy (enemies) was a frequently occurring indication of kingship. None of the scenes shows Ptolemy II and Arsinoë in this role. However, the textual material depicts Arsinoë in a socio-political role as defending her country against the enemy, which agrees with this fundamental concept of kingship: cat. no. 2, the Pithom stela, describes how Arsinoë accompanied Ptolemy to the eastern border of Egypt in order to secure the boundaries against threatening invasion.¹⁴⁰³ As a matter of comparison, her political role was correspondingly important for the Greeks to acknowledge her influence in the Chremonidean War: a commemoration postdating her lifetime.¹⁴⁰⁴ Additional ancient sources describe Arsinoë's political involvement in the Ptolemaic navy, and refer to her as a person in charge.¹⁴⁰⁵ One event describes Arsinoë's chariot victories, which can be compared with the pharaoh's official demonstration of power expressed in the illustrations of him in the chariot.¹⁴⁰⁶ This is not the place to discuss sources outside the material in detail, but their importance must be acknowledged as significant indicators of Arsinoë's political involvement.¹⁴⁰⁷ Together with cat. no. 2, regardless of an iconographic representation of Arsinoë as a war lord, the textual sources present a female royalty actively participating in Egypt's national and foreign affairs during her lifetime.

Official documents commemorating king's participation in the royal actions and events are associated with the topic of the pharaoh as a war lord and cultic leader. Such tributes include the documentation of campaigns, royal proclamations, ritual ceremonies, etc.¹⁴⁰⁸ The first 15

¹⁴⁰² See Chapters III.5, 8-9.

¹⁴⁰³ For the smiting scene as a fundamental symbol of kingship, see Assmann 1970, *passim*. For cat. no. 2, see above, Chapter III.7 and the main Catalogue Description.

¹⁴⁰⁴ *SIG*³ I.434/5, line 17; see Austin 2006, 94f.; compare Hazzard 2000, 94f.

¹⁴⁰⁵ See mainly Hauben 1982.

¹⁴⁰⁶ See *P.Mil.Vogl.VIII 309*, AB 12.20-33.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Compare Hazzard 2000, 94f. who refers to the documents of Arsinoë's position in the Chremonidean War as hearsay. I do not agree with Tarn or Macurdy who considered that the Chremonidean War was "Arsinoë's war" primarily because she was already dead at the time, but I can neither agree with Hazzard who dismiss her role completely. The decree states that Ptolemy followed the policy of his ancestors and his sister, which would appear a rather awkward public statement if it had no significance. Although this is not the place of discussing this document, I regard it as indicating that Ptolemaic Egypt at the time witnessed two equal rulers.

¹⁴⁰⁸ See a summary by R. Gundlach for the 'Wissenschaftliche Bibellexikon im Internet': <http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/wibilex/das->

scenes listed in the material demonstrate such royal proclamations, although they vary greatly in their individually communicated messages. Cat. no. 1 describes Arsinoë's participation in the cult of Banebdjedet during her lifetime.¹⁴⁰⁹ Cat. no. 8 illustrates Arsinoë, figurally, as unaccompanied (without Ptolemy II) facing an unidentified deity. These scenes establish Arsinoë fulfilling her responsibilities of a cultic nature, which was regarded as one of the fundamentals of conventional kingship concepts.¹⁴¹⁰ The scene is unique in its structural composition since it not only illustrates Arsinoë alone as an active benefactor, but also being textually described as King of Egypt.¹⁴¹¹ Most importantly, I have (re-)dated cat. no.8, placing it in Arsinoë's lifetime, based on the figural setting.¹⁴¹²

As analysed in Chapter III.8, I argue that Arsinoë was provided with all five official royal titles, each one equally represented in a textual and iconographic form. I realise that the suggested designations do not always follow the conventional, textual structure of each royal name, and that my identification is based on epithets rather than determined by traditional prefixes. Such an application of titles, however, was common during the Old Kingdom, a period from which several of Arsinoë's titles date (some were used only during the Old Kingdom), and cannot, therefore, be dismissed. An analysis of the iconographic structure of scene by scene in the relief material studied here demonstrates that pictorial elements can communicate a message more clearly than textual records: a combination of both makes a very valid foundation for interpretation. Therefore, based on a combination of textual and iconographic records, presented above, I conclude that Arsinoë was recognised as a female king in accordance with each official royal title during her lifetime.¹⁴¹³ In my opinion, she held an equal position to Ptolemy II.

When Alexander the Great was crowned as the new Egyptian pharaoh, he accepted the ancient Egyptian conventions of a divine legacy making him an earthly manifestation of Horus, the celestial King.¹⁴¹⁴ Thus, Alexander became the son of Ra, and was expected to uphold universal order through his correct judgments and actions.¹⁴¹⁵ In the spirit of Alexander, the early Ptolemies were crowned and ruled Egypt in agreement with ancient Egyptian conventions, primarily demonstrated in their official designations "Son of Ra" and "King of Upper and Lower Egypt": titles that are used also to describe Arsinoë.

She is recorded with the hieroglyphic title (coronation prefix) "King of..." in cat. nos. 5, 7-8, 13-15R, which unquestionably places her as a ruler in Egypt. Several of these scenes emphasise her prominent position also in the pictorial structure: in accordance with the crown line and her left-side position, she is identified as the most important figure in all scenes (except for cat. no. 14 where she is second most important after Amun-Min), and she is repeatedly described as "Daughter of Amun/Banebdjedet", which is comparable to the male

bibellexikon/details/quelle/WIBI/zeichen/k/referenz/23832///cache/7f7d15c9153f741cb2107f139d838cc3/ (I.3 d) (2010-04-30).

¹⁴⁰⁹ See also cat. no. 5.

¹⁴¹⁰ *CAH*² II, 649.

¹⁴¹¹ See Chapter III.8.

¹⁴¹² I have also (re-)dated cat. no. 15 to Arsinoë's lifetime.

¹⁴¹³ Generally, scholars accept two or three royal names as valid for a full royal title. See von Beckerath 1984, 2; Shaw 2003, 179.

¹⁴¹⁴ Compare Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon; Chapter III.9, *passim*.

¹⁴¹⁵ See Chapter III.6, The figure of Ma'at. The complexity of a Macedonian ruler becoming a pharaoh of Egypt is embedded and expressed in the Alexander Romance describing his kinship with Nectanebo II. Nectanebo was said to have entered the Macedonian court as an Egyptian priest spending the night with Olympias, together conceiving the son of Zeus-Amon, Alexander. Similar stories place Ptolemy I as the half-brother of Alexander, and the heir of Philip II rather than of Lagus. See "Deception of Nectanebo", ps.-Callisth. I.1-8.

royal title “Son of Ra”. Except for cat. no. 8, these scenes emphasise her relation with her brother-husband, and demonstrate a couple of equal hierarchic ranks.¹⁴¹⁶ Cat. nos. 8 and 15 are established as dating to Arsinoë’s lifetime, but those scenes that postdate her life retains a pictorial recognition of her as a pharaoh, which is supported by textual records of a living ruler: thus, the majority of these scenes agree with the concepts of artistic adjustment as noted in Chapter III.7.¹⁴¹⁷

Instead of describing her as king in the textual records, cat. nos. 1-2, 26L-R and 36 indicate Arsinoë’s royal position in the figurative arrangement and the contextual structure of the scenes.¹⁴¹⁸ Proven to be one of the most important scenes in the material, cat. no. 1 provides pictorial and textual records of Arsinoë’s kingship: it relates to Arsinoë as living queen and (posthumously deified) goddess at the same time. In Chapter III, I identified the royal couple (cat. no. 1L) with Arsinoë as King of Lower Egypt and Ptolemy as King of Upper Egypt, based on my recognition of contextual details that individually symbolise these geographic areas. My identification of Ptolemy II as the King of Upper Egypt is supported by Arsinoë’s designation as “Sister/Wife of the King of Upper Egypt”, which concurs with Arsinoë’s title in cat. no. 13: “King of Lower Egypt”.¹⁴¹⁹ Further, symbolically speaking, the co-regency is accentuated in the main text of cat. no. 2, which refers to year 12 of Ptolemy’s rule, when the king travelled through Egypt with his sister-wife in order inspect Egypt’s borders and discuss how to protect their country against enemies. Arsinoë was not only viewed as a female counterpart to the king, a queen, but as his co-regent in charge of Lower Egypt.

A combination of figurative arrangements and textual records reveals a political background and cause for Ptolemy’s initial need for a symbolic rebirth and rejuvenation, implemented through the celebration of a Sed festival. Arsinoë’s presence in cat. no. 36 accentuates her importance in, and as a reason for, the ceremony, and is comparable to her prayers in cat. no. 1R: “I pray for you to the master of the Gods, so that he gives you numerous years as a king (i.e., of rule)”, relating to the jubilee. She communicates a similar message in cat. no. 2: “I pray for your life to your father Atum; that he will give you numerous years of Sed festivals” (cat. no. 2L), and “I wish for you to celebrate numerous Sed festivals (with the blessings) of the gods” (cat. no. 2R). Both documents are interpreted as applying an active artistic adjustment, which correlates with Arsinoë’s lifetime as well as the period following her death.

In addition to the immediate signs of Arsinoë’s kingship, such as discussed above, various scenes convey a powerful and politically important queen. She is frequently established as the most important figure in the scenes according to the crown line (cf. discussion in Chapter III.7). Furthermore, the material depicts a (divine) queen described with royal titles that places

¹⁴¹⁶ Cat. no. 15, however, places both rulers as benefactors. See Chapter III.5, Sheat, Sandals, for the connections between the queen’s dress and footwear and her textual description as the king.

¹⁴¹⁷ As a consequence, cat. no. 5 concurs with the theme of the main Mendes stela (cat. no. 1), although the pictorial setting is different.

¹⁴¹⁸ See Chapter III.7, Conceptions of time.

¹⁴¹⁹ “King of Lower Egypt”, is documented also outside the material. A fragmentary *naos* that originates in Sais states “The prophets and the godfathers of the Temple of Neith reached the place where the king was and they said to his Majesty: Sovereign our Lord, let the effigy appear of the King of Lower Egypt, Heiress of the Two Lands, Isis Arsinoë Philadelphos”. Translation in agreement with Quaegebeur 1989, 109. This text describes Arsinoë as a divine daughter and demonstrates a correlation between the court and the priesthood of Sais. It determines Arsinoë as the King of Lower Egypt, and describes her as the rightful heir of the throne. It must be emphasised that the prophets and priests came to Ptolemy rather than the other way around, an event which I identify as indicating Arsinoë’s individual importance.

her as a ruler of Egypt: as the rightful, hereditary firstborn daughter of the king.¹⁴²⁰ Arsinoë's political importance is also stressed in scenes postdating Ptolemy II, such as Ptolemy III's official designation that describes him as the heir of the sibling gods. Even during later Ptolemaic periods, Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra III and Cleopatra VII found Arsinoë's political position so important that they felt obligated to commemorate her in forms of active veneration, and the queens were depicted wearing her regalia in Egyptian temples made to last for thousands of years.¹⁴²¹

Reassessing the Ramesside crown as a male alternative to the crown of Arsinoë

Based on the study of Arsinoë's kingship titles in the Temple of Philae, I choose to reconsider the crown presented in Chapter III.3 as the Ramesside crown. The cause of such a reassessment is a relief located in the proximity of cat. no. 30 (see fig. 127a-b) that shows Ptolemy II with a Ramesside crown. To my knowledge, this Philae scene is the only depiction of Ptolemy II wearing a Ramesside crown. In Chapter III.3, I wanted to remove myself from a gender orientated labelling of this crown, and instead chose to designate it in agreement with its most frequent previous wearer. It was concluded that the crown of Arsinoë and the Ramesside crown are differentiated only by the cow horns which have a female Hathoric symbolism. The crown of Arsinoë was worn exclusively by Ptolemaic queens, never by a pharaoh or male deity. Neither was the Ramesside crown worn by a queen or goddess (except for Arsinoë's types AC 24 and 25).¹⁴²² Based on the information provided in the analytical chapters and the relief that shows Ptolemy II wearing a Ramesside crown, I argue that an hypothesis of gender orientated crowns may be illuminated.

¹⁴²⁰ The 'Vatican statue' of Arsinoë describes her as the "inherent princess" and the "first" (compare to the title "great"). These titles place Arsinoë as the firstborn rightful heir of the Egyptian throne.

¹⁴²¹ Each Egyptian temple was build based on the belief that it would last four thousands of years. See for example Arnold 1999, *passim*.

¹⁴²² See Table 28 (=Appendix I), below, and Table 8, above.



Fig. 127a: The Philae scene shows Ptolemy II (far left) sacrificing to the royal divine triad (from the left to right), Osiris, Isis and Harpocrates. Photo by the author.

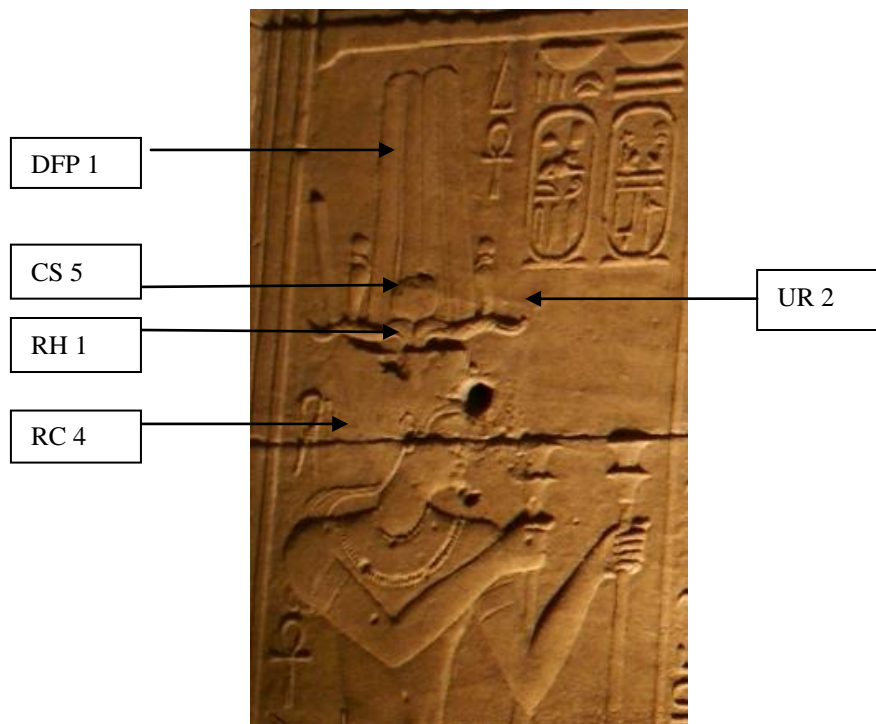


Fig. 127b: Detail of the Philae scene that illustrates Ptolemy II. The arrows point to the individual pictorial units according to the abbreviations listed in Chapter III.2. Photo by the author.

The scene of comparison shows Ptolemy II as an active benefactor who stands on the left side. He presents, as offerings, papyrus plants to the local divine triad: Osiris, Isis and Harpocrates.¹⁴²³ The scene embraces Ptolemy's veneration of the local triad, but suggestively,

¹⁴²³ Photo Berlin 1066; Bénédite 1893, 43 with pls. XIV-XV.

also declares a political message. The family of veneration was recognised as the divine royal family, from which the living king received his lineage of divine kingship, and by whom he was blessed with guidance and protection.¹⁴²⁴ The papyrus plants held by Ptolemy symbolise Lower Egypt. The offerings combined with the divine family may indirectly describe Ptolemy II's symbolic declaration of his political role following the death of Arsinoë, implementing rulership of also Lower Egypt.

Above, the material has demonstrated various indications of co-regency between Arsinoë and Ptolemy II. The Temple of Philae records seven individual scenes illustrating Arsinoë. Ptolemy II noticeably expressed piety and simultaneously a socio-religious association with Arsinoë in each of these scenes. All these scenes postdate Arsinoë, relating to a period of time when Ptolemy was a sole ruler of Egypt. In agreement with various examples above, I interpret this Philae scene as expressing Ptolemy's usurpation of a full royal position, incorporating the designation "King of Lower Egypt". This theme is associated with the Sed festival celebrated by Ptolemy II after Arsinoë's death, consistent with previous chapters' conclusions.¹⁴²⁵ This Philae scene suggestively correlates with such a Sed festival and Ptolemy II's political reinsurance to Egypt's inhabitants that their king was capable of ruling alone after two periods of co-regency.¹⁴²⁶ By depicting himself with the Ramesside crown, Ptolemy II appeared to the people in a head attribute identical to the crown of Arsinoë differentiated only by the female cow horns associated with Hathor. He became Arsinoë's male equivalent and the crowns can, consequently, be categorised according to the gender of its wearers.

Documenting a male and a female variant of the crown composition enables an association with the socio-religious dualistic structure that is fundamentally incorporated in all aspects of Egyptian culture. Such a distinction primarily refers to the entwined relations between male and female, king and queen, brother and sister, husband and wife. As such, Ptolemy II and Arsinoë manifested as the son and daughter of Amun-Ra.

CHAPTER IV.2

ARSINOË AND PIETY

PRIESTESS AND GODDESS

Whereas Arsinoë's socio-political role as queen/king has been a topic of debate over the years, her religious position as a (living) high priestess has been neglected. Cat. no. 1, textually entitles Arsinoë "She who is the high priestess of Banebdjedet", and although most scholars acknowledge this title, they conclude that it was an honorary title given to her after her death based on the date of the stela. Thus, this cultic aspect remains unexplored in regard to associations and function. Arsinoë's religious aspect as a goddess has been a topic of debate for quite some time. However, such a discussion rarely refers to the actual divine aspects, but instead focuses on the date of deification. This section will deal with both these religious positions in order to better understand their underlying concepts in order to deal with

¹⁴²⁴ Here, the reader can also include previous scholars' assumptions that the crown of Arsinoë expresses a relation with Lower Egypt, based on a symbolism which is present in also the Ramesside crown. See for example Abubakr 1937, 42.

¹⁴²⁵ See also cat. nos. 1, 2, 5, 26.

¹⁴²⁶ Ptolemy initially co-ruled Egypt with his father, followed by a co-rule with Arsinoë according to my personal interpretation. After the death of Arsinoë, Ptolemy co-ruled Egypt with Ptolemy the son. A co-regency with Arsinoë would place Ptolemy II as a sole ruler for only 13 years.

the scholarly debate regarding the time aspect as well as the socio-religious connotations. The first part of the section will deal with Arsinoë's role as high priestess and argue for a identification of Arsinoë as a God's wife of Amun, primarily as a continuation of Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amun. The second half will discuss Arsinoë's *apotheosis* and her divine aspects as a complete goddess.

THE HIGH PRIESTESS

Arsinoë's role as the priestess of Banebdjedet is occasionally mentioned in connection with the Mendes stela, but always without any proper analytical reassessment.¹⁴²⁷ J. Quaegebeur proposed an association between Arsinoë's title "Daughter of Amun" and the Divine Adoratrices, but such a possible connection has been left unexplored and primarily dismissed since then.¹⁴²⁸ I will continue Quaegebeur's discussion and debate how the material suggests the active religious role of Arsinoë as high priestess according to ancient Egyptian principles and to argue that she resumed the respected office as God's Wife of Amun.

The topic of discussion relates to a religious office that could be practiced by any given queen – during her lifetime. Possibly, previous scholars have kept their distance from such a discussion in regard to Arsinoë due to the dating problem of her images and scenes. However, according to Chapter III.7, two or possibly three scenes depict Arsinoë in an indisputable position as an active benefactor: she is depicted as a royal person, standing in a position opposite the traditional deities, and she presents offerings or participates in a religious ceremony in order to evoke the divine spirit. I have concluded in previous sections that such an active role, as Arsinoë has in cat. nos. 8 and 15 (possibly 9), belongs to a royal person who must be alive, thus, Arsinoë must be considered high priestess during her lifetime.¹⁴²⁹ Based on such a conclusion, the present section will be able to focus on the practicality of the office, and how the material shows Arsinoë as a God's wife of Amun. In accordance with Chapter III.7 and the concept of temporal adjustment, I will include all scenes that relate to Arsinoë's royal position as a high priestess, regardless of their actual date, based on the message communicated in the scene and the religious position that it reflects.¹⁴³⁰

As discussed in the previous section, one of the most important concepts of kingship was embedded in the pharaoh's cultic position as high priest.¹⁴³¹ Traditionally, the queen had a corresponding religious position equally important to the king's, and as high priestess she performed ceremonies associated with music and dance in order to evoke and arouse the main

¹⁴²⁷ See for example Hölbl 2001, 101.

¹⁴²⁸ However, van Oppen 2007, investigates the relations between Greek and Egyptian goddesses with the Ptolemaic queens and incorporates a discussion concerning the Holy Wedding (esp. the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera) and the priestly role of the queens.

¹⁴²⁹ See Chapter III.6, Settings of the scenes. I have concluded in previous sections that scenes dating to Ptolemy II express ancient Egyptian conventions of temporal adjustment, and, in terms of time, incorporate reference of a twofold nature. These scenes relate to more than one time period and describe at least two historical events. Whereas cat. nos. 8 and 15 (L-R) (possibly also cat. no. 9) depict Arsinoë in a benefactor's position exclusively (depicting her as a living queen), cat. nos. 1 and 26 illustrate her as a beneficiary at the same time (illustrating her as a goddess). Thereby, these scenes apply a pictorial concept that was practiced during the time of Ramses II.

¹⁴³⁰ All scenes that place Arsinoë in a dynastic setting are excluded here, since such show her together with her husband-brother as the *theoi Adelphoi*, and as such they are the objects of veneration (beneficiaries) in the ancestor cult. See Chapter III.6, Dynastic scenes.

¹⁴³¹ Brewer & Teeter 2007, 47.

god.¹⁴³² The importance of the Theban high priests during the New Kingdom is well documented in ancient and modern sources.¹⁴³³ The male Theban priests retained their socio-religious power throughout the centuries, encompassing more or less political influence, but they were surpassed by their female equivalents during the latter half of the Third Intermediate Period.¹⁴³⁴ The high priestesses of this period reassumed the royal titles that had been officially introduced during the early New Kingdom, and they associated themselves with a religious position that dates back to Early Dynastic times.¹⁴³⁵ They referred to themselves with official designations that expressed their position of piety, including the most recognised titles “God’s wife”, “God’s Hand”, and “Divine Adoratrice”. Additional applied designations incorporate “Daughter of Amun”, “God’s Daughter”, “Daughter of Ra”, combined with a spectrum of optional structural combinations referring to an association/assimilation with the goddess Tefnut (as a Hathoric aspect), all of which expressed kinship with the solar deity Ra.¹⁴³⁶

Divine Adoratrices also occupied a political position as representatives of royal power in case of the king’s absence.¹⁴³⁷ In such respect, I consider the Divine Adoratrice as a female co-regent. When the male pharaoh performed his duties as a war lord, defending the boundaries of Egypt and, therefore, being absent from internal affairs, the female pharaoh was in command.¹⁴³⁸ Consequently, it is not surprising to find reference to the Divine Adoratrices as also practicing a political and financial authority.¹⁴³⁹

The queenly role as a priestess has been investigated and properly summarised by L. Troy in her thesis concerning patterns of queenship.¹⁴⁴⁰ The fundamentals include an identification with the goddess Hathor: the queen usurps the position as the goddess’ earthly manifestation.¹⁴⁴¹ Such assimilation is, for example, represented in images of queens shaking Hathor’s sistrum. The sistrum was used together with other sacred instruments as well as with singing and dancing, in order to honour the goddess during religious ceremonies. Therefore, I regard the shaking of a sistrum to express an active position, a benefactor’s role, indicating a person who is alive.¹⁴⁴² In the material, Arsinoë is depicted shaking the sistrum/sistra in two main scenes, incorporating three individual figures.¹⁴⁴³ The sistra documented in cat. nos. 9 and 15 provide the evidence acquired in order to identify Arsinoë as a living high priestess in terms of time. The ceremonial shaking of the sistrum was one of the most important tasks of a high priestess, but records show that even priestesses of a lower rank did so: it was not limited to the main queen.¹⁴⁴⁴ The sistrum alone does not necessarily indicate Arsinoë’s official position as the high priestess (and God’s wife) as it was used also by priestesses of lower rank.

¹⁴³² Blackman 1921, 20, incorporates all high priestesses, and not just the Divine Adoratrices. As noted in Chapter III.4, the sistrum was also used to keep evil spirits away, including the darker side of the deity. Consequently, the priestess acted as a female magician.

¹⁴³³ See Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon.

¹⁴³⁴ See Dodson 2002, 179 with n. 1. Compare Assmann 2003, 296-300.

¹⁴³⁵ See Blackman 1921, *passim*.

¹⁴³⁶ For the official designations of the high priestesses of Amon, see Sander-Hansen 1940, *passim*, esp. 21-23.

¹⁴³⁷ Sander-Hansen 1940, 24.

¹⁴³⁸ See above, for my discussion in regard to cat. no. 2.

¹⁴³⁹ See Sander-Hansen 1940, 28.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Troy 1986. Prior to Troy, see Blackman 1921 and Sander-Hansen 1940.

¹⁴⁴¹ Troy 1986, 53.

¹⁴⁴² Blackman 1921, 20; Troy 1986, 86f.; see Chapter III.4.

¹⁴⁴³ Cat. nos. 9, 15L-R. See also cat. no. 142 which illustrates Cleopatra as an active benefactor performing the holy ritual of shaking the sistra.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Blackman 1921, 8f., 22f.

Whereas the sistrum was an item connected with priestesses in general, the double feather plume (occasionally accompanied by cow horns and a solar disc) was an attribute of a cultic nature exclusive to the high priestess (queens and goddesses).¹⁴⁴⁵ As noted, the feathers symbolise the dualism of Egyptian religious conventions, including an association with the eyes of Horus/Ra, the divine siblings Shu and Tefnut, masculinity and femininity: all reflecting the concepts of androgyny.¹⁴⁴⁶ As established, the double feather plume was an essential element in the crown of Arsinoë and its symbolism will be discussed further below.

Previous high priestesses, especially the Divine Adoratrices during the Late Period, were referred to as manifestations of Tefnut.¹⁴⁴⁷ B. Lesko suggests that such an association was based on the queen's royal legacy as pharaoh's daughter, comparable to Tefnut's divine kinship with the King of the gods.¹⁴⁴⁸ In the material, cat. nos. 2-4, and 26 associate/identifies Arsinoë with Tefnut. Cat. no. 2L is interpreted in Chapter III.7 as describing Arsinoë as the daughter of Atum and Hathor: I identify the latter in her sexual aspect as the Hand of God. Based on such figural arrangement, Arsinoë is identified with Tefnut (and Ptolemy II manifests Shu).¹⁴⁴⁹ In Chapter III I interpret cat. no. 3 as depicting Arsinoë in an illustrative correspondence with Shu based on the application of pictorially comparable details, consequently identifying her with Tefnut.¹⁴⁵⁰ The material documents a symbolic association between the couples Arsinoë – Ptolemy and Shu – Tefnut in cat. no. 4, based on the arrangement of figures as presented in Chapter III.6. The stela refers to an official ceremony, in which the royal deceased and deified ancestors support the ruling couple.¹⁴⁵¹ Arsinoë's Throne name, as listed in cat. nos. 2(L-R), 12 and possibly 14, designate her as “She who is in (/united with) the heart of Shu”. The name of Tefnut is obviously not included, but such an identification is evident since she was his sister and wife.¹⁴⁵² Arsinoë's association with Tefnut is made evident in the reliefs.

An identification of a high priestess with the Hathoric Tefnut reflects another theological complexity, since she is simultaneously described in her maternal role, as God's Hand, together with Atum (or the main god) creating Tefnut (thus, herself). The amalgamation of

¹⁴⁴⁵ Blackman 1921, 28f.; Troy 1986, II.6.3.1. The symbolism of the plume is approached in Chapters III.3 and III.4.

¹⁴⁴⁶ For the concepts of androgyny, see above and Troy 1986, *passim*.

¹⁴⁴⁷ See for example Troy 1986, A1/28; Blackman 1921, 29; Pereyra de Fianza 2003, 362.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Lesko 999, 150. Lesko, similar to other scholars, mentions the association between the Divine Adoratrices of the Late Period with Mut. The material places Arsinoë in connection with Mut, but it never identifies the two with each other.

¹⁴⁴⁹ My identification of Arsinoë with a Hathoric Tefnut in cat. no. 2L is demonstrated esp. in Chapter III.7.

¹⁴⁵⁰ See for example Chapters III.5 and III.7.

¹⁴⁵¹ Also, as mentioned above, the now lost relief in Masara illustrates Arsinoë in an association with Tefnut. see above, and Howard-Vise & Perring 1842.

¹⁴⁵² Related to the topic is also Arsinoë's designation in cat. no. 26 (L-R), “Mistress of Eternity, Lady of the Solar disc (/Mistress of all that the sun disc encircles)”. Prior to Arsinoë, this epithet described only three queens: Amenirdis I, Shepenwepet II and Ankhnesneferibre, all having been ritually initiated in order to become God's wives of Amon, Divine Adoratrices. I have documented this title of Shepenwepet II in Medinet Habu, which Troy overlooks. Chapter III quoted ancient records that describe the initiation of God's wives of Amon in Karnak. An initiation text describes how priestly attributes were placed on a queen as she was appointed Mistress of eternity, Lady of the solar disc, and the finishing line in the text identifies the initiated high priestess as a direct descendant from Tefnut. Describing Arsinoë with an identical title, the geographic location of cat. no. 26 in Karnak must be considered, as it is separated from the Osirian Chapel of Amenirdis by only a few meters. I do not believe that it was pure coincident that Arsinoë is described with a title indistinguishable from some of the most important Divine Adoratrices, one of whom is located nearby. For the title see Troy 1986, D1/10. Compare Blackman 1921, 28f.

these two aspects, the mother and daughter, forms the religious platform for the complex concepts of a God's wife.¹⁴⁵³ An identification of the high priestess with Tefnut demonstrates the Hathoric mother-wife-daughter complex manifested in royal women, and which has been mentioned in various previous (analytical) sections.

Due to the complexity of divine kinship, and the identification with Tefnut, it is not surprising to find direct reference to God's wives as divine daughters, principally daughters of Amun, again emphasising a kinship based on the solar cult.¹⁴⁵⁴ "Daughter of Amun", as noted above, was one of Arsinoë's most common official designations during her lifetime and immediately following her death, but none of the later reliefs describe her with such a title.¹⁴⁵⁵ Chapter III.8 provides additional designations that identify Arsinoë as a Hathoric manifestation and God's wife: this is foremost indicated by "Beloved of the ram" and "Beloved of all the gods". The material also reveals indirect associations with the position of Arsinoë as God's wife. In cat. no. 1, for example, Arsinoë is addressed as "She who fills the palace with her beauty", "Sweet of love" (cat. nos. 1M, 2M, 28, 31-32) and "Great of Sweetness" (cat. no. 8).¹⁴⁵⁶ Cat. no. 1 moreover designates Arsinoë as "She who belongs to the Lord"; a title that I interpret as placing her as the wife of Banebdjedet rather than a more traditional approach that associates her with Ptolemy II.¹⁴⁵⁷

As noted in Chapter III.8 Arsinoë's titles are documented in connection with the ceremonies of the Holy Wedding, and are believed to symbolise the erotic female scent, the euphemism, arousing the god. The ceremonial Holy Wedding between the god and his earthly wife culminated in the birth of the royal heir, thus the incarnated divine soul. The Mendes stela describes the reincarnated soul of the ram, commemorating this event in image and text alike. However, cat. no. 1 also refers to the incarnated soul of Arsinoë, and based on her identification with Banebdjedet, the stela also signifies their matrimonial unification.

¹⁴⁵³ These were regarded as Amon's daughters, while at the same time being his wives in order to bring forward a legitimate heir to the royal throne. See Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Pereyra de Fianza 2003, 361.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Corresponding with Chapter III.6, Dynastic scenes, this shows that the later Ptolemies venerated their female ancestor in accordance with other cultic aspects.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Troy 1986, A1/12-18, compare A1/19; compare Frankfort 1978, 105; Schwarz-Bart 2001, 44f. Prior to Arsinoë, Hatshepsut, Tawosret, Amenirdis I, Shepenwepet II and Ankhnesneferibre were described with identical or similar titles. See Troy 1986, A1/5, A2/1, A2/4, A2/7, A4/5, A4/11. Textually, Arsinoë's designations can be compared with the most eminent God's wives, including Hatshepsut, Tawosret, Amenirdis I, Shepenwepet II, Nitocris I, and Ankhnesneferibre. The titles of Arsinoë listed in the current study, together with designations outside the material, can be compared with titles of the above mentioned high priestesses listed by Troy. A brief comparison shows that Arsinoë shared 16 titles with Hatshepsut (corresponding to Troy's list: A1/12 (Troy excludes Hatshepsut from this title, but it is documented elsewhere according to Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon), A1/19, A2/7, A2/16, B2/25 (= God's wife, which I incorporate based on the text in the Chicago statue-base), B3/9, B4/11, C2/2, C2/5-6, C3/1, C4/1, C4/14, D1/4, D2/1, D2/13); eight with Tawosret (Troy A1/11, A2/1, B2/25, B3/10, C2/5, D1/4, D2/1, D2/13); 18 with Amenirdis I (Troy: A1/1, A1/13, A1/16, A2/1, A2/7, A2/16, A4/5, B2/25, B2/29, B3/9-10, B4/10, C3/1, C4/1, D1/4, D1/10, D2/1, D2/13); 11 with Shepenwepet II (Troy: A1/5, A1/15, A2/1, A2/4, B2/25, B3/10, B4/11, C4/1, D1/4, D2/1, D2/13); seven with Nitocris I (Troy: A1/14, B2/25, B2/29, B2/37, C3/1, C4/1, C4/7); 16 with Ankhnesneferibre (Troy: A1/7, A1/8, A1/9, A2/1, A2/16, B2/25, B2/25, B2/37, B3/10, B4/10-11, C4/8, D1/10, D2/1, D2/3, D2/15). To a Greek audience, the Holy Wedding between a queen/high priestess and a god was compared with the *hieros gamos* between Zeus and Hera. When Ptolemy II and Arsinoë performed their official duties as a high priest and high priestess, they simultaneously fulfilled the ceremonial coming together of the divine force in the Holy Wedding. This is recorded for the Greek population in the words of Theocritus' *Idyll XVII*, comparing the marriage of the royal couple with the Greek Olympian sibling couple. Similarly, Arsinoë supported the cult of Adonis and Aphrodite, and compared her mother with the Greek goddess of love. See Theoc. *Id.* 15; 17; van Oppen 2007, II, *passim*.

¹⁴⁵⁷ See Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon.

In addition to the reliefs, I find the most important support for the argument in a hieroglyphic text written on the above mentioned statue-base.¹⁴⁵⁸ Arsinoë's initial three epithets reads "Great Bat, Daughter of Amun, God's wife...", thus, identifying her with the primeval Hathoric goddess Bat, possibly the most powerful mother-goddess in the Egyptian pantheon, and combines it with the Hathoric positions as daughter and wife. The text evidently provides evidence of a continuation of the office of Amun's high priestess, otherwise recognised as Divine Adoratrice, God's Hand, and God's wife (of Amun).

Royal adoptions – the continuation of the religious office

The office of high priestess was continued through a series of royal female adoptions, especially during the Late Period.¹⁴⁵⁹ The adopted descendant claimed her socio-religious position through an assumed divine lineage. In my opinion, Arsinoë's title "Daughter of Amun", as it is presented in cat. nos. 24-25, located on the Gate of Euergetes, may connect with such a continuation of the religious office. These two are the only scenes that postdate Ptolemy II: dating to the reign of Ptolemy III, they are related to the gate's general coronation theme.¹⁴⁶⁰ Concurring with Ptolemy III's declaration of decent in cat. no. 24, Berenice II claims her divine ancestry from Arsinoë in a nearby scene.¹⁴⁶¹ Neither Arsinoë nor Ptolemy II was the biological parent of Berenice, but she retained conventional references of a direct dynastic lineage on the same level as with Ptolemy III. Her claim as Arsinoë's heir indicates that Berenice II regarded herself the political heir of the Ptolemaic dynasty, but I argue that it also shows that she declared herself the religious successor of Arsinoë in her role of high priestess. In my opinion, Arsinoë's title in cat. nos. 24-25, "Daughter of Amun", which otherwise belongs to a living queen, indicates an intentional statement about a continuation of the religious position of high priestess, which was transferred from Arsinoë to Berenice II through the adoption.¹⁴⁶² In line with the successive order of the Divine Adoratrices, I suggest that Arsinoë's adoption of Ptolemy II's children, including Ptolemy III's spouse, was made based on equal credentials, automatically placing Berenice II as a subsequent God's wife. Identifying such a religious (dynastic) adoption furthermore supports my interpretation of cat. no. 25: I identify the right couple as Ptolemy III and Berenice II (rather than Ptolemy I and Berenice I), in terms of time correlating with their individual deification (coronation?) as the *theoi Euergetai*.

¹⁴⁵⁸ See above and Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon.

¹⁴⁵⁹ See for example Dodson 2002.

¹⁴⁶⁰ This is a personal interpretation of the theme of the gate in accordance with Chapter III.6, Dynastic scenes, and Chapter III.8, *theoi Adelphoi*.

¹⁴⁶¹ See Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon.

¹⁴⁶² Possibly, Greek sources could also reflect the continuation of the office of high priestess from Arsinoë to Berenice II. For example, Callimachus describes how Berenice II went to the Temple of Arsinoë (Aphrodite) Zephyritis, where she dedicated a lock of hair for the safe return of her husband. The direct identification of Hathor as Aphrodite has been generally accepted by scholars, and the assimilation of Arsinoë and Aphrodite can, therefore, be approached as an indication of Arsinoë's role as an earthly manifestation of the goddess. In her role as the high priestess Berenice reconnected with her deceased Ancestor for support and guidance, See Callim. *Com. Ber.* (= F. 110), lines 57-58; Catull. 66, 57-58. Compare the discussion in van Oppen 2007, II, *passim*. Arsinoë's connection with her adopted children is revealed also in cat. no. 1, when it is stated that statues of the royal children were carried in the procession when honoring Arsinoë after her death. This is a textual reference, but regardless of which, I argue that it is possible to compare this statement with the high priestess/queen's maternal role expressed in the title "She of the carrying-chair". The chair was associated also with the Sed festival, which has been mentioned many times in Chapter III. For more information concerning the high priestess' religious position as "She of the carrying-chair", see Troy 1986, II.3.2.1.

THE GODDESS

Arsinoë's role as a goddess has been a common topic of discussion during the last centuries, and has received much scholarly attention. Her divine aspect is generally acknowledged in accordance with the divinity of conventional Egyptian kingship, but the conclusions and interpretations differ in terms of the date of deification.¹⁴⁶³ Chapter I.4 has already presented the various cultic roles of Arsinoë: she was placed in the official Alexandrian eponymous cult together with Ptolemy II, as the *theoi Adelphoi*, and individually as *thea Philadelphos*,¹⁴⁶⁴ and in the Egyptian forum according to the ancient principles of royal cult with a main centre in Memphis side by side with Ptah, and as the divine ancestor and founder of the dynasty (together with Ptolemy II as the divine siblings – *ntrw snw*). The present section will discuss Arsinoë's divinity in more detail in agreement with the material.¹⁴⁶⁵

Two main individual cults are revealed in the material, excluding the ruler cult of the living Pharaoh Arsinoë (a religious position which is based on her active role as a benefactor)¹⁴⁶⁶ – the individual cult of Arsinoë Philadelphos, and the ancestor cult of the *theoi Adelphoi*. Chapter III.6 has already dealt with the ancestor cult (Dynastic scenes) and this section will, therefore, concentrate on the individual cult of Arsinoë as it is represented in cat. nos. 1-2, 5-7, 10-11, 13-14, 23, 26-33. All these scenes date to the reign of Ptolemy II and depict the king in a figurative position of active veneration.¹⁴⁶⁷

Scenes that show Arsinoë as being venerated as an individual goddess have been used by modern scholars as an argument for determining her divinity and cult as posthumous: in accordance with Chapter III, I primarily agree. However, I argue also for a date that falls within Arsinoë's lifetime, based on her physical position as an active benefactor, which has been concluded above as relating to the ruler cult of a living monarch. First and foremost, I use cat. no. 26 as an argument against the mainstream conclusion, as it portrays Arsinoë as a benefactor (26L) at the same time as a deified queen (26L-R). Cat. no. 26 is provided with a twofold date that corresponds firstly to the time when the artistic work was begun, and secondly the period when it was interrupted. Arsinoë is illustrated as a living queen, who performs religious duties placed upon her according to Egyptian principles, while at the same time being venerated as a goddess among the local deities. Arsinoë's twofold figural setting followed a scene of Ramses II that dates to his lifetime: based on such similarity and the overall figural arrangement, cat. no. 26 disagrees with the generally accepted conclusion of an

¹⁴⁶³ The ancient Egyptians believed that the royal soul, the *k3*, carried and represented divine kingship, and that each pharaoh was its possessor from the time of coronation. The royal soul was considered as anchored in divine primeval times, in the main solar force (Ra/Atum/Amon). Most modern scholars agree in the divine aspect of kingship, but their perspectives of royal divinity are separated. The most accepted opinion is that a king had a divine lineage bestowed upon him on the day of his coronation, that he was a living incarnation or manifestation of divine kingship (=Horus), but that he himself did not become a complete deity until the day he died. For the royal soul, see Assmann 2001, 119; Morkot 2005, 156. Compare the *ba*, above. For a discussion on the dating, see Cadel 1998.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Compare Quaegebeur 1988, 41, also including the private cult of Arsinoë. The material does not correlate with the private cult due to the artistic medium. Also, the private cult of the queen seems to have been more of a Greek nature, which, again, underlines why it is excluded from the present discussion.

¹⁴⁶⁵ The Alexandrian cult is evidently excluded based on the Egyptian character of the material, but it is approached as a topic of comparison.

¹⁴⁶⁶ See above, Chapter III.7.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Cat. nos. 3-4, 16-22, 24, 34-35 pair Arsinoë with her husband-brother in scenes that express dynastic propaganda. These date to the reigns of Ptolemaic successors, from Ptolemy III to Ptolemy VIII, and illustrate the couple as beneficiaries, or as in cat. no. 20, as inactive spectators participating in official ceremonies providing Ptolemy IV with his Throne name.

exclusively posthumous veneration of Arsinoë.¹⁴⁶⁸ In accordance with her divinity, cat. no. 26 depicts Arsinoë as a daughter of Amun: the left half identifies her as the daughter role of Amun and Mut, whereas the right emphasises her kinship with Khonsu, interpreted here as her brother. Arsinoë's designations accentuate her divine position, and as mentioned in Chapter III.8, placing her as a God's wife of Amun, thus incorporating another step of the Hathoric daughter-wife-mother concept.¹⁴⁶⁹

The Mendes stela describes Arsinoë's physical death and the transformation of her royal soul during the traditional Egyptian ceremony of opening the mouth – it explains her *apotheosis* and how this followed ancient Egyptian conventions. I associate the words that are spoken by the back figure of Ptolemy II with this event, as he says “I unite your limbs and put together your body in the chapel of Tenenet”. Such proclamation is traditionally identified with words spoken by Isis and Nephthys (connected with the Osirian myth) rather than a royal person. However, the arrangement of figures and the textual records demonstrate a theme of rejuvenation and incarnation, thereby adapting the words for an alternative theme, one I identify as aimed at Arsinoë. Once accomplished, her soul was free to join the primeval celestial soul who had originally created her.¹⁴⁷⁰ Previous scholars have identified the incarnated soul (that makes the main theme of the stela) with the *ba* of the ram, equally supported here, but in addition to this, I relate it to Arsinoë's reincarnated soul in agreement with the main text as it states: “In the year 15, of the month Pachons (2nd month of the summer) this goddess ascended to the sky, where she/her soul was unified with their souls [those who created her beauty]. After the four days ritual of the Opening of the mouth ceremony, this goddess ascended as a soul. They sang for her in the city of Anpet and they celebrated her (funerary) festival, and they released her soul to live close to the living Ba, who became the support (strength) for her, and for all the gods and goddesses from the primeval times until today”.¹⁴⁷¹ Following her deification, Ptolemy instructed the priests to place images of Arsinoë in all Egyptian temples, an event that the priests rejoiced because of her admirable way towards the Egyptian people.¹⁴⁷²

¹⁴⁶⁸ See Chapters III.7-8; Quaegebeur 1988, 43 compares the scene of Ramses with the Mendes stela.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Any given pharaoh was placed on the throne in order to uphold divine justice, Ma'at, and to keep Egypt safe from her enemies. He was considered as an earthly manifestation of Horus, just as the queen held the incarnated soul of Hathor. Already, I have agreed with the current scholarly interpretation of a pharaoh's divinity being incomplete until his time of death. However, he claimed his divine legacy and was regarded a true heir of the primeval solar force; he was the son of Ra, and stood in a cultural position much higher than any other living being in his contemporary society. Inscriptions and illustrations throughout Egypt demonstrate the divine kinship of the ruling pharaoh, and his socio-religious aspect as God's son is undeniable. The material reveals that Arsinoë received an official cultural position equivalent to a pharaoh's, and I interpret her socio-political role as King of Lower Egypt, Ptolemy II's co-regent: Arsinoë was considered divine already during her lifetime based on her hierarchic position as a pharaoh.

¹⁴⁷⁰ A similar description of Arsinoë's death, funerary ceremonies, and return to the primeval divine soul is found in the Alexandrian triad (see above). Similar to the Mendes stela, the text of the sculpture firstly portrays Arsinoë as a living and ruling queen. The same passage describes a festival celebrated in her honour, most probably referring to the public Arsinoeia. Since I interpret the passage as referring to Arsinoë's lifetime, in my opinion, the Arsinoeia was celebrated while the queen was still alive. In a second textual passage, located on the side of the statue, Amon states to Arsinoë that he makes her into a goddess among the already existing deities, as he blows eternal life through her nostrils to rejuvenate her body. See Sauneron 1960; Quaegebeur 1988, 43f.

¹⁴⁷¹ For the translated text that is relevant in regard to Arsinoë, see Catalogue Description, cat. no. 1. For my identification of Banebdjedet as Arsinoë's Horus name and embodiment, see Chapter III.8.

¹⁴⁷² See Catalogue Description, cat. no. 1, translation of the main text: “His majesty instructed (ordered) that her image was as placed in all the gods houses (i.e., temples). It was beautiful on the heart (i.e., pleased) of the priests that she had been recognised as divine [based on her excellent way towards all the people] and would be with all the deities”.

The reliefs place Arsinoë primarily as a goddess in a daughter aspect. Pictorially and textually, she is identified as the daughter of Amun in all his local forms and variations (Banebdjedet, Amun-Min, etc.).¹⁴⁷³ Maternal figures are less accentuated, possibly based on the amount of goddesses that were associated with Amun (Hat-Mehit, Hathor, Isis, Mut, etc.). The pictorial variation of mother-goddesses, however, shows that the concept itself is more important than a specific identification by name. This supports my interpretation of Egyptian polytheism as presented in Chapter III.9, which suggests that all goddesses originated in a primeval female solar force, Hathor, and the gods in a male equivalent, Ra. Thus, Arsinoë's daughter role automatically places her as the daughter of Ra and Hathor.¹⁴⁷⁴

In a few scenes, Arsinoë's kinship with Amun is not directly (physically) emphasised, but is instead based on her associated figures. An example of such a scene, cat. no. 23 describes Arsinoë textually as daughter of Amun, but her divine father is not physically depicted: it illustrates Ptolemy II presenting offerings to Khonsu and Arsinoë. Based on Arsinoë's title and the established character of Khonsu (as the son of Amun), the figurative arrangement in cat. no. 23 suggestively identifies them as siblings, thus the children of Amun (and Mut), combined with an iconographic adjustment emphasising Ptolemy II's divine kinship.¹⁴⁷⁵

A majority of the Philae-scenes, cat. nos. 27-29, 31-32, designate Arsinoë as Amun's daughter, whereas pictorially associating her with Isis (Nephthys in cat. no. 28): thus, the theme demonstrates a divine daughter role of Arsinoë, which accentuates her mother pictorially and her father textually. The emphasised maternal role of Isis naturally agrees with the main theme of the temple.

As an example of the complexity of Egyptian religion, cat. no. 11 portrays Ptolemy II¹⁴⁷⁶ as an active benefactor, presenting offerings to Harsomtus, Horus, Hathor, Sarapis and Arsinoë. This scene has a unique pictorial value, providing, so I argue, an identification of not only a divine triad, but also a complex contextual organisation that places Arsinoë in a complete Hathoric character. The kinship between Horus, Hathor and Harsomtus is generally accepted, such as it is recorded (especially) in Chapter III.9. However, the combination of Sarapis and Arsinoë is of greater interest in terms of the current topic of discussion. I bring to mind Arsinoë's maternal association with Apis as mentioned in cat. nos. 12 and 26 ("Mother of Hep").¹⁴⁷⁷ Sarapis is generally acknowledged as an amalgamated Hellenistic form of primarily Apis, Osiris and Zeus, including aspects of Amun, Ra and Asclepius. In the scene, I interpret Sarapis as assuming a position as Arsinoë's divine spouse, suggestively connected

¹⁴⁷³ I use cat. no. 6 as an example of a different male character. Based on their bad state of preservation, I have not been able to establish an absolute identity of the deities that accompany Arsinoë in cat. no. 6. However, based on the poorly visible textual records combined with the figurative outlines, I suggest an identification with Horus and Hathor. The combination of these two deities primarily communicates a message of divine dynastic power, the divine king and queen, but their matrimonial relationship is not to be suppressed: Horus represented a ruling solar king and his sexual unification with Hathor secured the continuation of the monarchy and the royal heir. Based on such union, I interpret Arsinoë's association with Horus and Hathor as a divine daughter ensuring the Ptolemies a dynastic continuance. Cat. no. 6 demonstrates that a father-figure (as contrasting Amon) occasionally shows different divine aspects, but retains the fundamental principles and family-orientated value behind the concept.

¹⁴⁷⁴ The fuse between Ra and Amon is generally acknowledged, regardless of an actual textual combination as Amon-Ra. Similarly, Atum, who is described as Arsinoë's divine father in cat. no. 2, represents an aspect of the solar cycle, again originating in the main solar force.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Chapter III.6.

¹⁴⁷⁶ It is my personal interpretation to identify the benefactor as Ptolemy II. Previous scholars have suggested Ptolemy III instead. See Chapter III.7, and the main catalogue for further reference.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Hep = Apis.

with Arsinoë's religious role as a high priestess during her lifetime. In addition to the matrimonial role, I interpret Arsinoë's position as a divine daughter: she is linked with Sarapis and with the dynastic triad in order to emphasise the continuation of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Her connection with Apis (thus, Sarapis) is maternal, consequently resulting in a tripartite identity of Arsinoë, reflecting all three Hathoric roles (wife, daughter and mother). Moreover, cat. no. 11 stresses the royal kinship between Ptolemy II and Arsinoë, above all in Arsinoë's royal designations, placing her husband-brother in a divine association with all depicted deities. The roles of Arsinoë mirror those of Ptolemy, and the three Hathoric modes describe Arsinoë's dynastic associations, thus, as a king's mother, king's spouse, and king's daughter.¹⁴⁷⁸ Based on such complex pictorial and textual records, cat. no. 11 communicates a message similar to cat. no. 2, with a fundamental association with the primeval solar deity, here represented by Sarapis.

To summarise, I interpret and conclude Arsinoë's divine position as reflecting an individually venerated goddess equivalent to Hathor's daughter role, the eye of Ra. She received a divine status equal to the majority of the traditional Egyptian deities, and was as a consequence associated with many of them.¹⁴⁷⁹ She was considered a child of the main solar forces, the result of a unification of male and female, of the primeval mother and father. In my opinion, Arsinoë's daughter role reflected her divine responsibility of securing a continuation of the dynasty, which accentuates her (symbolic) adoption of Berenice II as presented above. I interpret the material as showing that Arsinoë was accepted in the Egyptian pantheon based on qualifications and fundamentals equal to previous pharaohs, and based on her religious position during her lifetime. She was a royal woman who respected and acknowledged the ancient traditions of a conventional Egyptian society, and her complete deification was accepted (partially) based on her position as God's wife.

CHAPTER IV.3

THE CROWN OF ARSINOË AS A SYMBOL OF AUTHORITY

The two previous sections have established Arsinoë's socio-political positions as King of Lower Egypt, as high priestess – God's wife of Amun, and as a goddess both during and after her lifetime. The present section places these aspects in relation to the crown of Arsinoë based on an iconological interpretation.

THE CROWN OF ARSINOË AS A SYMBOL OF KINGSHIP

Arsinoë's socio-political role as king has been discussed above based on the fundamental conventions of kingship, incorporating the pictorial representation in royal attributes, and the textual description in official royal designations. These come together here as they are

¹⁴⁷⁸ See Arsinoë's hieroglyphic title "King's daughter, sister and wife" in Chapter III.8.

¹⁴⁷⁹ For example, Arsinoë is recorded in association with Ptah, Montu, Ra, Thoth, Amon-Ra, Horus, Seth, Bat, Hathor, Tefnut, Sekhmet, the Merhu bull, Geb, etc. See Quaegebeur 1998, *passim* (a record of documents related to Arsinoë).

embedded in the symbolism of the crown of Arsinoë. I use the five official royal names as a basis for discussion since they represent a tangible concept of kingship.¹⁴⁸⁰ As mentioned above, previous scholars have argued that Arsinoë's royal titles were given to her posthumously as a part of an honorary program instituted by Ptolemy II.¹⁴⁸¹ However, the material under current study has offered a possibility for reassessment, and I have argued for an identification of two, possibly three scenes, that belong to Arsinoë's lifetime. Consequently, all the titles listed below concur with a living queen/female king.

In accordance with Chapter III.8, I identify Arsinoë's epithet "Banebdjedet" (the ram god) with the first and oldest conventional royal title, the Horus name. As a local form of Amun, Banebdjedet is depicted with horns identical to those of Arsinoë, and since both aspects of the ram god are described as Arsinoë's father, I interpret them as being pictorially associated with the ram horns in the crown of Arsinoë. The horns, as analysed in Chapter III.2, symbolise eternal kingship, and are incorporated in crowns that were worn as a reflection of the rejuvenated sun disc, thus, the main solar force and divine King – Ra. Alternatively, the horns were worn by kings in their role of war lords, and signified their responsibilities for protecting Egypt.¹⁴⁸² As a symbol of the divine king and the living pharaoh's responsibility to keep Egypt safe from harm, I interpret the ram horns in the crown of Arsinoë as symbolising her Horus name, her socio-political position as a (living) co-regent of Egypt (King of Lower Egypt), and her general associations with the ram god.¹⁴⁸³

The second royal title, the Nebty name, signifies the Two Ladies, the vulture and cobra, Nekhbet and Wadjet, and their divine protection of the pharaoh.¹⁴⁸⁴ Except for the most obvious pictorial representation as the vulture and cobra in her headdress (cat. nos. 8, 23-24 and the application of the double *uraeus* in sculpture), I associate the double nature of the Nebty name with Arsinoë's double feather plume.¹⁴⁸⁵ I base my interpretation primarily on two plausible Nebty names: "She who received the two forehead *uraei*", alternatively "Lady of the crowns". Both suggested designations are associated with the fundamentals of dualism traditionally expressed by a Nebty title.¹⁴⁸⁶

Thirdly, I identify a Golden Horus name in Arsinoë's title "Beautiful of appearance", and recognise its pictorial counterpart in the solar disc. I interpret Arsinoë's title as relating to the shining element of the Golden Horus which manifested in the crown of Arsinoë as a solar disc positioned within the protecting cow horns.¹⁴⁸⁷ I argue that the cow horns express Arsinoë's protective role in her cultural Hathoric position, relating to the responsibilities of any given pharaoh to protect his or her people from possible enemies.

Arsinoë's Throne name is in general identified with the designation "She who is in the heart of Shu/King, Beloved of all the Gods". However, rather than by the title itself, I argue that the symbolic correlation with the crown of Arsinoë is provided in her coronation prefix "King of

¹⁴⁸⁰ Each one of the five official royal names is listed and analysed in Chapter III.8, above.

¹⁴⁸¹ See Chapter III.8 and IV.1, above.

¹⁴⁸² See Chapter III.2, Ram horns. The *anedjti* crown is primarily worn by ruling pharaohs depicted in scenes expressing a state of war or military victory. See Chapter III.3.

¹⁴⁸³ The subsequent section develops this discussion as it deals with the cultic role of Arsinoë during her lifetime.

¹⁴⁸⁴ See Chapters III.2 and III.9.

¹⁴⁸⁵ For an alternative, but coeval symbolism of the double feather plume, see below.

¹⁴⁸⁶ See Chapter III.2; compare Troy 1986, II.6, esp. p. 115. A few additional titles may correspond to an official Nebty name, including "Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt", which is written with the signs of north and south (cat. nos. 28, 31-32).

¹⁴⁸⁷ See below for a discussion on the connections with the cow horns.

Lower Egypt”. As analysed in Chapter III.2, the geographical area of Lower Egypt is traditionally symbolised by the red crown, which is a fundamental component of the crown of Arsinoë.

All individual details that are incorporated in the crown of Arsinoë have a direct or indirect association with Amun. Therefore, I do not interpret Arsinoë’s Birth name prefix “Daughter of Amun” as associated exclusively with one pictorial unit, but instead with the complete composition. I see Arsinoë’s socio-political role reflected in each part of the crown, and I interpret her cultural position as the King of Egypt – the legitimate daughter of Amun, communicated by the complete structure of the crown. As noted, the crown of Arsinoë is made up of the red crown, ram horns, double feather plume, cow horns and a solar disc: all are individual units that relate to the cult of Amun in one way or another. I conclude that Arsinoë was recognised as a female king in accordance with each official royal title during her lifetime, and that they were all embedded in the complex symbolic structure of her crown, which belongs to her lifetime.¹⁴⁸⁸

THE CROWN OF ARSINOË AS A SYMBOL OF HER RELIGIOUS POSITION AS GOD’S WIFE

Arsinoë’s cultic position as high priestess, a God’s wife, has been established above as an office held by the queen during her lifetime.¹⁴⁸⁹ This position has been documented in the pictorial composition of the reliefs, but the evidence is primarily presented in Arsinoë’s textual designations: these connect with the previous Divine Adoratrices, especially Hatshepsut, Tawosret, Amenirdis I and Ankhnesneferibre, and portray a ruling queen who was initiated in the most sacred religious mysteries of the traditional pharaonic period.

Following the theme of the thesis, I interpret Arsinoë’s religious role as a high priestess reflected both in the individual details and in the overall composition of her crown. In agreement with previous chapters, I wish to add a new perspective to the more general interpretation of the red crown: as it is structurally incorporated in the crown of Arsinoë, I interpret it as expressing Hathoric maternal protection. I interpret the red crown as a mother’s womb or nest, always holding the double feather plume – the children Shu and Tefnut.¹⁴⁹⁰ Based on such an association, I identify the symbolism of the red crown and double feather plume with Arsinoë’s Hathoric role as the eye of Ra, as she was sent out to the primeval darkness in order to light it up and find the two missing children, Shu and Tefnut.

As noted in Chapter III.3, the crown of Arsinoë is divided in two main stylistic types based on the location of the ram horns, placed on top of, or at the base of the red crown. When the ram horns are placed on top of (read: within) the red crown, and are accompanied by the physically attached cow horns and solar disc, the Hathoric maternal symbolism encompasses these items also. The crown of Arsinoë, as a consequence, symbolises the maternal protection of the divine royal soul, based on my association between the ram horns and Banebdjedet.¹⁴⁹¹

¹⁴⁸⁸ Naturally, it belongs also to her posthumous period.

¹⁴⁸⁹ See Chapter III.8, Daughter of Amon, and Chapter IV.2, above. As noted in the previous section, Arsinoë is textually described as the high priestess of Banebdjedet in the Mendes stela, and she is entitled as God’s wife on a sculpture base.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Shu and Tefnut were created in Atum’s act of masturbation, by a hand identified with Hathor See primarily Chapter III.8.

¹⁴⁹¹ For the identification of Banebdjedet with the soul (*Ba*), see above.

It describes, moreover, the Hathoric protection of the primeval light as the source of all life, since I identify Ra with the solar disc. In the overall constellation, Arsinoë's Hathoric assimilation comes full circle, as it expresses the eternally entwined dualistic relation between the fundamentals of nature (androgyny). Based on the association between the red crown and the items placed 'within' it, I interpret the crown of Arsinoë as symbolising Hathor's roles as the mother of Shu and Tefnut and as the wife and female equivalent of Ra-Horus. The third Hathoric aspect (as the daughter) is communicated, I argue, in the *persona* of Arsinoë herself, being the daughter of Amun-Ra: this is textually documented in her individual *nomen* prefix, and describes her as "Daughter of Amun".

In addition to the interpretation given above, this symbolism emphasises also the sexual Hathoric role as God's Hand, since it was in this aspect that she mothered Atum's children.¹⁴⁹² Such an association agrees with the fundamental concept of a high priestess as the wife of God (documented as an individual title "Hand of God"). Thus, the double feather plume corresponds with the dualism of Egyptian religion, and is assimilated primarily with the Hathoric form as Tefnut.

The ram horns agree with the royal identification above, and associate Arsinoë with Banebdjedet. As all other things interconnect, also does this detail as it is related to her title "Daughter of Amun". The cow horns and solar disc reveal a symbolism principally connected with Arsinoë's Hathoric role as a divine wife, the sexual element that sanctions the safety of the divine continuation of the dynastic lineage. In my opinion, the symbolism of the crown of Arsinoë is as anchored in her cultic aspect as it is in her political role as a co-regent of Ptolemy. The two are inseparable and reflect one of the most fundamental principles of the ancient Egyptian belief system, that referring to the universally intertwined concepts: that is, duality.

As an example of such principles, I will briefly consider the marriage of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë. Most scholars identify the cultural background for this marriage with ancient Egyptian traditions of sibling marriage, or as a part of an active propaganda emphasising their divinity. However, I would like to add another aspect of similar cultural value to those mentioned above. Arsinoë spent her initial eight years as the great (firstborn) daughter of the first Ptolemaic couple, most likely being brought up according to the customs of a crown heir.¹⁴⁹³ The possibility that Arsinoë was raised to ascend the throne cannot be disregarded.¹⁴⁹⁴ However, regardless of any intended political positions during childhood, the ancient sources provide evidence to suggest that Arsinoë was involved in the state religion, incorporating the Egyptian *chora*.¹⁴⁹⁵ When she returned to Egypt and became the great wife of the king and, as I have argued, his co-regent, it was expected of her to assume the religious role as high priestess: as Ptolemy was already the high priest. I would like to suggest that their marriage was based (in addition to other things) on the conventional religious concepts of Egyptian kingship, and that their unification symbolised primarily the Holy Wedding between the high priest and the high priestess, being the manifestations of Horus/Ra/Amun and Hathor.¹⁴⁹⁶ According to Egyptian conventions, the couple was considered as earthly

¹⁴⁹² Compare my interpretation with the crown of Atum documented in Chapter III.3.

¹⁴⁹³ For the significance of "great daughter", see Chapter III.8, King's daughter, sister, wife.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Similarly, it is possible that Ptolemy I at one point wished for the siblings to rule Egypt together, comparable to the will of their Ptolemaic descendant generations later (Ptolemy XII regarding Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIII). Caes., *B Civ.* 3, 108.4-6; *B Afr.* 33; Peek 2008, 105.

¹⁴⁹⁵ See Chapter I.4 for an introduction.

¹⁴⁹⁶ For the Holy Wedding, see Chapter III.8 and Chapter IV.2, above.

manifestations of divine rulers, consequently being divine already by royal birth (= throne ascension). The unification of Hathor and Ra is suggested here as being incorporated in the symbolism of the cow horns and the solar disc, both items included in the crown of Arsinoë.

The ceremonial Holy Wedding between the god and his earthly wife culminated in the birth of the crown heir, thus the incarnated divine soul. The Mendes stela describes the reincarnated soul of the ram, commemorating such event in image and text alike. However, cat. no. 1 also refers to the incarnated soul of Arsinoë, and based on her identification with Banebdjedet, the stela also signifies her matrimonial unification with the ram god. Naturally, a direct consequence of the sexual meeting between a god and his earthly wife placed the high priestess as a royal/divine mother.¹⁴⁹⁷ Therefore, Arsinoë as God's wife assumed also the third and final family-oriented Hathoric position.¹⁴⁹⁸

THE CROWN OF ARSINOË AS A SYMBOL OF *THEA PHILADELPHOS*

Evidently, Arsinoë's divine daughter role is closely associated with, if not assimilated into, her socio-political and religious positions during her lifetime. Therefore, I base my iconological interpretation on very similar criteria. I interpret the ram horns as reflecting Arsinoë's identification with the local ram god Banebdjedet, and similarly with Amun from whom she received the divine breath of eternal life.¹⁴⁹⁹ Her daughter role is emphasised in the double feather plume, which according to previous discussion associates her with Tefnut. In addition to her individual role, the double feather plume corresponds also with her relationship to Ptolemy II, as it reflects the divine position of the *theoi Adelphoi*: it commemorates the identification of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë with Shu and Tefnut as the children of Atum, Horus and Hathor as the divine rulers, and was essentially a symbol of a completely conventional Egyptian dualism.

Naturally, the cow horns represents Arsinoë's Hathoric *persona*, here expressing a complete tripartite role as daughter, mother and wife. The solar disc situated within the horns denotes an undeniable kinship with the primeval solar force, from which the divine *Philadelphos* originated. Finally, I argue that the red crown retains its association with Arsinoë's royal position, and correlates her with the divine daughter Wadjet symbolising the power of Lower Egypt. To summarise, each and every element can be related to Arsinoë's distinct cultural roles, as (female) king, high priestess (God's wife), and goddess, and encompasses also her three royal positions, as the King's daughter, sister and wife. Through the royal adoption of Berenice II, she finally became the traditionally powerful King's mother.

¹⁴⁹⁷ See Chapters III.7 and III.9 for Arsinoë's dynastic maternal role. In cat. nos. 16-20, 22, 34-35, Arsinoë is referred to as "Divine mother/mother of the God", as well as "Royal mother/Mother of the king", fundamentally relating to the same divine concept. Arsinoë's Hathoric maternal role is emphasised also in her association with Apis, through her designation "Mother of Hep" (cat. nos. 12 and 26L-R). Pictorially, the religious Hathoric role as "God's mother" is communicated in dynastic scenes that show Arsinoë holding her hands in a protective manner, guarding her dynastic descendants equal to how Hathor protected the pharaoh as a manifestation of Horus (symbolising the entire dynasty).

¹⁴⁹⁸ Troy 1986, 75, C1/9-13.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Cat. no. 1 describes Arsinoë's *apotheosis* and the ceremony of Opening of the Mouth, and the sculptural triad in Alexandria tells how Amun gives Arsinoë eternal breath of divine life.

CHAPTER IV.4 ARSINOË USURPED

-

A DISCUSSION CONCERNING THE FUNCTION OF THE CROWN OF ARSINOË AS A MODEL FOR THE LATER HATHORIC CROWN

So far, Chapter IV has dealt exclusively with the crown of Arsinoë and the various cultural roles that it reflects of its owner. This section will discuss the later Hathoric crown,¹⁵⁰⁰ and its association with socio-political aspects. In order to understand such connections, I will follow a theoretical approach that is equivalent to that in previous sections, and incorporate the main cultural Hathoric aspects she has in common with Arsinoë: the royal position as the wife, the sexual position as the daughter, and the protective position as the mother. As stated in Chapter I, my aim in including such a great number of later Hathoric scenes is to create, as much as possible, a comprehensive collection of later crowns that follow the symbolic make-up of the crown of Arsinoë, and the cultural factors that brought it to life. The later Hathoric crown has never before been catalogued in its entirety, and although I am aware of some missing items, the current material enables a general basis for a comparative study.¹⁵⁰¹

It is generally accepted that any given queen was considered an earthly manifestation of Hathor.¹⁵⁰² The material shows various examples of Arsinoë's connection with Hathor, corresponding equally to her cultural positions as queen and goddess. Although these roles will be summarised here, this section will not focus on traditional concepts of queenship or Hathor's overall divinity: I will approach the material based on an hypothesis of a reversed cultural association, in which Arsinoë's socio-political roles and personal qualities, as reflected in her crown, motivated the creation of a semi-new Hathoric *persona*, symbolised in the later Hathoric crown.¹⁵⁰³ Such a reversed association would consequently result in a complete assimilation of the two (as Arsinoë was considered a goddess), which in time would magnify Hathor's divine position at Arsinoë's expense, as the latter would gradually fall into obscurity and finally be forgotten. However, based on this reversed assimilation, the cultic value of Arsinoë would forever be embedded in Hathor of Dendera when the latter wore the later Hathoric crown.¹⁵⁰⁴

¹⁵⁰⁰ Thus, it incorporates the Dendera crown, the Dendera crown with an additional *atef*, the female Edfu crown and the Edfu crown as they are analysed in Chapters III.3-4.

¹⁵⁰¹ Since I began my work with this thesis, I have returned to the Egyptian temples under study many times. The Temple of Dendera in particular reveals further examples of Hathor of Dendera wearing the later Hathoric crown, foremost presented in small-size reliefs placed in between the main registers. As mentioned in Chapter I, there are also some areas of the temples that have restricted access.

¹⁵⁰² See Chapters III.9-10. In accordance with the concluding summary in Chapter III.9, I argue that all ancient Egyptian goddesses originated in a primeval form of Hathor, similar to how all gods derived from Ra. I regard all goddesses as personifications of individual aspects of Hathor, but do not at any point dismiss their personal importance in the overall Egyptian religious complex.

¹⁵⁰³ See Chapter III.9 for the overall Hathoric aspects.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Compare the religious development of Isis (and Hathor) as it gradually shifts into Virgin Mary. Anyone who is familiar with (Graeco-) Egyptian iconography and mythology can recognise the symbolism communicated by the Christian mother and child, and in terms of cultic value, the message is similar, if not equivalent.

HATHOR-ARSINOË: DIVINE ASSOCIATION AND ASSIMILATED REPRESENTATION

As emphasised above, Hathor followed a reversed cycle of aging which placed her, always in competition with the sun's phases, as a mother in the morning, a wife and ruling queen in the midday, and a daughter in the evening.¹⁵⁰⁵ Each aspect had its individual representation and distinct designations, although all were interconnected and sometimes fully assimilated. The pictorial representation of Hathor of Dendera, when she wears the later Hathoric crown, always shows an adult woman who is independent from other deities in terms of space within the relief. She is primarily the subject of the scenes.¹⁵⁰⁶ The pictorial representation, thus, emphasises Hathor's midday role, the divine wife and female ruler who is equivalent to the male solar force, together with whom she creates full harmony according to the concepts of Ma'at.¹⁵⁰⁷

Hathor's first role in the course of a day was that of the protective mother. The textual material describes Hathor in connection with Harsomtus and Ihy, her two divine sons, which is indicated also by their physical appearance in some of the scenes. Her maternal role has been concluded above as excluding all aspect of a physical care. Her main responsibility was to protect the divine family in general, incorporating also the royal house.

The material depicts Arsinoë in a role equivalent to Hathor's, as the divine mother who protects and secures the continuation of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Pictorially, Arsinoë's maternal role is expressed in her position as the last figure of a scene, raising one hand in front of her in an act of protection. I have noted in Chapter III.4 that all seven scenes that illustrate Arsinoë in this pose have a dynastic theme and describe her as the female equivalent of Ptolemy II, together named the *theoi Adelphoi*: thus, she is placed in a position where she protects the entire dynasty.

Arsinoë was recognised as the dynastic mother of all Ptolemy II's children, including Berenice II as the wife of Ptolemy III.¹⁵⁰⁸ Later Ptolemaic rulers retained this dynastic link and described their female ancestor with titles such as "Royal mother (=king's mother)",¹⁵⁰⁹ "Divine mother",¹⁵¹⁰ and "Divine mother of his mothers".¹⁵¹¹ In accordance with the previous section, this maternal role is reflected in the crown of Arsinoë primarily in the red crown.

The second phase of Hathoric development, that at midday places her in the role of the divine wife and co-regent. This is the most evident aspect in the material and it is always emphasised pictorially. Arsinoë manifested this Hathoric role as soon as she became a queen in accordance

¹⁵⁰⁵ See Chapter III.9.

¹⁵⁰⁶ However, scenes in the Edfu Temple occasionally place her as a companion of Horus, positioned behind him.

¹⁵⁰⁷ See Chapter III.6, The figure of Ma'at, and Chapter III.9.

¹⁵⁰⁸ See Chapter I.4. For the adoption of Ptolemy's children, see Schol. Theocritus XVII.128; Macurdy 1932, 121. Compare the Gate of Euergetes, cat. nos. 24-25 and the discussion about adopting above.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Cat. no. 16.

¹⁵¹⁰ Cat. nos. 17-20, 22, 26 (expressed by the sign of Isis).

¹⁵¹¹ Cat. nos. 34-35. These titles are comparable to the Greek material that describes Arsinoë as "beloved of her children", and compares the relation between Arsinoë and Berenice II with Dione, Aphrodite and Helen. See Callim. *Com. Ber.* 94a. For further reference to the Greek material and its similarities with Egyptian titles, see van Oppen 2007, 330.

with Egyptian traditions.¹⁵¹² Pictorially, this role is emphasised in scenes postdating the second Ptolemaic couple, when Arsinoë is placed with Ptolemy II, together represented as the divine siblings – the *theoi Adelphoi*.¹⁵¹³ Arsinoë’s matrimonial role was not limited to her physical marriage to Ptolemy II, but includes also a cultic aspect as she was unified with Amun (/Banebdjedet) in the Holy Wedding and became his earthly wife – God’s wife.

In addition to her pictorial representation as the divine wife and female ruler, documentation in Chapter III.8 shows that Arsinoë received a great number of traditional Egyptian designations alongside with her individual determiner “Philadelphos” – the brother-loving. Arsinoë’s designation “Daughter of Amun” has been stressed already above, relating the queen to the eye of Ra and the sexual Hathoric aspects. The title corresponds also with the religious position as God’s wife, when the queen acted as an earthly manifestation of Hathor and practiced the sacred knowledge encapsulated in her position as a high priestess.¹⁵¹⁴ Arsinoë’s Throne name, “She who is in the heart of Shu”, places her in a direct cultic position as an earthly manifestation of Tefnut, who was unified in a divine marriage with her brother Shu: this emphasises Arsinoë’s marriage to her sibling Ptolemy II, as he symbolically manifested Shu.¹⁵¹⁵ Her queenly position (as living) is illustrated in three, possibly four scenes standing in a directional position that opposes the deities.¹⁵¹⁶ Textually, this role is emphasised primarily in the epithet “female Ruler (of Egypt)”.¹⁵¹⁷ “King of (Upper and Lower) Egypt” places Arsinoë in a complete manifestation of Horus, relating to the Hathoric title “female Edfu/Horus”.¹⁵¹⁸

The third and last phase of reverse ‘aging’ establishes Hathor as a strong and powerful daughter who is able to protect her aging father just as the sun sets in the horizon.¹⁵¹⁹ Pictorially, this is the most prominently illuminating Hathoric aspect in the scenes with Arsinoë. All scenes that date to Ptolemy II and figurally place Arsinoë in a directional position opposed to (thus facing) her husband-brother show her in a daughter role associated above all with Amun.¹⁵²⁰ Textually this aspect is emphasised in Arsinoë’s title “Daughter of Amun”.

As concluded in Chapter III.9, each individual divine aspect relates to individual details in the later Hathoric crown, emphasising at the same time their combination and their indisputable associations, equivalent to the crown of Arsinoë.

¹⁵¹² See Chapter III.8; Troy 1986, chapter II, *passim*.

¹⁵¹³ See Chapter III.6, Dynastic scenes.

¹⁵¹⁴ See Chapter IV.2, above.

¹⁵¹⁵ My identification of Ptolemy as manifesting Shu is supported by the alternative title in cat. no. 13 (and possibly cat. no. 14), translating “She who is in the heart of the king”. See Chapter III.8. It is well known that Arsinoë and Ptolemy II were likened also to the Greek divine couple Zeus and Hera, and that Arsinoë, individually, supported the cult of Aphrodite and Adonis. For the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera, and the comparison with Arsinoë and Ptolemy, see Theoc. *Id.* 17, 123-134; *P. Lit. Lond.* 60 recto = *P. Petrie* II: 49a (Posidip.); Fraser 1972, I: 668, II: 937 notes 407-410; Tondriau 1948, 19; F. Griffiths 1979, 61; Hopkins 1980, 311; Burton 1995, 149, 152; Cameron 1995, 19; van Oppen 2007, 118f.; for the description of Arsinoë’s celebration of Aphrodite and Adonis, see Theoc. *Id.* 17.

¹⁵¹⁶ See Chapters III.8-9, IV.1.

¹⁵¹⁷ Cat. nos. 27, 31-32.

¹⁵¹⁸ Cat. nos. 53, 75, 90, 95. Compare Arsinoë’s title on the statue base from Koptos (= *Urk.* II, 73; Troy 1986, A5/2, p. 185 (the one who brings peace to the heart of Horus); van Oppen 2007, 121 (Pacifying the heart of Horus): “She who brings peace to the heart of Horus”.

¹⁵¹⁹ See Chapter III.9.

¹⁵²⁰ Except for cat. no. 33, which is the only scene that illustrates Arsinoë as a single beneficiary. The Philae scenes show Arsinoë with Isis as her mother.

As the last pictorial element, composed of the red crown and the white crown, the double crown demonstrates Hathor's position as a female ruler of both Upper and Lower Egypt, which is the main difference in relation to the crown of Arsinoë which is limited to Lower Egypt. Hathor of Dendera in her complete divinity, as the primeval female solar force, as the original goddess, could not wear a crown that excluded her universal role. The material has demonstrated that Hathor was assimilated with Wadjet (hence, the red crown), but also identified with Nephthys, the Lady of the white crown.¹⁵²¹

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND FOR THE CREATION OF THE LATER HATHORIC CROWN

All figures who wear the later Hathoric crown are limited in their location to Upper Egyptian Temples, concentrated primarily in the Temples of Dendera and Edfu: both strongholds for the cult of Horus and Hathor as the divine king and queen. The later Hathoric crown was used exclusively by Hathor of Dendera, primarily in her function as the divine queen and eternal female ruler. According to the material, the male Edfu crown worn by Horus was introduced at the same time, and it correspondingly symbolised Horus' divine kingship and eternal male power.¹⁵²² In my opinion, any study of the material in terms of establishing a cultural background has to include also the male crown of Horus (as a matter of comparison).

Based on the material, I can conclude that the two crowns were created during the reign of Ptolemy IV. Such a conclusion is imperative in order to establish a plausible socio-political background and motives for the creation of a new crown(s). Since the material does not record any evident differentiation in the scenes, later time periods are of less interest: they merely show a continuation of a crown already in existence, similar to the traditional crowns. It is the time of, and the socio-political situation during the introduction that is imperative here. This, of course, can be compared with the crown of Arsinoë, which is analysed from an opposite perspective, embracing the later applications in order to establish an overall understanding of its cultural impacts.

The earliest records of the later Hathoric crown, dating to the reign of Ptolemy IV, are located in two mirror-reflected scenes in the so-called 'mysterious corridor' in the Edfu Temple (cat. nos. 54-55). They are positioned on the outside wall of the inner sanctuary, placed in the very centre at the core of the temple. This corridor is a structural part of the Edfu Temple primarily devoted to Ptolemy IV and Arsinoë III, and their joint claim for dynastic power. I identify the deities in these scenes with Hathor of Dendera, divine wife and co-regent, and Horus of Edfu, the divine husband and king based on their hieroglyphic designations and their individual crowns (the later Hathoric crown and the male Edfu crown). The ruling pharaoh, Ptolemy IV, is thus communicating his wish to connect with the divine ruling couple as he claims his own right to the throne in accordance with ancient Egyptian principles.¹⁵²³ The importance of the placement of these two scenes must be accentuated, combined with their pictorial structure and theme.

¹⁵²¹ See for example Chapter III.1, Vulture cap.

¹⁵²² Compare Derchain-Urtel 1994.

¹⁵²³ For the theme of the scenes, see Chapter III.6, Figurative settings of the scenes; see also the symbolism of incense in Chapter III.6, Incense.

Most contextual scenes depict traditional Egyptian gods and goddesses, with whom the ruler or ruling couple wish to be connected, but two scenes are unique. On the eastern wall, these two scenes describe Ptolemy IV's coronation ceremonies. The middle register illustrates the ruler in a kneeling position in front of the gods, as he accepts the conventional attributes of kingship. This scene incorporates, as the last seated couple, Ptolemy III and Berenice II, together described as the *theoi Euergetai*. Immediately above is a scene listed here as cat. no. 20: it shows Ptolemy IV rising up from the tree of life, receiving his royal name and rulership from Thoth and Seshat, and eternal life from Horus, Hathor, and the *theoi Adelphoi*.

Showing Ptolemy IV's public announcement of dynastic power and declaration of being the true heir in this scene, the most important note to be made in regard to the 'mysterious corridor' is the complete lack of reference to the *theoi Soteres*. Ptolemy IV acknowledged the importance of providing the inhabitants of Egypt with an obvious dynastic lineage back to the founders of the Ptolemaic Empire. Greek records show an advanced and active propagandistic movement, which included a rearrangement of the eponymous cult and the building of a new chthonic cult centre of the Ptolemies and Alexander the Great.¹⁵²⁴ Although Ptolemy I and Berenice I were deified as the *theoi Soteres* already during the shared reign of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë, they were not included in the official Alexandrian eponymous cult until the cultic reorganisation of Ptolemy IV, which seems, however, to be rather different from the native Egyptian cult.¹⁵²⁵

This exclusion of the first Ptolemaic couple in the mysterious corridor has a great symbolic value for understanding the creation of the later Hathoric crown and how it is related to, or rather based on, the uniqueness of the crown of Arsinoë. Previous chapters and sections have revealed a close overall connection between Hathor and Arsinoë, encompassing all the family-oriented facets that make up the mythic *persona* of Hathor of Dendera. Previous sections show that the crown of Arsinoë reflects her cultural positions as a female king, as a high priestess, and as a goddess. All her aspects as they are represented in the material concur with those of Hathor of Dendera. The similarities are not just documented in the unique composition of their crowns, but also in hieroglyphic titles and hierarchic status as they are displayed pictorially. However, why would Hathor of Dendera be in a need of a new crown? It is a question to which can be added another – why her crown would usurp and develop a mortal queen's crown when her traditional Hathoric crown (and the traditional female crown) was already fundamentally accepted. Moreover, what would make Ptolemy IV feel obliged to fuse Hathor and Arsinoë? Let me develop my hypothesis and its relation to the historical background.

Already during his early reign, Ptolemy IV found himself in a situation of civil unrest, possibly initiated by members of the Alexandrian court.¹⁵²⁶ He was one of many Hellenistic rulers who assumed the throne as youngsters: the political instability that soon spread all over the eastern Mediterranean was primarily caused by rivalling adolescents. The native Egyptians had previously greeted Alexander as a saviour, and the first three Ptolemaic generations provided (more or less) safety and political stability for the Egyptians. As an

¹⁵²⁴ For example, see McKenzie 2007, 64-66.

¹⁵²⁵ Berenice II was included in the eponymous cult at the same time in the Alexandrian ruler cult, and her official priestess was positioned before the *canephoros* of Arsinoë. For a comprehensive list of the eponymous priesthood including the *athlophoros* of Berenice and the *canephoros* of Arsinoë, see Clarysse & van der Veken 1983.

¹⁵²⁶ For a general introduction to the political stage during Ptolemy IV, see Hölbl 2001, chapters 4-5. For the royal murders connected with Sosibios during Ptolemy IV's early reign, see Plb. V.34.1; 36.1; XV.25.1f.; Plu. *Cleom.* 33.3.

example of early Ptolemaic religious devotion, the material refers to Ptolemy II's journey to Persia, where he found and subsequently returned to Egypt stolen religious artefacts.¹⁵²⁷ The native Egyptians regarded their foreign rulers as upholders of Ma'at according to the ancient cultural principles. Such a divine Order was maintained until the reign of Ptolemy IV: then, the inhabitants of (primarily) Upper Egypt saw a pharaoh failing in his conventional responsibilities since the country was in a civil unrest. The Two Lands were no longer in balance, Seth was defeating Horus, and Hathor was leaving Ra unprotected as she run out as a wildcat into the Western Desert. Egypt was, as a consequence, divided in north and south, governed by Ptolemy IV in Alexandria and by rebels in Thebes.¹⁵²⁸ Many scholars have associated this massive building program that Ptolemy IV set in action in Upper Egypt, especially distinguished in the Edfu Temple, as a result of the civil war that eventually took place between the native Egyptians and the Macedonian Alexandrians: the general conclusion is that it reflects Ptolemy's attempt to placate the powerful priesthood and gain their political support in times of instability.¹⁵²⁹ Even though Ptolemy IV is not the subject of the thesis, it is evident in the material that he emphasised his royal bloodline, and that he devoted much artistic space of the 'mysterious corridor' to express his divine ancestry as noted above.¹⁵³⁰

The exclusion of the *theoi Soteres* in the dynastic scenes indicates that the Egyptian population (in the *chora*) did not recognise the first Ptolemaic couple as the founders of the dynasty. Such a (native Egyptian) misconception was possibly based on Ptolemy I's initial role as a satrap, combined with the ascension of one temporary official heir (Alexander IV) followed by another (Philip Arridaeus), neither one receiving any proper native Egyptian acknowledgments. Ptolemy I was regarded as a holy ancestor of the family in Alexandria, and was accredited as such together with Berenice I during the reigns of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë, but they were never acknowledged as actual founders of the dynasty. The differentiation in socio-religious politics is noticeable already at the time of their deification: Ptolemy I and Berenice I were deified and incorporated in the chthonic Alexandrian cult, but were never included in the official eponymous cult. The cult of the saviour gods, I argue, remained a more private matter until the reign of Ptolemy IV, and was never accepted officially among native Egyptians.

The reasons for Ptolemy IV to reconnect and emphasise his royal kinship with the *theoi Adelphoi* is a completely different issue. Previous sections demonstrate how the second Ptolemaic couple recognised the importance of cooperating with the native Egyptian priesthood. Their involvement in national and local Egyptian cults and ceremonies communicated a statement of respect and tolerance, but, naturally, also of functioning and intelligent politics on behalf of both parties. Ptolemy II and Arsinoë were acknowledged as the rulers of Egypt according to all ancient standards recorded. In my opinion, the *theoi Adelphoi* were regarded by the native Egyptian population as the true founders of the Ptolemaic dynasty. This, I argue, is the main historical foundation upon which Ptolemy based his decision in creating a new crown for Hathor. Allow me to develop these considerations still further.

¹⁵²⁷ Cat. no. 2, main text.

¹⁵²⁸ Hölbl 2001, 153.

¹⁵²⁹ For example, Manning 2003, 163f.; McKenzie 2007, 125f.; Hölbl 2001, 154.

¹⁵³⁰ The two earliest illustrations of the later Hathoric crown are located among scenes that communicate a clear message of Ptolemaic power, in agreement with the primeval principles of kingship and superiority.

There is little preserved of Ptolemy II's building activity in Egypt.¹⁵³¹ However, based on preserved structures, Arsinoë is included in a majority of his official iconographic records. I have provided the reader with an example from the Temple of Philae, and a scene that is located close to cat. no. 30. This scene is the only example, to my knowledge, that shows Ptolemy II wearing the so-called Ramesside crown, or as suggested, the male alternative to the crown of Arsinoë. The scene is interpreted above, in Chapter III.3, as symbolising Ptolemy II's complete assumption of the Egyptian throne, incorporating after the death of Arsinoë also the regency over Lower Egypt. In my opinion, these two crowns form a symbolic matrix for the (male) Edfu crown and the later Hathoric crown. In agreement with the Sed festival, I interpret the scene in the Temple of Philae as showing Ptolemy II's ultimate respect towards his former sister-wife, as he dressed himself in a crown equivalent to her established attribute. In my opinion, Arsinoë's socio-political role during her lifetime formed a valid background for such a statement.

As I have stated and concluded in various sections above, I interpret the material as showing Arsinoë actively involved in native Egyptian cult and its practices during her lifetime. When Arsinoë returned to Egypt and became the great wife of the ruling pharaoh, Egypt witnessed increased cultural activity of a native nature. The material demonstrates that Arsinoë supported national and local Egyptian cults equally, indicated primarily in cat. nos. 1, 5 and 26, describing her as high priestess of Banebdjedet in Mendes and as Amun's daughter-wife in Karnak. At the same time, she supported official Hellenic cults in Alexandria based on similar religious themes. The material shows that Arsinoë was accepted as a female ruler: she would have celebrated the conventional coronation ceremonies at the time she received her official Throne name. As a female pharaoh, she was regarded as an earthly manifestation of Hathor, and her deification was accomplished from the time of coronation, similar to Ptolemy II's. The native Egyptian population would not oppose or find it inappropriate when the second Ptolemaic couple officially declared themselves divine before the Alexandrians: it would follow Egyptian conventions of rulership. Moreover, Arsinoë's acknowledged cultural position as a high priestess, again identifying her as an earthly manifestation of Hathor, agreed with the active promotion of Arsinoë as Aphrodite Zephyritis.¹⁵³²

In my opinion, all cultural events that were associated with Arsinoë were reflected in Alexandria and the *chora* equally, incorporating her coronation, assumption of the office as high priestess, individual deification, and shared deification. The material reveals a queen who was entitled the rulership of Lower Egypt, and who acknowledged and respected the ancient traditions of Egypt in a most deliberate diplomacy. While Ptolemy II kept Egypt safe from its enemies in his political role as royal war lord, Arsinoë upheld the concepts of Ma'at within the country, laying the cultural foundation of a more active socio-religious involvement in native affairs similar to how the Divine Adoratrices did generations previously.

In my opinion, Ptolemy II initiated an extensive building program similar to Ptolemy IV's, but that this earlier activity was based on Arsinoë's active cultural involvement, which I interpret as a result of her own accomplishments, in agreement with her association with Ptolemy and the powerful priesthood.¹⁵³³ In accordance with the pictorial associations, I identify an association between the creation of the later Hathoric crown and the political

¹⁵³¹ For a general summary, see Arnold 1999, 157-162.

¹⁵³² See Chapter I.4.

¹⁵³³ Thus, I oppose Hazzard's (2000) statement that Arsinoë's cultural position, including her deification, was a direct result of Ptolemy II's intelligent achievements.

instability that Egypt experienced during Ptolemy IV's reign, to create legitimacy for Ptolemy IV.

The material reveals that all later Ptolemaic couples that reconnected with their deceased family members (in an official native Egyptian ancestor cult) disregarded any reference to the *theoi Soteres* after the time of Ptolemy IV. All scenes that date to Ptolemy VIII communicate a comprehensible statement of Ptolemaic propaganda, as he claims his dynastic lineage from (Ptolemy Eupator and) the *theoi Philometores* back to the *theoi Adelphoi*. Even cat. no. 3, which dates to the reign of Ptolemy V, separates the official dating protocols (formulas) from the more symbolic and native Egyptian ancestor cult. There, the *theoi Soteres* are mentioned textually in association with the calendar, but they are pictorially excluded in favour of the *theoi Adelphoi*.

Ptolemy VIII's evident need to reconnect with dynastic ancestors is documented in the Temples of Edfu,¹⁵³⁴ Tod,¹⁵³⁵ and Qasr Aguz.¹⁵³⁶ All these scenes exclude the first Ptolemaic couple – the *theoi Soteres*. The political situation during Ptolemy VIII was somewhat similar to that of Ptolemy IV, as Egypt once more witnessed a divided kingdom with local Theban claims for the throne in the south. During this time, Hathor of Dendera was portrayed with her later Hathoric crown in Edfu,¹⁵³⁷ and also in the temple complex of Dendera in accordance with the earliest recorded Ptolemaic presence that is still *in situ* and intact.¹⁵³⁸ The reconnection with the *theoi Adelphoi* as the ancestral dynastic parents, combined with the depiction of Hathor of Dendera wearing the later Hathoric crown makes possible an interpretation identical to that above: Ptolemy VIII claimed his ancestry from the *theoi Adelphoi* based on the state of political instability, and supported the cult of Hathor of Dendera as assimilated with Arsinoë, the protector of the dynasty, the female solar force.¹⁵³⁹

Naturally, the reigns of Cleopatra III and VII are associated with the political situation and the royal instability during the latter part of the Ptolemaic era. Both queens claimed their right as the lawful heirs of the Ptolemaic throne, and both ruled more or less independently. These queens applied structured political strategies to stay safe from threatening brothers and sisters. Both used official designations identical or similar to those of Arsinoë. Most importantly, they reused and developed the crown of Arsinoë as one of their main symbolic attributes.¹⁵⁴⁰

Ultimately, the Romans continued a rather young artistic tradition in depicting Hathor of Dendera with the later Hathoric crown, and limited such illustrations to the Temple of Dendera (and one figure in Kalabsha). Certainly, the obvious emphasis of the location validates my interpretation of the female figure wearing the later Hathoric crown as Hathor of Dendera. It is impossible to establish whether or not the Romans acknowledged Hathor's assimilation with Arsinoë. However, as additional Roman sources bear witness to the

¹⁵³⁴ Cat. nos. 16, 21.

¹⁵³⁵ Cat. no. 35.

¹⁵³⁶ Cat. no. 34.

¹⁵³⁷ Cat. nos. 46-48.

¹⁵³⁸ Cat. no. 67. The scene is located in Nectanebo's *mammisi*.

¹⁵³⁹ Consequently, he placed Ptolemy II as Horus of Edfu.

¹⁵⁴⁰ The material has provided examples of a continuation of Arsinoë's personal iconography, but evidence exist also outside the material. For example, Ashton's studies of Ptolemaic sculpture (2000) have demonstrated that Cleopatra VII utilised also the double cornucopia, and that she developed Arsinoë's double *uraeus* to a triple combination.

continuation of the cult of Arsinoë as assimilated with Hathor-Aphrodite, it cannot be dismissed.¹⁵⁴¹

To summarise, the material shows that Arsinoë and Ptolemy II together were regarded as dynastic pharaohs, and that they were able to uphold the concepts of Ma'at in the eyes of the Egyptians. I argue that it was the successful political stability during their reign that formed a cultural background for Ptolemy IV when he let himself be illustrated as the royal descendant of the *theoi Adelphoi*. I interpret the material as signifying that it was in their honour Ptolemy IV created the male Edfu crown and the female later Hathoric crown in most deliberate propaganda: it was in order to assimilate the ruling royal dynasty with its claimed divine ancestors, Hathor and Horus. Symbolically, Hathor and Horus usurped the socio-political qualities that were bestowed upon Arsinoë and Ptolemy II during their lifetimes, which were incorporated in the pictorial composition of each crown. The sibling gods were referred to as the royal ancestors, always separated from surrounding figures by their crowns, whereas Hathor and Horus were conventionally regarded as the divine rulers. When the latter couple received the symbolism of the crown of Arsinoë (and Ptolemy II), Ptolemy IV could claim his royal and divine position on even higher levels, as he took the Egyptian theology one step further and incorporated the royal family amongst the deities to an extent of complete assimilation.

The earliest records of the later Hathoric crown are recorded in the Temple of Edfu: a temple that venerated the divine ruler Horus and his divine co-regent Hathor as the children of Ra, as primeval solar deities themselves, and as eternally entwined with the most ancient celestial concepts of Egypt. The material includes several scenes where Ptolemy II and Arsinoë are shown in a symbolic association with not only Horus and Hathor, which was a common theme for all royalties, but also with Shu and Tefnut as the children of Ra/Atum. I see a connection between the location of the introduction of the later Hathoric crown and the political endeavours during the time of Ptolemy IV, in agreement with previous scholars' conclusions in regard to the building project.

I interpret the later Hathoric as an iconographic development of the crown of Arsinoë based on identical cultural factors in accordance with previous sections. I argue that the invention of the later Hathoric crown (and the male Edfu crown) was the result of political conflicts between the Alexandrian court and the native Egyptian priesthood. The Memphite priesthood understood how to cooperate, but stood outside the native Egyptian uprising in Upper Egypt. When the traditional Theban priesthood could not assist, the Alexandrian court turned to religious centres anchored in the royal cult, those that could understand the necessity of retaining stability in agreement with ancient principles. I interpret the material as demonstrating the later Ptolemies' political weakness, and their incapability to keep Egypt united by the pure force of royalty. In my opinion, it provides evidence of a later Ptolemaic acknowledgment of the cultural power kept by the priesthood, and their comprehension that it was (only) through collaboration that the dynasty could prosper.

My fundamental reason for including such a large number of scenes that illustrate the later Hathoric crown was to demonstrate the development and continuation of the crown of

¹⁵⁴¹ See Chapter I.4; *P. Lit. Goodsp.* 2, I.IV. It is also important to remember that Arsinoë's name still designated streets of Alexandria, ports along the Red Sea, and the nome of Fayyum all through the last part of ancient Egyptian history. Various additional cultural media bear witness to an indirect veneration or at least recognition of Arsinoë. Although it is farfetched, her assimilation with Hathor-Isis and their cultural development and continuation can still be observed today in idols of the Virgin Mary.

Arsinoë. In respect of the limitations of the material, I can only assume that the male Edfu crown was created based on similar concepts, representing the male side of the Ptolemaic dynasty, personifying it in accordance with ancient native Egyptian principles and equivalent to the Macedonians' identification with (Neos) Dionysus. The introduction of the later Hathoric crown as a development of the crown of Arsinoë placed Arsinoë no longer as the earthly manifestation of Hathor, but as Hathor-Arsinoë. Arsinoë became Hathor and Hathor became Arsinoë: this can be interpreted as a reversed association. Hathor became a personification of the Ptolemaic dynasty based on the cultural message communicated in the later Hathoric crown and the merging of the primeval queen and the royal ancestral female ruler.

As mentioned above, the material includes a vast number of scenes that illustrate the later Hathoric crown, some of which date up to the reign of Emperor Trajan. Evidently, this crown was accepted throughout the ages as an individual attribute of Hathor of Dendera, while the crown of Arsinoë, in its original form, disappeared with Cleopatra VII. Whereas her traditional crown was usurped by other goddesses and her traditional female crown with queens, Hathor did not have to share her later crown, it was given to her as an individual symbol of the Ptolemaic dynasty: it was a role that suited no other goddess as well as Hathor, especially since the Ptolemies associated themselves with Aphrodite (being Hathor's Greek counterpart). This later Hathoric crown identifies one of the most important Egyptian goddesses in her solar associated aspects as Ra's mother, daughter, and wife. At the same time, it commemorates an early Ptolemaic queen who ruled Egypt together with her husband-brother. The most important conclusion that comes out of this study of the later Hathoric crown is that the Ptolemies found an Egyptian divine couple that could complement their claimed Greek divine ancestry, that Hathor of Dendera and Horus of Edfu signified and personified the male and female side of the Ptolemaic dynasty at the time of the crowns' introduction.

V
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS
–
THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS MESSAGE
COMMUNICATED BY
THE CROWN OF ARSINOË AND ITS
DEVELOPED FORMS

In a thematic study of 158 Graeco-Roman reliefs I have examined the ideological significance and symbolic meaning of the crown of Arsinoë and its later developed form in the later Hathoric crown. Through this study of the crowns' socio-political and religious connotations, I have suggested aspects of primarily Ptolemaic cultural principles and ideas that have thus far been overlooked. In order to answer the main questions of this thesis – what significance and cultural reflections did the crown of Arsinoë have, and how did it function as a symbolic model for the creation of the later Hathoric crown – I have analysed each detail of 1) the individual crowns, 2) the complete female figure, 3) the entire scene, and 4) the associated and determining hieroglyphic designations. Following this analysis, I have discussed the socio-political and religious aspects in accordance with three main positions: a) the royal position – female pharaoh, b) the religious position – high priestess/God's wife, and c) the cultic position – goddess. In this thesis I have taken into consideration many of the cultural complexities that surround the historical person of Arsinoë, and similarly the mythic *persona* of Hathor and have conducted an investigation based primarily on visual representation, limited to reliefs documented in stelai and in native Egyptian temples, incorporating textual evidence. In terms of time, the comprehensive material incorporates scenes from Arsinoë's lifetime to the reign of Emperor Trajan, a span of about 400 hundred years. Below will follow a summary of my results which will enable me to present my general conclusions and the historical consequences of my research.

As mentioned above, the investigation has been based on an iconographic foundation combined with textual evidence, and followed by an iconological interpretation. The analysis in Chapter III has first identified each individual pictorial component of the crown, followed by an investigation of the complete crown compositions. It then proceeds by analysing the contextual setting of the scene, incorporating also the hieroglyphic designations, figural structures, active artistic adjustment, and later adjustments of the scenes.

My three main focal points have concerned Arsinoë's cultural positions – female pharaoh, high priestess and goddess – as both living and deceased. Despite previous attempts to distinguish Arsinoë's true political position, scholars have not been successful so far in identifying (or in denying) her position as a female pharaoh. Regarding the second focal point, Arsinoë's cultic role as high priestess, this aspect has been more or less neglected until now by modern scholars. As the third major area of investigation, her role as goddess has also been studied here. To be sure, her cultic position as *thea Philadelphos* has been acknowledged throughout academic circles: the scholarly focus has not been aimed at *whether* she was

deified but *when*. Evidently, an ongoing debate demonstrates that certain aspects concerning Arsinoë still need to be reconsidered.

To my knowledge, there is not a single individual publication that focuses exclusively on the distinct cultic structure of Hathor of Dendera, a goddess with whom Arsinoë is related in all cultural and family-oriented aspects. Therefore, and amongst other reasons as seen in Chapters I.1-2, my aim in this study has been to investigate and reassess these issues based on the symbolism embedded in a very individual sign of status, the crown of Arsinoë, subsequently followed by the later Hathoric crown. The material in its entirety has been presented in Chapters II-III.

The study has resulted in a very a diverse and somewhat complex picture. The scenes commemorate a multifaceted cultural panorama in which all socio-religious and political aspects merge. The first discussion in Chapter IV, concerning Arsinoë's function in the state, has demonstrated that she was considered a female pharaoh by the Egyptians, fundamentally equal to Ptolemy II. In particular cat. nos. 1-2, 5, 7-8, 13-15R, 23, 26 and 36 emphasise Arsinoë's position as King of Lower Egypt and the equality between her and Ptolemy as co-rulers. More importantly, I have hopefully shown that cat. nos. 8, 15 and 26 indicate that Arsinoë received her official royal designations during her lifetime. Finally, a combination of iconography and textual records demonstrates that Arsinoë was the female pharaoh of Lower Egypt, co-ruling with Ptolemy II, the pharaoh of Upper Egypt. Her kingship of Lower Egypt is expressed chiefly in the red crown as one of the individual elements of the crown of Arsinoë.

Arsinoë's religious position as the high priestess of the ram god Banebdjedet in Mendes is traditionally recognised, but too often neglected. The material has demonstrated Arsinoë's close association with the god in both his local, Mendesian form and his more nationally renowned character as Amun. The crown of Arsinoë is composed of a combination of pictorial units, each feature fundamentally connected with Amun. The investigation suggests that the conventionally male ram horns in the crown identify Arsinoë with Banebdjedet, which moreover agrees with the textual records. Various scenes illustrate Arsinoë as an active benefactor, shaking the sistrum to evoke the divine spirit according to the Hathoric sexual aspects. This role as active benefactor, someone giving something to or doing something for the gods, can be done only by a living being. Thus, these scenes have been reevaluated here and redated to Arsinoë's lifetime, thereby making Arsinoë Egypt's high priestess, a God's wife, even outside the Mendesian nome while she was still alive. She is described with designations equivalent to previous Divine Adoratrices of Amun, and the material supports such identification elsewhere as well. This is also suggested by her designation as Amun's daughter, a kinship which was emphasised pictorially, too.

Arsinoë's third cultural position concerns her divinity as the goddess *Philadelphos*. The study has provided evidence of a pluralistic cultic arrangement. Firstly, Arsinoë was venerated according to the ancient Egyptian traditions of ruler cult as the living and ruling pharaoh. Thus, she was considered divine during her lifetime. Secondly, she was venerated as an individual goddess by her brother when she was placed in a figural setting as a divine daughter of (foremost) Amun. Modern scholars traditionally identify this individual cult of Arsinoë as Ptolemy II's invention immediately following Arsinoë's death. However, the material has provided evidence that the queen was indeed proclaimed divine already during her lifetime based on her role as pharaoh, the daughter of Amun. Thirdly, later Ptolemies worshipped Arsinoë alongside with Ptolemy II as the founders of the dynasty, described

textually as the sibling gods (*theoi Adelphoi*), the divine mother and father. The latter cult corresponds with the native Egyptian conventions of ancestor cult. In this position Arsinoë is associated with the maternal Hathor, and provides as such continuous safety and rejuvenation for the dynasty. Thus, Arsinoë's divine role is an excellent example of Egyptian plurality rather than duality, incorporating the royal cult of her as a pharaoh, her individual cult as the divine *Philadelphos*, and her shared divinity with Ptolemy II as the *theoi Adelphoi*. I relate the two latter cults with the Egyptian Osirian conventions, firstly demonstrating a pharaoh assuming complete divinity after death and secondly being venerated as divine ancestors by descendant rulers.

The first results of the study shows that the crown of Arsinoë communicates a message of Arsinoë's pluralistic cultural positions, all of which are associated with aspects of Hathor of Dendera. The two come together as divine royal mothers, daughter, sisters and wives, and their assimilation is documented in pictorial and textual sources equally. The symbolism expressed in the crown validates Arsinoë's royal as well as divine legacy, and was eventually further utilised to emphasise her kinship with Ptolemaic descendants. These royal heirs recognised the cultural importance embedded in the crown and its denotations, and applied it as an artistic and symbolic model when creating a new crown to promote Hathor of Dendera as their legitimate ancestor in a period of time when Egypt experienced political instability. In my opinion, the later Hathoric crown was created exclusively for Hathor of Dendera as a part of a socio-political strategy for reinsuring the continuation of Ptolemaic rule, which was based on Arsinoë's importance as co-regent and co-founder of the dynasty. Once the later Hathoric crown had been created and introduced during Ptolemy IV, the traditional native Egyptian goddess Hathor became a personification of the female side of the Ptolemaic dynasty, alongside with Horus of Edfu as her male counterpart. This comprehensive later material has shown that the crown of Arsinoë was used not only as an iconographic model, but also that its original wearer was regarded as a socio-political inspiration to whom the later Ptolemies turned when they experienced political stress and instability. The crown of Arsinoë might have disappeared with the death of Cleopatra VII, but its cultic value and cultural connotations survived in an assimilated form as long as the later Hathoric crown did.

As a secondary result, the thesis has demonstrated that crowns were utilised for each figure in a most deliberate strategy when creating a visible and directly recognisable hierarchic system. Included in the topic of artistic adjustment, I have developed already existing theories regarding the concepts of size and position. Relative placement has been reassessed and as a result, I apply the association of figural positions combined with that of size as an indicator of an actual time concept. I have found in the material that the Ptolemaic rulers and their artists could show different time periods in one and the same scene, as in cat. no. 26, where the living Arsinoë is on one side and the divine (deceased) Arsinoë on the other, thus becoming narrative iconography.

As one of the more important contribution to reading Egyptian reliefs, I have presented the crown also as an element that visually establishes hierarchy through the creation and implementation of a crown line. My scholarly approach to, and subsequent conclusions about, such a crown line is based on a combination of iconographic theory of relative scaling and ancient geometry. Consequently, the material has been examined based on modern and ancient methods, and a wide spectrum of cultural connotations and denotations has been accentuated.

While all other pictorial elements in a scene were regulated by the ancient Egyptian artistic conventions, the crown stands out as a ‘free agent’, following its own logic. As an autonomous element, the artist was able to arrange the type of crown according to the message to be communicated by the scene. The material has revealed that this ultimately resulted in the introduction of a vast number of new composition crowns during the Ptolemaic Period. The crown became an ideal tool for communicating individuality and status when all the other elements were fundamentally locked in artistic tradition and strictly regulated. The material shows that the crown of Arsinoë placed the queen as the most important figure in a clear majority of the scenes, though secondary in scenes that emphasised her kinship with Amun. Similarly, the later Hathoric crown was applied to stress Hathor’s prominent position among her divine associates.

As the final analytical chapter, I introduced in the thesis a brief approach to the topic of ‘eradication and adjustments of visual representations’ in the scenes. This subject has been ignored by most classicist and Egyptologists so far, but the study has revealed the necessity of further research in order to properly understand and read the reliefs as they are preserved today. Later cut marks have occasionally damaged entire scenes, but they are more frequently centred on the uncovered areas of the body such as the face, arms/hands and legs/feet. Importantly, the crown is included as one of the pictorial elements that is undamaged, alongside handheld objects and the throne. I do not believe that these specific marks should be incorporated in the concepts of religious iconoclasm (Christian or Muslim) or *damnatio memoriae*: rather, I am convinced that the person or group who acted as a destructive agent was initiated in the ancient Egyptian sacred traditions, since some hieroglyphs were erased on occasion, combined with the deliberate removal of certain pictorial elements. Although these marks belong to a later time period, the question of when still remains: Chapter III.10 and especially cat. no. 26L has shown that there are various ways to establish a relative date of cut marks through a comparison with contextual and physically attached pictorial elements, and this method can be applied to also any other given relief. Primary, further research of cut marks will give the modern scholar an opportunity to understand the continuation of certain ancient belief systems, and the acknowledgment of sacred insignia. The brief investigation of recutting of reliefs has provided evidence that a scene cannot always be dated according to the name inscribed in the cartouche. Instead, recuts can reveal a change not only in ruler, but also in cultural fashion. Certainly, this is brought to its peak in scenes like cat. nos. 67 and 155. However, more importantly, I acknowledge the significance of recutting. In accordance with this, it incorporates the ideology that forms the basis for the creation of the later Hathoric crown.

To summarise, the present thesis has presented a new approach to a limited ancient iconographic material in which two main cultural female figures have been reassessed. Based on the symbolism embedded in their individual crowns, both females, Arsinoë and Hathor, are portrayed as female rulers equal in status and power to their husbands; as royal daughters claiming their divine ancestry from the main solar force, Amun-Ra; and as the divine mothers that protect and ensure the continuation of the divine dynasty. By the application of an interdisciplinary approach, the thesis has provided a bridge over the gap that separates the modern scholarly institutions of classical studies and Egyptology. The Graeco-Roman period marked the end of the ancient Egyptian era and therefore holds a very important key to the understanding of pharaonic traditions in their assimilated forms. As modern scholars learn to recognise each step of the cultural assimilation and new creation, such as the making, continuation, and development of the crown of Arsinoë shows, we will ultimately also

comprehend not only its origins, but also its continuation as it adapts to modern concepts of world order.

With the study of the crown of Arsinoë and its later developments, I have been able to reveal essential socio-political and religious elements of Ptolemaic ideology hitherto unexposed. Even though the historical figure of Arsinoë has been a scholarly topic of discussion for generations, this study shows that there are still aspects that could be further considered and explored. I have aimed at clarifying the (early) Ptolemies' active participation in the traditional Egyptian religious cults, which ultimately developed into new religious and artistic forms that lasted throughout the Roman Period. Another goal has been to emphasise the interaction of religious, political and social conceptions as they are all incorporated in an imagery that expresses female kingship, power, piety and divinity. Regardless of the unwillingness among some scholars to accept female Ptolemaic authority, I hope that this study has demonstrated convincingly Arsinoë's royal position as a ruling pharaoh, as governing Lower Egypt while Ptolemy II was in charge over Upper Egypt: she ruled as an individual on her own terms rather than as a part of a propagandistic agenda, and in cooperation with the powerful priesthood when establishing a functioning and recognisable symbol of authority. Based on her defined politico-religious positions during her lifetime, to which later Ptolemaic female rulers reconnected, I argue that Arsinoë should be included in the official pharaonic king list as Ptolemy II's co-regent: her royal authority should be considered equivalent to Hatshepsut, Tawosret and Amenirdis II, as one of the most important royal women in Egyptian history. My study has argued that all aspects of Arsinoë's complex *persona* (female pharaoh, high priestess/God's wife, and goddess) were embedded in a very unique attribute – her crown – and that this remained a symbol of authority throughout the last centuries of the ancient Egyptian period. In accordance with her spoken words in the Mendes stela, "I protect you in (=wearing) your crown", Arsinoë personified the royal and divine: she assumed one of her official titles and became the "Lady of the crowns".

APPENDICES








- I. TABLE 28: SUMMARISING CONTEXTUAL STRUCTURE OF THE MATERIAL
- II. TRANSLATED HIEROGLYPHIC DESIGNATIONS
- III. ARSINOË'S CARTOUCHES
- IV. THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY
- V. THE ROMAN EMPERORS
- VI. PHARAONIC DYNASTIES
- VII. WORD LIST

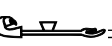






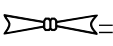






APPENDIX I

TABLE 28: SUMMARISING CONTEXTUAL STRUCTURE OF THE MATERIAL

KEY:

CROWN TYPE¹⁵⁴²: AC=Crown of Arsinoë; TFC=Traditional female crown; DEC=Dendera crown; DECA=Dendera crown with an additional *atef*; FEC=Female Edfu crown; ED=Edfu crown

HANDHELD OBJECTS¹⁵⁴³:  = *ankh*;  = papyrus sceptre;  = *was* stave;  = notched palm branch;  = flail;  = sistrum;  = hand held in protective manner.

OFFERING¹⁵⁴⁴:  = all incense¹⁵⁴⁵;  = figure of Maat;  = wine and water;  = Flowers;  = libation and *hes* vessel;  = ointment;  = offering table or tray;  = textile band/cloth;  = field of reeds;  = crowns;  = dado offerings;  = *sekhem* stave;  = ceremonial collar;  = spearing enemies; O= other or unrecognised.¹⁵⁴⁶

TYPE OF SCENE¹⁵⁴⁷: A=Active offering; AD=Adoration; I=Inactively standing before the deity; S=Smiting scenes; R=Rejuvenation/sed/crowning ceremonies; D=Dynastic scenes; E=Evoking/arousing the god; P=Procession; O=Other

FIGURAL POSITIONS¹⁵⁴⁸: Top line: B=Benefactor or R=Recipient; middle line (highlighted): L=Left side position or R=Right side position; Bottom line (cursive): S=Standing or T=Throne (sitting).

LOCATION/(PLACE OF ORIGIN): EDF=Edfu; DEN=Dendera; PHI=Philae; KAL=Kalabsha; KAR=Karnak; QAS=Qasr Aguz; MED= Medamoud; TOD=el Tod; MEN=Mendes; MEM=Memphis; PIT=Pithom; TAN=Tanis; ARM=Armant; ATH=Athribis; NAU=Naukratis; KOM=Kom el Hisn

DATE¹⁵⁴⁹: AL=Arsinoë's lifetime; PT=Ptolemy (II-XII)¹⁵⁵⁰; CLEO=Cleopatra III, VII; RM=Roman; AUG=Augustus; TIB=Tiberius; CAL=Caligula; CLA=Claudius; NER=Nero; DOM=Domitian; TRA=Trajan.

DEITIES: SOT=*theoi Soteres*; ADE=*theoi Adelphoi*; EUE=*theoi Euergetai*; PAT=*theoi Philopatores*; EPI=*theoi Epiphanes*; MET=Ptolemy VI Philometor; EUP=Ptolemy VII Eupator

¹⁵⁴² Presented in Chapter III.3.

¹⁵⁴³ Presented in Chapter III.4.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Presented in Chapter III.6.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Including also the censer stand.





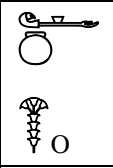

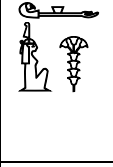



¹⁵⁴⁶ Scenes that are left unmarked, demonstrate instead another theme, thus excluding a direct offering unit.

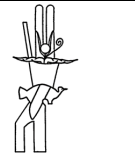

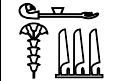
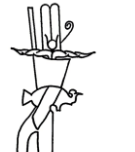

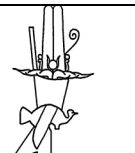

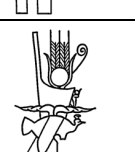

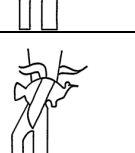

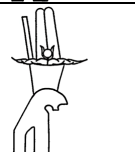


¹⁵⁴⁷ Presented in Chapter III.6.













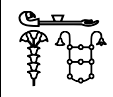


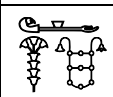
¹⁵⁴⁸ Presented in Chapter III.7.



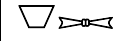



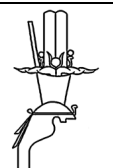




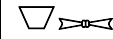


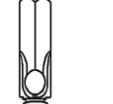




¹⁵⁴⁹ Presented in Table 24 in Chapter III.7.






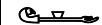











¹⁵⁵⁰ PT without a following number equals the Ptolemaic period.



















Scene	Illustration	Crown type	Handheld units	Offering	Type of scene	Tallest figure	Figural positions	Location	Date	Identification	Deities in the scene	Cut marks/re cut
1L		AC 1	♀		A		B L S	MEN	PT II	Arsinoë	–	
1R		AC 2	♀ ♂		O		R R S	MEN	PT II	Arsinoë	Banebdjedet x 2, Harpocrates, Hat-Mehit, Arsinoë	
2L		AC 3	♀ ♂		A		R R S	PIT	PT II	Arsinoë	Atum, Hathor, Arsinoë	
2R		AC 3	♀ ♂		A	•	R L S	PIT	PT II	Arsinoë	Atum, Osiris, Horus, Isis, Arsinoë	
3		AC 4	♀ ♂ ♂		S+D	•	R L S	NAU	PT V	Arsinoë	Shu, Tefnut, ADE, EUE, PAT	
4		AC 5	♀ ♂		R+D		R L S	KOM	PT III	Arsinoë	Hathor x 2, Horus, Amun-Ra, Atum, Tefnut, Shu, Thoth, Seshat, ADE, SOT	



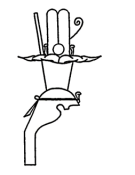


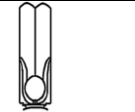

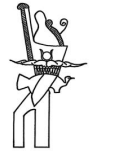









5		AC 5			A	•	R L S	MEN	PT II	Arsinoë	Banebdjedet, Isis, Arsinoë
6		AC 6		O	A	•	R R S	DIO	PT II	Arsinoë	Horus(?), Hathor(?), Arsinoë
7		AC 7		O	A	•	R L S	TAP	PT II	Arsinoë	Arsinoë
8		AC 8		 ?	A	•	B L S	?	AL	Arsinoë	Thoth or Khonsu or Apis ?
9		AC 9			A+E		B L S	MEM?	AL	Arsinoë	–
10		AC 10			A	•	R L S	?	PT II	Arsinoë	Arsinoë


















11		AC 6			A		R L S	CRO?	PT II	Arsinoë	Harsomtus, Horus, Hathor, Sarapis, Arsinoë	
12		AC 11			O		B? L S	MEM?	AL	Arsinoë	-	
13		AC 16		O	A	•	R L S	TAN	PT II	Arsinoë	Arsinoë	
14		AC 12			A		R L S	TAN	PT II	Arsinoë	Amun-Min, Arsinoë; Harsomtus, Wadjet	
15L		AC 6			A+E	•	B L S	ATH	AL	Arsinoë	Horus, Sekhmet	
15R		AC 6			A+E	•	B R S	ATH	AL	Arsinoë	Osiris, Khuit	



















16		AC 13			A+D		R L S	EDF	PT VIII	Arsinoë	ADE	•
17		AC 12			A+D	•	R R S	EDF	PT IV	Arsinoë	ADE	•
18		AC 14			A+D		R L S	EDF	PT IV	Arsinoë	Horus, Hathor, Harsomtus, ADE, EUE, SOT	
19		AC 15			A+D	•	R L S	EDF	PT IV	Arsinoë	ADE	•
20		AC 16			R+D	•	L T	EDF	PT IV	Arsinoë	Thoth, Seshat, Horus, Hathor, ADE	•
21		TFC			A+D		R L S	EDF	PT VIII	Arsinoë	ADE	•
22		AC 17		O	A+D	•	R R S	EDF	PT IV	Arsinoë	ADE	•



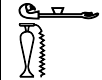












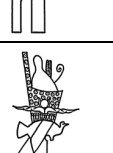

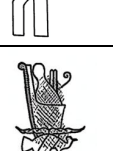

23		AC 18			A	•	R L S	KAR	PT II	Arsinoë	Khonsu, Arsinoë	•
24		AC 18			A+D	•	R L S	KAR	PT III	Arsinoë	ADE	•
25		AC 6			AD	•	- L S	KAR	PT III	Arsinoë	Pantheon, ADE, EUE	•
26L		AC 19			A		B+R L+R S	KAR	AL+ PT II	Arsinoë	Amun, Mut, Arsinoë	•
26R		AC 19			A		R L S	KAR	AL+ PT II	Arsinoë	Amun, Khonsu, Arsinoë	•
27		AC 20			A		R R S	PHI	PT II	Arsinoë	Isis, Arsinoë	•

















28	 	AC 21			A	•	R L S	PHI	PT II	Arsinoë	Nephtys, Arsinoë	•
29		AC 20		O	A	•	R L S	PHI	PT II	Arsinoë	Isis, Arsinoë	•
30		AC 20			A		R L S	PHI	PT II	Arsinoë	Isis, Arsinoë	
31		AC 22			A	•	R R S	PHI	PT II	Arsinoë	Isis, Arsinoë	•
32		AC 20			A		R L S	PHI	PT II	Arsinoë	Isis, Arsinoë	
33		AC 23			A	•	R R S	PHI	PT II	Arsinoë	Arsinoë	














34		AC 24			AD+D	•	R R S	QAS	PT VIII	Arsinoë	ADE	•
35		AC 25			A+D		R L S	TOD	PT VIII	Arsinoë	ADE, EUE, PAT, EPI, MET, EUP	
36		TFC			R	•	R R S	MED	PT II	Arsinoë	–	
37		FEC 1			S		R R S	EDF	PT XII	Hathor	Horus, Hathor, Ha	•
38		DEC 1			S		R L S	EDF	PT XII	Hathor	Horus, Hathor, Sopt, Ihy	
39		DEC 3			E	•	R R T	EDF	PT X	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor	•
40		DEC 1			A	•	R R T	EDF	PT X	Hathor	Horus, Hathor, Harsomtus	•














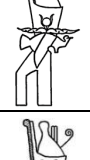



41		DEC 3			A	•	R R T	EDF	PT X	Hathor	Horus, Hathor	•
42		DECA 1			A		R R T	EDF	PT X	Hathor	Horus, Hathor	•
43		DEC 1			A		R L S	EDF	PT X	Hathor	Horus, Hathor	
44		DEC 1			A+E		R L T	EDF	PT IX	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Harsomtus	
45		DEC 1		O	A	•	R L T	EDF	PT IX	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Harakhte	•
46		DEC 3			O	•	R L T	EDF	PT VIII	Hathor	Merhyt, Horus, Hathor, Harsomtus, Ihy	•
47		DEC 1			A		R L S	EDF	PT VIII	Hathor	Hathor	



















48		DEC 3		O	A	•	R R S	EDF	PT VIII	Hathor	Hathor	•
49		FEC 4			A		R R S	EDF	PT VI	Hathor	Horus, Hathor	•
50		FEC 3			A	•	R L T	EDF	PT VI	Hathor	Hathor	
51		FEC 5			S	•	R R T	EDF	PT VI	Hathor	Horus, Hathor	•
52		FEC 6			P		R R S	EDF	PT VI	Hathor	Procession, Harsomtut, Horus, Hathor, Horus, Ra- Behutet	
53		ED 1			P		R L S	EDF	PT VI	Hathor	Horus, Hathor, Horus	
54		FEC 6			A		R R S	EDF	PT IV	Hathor	Horus, Hathor	•







55		FEC 2			A		R L S	EDF	PT IV	Hathor	Horus, Hathor	•
56		DEC 2		 	A		R R S	DEN	DOM	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	•
57		DEC 1		O	E	•	R R S	DEN	DOM	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Isis	•
58		DEC 5			A		R L S	DEN	DOM	Hathor	Hathor	
59		DEC 1			A	•	R L S	DEN	TRA	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	•
60		DEC 2			AD		R R S	DEN	TRA	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Harsomtus	•
61		DECA 6		O	A	•	R R S	DEN	TRA	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	•


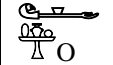



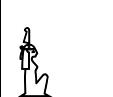




62		DECA 1			R	•	R R S	DEN	TRA	Hathor	Ihy x2, Hathor, Thoth	•
63		DECA 1		O	O	•	R R T	DEN	TRA	Hathor	Hathor, Horus, Harsomtus(?)	•
64		DEC 1			E	•	R R S	DEN	TRA	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	•
65		DECA 1			I	•	R R S	DEN	TRA	Hathor	Hathor	•
66		DEC 2		O	A	•	R L S	DEN	TRA	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	•
67		ED 2			A		R R S	DEN	PT VIII	Hathor	Hathor	•
68		DEC 2			A	•	R R S	DEN	CLA	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	•













69		DECA 7	♀ 1		P		R R S	DEN	CLA	Hathor	Merhyt, Hapi, Harsomtus, Ihy, Hathor, Horus, Harsomtus	
70		DEC 4	♀ 1		A	•	R R S	DEN	CLA	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor	•
71		DEC 4	♀ 1		A	•	R L S	DEN	NER	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	•
72		DECA 8	♀ 1	O	A	•	R L T	DEN	NER	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Isis, Harsomtus	
73		DEC 1	♀ 1	 	A		R L S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor	•
74		DEC 9	♀ 1	 	A		R L T	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Harsomtus	

















75		DEC 1			A		R L T	DEN	TIB	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	•
76		FEC 3			A	•	R L T	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Hathor	•
77		DECA 5			A		R L T	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Hathor, Harsomtus, Ihy	•
78		FEC 3		O	A		R L S	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Harsomtus	•
79		DEC 3			A		R L S	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Ihy x2, Hathor, Horus	•
80		DEC 3			E	•	R L T	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	•
81		DECA 2			I	•	R R T	DEN	NER	Hathor	Hathor, Isis	













82		DEC 2			A	•	R R S	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor	•
83		DECA 8			A		R R S	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus, Harsomtus	•
84		DECA 9			E		R R T	DEN	NER	Hathor	Hathor, Isis, Harsomtus	
85		DEC 1		O	A	•	R R T	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Isis	•
86		DEC 1			A	•	R R S	DEN	NER	Hathor	Hathor	•
87		DEC 3			E	•	R R T	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Hathor + Hathor x7, Harsomtus, Ihy	•
88		DECA 1			P		R R S	DEN	NER	Hathor	Procession, Harsomtus, Ihy, Hathor, Isis, Osiris, Harsomtus	


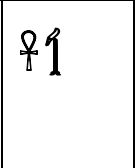
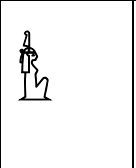

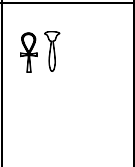
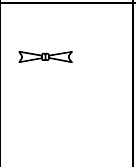

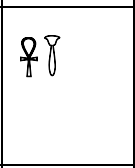
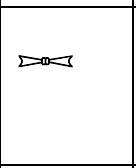

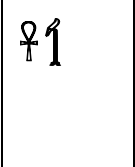

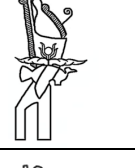
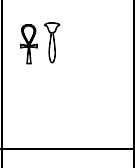
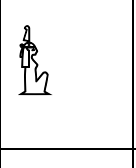
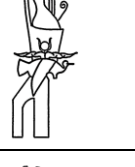
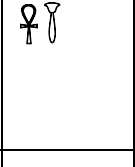

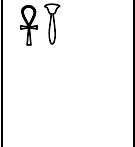
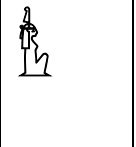
89		DEC 7	♀ 𓆎		R		- R S	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Atum, Montu, Hathor, Horus	•
90		DEC 7	♀ 𓆏	◡	A	•	R R T	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	
91		DEC 6	♀ 𓆎	◡	A		R R T	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Isis, Harsomtus, Ihy	•
92		DEC 2	♀ 𓆎	𓆏	A	•	R R S	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Ihy	•
93		DEC 1	♀ 𓆎	𓆏	A	•	R R S	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Isis, Harsomtus	•
94		FEC 1	♀ 𓆏		E		R R S	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Hathor, Ihy	•



















95		DEC 4	𐦩		A+E	•	R L S	DEN	CLEO VII	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus, Harsomtus, Ihy, Hathor	•
96		DEC 1	𐦩		P		R L S	DEN	CLEO VII	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus, Harsomtus	•
97		DEC 10	𐦩		A	•	R L T	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus, Harsomtus	
98		DEC 1	𐦩	O	A	•	R R T	DEN	NER	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	
99		DECA 1	𐦩	O	A	•	R R S	DEN	TIB	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	•
100		DECA 2	𐦩		A		R R T	DEN	NER	Hathor	Hathor	•

















101		DECA 1	♀ 1		A	•	R R T	DEN	NER	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	•
102		DECA 9	♀ 1		P	•	R R S	DEN	NER	Hathor	Procession, Hathor, Horus, Harsomtus, Ihy	
103		DEC 3	1		AD	•	R R S	DEN	CAL	Hathor	Ihy, Harsomtus, Hathor, Horus, Thoth	•
104		DEC 1	♀ 1		P	•	R R S	DEN	CAL	Hathor	Procession, Ihy, Harsomtus, Hathor, Horus, Isis, Harsomtus (?)	•
105		DEC 7	♀ 1		A		R L T	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Hathor, Ptah	•
106		DECA 2	♀ 1	O	A	•	R L S	DEN	CAL	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor	•
107		DEC 1	♀ 1		A	•	R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Processional deities, Hathor	










108		DEC 1		O	A	•	R L T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor	
109		FEC 3			A	•	R L S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor x2	•
110		DEC 1			A		R L S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	•
111		DEC 7			A	•	R L S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	
112		DEC 7			A	•	R L T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor	•
113		DEC 1			A	•	R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	•
















114		DEC 1		O	O	•	R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor, ?	•
115		DEC 1		O	A		R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	•
116		DEC 1			I	•	R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus, Harsomtus	•
117		DEC 7			A		R R T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	
118		DEC 7			A	•	R R T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor, Horus, Ihy, Hathor, Harsomtus, Tefnut	•
119		DEC 9		O	A	•	R R T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Horus, Hathor, Harsomtus, Ihy, Isis, Horus	





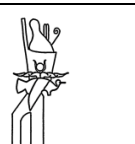



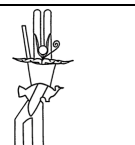


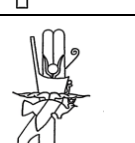

120		DEC 7			A	•	R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	•
121		DEC 7			A	•	R L T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Isis	•
122		DEC 8			A	•	R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor	•
123		DEC 7			A	•	R L T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor	
124		FEC 7			A		R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor	•
125		DEC 1			AD	•	R R T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Sekhmet	•
126		DEC 1			A		R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor	•

127		DEC 7			A	•	R L S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	•
128		DEC 1			P		R L S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Procession, Hathor, Horus, Harsomtus	•
129		DEC 7			A	•	R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	
130		DEC 1			A	•	R R T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Maat, Ihy, Hathor	•
131		DEC 7			A	•	R L T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Maat, Ihy, Hathor	
132		DECA 4			A	•	R R T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor	

133		DECA 4			AD		R R T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, ???	
134		FEC 3			A		R L T	DEN	PT XII	Hathor	Isis, Harsomtus, Horus, Ihy x2	
135		DEC 11		O	O	•	R L T	DEN	PT XII	Hathor	Ihy, Maat, Hathor	
136		DECA 1			I	•	R L T	DEN	PT XII	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	
137		DEC 1			A	•	R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	•
138		FEC 3			E	•	R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor	•
139		DEC 7			A	•	R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	•

140		DEC 1	♀		A	•	R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Maat, Ihy, Hathor, Horus	•
141		DEC 7	♀ ⲓ		A	•	R R T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	•
142		AC 26	♀ ⲓ		E+P		B L-R S	DEN	CLEO VII?	Cleopatra VII	Procession	
143		DECA 1	♀ ⲓ	ⲓ	A		R L T	DEN	ROM	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	•
144		DEC 7	♀ ⲓ		E		R R T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Aah, Ihy, Hathor, Isis, Horus, “Daughter of Atum”	•
145L		DEC 1	♀ ⲓ		AD	•	R R T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Ihy, Maat, Hathor	•
145R		DEC 1	♀ ⲓ		AD	•	R L T	DEN	PT	Hathor	Ihy, Maat, Hathor	•

146		DEC 1			A	•	R R S	DEN	PT	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	•
147		DEC 1		O	A	•	R L T	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	•
148		DEC 7			A	•	R R S	DEN	ROM	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	•
149		DEC 1			O		R R T	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	
150		DEC 1			A		R R T	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	
151		DEC 1			A		R L S	DEN	ROM	Hathor-Isis	Horus, Osiris	•

152		DEC 1	♀ 1		A	•	R L S	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Hathor, Horus	•
153		DECA 8	♀ 1		A	•	R R S	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Ihy, Hathor, Horus	•
154		DEC 1	♀ 1		A	•	R R S	DEN	AUG	Hathor	Hathor	
155		DECA 3	♀ 1		A	•	R R T	KAL	PT?	Hathor	Hathor, Horus, sphinx	
156		AC 5			A	•	B R S	KAR	CLEO III	Cleopatra III	Hapi	
157		AC 15	♀		A	•	B R S	KAR	CLEO III	Cleopatra III	Khonsu	•
158		AC 27			A	•	B R S	ARM	CLEO VII	Cleopatra VII	Harakhte, Harsomtus, Horus son of the ram of Mendes, Ihy, Horus son of Sekhmet, Horus the youth, Isis	

APPENDIX II

TRANSLATED DESIGNATIONS

- 1L: “Holder of the sacred insignia, the divine Philadelphos, Beloved of the ram, Mistress of the Two Lands, Arsinoë.”
- 1R: “King’s daughter, sister, his greatly beloved wife, the divine Philadelphos, Arsinoë.”
- 1M: Above the scene: “King’s Daughter, sister, wife, Mistress of the Two Lands, Arsinoë, may she live forever.”
 “Princess, Great of Praise, she who belongs to the Lord, Sweet of Love, Beautiful in appearance, who received the two forehead *uraei* (= Upper and Lower Egypt), she who fills the palace with her beauty, she who is the high-priestess of Banebdjedet, Beloved of the ram, sister of the king (of Upper Egypt), daughter of the king (of Upper Egypt), greatly beloved wife of the king (of Upper Egypt), Mistress of the Two Lands, Arsinoë.”
- 2L: “King’s daughter, sister, and wife, She who is in the heart of Shu, Beloved of the gods, Great Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë, the living image of Isis and Hathor.”
- 2R: “King’s daughter, sister, and wife, She who is in the heart of Shu,¹⁵⁵¹ Beloved of the gods, Great Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë, the living image of Isis and Hathor.”
- 2M: “King’s wife, daughter, Mistress of the Two Lands, Arsinoë, Daughter of the king (of Upper Egypt), Lord of the Two Lands, Ptolemy, the divine Philadelphos.” ... “Queen who is great of praise, a Lady of Loveliness, sweet of love, King’s wife, the Mistress of the Two Lands, Arsinoë, Daughter of the king (of Upper Egypt), Lord of the Two Lands, Ptolemy, the divine (goddess) Philadelphos.”
- 3: “Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos, *theoi Adelphoi*.”
- 4: “Arsinoë Philadelphos, *theoi Adelphoi*.”
- 5: “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Banebdjedet, Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë Philadelphos.”
- 6: “Arsinoë”
- 7: “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Arsinoë Philadelphos”.
- 8: “Great of Sweetness, Great of Praise, King’s daughter, King’s wife, Great daughter, King’s sister, who loves her and she loves him, King’s great wife, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Arsinoë Philadelphos, the Rightful”.
- 9: -
- 10: empty cartouche
- 11: “Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë, may she live forever.”
- 12: “Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë, [She who is in the heart of Shu] Loved [by (all) the gods], mother of Hep, repeating life.”
- 13: “King of Lower Egypt, the Two Lands, she who is in the heart of the king, Beloved of (all) the gods, daughter of Amun, Lady of the crowns, Arsinoë Philadelphos.”

¹⁵⁵¹ Compare Troy 1986, 182: the one who is united with the heart of Shu.

- 14: “Daughter of Amun, Lady of the crowns, Arsinoë Philadelphos, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Two Lands, [she who is in the heart of the king/Shu] Beloved of [(all) the gods].”
- 15L-R: “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Arsinoë”.
- 16: “Royal mother, Arsinoë, the sister-wife of Ptolemy.” “*Theoi Adelphoi*, Lords of the house of Hathor”.
- 17: “Divine mother, Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos”. “*Theoi Adelphoi*, Lords of Edfu (Mesen).”
- 18: “Divine mother Arsinoë”. “*Theoi Adelphoi*, the Lords of the house of Ra.”
- 19: “Divine Mother Arsinoë.” “*Theoi Adelphoi*, who dwells in the temple of Horus”.
- 20: “Divine mother, the eye of Horus (his great eye?), Arsinoë.”
- 21: “The mistress of her brother (?) Arsinoë, Ptolemy’s (his) divine sister.” “*Theoi Adelphoi* who dwells in Edfu (Mesen).”
- 22: “Divine mother, Arsinoë, *Theoi Adelphoi*, Lords of the house of Ra.”
- 23: “Daughter of the King of Upper Egypt, sister of the king of Upper Egypt, King’s great wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë, the divine Philadelphos”
- 24: “Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë, the divine Philadelphos.” “*Theoi Adelphoi* (who dwells in) Apet – Karnak.”
- 25: “Arsinoë, daughter of Amun.” “*Theoi Adelphoi*.”
- 26L: “King’s Daughter, sister of the king of Upper Egypt, King’s great wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Mistress of Eternity, Lady of the solar disc, Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos...”. “the manifestation of Ptah, the king of all souls, Lord of sacredness.”
- 26R: “Daughter of the king, sister of the king of Upper Egypt, King’s great wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Mistress of Eternity, Lady of the sun disk (Aten), Daughter of Amun, Arsinoë, the divine Philadelphos, Divine mother (Isis) of the living bull, the manifestation of Ptah, the king of all souls, Lord of sacredness.”
- 27: “King’s wife, daughter, and his sister, Daughter of Amun [...brother/sibling][...], ruler [...], Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë Philadelphos.”
- 28: “Princess, Great of praise, Lady of (all) the people, Sweet of Love, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, King’s wife, sister [...], Daughter of Amun, Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos.”
- 29: “King’s wife, daughter, sister, Daughter of Amun, sister of the king of Upper Egypt, Arsinoë.”
- 30: “Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë.”
- 31: “King’s wife, daughter, sister, Daughter of Amun, Lady of the Two Lands, the divine Philadelphos, Arsinoë, Princess, Great of Praise, Lady of Sweet Love, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of Egypt, Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë.”
- 32: “King’s wife, daughter, his sister, Daughter of Amun, Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos, Princess, Great of Praise, Lady of Sweet Love, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of Egypt, Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë, may she live forever.”
- 33: “Lady of the Two Lands, Arsinoë, given eternal life.”
- 34: “Divine Mother of his mothers, Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos.”
- 35: “Divine mother of his mothers, Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos.”
- 36: “Female Pharaoh.”

- 37: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Sekhmet the Great, Lady of all Sekhmet-goddesses, she whose fiery breath blasts against the enemies.”
- 38: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, the Dendera (= personification), the great of Dendera.”
- 39: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu...”
- 40: “[...] the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu...”
- 41: “Hathor [...] Edfu [...]”
- 42: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Raat the admirable, the cobra who is in the brow of all Gods.”
- 43: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, female Ruler, the powerful One, Mistress of all the Gods, ... Maat, the great Daughter...”
- 44: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, Mehit the Great of the fruitful flood, she the Horizon, the Shining One...”
- 45: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, female Ruler...”
- 46: “Hathor of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Mistress of all the Gods.”
- 47: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the gods of the gods, Wadjet the Ruler of the kingdom, the Golden One of the Ennead and the divine Kingdom.”
- 48: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”
- 49: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, Lady of the Sky...”
- 50: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu...”
- 51: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, she who dwells in Edfu ... Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods.”
- 52: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu ... the shining Golden One of the Gods, she of the Ennead.”
- 53: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu, the Two Ladies, the female Horus, the Powerful One, the magnificent, she who rejoices in the rays of the Ennead.”
- 54: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu...Maat...”
- 55: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who dwells in Edfu...the strong (female) Edfu.”
- 56: no text preserved
- 57: no text preserved
- 58: “Hathor-Opet, Lady of the Gods in Heaven, Mistress of all the Gods, Mehnit the Great (who is) on her father Ra, the ancient Eye in her divine barque, Wadjet of the Two Lands, Wadjet of the Gods, she who shines in the horizon, the desired Magnificent One...”
- 59: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the daughter...the Magnificent...Mehnit.”
- 60: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, the divine throne, Mistress of Upper Egypt ... and Lower Egypt (=Lady of the field-plants – lotus and papyrus) and the Two Lands, the Eye of Ra, Golden One of all the Gods in Heaven.”
- 61: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods in Heaven, Lady of the rulers, Lady of the Land.”

- 62: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods (of Ra?) ... Powerful One, Chieftess of [...] ... daughter of Ra.”
- 63: “[...] Dendera [...]”
- 64: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Mistress of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the Golden One who is in her barque, the divine sistrum...”
- 65: “Hathor the Great [...]”
- 66: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Chieftess of the Gods.”
- 67: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra in the divine Kingdom, Sothis...”
- 68: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Maat the Great, daughter of Ra, Mistress of the Goddesses ... Chieftess of the house of the sistrum, the great cobra, her alike does not exist...”
- 69: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the Golden One of the Ennead ... daughter of Ra ... Wadjet...”
- 70: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the gods in the ancient sky, she who rises as Mehnyt the Great *uraeus* ... the mother ... Raat ... Lady of all goddesses, she of the Ennead, Lady of the Two Lands ... the admirable and beautiful [...]”
- 71: “Hathor-Opet, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Maat the Great daughter of Ra in the house of Maat, greatly beloved One ... chieftess of the goddesses, Mehnyt the *uraeus*, mistress of the Two Lands in the heart of Horus.”
- 72: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Mehnyt.”
- 73: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra... Mistress of the Gods, Chieftess of the goddesses, no goddess like her exists...”
- 74: “[...] the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra in Heaven, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”
- 75: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Great female Edfu [...] Lady of the Kingdom in the sky, female Ruler in the divine Kingdom.”
- 76: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods [...] daughter of Atum”
- 77: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods ... Powerful One (who is) in her barque, daughter of Ra...”
- 78: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Great Ennead, the original image, Golden mother of all divine mothers... Lady of the kingdoms, Mistress of the Land, the beautiful Chieftess of the goddesses...”
- 79: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Maat the Chieftess of ... the fortunate One of Atum, divine mother of the divine mothers.”
- 80: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Lady of the sistrum... the mother of Aten... daughter of Ra”
- 81: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who originates in (has risen from) ancient times, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Gods, Powerful One, Chieftess of the house of the sistrum...”
- 82: “Hathor-Opet, Lady of Dendera, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Gods and the Goddesses, daughter of [...] she who has risen from ancient times... Raat, Lady of the horizon, Mehnyt... the mother of all divine mothers... Mehnyt... Maat beloved of Ra”

- 83: “Hathor-Opet, Lady of Dendera, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the (foremost) daughter of all daughters, Mehnyt the Great Powerful One in the brow, she (who is) in the barque, no other is her alike as the Lady of the Sky... whose alike does not exist... in her barque in eternity, the Golden Lady of the [...]”
- 84: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Powerful of her father... daughter of Ra... Chieftess of the Goddesses...”
- 85: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the Powerful One who is in the head of Aten... Chieftess of the throne of Ra, the first (daughter) of his daughters, Chieftess of the Gods”
- 86: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Chieftess of the Great Ennead.”
- 87: “[Hathor] the Great, Lady of Dendera, [Eye] of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods of Dendera, Lady of all the Gods, Opet (?)... Lady of Dendera, daughter of Ra...”
- 88: “Hathor [the Great], Lady of [Dendera], Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”
- 89: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the nest of the cobra, Powerful One in the head of the great king...”
- 90: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Hathor of Dendera, Chieftess of the Two Lands and the divine Kingdom, female Edfu in the divine Kingdom”
- 91: “Isis the Great, divine mother, Lady of Iatdit (=the Isis temple of Dendera), she who dwells in Dendera, Lady of the Gods, Eye of Ra, the Mistress, the ruling Lady of the Kingdom...”
- 92: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods [...] Chieftess in the house of the sistrum, the nest of the cobra in the head of her [...]”
- 93: “Isis the Great, divine mother, Lady of Iatdit, she who dwells in Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods [...], Lady of Dendera, (female) Ruler, the Lady of the Divine Lands”
- 94: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods [...], Lady of the Two Lands, the magnificent of the powerful [...]”
- 95: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Raat, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods in the ancient Land... female Edfu in the divine Kingdom... divine mother of the gods”
- 96: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of [Ra], Lady of the Sky, [...] ... Maat”
- 97: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods.”
- 98: “Hathor-Opet, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, daughter of Ra who shines in her barque...”
- 99: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, she the Horizon who shines in her barque, daughter of Ra, his Powerful One in her great barque in Heaven, the White One of the Two Lands...”
- 100: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Mehnyt the Great in the forehead, his Powerful One in the divine barque, Wadjet of the Two Lands...”
- 101: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Maat the Great... Golden One of the Gods...”








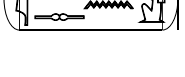
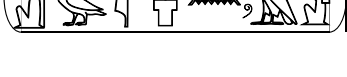



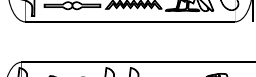
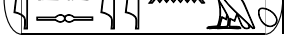
- 102: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the daughter (who is the) Eye...”
- 103: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods... praised among the Gods... the Powerful Eye...”
- 104: “Hathor the Great, Eye of Ra, Lady of all the Gods, Maat-Opet [...] none of the goddesses, Mehnyt, Lady of the heavenly Lands, her rays [...]”
- 105: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Maat the Great daughter, the eye who has risen [...], Mehnyt the Great Lady of all names, she who has risen as the cobra in the forehead of the great king...”
- 106: Hathor-Opet, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Lady of the ruler in her barque, no other is as beautiful as Mehnyt, Lady of the Sky, Lady of the Sistra and the menit”
- 107: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Sekhmet who dwells in Dendera”
- 108: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”
- 109: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky...”
- 110: “[Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky...]”
- 111: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra...”
- 112: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”
- 113: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, divine mother [...] of all the Gods...”
- 114: no text is preserved
- 115: no text is preserved
- 116: no text is preserved
- 117: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods.”
- 118: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”
- 119: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”
- 120: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Maat the Great...”
- 121: “Isis the Great, divine mother of Dendera, the cobra of Dendera...Mistress of the goddesses, the wife of all women (wives)”
- 122: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, the Two Ladies, the Rekhyt, Chieftess of the throne-room...”
- 123: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, she who appears in her white crown, Chieftess of the red crown, she who dwells in her horns, she who shines in her double feather plume, she who shines in her cow horns and solar disc”
- 124: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Maat of Dendera in the great house of the cobra...”
- 125: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the great Golden One...”
- 126: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”
- 127: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, [Lady of the Sky, Mistress] of all the Gods...”

- 128: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, daughter of Ra...”
- 129: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Maat the Great daughter of Ra, Mistress of the Goddesses and Gods, the Powerful One, Chieftess of the house of the sistrum... Mehnyt...”
- 130: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Maat the Great daughter of Ra...”
- 131: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods and rulers, Powerful mistress of the divine Kingdom... Maat the great...”
- 132: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, she who is in the great eternal Horizon... Mehnyt...”
- 133: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Mehnyt the Great cobra...”
- 134: “Isis the Great, divine mother of *Iatdit*, she who dwells in Dendera...”
- 135: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the chief Eye who appears in her beautiful white crown, the chieftess of her red crown, and her head shines in the solar disc Aten, chieftess of her horns, the Golden One”
- 136: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Mehnyt, mistress of her sistrum, she who satisfies her son Ihy”
- 137: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, the Eye (who is) the daughter, Lady of the divine Kingdom, female Ruler of the offerings, she who shines as gold”
- 138: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Raat, her ... does not exist... beloved mistress and divine wife...”
- 139: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the daughter (who is the) Eye, who has risen from ancient times, Maat...”
- 140: “Hathor-Opet, the Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Maat the Great daughter of Ra”
- 141: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra who is in his heart, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, female Ruler in Dendera, ruling mistress of the goddesses, Maat in the house of gold.”
- 143: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Mistress of all the Goddesses, Mistress of all the Gods.”
- 144: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, daughter of Atum.”
- 145L: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all [the Gods], image of Maat the Great...”
- 145R: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Maat the ruling daughter of Ra...”
- 146: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Hathor the Great... Chieftess of all the Gods, she with the beautiful face and she who is sweet of love.”
- 147: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, the Horizon...”
- 148: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Maat the Great, Chieftess of *Iatdit* [...], satisfies the Gods [...]
- 149: “Hathor the Great...”
- 150: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”


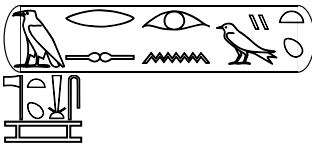
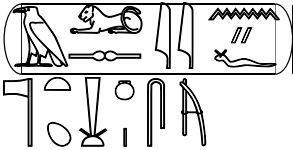
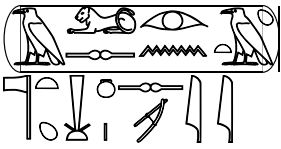
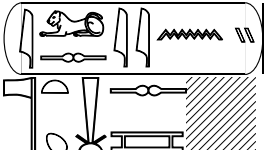


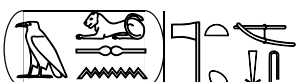
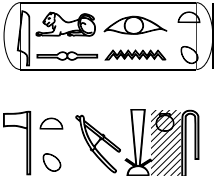
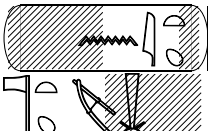
- 151: “...Hathor ... the magnificent ... mother...”
- 152: “Hathor-Opet, the Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, female Ruler, Powerful One, living daughter of Atum”
- 153: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods...”
- 154: “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, Golden One...”
- 155: “Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Lady of the Sky.”
- 156: “King’s wife, female ruler, Lady of the Two Lands (Cleopatra)|. Subsequently, the couple is described as the *theoi Euergetai* (II).
- 157: “[...] Lady of the Two Lands (Cleopatra)”. Subsequently, the couple is described as *theoi Euergetai* (II).
- 158: “the great female ruler, daughter of Geb ... (Cleopatra)”.

APPENDIX III

ARSINOË'S CARTOUCHES

Designation	Transcription	Hieroglyphs	Cat. nos.
Arsinoë	<i>Ṭ-r-s-n-ʒ</i>		1L
	<i>Ṭ-r-s-n-ʒ-j-t</i>		1M
	<i>Ṭ-r-s-n-i-ʒ</i>		2L
	<i>Ṭ-r-s-[n]-i-ʒ</i>		2R
	<i>Ṭ-r-s-n-ʒ-t</i>		2M
	<i>J-r-s-ʒ-t</i>		3
	<i>ʒ [...] [j]</i>		6
	<i>Ṭ-r-s- [...] n</i>		11
	<i>sʒt Ṭmn Ṭ-r-s-n-ʒ</i>		12
	<i>ʒ-r-n [...]</i>		15L
	<i>ʒ-r-n-f [...]</i>		15R
	<i>ʒ-r-j-j-n-t</i>		16
	<i>Ṭ-r-s-sn-n-ʒ-t</i>		18
	<i>Ṭ-r-s-j-n-ʒ-t</i>		19

	<i>ʿr-s-n-sn-ʒ</i>		20
	<i>ʒ-r-s-sn-j</i>		21
	<i>ʒ-r-s-sn-n-ʒ-t</i>		22
	<i>ʿr-s-sn-n-ʒ-t</i>		25
	<i>ʒ-r-s-n-t</i>		29
	<i>ʒ-r-s-n</i>		30-33
Arsinoë Philadelphos	<i>ʿr-s-sn-t i-n-t-sn</i>		4
	<i>ʒ-r-s-n [...] [...] mr-sn</i>		5
	<i>ʒ-r-s- [n] mr-sn-s</i>		7
	<i>ʿ-ʒ-r-s-j mr-sn-s</i>		8
	<i>ʒ-r-s-i mr-sn</i>		13
	<i>ʒ-r-s-j-n [i] [mr-sn]</i>		14
	<i>ʒ-r-s-n ht-sn</i>		27
Arsinoë the divine Philadelphos	<i>ʿr-s-n-ʒ ntrt mr-sn-s</i>		1R
	<i>ʿr-s-n-ʒ-t ntrt it mr-sn-s</i>		2M
	<i>ʿr-s-sn-n-ʒ-t ntrt ʒ</i>		

	<i>mr-sn</i>		3
	<i>3-r-s-sn-n-w-t ntrt mr-sn-s</i>		17
	<i>3-r-s-j-n-j-f ntrt mr-sn-s</i>		23
	<i>3-r-s-sn-n-3-t ntrt mr-sn-s-j</i>		24
	<i>1-r-s-j-n ntrt mr- sn-s</i>		26l-r
	<i>3-r-s-n ntrt mr-sn</i>		28
	<i>3-r-s-n ntrt mr-sn-s</i>		31
	<i>3 r s n ntrt mr-sn s</i>		32
	<i>1-r-s-sn-n-t ntrt mr-sn-s</i>		34
	<i>[...] -n-i-t ntrt [mr-] sn</i>		35

APPENDIX IV THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY

RULERS*

Ptolemy I Soter	304/305-282
Co-ruling with Ptolemy II	285/284-282
Ptolemy II Philadelphos	282-242
Co-ruling with Arsinoë II	27?-270/268
with Ptolemy the son	267-259
with Ptolemy III	
Ptolemy III Euergetes	246-222
Ptolemy IV Philopator	222-204
Co-ruling with Ptolemy V	210-204
Ptolemy V Epiphanes	204-180
Ptolemy VI Philometor	180-145
Co-ruling with Cleopatra I	180-178/177
with Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and Cleopatra II Euergetis	170-164
with Cleopatra II	163-145
with Ptolemy Eupator	152
Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II	145-132
Co-ruling with Cleopatra III	132-130, 124-116
Cleopatra II	130-127
Cleopatra II, III and Ptolemy IX Soter II	116-115
Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX	115-107
Cleopatra III and Ptolemy X Alexander I Philometor	107-101
Ptolemy X and Cleopatra Berenice Philopator	101-88
Ptolemy IX and Cleopatra Berenice	81
Cleopatra Berenice and Ptolemy XI Alexander II	80
Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus Philopator Philadelphos and Berenice V	80-69
Ptolemy XII	69-58
Berenice IV and Cleopatra Tryphaena	58-55
Ptolemy XII	55-51
Cleopatra VII Philopator and Ptolemy XIII Philopator	51-48
Ptolemy XIII and Arsinoë IV	48-47
Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIV	47-44
Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XV Caesar Philopator Philometor ('Caesarion')	44-30

* The list is based on C. Bennett's Ptolemaic Genealogy, as documented on <http://www.tyndalehouse.com/Egypt/ptolemies/genealogy.htm> (2010-09-23).

Official names of the deified couples

- Theoi Soteres* – the saviour gods (Ptolemy I and Berenice I)
Theoi Adelphoi – the sibling gods (Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II)
Theoi Euergetai – the benefactor gods (Ptolemy III and Berenice II)
Theoi Philopatores – the father-loving gods (Ptolemy IV and Arsinoë III)
Theoi Epiphanes – the manifest gods (Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I)
Theoi Philometores – the mother-loving gods (Ptolemy IV and Cleopatra II)
Theoi Euergetai (II) – the benefactor gods (Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra II and III)
Theoi Philometores Soteres – the mother-loving saviour gods
(Ptolemy IX, Cleopatra II and III)
Theoi Philometores Soteres – the mother-loving saviour gods (Ptolemy X and Cleopatra III)
Theoi Philopatores kai Philadelphoi – the father-loving and sibling-loving gods (Ptolemy XII
and Cleopatra V)
Theoi Philopatores kai Philadelphoi – the father-loving and sibling-loving gods (Cleopatra
VII and Ptolemy XIV)

APPENDIX V ROMAN EMPERORS from Augustus to Trajan*

Augustus	27 B.C. – AD 14
Tiberius	AD 14-37
Gaius ('Caligula')	37-41
Claudius	41-54
Nero	54-68
Galba	68-69
Otho	69
Vitellius	69
Vespasian	69-79
Titus	78-81
Domitian	81-96
Nerva	96-98
Trajan	98-117

* The list encompasses the time period that is represented in the material. The list is after Wells 1995, 285.

APPENDIX VI

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY

PREDYNASTIC PERIOD*:

Ma'adi culture, northern Egypt, c. 4000-3300/3200 B.C.
 Badarian culture, Middle Egypt, c. 4500-3800 B.C.
 Naqada culture (I-III, Dynasty 0), Southern Egypt, c. 4000-3050

EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD:

1st Dyn., c. 3050-2890 B.C.

Aha
 Djer
 Djet
 Den
 Anedjib
 Smerkhet

Qa'a

2nd Dyn., c. 2890-2686 B.C.

Hotepsekhemwy
 Reneb
 Nynetjer
 Weneg
 Peribsen
 Khasekhemqy

OLD KINGDOM:

3rd Dyn., c. 2686-2613 B.C.

Nebka
 Zoser
 Sekhemkhet
 Khaba
 Huni

4th Dyn., c. 2613-2494 B.C.

Sneferu
 Khufu (Cheops)
 Djedefre
 Khafre (Chefren)
 Nebka

Menkaure
 Shepseskaf

5th Dyn., c. 2494-2345 B.C.

Weserkaf
 Sahure
 Neferirkare
 Shepseskare
 Neferefre

Nyuserre

Menkauhor
 Djdkare-Isesi

Unas

6th Dyn., c. 2345-2181 B.C.

Teti

Weserkare

Pepi I

Merenre

Pepi II

Nitocris (Female Pharaoh?)

FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD:

7th-8th Dynasties, c. 2181-2125 B.C.

c. 16 Kings

9th-10th Dynasties (Heracleopolis), c. 2160-2025

B.C.

11th Dyn., pre-unification Thebes, c. 2125-2055

B.C.

Mentuhotep I

Intef I

Intef II

Intef III

MIDDLE KINGDOM:

11th Dyn., unification, c. 2055-1985 B.C.

Mentuhotep II

Mentuhotep III

Mentuhotep IV

12th Dyn., c. 1985-1795 B.C.

Amenemhat I

Senusret I

Amenemhat II

Senusret II

Amenemhat III

Amenemhat IV

Female King Sobeknefru

SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD:

13th Dyn., c. 1795-1650 B.C.

c. 65 kings, including:

Amu-sa-hornedjherjotef

Chendjer

Sobekhotep III

Neferhotep I

Sihathor I

Sihathor II

Sobekhotep IV

Neferhotep III

14th Dyn., c. 1750-1650 B.C.

Poss. up to 76 kings ruling from Sais, overlapping the 13th and 15th Dynasties.

15th Dyn. (Hyksos), c. 1650-1550 B.C.

Salitis

Khayan

Apophis

Khamudi

16th Dyn. (Hyksos), c. 1650-1550 B.C.

c. 17 minor kings/vassals, overlapping the 15th Dyn.

17th Dyn. (Thebes), c. 1650-1550 B.C.

c. 14 kings, including:

Intef IV

* Rulers and dates in accordance with *EAAE*, xxvii-xxx.

Ta'o I
Ta'o II
Khamose

NEW KINGDOM:

18th Dyn., c. 1550-1295 B.C.

Ahmose
Amenhotep I
Tuthmosis I
Tuthmosis II
Female Pharaoh Hatshepsut
Tuthmosis III
Amenhotep II
Tuthmosis IV
Amenhotep III
Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten
Smenkhare
Tutankhamen
Ay
Horemheb

19th Dyn., c. 1295-1186 B.C.

Ramses I
Seti I
Ramses II
Merenptah
Amenmesses
Seti II
Siptah

Female Pharaoh Tawosret

20th Dyn., c. 1186-1069 B.C.

Sethnakht
Ramses III
Ramses IV
Ramses V
Ramses VI
Ramses VII
Ramses VIII
Ramses IX
Ramses X
Ramses XI

THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD:

21st Dyn. (Tanis), c. 1069-945 B.C.

Smenes
Amenemnisu
Psusennes I
Amenemope
Osorkon the Elder
Siamen

Psusennes II

22nd Dyn. (Libyan), c. 945-735 B.C.

Sheshonk I
Osorkon I
Sheshonk II
Takelot I
Osorkon II
Takelot II
Sheshonk III
Pami
Sheshonk V

Theban kings, c. 818-730 B.C.

Pedubast I
Input I
Sheshonk IV (?)
Osorkon III
Takelot III
Rudamen
Iny

23rd Dyn. (Libyan), c. 735-710 B.C.

Pedubast II
Osorkon IV
Psammous

Local dynasties, c. 730 B.C.

Thotemhat and Nimlot (Hermopolis)
Pefjtjauwybast (Heracleopolis)
Input II (Leontopolis)

24th Dyn., c. 727-715 B.C.

Tefnakht
Bakenrenef

25th Dyn. (Kushite), c. 760-653 B.C.

Kashta
Piye
Shabaka
Shebitku
Taharka
Tanutameni

LATE PERIOD:

26th Dyn. (Saite), c. 664-525 B.C.

Neko I
Psamtik (Psammetichos) I
Neko II
Psamtik II
Apries
Amasis
Psamtik III

27th Dyn. (Persian), c. 525-404 B.C.

Cambyses
Darius I
Xerxes I
Artaxerxes I
Darius II

Artaxerxes II

28th Dyn., c. 404-399 B.C.

Amyrtaeus

29th Dyn., c. 399-380 B.C.

Nephrites I
Hakor
Nephrites II

30th Dyn., c. 380-343 B.C.

Nectanebo I
Teos

Nectanebo II

31st Dyn. (Persian), c. 343-332 B.C.











Artaxerxes III
Arses
Darius III










Ptolemaic Dynasty (see Appendix IV)
















Roman Period (see Appendix V)












APPENDIX VII












WORD LIST










Aha	Fighter of the demons, associated with Bes.	
Amun	“The Hidden/Secret One”, one of Egypt’s most important male deities, primeval god in the Ogdoad of Hermopolis (paired with Amunet, representing air). Main cult centre in Karnak, Thebes, worshipped with the Theban triad (with Mut and Khonsu). Depicted as a ram, goose, or in an anthropomorphic form.	
Amunet	Female divine equivalent to Amun in the primeval Ogdoad (representing air).	
<i>Anedjti</i>	Crown composed of ram horns, a double feather plume and a solar disc (occasionally with additional elements)	
<i>Ankh</i>	A symbol of life	
Anubis	Canine deity responsible for the mummification process and guarded the burial sites. Judged the dead.	
Apis	Sacred bull in Memphis. Physical form of Ptah.	
Apophis	Snake god of the Underworld	
Arsinoeia	Festival in honour of Arsinoë II.	
<i>Atef</i>	Ostrich feather	
<i>Atef crown</i>	Crown composed of two ostrich feathers, a form of the original white crown, ram horns and a solar disc. Traditionally connected with Osiris.	










Aten	The solar disc (physical manifestation of Ra).	
Atum	The primeval creator god, father figure in the Heliopolitan Ennead. Represented the afternoon phase of the sun's cycle.	
Ba	The human soul which could leave and return to the physical body.	
Banebdjedet	Local form of Amun, manifested as a ram, with a cult centre in Mendes (northern equivalent to Khnum).	
Bastet	Feline goddess closely associated with Hathor. Atum's spouse and daughter. Cult centre in Bubastis (Delta).	
Bat	Predynastic cow goddess.	
Bes	Dwarf deity who protected women during childbirth. Protector against demons through dancing and drumming.	
Canephoros	The basket-bearing, eponymous priestess of Arsinoë II.	
Cucupha	Mythical, unidentified animal head on top of the was stave.	
Dado	The lowest register of relief in a temple, usually in a smaller size than the main scenes. Traditionally showing processions.	
Dikeras	The double cornucopia. Symbol of Arsinoë. Connected with the myth of Zeus, Amalthea and the birth of Dionysus.	
Djed	"Stability". Believed to represent the backbone of Osiris.	
Four-feathered crown	Crown composed of four straight, tall feathers.	



Geb	Earth/chthonic god, brother and spouse of Nut, together the children of Shu and Tefnut (thus, the third generation of the Ennead). Always shown in human form.	
Harakhte	Horus-Ra, Horus the divine ruler, representing the midday sun.	
Haroeris	Horus the elder	
Harpocrates	Horus the child, son of Isis and Osiris, Hathor and Horus, or any local form of the mother/father-gods.	
Harsomtus	Horus the uniter, was born and rose up from a lotus.	 
Hathor	Primeval solar-associated goddess, eternally counterparting the primeval male form. Reversed aging. Mother-daughter-wife of Ra/Horus/Amon/Atum. Main cult centre in Dendera.	 
Hat-Mehit	Local form of Hathor. Spouse of Banebdjedet and mother of Harpocrates in Mendes.	
Hauhet	Infinity goddess. Female counterpart of Heh in the Ogdoad. Usually depicted with the head of a frog.	
Heh	Infinity god. Male counterpart of Hauhet in the Ogdoad.	
<i>Hemhem</i>	Complex crown composition. Usually referred to as the triple crown.	
<i>Hes</i>	Libation vessel.	
Horus	Divine king, ruler of heaven. Son of Isis and Osiris, husband of Hathor, brother of Seth. Depicted completely or partially as a falcon. Cult	 

	centre in Heliopolis and Edfu.	
<i>Iatdit</i>	Temple of Isis in Dendera.	
Ihy	The sistrum player. Son of Hathor and Horus.	
Isis	Mother goddess. Daughter of Geb and Nut, sister and wife of Osiris, sister of Nephthys, mother of Horus. Forth generation of the Ennead. Main cult centre in Philae.	
<i>Ka</i>	Human spirit which left the body at the time of death.	
<i>Khat</i>	Wig	
Khepri	Scarab/beetle deity representing the morning phase of the sun. Symbolises change and creation. No individual cult centre.	
<i>Kheprsh</i>	The blue war crown.	
Khnum	Local form of Amun, controlled the Nile inundation. Creator deity. Southern form of Banebdjedet. Cult centre in Elephantine.	
Khonsu	Moon god, son of Amun and Mut in Thebes (Ptah and Sekhmet in Memphis). Depicted with a crescent and moon disc.	
Ma'at	Personification of the fundamental concept of Egyptian cosmology: truth, justice, balance, etc. Daughter of Ra. Depicted with an ostrich feather.	
Mehnyt	The risen cobra. Form of Hathor.	
<i>Menit</i>	Necklace worn by Hathor and her worshippers. Sacred in rituals.	

Min	Fertility god, always depicted with an erected penis. Often associated with Amun.	
Montu	Falcon headed war god. Depicted with the double feather plume and solar disc. Main cult centre in Armant.	
Mut	Mother goddess included in the Theban triad with Amun and Khonsu. Represented the old wise woman. Depicted with the vulture cap and double crown. Cult centre in Karnak.	
<i>Naos</i>	Holiest and most central room in a temple. Inner sanctuary.	
Nebet Hetepet	Lady of the offerings. Aspect of Hathor.	
Nefertem	Local form of Harpocrates/Harsomtus. Horus the youngster who rose from the lotus. Son of Ptah and Sekhmet.	
Neith	Creator and hunting goddess. Depicted with two crossed arrows or the red crown. Cult centre in Sais.	
Nekhbet	Vulture goddess. Depicted with the white crown, and as a vulture. Cult centre in Nekheb (el-Kab). Paired with Wadjet as the Two Ladies.	 
<i>Nemset</i>	Type of vessel.	
<i>Nemes</i>	Pharaoh's wig, often striped with blue and golden colours.	
Nephthys	Protectress goddess. Daughter of Geb and Nut, sister of Isis and Osiris, sister and wife of Seth. Depicted with a personal hieroglyphic attribute signifying "Lady of the House".	
Nun	Personification of the primeval waters from which everything originated. Father figure in the Ogdoad,	

	depicted with the face of a frog.	
Nut	Sky and mother goddess. Daughter of Shu and Tefnut, sister and wife of Geb. Usually depicted as a woman stretching over the world.	
<i>Oinochoai</i>	Greek faience vessel.	
Opet	Mother goddess who protected pregnant women and childbirth. Cult centre in Karnak.	
Osiris	Lord of the Underworld. Son of Nut and Geb, brother of Seth and Nephthys, brother and husband of Isis, father of Horus.	
Procession deities	Usually personifications of geographical areas, Nile deities, ka-souls, etc. Depicted on the dadoes in processions carrying <i>hes</i> vessels, offering trays, plants, etc.	
Ptah	Creator god, main god in Memphis, paired with Sekhmet and Nefertem/Harpocrates. Associated with Apis.	
Ra	Male primeval solar god, source of all other deities.	
Raat	Female form of Ra. Aspect of Hathor.	
<i>Rekht</i>	Egyptian bird often depicted with a star in specific temple locations.	
Sarapis	Hellenistic fusion of the most powerful Egyptian and Greek male deities, including Apis, Osiris, Zeus, Asclepius, etc.	
<i>Sema</i>	“Unification”. The sign appears frequently with Harsomtus, Horus the unifier.	
<i>Sekhem</i>	Magical sceptre of power.	

Sekhmet	Aggressive aspect of Hathor, represented as the wild lioness. Spouse of Ptah in Memphis.	
Seshat	Female counterpart of Thoth. Recorder of time and the world. Depicted with a personal flower and is usually dressed in a panther skin. Actively engaged in the reckoning of the time ceremony.	
Seth	Chaotic dog-like deity. Son of Nut and Geb, brother of Isis, Osiris and Nephthys (the latter being his spouse). Cult centre in Kom Ombo.	
Shu	God of the life-giving air. Son of Atum, brother and husband of Tefnut. Second generation of the Ennead.	
Sobek	Crocodile god, “the Raging One”. Worshipped in the Delta as a creator god who rose from the dark waters. Main temples in Krokodilopolis and Kom Ombo.	
Sopt/Sobt	Male personification of the Sirius star.	
Tefnut	Goddess of moisture. Daughter of Atum, sister and wife of Shu. Second generation of the Ennead. Associated with Hathor. Often shown with a lioness head.	
Thoth	Lunar god of wisdom and writing. Invented the script. Depicted as a baboon or ibis bird. Paired with Seshat, always present writing the annuals and handing over the cartouche in crowning ceremonies.	
Uraeus	The risen cobra.	

Wadjet	Serpent goddess. Daughter of Ra, associated with Hathor. Paired with Nekhbet as the Two Ladies. Depicted with the red crown, as a serpent, or as the eye of Ra. Cult centre in Buto.	
Was	Sacred stave.	

REFERENCES

Abbreviations for ancient authors and work – including inscriptions, papyri, prosopographies, etc. – follow those recommended in the *OCD*³. Abbreviations of journals and series, as used by classicists, follow those that are listed in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, 2000, 10-24 (also at www.ajaonline.org) and the online list of EEF version 37 (March 2010): <http://www.egyptologyforum.org/EEFrefs.html>. All used translations of ancient sources are Loeb editions unless otherwise is stated.

ABBREVIATIONS

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
Berlin photos	<i>Berliner Photos der preussischen Expedition 1908-1910 nach Nubien</i> , eds. H. Junker & H. Schäfer (Ägyptologisches Microfiche-Archiv 3), Wiesbaden 1975.
<i>BIFAÖ</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> , Cairo.
BM	British Museum, London.
<i>CAH</i> ²	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , Second edition
CG	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
<i>Dendara</i>	E. Chassinat, F. Daumas & S. Cauville, <i>Le temple de Dendara</i> , Cairo 1934-2002.
<i>Denkmäler</i>	R. Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i> , Leipzig, 1897-1913.
<i>EAAE</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt</i> , ed. K. Bard, London & New York 1999.
<i>Edfou</i>	Rochemonteix & Chassinat, <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> , Paris, 1892-1985.
<i>Edfu</i>	<i>Edfu</i> , vol. I-VIII, ed. D. Kurth, Wiesbaden 1990-.
EEF	Egyptologists' Electronic Forum
<i>FGrH</i>	<i>Fragmenten griechische Historiker</i> , ed. by F. Jakoby, Berlin, 1923- .
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo.

<i>Khonsu II</i>	The temple of Khonsu, vol. II, <i>OIP</i> 103, Chicago 1981.
<i>LÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , ed. by W. Helck and E. Otto, Wiesbaden, 1975-1992.
<i>LdR</i>	H. Gauthier, <i>Le Livre des Rois d’Égypte</i> , 5 vols. (MIFAO 16, 18-21, 40) Cairo, 1907-17.
<i>LGG</i>	<i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> (OLA 110-116) vol I-VIII, ed. Ch. Leitz, Leuven 2002-2003.
LOEB	Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge (Mass.) & London 1911-.
Mariette, <i>Dendérah</i>	Mariette, A., <i>Dendérah: description générale du grand temple de cette ville</i> , vols. I-V, Paris 1869-80.
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire, Cairo.
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> , Mainz am Rhein, 1945- .
MM	Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
<i>OCD</i> ³	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3 rd ed., Oxford 1996.
<i>OEAE</i>	<i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt</i> , Oxford 2001.
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , ed. by W. Dittenberger, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1903-05.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven.
<i>PM</i>	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> , 8 vols, Oxford, 1927- .
PT	Pyramid Texts

<i>Pyr.</i>	<i>Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts</i> , trans. by R. O. Faulkner, Oxford 1969.
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
<i>SIG</i> ³	<i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> (3 rd ed.)
<i>Syll.</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , ed. W. Dittengerg, Leipzig 1883; 1898-1912; 1915.
<i>Thes. Inscr.</i>	K. H. Brugsch, <i>Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum</i> , Leipzig 1883-91.
<i>Urk. II</i>	<i>Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums II: Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit</i> , ed. K. Sethe, Leipzig 1904.
Utt.	Utterance
Vatican	Museo Gregoriano Egizio
<i>WB</i>	<i>Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache</i> , I-V, A. Erman & H. Grapow, Berlin 1982 (1950, 1971).

ANCIENT SOURCES

Ath.	Athenaeus, <i>Deipnosophistae</i>
Auson. <i>Mos.</i>	Ausonius, <i>Mosella</i> : The works of Ausonius, ed. R. Green, Oxford 1991.
Caes. <i>B Afr.</i> <i>B Civ.</i>	Caesar <i>Bellum Africum</i> <i>Bellum Civile</i>
Callim. <i>Apoth. Ars.</i>	Callimachus <i>Apotheosis Arsinoes</i> (= F 228, <i>Diegesis</i> . X.10): <i>Lyrice</i> ed. R. Pfeiffer, Oxford 1949.
<i>Com. Ber.</i>	<i>Coma Berenice</i> (=F 110): <i>Aetia</i> , ed. R. Pfeiffer, Oxford 1949.
Catull.	Catullus
Clem. Al. <i>Strom.</i>	Clemens Alexandrinus <i>Stromateis</i>
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus
Eratosth.	Eratosthenes

Hdt.	Herodotus
Hes. <i>Theog</i>	Hesiod, <i>Theogonia</i>
Horapollo	<i>Hieroglyphica: The Hieroglyphs of Horapollo</i> , transl. & ed. G. Boas, Princeton 1993 (1950, 1978).
Just. <i>Epit.</i>	Justinus, <i>Epitome</i> (of Trogus)
Juv.	Juvenal
Lib.	Libanius
Manetho	Manetho
Paus.	Pausanias
Pliny <i>NH</i>	Pliny, <i>Naturalis historia</i>
Plut. <i>Vit. Demetr.</i> <i>Mor.</i>	Plutarch <i>Vitae Parallelae Demetrius</i> <i>Moralia</i>
Posidip.	Posidippus: <i>Epigrammata: Hell. Epigr.</i> , ed. A.Gow & D. Page, Cambridge 1965; <i>Suppl. Hell.</i> ed. H. Lloyd-Jones & P. Parson, Berlin, 1983-2005.
ps.-Callisth.	pseudo-Callisthenes: <i>Historia Alexandri Magni</i> , ed. W. Kroll, Berlin 1926.
Schol. Theocritus	C. Wendel, <i>Scholia in Theocritum Vetera</i> , Stuttgart, 1914.
Theoc. <i>Id.</i>	Theocritus, <i>Idylls</i>

Collections of papyri

<i>Gr. Dem. Medinet Habu 77</i>	H. J. Thissen, <i>Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu</i> , Sommerhausen 1989
<i>P.Brit.Mus.</i>	(<i>Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum</i>) <i>The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, British Museum 10057 and 10058</i> , ed. T. Peet, London 1923.
<i>P.Cair.Zen.</i>	<i>Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire. Zenon papyri</i> , vols. I-IV, Cairo 1925-1934.

- P.Col.Zen.* *Columbia papyri III, Zenon Papyri: Business Papers of the Third Century B.C. dealing with Palestine and Egypt I*, ed. W.L. Westermann and E.S. Hasenoehrl. New York 1934.
- P.Chester Beatty* Gardiner, A., *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series. Vols. I-II*, London 1935.
- P.Eleph.Dem.* *Demotische Papyrus von der Insel Elephantine* (Dem.Stud. 2), ed. W. Spiegelberg, Leipzig 1908.
- P. Grad. 10* G. Plaumann (ed.), *Griechische Papyri der Sammlung Gradenwitz*, Heidelberg 1914.
- P.Hib.* *Hibeh papyri*, ed. E. Turner, London 1955.
- P. L. Bat.* Pestman, P. W. et. al., *A guide to the Zenon Archives* (P. L. Bat. 21), Leiden 1981; Clarysse, W. & Van der Veken, G., *The eponymous priests of Ptolemaic Egypt* (P. L. Bat. 24), Leiden 1983.
- P. Lit. Goodsp.* Goodspeed, E. J., *Alexandrian Hexameter Fragments*, *JHS* 23, 1903, 237-247; Allison, R. W., *Guide to the Edgar J. Goodspeed Papyri*, *ZPE* 16, 1975, 27-32.
- P.Lond.* *Greek Papyri in the British Museum, III*, ed. F. Kenyon & H. Bell, London 1907.
- P. Louvre* T. Devéria, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens écrits sur papyrus, toile, tablettes et ostraca en caractères hiéroglyphiques, hiératiques, demotiques, grecs, coptes, arabes et latins qui sont conservés au Musée égyptien du Louvre*, Paris, 1872.
- P. Lugd. Bat.* *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C.-453 ap. J.-C.)* (P. Lugd. Bat. 15), ed. P. W., Pestman, Leiden 1967.
- P. Mil. Vogl.* G. Bastianini and C. Gallazzi, eds., with C. Austin, *Posidippo di Pella: Epigrammi* (P.Mil.Vogl.VIII 309), *Papiri dell'Università degli Studi di Milano*, 8 (Milan, 2001) 24-26.
- P.Oxy.* *Oxyrhynchus papyri XXVII*, eds. B. Grenfell & A. Hunt, ed. and transl. by E. G. Turner et. al., London 1962.
- PP* W. Peremans et al., *Prosopographia Ptolemaica VI:*

- La cour, les relations internationales et les possessions extérieures, la vie culturelle. Nos 14479-17250, Louvain 1968*
- P.Petrie I-II* *The Flinders Petrie papyri, I-II, ed. J.P. Mahaffy. Milano 1975 (Dublin 1891-1893).*
- P.Sorb.* *Papyrus de la Sorbonne, ed. H. Cadell. Paris 1966; H. Cadell, in Le culte du souverain dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque au IIIe siècle avant notre ère, ed. H. Melaerts, Leuven 1998, 1-4.*
- PT Utt.* *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, vols. I-IV, ed. K. Sethe, Leipzig 1908-1922.*
- P.Yale* *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, I, ed. J. Oates, A. Samuel and C. Welles. New Haven and Toronto 1967.*
- SB* *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten, ed. F. Preisigke et. al., Wiesbaden 1922-.*

MODERN LITTERATURE

- Abubakr 1937 Abubakr, A., *Untersuchungen über die ägyptischen Kronen*, Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York 1937.
- Albersmeier 2002 Albersmeier, S., *Untersuchungen zu den Frauenstatuen des ptolemäischen Ägypten*, Mainz am Rhein 2002.
- Albersmeier & Minas 1998 Albersmeier, S. & Minas, M., "Ein Weihrelief für vergöttlichte Arsinoe II", in *Egyptian religion the last thousand years. Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur* (OLA, 84), Leuven 1998, 3-29.
- Allison 1975 Allison, R. W., "Guide to the Edgar J. Goodspeed Papyri", *ZPE* 16, 1975, 27-32.
- Allen 2001 Allen, J., *Middle Egyptian: an introduction to the language and culture of hieroglyphs*, Cambridge 2001.
- Andersson & Sjöberg 1904 Andersson, E. & Sjöberg, N., "E. Akmar, La stèle de Pithom et les estampages de M. Ed. Naville" *Sphinx* 8, 1904, 223-236.
- Andrews 1994 Andrews, C., *Amulets in Ancient Egypt*, Bath 1994

- Armour 2001 Armour, R., *Gods and myths in Ancient Egypt*, Cairo 2001 (1986).
- Arnold 1999 Arnold, D., *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, Oxford 1999.
- Arnold 2003 Arnold, D., *The encyclopaedia of ancient Egyptian architecture*, New York 2003 (1994, 1997).
- Artioli 2010 Artioli, G., *Scientific Methods and Cultural Heritage: An introduction to the application of materials science to archeometry and conservation science*, Oxford & New York 2010.
- Ashton 2000 Ashton, S.-A., "The Ptolemaic influence on Egyptian royal sculpture", in *Current Research in Egyptology* (BAR international Series 909), ed. A. McDonald & C. Riggs, Oxford 2000.
- Ashton 2001a Ashton, S.A.. *Ptolemaic Royal Sculpture from Egypt*. Oxford 2001.
- Ashton 2001b Ashton, S.-A., "Identifying the Egyptian-style Ptolemaic queens", in *Cleopatra's Egypt. From history to myth*, eds. S. Walker & P. Higgs, London 2001, 148-155.
- Ashton 2003 Ashton, S.-A., *The last queens of Egypt*, London 2003.
- Assmann 1970 Assmann, J., *Der König als Sonnenpriester: Ein kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnenhymnik in thebanischer Tempeln und Gräber* (ADAIK 7), Glückstadt 1970.
- Assmann 2001 Assmann, J., *The search for god in ancient Egypt*, transl. by D. Lorton, New York 2001 (*Ägypten: Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur*, Stuttgart 1984)
- Assmann 2003 Assmann, J., *The mind of Egypt: history and meaning in the time of the Pharaohs*, transl. by A. Jenkins, Cambridge (Mass.) 2003 (*Ägypten: Ein Sinngeschichte*, Munich 1996).
- Austin 2006 Austin, M., *The Hellenistic world from Alexander to the Roman conquest: a selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*, Cambridge 2006 (1981).

- Bagnall & Derow 2004 *The Hellenistic Period. Historical Sources in Translation*, ed. R. Bagnall & P. Derow, Oxford 2004.
- Baines 1976 Baines, J., “Temple Symbolism”, *Royal Anthropological Institute News* 15, 1976, 10-15.
- Baines 1985 Baines, J., *Fecundity figures: Egyptian personification and the iconology of a genre*, Chicago 1985
- Baines 1990 Baines, J., “Restricted knowledge, hierarchy, and decorum: modern perceptions and ancient institutions”, *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt* 27, 1990, 1–23.
- Baines 1991 Baines, J., “Society, Morality, and Religious Practice”, in *Religion in Ancient Egypt: gods, myths, and personal practice*, ed. B. Shafer, Cornell 1991, 123-200.
- Baines 1997 Baines, J., “Temples as symbols, guarantors, and participants in Egyptian civilization”, in *The temple in ancient Egypt: new discoveries and recent research*, ed. S. Quirke, London 1997, 216–41.
- Baines 2007 Baines, J., *Visual and written culture in ancient Egypt*, Oxford 2007.
- Baines & Málek 2002 Baines, J. & Málek, J., *Atlas of ancient Egypt*, Oxford 2002.
- Barbantani 2005 Barbantani, S., “Goddess of love and mistress of the sea: notes on a Hellenistic hymn to Arsinoe-Aphrodite (P. Lit. Goodsp. 2, I-IV)”, *Anc.soc.* 35, 2005, 135-166.
- Bastianini, Gallazzi & Austin 2001 *Posidippo di Pella: Epigrammi (P.Mil.Vogl.VIII 309)*, *Papiri dell'Università degli Studi di Milano* 8, ed. G. Bastianini, C. Gallazzi & C. Austin, Milan 2001.
- von Beckerath 1984 Beckerath, J. von, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, München 1984.
- Beinlich 1978 Beinlich, H., “Ein altägyptischer Räucherarm in Heidelberg”, *MDAIK* 34, 1978, 15-31.
- Bell 1985 Bell, L., “Luxor temple and the cult of the royal Ka”, *JNES* 44, 1985, 251-294.
- Bénédictine 1893-1895 Bénédictine, G., *Le temple de Philae (I-II)*, Paris 1893 - 1895

- Blackman & Fairman 1943 Blackman, A.M. & Fairman, H.W., “The myth of Horus at Edfu – II”, *JEA* 29, 1943, 2-36.
- Bleeker 1967 Bleeker, J., *Egyptian Festivals: Enactments of Religious Renewal* (SHR 13), Leiden 1967.
- Bleeker 1973 Bleeker, J., *Hathor and Thoth: Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion* (SHR 26), Leiden 1973.
- Borghouts 1978 Borghouts, J.F., *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, Leiden 1978.
- Bowman 1986 Bowman, A., *Egypt after the Pharaohs: 332 BC –AD 642: from Alexander to the Arab conquest*, Berkeley 1986.
- Bothmer 1960 Bothmer, B., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100*, Brooklyn Museum Exh. Cat., Brooklyn 1960.
- Brass 2003 Brass, M., “Tracing the Origins of the Ancient Egyptian Cattle Cult”, in *A Delta Man in Yebu* ed. A. K. Eyma & C.J. Bennett, Florida 2003, 101-109.
- Breasted 1906 Breasted, J. H., *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vols. I-V, Chicago 1906.
- Brecklinghaus 2002 Brecklinghaus, H., *The Human Beings are awoken, You have set them Upright: Body Structure and Conception of Man in Ancient Egyptian Art and the Present Day*, transl. by N. Hanefeld & H. Brecklinghaus, Gundelfingen 2002 (*Die Menschen sind erwacht, du hast sie aufgerichtet. Körperstruktur und Menschenbild in der Kunst des alten Ägypten und heute*, 1997).
- Brewer & Teeter 2007 Brewer, D. & Teeter, E., *Egypt and the Egyptians*, Cambridge 2007.
- Bricault 1999 Bricault, L., “Sarapis et Isis, sauveurs de Ptolémée IV à Raphia”, *CE* 74, 1999, 334-343.
- Brier & Hobbs 1999 Brier, B. & H. Hobbs, *Daily life of the ancient Egyptians*, Westport 1999.
- Brissaud & Zivie-Coche 1998 Brissaud, P. & Zivie-Coche, C. (eds.), *Mission Française des Fouilles de Tanis, 1987-1997*, Paris 1998.

- Bruton & Caton-Thompson 1928 Brunton, G. & G. Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation and Predynastic Remains near Badari*. London 1928.
- Budge 1904/2003 Budge, E. A., *The decrees of Memphis and Canopus*, vol. I-III, London 1904/Whitefish 2003.
- Budge 1908/2004 Budge, E. A., *The Book of the Kings of Egypt*, Part One, London 1908/Whitefish 2004.
- Budge 1909 Budge, E. A., *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, London 1909.
- Burstein 1982 Burstein S.M., “Arsinoe II Philadelphos: A Revisionist View”, in W.L. Adams and E.N. Borza (eds.), *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage*, Washington 1982, 197-212.
- Burton 1995 Burton, J., *Theocritus’s Urban Mimes: Mobility, Gender and Patronage* (HCS 19), Berkeley 1995.
- Cadell 1998 Cadell, H., “À quelle date Arsinoé II Philadelphie est-elle décédée?”, in *Le culte du souverain dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque au IIIe siècle avant notre ère*, ed. H. Melaerts, Leuven 1998, 1-4.
- CAH² II *Cambridge Ancient History II, Part 2: the Middle East and the Aegean Region, c. 1380-1000 B.C.*, ed. I. Edwards, Cambridge 2000 (1975, 1987, 1990, 1997).
- CAH² IV *Cambridge Ancient History IV, Persia, Greece, and the Western Mediterranean, c. 525-479 B.C.*, ed. J. Boardman, Cambridge 2002 (1988, 1992, 1997, 1999).
- Calverley & Gardiner 1933 Calverley, A. & Gardiner, A., *The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos: Volume I The Chapels of Osiris, Isis and Horus*, London and Chicago 1933.
- Cameron 1995 Cameron, A., *Callimachus and His Critics*, Princeton 1995.
- Carney 1991 Carney, E., “What’s in a Name?: The Emergence of a Title for Royal Women in the Hellenistic Period”, in *Women’s History and Ancient History*, ed. S. Pomeroy, Chapel Hill and London 1991, 154-172.
- Carney 2000 Carney, E., “The Initiation of Cult for Royal Macedonian Women”, *CPh* 95, 2000, 21-43.

- Cauville 1983 Cauville, S., *La theologie d'Osiris à Edfou* (BdE 91), Cairo 1983.
- Cauville 1987 Cauville, S., *Essai sur la théologie du temple d'Horus à Edfou I* (BdE 102/1-2), Cairo 1987.
- Cauville 1990 Cauville, S., *Le temple de Dendera*, Cairo 1990.
- Chabas 1909 Chabas, F., “Le decret de Canope”, in *Oeuvres diverses*, vol. 5, ed. F. Chabas, Paris 1909, 488-495.
- Champollion 1844 Champollion, J.-F., *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: Notices Descriptives*, Paris 1844.
- Chase 1927-1929 Chace, A., *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus: Free Translation and Commentary with Selected Photographs, Translations, Transliterations and Literal Translations* (Classics in Mathematics Education 8), vols. I-II, Berlin 1927-1929.
- Chandler 2002 Chandler, D., *Semiotics: the basics*, London 2002.
- Chauveau 1998a Chauveau, M., “Une nouvelle déesse Philadelphie”, in *Egyptian Religion the last thousand years, Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur, II* (OLA 85), eds. Clarysse, W., Schoors, A. & Willems, H, Leuven 1998, 1263-1276.
- Chauveau 1998b Chauveau, M., *La Gloire d'Alexandrie*, exh. cat., Paris 1998.
- Cheshire 1982 Cheshire, W., “Zur Deutung eines Szepters der Arsinoe II. Philadelphos”, *ZPE* 48, 1982, 105-111.
- Clark & Engelbach 1990 Clark, S. & Engelbach, R., *Ancient Egyptian construction and architecture*, New York 1990 (1930).
- Clagett 1995 Clagett, M., *Ancient Egyptian science, a source book*, vol II, Philadelphia 1995.
- Clarysse & Van der Veken 1983 Clarysse, W. & Van der Veken, G., *The eponymous priests of Ptolemaic Egypt* (P. L. Bat. 24), Leiden 1983.
- Clarysse, Schoors & Willems 1998 *Egyptian Religion the last thousand years, Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur, I-II* (OLA 84-85), eds. Clarysse, W., Schoors, A. & Willems, H, Leuven 1998.

- Clayton 2006 Clayton, P., *Chronicle of the pharaohs. The reign-by-reign record of the rulers and dynasties of ancient Egypt*, London 2006 (1994).
- Clere 1961 Clere, P., *La porte d'Evergete a Karnak*, Cairo 1961.
- Collombert 2008 Collombert, Ph., “La ‘stèle de Saïs’ et l’instauration du culte d’Arsinoé II dans la chora”, *Anc.Soc.* 38, 2008, 83-102.
- Crawford 1980 Crawford, D., “Ptolemy, Ptah and Apis in Hellenistic Memphis”, in *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis* (Studia Hellenistica, 24), ed. W. Peremans, Lovanii 1980, 5-42.
- Crawford, Quaegebeur & Clarysse 1980 Crawford, D., Quaegebeur, J., & Clarysse, W., *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis* (Studia Hellenistica, 24), ed. W. Peremans, Lovanii 1980.
- D’Alleva 2009 D’Alleva, A., *Methods and theories of Art history*, London 2009.
- Darby, Ghalioungui & Grivetti 1977 Darby, W.J., Ghalioungui, P. & Grivetti, L., *Food: The gift of Osiris*, London 1977.
- Delia 1998 Delia, D., “Isis and the Moon”, in *Egyptian religion the last thousand years: Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, part I, eds. W. Clarysse, A. Schoors & H. Willems (OLA 84), Leuven 1998, 539-550.
- Dendara* *Le temple de Dendara I-XI*, eds. E. Chassinat, F. Daumas & S. Cauville, Cairo 1934-2002.
- Derchain 1985 Derchain, P., “Une mention meconnue de Ptolemde 'le Fils'”, *ZPE* 61, 1985, 35-36.
- Derchain-Urtel 1990 Derchain-Urtel, M.-T., “Die Krone ... und ihre Nebenformen ... in Edfu”, *Edfu* I, 1-18.
- Derchain-Urtel 1994 Derchain-Urtel, M.-T., “Die Hptj-Krone in Edfu und ihre Varianten”, in *Edfu* IV, 25-71.
- Desroches-Noblecourt 1968 Desroches-Noblecourt, C., *Le petit temple d’Abou Simbel I*, Cairo 1968.
- Dils 1998 Dils, P., “La couronne d’Arsinoe II Philadelphie”, in *Egyptian religion the last thousand years: Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, part II,

- eds. W. Clarysse, A. Schoors & H. Willems (OLA 85), Leuven 1998, 1299-1330.
- Dilthey 1977 Dilthey, W., *Descriptive Psychology and Historical Understanding*, transl. by R.M. Zaner & K.L. Heiges, The Hague 1977.
- Dilthey 1996 Dilthey, W., *Selected Works* (Volume IV: *Hermeneutics and the Study of History*) eds. R.A. Makkreel & F. Rodi, Princeton 1996.
- Dixon-Kennedy 1998 Dixon-Kennedy, M., *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman mythology*, Santa Barbara 1998.
- Dodson 2002 Dodson, A., "The Problem of Amenirdis II and the Heirs to the office of God's wife of Amun during the twenty-sixth dynasty", *JEA* 88, 2002, 177-186.
- Eco 1984 Eco, U., *Semiotics and Philosophy of Language*, Bloomington 1984.
- Edfou* *Le temple d'Édfou*, vols. I-VIII, ed. E. Chassinat, Cairo 1892-1933.
- Edfu* *Edfu*, vol. I-VIII, ed. D. Kurth, Wiesbaden 1990-.
- Edgar 1906 Edgar, C. C., *Sculptors' studies and unfinished works*, *Catalogue Generale du Musee du Caire*, Cairo 1906.
- Edgerton 1976 Edgerton, S. Jr., *The renaissance rediscovery of linear perspective*, New York 1976.
- Edgerton 1993 Edgerton, S. Jr., *The Heritage of Giotto's Geometry: Art and Science on the Eve of the Scientific Revolution*, New York 1993.
- Emery 1961 Emery, W., *Archaic Egypt*, Harmondsworth 1961.
- Englund 2001 Englund, G., "Offerings: an overview", in *OEA*, ed. D. Redford, Oxford 2001, 564-569.
- Erman 1911 Erman, A., *Hymnen an des Diadem*, Berlin 1911.
- Erman & Grapow 1982 Erman, A. & Grapow, H., *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, I-V, Berlin 1982 (1950, 1971).

- Fairman 1954 Fairman, H. W., "Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 37, 1954, 165-203.
- Fairman 1958 Fairman, H.W., "A scene of the offering of truth in the temple of Edfu", *MDAIK* 16, 1958, 86-92.
- Fakhry 1954 Fakhry, A., "The excavation of Snefru's Monuments at Dashur: Second Preliminary Report", *ASAE* 52, 1954, 563-594.
- Faulkner 1958 Faulkner, R., *British Museum. Manuscript. Papyrus 10569. An ancient Egyptian book of hours* (Pap. Brit. Mus. 10569), Oxford 1958.
- Faulkner 1962 Faulkner, R., *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford 1962.
- Faulkner 1969 Faulkner, R., *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts Translated into English, and Supplement of Hieroglyphic texts*, vol. I-II, Oxford 1969.
- Favard-Meeks 1998 Favard-Meeks, C., "Mise à jour des ouvrages de Flinders Petrie sur les feuilles de Tanis", in *Tanis: travaux récents sur le tell Sâ el-Hagar. Mission française des feuilles de Tanis, 1987-1997*, eds. P. Brissaud & C. Zivie-Coche, Paris 1998, 101-178.
- Fischer 1963 Fischer, H.G., "Varia Aegyptiaca: 4 The Evolution of the Armlike Censer", *JARCE* 2, 1963, 28-34.
- Fletcher 1994 Fletcher, J., "A Tale of Hair, Wigs and Lice", *Egyptian Archaeology: Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society* 5, 1994, 31-33.
- Frank 2007 Frank, K., *Lucie Duff Gordon: A passage to Egypt*, New York 2007.
- Frankfort 1949 Frankfort, H. and H. A., "Myth and Reality" in *Before Philosophy*, eds. J. Wilsen & T. Jacobsen, Harmondsworth 1949, 11-36.
- Frankfort 1978 Frankfort, H., *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature*, Chicago 1978 (1948).
- Frankfurter 1998 Frankfurter, D., *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and resistance*, Princeton 1998.
- Fraser 1972 Fraser, P., *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I-III, Oxford 1972.

- Freedman 2003 Freedman, K., *Teaching visual culture: curriculum, aesthetics, and the social life of Art*, New York 2003.
- Friis Johansen 1953 Friis Johansen, K., *Weihinschriften aus dem Nymphenheiligtum des Kafizin Hügels* (Dan. Arkaeol. Kunsthist. Medd. 4.1), Copenhagen 1953.
- Gadamer 1989 Gadamer, H-G., *Truth and Method*, transl. by J. Weinsheimer & D. Marshall, New York 1989 (1975).
- Gadamer 1993 Gadamer, H-G., *Hermeneutik, Ästhetik, Praktische Philosophie: Hans-Georg Gadamer im Gespräch*, ed. C. Dutt, Heidelberg 1993.
- Gadamer 1999 Gadamer, H-G., *Hermeneutics, Religion and Ethics*, transl. by J. Weinsheimer, New Haven 1999.
- Gauthier 1911-1927 Gauthier, H., *Le temple de Kalabchah*, I-IV, Cairo 1911-1927.
- Gardiner 1957 Gardiner, A. H., *Egyptian grammar: being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs*, Oxford 1957.
- Gardiner, Peet & Černý 1952-1955 Gardiner, A. H., Peet, T. & Černý, J., *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, I-II, London 1952-1955.
- Gardiner 1988 *Royal canon of Turin*, ed. A. H. Gardiner, Oxford 1988 (1959).
- George & Peterson 1982 *Medelhavsmuseet: en introduction*, Stockholm 1982.
- Gilbert 2004 Gilbert, G., *Weapons, Warriors and Warfare in Early Egypt*, Oxford 2004.
- Goebis 2001 Goebis, K., "Crowns," in *OEA*, vol. 1, ed. D. B. Redford, New York 2001, 321-26.
- Goebis 2008 Goebis, K., *Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature. Royalty, rebirth, and destruction*, Oxford 2008.
- Goldwasser 1995 Goldwasser, O., *From Icon to Metaphor: Studies in the semiotics of the hieroglyphs*, Friebourg 1995.
- Gombrich 1972 Gombrich, E., "Introduction: Aims and Limits of Iconology", in *Symbolic Images. Studies in the art of the renaissance*, ed. E. H. Gombrich, London 1972, 1-22.

- Gombrich 1975 Gombrich, E., *Art History and the Social Sciences*, Oxford 1975.
- Gombrich 1979 Gombrich, E., *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*, Oxford 1979.
- Gombrich 1982 Gombrich, E., *The Image and the Eye, Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, Oxford 1982.
- Gombrich 1999 Gombrich, E.H., *The Uses of Images: Studies in the Social Function of Art and Visual Communication*, London 1999.
- Gombrich 2000 Gombrich, E. H., *Art and Illusion: a study in the psychology of pictorial representation*, Princeton 2000 (1961, 1984).
- Gombrich, Hochberg & Black 1994 Gombrich, E. H., Hochberg, J. & Black, M., *Art, perspective and reality*, London & Baltimore 1994 (1972).
- Goodspeed 1903 Goodspeed, E. J., "Alexandrian Hexameter Fragments", *JHS* 23, 1903, 237-247.
- Graham 2001 Graham, G., "Insignias", in *OEA*, vol. 2, Cairo 2001, 163-167.
- Grajetzki 2005 Grajetzki, W., *Ancient Egyptian Queens: a Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, London 2005.
- Grenier 1983 Grenier, J.-C., "Ptolemee Evergete II et Cleopatra II d'après les textes du temple de Tod", in *Alessandria el il Mondo ellenistico-romano: Studi in onori di A. Adriani I*, Roma 1983, 32-37.
- Griffin forthcoming Griffin, K., *An Analysis and Interpretation of the Iconography of the Rekhyt on Temple Architecture in Pharaonic Egypt*, forthcoming diss.
- F. Griffiths 1979 Griffiths, F., *Theocritus at Court* (Mnemosyne suppl. 55), Leiden 1979.
- J. Griffiths 1948 Griffiths, J., "Human Sacrifices in Egypt: the classical evidence", *ASAE* 48, 1948, 409-423.
- Grimal 1992 Grimal, N., *A History of Ancient Queens*, Oxford 1992.

- Grimm 1978
Grimm, G., "Die Vergöttlichung Alexanders d. Gr. in Ägypten und ihre Bedeutung für den ptolemäischen Königskult", in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 27. – 29. September 1976 in Berlin*, ed. H. Maehler & V. Strocka, Mainz am Rhein 1978, 103-112.
- Green 2001
Green, L., "Hairstyles", in *OEAЕ*, vol. 2, ed. D. Redford, Cairo 2001, 73-76.
- Groenewegen-Frankfort 1951
Groenewegen-Frankfort, H., *Arrest and Movement: An Essay on Space and Time in the Representational Art of the Ancient Near East*, London 1951.
- Grzybek 1990
E. Grzybek, *Du calendrier macédonien au calendrier ptolémaïque: problèmes de chronologie hellénistique*, Basel 1990.
- Gutzwiller 2005
Gutzwiller, K., "The literariness of the Milan Papyrus, or 'What difference a book?'" in *The new Posidippus: A hellenistic poetry book*, ed. K. Gutzwiller, New York 2005, 287-319.
- Hall 1986
Hall, E. Swan, *The pharaoh smites his enemies: a comparative study* (MÄS 44), München 1986.
- Hanotte et al 2002
Hanotte, O. et al. "African Pastoralism: Genetic imprints of origins and migrations", *Science* 296 (5566), 2002, 336-339.
- Hart 2005
Hart, G., *The Routledge dictionary of Egyptian gods and goddesses*, New York 2005 (1986).
- Hauben 1970
Hauben, H., *Callicrates of Samos. A contribution to the Ptolemaic admiralty* (Studia Hellenistica, 18), Leuven 1970.
- Havel 1996
Havel, I., "Scale Dimension in Nature", *International Journal of General System* 24, 1994, 295-324.
- Hazard 2000
Hazard, R. A., *Imagination of a monarchy: Studies in Ptolemaic propaganda*, Toronto 2000.
- Head 2008
Head, J., "Introduction, a theory of changes", in *The Despotic Eye: An Illustration of Metabletic Phenomenology and Its Implications*, ed. R. Romanyshyn, New York 2008, 505-527.

- Hedrick 2000 Hedrick, Ch., *History and silence: purge and rehabilitation of memory in late antiquity*, Austin 2000.
- Heidegger 1962 Heidegger, M., *Being and time*, transl. by J. Macquarrie & E. Robinson, London 1962 (*Sein und Zeit* 1917).
- Hodjash & Berlev 1982 Hodjash, S. & Berlev, O., *The Egyptian reliefs and stelae in the Pushkin museum of fine arts, Moscow*, Leningrad 1982.
- Hoffman 1984 Hoffman, M., *Egypt before the Pharaohs: The Prehistoric Foundations of Egyptian Civilization*, New York 1984.
- Hopkins 1980 Hopkins, K., "Brother-Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt", *CSSH* 22, 1980, 303-354.
- Hornung 1996 Hornung, E., *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: the One and the Many*, transl. by J. Baines, New York 1996 (1982, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, Darmstadt 1971).
- Houlihan 1996 Houlihan, P., *The animal world of the Pharaohs*, London 1996.
- Howard-Vise & Perring 1842 Howard-Vise, R. W. & Perring, J. S., *Operations carried on at the pyramids of Gizeh in 1837: with an account of a voyage into Upper Egypt, and an appendix*, London 1842.
- Hunter 2003 Hunter, R., *Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Los Angeles & London 2003.
- Huss 1998 Huss, W., "Ptolemaios der Sohn", *ZPE* 121, 1998, 229-250.
- Hölbl 2001 Hölbl, G., *A history of the Ptolemaic empire*, London & New York 2001 (*Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches*, Darmstadt 1994).
- Ippel & Roeder 1921 Ippel, A. & Roeder, G., *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim*, Hildesheim 1921.
- Jakobson 1960 Jakobson, R., "Closing Statements: Linguistics and Poetics", in *Style In Language*, ed. T. Sebeok, Cambridge (Mass.), 1960, 350-377.

- Jakobson 1971 Jakobson, R., *Selected Writings*, vols. 1-6 (Phonological Studies), ed. S. Rudy, Hague, Paris & Mouton 1971-1985.
- Jequier 1920 Jequier, L., *L'Architecture et la Décoration dans l'Ancienne Egypte III*, Paris 1920.
- Johnson 1990 Johnson, S., *The cobra goddess of ancient Egypt: Predynastic, Early Dynastic, and Old Kingdom periods*, London & New York 1990.
- Kamal 1904-1905 *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du muse du Caire. Nos 22001-22208 – steles ptolémaïques et romaines*, ed. A. Kamal, Cairo 1904-1905.
- Karenga 2004 Karenga, M., *Maat, the moral ideal in ancient Egypt: a study in Classical African ethics*, New York 2004.
- Kees 1953 Kees, H., *Probleme der ägyptologie, I: Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*, Leiden & Köln 1953.
- Karenga 1866 Keightley, T., *The mythology of ancient Greece and Italy*, New York 1866
- Khalil 2009 Khalil, I., *Selected essays on Egyptian and early Christian thought*, Bloomington 2009.
- Kippenberg 1990 Kippenberg, H. G., "Introduction", in *Visual Religion. Annual for religious iconography, vol. VII, Genres in visual representations*, Leiden 1990, VII-XVIII.
- Kjelland 1955 Kjelland, E., *Geometry in Egyptian art*, London 1955.
- Königsberger 1936 Königsberger, O., *Die Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür* (Ägyptologische Forschungen vol. 2), Glückstadt 1936.
- Kristeva 1980 Kristeva, J., *Desire in language: a semiotic approach to literature and art*, ed. L. S. Roudiez, transl. by T. Gora, A. Jardine & L. S. Roudiez, New York 1980.
- Kurth 1996 Kurth, D., "Die Säulendekoration im Tempel von Edfu", in *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 23, 1996, 255-280.

- Kyrieleis 1975 Kyrieleis, H., *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, Berlin 1975.
- Laufer 1926 Laufer, B., *Ostrich egg-shell cups of Mesopotamia and the ostrich in ancient and modern times*, Chicago 1926.
- LdR* *Le Livre des Rois d’Égypte*, ed. H. Gauthier, vols. I-V (MIFAO 16, 18-21, 40), Cairo, 1907-17.
- Leclant 1956 Leclant, J., “La ‘Mascerade’ des boeufs gras et le triomphe de l’Égypte”, *MDAIK* 14, 1956, 128-145.
- Legon 1992 Legon, J., “A Kahun Mathematical fragment”, *Discussions in Egyptology* 24, 1992, 21-24.
- B. Lesko 1999 Lesko, B., *The Great goddesses of Egypt*, Norman 1999.
- L. Lesko 1991 Lesko, L., “Ancient Egyptian cosmogonies and cosmology”, in *Religion in ancient Egypt: gods, myths, and personal practice*, ed. by E. Shafer, Cornell 1991, 88-122.
- Leprohon 2001 Leprohon, R., “Offerings: Offering Formulas and Lists”, in *OEAE*, ed. D. Redford, Oxford 2001, 569-572.
- Lichočka 1986 Lichočka, B., “La statue d'Aphrodite sur les monnaies de Ptolémée III”, in *Iconographie classique et identités régionales: [colloque international], Paris, 26 et 27 mai 1983*, Athènes, 1986, 311-330.
- Lipińska 1977 Lipińska, J., *The Temple of Thutmosis III, Architecture* (Deir el-Bahri II), Warsaw 1977.
- Lorton 1971 Lorton, D., “The supposed expedition of Ptolemy II to Persia”, *JEA* 57, 1971, 160-164.
- Louth 2007 Louth, A., *Greek East and Latin West: the church AD 681-1071*, New York 2007.
- Lucas 2003 Lucas, A., *Ancient Egyptian materials and industries*, Altrincham 2003 (1926, 1934, 1948, 1962).
- Lurker 2002 Lurker, M., *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt: An Illustrated Dictionary*, New York 2002 (1980, 1982).

- Meltzer 2001 Meltzer, E., "Horus", in *OEAE*, vol. 2, ed. D. Redford, Cairo 2001, 119-122.
- Meltzer 2002 Meltzer, E., "Horus", in *The ancient gods speak: A guide to Egyptian religion*, ed. D. Redford, New York 2002, 164-168.
- Meskell 2004 Meskell, L., *Object worlds in ancient Egypt: material biographies past and present*, Oxford & New York 2004.
- de Meulenaere 1965 Meulenaere, H. de, "De Stele van Mendes", *OG* 2, 1965, 53-65.
- de Meulenaere & MacKay 1976 Meulenaere, H. de & MacKay, P., *Mendes II*, Warminster 1976.
- Meyboom 1994 Meyboom, P., *The Nile mosaic of Palestrina. Early evidence of Egyptian Religion in Italy*, Leiden, New York, Köln, Brill 1994.
- Minas 1995 Minas, M., *Die Kanephoros: Aspekte des ptolemäischen Dynastiekults*, in *Le culte du souverain dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque au IIIe siècle avant notre ère. Actes du colloque international, Bruxelles 10 mai 1995* (Studia Hellenistica 34), ed. H. Melaerts, Leuven 1995.
- Minas 1996 Minas, M., "Die Pithom-Stele. Chronologische Bemerkungen zur frühen Ptolemäerzeit", in *Aspekte Spätägyptische Kultur: Festschrift für Erich Winter zum 65. Geburtstag* (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 7), eds. M. Minas & J. Zeidler, Rhein am Mainz 1994, 207-209.
- Minas 2000 Minas, M., *Die hieroglyphischen Ahnenreihen der ptolemäischen Könige: Ein Vergleich mit den Titeln der eponymen Priester in den demotischen und griechischen Papyri* (Aegyptiaca Treverensia: Trierer Studien zum griechischen-römischen Ägypten 9), Mainz am Rhein 2000.
- Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976 Michaelidou-Nicolaou, I., *Prosopography of Ptolemaic Cyprus*, Göteborg 1976.
- Mikics 2007 Mikics, D., *A new handbook of literary terms*, New Haven & London 2007.
- Milligan 1927 Milligan, G., *Selection from the Greek papyri*, Cambridge 1927.

- Mitford 1950 Mitford, T., *Opuscula Archaeologica IV* (Skrifter utgivna av svenska institutet i Rom XV), Rome 1950.
- Momigliano 1997 Momigliano, A., *The development of Greek biography*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1997.
- Mooren 1975 Mooren, L., *The Aulic titlature in Ptolemaic Egypt: Introduction and Prosopography* (Verh. AWLSK 78), Brussels 1975.
- Morenz 2004 Morenz, L., *Bild-Buchstaben und symbolische Zeichen: Die Herausbildung der Schrift in der hohen Kultur Altägyptens*, Freiburg 2004.
- Moret 1902 Moret, A., *Du Caractere Religieux de La Royaute Pharaonique*, Whitefish 1902
- Morgan 1985 Morgan, L., 'Idea, idiom and iconography', in *L'iconographie minoenne. Actes de la table ronde d'Athenes, 21-22 avril 1983* (BCH, Suppl., 11), eds. P. Darcque & J.-P. Poursat, Athens 1985, 5-19.
- Morkot 2005 Morkot, R., *The Egyptians: an introduction*, New York 2005.
- Mueller 2006 Mueller, K., *Settlements of the Ptolemies: city foundations and new settlements in the Hellenistic world*, Leuven 2006.
- Müller 2002 Müller, M., "Re and Re-Horakthy", in *the Ancient Gods Speak, a guide to Egyptian religion*, ed. By D. Redford, Oxford 2002, 325-328.
- Murnane 1977 Murnane, W. J., *Ancient Egyptian coregencies: an aspect of the transference of the Royal power in Pharaonic times*, Chicago 1977.
- Murphy 2005 Murphy, J., "Beckett's Purgatories", in *Beckett, Joyce and the art of the negative*, ed. C. Jaurretche, New York 2005, 109-124.
- Murray 2000 Murray, M.A. (with contribution of Boulton, N., & Heron, C.), "Viticulture and wine production", in *Ancient Egyptian materials and technology*, ed. P. Nicholson & I. Shaw, Cambridge 2000, 577-608.
- Mysliwiec 1988 Mysliwiec, K., *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI-XXX*, Mainz am Rhein 1988.

- Mørkholm 1991 Mørkholm, O., *Early Hellenistic Coinage*, Cambridge, 1991.
- Najovits 2003 Najovits, S., *Egypt, trunk of the tree: a modern survey of an ancient land*, vol. 1, New York 2003.
- Naville 1885 Naville, E., *The store-city of Pithom and the route of exodus*, London 1885.
- Naville 1902 Naville, E., “La stèle de Pithom”, *ZÄS* 40, 66-75.
- Nock 1930 Nock, A., “Synnaos Theos”, *HSCP* 41, 1930, 1-62.
- Oates 1964 Oates, J., “Theoi Soteres”, *EP* 8, 1964, 55.
- OGIS* *OGIS* I-II, ed. W. Dittenberger, Leipzig 1903-5.
- Olson 2000 Olson, C., *Zen and the art of postmodern philosophy: two parts of liberation from the representational mode of thinking*, New York 2000.
- Olsson 2006 Olsson, V., *the Lenaia vases revisited – image, ritual and Dionysian women*, Gothenburg 2006.
- O’Neill 2003 O’Neill, J., *Night of the Gods: an inquiry into cosmic and cosmogonic mythology and symbolism*, Part II, London 2003 (1897).
- van Oppen 2007 Oppen, B. van., *The religious identification of Ptolemaic queens with Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis*, New York 2007.
- Osing 1977 Osing, J., *Der Tempel Sethos ‘ I. in Gurna. Die Reliefs und Inschriften*, I (AV 20), Mainz am Rhein 1977.
- W. Otto 1905 Otto, W., *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, I-II, Leipzig & Berlin 1905-1908.
- E. Otto 1960 Otto, E., *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* (ÄA 3), vols. I-II, Wiesbaden 1960.
- E. Otto 1964 Otto, E., *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, Heidelberg 1964.
- Panofsky 1939 Panofsky, E., *Studies in iconology: humanistic themes in the art of the renaissance*, New York 1939.

- Panofsky 1955 Panofsky, E., *Meaning in the visual arts: papers in and on art history*, New York 1955.
- Panofsky 1964 Panofsky, E., *Tomb sculpture: its changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, ed. H. Janson, London 1964.
- Parente 2002 Parente, A., “Ritrattistica e simbologia sulle monete di Arsinoe II”, *NumAntCl.* 31, 2002, 259-278.
- Parisinou 2005 Parisinou, E., “Brightness personified, light and divine being in ancient Greece”, in *Personification in the Greek world: from antiquity to Byzantium*, ed. by E. Stafford & J. Herrin, Aldershot 2005, 29-44.
- Peek 2008 Peek, C., “The Expulsion of Cleopatra VII: Context, Causes, and Chronology”, *Anc. Soc.* 38, 2008, 103-136.
- Peet1923 Peet, T., *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, British Museum 10057 and 10058*, London 1923.
- Peirce 1870 Peirce, C. S., *Description of a Notation for the Logic of Relatives, Resulting from an Amplification of the Conceptions of Boole's Calculus of Logic*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1870 (= *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 9, 1870, 317–378).
- Peirce 1883 Peirce, C. S., *Studies in Logic by Members of the Johns Hopkins University (SIL)*, Boston 1883.
- Peirce 1983 Peirce, C. S., *Foundations of Semiotics, Volume I*, ed. A. Eschbach, Amsterdam 1983.
- Peirce 1994 Peirce, C. S., *Peirce on Signs: Writings on Semiotic*, ed. J. Hoopes, Chapel Hill 1994.
- Peirce 1998 Peirce, C. S., *Charles S. Peirce: The Essential Writings*, vol. 1-2, ed. E. Moore, New York 1998 (1972).
- Pereyra de Fianza 2000 Pereyra de Fianza, M. V., “The Amenirdis Stela in the Casa Padilla Museum”, in *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century* (Proceedings of the eight international congress of Egyptologists, Cairo 2000), vol 3, ed. Z. Hawass & L. Pinch Brock, Cairo 2003, 360-367.

- Perpillou-Thomas 1993 Perpillou-Thomas, F., *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque* (Studia Hellenistica 31), Lovanii 1993.
- Perrot & Chipiez 1882 Perrot, G. & Chipiez, C., *De l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, I, Paris 1882.
- Pestman 1967 Pestman, P. W., *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C.-453 ap. J.-C.)* (P. Lugd. Bat. 15), Leiden 1967.
- Petrie 1883-1884 Petrie, F., *Tanis*, vols. I-II, Londres 1883-1884.
- Petrie 1900 Petrie, F., *The Royal Tombs*, London 1900.
- Petrie 1923 Petrie, F., *Social life in Ancient Egypt*, London 1923.
- Petrie 1927 Petrie, F., *Egyptian Hieroglyphs of the First and Second Dynasties*, London 1927.
- Petropoulou 2008 Petropoulou, M.-Z., *Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion, Judaism, and Christianity, 100 BC to AD 200*, Oxford 2008.
- Phillips 2009 Phillips, J., "Ostrich Eggshell", in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. W. Wendrich, Los Angeles, 2009 (<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/0tm87064>).
- Pinch 2002 Pinch, G., *Handbook of Egyptian Mythology*, Santa Barbara 2002.
- PM B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, ed. J. Malek, vols. I-VII, 1991-2009 (1927-1951, 1960-1981).
- Podemann Sørensen 1989 Podemann Sørensen, J., "Divine access: the so-called democratization of funerary literature as a socio-cultural process", in *The religion of the ancient Egyptians: cognitive structures and popular expressions*, Boreas 20, ed. G. Englund, Stockholm 1989, 109-125.
- Pomeroy 1984 Pomeroy, S. B., *Women in Hellenistic Egypt from Alexander to Cleopatra*, New York 1984.
- Poo 1995 Poo, M., *Wine and wine offering in the religion of ancient Egypt*, London 1995.

- Quaegebeur 1970 Quaegebeur, J., 'Ptolémée II en adoration devant Arsinoé II divinisée', *BIFAO* 69, 1971, 191-217.
- Quaegebeur 1971 Quaegebeur, J., 'Documents concerning a cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos at Memphis', *JNES* 30, 1971, 239-270.
- Quaegebeur 1978 Quaegebeur, J., 'Reines ptolémaïques et traditions égyptiennes', i *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 27. – 29. September 1976 in Berlin*, ed. H. Maehler & V. Strocka, Mainz am Rhein 1978, 245-262.
- Quaegebeur 1980 Quaegebeur, J., 'The genealogy of the Memphite high priest family in the Hellenistic period', i *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis* (Studia Hellenistica, 24) ed. W. Peremans, Lovanii 1980, 47-81.
- Quaegebeur 1985 Quaegebeur, J., "Arsinoé Philadelphie, Reine, "Roi" et Déesse, a Hildesheim", *GM* 87, 1985, 73-78.
- Quaegebeur 1988 Quaegebeur, J., "Cleopatra VII and the cult of the Ptolemaic queens", in *Cleopatra's Egypt, Age of the Ptolemies*, ed. R. Bianchi, Mainz am Rhein 1988, 41-54.
- Quaegebeur 1989 Quaegebeur, J., "Egyptian clergy and the Ptolemaic cult", *Anc. Soc.* 20, 1989, 93-113.
- Quaegebeur 1998 Quaegebeur, J., "Documents égyptiens anciens et nouveaux relatifs à Arsinoé Philadelphie", in *Le culte du souverain dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque au III^e siècle avant notre ère. Actes du colloque international, Bruxelles 10 mai 1995*, ed. H. Melaerts, Leuven 1998.
- Quibell 1904 Quibell, J. E., *Archaic Objects. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: nos. 11001-12000 et 14001-14754*, Vol. II, Cairo 1904.
- Raven 1983 Raven, M., "Wax in Egyptian magic and symbolism", *OMRO* 64, 1983, 7-47.
- Raven 1998 Raven, M., "A new type of Osiris burials", in *Egyptian religion the last thousand years: Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, part I, eds. W. Clarysse, A. Schoors & H. Willems (OLA 84), Leuven 1998, 227-240.

- von Reden 2007 Reden, S. von, *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt: from the Macedonian Conquest to the end of the Third Century BC*, Cambridge 2007.
- Redford 2002 Redford, D., *The ancient gods speak: a guide to Egyptian religion*, Oxford 2002.
- Reed 2000 Reed, J., "Arsinoe's Adonis and the Poetics of Ptolemaic Imperialism", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 130, 2000, 319-351.
- Reisner 1931 Reisner, G., *Mycerinus: the Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza*, Cambridge 1931.
- Revez 2003 Revez, J., "The Metaphorical Use of the Kinship Term sn "Brother", *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt* 40, 2003, 123-131.
- Ricoeur 1967 Ricoeur, P., *The Symbolism of Evil*, transl. by E. Buchanan, New York 1967 (1960).
- Robert 1966 Robert, L., *Documents de l'Asie mineure méridionale. Inscriptions, monnaies et géographie*, Paris 1966.
- Roberts 1997 Roberts, A., *Hathor Rising. The power of the Goddess in Ancient Egypt*, Vermont 1997.
- Robins 1993 Robins, G., *Women in Ancient Egypt*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1993.
- Robins 1999 Robins, G., "The Names of Hatshepsut as King", *JEA* 85, 1999, 103-112.
- Robins 2008 Robins, G., *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, Cambridge (Mass.) 2008 (1997, 2000).
- Robins & Fowler 1994 Robins, G. & Fowler, A. S., *Proportion and style in Ancient Egyptian art*, Austin 1994.
- Robins & Shute 1987 Robins, G. & Shute, C., *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus: An Ancient Egyptian Text*. London 1987.
- Roeder 1998 Roeder, G., *Die ägyptische Götterwelt*, Düsseldorf & Zürich 1998 (1959).
- Rosenzweig 2004 Rosenzweig, R., *Worshipping Aphrodite. Art and cult in Classical Athens*, Michigan 2004.

- Rundle Clark 1959 Rundle Clark, R., *Myth and symbol in ancient Egypt*, London 1959.
- Russmann 1989 Russmann, E., *Egyptian sculpture: Cairo and Luxor*, Austin 1989.
- Rutherford 2003 Rutherford, I., "Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman Egypt: New Perspectives on Graffiti from the Memnonion at Abydos", in *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt*, eds. R. Matthews & C. Roemer, London 2003, 171-189.
- Ryholt 1997 Ryholt, K., *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 B.C.*, Copenhagen 1997.
- Sambin & Carlotti 1995 Sambin, C., & Carlotti, J.-F., "Une porte de fete-sed de Ptolemee II remployee dans le temple de Medamoud", *BIFAO* 95, 1995, 383-457.
- Samuel 1962 Samuel, A., *Ptolemaic chronology*, München 1962.
- Sander-Hansen 1940 Sander-Hansen, C.E., *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, Kopenhagen 1940.
- Sauneron 1960 Sauneron, S., "Un document égyptien relatif à la divinisation de la reine Arsinoé II", *BIFAO* 60, 1960, 83-110.
- Sauneron 2000 Sauneron, S., *The priests of ancient Egypt*, transl. by D. Lorton, New York 2000.
- de Saussure 1974 Saussure, F. de, *Course in general linguistics*, London 1974 (*Cours de linguistique générale* 1916).
- de Saussure 2006 Saussure, F. de, *Writings in General Linguistics*, transl. by C. Sanders, Oxford 2006 (*Écrits de linguistique générale*, eds. S. Bouquet & R. Engler, Paris 2002).
- Schleiermacher 1998 Schleiermacher, F., *Hermeneutics and Criticism and Other Writings*, transl. by A. Bowie, Cambridge 1998 .
- Schwaller de Lubicz 1998 Schwaller de Lubicz, R., *The temples of Karnak, II*, transl. by D. Lawlor & R. Lawlor, Vermont 1998 (*Les temples de Karnak II*, Paris 1982).
- Schäfer 1974 Schäfer, H., *Principles of Egyptian Art*, eds. E. Brunner-Traut & J. Baines, Oxford 1974 (1919).

- Serpico & White 2000 Serpico, M., & White, R., “Oil, fat and wax”, in *Ancient Egyptian materials and technology*, ed. P. Nicholson & I. Shaw, Cambridge 2000, 390-429.
- Sethe 1904 Sethe, K., *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, I-II, Leipzig 1904.
- Shaw 2003 Shaw, I., *Exploring ancient Egypt*, Oxford & New York 2003.
- SIG*³ *SIG*³ I-IV, ed. W. Dittenberger, Leipzig 1915-1924.
- Silverman 1991 Silverman, D., “Divinities and deities in Ancient Egypt”, in *Religion in Ancient Egypt: gods, myths, and personal practice*, ed. B. Shafer, Cornell 1991, 7-87.
- Simpson 1996 Simpson, S., *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees*, Oxford 1996.
- Smith & Redford 1976 Smith, R. & Redford, D., *The Akhenaten Temple Project: Volume I Initial Discoveries*, Warminster 1976.
- Spalinger 1998 Spalinger, A., “The limitations of formal ancient egyptian religion”, *JNES* 57, 1998, 241-260.
- Stanwick 2002 Stanwick, P., *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek kings as Egyptian pharaohs*, Austin 2002.
- Spiegelberg 1904 *Die Demotischen Inschriften* (Catalogue Général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, vol. I), ed. W. Spiegelberg. Leipzig 1904.
- Sternberg 1985 Sternberg, M., *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading*, Bloomington 1985.
- Stephens 2004 Stephens, S., “For you Arsinoe...”, in *Laboured in Papyrus Leaves: Perspectives on an Epigram Collection Attributed to Posidippus* (P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309), ed. B. Acosta-Hughes, M. Baumbach & E. Kosmetatou, Cambridge (Mass.) & London 2004, 161-176.
- Stephens 2005 Stephens, S., “Battle of the books”, in *The new Posidippus: a Hellenistic Poetry Book*, ed. K. Gutzwiller, Oxford & New York 2005, 229-248.

- Tobin 2002 Tobin, V., “Amun and Amun-Re”, in *The ancient gods speak: A guide to Egyptian religion*, ed. D. Redford, New York 2002, 18-21.
- Tomoum 2005 Tomoum, N., *The Sculptors' Models of the Late and Ptolemaic Periods: A study of the type and function of a group of ancient Egyptian artefacts*, Cairo 2005.
- Tondriau 1948 Tondriau, J., “Princesses ptolémaïques comparées ou identifiées à des déesses”, *BSAA* 37, 1948, 12-33.
- Török 2009 Török, L., *Between two worlds: the frontier region between ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700 BC – 500 AD*, Leiden 2009.
- Troxell 1983 Troxell, H., “Arsinoë's Non-era”, *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 28, 1983, 60-62.
- Troy 1986 Troy, L., *Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history* (BOREAS 14), Uppsala 1986.
- Troy 2003 Troy, L., “She for Whom All That Is Said Is Done: The Ancient Egyptian Queen”, in *Ancient Queens: archaeological explorations*, ed. S. M. Nelson, Walnut Creek & Oxford 2003, 93-116.
- Tyldesley 2006 Tyldesley, J., *Chronicle of the queens of Egypt: from early dynastic times to the death of Cleopatra*, Cairo & London 2006.
- Uphill 1965 Uphill, E., “The Egyptian Sed-festival rites”, *JNES* 24, 1965, 365-383.
- Vallois 1929 Vallois, R., “Le temple d’Arsinoé Philadelphos ou d’Agathè Tyche”, *CRAI*, 1929, 32-40.
- Varner 2004 Varner, E., *Mutilation and transformation: Damnatio Memoria and Roman Imperial Portraiture*, Leiden 2004.
- Vassilika 1989 Vassilika, E., *Ptolemaic Philae*, Leuven 1989.
- Vassilika 1998 Vassilika, E., “The pronaos decoration of the temple of Horus at Edfu”, in *Egyptian religion the last thousand years. Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur* (OLA, 85), Leuven 1998, 937-960.
- Vischak 2002 Vischak, D., “Hathor”, in *Ancient Gods Speak, A guide to Egyptian religion*, ed. D. Redford, 2002, 157-161.

- Wace, Megaw & Skeat 1959 Wace, A., Megaw, A. & Skeat, T., *Hermoupolis Magna, Ashmunein, the Ptolemaic sanctuary and the basilica*, Alexandria 1959.
- Waitkus 1997 Waitkus, W., *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendera: ihre Aussagen zur Funktion und Bedeutung dieser Räume*, MÄS 47, Mainz 1997.
- van Walsem 2005 Walsem, R. van, *Iconography of Old Kingdom elite tombs. Analysis and interpretation, theoretical and methodological aspects*, Leiden 2005.
- Walker & Higgs 2001 Walker, S. & Higgs, P. (eds.), *Cleopatra's Egypt: From history to myth*, London 2001.
- Ward & Nilsson forthcoming Ward, J. & Nilsson, M., *Eradication and readjustments of Egyptian reliefs*, forthcoming.
- Warner & Fernández-Armesto 2003 Warner, M. & Fernández-Armesto, F., *World of Myths*, Texas 2003.
- Westendorf 1978 Westendorf, W., "Uräus und Sonnenscheibe", *SAK* 6, 1978, 201-225.
- J. Wilkinson 1837 Wilkinson, J. G., *Manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians*, vol. III, London 1837.
- R. Wilkinson 1994 Wilkinson, R., *Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art*, London 1994.
- Wilson 1946 Wilson, J., "Egypt: The Nature of the Universe", in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, ed. H. Frankfort et. al., Chicago 1946, 31-61.
- Winnicki 1990 Winnicki, K., "Bericht vom einem Eeldzug des Ptolemaios Philadelphos in der Pithom-Steile", *JJP* 20, 1990, 157-167.
- Winter 1978 Winter, E., "Der Herrscherkult in den ägyptischen Ptolemäertempeln", in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 27. – 29. September 1976 in Berlin*, ed. H. Maehler & V. Strocka, Mainz am Rhein 1978, 147-160.
- Witt 1997 Witt, R., *Isis in the ancient world*, London 1997 (*Isis in the Graeco-Roman world*, New York 1971).

- Witwowski 1911 Witwowski, S., *Epistolae privatae Graecae, quae in papyri aetatis Lagidarum servantur*, Lipsiae 1911.
- Wolohojian 2008 Wolohojian, S. (ed.), *Harvard Art Museum/Handbook*, exh. cat., Cambridge (Mass.) 2008.
- Young 1981 Young, D., "A Monastic Invective against Egyptian Hieroglyphs", in *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*, ed. D. Young, Beacon Hill 1981, 348-360.
- Yoyotte 1996 Yoyotte, J., *L'egypte du delta: les capitales du Nord* (Dossiers d'Archeologie 213), Dijon 1996.
- Žabkar 1988 Žabkar, L., *Hymns to Isis in her Temple at Philae*, Hannover 1988.

OTHER SOURCES – INTERNET AND PROGRAMS

<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/isocephaly> (2010-08-06)
<http://www.themodernapprentice.com/feathers.htm> (2010-01-23)
<http://www.continentalfeathers.com/images/ostrichwingblackbig.jpg> (2010-01-23)
<http://www.friendsofjamaicapond.org/images/EmeraldBird/GreatHornedOwls/GooseFeather5463s.jpg> (2010-01-23)
<http://www.metmuseum.org/explore/publications/pdfs/egypt/divided/e-form.pdf> 2010-08-14
<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/isocephaly> (2010-08-06)
<http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/wiblex/das-bibellexikon/details/quelle/WIBI/zeichen/k/referenz/23832///cache/7f7d15c9153f741cb2107f139d838cc3/>
<http://www.metmuseum.org/explore/publications/pdfs/egypt/divided/e-form.pdf>
<http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/Edfu-Projekt/Edfu-Projekt%20-%20Project%201.html>
<http://www.royal.gov.uk/The%20Royal%20Collection%20and%20other%20collections/TheCrownJewels/Overview.aspx> (2009-11-09)

JSesh *JSesh Hieroglyphic Database:*
<http://jsesh.qenherkhopeshef.org/>

Hieroglyphica *Hieroglyphica Project, Hieroglyphic Database:*
<http://www.hieroglyphica.com/>

SERAT Serat Datenbank: <http://www.serat.aegyptologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/>

PLATES

1. The Mendes stele



Photo by J. Ward



Photo by the author



Photo by J. Ward

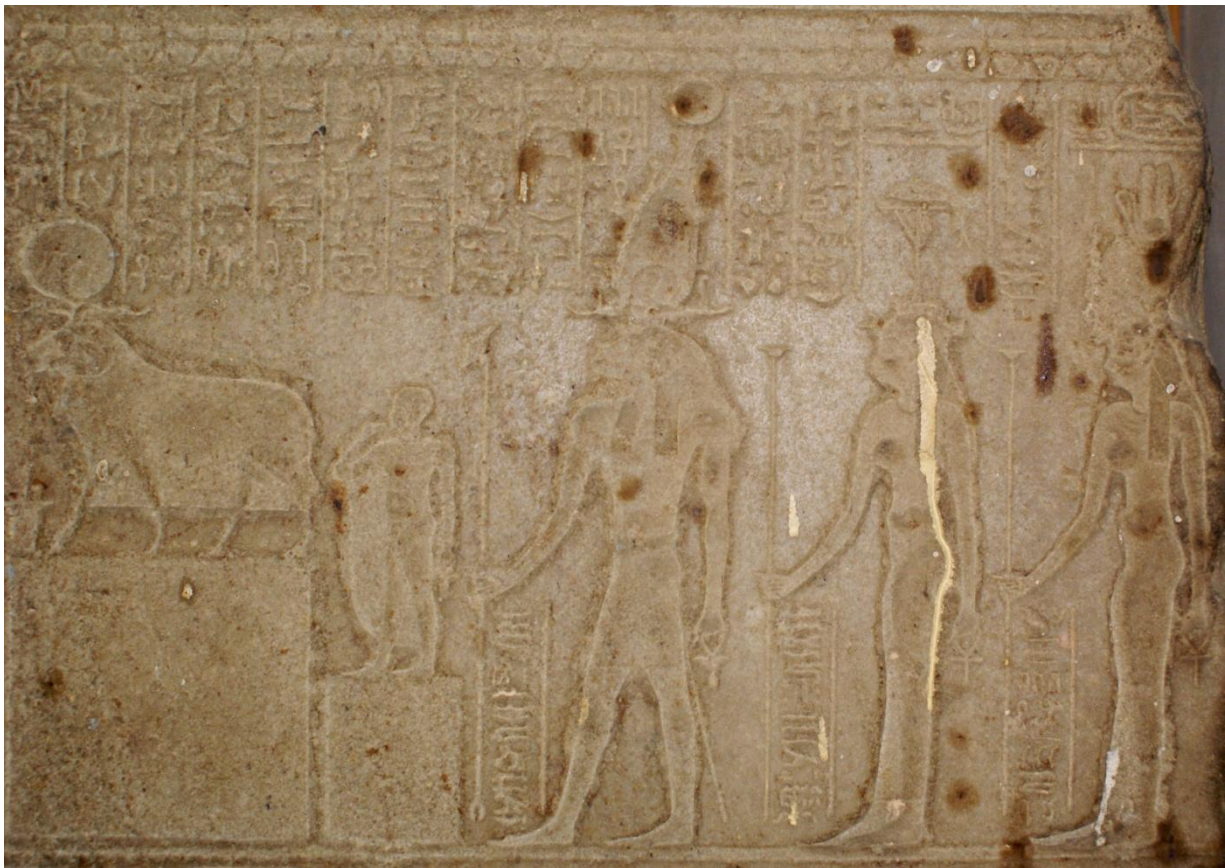


Photo by J. Ward

2. The Pithom stele



Photo by the author



Photo by J. Ward

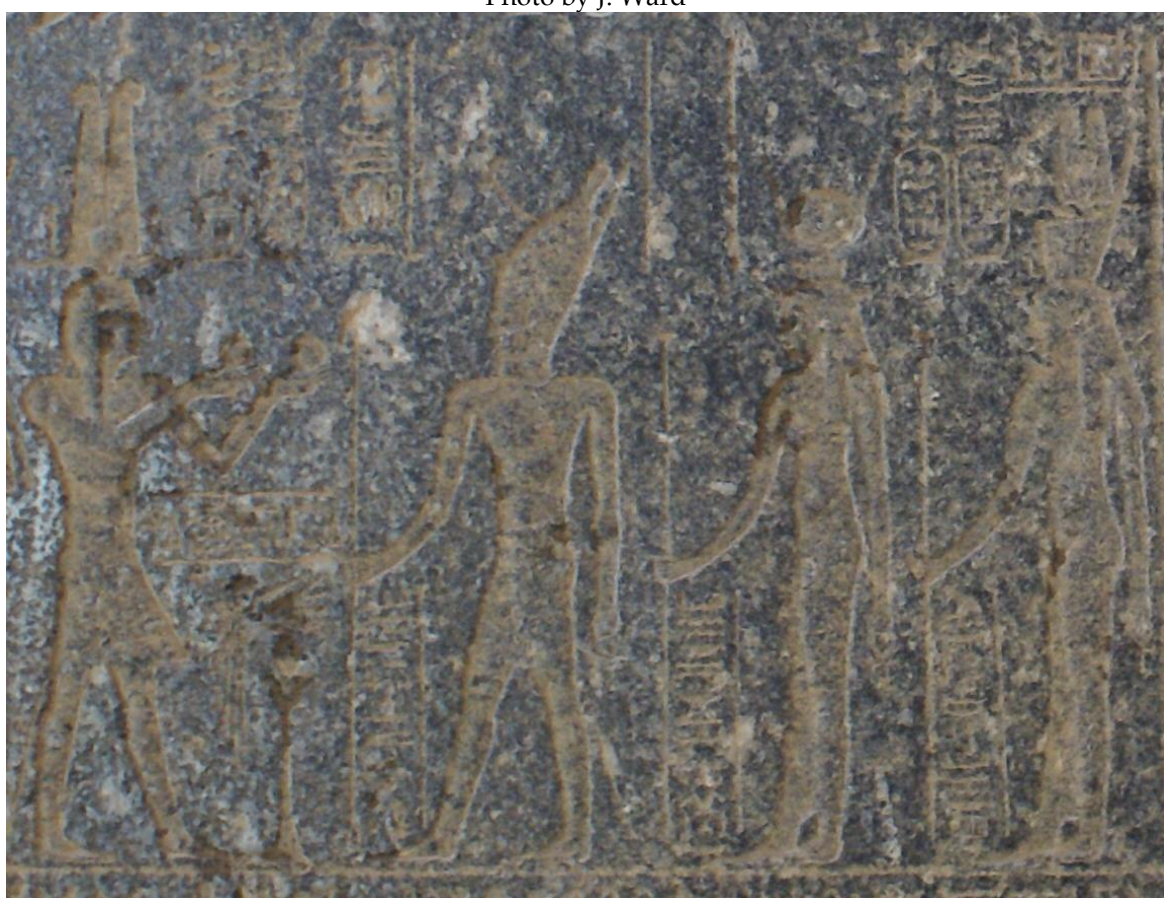
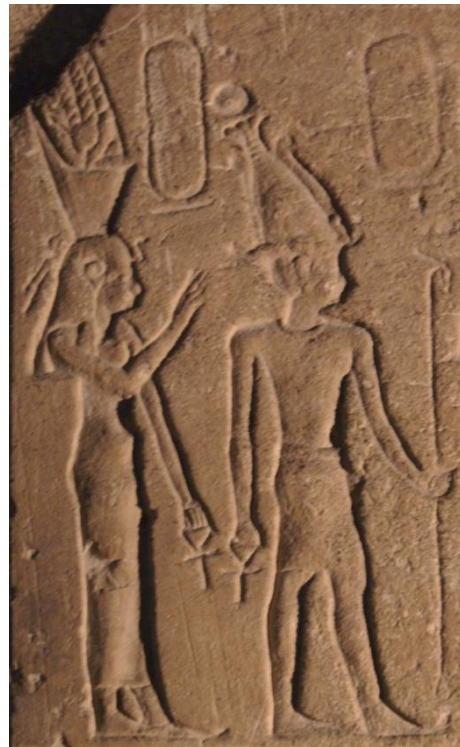
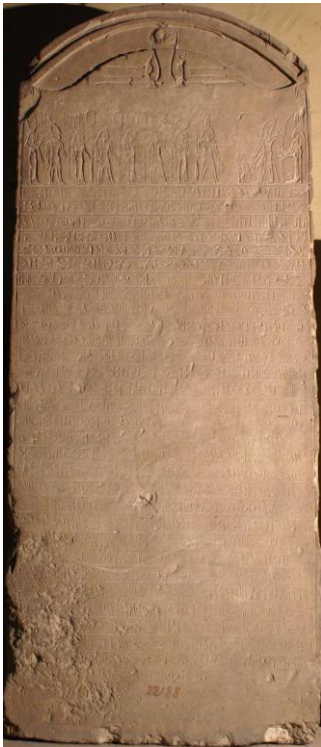


Photo by J. Ward



Photo by J. Ward

3. Stele from el-Nubayrah



Photos by Egyptian Museum, Cairo

4. The Canopus decree (of Kom el-Hisn)



Photo by J. Ward



Photo by J. Ward



Photos by J. Ward

5. Miniature copy of the Mendes stele



Drawing by the author

6. Brussels E. 8387



Photo by: © Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire - Brussels
Photograph by Raymond Mommaerts.

7. Moscow 5375



Drawing by J. Ward

8. Weirelief of Arsinoë

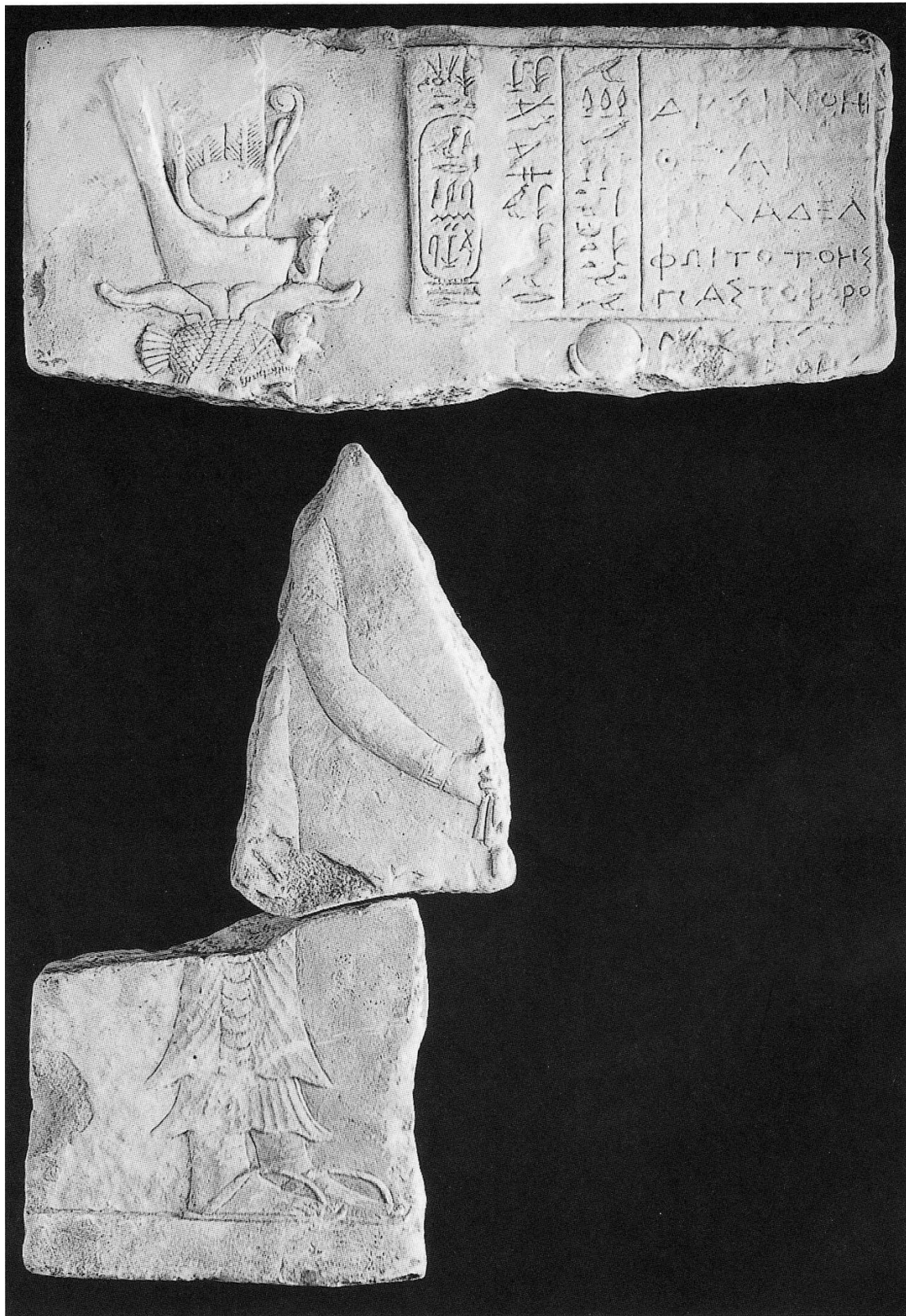


Photo by: © Archäologisches Institut der Universität Trier, Deutschland

9. Relief of Arsinoë, Hildesheim 1025



Photo by: © Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim (Sh. Shalchi)

10. Stela Toronto 979.63



With permission of the Royal Ontario Museum © ROM

11. CG 31104



Picture after Spiegelberg 1904, I, 38, pl. VII

12. Relief of Queen Arsinoë II as Hathor, Harvard Art Museum



Photo by: Katya Kallsen © President and Fellows of Harvard College

13. EA 1056

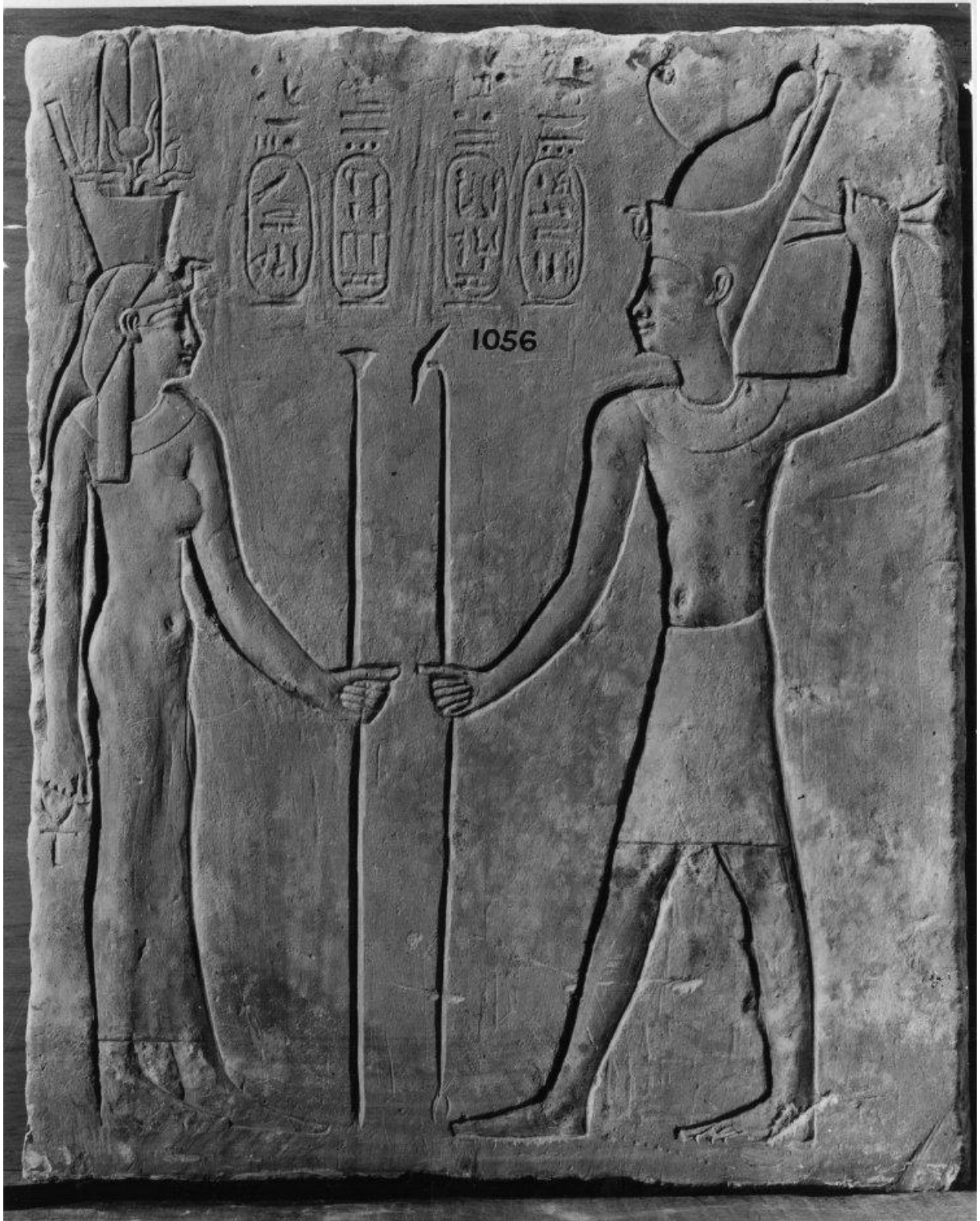


Photo by: © The Trustees of the British Museum



Photo by J. Ward

14. BM 1057



Photo by: © Trustees of the British Museum

15. Architrave, Stockholm MM 10026



Photo by: © Medelhavsmuseet, photo Ove Kaneberg



16. Edfu, outer hypostyle hall (C), eastern partition, top register



Photos by the author

17. Edfu, offering hall (outer vestibule, R), northern partition, middle register (3rd from below)



Photos by the author

18. Edfu, stairway chamber, northern partition, lower register



Photos by the author

19. Edfu, inner sanctuary (A), eastern partition, middle register



Photo by the author

20. Edfu, mysterious corridor, eastern partition, top register

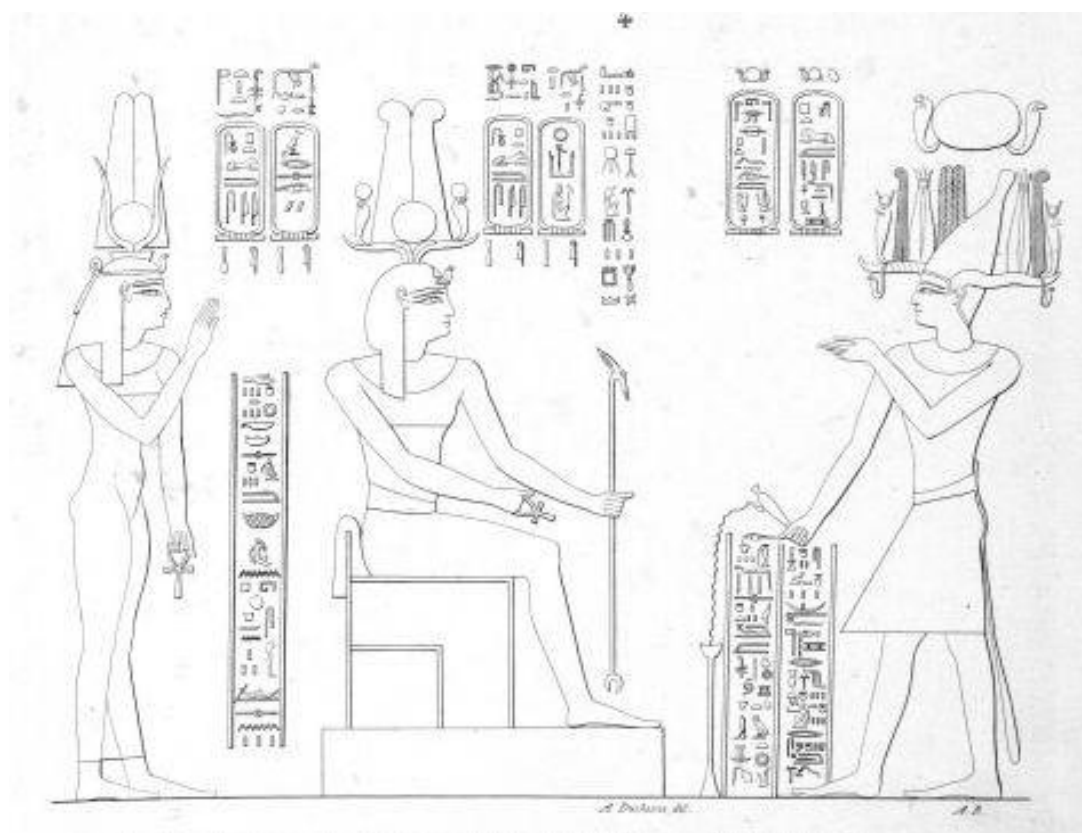


Photos by the author

21. Edfu, corridor, western partition, top register

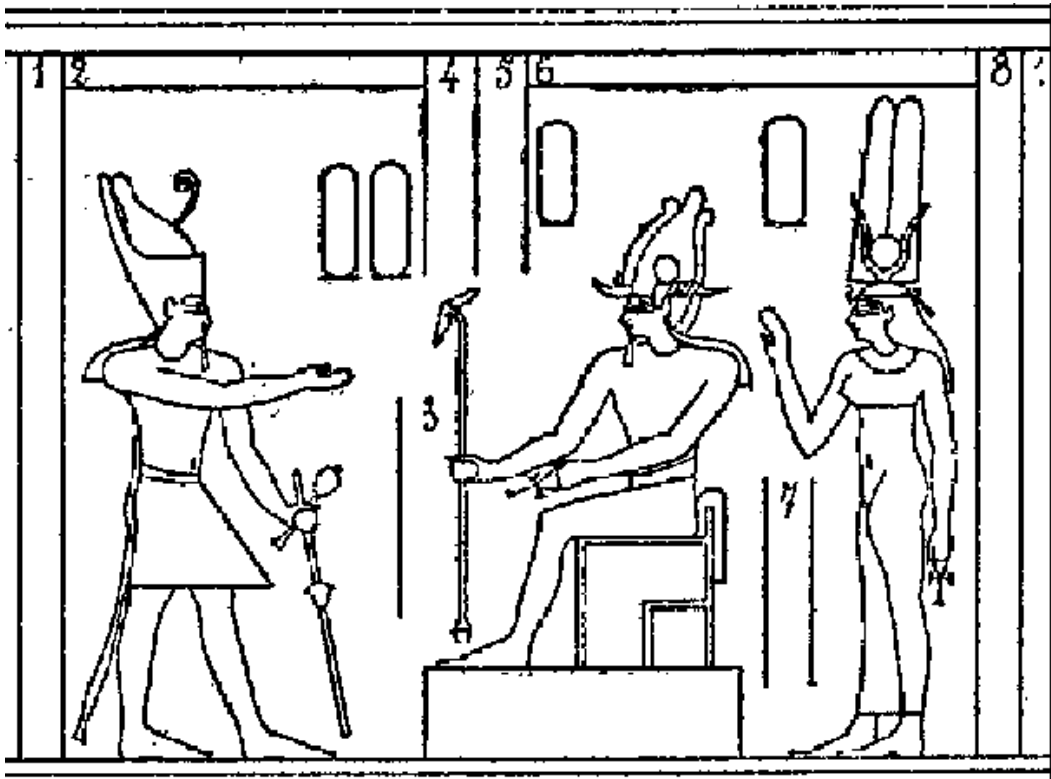


Photo by the author



Drawing from Champollion 1844. cxxxix ter n° 4

22. Edfu, Inner hypostyle hall, western partition, top register



Drawing from Chassinat *Edfou*, II pl. XL. The crown of Arsinoë is drawn incorrectly (compare below).



Photo and editing by author

23. Karnak, Khonsu temple, pylon, northern partition (peristyle court), lintel scene



Photos by the author

24. Karnak, Gate of Euergetes, inner side of the eastern partition, second register from below

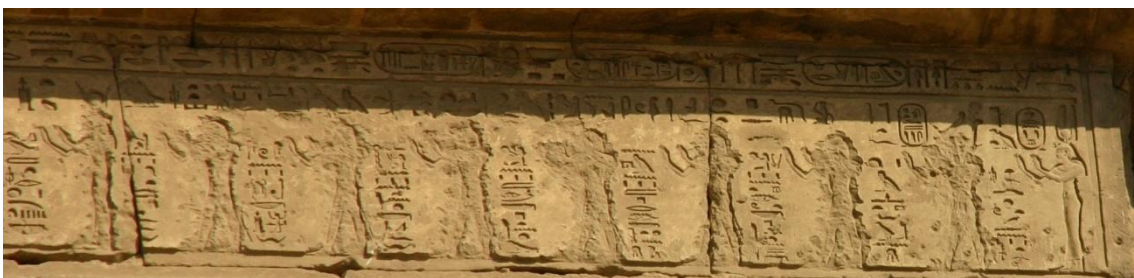


Photos by the author

25. Karnak, Gate of Euergetes, southern partition, small board of figures above the main scene of the lintel stone



Photo by the author



Photos by the author

26. Karnak, east gate (so called gate of Nectanebo or Bab el-Melacha), eastern partition, lintel scene

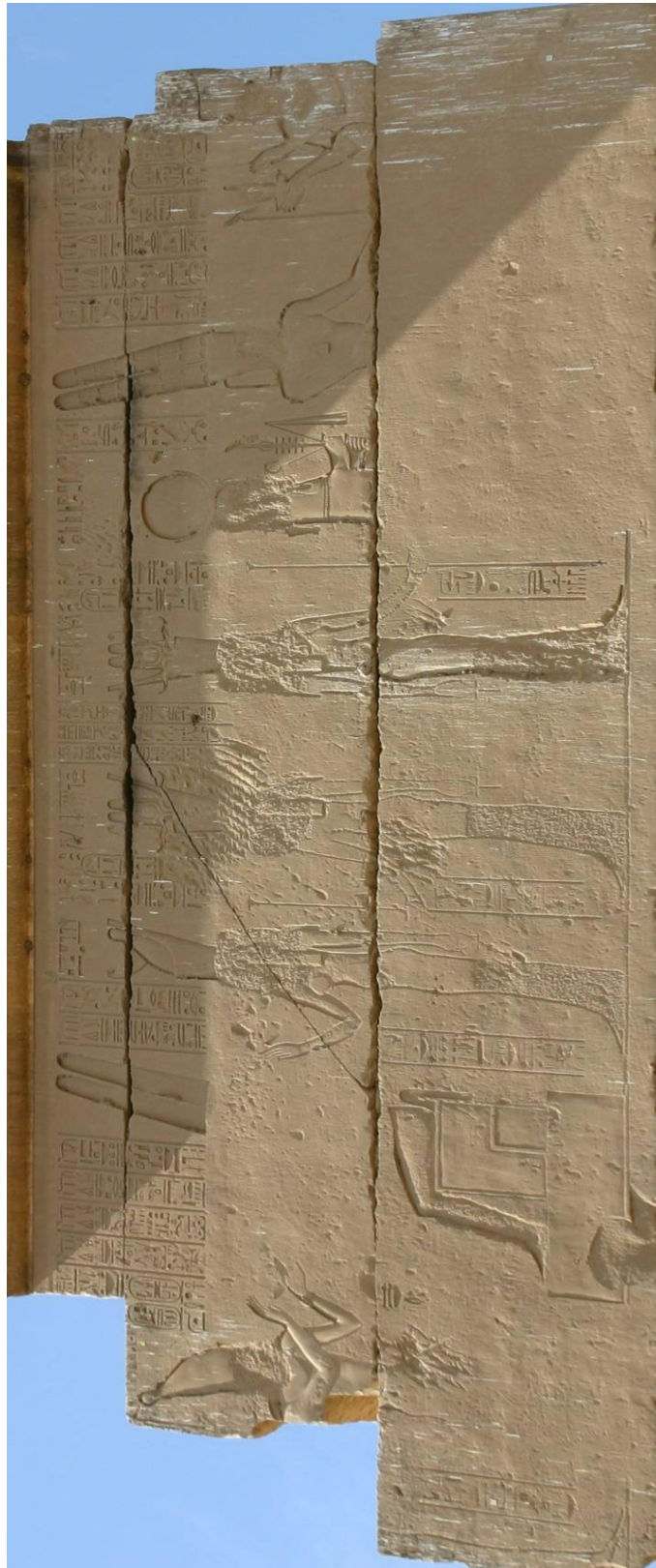
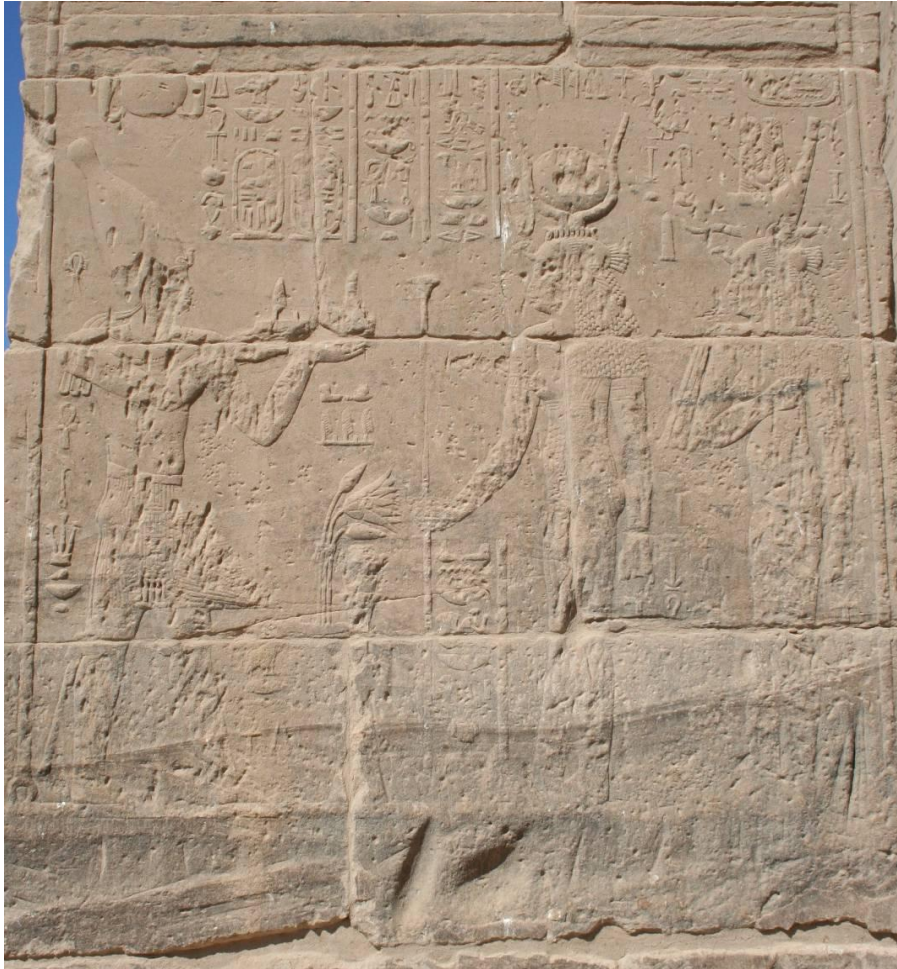


Photo by the author



Photos by the author

27. Philae, Gate of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, southern partition, facing east, bottom register



Photos by the author

28. Philae, Gate of Ptolemy II, northern partition, facing east, first register



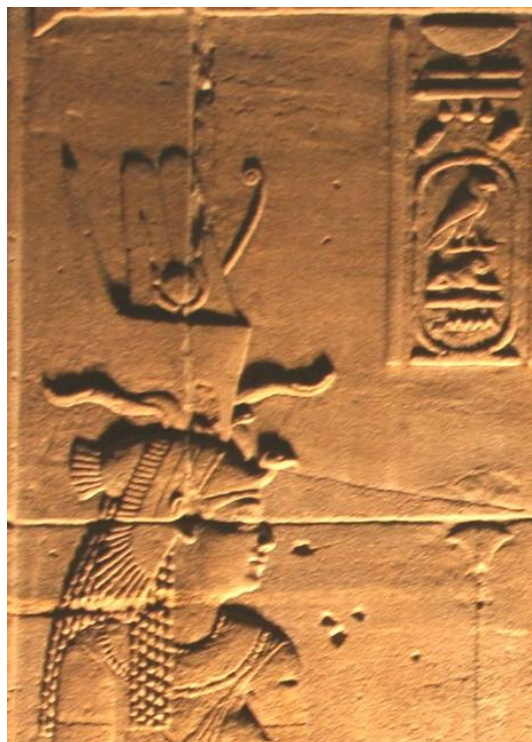
Photos by the author

29. Philae, antechamber (chamber I), northern partition, eastern side, bottom register



Photos by the author

30. Philae, inner part (outer wall of the sanctuary)(chamber VII), northern partition, eastern side of the door, lower main register



Photos by the author

31. Philae, inner sanctuary (chamber X), western partition, lower register



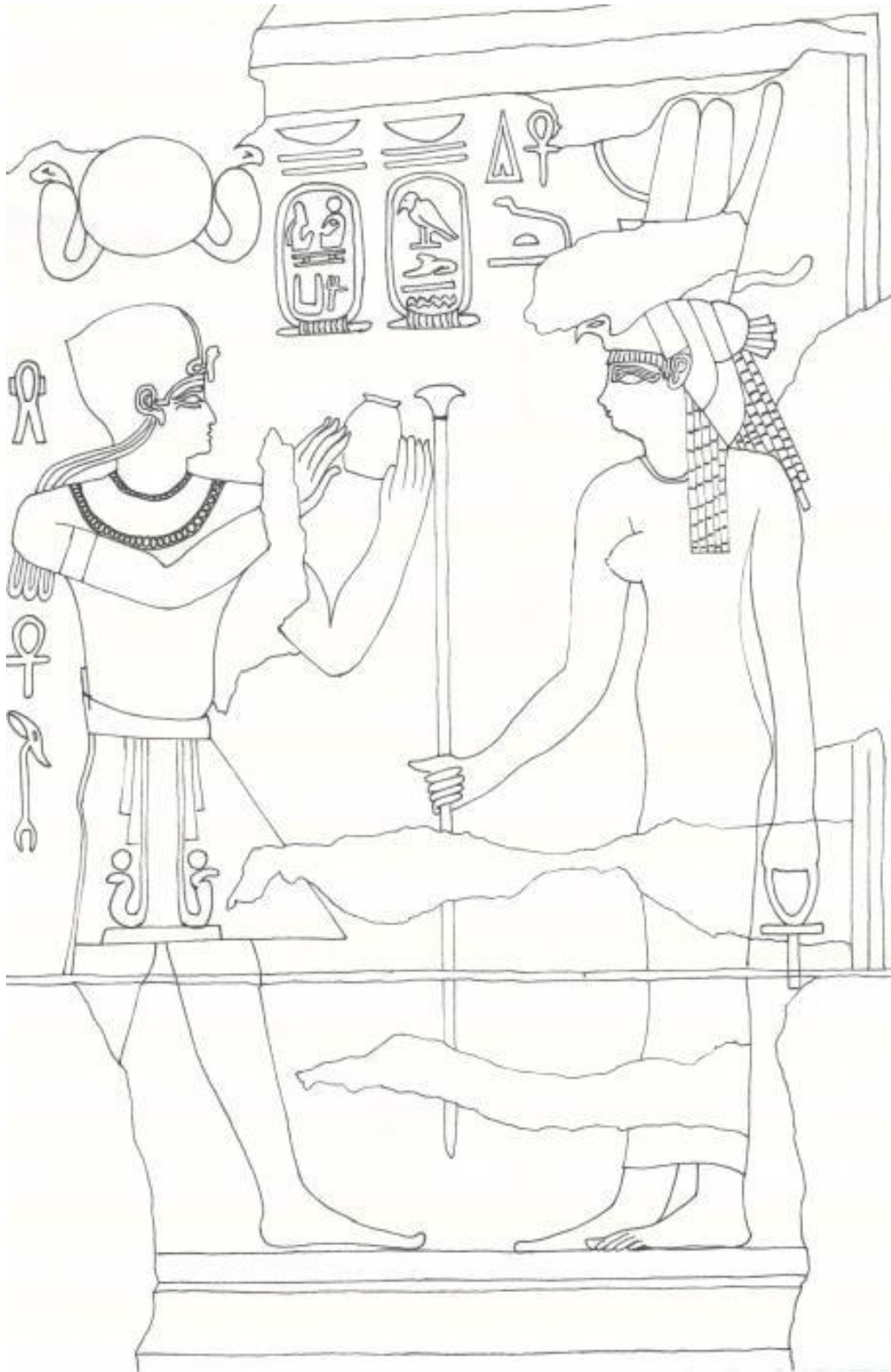
Photos by the author

32. Philae, inner sanctuary (chamber X), eastern partition, lower register



Photo by the author

33. Philae, chamber V, southern partition, west side of the door jamb



Drawing by J. Ward

34. Qasr el-Aguz, inner sanctuary, east wall, top register



Photo and editing by author

35. Tod



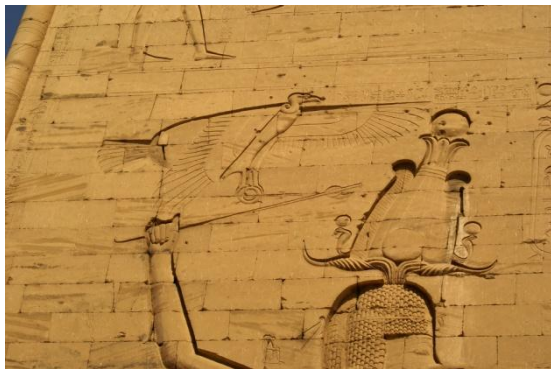
Photos by the author

36. Medamoud



Drawing by J. Ward

37. Front pylon, western partition, main register



Photos by the author

38. Front pylon, eastern partition, main register



Photos by the author

39. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, 8th scene from
1st door, top register



Photos by the author

40. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, 9th scene from
2nd door, middle register



Photos by the author

41. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, top register above the 3rd door



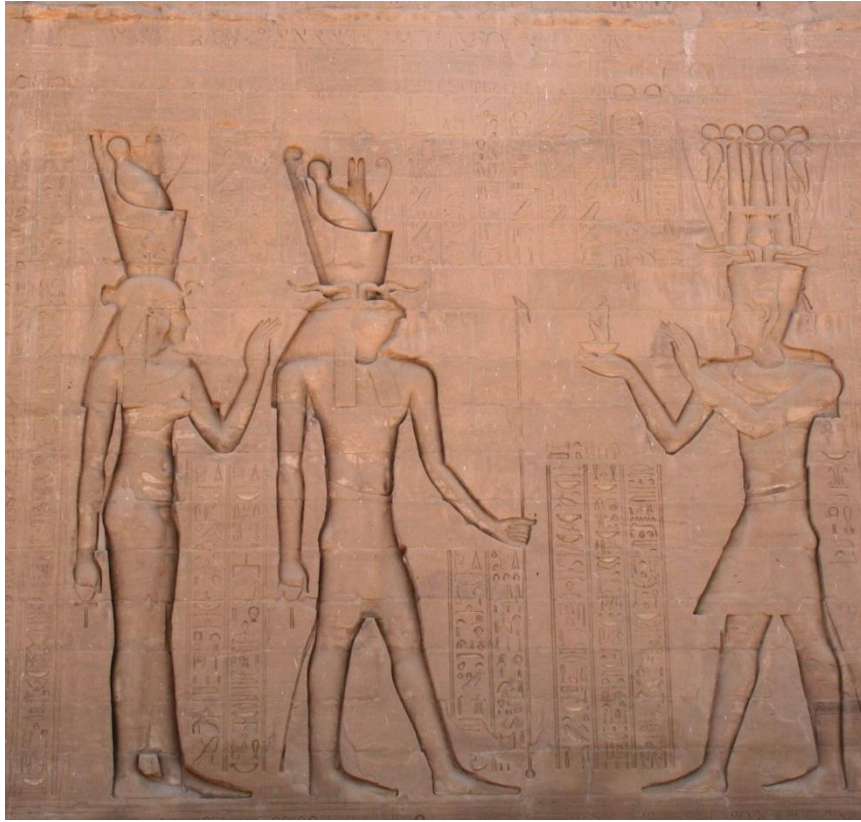
Photos by the author

42. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, middle register (2nd from below), first scene from the northern corner



Photos by the author

43. Enclosure wall, northern partition, main register, middle scene



Photos by the author

44. Enclosure wall, western partition, middle register (2nd from below)



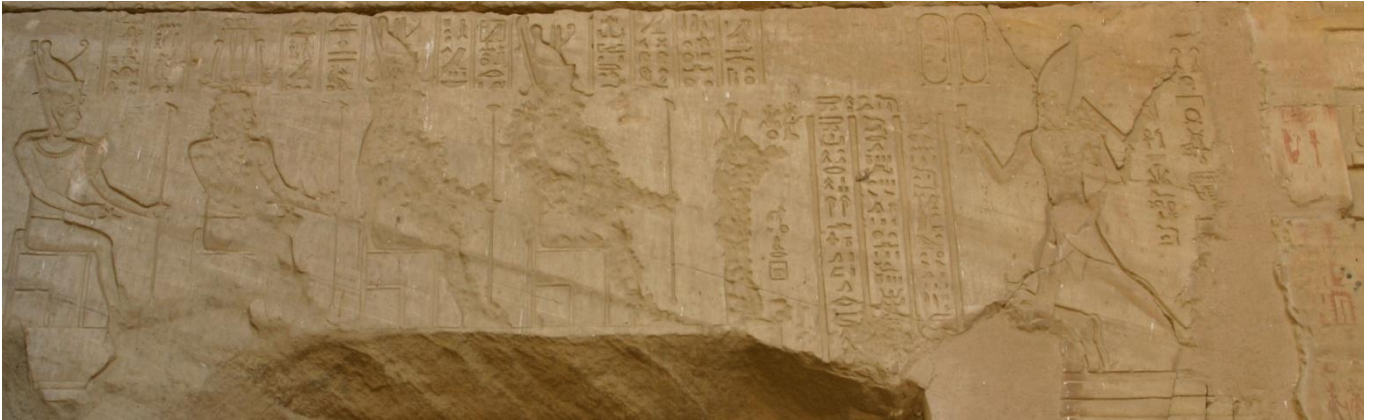
Photos by the author

45. Great courtyard (H), eastern partition, middle register



Photos by the author

46. Great courtyard, eastern partition, lintel block



Photos by the author

47. Great courtyard, northern partition, eastern side of the door, middle register



Photos by the author

48. Great courtyard, western partition, lower register, left side of the door



Photos by the author

49. Vestibule of the treasury (Y), eastern partition,
1st register from below



Photos by the author

50. Treasury (B), northern partition, top register



Photos by the author

51. Inner hypostyle hall (W), northern partition, top register above the door



Photo by the author

52. Eastern stairway (U), right side



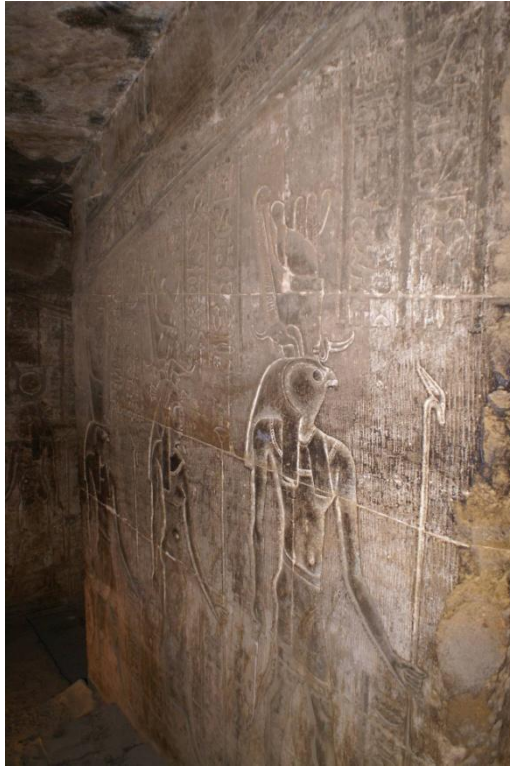
Photos by the author

cont. Eastern stairway (U), right side



Photos by the author

53. Eastern stairway (U), left side



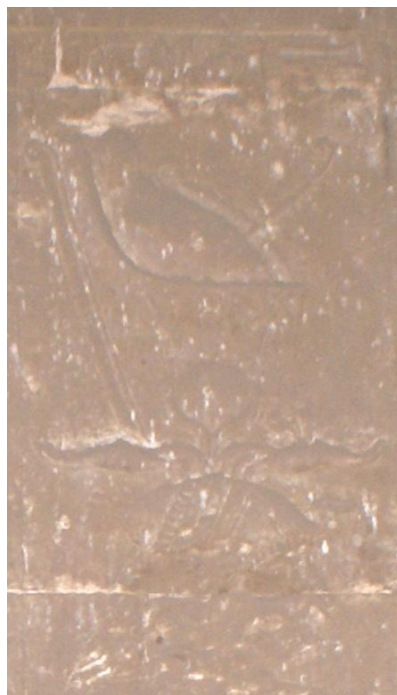
Photos by the author

54. Mysterious corridor, exterior of sanctuary, lower main register, left scene



Photos by the author

55. Mysterious corridor, exterior of sanctuary, lower main register, right scene



Photos by the author

DENDERA

56. North gate (Propylon), eastern partition, facing inwards the entrance



Photos by the author

57. North gate (Propylon), eastern partition



Photos by the author

58. North gate (Propylon), western partition, 3rd register from below, facing inwards the entrance



Photos by the author

59. North gate (Propylon), southern partition, 2nd register from below



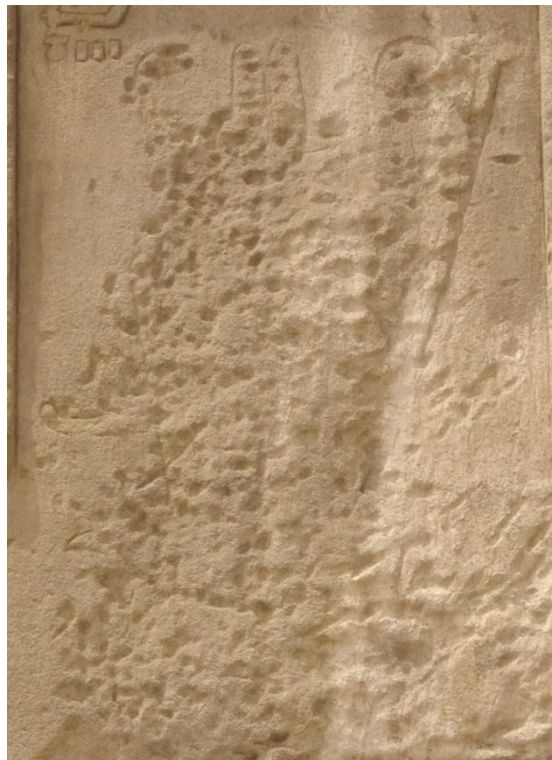
Photos by the author

60. Roman Mammisi, enclosure wall (colonnade),
north partition, 1st register from east



Photos by the author

61. Roman Mammisi, entrance facing east, left partition, 1st register from the entrance



Photos by the author

62. Roman Mammisi, inner section of the entrance,
southern partition, 2nd scene from below



Photos by the author

63. Roman Mammisi, inner section of the entrance,
southern partition, lintel scene



Photos by the author

64. Roman Mammisi, temple hall, southern partition, lower register



Photo by the author

65. Roman Mammisi, temple hall, wall of the sanctuary, western partition, lower main register



Photos by the author

66. Roman Mammisi, temple hall, eastern partition,
1st lower register from the entrance



Photos by the author

67. 30th dynasty – Ptolemaic Mammisi, temple hall, west partition, 2nd register from the entrance, 1st register from below



Photos by the author

68. Enclosure wall, north partition, 1st register from the eastern corner



Photos by the author

69. Enclosure wall, northern partition, bottom (minor) register, eastern side of the entrance



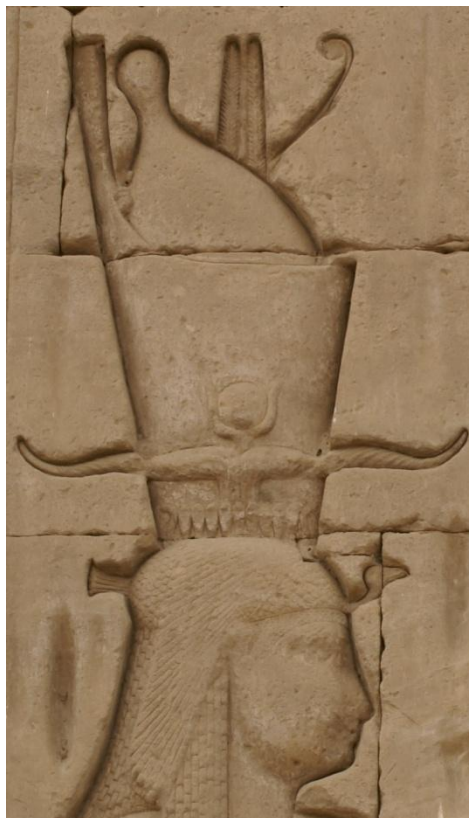
Photo by the author

70. Enclosure wall, northern partition, 1st main register from below, 1st register from the eastern corner



Photos by the author

71. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, bottom register, 1st register from the northern corner



Photos by the author

72. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, top register, 1st register from the northern corner



Photos by the author

73. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, right side of the doorframe, 4th register from below



Photos by the author

74. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, top register, 1st register of the back structure



Photos by the author

75. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, 2nd register from below, right side of the 2nd door



Photos by the author

76. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, left register
above the 2nd door



Photos by the author

77. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, 2nd register
from below, left side of the 2nd door



Photos by the author

78. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, lower register, left side of the 2nd door



Photos by the author

79. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, lower register, 7th scene to the left of the 2nd door



Photos by the author

80. Enclosure wall, eastern partition, middle register (3rd from below)



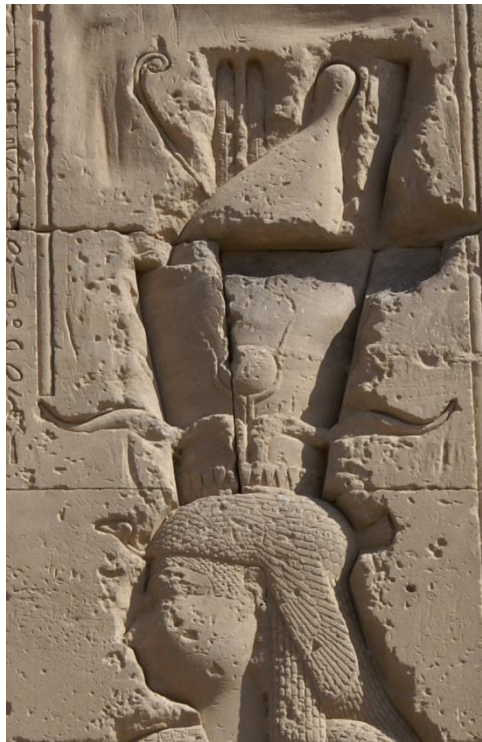
Photos by the author

81. Enclosure wall, western partition, top register, 1st from the northern corner, front part of the temple



Photos by the author

82. Enclosure wall, western partition, lower register, 1st from northern corner, front part of the temple



Photos by the author

83. Enclosure wall, western partition, lower major register, middle section, front part of the temple



Photos by the author

84. Enclosure wall, western partition, top register, end of front part of the temple



Photos by the author

85. Enclosure wall, western partition, top register, back part of the temple



Photos by the author

86. Enclosure wall, western partition, left side of the door frame, top register, back part of the temple



Photos by the author

87. Enclosure wall, western partition, door lintel,
back part of the temple



Photos by the author

88. Enclosure wall, western partition, lower register, middle section of the back part



Photos by the author

89. Enclosure wall, western partition, lower main register, middle section of the back part



Photos by the author

90. Enclosure wall, western partition, top register, back part of the temple, right side of the door



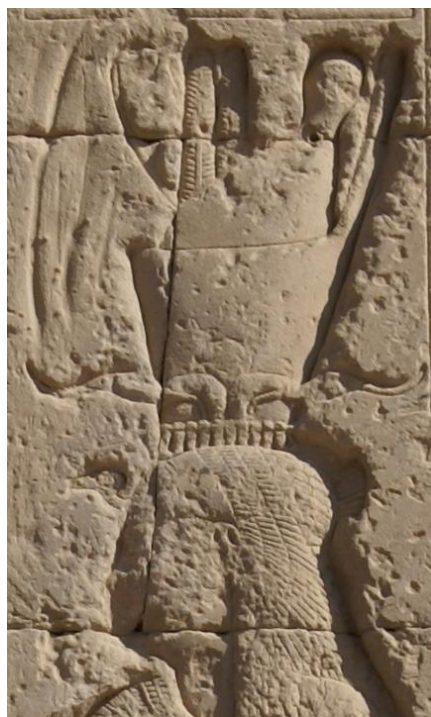
Photos by the author

91. Enclosure wall, western partition, middle register (3rd from below), back part of the temple, right side of the door



Photos by the author

92. Enclosure wall, western partition, lower register, right side of the door



Photos by the author

93. Enclosure wall, western partition, lower register, right side of the door



Photos by the author

94. Enclosure wall, western partition, lower register, right side of the door



Photos by the author

95. Enclosure wall, southern partition, right side of main register



Photos by the author

96. Enclosure wall, southern partition, lower register, eastern corner



Photos by the author

97. Enclosure wall, southern partition, middle register (over the main), eastern corner



Photos by the author

98. Outer hypostyle hall (G), eastern partition, top register



Photos by the author

99. Outer hypostyle hall, eastern partition, column (G) main register



Photos by the author

100. Outer hypostyle hall, eastern partition, middle register (3rd from below)



Photo by the author

101. Outer hypostyle hall, eastern partition, 1st scene above the lintel



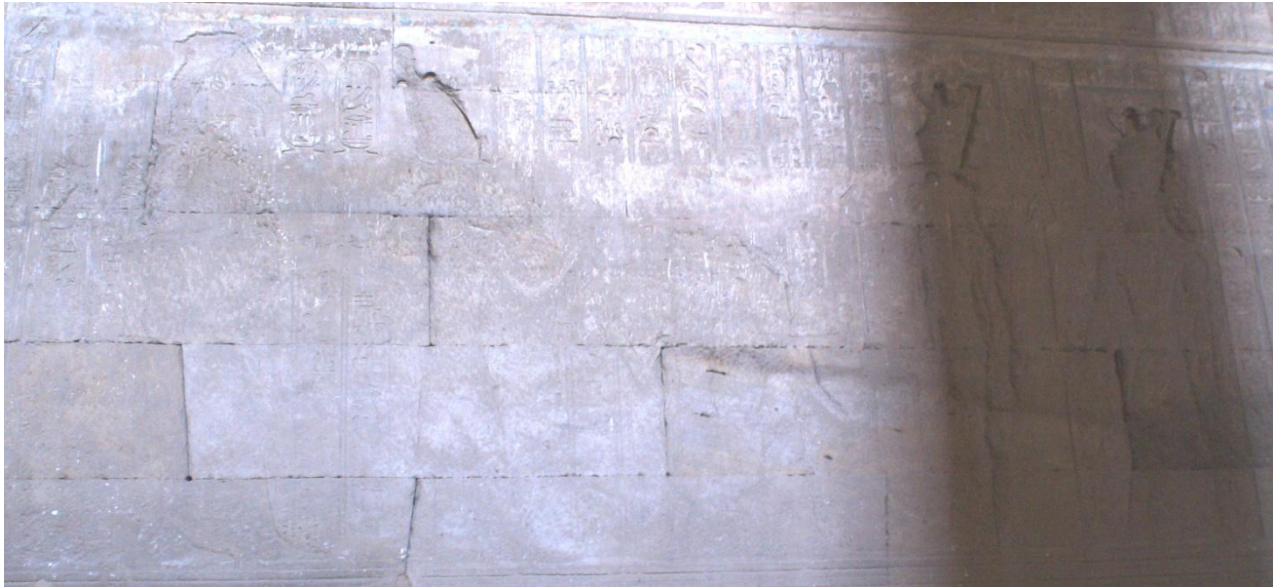
Photo by the author

102. Outer hypostyle hall, eastern partition, lower minor register in the S-E corner



Photos by the author

103. Outer hypostyle hall, southern partition, wall of the inner hypostyle hall (and the laboratory), lower main register, 1st scene from the eastern corner



Photos by the author

104. Outer hypostyle hall, southern partition, bottom frieze



Photos by the author

105. Outer hypostyle hall, western partition, lower register above the door



Photos by the author

106. Outer hypostyle hall, southern partition, lower main register, right side of the door



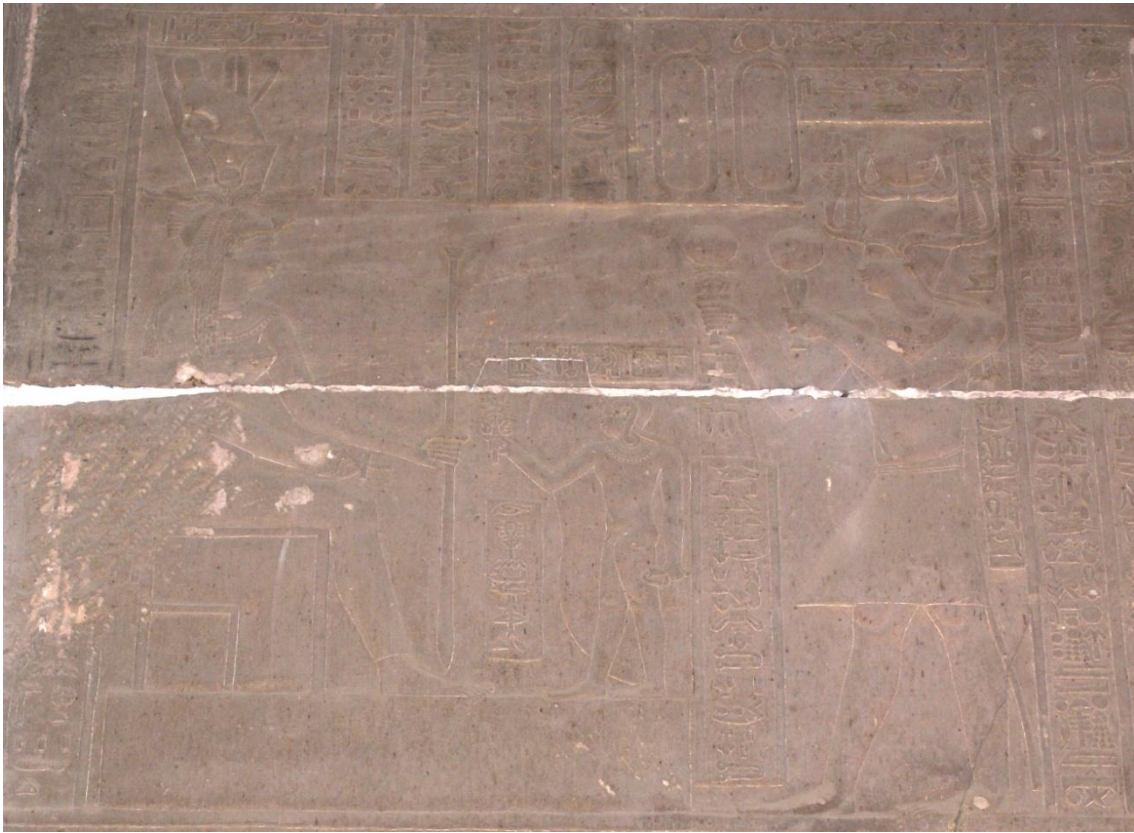
Photos by the author

107. Laboratory (A), northern partition, lower register



Photos by the author

108. Magazine (B), western partition, lower register above the lintel



Photos by the author

109. Offering entry (C), eastern partition, left side of the door frame, 2nd register from below



Photo by the author

110. Exit to well (E), southern partition, lower register



Photos by the author

111. Inner hypostyle hall, eastern partition, column (A)
main register



Photos by the author

112. Inner hypostyle hall (Z), southern partition, middle register (3rd from below), right side of the door



Photod by author

113. Offering hall (Outer vestibule - T), southern partition, lower register, eastern side of the door



Photos by the author

114. Hall of the Ennead (Inner vestibule - O), northern partition, lower register, eastern side of the door



Photo by the author

115. Hall of the Ennead (Inner vestibule - O), eastern partition, middle register (2nd from below), left side of the door



Photo by the author

116. Hall of the Ennead (Inner vestibule - O), southern partition, lower register, western side on the doorframe



Photos by the author

117. Hall of the Ennead, northern partition, lintel scene



Photo by the author

118. Inner sanctuary (A), eastern partition, middle register



Photo by the author

119. Inner sanctuary (A), eastern partition, top register



Photos by the author

120. Inner sanctuary (A), southern partition, lower register



Photos by the author

121. Inner sanctuary (A), western partition, middle register



Photos by the author

122. Shrine of the Nome of Dendera (D), western partition, northern part of the inside decoration of the door



Photos by the author

123. Shrine of the Nome of Dendera (D), southern partition, middle register, right



Photos by the author

124. Shrine of Harpocrates/Harsomtus (G), eastern partition, lower register



Photos by the author

125. Shrine of the gods of Lower Egypt (H), northern partition, lower register above the door



Photo by the author

126. Mysterious corridor (C), southern partition, lower register, between the shrine of the gods of Lower Egypt and the shrine of Hathor



Photo by the author

127. Mysterious corridor (C), northern partition, lower register, on the wall of the inner sanctuary



Photo by the author

128. Mysterious corridor (C), northern partition, lower minor register, on the wall of the inner sanctuary



Photo by the author

129. Shrine of Hathor (J), southern partition, lower register



Photo by the author

130. Shrine of Hathor (J), southern partition, middle register, left side of the door



Photo by the author

131. Shrine of Hathor (J), southern partition, top register, higher minor room



Photo by the author

132. Shrine of Hathor (J), southern partition, top register, higher minor room



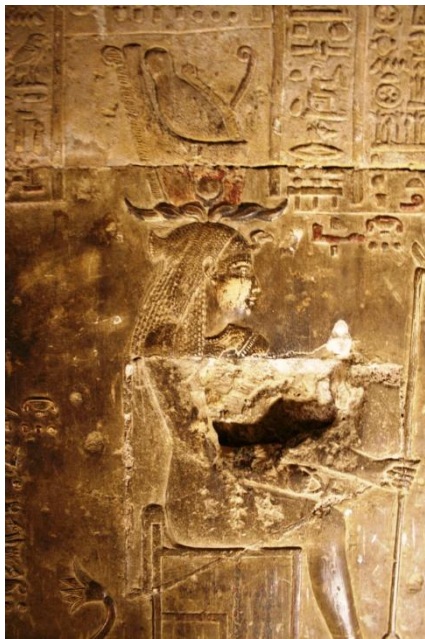
Photo by the author

133. Shrine of the throne of Ra (M), northern partition, lower register above the door



Photo by the author

134. Crypt (entrance in the shrine of the throne of Ra)(1 sud), southern partition, eastern side of the entry



Photos by the author

135. Crypt (entrance in the shrine of the throne of Ra)(1 sud), southern partition, eastern side of the entry



Photo by the author

136. Crypt (entrance in the shrine of the throne of Ra)(1 sud), northern partition, eastern side of the entry



Photo by the author

137. Court of the first feast (R), eastern partition, main register



Photos by the author

138. The Pure Place (R), eastern partition, middle register



Photo by the author

139. The Pure Place (R), southern partition, lower register



Photo by the author

140. The Pure Place (R), southern partition, middle register (2nd from below)



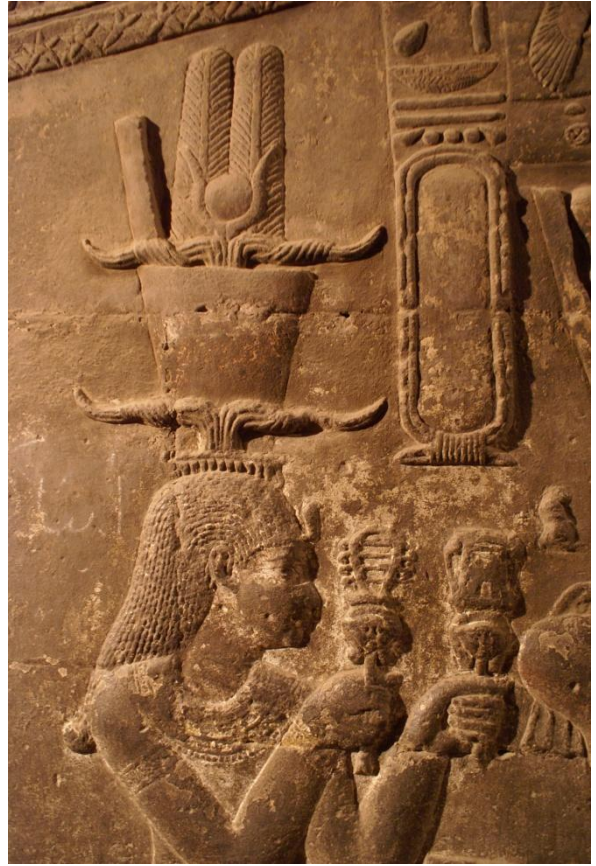
Photo by the author

141. Staircase room above the passage room, northern partition, left main register



Photo by the author

142. Western stairway, left side



Photos by the author

143. Roof (of the outer hypostyle hall) structure, northern partition, under the modern stairway



Photo by the author

144. Door lintel, western Osirian Chapel



Photo by the author

145. Kiosk of Hathor, western partition, middle interior register



Photo by the author

146. Eastern stairway chamber (V), northern partition,
lower register



Photos by the author

147. Temple of Isis, enclosure wall, eastern partition,
middle register (2nd from below)



Photos by the author

148. Temple of Isis, western room, eastern partition, lower register



Photos by the author

149. Temple of Isis, western room, eastern partition, top register



Photos by the author

150. Temple of Isis, western room, southern partition, middle register (2nd from below)



Photos by the author

151. Temple of Isis, eastern room, western partition,
lower register



Photo by the author

152. Eastern gate, western partition on the northern side,
lower main register



Photos by the author

153. Eastern gate, northern partition on the southern side, lower main register



Photos by the author

154. Eastern gate, eastern partition on the southern side,
middle register (2nd from below)



Photos by the author

155. Hypostyle hall, western partition, left side of the door, top register



Photos by the author

156. Fourth pylon, southern partition, right side of the entry, lower register



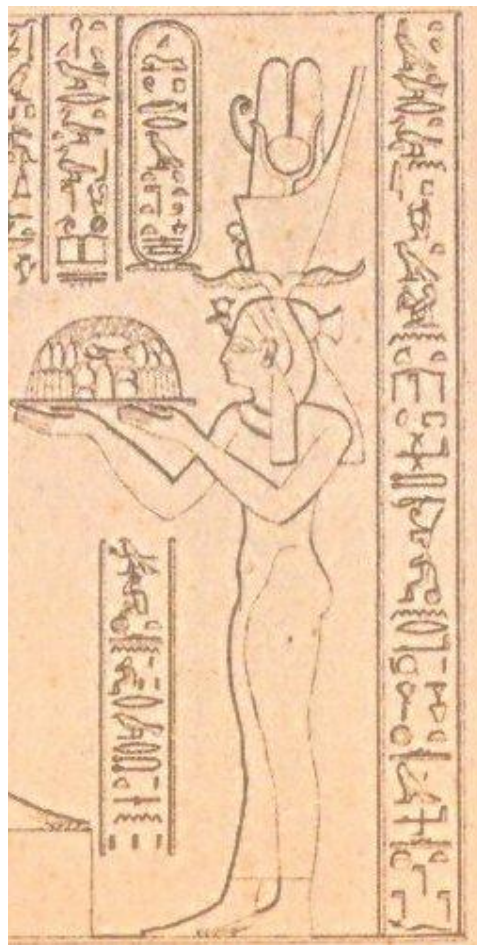
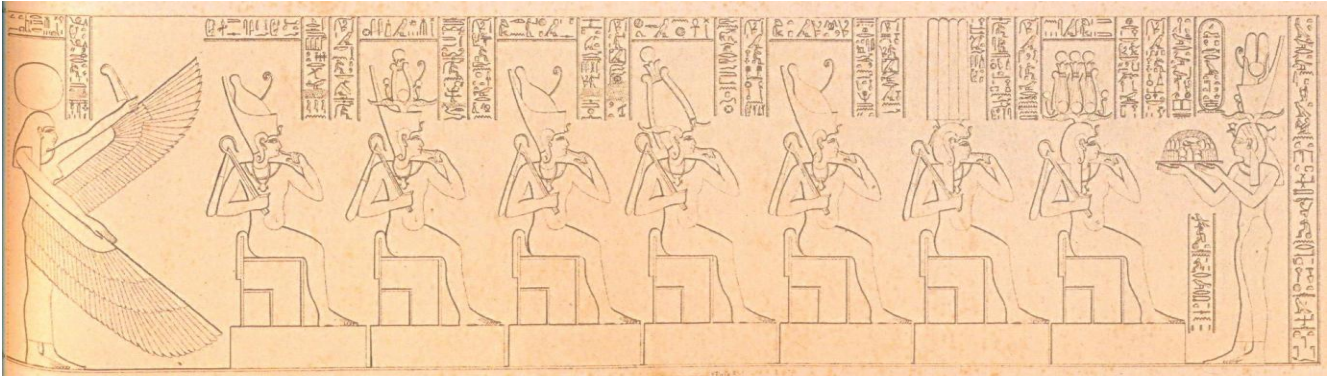
Photos by the author

157. Right side of the hypostyle hall door leading in to the hall of the barque



Photos by the author

158. Block recorded from the northern register of the inner sanctuary (holiest of holy)



Drawing after *Denkmäler IX*, abb. iv.B1.63 c



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
DEPT OF HISTORICAL STUDIES