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The Central Hall in the Egyptian Temples of the Ptolemaic Period

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**Department of Archaeology, Durham University
Ustinov College**

Thesis Submitted for the degree of PhD

September, 2009

Volume One of Two

For my mother, my father and Yasmin

*“And the memory of those who wrote such books shall last
to the end of time and for eternity”*

John Lawrence Foster, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: An Anthology*, 2001 University of Texas Press, 226.

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Abstract

The Central Hall in the Egyptian Temples of the Ptolemaic Period

Amr Aly Aly Gaber Metwally

This thesis aims at studying the different aspects of the Central Halls in the Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic period. According to the texts of that period, the Central Hall has different designations used to refer to it. Whenever it exists, the location of this Central Hall is always between the Sanctuary and the Hall of Offerings on the main axis of the temple. This centralized and strategic location of the Central Hall inside the temples implies an important role played inside the temple either during the religious festivals celebrated inside the temples or during the daily offering rituals. Furthermore, this place was used to access other places inside the temple.

The study presents a detailed analysis for the deities and the enneads connected with the Central Halls. Moreover, it highlights the decoration, the different ritual scenes and the offerings depicted on the walls of the Central Hall. This thesis also shows how and when the Central Halls were used inside the temples and who used them. The study also presents a full translation for the texts of the Central Halls of the temples of Philae, Edfu and Kom Ombo.

Declaration

The thesis conforms to the prescribed word length for doctoral degrees.

This thesis is the result of my own work. None of the material presented here has previously been submitted by the author for the degree at Durham University or at any other university. Material from the work of others has been acknowledged and quotations and paraphrases have been indicated.

Statement of Copyright

© The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without prior written consent and information derived from it should be duly acknowledged.

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List of Abbreviations

ÄA: Ägyptologische Abhandlungen.

ÄAT: Ägypten und Altes Testament. Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments.

AAA: Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool).

Anc. Soc.: Ancient Society. Journal of Ancient History of the Greek, Hellen. and Roman World, Louvain.

AOAT: Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Kevelaer Neukirchen-Vluyn).

ASAE: Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte.

AV: Archäologische Veröffentlichungen.

BdE: Bibliothèque d'Étude Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Le Caire).

BIFAO: Le Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

B.M.: British Museum.

BMSAES: British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan.

BSAA: Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie (Alexandrie).

BSEG: Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève (Genève).

BSFE: Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie (Paris).

CdE: Chronique d'Égypte Fond. Égyptol. Reine Élisabeth (Bruxelles).

CGC : Catalogue général du Musée du Caire (Le Caire).

CT : Coffin Texts.

DG: Gauthier, H., Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques Contenus dans Les Texts Hieroglyphiques, (Le Caire).

Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie (Wiesbaden).

GOF: Göttinger Orientforschungen.

GM: Göttinger Miszellen (Göttingen).

HÄB: Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (Hildesheim).

JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society (New Haven).

JARCE: Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Cairo).

Jd'E: Journal d'Entrée (Cairo Museum).

JEA: Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London).

JNES: Journal of Near Eastern studies (Chicago).

JEH: Journal of Egyptian History (Leiden).

Karnak: Cahiers de Karnak. Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des temples de Karnak, Centre National de La Recherche Scientifique (Paris).

Kêmi: Kêmi. Revue de Philologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes Et Coptes (Paris).

KTEMA: civilisations de l'Orient, de la Grèce et de Rome antiques (Strasbourg).

LÄ: Lexikon der Ägyptologie, 7 vols., Wiesbaden (1975-1985).

LingAeg: Lingua Aegyptiaca Journal of Egyptian Language Studies.

LGG: Leitz, C. (2002): Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110-116, 129 Leuven: Peeters.

Mam. D.: F. Daumas, Les mammisis de Dendara, 1959, Le Caire.

Mam. E.: É Chassinat, Le mammisi d'Edfou, MIFAO 16, 1939, Le Caire.

Man: Man. monthly record of anthropological society, Royal Anthropological Institute (London).

MDAIK: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abt. Kairo (Wiesbaden).

MIFAO: Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Oriental (Le Caire).

MMAF: Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire (Le Caire).

MOI : Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.

MMAF: Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française du Caire.

MÄS: Münchner Ägyptologische Studien (Berlin, Munich).

OIP: Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago).

OLA: Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven).

OLP: Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica.

PM: Porter, B., Moss R., Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings (Oxford).

RdE: Revue d'Égyptologie.

Rec. Trav.: Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archeologie Egyptiennes et Assyriennes.

SAGA: Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (Heidelberg).

SAOC: Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations (Chicago).

SAK: Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur (Hamburg).

SASAE: Suppléments aux ASAE (Le Caire).

SERaT: System zur Erfassung von Ritualszenen in altägyptischen Tempeln.

TT: Theban Tomb.

UGAÄ: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens.

Urk I-VIII: Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums (Leipzig, Berlin).

Wb: Erman, A., Grapow, H., Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache (Leipzig, Berlin).

Wepwawet: Wepwawet. Papers in Egyptology (London).

ZÄS: Zeitschrift für Ägyptischen Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig, Berlin).

ZPE: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.

[...] Lacuna/ possible restoration in the translation.

() enclose additions to the transliteration.

(?) Follows words or phrases of which the translation is doubtful/ reading uncertain.

Key to Codes

CP: Central Part.

D: Dendera.

E: East.

E: Edfu.

EDJ: Eastern Doorjamb.

END: External North Door.

Es: Eastern side.

ESD: External South Door.

Ew: East Wall.

ExD: External Door.

ExDJ: External Doorjamb.

EXNDL: External North Door Lintel.

EXSDL: External South Door Lintel.

H: hymn.

InD: Internal Door.

IND: Internal North Door.

InL: Internal Lintel.

ISD: Internal South Door:

KO: Kom OMbo.

L: Lintel.

Ms: Middle side.

N: North.

ND: North Door.

NDJ: North Doorjamb.

Ns: Northern side.

Nw: North Wall.

Ph: Philae.

R1: first register.

R2: second register.

R3: third register.

R4: fourth register.

S: South.

SD: South Door.

SDJ: South Doorjamb.

Ss: Southern side.

Sw: South wall.

W: West.

WDJ: Western Doorjamb.

Ws: Western side.

Ww: West wall.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Statement of Research

In ancient Egypt, the temple is considered as “House of God” (Nelson 1944: 44) or perhaps “House of divinity”. Its nucleus, the Sanctuary, where the statue (s) of the main deity(s) rests, is the most important and sacred place. It was only accessed by the king or the high priest acting on his behalf where the rituals of the daily service were carried out. But that is not all; the temple also encompasses a series of hall(s), chamber(s) and sometimes crypts each of which has its own function. That does not mean that they were isolated, but they interconnect, interact, and collaborate together so as to enable the daily offering service and rituals carried out during religious festivals to be performed.

This current study is focused upon the Central Hall in the Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic period. The Central Hall in the Ptolemaic temples, on the main axis, is situated directly before the Sanctuary and is preceded by the Hall of Offerings (see chapter two). In accordance with the texts of these temples, as can be shown later (see chapter two), the Central Hall possesses several designations. Some of these reflect a religious significance that is related to the mythology of the temple while others denote a function of the hall. Some of the Central Halls share the same designations in different temples while others have a unique designation that is confined to one temple in particular. On the other hand, some halls do not possess a designation due to the lack of textual evidence. Examples of the hall in question are located in the temples of Upper Egypt: Edfu, Dendera, Philae, and Kom-Ombo. This does not imply a geographical study, but these temples were chosen based upon a certain criteria as shown later. The Central Hall seems to have an antecedent during the Dynastic period as shown from the texts of the *ḥryt-ib* of the *3ḥ-mnw* of King Thuthmosis III at Karnak. Additionally, this Central Hall appeared again in the Roman Period afterwards.

As an attempt to trace the origin of the Central Hall during the Dynastic period, the earlier theories which deal with the location of the Central Hall have to be re-evaluated to assess its validity.

Studying the Central Hall of the Ptolemaic period will determine if the predecessor of the Dynastic period had the same function(s) or whether there was a distinction in function(s) and the extent to which it may have developed.

The texts of these halls contain a wide spectrum of types. They vary in nature between the offering texts which are dominant, hymns dedicated to the main deity or one of the co-templar gods, and sometimes processions for the Hapy gods or offering bearers. In addition to these, there is the Upper Band of Text and the Lower Band of Text which usually give information about the name and the function of the hall in question. Other information about the Central Hall is to be found in the Dedicatory Inscriptions in the temple which give more information about the halls' location and their measurements.

This study is part of an attempt to investigate the nature of this hall, its function in the temple and its connection to the other parts of the temple. Because of its strategic position, this hall is considered to be the last place that the high priest had to cross to get into the sanctuary. Additionally, as a centralized hall, it controls the movement to different parts of the temple.

1.2 Problems of the study

The texts of the Central Hall of the temple of Isis at Philae were only published once by G. Bénédict in 1893 and unfortunately this publication is full of mistakes. A series of field trips i.e. three had to be undertaken to the temple in order to emend the hieroglyphic script. Furthermore, the texts of some of the temples i.e. Philae and Kom Ombo are parsimonious. In addition to this, important parts of the hall of the temple of Kom Ombo disappeared.

1.3 Previous Scholarships

Previous Studies on the Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic period have focused upon specific aspects of the texts of the Central Halls and they can be divided into several

categories. Due to the great number of the studies, those mentioned below are the works that are directly connected with this present study.

1.3.1 Text and Translation: The first category is the recording of the texts and its translation: the texts of the Central Hall of Edfu were recorded by M. de Rochemonteix and E. Chassinat in their first volume (1892) which was corrected and augmented by S. Cauville & D. Devauchelle (1987). Additionally, the texts of the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera were recorded by E. Chassinat (1935) and were translated by S. Cauville (2001). As for the texts in the temple of Philae, they were copied by G. Bénédict, but have never been corrected or translated (1893). Regarding the hall of the temple of Kom Ombo, it was first recorded by De Morgan (1909) and then a fresh emended copy was made by A. Gutbub (1995). This posthumous copy was prepared for publication by his student D. Inconnu-Bocquillon (Gutbub 1995). The texts of Dier el-Medina were recorded in one monograph by Du Bourguet (2002) and the texts were fully translated by M. Elebaut (2006). This translation is included among other Ptolemaic and Roman temples on the web site of the project that is led by R. Preys of the Leuven University - Online Index of the Ptolemaic and Roman Hieroglyphic Texts.

1.3.2 Offering Rituals: The second category is the study of the offering rituals: there is a wide variety of offering texts in the Central Hall. Some of them were studied such as *šbt/wtt/wnšb* (Sambin 1988), eye-paint (El-Kordy (1982a: 195-222), dates (Cauville 1980), fields (Labrique 1992), and wine (Poo 1995).

Additionally, a database has been created for the offering scenes only in the temples of the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods but without the translation of the ritual scenes. Only the transliterations were included. This project is conducted by Würzburg University in Germany by Horst Beinlich, Jochen Hallof, Holger Hussy, Christiane von Pfeil & Stefanie Schips, SERaT, System zur Erfassung von Ritualszenen in altaegyptischen Tempeln, <http://www.uni-wuerzburg.de/aegyptologie/serat-homepage.html>. Additionally, two monographs have also been published (Beinlich 2008).

One of the main aims of translating the texts of these temples is to have a clear image about the mythology of the temples. Accordingly, M. Alliot studied the cult of Horus the Behdetite in the temple of Edfu both during the daily service and in Edfu religious festivals (1949; 1954). As for A. Gutbub, he concentrated on the study of the temple of Kom Ombo. In his revised edition of his PhD thesis, he focused upon selected parts of the texts which reflect the mythology and the cult of the temple of Kom Ombo (1973). Furthermore, he studied other aspects of the temple of Kom Ombo (1974: 239-247; 1984: 21- 48).

The texts of the religious festivals from the Ptolemaic temples in ancient Egypt provide a great source of understanding about the religious life inside the temples, and thus, they were investigated by a number of scholars. As for the festivals of the temple of Edfu, they were studied several times (Alliot 1949; Fairman 1954). An important study on the festival calendars of the Ptolemaic and the Roman temples was achieved by A. Grimm. In his published PhD thesis, he studied the six festival calendars of Kom Ombo, the three of Edfu, the two of Dendera, and the one of Esna (1994). In addition to this, El-Sabban studied the calendars of the temples of the Dynastic period and the calendars of the Graeco-Roman periods as well (El-Sabban 2000). As for the festivals of Dendera, S. Cauville dedicated a new monograph not only to the festivals of Hathor but also to the festivals of other deities inside the temple such as: Horus-sema-tawy, Ihy, Isis, and Osiris (2002). The most recent study of the festivals was that of A. Corthals who investigated, in her unpublished PhD thesis at Oxford, the New Year festival in the Pharaonic temples in Upper Egypt of Edfu, Dendera and Philae. The core of her study is the examination and comparison of the texts of the *Wabet* relating to the New Year Festival that were presented in a tabular concordance (2003).

1.3.3 Deities: some of the deities who appeared in the Central Hall were the focus of the study such as Isis-*hddyt* (Goyon 1978: 439-458), the pantheon of the deities of the temple of Edfu (Cauville 1988: 7-23) and Horus the Behdetite in the temple of Edfu during the Ptolemaic period (Alliot 1954). Inconnu-Bocquillon studied the myth of the goddess Isis in the temple of Philae (2001). El-Kordy investigated a hymn in the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera dedicated to Horus-sema-tawy (1982b: 171- 186). Žabkar concentrated his

work mainly on the temples of Philae and studied some hymns mainly dedicated to Isis (1980: 127-136; 1983: 115-137; 1988).

1.3.4 Studies on the Chambers/Halls of the Temples:

As the plan of the temples during the Graeco-Roman period includes some hitherto unknown chambers devoted for a special function inside the temple, or at least some of them were introduced during the late dynasties of Egypt, these chambers were the subject of study by several scholars. The late M. E. Ibrahim studied the texts of the Chapel of the Throne of Re in the temple of Edfu (1975). As for the texts of the Nile Chamber in the temple of Edfu, they were studied by R. Vergnienx in his unpublished Masters thesis at the University of Lyon II (1978). In the mean time, S. Woodhouse is conducting her PhD thesis on the Chamber of the Mesen (the axial Chamber) at the University of Hamburg. She is trying to establish the function of the chamber in the temple and its role during the festivals. Ph. Derchain studied the Mansion of Gold in Dendera (1990:219-242). The Crypts of the temple of Dendera was the topic of the PhD thesis of El-Kordy (1977). A selected corpus of the texts of subterranean crypts of the temple of Dendera was studied by W. Watikus (1997). Additionally, R. Preys studied the Mansion of the Sistrum and the Throne of Re in the temple of Dendera (2002). In his published PhD thesis which was conducted at Trier University, M. El-Damaty investigated the function of the Chamber of Sokar-Osiris in the temple of Dendera (1995). After pointing out the importance of studying the *Wabet* in the Ptolemaic and Roman temples (1999: 87-92), F. Coppens of the Charles University in Prague in his PhD thesis on the Complex of *Wabet* and Court in Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, focuses on two aspects: a study of the general, recurring characteristics of all the complexes on the basis of their architecture, relief decoration and inscriptions, and a publication of the open court in the temple of Isis at Philae; which he considers a precursor of the later complex of *Wabet* and Court. He also focuses on other ritual and architectural precursors of the latter complex such as: the Nubian temples of the 25th dynasty, and the temple of Hibis, and the term *wabet* as a mortuary workshop (2008).

1.4 Summary:

In light of the above mentioned works, it can be deduced that some of these studies concentrated only on parts inside the Central Halls and they studied them in the context of other subjects. On the other hand, texts of other halls have not been studied or analysed, needless to say that these works are far from the real essence of the Central Hall and its function. Most scholars did not study the hall itself but they approached it in an indirect manner, as a brief aside in a study of some other topic. As a result no lucid image of the role of the Central Hall has emerged and its connection with the other halls and chapels in the temple is still to be investigated.

Hence, this is the first study to examine all the potential Central Halls in the Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic period. In addition it will discuss the principals of the decorations of the Central Halls. This study is, by large, categorised under the last group of studies.

1.5 Limitation of the Study:

This section shows upon which category the temples were chosen to be included in the study and others were eliminated. Additionally, it will also establish the limitation of the period of study, which is the Ptolemaic period only, evident in the title of this work. Thus, going through all the Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic period, certain temples were chosen mainly because of their good state of their inscriptions and preservation. The Central Halls of the temples are: Edfu, Dendera, Philae and Kom Ombo of the Ptolemaic period. The other temples are excluded from the range of the research for the following reasons:

1.5.1 The Destruction of the Temple:

Some of the temples of the Ptolemaic period disappeared completely such as the temple of Ptolemy III at Kom el-Deir was destroyed by vandals in 1843 (Arnold 1999: 168). Moreover, the temple of Harendotes at Philae was demolished during the Byzantine Period.

Only the lowest courses of the walls and parts of the pavements had remained *in situ*. Blocks of the Upper courses were reused to build the west church (Haeny 1985: 216). The temple of Monthu at Armant had the same fate.

1.5.2 Partly Damaged Temples:

At the temple of Monthu at el-Tod, only half of the *Pronaos* still stands; and what is left cannot determine precisely its original plan. According to the inscriptions of the last standing hall in the temple, this hall is the Hall of Offerings but with the destruction of the rest of the temple and the lack of textual evidence there is no proof that this temple possesses a Central Hall (Thiers 2003: 240-243, nos. 299-300). Furthermore, at the temple of Khnum at Esna, most of the Ptolemaic part has disappeared and only the Hypostyle Hall is still *in situ* while the rest of the temple was destroyed. The fate of the Temple of Isis at Behbit El-Hegara where only scattered blocks of the ruined temple are still *in situ* is not better than the former. The temple of Medamoud is also predominantly damaged.

1.5.3 The Temples without the Central Hall:

According to the plan of some of the temples, the hall in question does not exist in the temple such as the temple of Osiris at Biggeh (Blackman 1915).

1.5.4 Unexplored Temples:

A number of the Ptolemaic temples are still unexcavated until now, to name but a few, the temples of Ptolemy I Soter at Causea and Sharuna, the temple of Ptolemy V Epiphanies Mihos at Leontopolis, the temple of Ptolemy X Alexander I at Banawit (Arnold 1999:209).

1.5.5 Uninscribed Possible Central Hall in the Temple:

In the temple of Isis at Aswan there is a hall before the sanctuary which has two pillars, D. Arnold identifies this hall as the Hall of Offerings (1999: 171-172). There are only two

inscribed pillars in this hall (Bresciani & Pernigotti 1978). Thus with the lack of epigraphic evidence, reaching a conclusive opinion about the identity of the hall is beyond reach.

1.5.6 Partly Excavated and Studied Temples:

Under this category is the temple of the lioness goddess Repyt, located at Wennina al-Gharbya/ Sheikh Hamad (Athribis) near Sohag Governorate, and known as “Temple of Wennina”. It dates back to Ptolemy XII Auletes. The temple was briefly mentioned by W. F. Petrie (1908: pl. XV). The texts of one of the rooms in the temple i.e. “Punt Room” were studied by N. Baum (1994:23-37) and afterwards by Chermette & Goyon (1996: 47-82). Some parts of the temple were re-excavated by the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation between 1981 and 1985 (El-Farag & Kaplony-Heckel & Kuhlmann 1985:1-2). The work resumed again between 1986 and 1998 (El-Masry 2001: 209, 211-218). The temple is now being restored and studied by a joint expedition from the University of Tübingen and the Supreme Council of Archaeology in Egypt. So far the temple still lacks proper publication (in print now).

1.5.7 Bad State of Preservation:

The state of some of the temples such as the temple of Thot (Kasr El-Agouz) which dates back to the reign of Ptolemy VIII Eurgetes II deteriorated to the extent that the study of such a temple needs good conservation (Arnold 1999: 198-200). This temple is the only Ptolemaic temple which is executed by painting on plaster and due to its current declined condition, most of the texts can barely be seen. Additionally, the documentation of Mallet for the texts is not sufficient for a detailed scientific study (Mallet 1909).

1.5.8 Outside of the Range of the Study:

It is worth noting that a Central Hall also existed in the Roman Period as there is only one confirmed example so far i.e. the Roman *Mammisi* of Dendera as can be seen from the texts of this *Mammisi*. It is not included in the course of the present study for the following

reasons. Firstly, this study primarily focuses only on the Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic period and thus it falls beyond the scope of this study. Secondly, the *Mammisi* throughout the course of the ancient Egyptian history, had a fixed function which is to celebrate the birth of the child god who was the third member of the triad of the temple (Daumas 1977: cols. 462-463). Thirdly, the *Mammisi* as an architectural structure was always a part of the temple complex and cannot be treated as a single temple by itself. Despite the former reasons, this unique case of the Roman *Mammisi* of Dendera will be briefly investigated so as to compare the location, terms which designate this hall and the function of the Central Hall during the Roman period and hence this will enable the research to have a wider perspective and more depth. Finally, despite the fact that the Roman *Mammisi* of Dendera (Mam. D. 218; Daumas 1958:253-254; 267ff.) has a festival calendar, this calendar was not grouped under work carried out by A. Grimm (1994) and El-Sabban (2000) regarding the festival calendars of the temples.

Last but not least, as for the claims that some of the Ptolemaic temples contain the Central Hall, this will be investigated in chapter two.

1.6 Research Questions:

In the course of this study several research questions are presented. They are divided into three main groups. Each group has several questions which are homogenous in their wider implications but different in their detailed targets.

- What are the types of texts used in these halls: hymns, offering rituals, calendars of religious festivals, etc.? Was there a pattern followed while trying to depict such offering rituals? To what extent does the theology of the temples affect the “*Grammaire du Temple*” in the Central Halls of the Ptolemaic period?
- Who are the gods and goddesses connected with the Central Hall? Are they the main deities of the temples or minor deities or co-templar deities or from the nearby

cult centres? Why were those deities chosen in particular? What are the aspects of these deities?

- What are the religious festivals in which these halls were involved? How was the Central Hall used during these festivals? What are the courses of movement used inside the temples to access the Central Halls during the religious festivals?

1.7 Objectives:

The study will endeavour to:

- Outline the characteristics of the Central Halls during the Ptolemaic period in terms of location inside the temples and the designations used to refer to them.
- Trace the origin of the Central Halls during the Dynastic period and review the theories of the existence for these halls and to highlight its endurance in the Roman Period.
- Identify the functions of the Central Halls both during the daily offering service and during the religious festivals and to find out for which religious festivals the Central Halls were being used according to the texts of the investigated temples.

The thesis is divided into two volumes. Volume one includes the contextual study of the texts including the relationship of the texts to the architecture, the interaction of the rooms around the Central Hall, changes and differences in the different halls etc. Volume two contains the full translation of the texts of the Central Halls and comment on the texts where necessary. This process is crucial in order to identify and categorise the kind of texts that are being examined. These two volumes are interrelated as the former is the contextualised interpretation and the latter is an analysis of the data. The main core of the study is volume one.

My interpretation of the Central Hall adheres as closely to the texts as possible and it attempts to systematise the ideas in that context. My view is that the text is the message that the ancient Egyptians left us and this should be our first target while trying to find out the function of the Central Hall. As for the lack of textual evidence as is the case of Kom Ombo, a comparison is made with other temples. It is appropriate that the liturgical texts, ritual scenes together with decorative and the architectural context of the Central Hall must be exploited to the full in order to gain a better understanding about the function of the Central Hall. The core of the study is, after analysing the texts of these halls and their relevance to the function of the hall, a comparison of the scenes and the texts of these halls and to find the similarities and the dissimilarities. Throughout the study, I will adopt a 11l in one disciplinary Egyptological, religious, historical and philological approach.

As noted above the texts of the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera have been fully translated by S. Cauville and thus the translations need not to be included in the second volume.

1.8 Structure of the Study:

The thesis comprises two volumes.

1.8.1 Volume One: consists of the following chapters:

Chapter One: Introduction.

It is an introduction to the study including the research statement, research questions, and objectives.

Chapter Two: Locations and Designations of the Central Halls.

It concentrates the study on four of the Central Halls in the Egyptian temples during the Ptolemaic period, i.e. Philae, Edfu, Kom Ombo and Dendera. Their designations and locations and most importantly some of their function(s) which can be deduced from their

nominations and the texts related to them are investigated. It will also include a survey of the potential Central Halls in the temples of the Dynastic period. Addressing such a topic will involve investigating the possible precursor during the Dynastic period and a comparison with the Central Hall mentioned in the *Book of the Temple*.

Chapter Three: Ennead and Deities - Epigraphic and Iconographic Evidence.

It investigates the ennead(s) associated with every Central Hall in the studied temples. Additionally, the gods and goddesses who were represented on the walls of these halls are also examined. Moreover, their forms, aspects and connection to the main deity (ies) are highlighted. It shows how mythological allusions of the deities were woven so as to fit into the cult of these halls.

Chapter Four: Principles of Decorations of the Central Halls.

It studies the usage of the space of the walls of the Central Hall in the studied temples in terms of the decoration, thus the decoration schema used to decorate the walls of the Central Halls is examined together with the internal and external doorjambs, lintels, dados, the decorative friezes, the orientations of the scenes and the Upper and Lower Bands of texts.

Chapter Five: Offering Rituals and Hymns of the Central Halls.

It deals with the offering scenes represented on the walls of the Central Halls by analysing their characteristics and how they fit in the context of a larger religious scenario. As comprehensively as possible, the various offerings are collected and subjected to a detailed textual analysis through a comparative study. Additionally, the study will investigate if there is a pattern for these offerings. It also deals with the hymns which are inscribed in the Central Halls as an echo of the mythology of the temple.

Chapter Six: The Religious Festivals, Cult Rituals and the Daily Offering Rituals.

It examines when the Central Hall was used during the religious festivals and daily offering rituals. It highlights the temple furniture used and the priests mentioned in the texts who used the Central Halls. Besides, it explores the different courses of the movement inside the temple through the Central Halls during these festivals.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions.

It gives an overall view of all the conclusions reached in each chapter. Furthermore, it will draw conclusions from the study upon the nature of ritual design in temples, the use of space in ritual practice and the deities related to royal patronage. It will also summarise the functions of the Central Halls and will introduce a reinterpretation of the meaning of its location.

1.8.2 Volume Two:

It consists of:

- I. Translation of the texts of the Central Hall temple of Philae.
- II. Translation of the texts of the Central Hall temple of Edfu.
- III. Translation of the texts of the Central Hall temple of Kom Ombo.
- IV. Appendices.
- V. Bibliography.

1.9 Key Definitions and Remarks in the Present Study

Before proceeding, it is essential to shed light on a few terms that will be encountered throughout the present study. The term “Central Hall” is not the modern term that is used by some of the scholars to define a hall that lies in the centre of the temple (see chapter two). It is a translation for one of the ancient Egyptian terms *hryt-ib* which is used to refer to the Central Hall in question. It should be noted that this particular term denotes or at least is associated with the location of the hall in question inside the temple. Additionally,

for consistency, the term “Central Hall” will be used throughout the work except when an ancient Egyptian term is mentioned in translation to refer to the hall in question.

Regarding the “Upper Band of Text”, it corresponds to the French term “*Bandeau de la frise*” also known as “Frieze Band” (Egberts 1986: 36) and the “Lower Band of Text” is used instead of “*Bandeau du Soubassement*”.

The term of the “King’s Border Column” is used to refer to “*königliche Randzeile*”, and the term “God’s Border Column” is used to refer to the term “*göttliche Randzeile*”. The “*königliche Randzeile*” and the “*göttliche Randzeile*” are also known as “Bordering Columns” (Baines 1994: 23-33), “*Colonnes Latérales*” (Preys 2002: 165) or “*Colonne d’encadrement du dieu*” and “*Colonne d’encadrement du roi*” (Gutbub 1995: 191, 196).

Moreover, the ritual scenes and the Hymns of the investigated Central Halls have been coded and each scene has a unique code to refer to it in both volumes of the study.

Finally, the page headers of the texts’ publications of the studied temples are taken into account while counting the text lines except for those numbered.

Chapter Two

Locations and Designations of the Central Halls

2.1 Introduction:

During the Ptolemaic period, the Central Hall was usually situated in front of the Sanctuary of temples and it was preceded by the Hall of Offerings. This depends on some conditions, most importantly the size of the temple and perhaps the state of completion (Coppens 2007: 10). This statement does not seem to be a rule as can be seen later in large temples where the hall in question does not exist. Accordingly, the Central Hall, whenever it is found in the temple, segregates the sanctuary from the rest of the temple. It stands as the last barrier between the most sacred place in the temple and the profane outside world, between the centre of cosmos and the chaos, between the darkness of the sanctuary and the lightness of the outside world. Additionally, it is the last hall to be accessed on the main axis (es) in order to reach the obscurity of the Sanctuary (ies).

Apparently this strategic position inside the temple was recognised by the Egyptians and the way in which they identified the Central Hall is an important element in understanding the function of the Central Hall. The texts of the investigated temples illustrates that many different terms were used for this particular hall. This broad range of designations implies that the Central Hall had different functions during the different religious festivals and cults celebrated inside the temples.

Hence, this chapter will aim firstly to investigate the dating, locations and designations of the Central Halls in the temples of Edfu, Dendera and Philae as reflected by the temples' texts. Additionally, a reinterpretation for the plan of Kom Ombo as containing a Central Hall will be made. Secondly, to demonstrate to what extent the designations of the Halls reflect their function(s) and the other usage of some of the terms for other places other than the Central Halls. Thirdly, to find out the precursor of the Central Hall from the Dynastic period. Moreover, it includes a re-evaluation of theories concerning the location of the Central Hall and assesses other halls in other temples. Finally, in search for the ideal temple, a comparison between the Central Hall mentioned in the texts of the *Book of the Temple* and those found in the Ptolemaic temples is presented.

2.2 The Central Hall of the Temple of Philae:

2.2.1 Dating:

The plan of the current temple of Isis was perhaps created and worked out during the reign of Ptolemy I Soter since the construction including the decoration of the interior was completed before the end of the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (Haeny 1985: 207; Peters-Destéract 1997: 56). The blocks of an earlier temple, built during the 26th Dynasty were used in the construction of later buildings. The *Pronaos* was constructed under Ptolemy VI Philometor (Thiers II 1997: 496). Despite the fact that, the decoration executed inside the Central Hall [Room VII] was carried out during the reign of Ptolemy II, there are a few columns of texts which date to the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (Bénédite 1893: 49; Gaber 2007a: 3, 5) which can be explained as a proof of his patronage.

2.2.2 Location:

The Central Hall [Room VII] of the temple of Philae, which is located just before the Sanctuary, is flanked by two rooms and preceded by the hall that was identified by A. Gutbub as the Hall of Offerings [Room V] (Gutbub 1985: 131-132; Vassilika 1989: 29). Room VII has been identified wrongly as the Hall of Offerings by C. Traunecker (1995: 244).

Gutbub identified the western Room [XI] as the *Pr-nw* and the eastern Room [XII] as the *Pr-ntr* (1985: 34) and following him E. Vassilika (1989: 33, footnote 93, 34, footnote 98). A. Corthals suggests that they are probably the *Pr-nw* and *Pr-nsr* (2003: 49). The Hall, finished during the reign of Ptolemy II (Haeny 1985: 207), gives access through its eastern door to the room that was identified as the Mansion of Cloth [Room IX] (Gutbub 1985: 132; Vassilika 1989: 35, footnote 106). The western door opens onto a very small rectangular room with a sharp inclined roof identified as the Treasury [Room VIII] (Gutbub 1985: 132; Vassilika 1989: 35, footnote 105). Thus, the Central Hall of Philae is connected to different parts of the temple through six doors. The texts of the temple of Philae do not contain the kind of information found in the temples of

Edfu and Dendera which are known as Dedicatory Inscriptions.

2.2.3 Designations:

2.2.3.1 *Wsht-psdt*: “Hall of the Ennead”.

Table 2.1: Forms of *Wsht-psdt*-Philae

Forms	Sources
	Bénédite 1893: 46.
	Bénédite 1893:52.

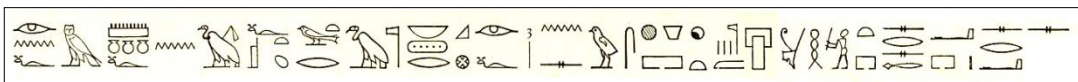
It is mentioned twice in the texts of the Central Hall in documents Ch.2-Doc.1 and Ch.2- Doc.2.

Ch.2-Doc.1:

Type: text.

Location: the left hand side doorjamb-the western door which leads to Room VIII.

Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 46; PM VI 242 (333) (c)-(d); Urk. II 118, 24C; Gutbub 1985: 131; Thiers 1997: 70; Gaber 2007b: 449; Gaber 2008: 59.



*ir.n.f m mnw.f n mwt.f 3st wrt mwt-ntr nb(t) Irk ir.f n.s wsht psdt m-rwty n Thyt.s r s^{c3}
pr.s*

“He (the king) made (as) his monuments for his mother, Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, lady of Philae; he (the king) made for her (Isis) a Hall of the Ennead before her sanctuary to make great her house”.

The text which dates to Ptolemy II dedicates the Central Hall to the main goddess of the temple, Isis and the reason for erecting such a hall is to enlarge her temple. This text also indicates that the location of the Central Hall is to be just in front of the Sanctuary.

2.2.3.2 *St-ḥtp-n-ntrw nbw Irk*: ‘La Salle du Repos de tous Les Dieux de Philae’ (Thiers 1997: 71).

Table 2.2: Form of *St-ḥtp-n-ntrw nbw Irk*-Philae

Form	Source
	Bénédite 1893: 46, 52.

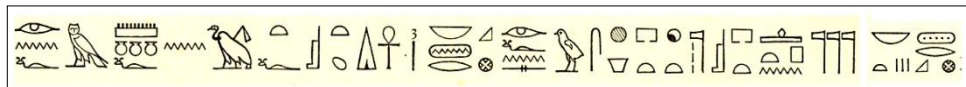
This designation occurs for the first and only time in the texts of the Central Hall of Philae.

Ch.2-Doc.2:

Type: text.

Location: right hand side doorjamb-the door leading to Room IX.

Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 52; PM VI 231 (338); Gutbub 1985: 131.



ir.n.f m mnw.f n mwt.f 3st di(t) ḥnh nb(t) Irk ir.f n.s wsht Psdt St-ḥtp-n-ntrw nbw Irk

“He (the King) made (as) his monuments for his mother, Isis, giver of life, lady of Philae; he (the King) made for her (Isis) the Hall of the Ennead, the Resting Place of all the Gods of Philae”.

This text also implies that the ‘Central Hall’ is the place where the gods rest. The term used to refer to them is “all the gods of Philae” and does not help to identify them. It might be due to the theology of the temple that all the gods of Philae were connected to this particular location of the temple. Besides, the time during which they use the Central Hall and the reason for using it is not declared. This designation recalls similar designations used to refer to the ‘Central Hall’ of the temple of Edfu *St-ḥtp-pw-n-ntrw-ntrwt*, ‘it is the Place of Rest of the Gods and the Goddesses’ and *St-sndm-ntrw* ‘Place where the Gods Repose’ (see 2.3.4.6). Additionally, the usage of the Central Hall by all the gods of Philae may recall another text where Ramesses VI dedicated his tomb to all the deities of the underworld (Traunecker 1991:84; Piankoff 1954: 12, pl. 36). This may

denote that there is a tendency in ancient Egypt to connect the monument to the gods of the area or to the nature of the monument.

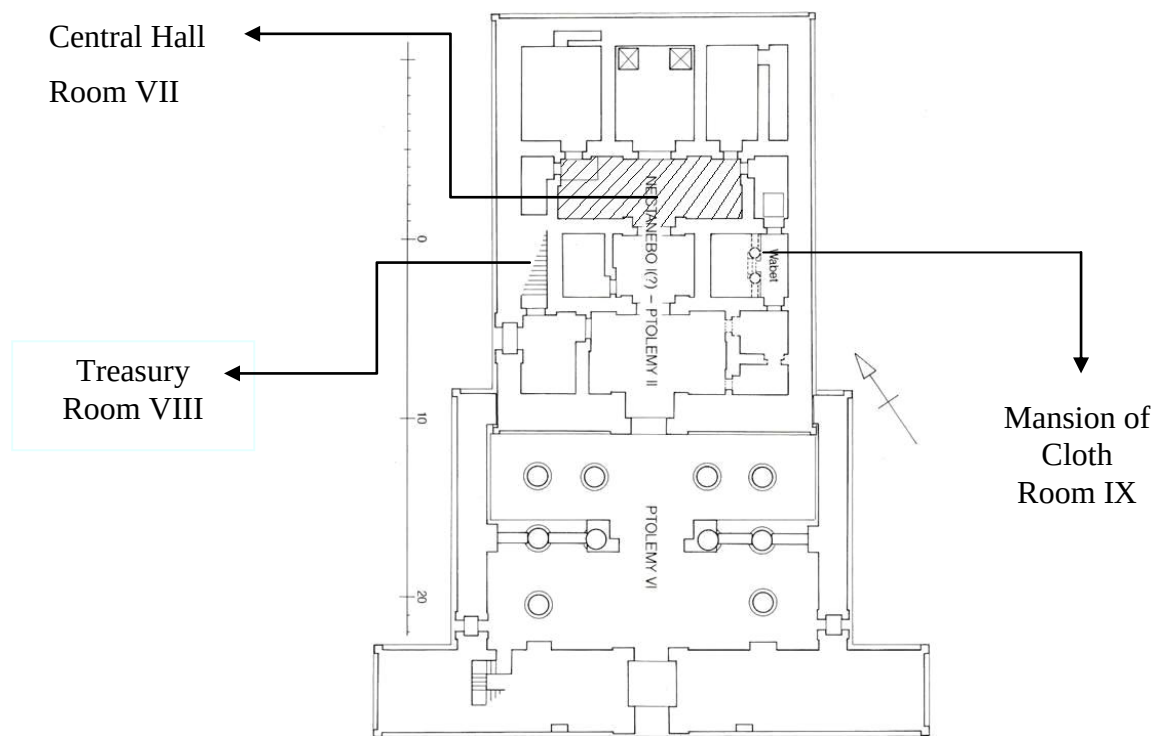


Plate 2.1: Plan of the temple of Isis at Philae. After Arnold 1999: 191, fig. 139.

2.3 The Central Hall of the Temple of Edfu:

2.3.1 Dating:

According to the Dedicatory Inscriptions, the foundation of the temple of Horus the Behdetite at Edfu, began in the tenth year, 7th day of *Epiphi* during the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes I which corresponds to 23 August, year 237 BC (Fairman 1954: 167; Cauville & Devauchelle 1984a: 32-33; Cauville 1984: 26; Thiers 1997: 502; Watterson 1998: 47). The decoration of the *Naos* was finished in 207/206 BC (Cauville & Devauchelle 1984a: 33-34; Thiers 1997: 507). In 140 BC, Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II ordered the building of the Great Hypostyle Hall (Watterson 1998: 48). The decoration of the *Pronaos* was executed during the reign of Ptolemy X Soter II (Barguet 1971: 26-32). Additionally, Ptolemy X Soter II ordered the building of the forecourt, pylon and the enclosure wall (Watterson 1998: 48; Caßor-Pfeiffer 2008: 56-57). Despite the fact that the opening ceremony was celebrated in 71 BC during the reign of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos, the temple's doors were not placed into the pylon until 57 BC, a journey of 180 years until the final completion of the temple (Fairman 1954: 167; Watterson 1998: 48). Generally, the Central Hall [N] of the temple of Edfu dates to the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator (Cauville & Devauchelle 1984a: 44). Nevertheless, two bands of inscriptions inscribed on the eastern and western thickness of the door of the Central Hall date to King Ptolemy VI Philometor (E XV 34-36).

2.3.2 Location:

The Central Hall [N] lies between the Sanctuary and the Hall of Offerings on the main axis i.e. north-south (Bleeker 1973: 77-78). It is connected to the ambulatory, which surrounds the Sanctuary on three sides, by two doors at its northern side. On the horizontal axis, from the god's perspective, its left side (east) opens into the Food Altar [Q] /Court of the Food Altar (Coppens 1999: 88) which gives access to the Pure Place [P] (Arnold 1999: 171), while its right side (west) opens into the House of Min [O] (Arnold 1999: 188; Aufrère 1997: 252). Hence, the Central Hall of Edfu as in the case of Philae is also connected with the different parts of the temple with six doors. The following three documents [Ch.2-Doc.3], [Ch.2-Doc.4] and [Ch.2-Doc.5] show the

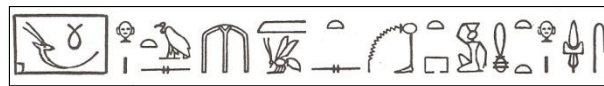
location of the Central Hall in the temple of Edfu.

Ch.2-Doc.3:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the left side (east) of the northern wall of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: E I 369, 6; PM VI 143; Gaber 2007b: 446.



Hwt-mnht hr wnmy.s sh m-k3t.s Wbt.f mitt hr i3by.s

“The Mansion of Cloth (*hwt mnht*) [D] is on its right (west), the chapel within it; his Pure Place (*Wḥt*) [P] likewise is on its left (east)”.

Surprisingly, the description stated in this text does not coincide with the architectural reality mentioned above. This text dates back to Ptolemy IV.

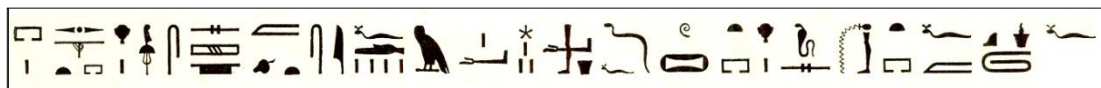
Conversely, the accurate location in the current form of the temple is mentioned by another text, which dates to Ptolemy VI Philometor.

Ch.2-Doc.4:

Type: text.

Location: Lower Band of Text-western exterior wall of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: E IV 6, 2; PM VI 157; De Wit 1961a: 68; Chassinat 1930: 127; Coppens 2002: 16; Gaber 2007b: 446.



Pr-Mnw hr wnmv.s sš m-hnty.s ifd m mh 8 ʿb3-df3w hr i3by.s Wʿbt.f m-k3b.f

“The House of Min (*Pr Mnw*) [O] is on its right side (west) open within it, four walls each is 8 cubits, the Food Altar (*ʿb3-df3w*) [Q] is on its left side (east) and its Pure Place (*Wʿbt*) [P] is found within it”.

Ch.2-Doc.5:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the eastern external face of the enclosure wall of the temple.

Bibliography: E VII 15, 9-16, 1; PM VI 168; De Wit 1961b: 308; Kurth 2004: 21; Chassinat 1930: 127; Coppens 2002: 16; Gaber 2007b: 446.



Pr-Mnw hr wnmy.s ifdw m (mh) 8, hry Mnw m h^cw.f hn^c irw.f ^cb3-df3w hr i3by.s W^cbt.f m-k3b.f

“The House of Min (*Pr Mnw*) [O] is on its (Central Hall) right side (west), four walls each 8 cubits, containing Min with his glories and his image, the Food Altar (^c*b3-df3w*) [Q] is on the left side (east) and its Pure Place (*W^cbt*) [P] is found within it”.

This document Ch.2-Doc.5 confirms the location mentioned in the former text and dates to the reign of Ptolemy X Alexander I. It would appear that the mistake, which occurs in the text of the Central Hall [Ch.2-Doc.3], was discovered after the first inscription was executed during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator (222- 205 BC) or even later and that it was corrected later during the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180-145 BC) [Ch.2-Doc.4] and it was confirmed again during the reign of Ptolemy X Alexander I (107-88 BC) [Ch.2-Doc.5] (plate 2.2). The reason for the error is complicated. One may propose that there was a change in the plan of the temple after the Central Hall had been inscribed and that it was difficult to correct the mistake. But this suggestion seems unlikely in light of the fact that the Central Hall together with the House of Min, the Food Altar and the *Wabet* were all decorated and inscribed during the reign of only one Ptolemaic King, Ptolemy IV (Coppens 2007:145). Besides, on one hand, one may assume that the location of the rooms on the right side was changed, but on the other, the normal location of the Food Altar is to be at the front of the *Wabet* so at least the location of the rooms on the left side was pre-known and pre-planned. This dismisses the possibility that the plan was somehow changed from the original design. It seems that the scribe who wrote the inscriptions of the Central Hall simply made a mistake or that the papyrus from which the text was copied was erroneous. It is worth noting that

mistakes in ancient Egypt did occur as in another example in the temple of Edfu (Kurth 1983: 285, footnote 3). This also brings to mind the study that was carried out by S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle who checked the measurements in cubits mentioned in the Dedicatory Texts of the temple of Edfu and they converted them into metres. Of the 59 measurements given in the text, it turned out that 24 were incorrect, (1984b: 23-24).

2.3.3 Measurements:

Ch.2-Doc.6:

Type: text.

Location: Lower Band of Text- the western exterior wall of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: E IV 5, 13; PM VI 157; De Wit 1961a: 68.



$\dot{\mathfrak{K}}^1.s \ m\dot{\mathfrak{h}} \ 23$

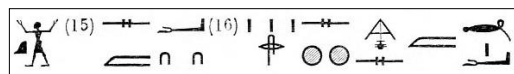
“Its length is 23 cubits”.

Ch.2-Doc.7:

Type: text:

Location: Lower Band of Text-the eastern external face of the enclosure wall of the temple.

Bibliography: E VII 15, 9; PM VI 168; De Wit 1961b: 308; Kurth 2004: 21.



$\dot{\mathfrak{K}}^1.s \ m \ m\dot{\mathfrak{h}} \ 23 \ 2/3 \ sh\dot{\mathfrak{h}}^1.s \ m \ m\dot{\mathfrak{h}} \ 9$

“Its length is 23 2/3 cubits and its width is 9 cubits”

The first document Ch.2-Doc.6 gives the length of the Central Hall as 23 cubits and then later on a more detailed text Ch.2-Doc.7 gives the length and the width but with a slight difference from the first. Surprisingly after the study carried out by Cauville both of two measurements given by these documents proved to be incorrect.

¹ $\dot{\mathfrak{K}}$ can mean length as well as height (Wilson 1997: 1045).

E I, 369, 6
[Ptolemy IV (222 – 205 BC)]

E IV, 6, 2
[Ptolemy VI- Philometor (180 - 145 BC)]
&
E VII, 15, 9 - 16, 1
[Ptolemy X – Alexander I (107 – 88 BC)]

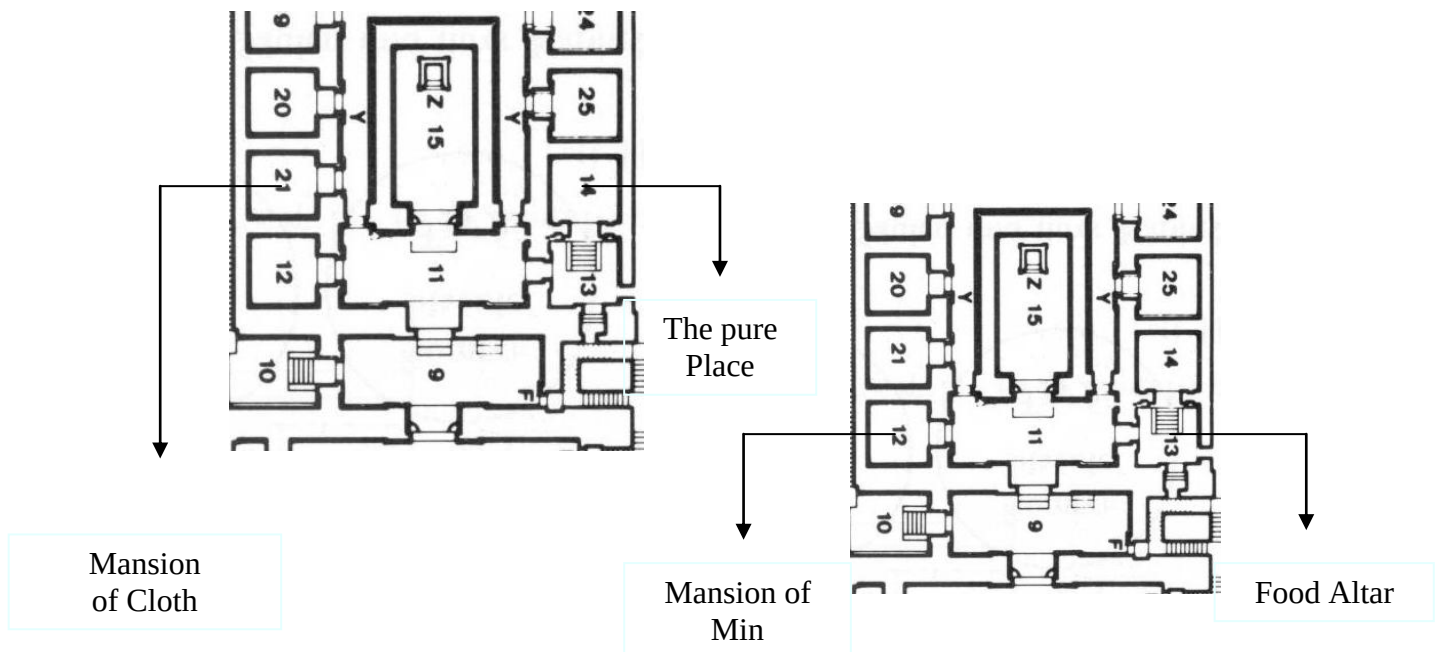


Plate 2.2: Part of the core of the temple of Edfu. After Kurth 1983: 7, fig 3.

2.3.4 Designations:

2.3.4.1 *Wsht hryt-ib*: “The Hall in the Middle” (Wilson 1997: 263); “Central Hall” (Fariman 1954: 169); “that which is at the heart of” (Blyth 2006:71); “Salle du Centre” (Alliot 1949: 99); “large-salle intermédiaire” (Daumas 1958: 109); “*wsht*-Halle, in der Mitte” (Konrad 2006: 93).

Table 2.3: Forms of *Wsht hryt-ib*- Edfu

Forms	Sources
	E I 369, 4.
	E I 368, 11.
	E II 11, 13.
	E IV 5, 13.
	E VII 15, 8.

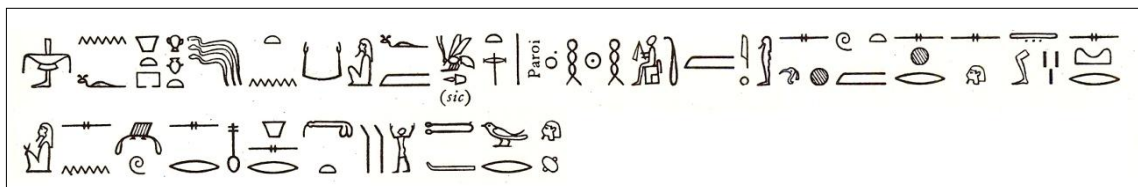
This nomination is mentioned twice in the texts of the Central Hall [Ch.2-Doc.8] and [Ch.2-Doc.9]. These documents demonstrate the location of the Central Hall and a brief description about its status.

Ch.2-Doc.8:

Type: text.

Location: the western side (right) of the Upper Band of Text-the northern wall of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: E I 368, 11-12; PM VI 143; Gaber 2008: 54.



*nbi.n.f wsht hryt-ib dsrt n k3.k m k3t mnht n(t) nhḥ šps.ti m irw sh3.ti m shṛ.s tp-rdw.s hnḥ
iry.sn 3w.s r-nfr wsh.s r-mtr k3-dḥ r tp-ḥsb*

“He (the king) fashioned the Hall in the Middle, sacred for your ka as an excellent work of eternity, noble with the images, glorious with her plan and her regulations, with what belongs to them, its length to perfection, its width is precise, top to bottom (height of walls) to perfection”.

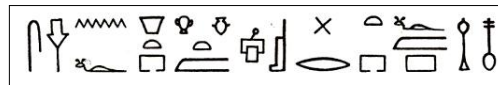
Despite the fact that the above text states that the Central Hall was executed with perfection and precision, S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle have found out that measurements given by the texts of the temple are incorrect in comparison to the modern measurements (1984b: 23-34).

Ch.2-Doc.9:

Type: text.

Location: The Upper Band of Text-the northern wall and the eastern wall of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: E I 369, 3-4; PM VI 143; Gaber 2008: 54.



s^h.n.f wsh^t hryt-ib m-s3 st-wrt.f m inr ḥd nfr

“He (the king) built a Hall in the Middle behind his great-place (Sanctuary) from white beautiful stone”.

This term denotes a location for the Central Hall but is still vague as to the precise meaning behind it and whether the hall is in the middle of the temple or in the middle of two halls. E. Blyth suggests that it is a very suitable term to designate that Hall as it was the link between the other parts of the temple and it gives access to the other elements of the temple. She also translated the term literally as “that which is at the heart of” (2006: 71).

Ch.2-Doc.10:

Type: text.

Location: the eastern doorjamb (left) of the door of the inner Hypostyle hall.

Bibliography: E II 11, 13; PM VI 136 (104).



Wsht hryt-ib.s hnt bw

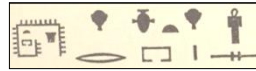
“Its Hall in the Middle is in front of the sanctuary”

Ch.2-Doc.11:

Type: text.

Location: Lower Band of Text-the exterior of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: E IV 5, 13; PM VI 157; De Wit 1961a: 68.



Wsht hryt-ib hr-s3.s

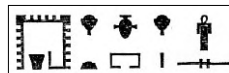
“The Hall in the Middle is behind it (the sanctuary)”

Ch.2-Doc.12:

Type: text.

Location: Lower Band of Text-the eastern external face of the enclosure wall of the temple.

Bibliography: E VII 15, 8; PM VI 168; De Wit 1961b:308; Kurth 2004: 21.



Wsht hryt-ib hr-s3.s

“The Hall in the Middle is behind it (the sanctuary)”

These three documents [Ch.2-Doc.8], [Ch.2-Doc.9] and [Ch.2-Doc.10] specify the location of the Central Hall of the temple of Edfu as it is located before the sanctuary. The latter two documents [Ch.2-Doc.11] and [Ch.2-Doc.12] mentioned in the Dedicatory Inscriptions are identical. The usage of two prepositions to denote the location of the Central Hall *hnt* and *hr-s3* reflects precision.

2.3.4.2 *hryt-ib*: “Salle Médiane” (Barguet 1962: 323; Cauville 1983: 88); “Salle du Centre” (Barguet 1962: 323); “das, was in der Mitte befindlich ist” (Konrad 2006: 84); “Salle Centrale” (Kruchten 1989: 248).

Table 2.4: Forms of *hryt-ib*- Edfu

Forms	Sources
	E II 63, 3.
	E IV 15, 3.

This term was used twice to refer to the Central Hall in the temple of Edfu without using the word *wsht* which was used in different terms during the Ptolemaic Period (MacClain 2007: 89-90). It is considered to be a shortened form of the previous designation. It is noteworthy that the first example (E II 63, 3) has a sign not used with any of the other occurrences, which is the land sign.

This designation was used as well to refer to two other localities in the temple of Edfu (see 2.7.1) and the temple of Dendera as well (see 2.7.2) having different locations and functions from the Central Hall.

Ch.2-Doc.13:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the eastern exterior wall of the enclosure wall.

Bibliography: E IV 15, 2; PM VI 159; De Wit 1961a: 94-95; Wilson 1997: 243.



w^cbw ʕw hr w3š ḥꜥn wrw.f is m-ḥnw hryt-ib

“The great *w^cb*-priests worship and his elders rejoice inside the (Hall) in the Middle”.

This text is extremely important as it specifies two particular types of priests that were allowed to be in the Central Hall: the great *w^cb*-priests and the elders.

2.3.4.3 *Wsht-psdt*: “Large-salle de l’Ennéade” (Daumas 1958: 109); “*wsḥ.t*-Halle der Neunheit” (Konrad 2006: 93); “Hall of the Ennead” (Wilson 1997: 262).

Table 2.5: Form of *Wsht-psdt*- Edfu

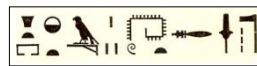
Forms	Sources
	E IV 13, 13.

Ch.2-Doc.14:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the eastern external face of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: E IV 13, 13; PM VI 159, De Wit 1961a: 90; Goyon 1985: 137, footnote 3; Konrad 2006: 93; Wilson 1997: 262, 259.



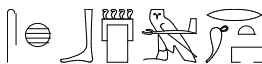
Wsht-Psdt wsḥ.ti hry shm̄w

“The Hall of the Ennead is large containing the divine statues”.

Alliot (1949: 46) translated the text as “The Hall of the Ennead is the Hall which contains the statues of the gods”. Apparently, *wsḥ* as a verb is frequently used in puns in the texts of Edfu (Wilson 1997: 259). Thus, a function of the Central Hall as a place where the Ennead’s statues were kept is reflected through this designation.

2.3.4.4 *Sbht-m^crt*: “Le Portail Agréable” (De Wit 1961a: 90); “L’Enceinte Heureuse” (Daumas 1958: 110).

Table 2.6: Forms of *Sbht-m^crt*- Edfu

Forms	Sources
	E IV 13, 13.
	E VI 324, 3; Wb II, 48, 20.

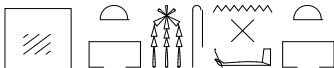
It occurs in a text on the exterior wall of the *Naos*, Lower Band of Text, eastern wall, (E IV 13, 13; De Wit 1961a: 90). According to the Cosmogonical Texts of the temple of Edfu, *sbht-m^crt* is the name of the second hall in the second solar temple upon which Thoth bestowed the name *St-wrt* “the great seat” (E VI 323, 6-325, 5; Reymond 1969: 40). This term, Cosmogonical Texts, was used by E. Reymond to refer to a special part of the Dedicatory Inscriptions of the temple of Edfu. There are two aspects to the text. The first hints at the foundation and the building of the historical temple in a mythical age. It is inscribed on the outer Wall of the *Naos*. The second is inscribed on the inner face of the Enclosure Wall. It mentions two texts containing mythological events in the primeval times. They are: the Sacred Book of the Early Primeval Age of Gods and the Coming of Re to his Mansion of *Ms-Nht* (Reymond 1969: 3-11).

J.-C. Goyon prefers the translation of “L’Enclos-Faste” or “Zone Délimitée de Murs” (1985: 137) for that term and he refutes the translation of “Porche” (1985: 137, footnote 3) in this context. He believes that this toponym is a mythical name which was used to refer to the court located just in front of the *Pronaos* (Goyon 1985: 137, footnote 3).

It is worth noting that Spencer (1980: 164) pointed out two *sbht* words in Dynastic Egypt, one is used to refer to a gilded wooden screen used as a part of the temple equipment while the other refers to a monumental porch.

2.3.4.5 *Hwt-ms-nḥt*: “the Mansion of Bearing Victory” (Wilson 1997: 630); “Le Château dans lequel le puissant est né” (De Wit 1961a: 57, 68); “Haus das-den Starken-gebiert” (Kurth 2004: 21); “Le Château de la Revigoreuse” (Coulon 2003; Cauville 1980: 54-55). Konrad (2006: 93) reads it as: *ḥ(w).t-mshn(.t)-ḥn.w* “Haus des Sich-Niederlassens des Starken”.

Table 2.7: Forms of *Hwt-ms-nḥt*- Edfu

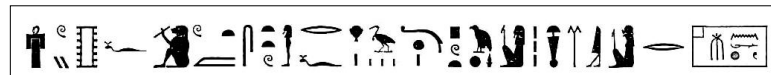
Forms	Sources
	E IV 5, 12.
	E VI 324, 5.

Ch.2-Doc.15:

Type: text.

Location: The Upper Band of Text-the western wall (right) of the internal face of the enclosure wall.

Bibliography: E VI 14, 13; PM VI 162; Goyon 1985: 30.



s3wy.f sš.ti m-stwt-r.f ḥr b3w Rꜥ p3wttyw tpyw m ii(t) Rꜥ r ḥwt-ms-nḥt.f

“His wall (the enclosure wall of the temple) is inscribed conformably with the *Bas* of Re and the primeval gods at the coming of Re to his Mansion of *ms-nḥt*”.

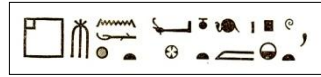
This text, where this designation was mentioned, is a part of the Cosmogonical texts, it implies that Mes-Nakht is a solar temple for the sun god Re (Goyon 1985: 30). On the other hand, according to E. Reymond, this is the name of the second myth of the Cosmogonical texts (1969: 46-47). Re did not dwell there alone but with the company of gods involved in the creation of the world, the sacred places and their temples resided in the *Pronaos* of the temple of Edfu (E VI 14, 12-14; Goyon 1985: 30, 254; Reymond 1963: 53).

Ch.2-Doc.16:

Type: text.

Location: the northern external face of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: E IV 169, 14-15; PM VI 157.



Hwt-ms-nht nt R^c m p3wty.f

“The Mansion of *ms-nht* of Re and his primeval gods”

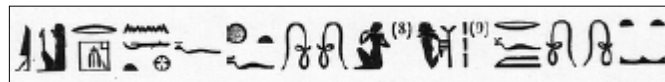
Those deities not only protected the god of the temple but the temple as well (Reymond 1969: 53, 70). E. Reymond believed that the temple of *ms-nḥt* found its renewal in the existence of the temple at Edfu. She also added that it appears to re-enact the significance of the Mythical temple of *ms-nḥt* (1969: 313, 320). Additionally, the solar function of the Central Hall is reinforced by two solar hymns inscribed inside it (E I 370-371; Alliot 1949: 154-155; E I 379, 6-19; PM V1 43, 180-181). Moreover, *Hwt-ms-nḥt* was also used to designate the Sanctuary of the temple as it was given to it by Thoth (Reymond 1969: 40).

Ch.2-Doc.17:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the internal western (right) face of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: E VI 8, 6; PM VI 162; Fairman 1935: 28, footnote 4; Wilson 1997: 192.



ii $R^c r$ *Hwt-ms-nht.f w3w3 hftyw r.f m w3w3t*

“Re went to the Mansion of *ms-nht* (when) the foes were plotting against him in Wawat”.

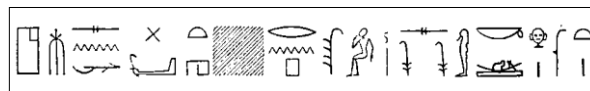
Although, this text also reinforced the former idea of the solar temple, it may refer also to the myth of the winged sun disc (Černý 1952: 46-48). This designation is also used to refer to a primitive sanctuary located at Busiris and consecrated to Shenatyt (Yoyotte 1978-1979; Cauville 1980: 55, footnote 59; Herbin 1994: 123). This connection is reinforced document Ch.2-Doc. 18.

Ch.2-Doc. 18:

Type: text.

Location: the exterior western wall-the *Naos*-second register.

Bibliography: Bénédict 1893: 107, 3-11, pl. 33; PM VI 245 (375)-(377); Cauville 1980: 54-55.



Hwt-msnht (ir.s) rnpy snn.k im tp rnpt

“The Mansion of the strength where she (Chentayet) rejuvenates your image annually”.

There is also a chance of confusion between the *ḥwt-msnḥt* and *ḥwt-mshnt* (Evrard-Derriks & Quaegebeur 1979: 44-45). As the “*m*” is a prefix added to the word *snḥt* (Grapow 1914: 29). Hence, this designation could be linked to the sacred place of Shentayt where Osiris was cared for.

2.3.4.6 *St-sndm-ntrw*: “the Place where the Gods Repose” (Fairman 1954: 169); “Place of making gods sit” (Wilson 1997: 953); “Le Lieu de séjour des Dieux” (Barguet 1962: 324); “Le Lieu où Les Dieux se reposent” (De Wit 1961a: 68).

Table 2.8: Forms of *St-sndm-ntrw*- Edfu

Forms	Sources
	E IV 5, 12.
	E VII 15, 7-8.

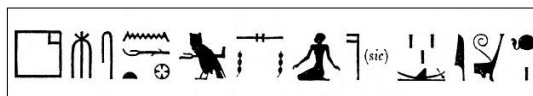
This designation, which appears several times in the texts of the temple, refers to two locations. The first is the temple of Edfu while the second is the Central Hall. This can be noticed from the following document.

Ch.2-Doc.19:

Type: text.

Location: Internal face of the enclosure wall-third register-eastern wall.

Bibliography: E VI 324, 6-7; E X, pl. CLII; PM VI 163 (315)-(323); Reymond 1969: 40, footnote 6.


$$m_i \text{ sndm } ntrw \text{ im in } R^c$$

“May the gods repose therein (said) by Re”

It indicates the place where the creator god settled to start creation (E VI 11, 3; Wilson 1997: 953).

2.3.4.7 *St-htp-nt-ntrw-ntrwt*: ‘Le Lieu de Repos des Dieux et des Déeses’ (Alliot 1949: 431).

Table 2.9: Form of $St\text{-}\cancel{h}tp\text{-}nt\text{-}n\bar{t}rw\text{-}n\bar{t}rwt$ - Edfu

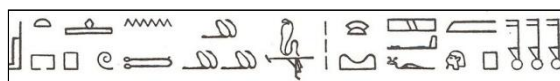
Form	Source
	E I 369, 5

Ch.2-Doc.20:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the northern wall of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: E I 369, 5; PM VI 143; Alliot 1949: 99, 431.



st-htp pw nt ntrw ntrwt h^cw hn^c.f m tpw-tr

“It is the resting place of gods and goddesses appearing with him at the beginning of each season”.

On the one hand, according to M. Alliot, the god does not come out of the sanctuary at the regular festivals of the month but he only comes out during the festivals listed in the calendars (1949: 429-433). On the other hand, P. Wilson suggests that this designation refers to the New Year Festival where the deities gathered in the hall for celebrating the festival (1997: 953). Remarkably, this term, which is mentioned only once in the temple of Edfu, denotes the same function of the hall as stated by the previous nomination.

2.4 The Central Hall of the Temple of Kom Ombo:

2.4.1 Dating:

This temple, with its two parallel axes leading to two sanctuaries for two gods, possesses a unique plan not only among the temples of the Ptolemaic period but also in the Pharaonic and the Roman periods. The northern sanctuary is dedicated to Horwer and his consort Ta-senet-nefert and their son Pa-neb-tawy while the southern sanctuary is devoted to Sobek his consort Hathor and their son Khonsuhor (Seton-Williams 1978: 46; Gutbub 1980: col. 680). There is no textual evidence so far in the Dedicatory Inscriptions that indicates that this temple was built during the reign of Ptolemy VI, but there is a probability that it was built during the reign of an earlier king (Thiers 1997: 516). The texts and the reliefs on the walls of the Central Hall date to the reign of Ptolemy VI (Minas 1997: 96).

2.4.2 Location:

The hall [N] of the temple of Kom Ombo, executed during the reign of Ptolemy VI the construction of which began during his reign (Aufrère 1997: 260), is situated directly before the Sanctuary and is preceded by the Hall of Offerings [R]. It opens on the left side (south) to the Mansion of Min [Q]. The function of the room that opens onto the right side (north) is inconclusive. On the one hand, according to A. Gutbub, the Central Hall opens directly into the Open Court which in turn opens onto the Pure Place (1980:

col. 679; 1995: XIII, fig. 4). On the other hand, D. Arnold suggests that the Central Hall opens onto an antechamber [O] which gives access to the Food Altar and the Pure Place [P] (1999: 277- 278, fig. 237). This vision is also adopted by S. Aufrère (1997: 259). P. Lacau (1952: 225-226) differentiated between this space and the Open Court and the *Wabet*. Finally, F. Coppens who conducted an extensive study on the *Wabet* in the Ptolemaic and Roman temples, endorsed the latter opinion (2007: 29-31, fig. 10). The Central Hall of Kom Ombo is connected with the different parts of the temple through eight doors.

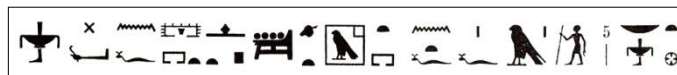
Regarding the hall of Kom Ombo, due to the lack of textual evidence vis-à-vis the nomination of that hall, it is rather difficult to look for the designations of the hall that follows it. A. Gutbub identifies this hall as the Hall of the Ennead (1980: col. 679; 1995: XII, fig. 4).

Ch.2-Doc.21:

Type: text.

Location: the base of the western wall of the Hall of Offerings [R].

Bibliography: De Morgan 1909: 114, No. 683; Gutbub 1995: 397, 399, No. 293; PM VI 192 (120)-(121); Barguet 1962: 316, footnote 1.



nb.n.f *Wsht-htp* *hnt* *hwt-bik* *n* *it.f* *Hr-wr* *nb* *Nbyt*

“He (the king) built the Hall of Offerings in the Mansion of the Falcon of his father, Hor-wer, lord of *Nbyt*”.

Hence, according to the systematic order of the halls of the Ptolemaic period, there is a strong possibility that this hall is the Central Hall. This fact cannot be taken as positive evidence as at Kom Ombo a new hall follows the Hall of Offerings and it is called *ḥt wrt* “the great palace” and it is then followed by *Wsḥt ḥr* “the Hall of the Appearance” (Gutbub 1973: 214; Gutbub 1980: col. 679). This new hall at Kom Ombo, which Gutbub gave the term of “la salle du milieu”, is not found in the temples of Edfu, Dendera or Philae. It is worth pointing out that this term was used also to refer to the

whole temple of Kom Ombo and the *mammisi* of Kom Ombo (1973: 220 (c); Daumas 1958: 513) and Philae as well (Junker & Winter 1965: 3, 7). The temple, which starts from the pylon bearing the name of the Roman Emperor Domitian till the sanctuaries, is divided between the two deities and has two triads, Horwer, his consort Ta-senet-nefert and their son Pa-neb-tawy. The second one comprises Sobek, Hathor and Khonsu (Aufrère 1997: 259, 260).

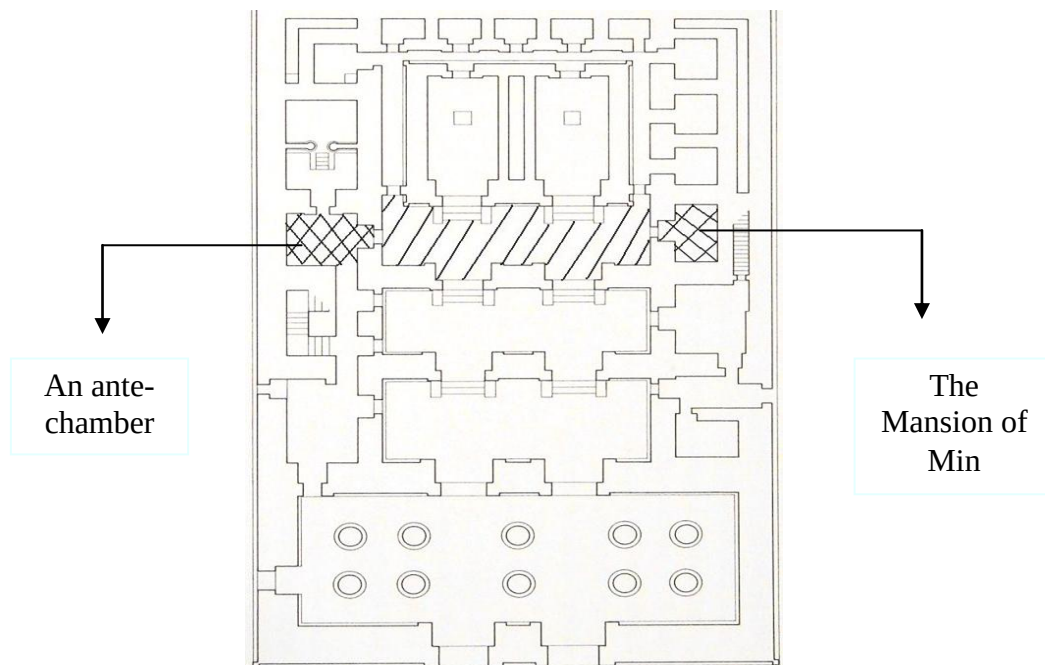


Plate 2.3: Core of the temple of Kom Ombo. After Arnold 1999:187, fig. 136.

2.5 The Central Hall of the temple of Dendera:

2.5.1 Dating:

The construction of the temple of Hathor of Iunet took place on 16th of July 54 BC which coincides with the 27th regnal year of Ptolemy XII Auletes (Amer & Morardet 1983: 258; Cauville 1990b: 4; Quaegebeur 1991: 60). Several opinions have been introduced about the dating of the *Naos* including the Central Hall especially after the text that was discovered by F. Daumas in 1975 on the western exterior wall of the *Naos* of the temple of Dendera. H. Amer and B. Morardet noted that this inscription refers to the building of the *Naos* while the Greek text commemorates the completion of the great *Pronaos* (1983: 255-258). On the other hand, D. Devauchelle contradicts this opinion and suggests that this inscription refers to the *Pronaos*. Additionally, he suggests that the Greek inscription refers to the decoration of the façade and perhaps to the beginning of the work there (1985:172-174). A third theory was introduced by E. Winter that this inscription refers to the erection of the *Naos*. He believes that the subterranean crypts were executed under Ptolemy XII. The erection of the walls of the *Naos* must have taken place under Cleopatra VII. As for the Greek inscription that is found on the entrance of the *Pronaos* it refers to the construction of the *Pronaos* (Winter 1989: 77-80). This Greek inscription, which dates back to 23-37 AD, ascribes the *Pronaos* to the Roman Emperor Tiberius (Bernard 1984: 125-128). Auletes appears with his daughter Cleopatra VII in the subterranean crypts (Quaegebeur 1991: 60-61). He suggested that the representations in the crypts attest to a co-regency and the construction work of the *Naos* took 34 years. In addition to another text with the name of Cleopatra VII inscribed on the right side of the doorjamb of the door of the Chapel of the New Year (Quaegebeur 1991: 64).

2.5.2 Location:

As at Edfu, the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera [O] is situated just before the Sanctuary and is preceded by the Hall of Offerings, as it forms the principal façade of the sanctuary (Zignani 2004: 106). On the western side, it opens onto the Treasury which the texts refer to as *Pr-ḥd* or *St-nfrt* [Q] (D IV 154, 7; Cauville 2001: 256-257)

which in turn gives access to the Food Altar [R] followed by *W^cbt* “the Pure Place” [S]. *Hwt mnht* “the Mansion of Cloth” [P] is located on the eastern side (Aufrère 1997:236-237). Unexpectedly, the Treasury is named in the texts as *‘b3-df3w* (D IV 156, 6; Cauville 2001: 258-259) a nomination that is usually confined to the Food Altar. Although F. Coppens conducted a detailed study for the designations used for the *Wabet* and the Court, he did not explain the reason for adopting the designation of *‘b3-df3w* for the Treasury (2002: 13-26). Alternatively, the Food Altar acquired a new nomination which is *Wsht-nt-st-ḥb-tpy*. This nomination was used to refer to the Kiosk that used to be on the roof of the temple of Edfu (Traunecker 1995: 248; E VII 14, 4; De Wit 1961b: 305; Kurth 1994: 333; Kurth 2004: 19). As in the case of Philae and Edfu, the Central Hall of Dendera is also connected to the rest of the temple through six doors.

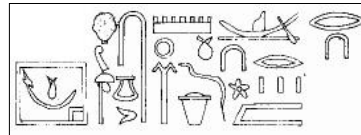
Unlike the case of Edfu, the Dedicatory Inscriptions of the temple of Dendera confirm the architectural reality of the location of the room on its east side as can be deduced from the following four documents.

Ch.2-Doc.22:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the eastern external wall of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: Cauville 1990a: 101-102, pl. I ; PM VI 76 (216)-(215).



Hwt-mnht hr wnmy.s hry mnht md m 10 r 8 1/2 1/10

“The Mansion of Cloth is on its right, containing the cloths and ointments, (it measures) 10 (cubits) by 10 1/2 1/10”.

Ch.2-Doc.23:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-western exterior wall of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: Cauville 1990a:101-102, pl. II; PM VI 78 (238)-(247).



ḥb(3)-df3w ḥr i3by.s ḥr wd3 n s3 m 8 1/2 1/10 r 5 Wsht-wḥbt.f m 10 r 8 1/2 1/10 r ḥḥ-ḥ n ntr im.s Wḥbt.f[r]-ḥnt ḥnw sn.ti r.f m 8 1/2 1/10 r 8 1/6

“The Food Altar is on the left side containing the amulets of protection, it measures 8 cubits 1/2 1/10 by 5, the hall of its *Wabet* (measures) 10 cubits by 8 1/2 1/10; bending the arm before the god within it, its *Wabet* is towards the exterior, opening to it, (it measures) 8 1/2 1/10 by 8 1/6”.

This text confirms the location of the room located on the western side which consists of the Food Altar which gives access of the *Wabet*.

Ch.2-Doc.24:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the southern wall of the Treasury.

Bibliography: D IV 154, 7; PM VI 53; Cauville 2001: 256-257; Barguet 1962: 318.



ḥws.f st-nfrt ḥnt ḥryt-ib r-gs i3by n Wts-ḥḥw

“He built the beautiful place (Treasury) before the (Hall) in the Middle, on the left side of the Place of Exaltation”.

This designation is mentioned only once in the Treasury and it provides the location of the *Wts-ḥḥw* which is another designation used to refer to Central Hall in the temple of Dendera.

Ch.2-Doc.25:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the northern wall of the Treasury.

Bibliography: D IV 154, 11; PM VI 53; Cauville 2001: 256-257.



ts.n.f Pr-hd m-hnw hryt-ib m-sty n Hwt-mnh

“He constructed the House of Silver (Treasury) inside the (Hall) in the Middle in front of the Mansion of Cloth”.

2.5.3 Measurements:

Ch.2-Doc.26:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the eastern external wall of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: Cauville 1990a: 101-102, pl. I; PM VI 76 (216)-(215).



m mh 26 r 10

“(It measures) 26 cubits by 10”

This text gives the measurements for the Central Hall of Dendera as it is 26 cubits by 10. Cauville's study on the measurements given by the texts comparing to the modern measurements proved that there was an error regarding these measurements (1990a: 111). Additionally, of the 33 measurements mentioned for different places in Dendera only 4 were proven to be incorrect (1990a: 83-114).

2.5.4 Designations:

2.5.4.1 *Wsht hryt-ib*:Table 2.10: Forms of *Wsht hryt-ib*- Dendera

Forms	Sources
	D III 133, 14.
	D IV 57, 11-12.
	Cauville 1991: 101.

Ch.2-Doc.27:

Type: text.

Location: Lower Band of Text-southern and eastern walls of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: D IV 57, 11-12; PM VI 57; Cauville 2001: 118-119.



Sps.n.f Wsht hryt-ib n hmt.s m h'wt m k3t mnht n nh'

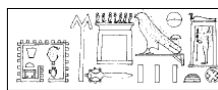
“He (the king) built the Hall in the Middle for her majesty (Hathor) with joy and as an excellent work of eternity”.

Ch.2-Doc.28:

Type: text.

Location: Lower Band of Text-the eastern external wall-the *Naos*.

Bibliography: Cauville 1990a: 101-102, pl. I; PM VI 76 (216)-(215).



Wsht hryt-ib m-rwty hr Psdt Ntryt

“The Hall in the Middle, (is placed) towards the exterior, containing the Ennead of *Ntryt* (Dendera)”.

Unlike the temple of Edfu, this is the first instance where the *Wsh̥t ḥryt-ib* is connected to an Ennead called *Psdt Ntryt*. However, this ennead, which was mentioned twice in the texts of the temple, was neither named nor represented (D IV 216, 16; D VIII 105, 5; LGG III 155; Cauville, 2001: 355). This is also the case with the other ennead, *Psdt 3htyt* “the Ennead of the Horizon”, which was mentioned only once in the texts of this hall (D IV 58, 1; LGG III 136; Cauville 2001: 118-119). According to a text this ennead is represented on the walls of this hall (D IV 58, 2). The only deities represented in this hall are the following six deities: Hathor, Horus of Edfu, Horus Sema-tawy, Isis, Osiris, Horus son of Isis, and Ihy. According to S. Cauville (1990b: 14), the first six deities comprise the two triads of the temple. But could this be the *Psdt 3htyt*? Since those are the only deities represented on the walls of this hall, it is highly likely that this is the Ennead of the Horizon. If these deities can be considered as the Ennead of the Horizon, it would be an ennead which includes two triads.

2.5.4.2 *Hryt-ib*: “(Hall) in the Middle”; “Salle-au-Milieu” (Aufrère 1997: 236).

Table 2.11: Forms of *Hryt-ib*-Dendera

Forms	Sources
	D IV 154, 7
	D IV 154, 11

This designation was used to refer to the Central Hall twice in the texts of the Central Hall of Dendera in documents [Ch.2-Doc.24; Ch.2-Doc.25]. It is noteworthy that the term *Wsh̥t* is not used in connection with this term as in the case of the temple of Edfu. This unique case during the Ptolemaic period recalls the same designation used to refer to the pillared hall, *ḥryt-ib*, of the *3h-mnw* of King Thuthmosis III at Karnak. Further to the previous discussion, this is additional evidence that the term *Wsh̥t ḥryt-ib* could be

shortened to just *hryt-ib*.

2.5.4.3 *Wsht-Psdt*: “Hall of the Ennead”; “Salle-de-l’Ennéad” (Aufrère 1997: 236).

Table 2.12: Forms of *Wsht-Psdt*- Dendera

Forms	Sources
	D IV 58, 9.
	Cauville 1990a:101.

Ch.2-Doc.29:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the southern and eastern walls of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: D IV 58, 9- 59, 2; PM VI 57; Cauville 2001: 118-119.



hws.n.f Wsht-Psdt n k3.s hnt Twnt m k3t mnht n nhh

“He (king) built a Hall of Ennead for her ka (Hathor) in Iunet as an excellent work of eternity”.

Ch.2-Doc.30:

Type: text.

Location: The southern doorjamb of the second western chamber (L of Chassinat) in a hymn for Hathor, the great, lady of Iunet, eye of Re, mistress of all the gods.

Bibliography: D III 133, 14; PM VI 73 (173) (a)-(b); Cauville 2000: 234-235.



mwt mwwt dsr(t) m-hnw (?) Wsht-Psdt htp.tw r-hr it.t R

“The mother of mothers (Hathor), sacred inside the Hall of the Ennead, resting with your father Re”.

The sign  followed by (?) is the sign which represents the palace and has the phonetic value of *ḥ* (Wilson 1997: 169); however, it seems that there is a mistake and Cauville believes that it represents the word *hnw*.

This text is particularly important as it ascertains that the Central Hall is used in the temple of Dendera by the main deity, Hathor, to rest there. This function is not known in any other temple as there is no available clear textual evidence, as the above mentioned one, which can confirm that the same usage is applicable in the other temples as well. Although, the text of the Central Hall of Philae implies that the Central Hall was used by all the deities of Philae, it does not specify which deities and during which situations. Although the text in question has no information about the festival during which Hathor used to rest in The Central Hall, it is evident that the usage of this hall as stated, is for Hathor accompanied by Re and both were resting there. This scenario could coincide with the two windows in the western and the eastern walls of the Central Hall where two hymns for Re are inscribed beneath and beside it. Could this imply that Hathor was resting in the hall from the rising of the sun when the hymn on the eastern window was chanted till the sun sets when the other hymn was recited? Also the period that deity used this hall for is not mentioned. It is worth noting that there is another hymn inscribed on the opposite doorjamb (northern) and was dedicated to Hathor, lady of Iunet, the Menit (D III 133, 17-134, 8; Cauville 2000: 234-235), however, it is stated “Hathor rests with her father”. This could also imply that the first hymn is also related to the festival of the New Year. With the evidence available such a conclusion would be inconclusive. Additionally, after investigating the festival calendars of Hathor in Dendera, none of the festivals are mentioned to have such a stop which implies that either this festival was not mentioned within the festival calendars or such a stop was a usual one which was made during every festival in which Hathor participated and there is no need to mention it with every festival in the calendars.

2.5.4.4 *Wts-hꜥw*: “Le Lieu d’Exaltation” (Cauville 2001: 121).Table 2.13: Forms of *Wts-hꜥw*-Dendera

Forms	Sources
	D IV 58, 4. D IV 59, 5.
	D IV 154, 7.

This designation is mentioned twice in the texts of the Central Hall as shown by the following two documents [Ch.2-Doc.31] and [Ch.2-Doc.32], and once in the texts of the Treasury [Ch.2-Doc.24].

Ch.2-Doc.31:

Type: text.

Location: the left side (west) of the Lower Band of Text of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: D IV 59, 5-6; PM VI 57; Cauville 2001: 120-121.



wbn.s r-h3 Wts-hꜥw m hbw.s nfrw tp-rnpt

“She (Hathor) appears in the procession in her Place of Exaltation in her beautiful feasts annually”.

This text is particularly important as it confirms that this Hall was used by Hathor during all her processions of the festivals celebrated every year in the temple.

Ch.2-Doc.32:

Type: text.

Location: the right side (east) of the Lower Band of Text of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: D IV 58, 4-5; PM VI 57; Cauville 2001: 118-119.



Pr.s r-ḥ3 ḥnt Wts-ḥw.s r snsn it.s m wbn.f

“She (Hathor) goes out in procession in her Place of Exaltation (Central Hall) to unite with her father when he shines”.

This text shows that the next step following her appearance in the Central Hall was to go up to the roof of the temple where an important ritual took place which is called “uniting with her father” or “uniting with the sun disc”.

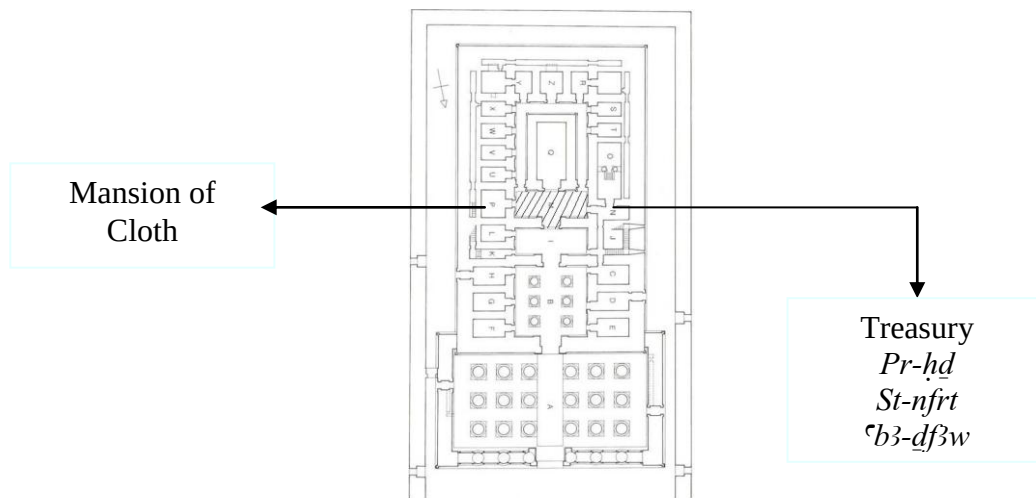


Plate 2.4: Plan of the temple of Dendera. After Arnold 1999: 249, fig. 209.

2.6 Tracing the Precursor of the Central Hall:

2.6.1 *hryt-ib*:

In order to trace the origin of the Central Hall in the temples of the Dynastic period, it is noticeable that one of the designations shared by some of these halls is *wsht hryt-ib*. Nevertheless, P. Barguet pointed out that the only hall that is called *hryt-ib* during the Dynastic period is found in the *3h-mnw* of King Thuthmosis III of the 18th Dynasty-New Kingdom at Karnak.

Table 2.14: Forms of *hryt-ib*- Karnak

Forms	Sources
	(Pécoil 2000: pl. 89; Champollion 1889: 162)
	(Pécoil 2000: pl. 100; Champollion 1889: 150)

At first P. Barguet suggested that the position of the hall should be before the Sanctuary and translated that term as “Salle au milieu” (Barguet 1953a: 154), then later on he adopted the translation of “Salle au Centre” or “Salle Médiane” (Barguet 1962: 323). This *hryt-ib* has an entrance at the south west end which gives access to a chapel which in turn gives access to the hall. It has a central passageway flanked by two aisles. The central passageway is bounded on each side with ten columns. Thirty two pillars carrying architraves surround the central passageway and the columns form a rectangular shape. As a result of its shape, this hall is considered as the prototype of the Christian Basilica (Badawy 1968: 250-253, pl. 32; Schwaller de Lubicz 1999: 626-628). Nevertheless, H. Refai (2003: 394) in his studies of the Hypostyle Halls in the Dynastic period suggests that the *hryt-ib* of the *3h-mnw* of Karnak is a Hypostyle Hall. Additionally, he proposed that it was the predecessor of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak which was used as an assembly place for the sacred boats and a point of departure for all festival processions. D. Arnold suggested that during the Ptolemaic era, an additional room was created coming from the central room which is located in front

of the sanctuary and that there was a corridor around the sanctuary (1962: 43). He ignored the fact that such a plan of the temple, where there was a hall joined to a corridor which goes around the sanctuary, existed during the Dynastic period as in the case of the temple of Senusert I of the 12th Dynasty at Tod (Thiers 2003: 181; Bisson de la Roque 1937: 8, fig. 6; Badawy 1966: 85).

On account of the unique shape of the unprecedented architectural structure of the *3h-mnw* with its great complexity and many unusual features, several scholars had different opinions about the shape of its columns. Starting with J. Champollion, he noticed the unusual shape of the columns of the *3h-mnw* (1929: 160). Two theories were introduced to explain its shape. The first suggests that its columns imitate the poles of the tent of King Thuthmosis III that he used during his military campaigns (Blyth 2006: 73). The second postulates that the capitals emulate the original supports found in the archaic shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt (Spencer 1984: 236; Blyth 2006: 73).

The function of the *hryt-ib* of the *3h-mnw* of Karnak is very controversial and remains so far a matter of debate between scholars. P. Barguet suggests that this hall superseded another one that used to be in the Court of the Middle Kingdom building in this location and was used for the festivals of Amun. According to his theory, the columns in the two buildings were of similar shape, thus, the idea about Thuthmosis III's campaign tent is not viable. On the other hand, the New Kingdom hall which had columns as well was used for the *hb-sd* festivals of the king (Barguet 1953a: 155; 1962: 323-324). A very contentious text is found in one of the papyri which deals with the tomb robberies of the 20th Dynasty and may mention a Middle Kingdom *hryt-ib*.

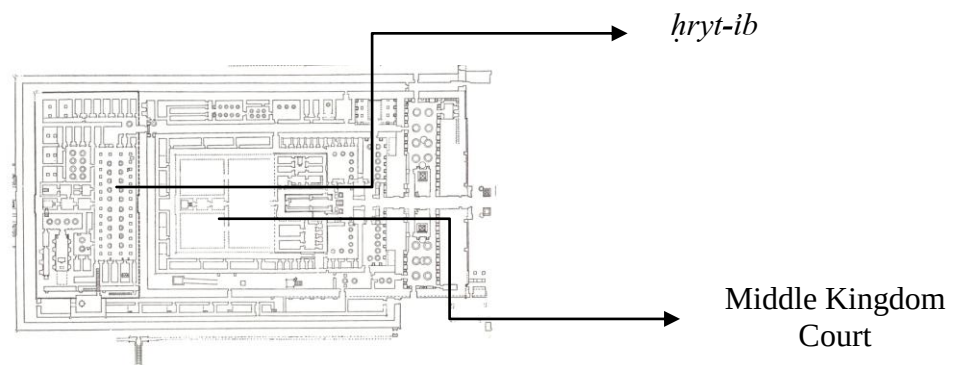


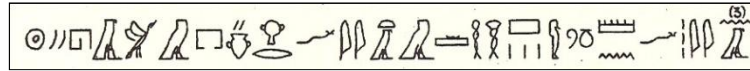
Plate 2.5: The *3h-mnw* of King Thuthmosis III at Karnak. After Haeny 1970: 6, fig 1.

Ch.2-Doc.33:

Type: Text.

Location: Abbot Papyri BM 10221.

Bibliography: Peet 2005: 41, pls. III; Spencer 1984: 87.



n3y.f mnw w3h m t3y.f hryt-ib m p3 hrw

“His (king’s) monuments resting in his (Amun’s) *hryt-ib* to this day”

This text is related to the tomb of King Sekhem-reshed-tawy Sobek-em-saef of the Second Intermediate Period. Peet translates the term as  “in his midst” (2005: 41). Thus, the king’s funerary equipment might have been in the *hryt-ib* which dates back to that period and not the one which dates back to King Thuthmosis III. This text cannot be taken as a definite proof for an earlier *hryt-ib*.

H. Kees agreed with P. Barguet’s opinion about the function of the *hryt-ib*. Moreover, he points out another function of the hall during the 21st/22nd Dynasty. It was the place where the god Amun greets the priests who are recently appointed (1958: 208-209). The usage of a determinative of a columned hall suggests that it refers to the columned part of the *3h-mnw* only (Spencer 1984: 85-86).

J. Vandier’s opinion is that the Hall of Festivals of King Thuthmosis III is a temple inside a temple. He also acknowledged that specific rooms were used for the royal cult, that is room [XXIV] and room [XXV] (1955: 900-901). Moreover, he concluded that the *3h-mnw* is a place of a monumental and royal nature (1955: 901).

G. Haeny opposed the idea that the columns of the hall imitate the poles of the canopy used during the *hb-sd* festivals. Additionally, he points out to similar scenes on the walls which were scenes of the *hb-sd* festivals these were also found at other places in other temples without considering these places used for celebrating the *hb-sd* festivals (1970: 13). Furthermore, he indicated that the building was built during the 23rd year of King Thuthmosis III’s reign so he argues that it was not used to celebrate the King’s *hb-*

sd (1970: 14).

F. Daumas' opinion (1952a: 177) does not agree G. Haeny's interpretation of the *3h-mnw* (1980: 274). F. Daumas agreed with P. Barguet (1962: 326-327) that the *hryt-ib* is not a hall for festivals. As for Golvin and Goyon (1987: 45-48), they believe that the *3h-mnw* is a place where the enthronement of the king took place.

H. Refai, after studying the hypostyle halls of the Dynastic temples, concluded that the *3h-mnw* was a place where different cults were celebrated such as: the royal cult including the *hb-sd* festival, the cult of the ennead and the cult of Amun. For this reason it was finished six years before the *hb-sd* of the King (2000: 52). Later on, he indicated the role played by the royal cult in the *3h-mnw* but he did not refute the fact that there were other functions which include certain aspects of the Amun rituals and those of the Ennead of Karnak (2003: 394).

Finally, Blyth suggested that the *3h-mnw* was a temple of Millions of Years to commemorate the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt and the divine cult of King Thuthmosis III. In other words that it was a temple inside a temple (2006: 77) as suggested by Vandier (1955: 900). This suggestion was previously refuted by Refai who suggests that the other functions of the *3h-mnw* were of limited importance (2000:52). Nevertheless, all the above mentioned scholars concentrated only on the *3h-mnw* and they did not pay attention to the Central Hall found inside it or even its function. They were dealing with the building as a whole.

At this stage, several points should be stressed:

Architecturally, as described above, the *hryt-ib* of King Thuthmosis III is different from the *hryt-ib* of the temples of the Ptolemaic period. In terms of its designation, it has never referred to it as *wsht hryt-ib*. G. Haeny (1970: 12) pointed to the term *wsht hft-hr*, used to refer to a monument of King Thuthmosis IV before the fourth pylon at Karnak (Barguet 1952: 95; Chevrier 1952: 171), which was shortened sometimes to *hft-hr*.

This term was mentioned in the Decree of Canopus to refer to “Dromos” (Daumas 1952a: 171), or “Processional Avenue” (Badawy 1975: 83) and during the New Kingdom it was used to designate the interior part of the building (Wb III 275, 9, 10). Thus, there is a probability that *ḥryt-ib* of King Thuthmosis III appeared as *wsḥt ḥryt-ib*.

Additionally, P. Spencer opposed P. Barguet’s suggestion that the *ḥryt-ib* refers to just the columned hall in the *ḥ-mnw* and she proposed that *ḥryt-ib* can be applied to the whole complex of *ḥ-mnw* and not just the Hypostyle Hall (1984: 86).

Moreover, P. Barguet argued that this hall was used to accommodate the members of the Great Ennead of Karnak (1962: 324-325). His interpretation was based upon the comparison with the later halls of the temples of Edfu and Dendera where these halls were used to accommodate the statues of the Ennead.

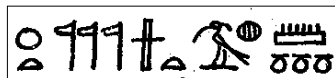
On the other hand, F. Daumas pointed out that the hall in the *ḥ-mnw* guards the Sanctuary of Amun from anything that is profane (1980a: 268). Additionally, it shelters under its pillars the gods of the ennead and therefore performs a very essential function in guarding the lord of the Karnak. He pointed out the text that mentions:

Ch.2-Doc.34:

Type: Text.

Location: northern side of the architrave.

Bibliography: Urk IV 862, 11; Daumas 1980a: 280; Pécoil 2000: pl. 96.



Psdt imyt ḥ-mnw

“The ennead which is in the *ḥ-mnw*”.

Daumas stated that the kind of the developed designation of the “Hall of the Ennead” does not exist in Karnak like the cases of Edfu and Dendera (Daumas 1980a: 280). From two occurrences, the term of *ḥryt-ib* is used to refer to the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera without using *wsḥt*. A. Badawy translates this term as “Intermediate Hall” (1968: 250).

Taking into consideration the weight of evidence mentioned above, it is most likely that the *hryt-ib* of King Thuthmosis III of the 18th Dynasty had the same function as that of the Ptolemaic period, which was to accommodate an ennead.

2.6.2 *Wts-hꜥw* “The Hall of Assuming the Diadems” (OIP 1981: 64, 69-70).

This unique nomination, used to refer to the ‘Central Hall’ of Dendera, was cited twice in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak where it clearly refers to the ‘Hypostyle Hall’.

Table 2.15: Forms of *Wts-hꜥw*- Temple of Khonsu

Form	Source
	(OIP 1981, pls.196, 202E:1)

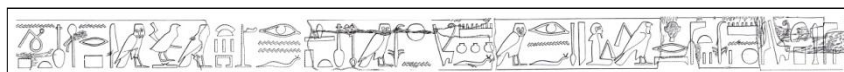
These two texts were inscribed by the high priest Herihor during the reign of Ramesses XI (OIP 1981: pls.196, 202E:1; Otto 1952: 31).

Ch.2- Doc.35:

Type: text.

Location: the western half of the first Hypostyle Hall.

Bibliography: OIP 103: pl. 196, 64.



*hm-ntr tpy n Imn-Rꜥ nsw-ntrw Hry-Hr mꜣꜥ-hrw ir.n.f m mnw.f n Hnsw m W3st nfr htp ir
n.f Wts-hꜥw m mꜣw m inr ḥd n rwdt*

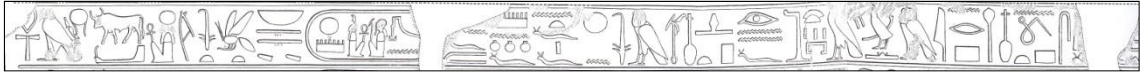
“the high priest of Amun-Re, king of the gods, Herihor, justified, he made as his monuments for Khonsu-in-Thebes, Nefer-hotep, the making for him the Hall Assuming the Diadems a new out of good white sandstone”.

Ch.2-Doc.36:

Type: text.

Location: the western face (E) of the eastern architrave of the Hypostyle Hall.

Bibliography: OIP 103: pl. 202E; OIP 103: 69-70.



*ḥnh Hr k3 nḥt mry Rḥ nswt-bity nb t3wy mn-m3ḥt-Rḥ stp-n-Pth ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f Hnsw
m W3st nfr-ḥtp ir n.f Wts-ḥw m m3w m inr ḥd nfr n rwdt*

“May Horus live, mighty bull, beloved of Re, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands, Men-Maet-Re, setep-en-Ptah, he made (it) as his monuments for his father, Khonsu-in-Thebes, Nefer-hotep making for him the Hall of Assuming the Diadems as new out of good white sand stone”.

Again, this difference between the ‘Hypostyle Hall’ and the ‘Central Hall’ implies a change of the usage of this term during the Ptolemaic Period. This might coincide with Spencer’s (1984: 2) opinion that the terms used during the Ptolemaic Period, due to changes in the language, become much less exact. McClain (2007: 85) believes that the terminology of the Ptolemaic Period was accurate and the issue has to do with our incomplete understanding of the meaning of these terms in context. The forth mentioned documents will demonstrate the other occurrences of this term.

Ch.2-Doc.37:

Type: Text.

Location: text accompanying Amun-Re-third antechamber converted into Sanctuary-the temple of Luxor.

Bibliography: Barguet 1962: 318; Gayet 1894: pl. 61, fig. 168; PM II 105-106; Leclant 1961: 224; Leclant 1965: 252, footnote 1; LGG I 324.



Imn-Rḥ m wts-ḥw,

‘Amun-Re in (Hall) *wts-ḥw*

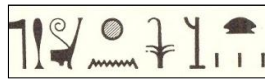
It is not entirely clear which place in the temple the text is meant to refer to as it appeared only once in the temple of Luxor.

Ch.2-Doc.38:

Type: Text on a statue.

Location: On the left flank of a black granite block statue in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo of *Ns-p3-hr-n-h3t*, found in the Karnak cachette and dating to the reign of Osorkon I of the 22nd Dynasty.

Bibliography: Barguet 1962: 318; JdE 37405; Legrain 1909: 57, pl. LI; CGC 42189.



hm-ntr n Hnsw Wts-hꜥw

‘The priest of Khonsu *Wts-hꜥw*’

The same term appears among the titles of the owner of the statue and Barguet believes that this is the same *wts-hꜥw* mentioned above (1962: 318). This seems unlikely for the following reasons. Firstly, *wts-hꜥw* is one of the epithets of Khonsu (LGG II 611-612). Although, Leclant (1961: 224; 1965: 252) pointed out that it is difficult to determine the precise translation of this term, he suggested: ‘who exalts the appearance’ or ‘who exalts the crowns’. Secondly, Leclant (1965: 251) also mentioned an example where the same term occurs as a form of Khonsu on a statue in Berlin (No. 17271). He called attention to another instance for the same form of Khonsu inscribed on the walls of a small chamber located beside the eastern wall of the temple of Mut at Karnak (1961: 214). Thirdly, Kees (1953: 251) mentioned a person called *Ns-p3-hr-n-h3t* who was the priest of Khonsu *wts-hꜥw*, and suggested that *wts hꜥw* is a form of the god Khonsu. Finally, a form of Amun is mentioned among the titles of *Mn-hpr-Rꜥ-snb* in his tomb, TT 86, in Sheikh abd el-Qurna (PM I/I 117–119; Gardiner and Weigal 1913: 24) as: *imy-r k3t Imn wts-hꜥw* (Otto 1952: 31; Urk IV 927–928, 932; Viery 1891: 208-209, 214). Based on this evidence, it would appear that the term refers to forms of the god Khonsu, more than it does to the hall in question.

2.7 Another usage of the term *ḥryt-ib*:

2.7.1 Edfu:

In the temple of Edfu, the term *ḥryt-ib* was used to identify two different places. Firstly, it is used to designate the antechamber of the room of the Treasury (Y) (E VII 17, 9). Secondly, it is used to refer the antechamber of the Nile Chamber A’.

2.7.1.1 Antechamber Y:

2.7.1.1.1 Location:

As the antechamber of the Treasury, it gives access for the Treasury to the outer eastern Ambulatory.

2.7.1.1.2 Designations:

Table 2.16: Forms of *ḥryt-ib*-antechamber Y-Edfu

Forms	Sources
	E IV 6, 5. E II 172, 4. E II 172, 11.
	E II 171, 9.
	E II 171, 14.

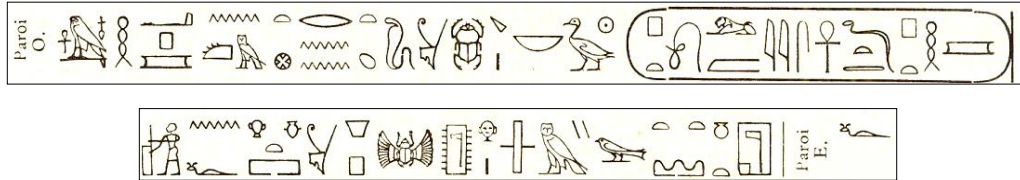
The texts of the temple of Edfu refers to that chamber as *ḥryt-ib*. Additionally, this chamber is also called *šḥw bik n stpw* “the abattoir of the Falcon for the pieces of meat” (Alliot 1949: 7, footnote 7; E VII 18, 4; Wilson 1997: 900). De Wit refers to this room as antechamber (1961b: 312-313).

Ch.2-Doc.39:

Type: text.

Location: the southern Lower Band of Text in the antechamber of the Treasury (Y of Chassinat).

Bibliography: E II 171, 8-9; PM VI 140.



ʕnh ntr nfr Hʕpy n Kmt Rnnt n t3 nb s3-Rʕ Ptwylys ʕnh dt mry-Pth hws.n.f hryt-ib n ʕpy ntri hr imy-wrt nt hwt.f

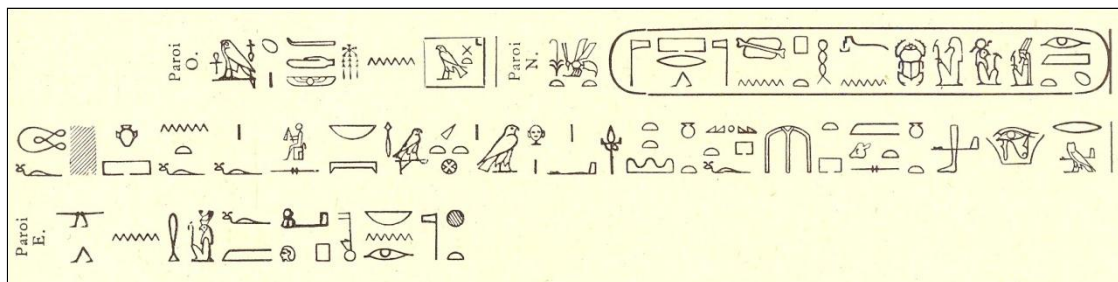
“May the good god live, Hapy of Egypt, Rennent of the Earth, the lord, son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah. He (the king) built a (Hall) in the Middle to the divine sun disk on the right side (west) of his Mansion”.

Ch.2-Doc.40:

Type: text.

Location: the northern Lower Band of Text of antechamber of the Treasury (Y).

Bibliography: E II 171, 13-15; PM VI 140; Alliot 1949: 37.



ʕnh ntr nfr s3 Bḥdt ms n Hwt-Hr nswt-bity iwʕ-n- ntrwy-prwy stp-n- Pth hpr-Imn ir-mʕt-Rʕ snt.f [hry]-ib n it.f šps nb pt Hr-Bḥdt ntr ʕ3 hr-ʕ i3btt nt šhm.f sh m-hnt.s nt dbḥw r m-ʕ sbi.n ḥm.f m hrt-hrw tp-tr nb n ir-iht-ntr

“May the good god live, son of Horus, born to Hathor, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the two shining gods, chosen of Ptah, form of Amun, who belongs to the justice of Re, he (the king) built a [Hall] in the Middle to his august Father, lord of the sky, Horus the Behdetite, the great god, on the east of his shrine, the chapel is within it,

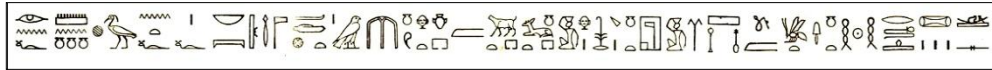
his majesty goes at the time of every morning according to the rite of ‘Performing the ritual of the god’ ”.

Ch.2-Doc.41:

Type: text.

Location: southern side of the Upper Band of Text of antechamber of the Treasury (Y).

Bibliography: E II 172, 3; PM VI 140.



*ir.n.f mnw 3hw n it.f nb pt ntr pt Hr Bhd̄t ʿrk̄.n.f h̄ryt-ib m-hnw iwnn.f hr rsyt nt hwt.f m
inr ḥd nfr rwd m k3t mnḥ nhḥ r wdn ḥtpw im.s*

“He (the king) built a glorious monument for his father, the great god, the lord of the sky, Horus, the Behdetite; he (the king) completed a [Hall] in the Middle inside his sanctuary to the south of his mansion from white, beautiful stone of excellent eternal work to offer offerings in it”.

2.7.1.1.3 Function:

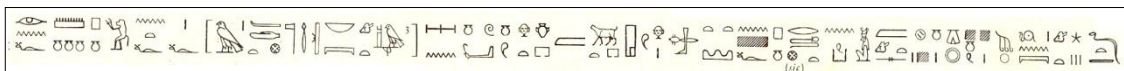
This document denotes that the function of this antechamber is also to bring offerings to offer it to Horus.

Ch.2-Doc.42:

Type: text.

Location: the northern side of Room (Y).

Bibliography: E II 172, 10; PM VI 140.



*ir.n.f mnw pn nfr n it.f Hr Bhd̄t, ntr ʿ3, nb pt, hnt wts-Hr, kn̄.n.f h̄ryt-ib m-hnw hwt.f hr
b3hw n [pr].f pn r wdn n k3.f Hr m hnt.s sp 3 n nst Rʿ, dī.n.f ʿhʿw Rʿ n pt hnt ntrw dt̄.*

“He (the king) built this beautiful monument for his father, Horus, the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, the foremost of Edfu, he (the king) completed a (Hall) in the Middle inside his mansion on the east of his house, to offer to his ka, Horus at the front

of it three times of the Throne of Re. He gave the reign of Re of the sky before the gods eternally”.

2.7.1.2 Antechamber A’:

2.7.1.2.1 Location:

As the antechamber of the Nile room, it gives access to the outer western Ambulatory.

2.7.1.2.2 Designation:

Surprisingly, unlike the antechamber of the Treasury Y, this antechamber A’ was never referred to in the texts which cover its walls. The only time when the texts of the temple of Edfu refer to it was in the Dedicatory Inscriptions.

Table 2.17: Form of *hryt-ib*-antechamber A’-Edfu

Form	Source
	E VII 17, 7

2.7.1.2.3 Function:

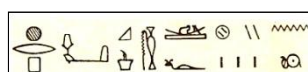
Its walls are inscribed with the rites of offering the libations and the spells for supplying the vases (E VII 17, 6, 9; De Wit 1961: 312).

Ch.2-Doc.43:

Type: text.

Location: the eastern wall of the Upper Band of Text of antechamber of the Nile chamber A’.

Bibliography: E II 241, 5-6; PM VI 138.



hrp kbh im.f sp 3 n hrw

“Presenting a libation in it (antechamber of the Nile chamber A’) three times a day”.

2.7.2 Dendera:

As in the case of Edfu, the term of *hryt-ib* was also used, in the temple of Dendera, to name two chambers. The first is for Room C’, while the other one is for Room E’. Both of them give access to the outer ambulatory. They, especially room C’, were used to bring the solid and the liquid offerings into the temple three times a day (Daumas 1969: 42-43; Preys 2007c: 210).

2.7.2.1 Room C’:

2.7.2.1.1 Location:

Room C’ is the third room on the eastern side of the second Hypostyle Hall. It gives access to the outer Ambulatory on the eastern side of the temple.

2.7.2.1.2 Designation:

The designations of room C’ have been found on the southern wall (D IX 208, 8) and the northern wall (D IX 208, 12) of the Lower Band of Text of room C’. Additionally, it also appears twice on the southern wall (D IX 208, 18) and the northern wall (D IX 209, 7) of the Upper Band of Text.

Table 2.18: Forms of *hryt-ib*-room C’-Dendera

Form	Source
	D IX 208, 8. D IX 208, 12.
	D IX 208, 18. D IX 209, 7.

Ch.2-Doc.44:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the southern wall of room C’.

Bibliography: D IX 208, 8; PM VI 53.



snt.n.f hryt-ib n Nwbt ntrw hr-^c imntt n hwt.s

“He (the king) built a (Hall) in the Middle for the Golden One of the gods (Hathor) on the west of her temple”.

Ch. 2-Doc.45:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the northern wall of room C’.

Bibliography: D IX 208, 12; PM VI 53.



hws.n.f hryt-ib n Wbnt m nwbt hr-gs rsyt nt shm.s

“He (the king) built a (Hall) in the Middle for the one who shines as gold (Hathor) on the west of her sanctuary”.

Ch.2-Doc.46:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the southern wall of room C’.

Bibliography: D IX 208, 18; PM VI 53.



rk.n.f hryt-ib m-hnw iwnnt.s hr-^c rsyt nt hwt.s

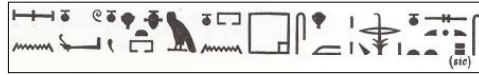
“He (the king) completed a (Hall) in the Middle inside her sanctuary on the south of her (Hathor) mansion”.

Ch.2-Doc.47:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the northern wall of room C'.

Bibliography: D IX 209, 7; PM VI 53.



kn.n.f ḥryt-ib m-hnw ḥwt.s ḥr-gs rsyt nt shm.s

“He (the king) built a (Hall) in the Middle inside her mansion on the south of her sanctuary”.

Two of these four documents, Ch.2-Doc.45 and Ch.2-Doc.46, give the location of room C' in the temple of Dendera as being on the west side of her temple. While the other two documents Ch.2-Doc.47 and Ch.2-Doc.48 give the location as on the south of her sanctuary but there is no contradiction between them.

2.7.2.1.3 Function:

Ch.2-Doc.48:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the southern wall of room C'.

Bibliography: D IX 208, 8; PM VI 53.



ṛk.tw im.s hry htpw n hmt.s sp 3 mī r nb

“He (the king) enters in it (room C’) carrying offerings to her majesty three times every day”. According to the text the function of this room is revealed.

Ch.2-Doc.49:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the northern wall of room C'.

Bibliography: D IX 208, 13; PM VI 53.



ḱ.tw im.s ḥry dḥw nw Dpyt

“He (the king) enters in it (room C’) carrying food of the one who belongs to Buto (Hathor)”.
 10

Ch.2-Doc.50:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the southern wall of room C'.

Bibliography: D IX 209, 2; PM VI 53.



wdn.tw httpw im.s

“He (king) offers offerings in it (room C’”).

Ch.2-Doc.51:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the northern wall of room C'.

Bibliography: D IX 209, 8; PM VI 53.



k.tw im.s hry htpw n Dpyt

“He (the king) enters in it (room C’) carrying offerings of the one who belongs to Buto (Hathor)”.

2.7.2.2 Room E':

2.7.2.2.1 Location:

It is the second room on the western side of the second Hypostyle Hall. It gives access to the outer Ambulatory on the western side.

2.7.2.2.2 Designation:

The designation of room E', *hryt-ib*, is mentioned on the Lower Band of Text of the northern wall of the room (D XI 68, 6), on the Lower Band of Text of the southern wall of the room in question (D XI 68, 13) and on the Upper Band of Text of the northern wall of the room (D XI 69, 7). Finally, it is inscribed on the Upper band of Text of the southern wall (D XI 69, 14).

Table 2.19: Forms of *hryt-ib*-room E'-Dendera

Forms	Sources
	D XI 68, 6. D XI 68, 13. D XI 69, 14.
	D XI 69, 7.

Ch.2-Doc.52:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the northern wall of room E'.

Bibliography: D XI 68, 6; PM VI 54.



hws.n.f hryt-ib n wbnt-n-nwbt hr-ε i3bt n hwt Hwt-Hr

“He (the king) built a (Hall) in the Middle to the one who shines as gold (Hathor) on the west of the Mansion of Hathor”.

Ch.2-Doc.53:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the southern wall of room E'.

Bibliography: D XI 68, 13; PM VI 54; Wilson 1997: 904.



nḥp.n.f ḥryt-ib n nbtyt-rḥyt ḥr-^c mḥ nt šm.s

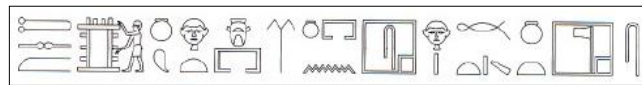
“He (the king) built a (Hall) in the Middle to the lady of the people (Hathor) on the northern of her temple”.

Ch.2-Doc.54:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the northern wall of room E'.

Bibliography: D XI 69, 7; PM VI 54.



*t*sm.n.f ḥryt-ib m-hnw n ḥwt.s ḥr mḥt nt ḥwt.s

“He (the king) built a (Hall) in the Middle inside her mansion on the north of her mansion”.

Ch.2-Doc.55:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the southern wall of room E'.

Bibliography: D XI 69, 14- 70, 2; PM VI 54.



km.n.f hryt-ib m-hnw n iwnn.s hr mḥty nt hwt

“He (the king) completed a (Hall) in the Middle inside her sanctuary on the north of the mansion”.

Accordingly, F. Daumas argues that the translation of the hall as “Salle Mediane” is not sufficient and he suggests the use of “Salle-Intermediaire” (1980a: 280). Since this nomination (*ḥryt-ib*) was used for certain places in the temples of Edfu and Dendera, P. Spencer deduced that this term could be used for an intermediate hall or building within the temple complex (1984: 87).

Obviously this term was used to refer to two separate places in the temples of Edfu and Dendera and was different from the usage of the other term *wsḥt ḥryt-ib* in the two aspects of location and function. In terms of location, it was used as an antechamber or a passage that connects two places. In terms of function it enables the daily offerings to get into the temple which was not a function of the main ‘Central Hall’. The secondary use of the *ḥryt-ib* was therefore a more general multi-purpose hall, whereas the Central Hall before the Sanctuary had different roles.

2.8 Re-evaluating theories regarding the existence of the Central Hall:

In summary, there are two theories concerning the location of the Central Hall in Ptolemaic Temples.

2.8.1 The first theory was put forward by P. Barguet, who locates the Central Hall (*ḥryt-ib*) between the Sanctuary and the Bark Chapel during the Dynastic period and between the Sanctuary and the Hall of Offerings during the Ptolemaic period (1962: 172, footnote 2, 325). According to his theory, there is another Central Hall (*ḥryt-ib*) in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak. Since there is neither archaeological nor textual evidence to support his opinion, it is difficult to accept it unreservedly. Additionally, P. Spencer refuted this opinion as it is based mainly upon his reconstruction of the Middle Kingdom Court of the Karnak temple (1984: 86; Schwaller de Lubicz 1999: 628).

2.8.2 The second theory was propounded by D. Arnold, who calls this hall “the Hall of the Visiting Gods” (1999: 306). This designation does not have any textual evidence to support it but it was influenced by the function of the hall. He suggests that the hall existed between the Sanctuary and the Hall of Offerings in the temples of the late Dynastic period, the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods. He states that the hall was used as an assembly point for the guest gods awaiting the departure of the bark procession from the central bark shrine (Arnold 1999: 306). To argue his theory, he used the following temples:

1) The Kushite temples of Kawa (Temple T = Temple of Amun of Gempaton) and the temple of Sanam (Abu Dom) of King Taharqa of the 25th Dynasty: These two temples which are identical in size and form (Welsby 2002: 34), in addition to a third one at Tabo on Argo Island 30 km to the north (Maystre 1967-68: 193-199), have almost identical halls in terms of shape. The halls, situated in front of the Sanctuary, are square with four columns (Macadam 1955: 15, pls. 9-12; Arnold 1999: 60, fig. 31). D. Arnold believes that the halls were used for the emplacement of the statues of the visiting gods (1999: 59, 330, no. 60).

2) The temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (Arnold 2002: 144) and the temple of

Nectanebo II of Khnum at Elephantine (Arnold 1999: 134). He identified the sequence of the halls within the temples as: firstly the Sanctuary, then the Hall of Offerings and finally the Central Hall.

3) Arnold identified the hall that precedes the Sanctuary of the Roman temple of Kalabsha as the Central Hall (1999: 243).

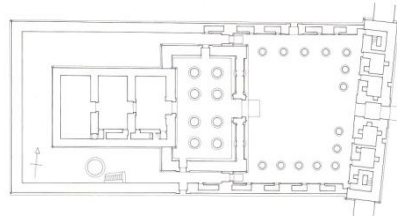


Plate 2.6: Temple of Kalabsha. After Arnold 1999: 243, fig. 203.

D. Arnold's theory should be considered with reservations as there is neither textual nor archaeological evidence to support it for the halls of the Kushite temples (Griffith 1921/1922: 74-77; Macadam 1955: 15, pls. 9-12) and the same applies to the hall of the temple of Elephantine (Kaiser 1990: 189-193; Kaiser *et al.* 1995: 147-164). Additionally, C. Rocheleau who studied the typology of the Amun temples of the Napatan period did not suggest anything to confirm Arnold's theory or to deny it regarding the Central Hall, however, she grouped them together under the same category "Coronation temples" due to the presence of a dais or a throne room inside them to the south of the sanctuary (2005: 96, fig.17, 102, fig. 20; 2008: 28 fig.19, 32, fig. 23). It should be pointed out that the location of the Central Hall in some of the temples should not affect the judgment that the hall lies directly before the main sanctuary of the temples. This can be recognised in the case of the Roman temple of Kalabsha where the hall that lies directly before the sanctuary is considered by some scholars incorrectly as the "Hall of the Ennead". By having a closer look on the texts of that hall, it can be ascertained that this is the "Hall of Offerings" and not the "Hall of the Ennead".

In the case of the temple of Ptolemy III of Kom el-Deir, Arnold was reluctant to decide whether an existing hall was the Hall of Offerings or the Central Hall due to the bad preservation of the building (1999: 169, fig. 115). Regarding the temple of Ramesses III and the Temple of Khnum at Elephantine, the location of the Central Hall does not

match with the order of halls according to his theory (Arnold 1999: 306). Besides, there is no textual evidence that these halls are Central Halls. Furthermore, Arnold does not explain the reason for shifting the location of the Central Hall according to his own criteria.

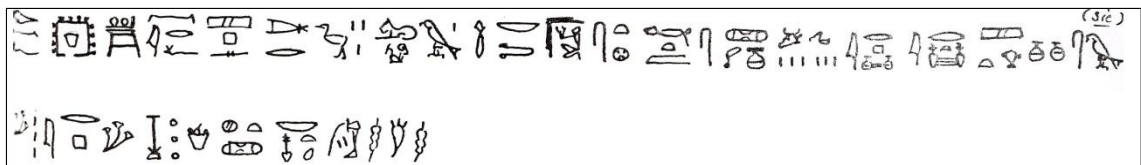
Moreover, the texts of the hall of the temple of Kalabsha refer to it as the Hall of Offerings (Daumas & Derchain (without date): 35 B 68; Gauthier 1911: 61-119) and not as the Hall of the Visiting Gods as noted by D. Arnold (1999: 243) or the Hall of the Ennead as mentioned by G. Höbl (2004: 107, 117-118, pls.178-182)².

Ch.2-Doc.56:

Type: Text.

Location: the northern part of the Upper Band of Text inside the Hall of Offerings of the temple of Kalabsha.

Bibliography: Gauthier 1911: 118; Daumas & Derchain (without date): 35 B 68):



*ir.n.f wsht-htp n it.f šps Mrwl, ntr 3, nb Trms mht m k3w 3pdw irp irtt šdh smw irpw sntr
ht nbt nfrt w^cbt ndm bnr.*

“He (the emperor) built a Hall of Offerings for his august father, Merwel (Mandulis), the great god, the lord of Talmis (Kalabsha), filled with offerings, oxen, birds, wine, milk, sweet wine, *smw*-plants, *irpw*-plants, incense, every good, pure, sweet and pleasant thing”.

This last example leads us to conclude that a generalising theory applied to temples from different periods is inapplicable. Furthermore, deciding upon the identification of a ‘Central Hall’ without taking into consideration the texts citing the nomination of the hall is an inadequate approach. Besides, a Roman period temple may have had a different organisation for the halls. As an attempt to amend a part of his theory Arnold added that Roman period temples might have used one hall to perform the functions of

² G. Höbl stated that he just followed D. Arnold’s work (personal communications).

two halls in a Ptolemaic temple. In the view of this, the Roman period Hall of Offerings was also used for the emplacement of the statues of the visiting gods, thus carrying out the functions of the Ptolemaic Central Hall.

2.8.3 Temple of Hathor at Deir El-Medina:

2.8.3.1 Dating:

The temple was dedicated to Hathor and dates back to the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator (Arnold 1999: 174). Later Ptolemaic kings also contributed to the temple i.e. Ptolemy VIII and Ptolemy IX Soter II (Arnold 1999: 198, 209).

2.8.3.2 Location:

The hall in question has a transversal shape and is located just before the Sanctuary of the temple. It is preceded by a columned Hypostyle Hall. It has a staircase in its western side which gives access to the roof of the temple.

2.8.3.3 Designations:

This hall is referred according to the document Ch.2-Doc.57 as *hnty*.

Ch.2-Doc.57:

Type: Text.

Location: Two identical texts which are inscribed on the lower register of the eastern side of the north part of the architrave (No. 114) and on the lower register of the western side of the south part of the architrave (No. 115).

Bibliography: Du Bourguet 2002: 107, No. 114, No. 115.

No. 114: 

No. 115: 

ir.n.f hnty m inr ḥd nfr n rwdt di ʿnh dt.

“He (the king) made a *Pronaos* from the white beautiful sandstone, given life forever”

According to the Wörterbuch *hnty* is “Vorhalle” (Wb III 307, 10). It is used to refer to the Hypostyle Hall in the temples during the Ptolemaic period (Wb III 307, 13). It is also the *Pronaos* or literally “which is at the front”, which applies to the outermost hall of the temple (Wilson 1997: 738). D. Meeks translated it as “l’avant sale” or “sale d’apparat” (1981: 284, No.78.3074). R. O. Faulkner sees it is an outer chamber (1962: 194) which coincides with A. H. Gardiner who added a literal translation as “front part” (AEO II, 208*). He also indicated several other words which tend to be confused as they have the same reading and give it a much simpler translation as “hall” (Gardiner 1909: 47). While tackling the terms used for the temple estate, P. Spencer mentioned two examples for the term in question but she did not give a translation for it (1984: 12). The term in question was translated in these two examples by J. Vercoutter as “portico” (1950: 88). On the other hand, D. Arnold sees that this *Pronaos* is the Offering Hall (1999: 176). As for the temple of Edfu, the outer two Hypostyle Halls following the forecourt were called *hnty* (AEO II, 208*; Wilson 1997: 738; E VII 8, 8; 9, 2; 18, 6). D. Kurth referred to this term as *Pronaos* (2004: 10, 11, 27). H. Junker cited an example from Papyrus Harris I where the word is mentioned (1934: 64, 65, footnote 1). This term was mentioned in Papyrus Harris I three times (Grandet 1994: pl. 6, 1; pl. 28, 11; pl. 48, 5) but they were translated by J. H. Breasted as “vase stand” (ARE IV 147, No. 269). These translations concur with P. Grandet’s translation as “dressoir à vases” (1994: 262). He also demonstrated several examples that occurred during the Dynastic period (1994: 27, 11). A. H. Gardiner sees that Nelson’s view of that word that was used as jar-stand but in the New Kingdom it obtained another meaning as side board of food as well as drinks (1955: 15; Nelson 1936: 232 ff.). This matter of debate among scholars led L. Lesko to mention that this word could mean either an outer chamber or vase stand (2002: 367). As for Du Bourguet, he listed this term as a designation of the temple of Deir el-Medina (2002: 274). Having a look at the determinative of the word mentioned in the temple of Deir el-Medina  might help to determine its meaning as the word has the stairway and the house determinative which may denote that it is a hall with a staircase which coincides with the architectural reality of the hall.

Architecturally, this hall is on a higher level and can be accessed through a staircase which is different from the studied Central Halls. It is also located before the sanctuary. But the location is not enough evidence as the hall before it is not identified as well.

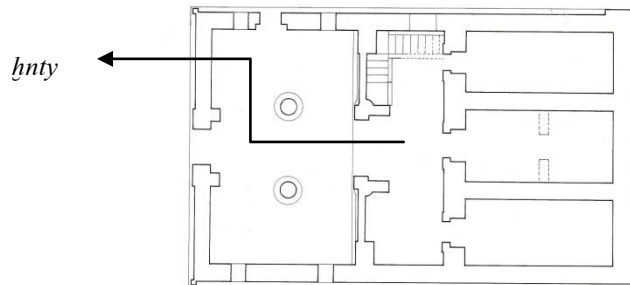


Plate 2.7: The temple of Hathor at Deir El-Medina. After Arnold 1999: fig.124.

2.8.4 The so-called Central Hall of the temple of Opet at Karnak:

2.8.4.1 Dating:

The temple, which is located south west of the Amun Precinct at Karnak, is dedicated to goddess Ipt. It seems that the work started under Nectanebo I but the main work was initiated by Ptolemy III Euregetes I and Ptolemy VIII Euregetes II (Minas 1996: 51-78). The earliest parts of the building seem to date back to Taharqa. The hall in question dates back to the reign of King Ptolemy VIII (De Wit 1957: 25).

2.8.4.2 Location:

The hall lies directly before the sanctuary in the temple of Opet at Karnak and it opens on both of its sides on a chapel.

2.8.4.3 Designation:

It is crucial to differentiate between the usages of the Central Hall used as a term to refer to a hall within the temple due to its location, without any textual evidence, and the Central Hall as a term used to refer to a hall which has designation(s) such as *hryt-ib*. This is the case of this present hall in the temple of Opet. Baillet claimed that this

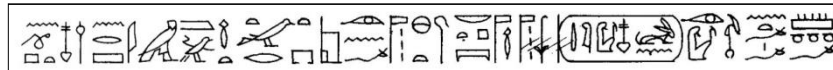
hall is *hryt-ib* without any textual evidence (1898: 100, 105; De Wit 1968: 163). De Wit named this hall “Salle Centrale” (1968: 35-50). Traunecker identifies this hall as the Hall of Offerings (2004: 54).

Ch.2-Doc.58:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the eastern wall of the so-called Central Hall.

Bibliography: De Wit 1958: 98; De Wit 1968: 49.



ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f Wsir-wnn-nfr m3^c-hrw nsw ntrw nb pt hk3 psdt ir.n.f St-wrt 3t m m3w m inr hd nfr n rwdt

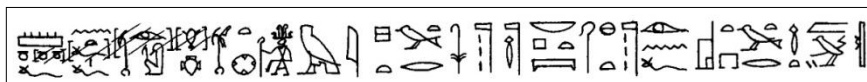
“He (the king) made as his monument to his father, Osiris-wenn-nefer, justified, the king of the gods, lord of the sky, ruler of the ennead, he (the king) built a great place great with good white sandstone”.

Ch.2-Doc.59:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the eastern wall of the so-called Central Hall.

Bibliography: De Wit 1958: 99; De Wit 1958: 49.



ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f Wsir hry-ib W3st ity m Ipt wrt nsw ntrw ntr 3 nb pt hk3 psdt ir.n.f St-wrt 3t m m3w

“He (the king) made (it) as his monument for his father who resides in Thebes, the sovereign in Ipt-wrt, king of the gods, the great god, lord of the sky, ruler of the ennead; he (the king) made a great place from stone”.

The term *St-wrt* stated in Ch.2-Doc.58 and Ch.2-Doc.59 refers to the hall, however, it should be noted that it is also used to designate the sanctuary of the temple as in the case of the sanctuary of the temples of Edfu and Dendera.

It is worth noting within the inconclusive textual evidence; the representations of some of the deities appear in the Central Hall should be considered comparing to this hall. Under the Upper Band of Text, there are the representations of the four genies of the wind (De Wit 1957: 25-39). Remarkably, they also appear in the Central Hall of Dendera (D IV 97-98; Gutbub 1977: 329, fig. 243) in addition to the ambulatory (D II 25-28) and the hall before the sanctuary in the temple of Deir el-Medina (De Wit 1957: 27-28; Du Bourguet 2002: No.112). This could indicate that the hall in question is the Central Hall. Nevertheless, this pictorial evidence is questionable considering that the four winds do not appear in the Central Halls of the temples of Edfu and Kom Ombo (Gutbub 1977: 328-353; De Morgan 1895: 169, No. 217; De Morgan 1909: No. 938; Gutbub 1977: 329, fig. 126a). Furthermore, the *Book of the Temple* is silent so far concerning the deities represented on the walls of the Central Hall, thus, a conclusive outcome cannot be reached but the former suggestion also cannot be excluded completely.

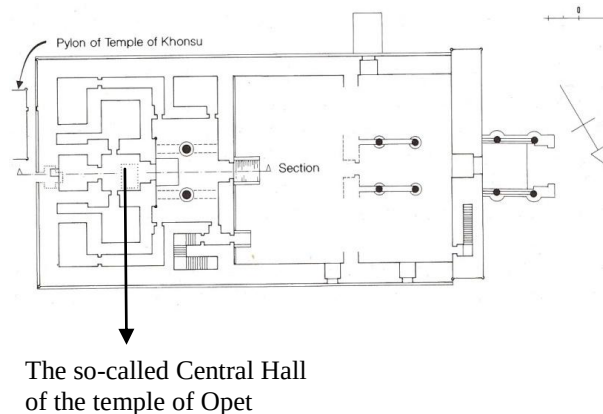


Plate 2.8: Plan of the temple of Opet at Karnak. After Arnold 1999: fig. 110.

2.8.5 The Central Hall of the *Mammisi* of Kom Ombo:

This hall is supposed to be located between the Sanctuary and the Hall of Offerings in the *Mammisi* of Kom Omo. There is no textual evidence to support the Gutbub's opinion (1980: col.679). Additionally, the *mammisi* is in a ruinous state and the texts have disappeared (Daumas 1958: 303) and the actual plan cannot even be determined with accuracy.

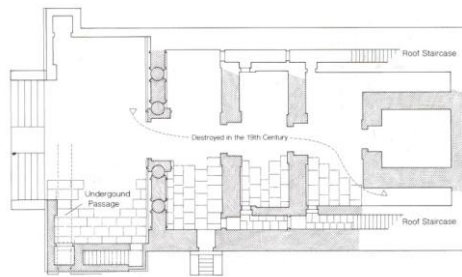


Plate 2.9: The *Mammisi* of Kom Ombo. The shaded parts recorded during the French campaign have disappeared now. After Arnold 1999: fig. 156.

Gutbub's opinion about identifying this hall as the "Hall of the Ennead" might be influenced by the Roman *Mammisi* of Dendera. It seems that Gutbub was also generalizing the idea of the location of the Central Hall. The hall before the sanctuary in the Ptolemaic *Mammisi* of Edfu according to the texts is not the Central Hall but it is the Hall of Offerings (Mam. E. 39, 14, 17).

2.8.6 The Central Hall in the Roman Period:

So far there is only one single instance for the Central Hall from the Roman period based on textual evidence, i.e. the Central Hall of the Roman *Mammisi* of Dendera. Nevertheless, for the reasons mentioned above (see 1.5.8) this hall will not be extensively investigated especially in terms of translating the texts of this hall which were published by F. Daumas (1959: 147-200). It will give us a better understanding about the designations of the hall in question together with its function which will enhance our understanding towards the terms used to designate this hall and its function during the Roman period.

2.8.6.1 Dating:

The *mammisi* dates back to the reign of the Roman Emperor Trajan (Daumas 1952b: 143).

2.8.6.2 Location:

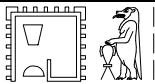
As in the case of the Central Hall in the investigated temples of the Ptolemaic Period, it precedes the sanctuary and is followed by a Hall of Offerings (Aufrère 1997: 44).

2.8.6.3 Designation:

2.8.6.3.1 *Wsh̄t-Psdt*:

Based on textual evidence Ch.2-Doc.61 and Ch.2-Doc.62, the texts referred to the Central Hall using only one designation *Wsh̄t-Psdt* “the Hall of the Ennead”.

Table 2.20: Forms of *Wsh̄t-Psdt*-Roman *Mammisi*-Dendera

Forms	Sources
	Mam. D. 159, 3.
	Mam. D. 159, 12.

Ch.2-Doc.60:

Type: text.

Location: the First Upper Band of Text (directly under the ceiling) on the southern wall of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: Mam. D. 159, 2; PM VI 104.



ir.n.f m mnw.f pn nfr n it.f špss Ṭhy wr s3 Hwt-Hr ḥḥ-nfr n gsw-prw

“He (the emperor) made (it) as his beautiful monuments to his august father, Ihy, the great, son of Hathor, the ḥꜥ-*nfr* snake of the temples”.

Ch.2-Doc.61:

Type: text.

Location: the First Upper Band of Text (directly under the ceiling) on the southern wall of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: Mam. D. 159, 3; Daumas 1958: 109; PM VI 104.



hws.n.f wsht psdt n it.f R^c Thy wr s3 Hwt-Hr mwt.f wrst

“He (the Emperor) built the Hall of the Ennead to his father Re, Ihy the great, son of Hathor, his mother, the strong one”.

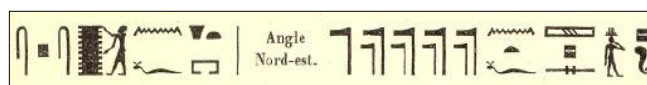
Daumas read this word  as *wrw* and translated it as “the great ones” depending on only one example from the temple of Edfu where this sign can be read as *wrw* (Daumas 1958: 108, footnote 4, 109). Hence, this text is particularly significant as if his reading is accurate, it is the only nomination used so far to refer to the Central Hall as the “Hall of the Great Ones” which is not attested anywhere either during the Dynastic or the Ptolemaic periods.

Ch.2-Doc.62:

Type: text.

Location: the First Upper Band of Text-the northern wall of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: Mam. D. 159, 13; Daumas 1958: 109; PM VI 104.



sps.n.f wsht-Psdt n it.f špss Thy p3-hrd

“He (the Emperor) built the Hall of the Ennead for his august father Ihy the child”.

Ch.2-Doc.63:

Type: Text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the northern wall of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: Mam. D. 159, 15; PM VI 104.



shmw n Psdt.f sphr m-hnt.s

“The images of his ennead are engraved in it”

This text recalls a similar text which states that the Ennead of Mesen is represented on the walls of the Central Hall of Edfu (see Ch.3-Doc.3). This might suggest that it is an artistic tradition to represent the ennead of the main deity of the temple on the walls of the Central Hall or to claim that to give it authenticity.

The questions that can be raised are from which locality of the temple does the ennead come from? Which statue of Ihy was used? Taking into consideration that there should be a statue in the sanctuary of the *mammisi*, what was the other statue that was carried in procession from inside the temple? It is worth noting that some statues of deities were represented on the walls of the Sanctuary (Cella) (Daumas 1958:113, footnote 2) which could also be resting in the crypts of the *mammisi* (Piéron 1910: 71-76) and were brought out only during the festivals in which they participated. One of these festivals, as shown by a series of scenes represented in the Central Hall, is the Festival of the second of *Thoth* (Preys 2001: 154-155).

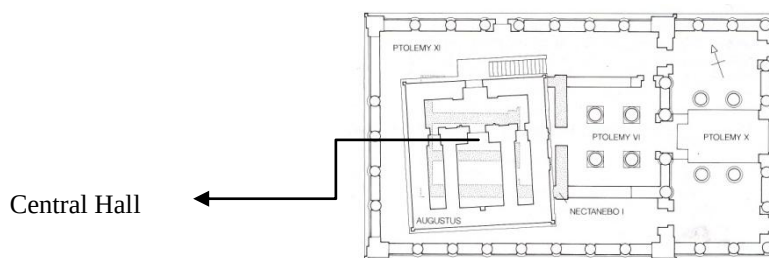


Plate 2.10: the Roman *Mammisi* of Dendera on the Ptolemaic *Mammisi*. After Arnold 1999: fig. 161.

2.9 The King and the Central Hall:

Throughout the study of the texts of the investigated temples, the only text that links the king to the Central Hall is found in the temple of Dendera.

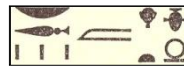
Ch.2-Doc.64:

Type: Text accompanying the king in a scene.

Description of the Scene: king stands before Hathor and Ihy while offering two *mnw*-jars.

Location: the first register of the southern wall of the second western chamber around the Ambulatory (K of Chassinat).

Bibliography: D III 111, 7; PM VI 74 (210); Cauville 2000: 202-203.



nb hkrw m hryt-ib

“The lord of adornment in the (Hall) in the Middle”.

This epithet implies the importance of the Central Hall during the festivals celebrated in the temple when the king is performing rituals during them. Besides, it shows the festive nature of this hall as the king is adorned to take part in these festivals.

2.10 Central Hall as a God’s Offering:

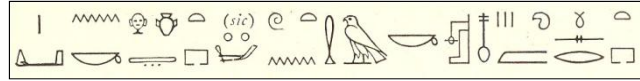
Ch.2-Doc.65:

Type: text accompanying a scene.

Location: the second Hypostyle Hall-the first register of the eastern wall.

Description of the scene: The king, who wears the *3tf*-crown, stands before Horus who is represented seated while Hathor is behind him standing. The king holds a long stick and the *hd*-mace with his left hand while his right hand stretches in the gesture of presenting. A representation of the temple is depicted between the king and Horus. Horus offers the Central Hall to the king in return for his offering.

Bibliography: E II 63, 3; PM VI 137 (119)-(122).



di.i n.k ḥryt-ib dsr.tw n ḥm.k wts-nfrw.k m šsr

“I give to you the (Hall) in the Middle sacred for your majesty. May your perfection be raised up in the sanctuary”.

It is not surprising that the Central Hall is used as an offering from a deity to the king. The whole temple is also used to be presented to the deities such as in the case of the temples of Edfu (E II 63; E X, pl. XLC) and Kom Ombo (Gutbub 1995: 271, No. 204). Interestingly, the situation, as stated by this sole example, is changed and it denotes the importance of the Central Hall inside the temple. The question is, upon which evidence the *ḥryt-ib* mentioned in that document should be considered the Central Hall and not one of the ante-chambers with the same designations in the temple of Edfu. Additionally, the way in which the term was written is a hapax. A remarkable resemblance occurs in the designation of Athribis, the capital of the tenth nome of Lower Egypt (Rowe 1938: 523-532). By investigating the name of Athribis of Lower Egypt which is called *Ḥwt ḥryt-ib* it can be noticed that the same determinative appeared again which denotes that this is a phonetic compliment for the sign “t”. This name appears in different forms such as  and  (Hamza 1938: 204). There was a matter of debate between the scholars whether it should be read as *ḥwt ḥryt-ib* “the Mansion of the Middle” or *ḥwt t3 ḥryt-ib* “the mansion of the land in the Middle” (Daressy 1920: 138; Montet: 1957: 119) or “the temple which is upon the heart” (Hamza 1938: 202-203). In case this designation is read *t3 ḥryt-ib* “the land in the middle”, that means the Central Hall is not the one meant in the text.

2.11 *Book of the Temple* versus the Ptolemaic temples:

The *Book of the Temple* is introduced in this chapter since a part of it is largely connected with the one of the main topics investigated, which is the location of the Central Hall in the temple. The “*Book of the Temple*” is a rather new topic that was first introduced under the name of “Book on the Building of Temples” by E. Reymond while studying P. Vindob D 6319 (a set of fourteen large fragments) (1977: 45-105, pls. I-III)³. One section of the papyrus mentions the layout of an ancient Egyptian temple and the location of the Central Hall. The fragment (account y + u) gives the arrangement of the innermost part of a temple (Reymond 1977: 26). Reymond also pointed out that the book gives information about the way in which the construction of the temple should be carried out (1977: 31). However, the surviving fragments of this papyrus do not give more details about the detailed description of the temple. Reymond concluded that despite the fact that the demotic papyrus dated back to the Roman period (the second half of the second century AD) it could have been a late copy of a much earlier text, perhaps dating to the time of King Amasis (1977: 30-31). Additionally, she suggested that this book could have been of a Memphite origin (Reymond 1977: 32-33). Moreover, the papyrus was part of a group of papyri that were kept in the library of the Suchos temple at Crocodilopolis (Fayum). Finally, she brought to light the resemblance between the plan of the temple of Edfu and that mentioned in the papyrus (1977: 32).

J. Quack has been working on a project not only to collate and study all the different copies of the “*Book of the Temple*” but also to try to fill in the gaps found in it by using the different copies. So far he has located 45-49 copies of ‘*The Book of the Temple*’, of which 40 were found in Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos (Quack 2005: 114) and all of them were extremely fragmentary. The majority of them have never been published and some are partly published, including P. Wien 6319, and P. Berlin 23071 vs (Burkard 1990: 107-133).

³ This translation is full of mistakes, see Janet H. Johnson, Reviewed Work(s), JNES 41, No. 4. (Oct., 1982), 301-303.

The contents of the *Book of the Temple* can be divided into three parts (Quack 1999: 268):

1-Historical: The historical part of the *Book of the Temple* refers to the reign of King Neferkasoker of the 2nd Dynasty who was ordered in a dream to restore the temples (Quack 2002a: 160). This may also imply that the idea of ascribing the book to a very early reign was to give it legitimacy and authenticity.

2-Architectural: A part of the book gives the description that should be followed to build an ideal temple (Quack 1999: 268).

3- Regulatory: The book contains instructions for the service of the priests in the temple and their roles and the permissible and forbidden acts (Quack 1999: 268; Quack 2002a: 161-162).

Quack noted that the *Book of the Temple* uses the four phyles of priest and not the five phyles system that was introduced in 237 BC by the decree of Canopus when each group served in the temple for one month every five months (Černý 1952: 117; Pfeiffer 2004: 106-112, 238-241; Monson 2006: 207-208). He deduced that it is a copy from an earlier text which dates to sometime before 237 BC at least. He also pointed out that the style of the language used is Middle Egyptian (Quack 1992/1993: 125-129). It should be noted that the language used in the temple of Edfu was often Middle Egyptian (Wilson 1997: xiv). Moreover, the book was written mainly in hieratic script and rarely in demotic script (only seven) (Quack 1997: 297-300).

Additionally, the majority of the copies of the text come from the Fayum and specifically 20 copies from Tebtunis (16 hieratic-3 semi demotic and only one in demotic) and from Soknopaiou Nesos (Quack 2005: 105,107). Why there were so many copies at Tebtunis is because either every priest in Tebtunis had a copy or that the library of the temple had some of them (Quack 2005: 108).

Copies of the *Book of the Temple* were found in other Fayum sites such as Crocodopolis, Kom el-Dime and Oxyrhynchus, where the only Greek copy was found.

One part is in Washington University while the second part is preserved in Oslo (Quack 2005: 105-106). Outside the Fayum, copies have been located from Elephantine where five copies were discovered, four of them in hieratic and only one in demotic (Quack 2005: 107).

From this, Quack deduced that the *Book of the Temple* was very popular during the Roman period throughout Egypt with the different linguistic styles of Middle Egyptian-hieratic, demotic and Greek in different copies (Quack 2005: 105).

In the *Book of the Temple* the location of the Central Hall is said to be between the Mansion of Cloth on the right side and the Treasury on the left side (Quack 2009: 226).

“Ihre Türen sind geöffnet zu [...] zwei hintere [Schreine], einer zur Rechten, der andere zur Linken. Kleiderkammer (*ḥwt-mnḥ.t*) ist der Name des einen, Schatzkammer (*ʿb3-df3.w*) der des [anderen]”.

Quack compared part of the texts of the *Book of the Temple* and the Building Texts of Edfu Temple (E VII) due to the resemblance between them (1999: 267-278; 2002a: 159-171).

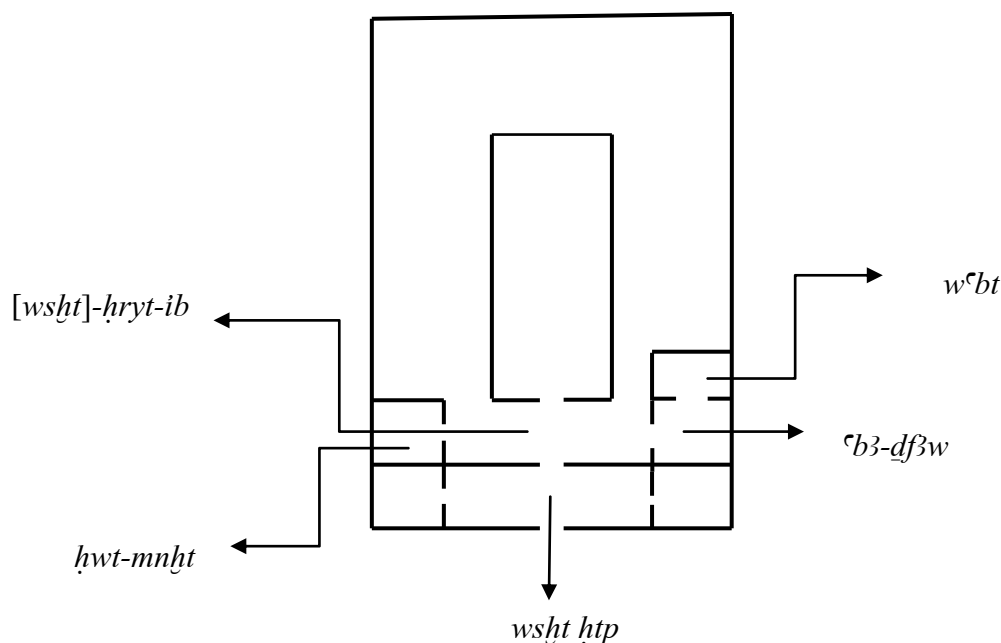


Plate 2.11: A reconstruction of the location of the Central Hall

Table 2.21: Different aspects of the Central Halls

	Book of the Temple	Philae	Edfu	Kom Ombo	Dendera
Dating	Roman Period	Ptolemy II	Ptolemy IV	Ptolemy VI	Cleopatra VII
Designation (s)	[<i>wsht</i>] <i>hryt-ib</i>	<i>Wsht-psdt/wsht htp-n-ntrw</i>	<i>Wsht-hryt-ib/wsht-psdt</i>	---	<i>Wsht-hryt-ib/wsht-psdt</i>
Chamber on the right side	Mansion of Cloth	Treasury	Mansion of Min	Ante-chamber	Mansion of Cloth
Chamber on the left side	<i>ḥb3-df3w</i>	Mansion of Cloth	<i>ḥb3-df3w</i>	Mansion of Min	<i>Pr-ḥd St-nfṛt ḥb3-df3w</i>
Axis	---	North-South	North-South	East-West	South-North
Measurements	---	---	23 cubits- 23 2/3 cubits by 9	---	26 cubits by 10

As noticed from table 2.21, in search for the ideal temple, it seems that the location of the Central Hall of Dendera coincides with the *Book of the Temple* at least theoretically. But in reality none of these temples can be described as an ideal temple compared to the *Book of the Temple*. The *Book of the Temple* seems to have been considered as a general guide book to build a temple for any god. It was “no god’s temple” meaning that it was not created for a specific god. It also gives the headlines but not the details about how the outlines of the building should be set out. Despite the fact that Quack has pointed out the similarity between the description given in the *Book of the Temple* and the plans of the temples of Edfu and Dendera (Quack 2009: 225) there were also differences that should be noted, such as: the *Book of the Temple* mentions four pylons for the temple

(Quack 2002a: 260) and for Edfu only one exists and for Dendera none at all. Such differences may imply a kind of freedom given to the persons responsible for creating the plan of a temple or reflect the possibility of different cultic schools of thought. The term for Central Hall mentioned in the *Book of the Temple* is [*wsht*]? *hryt-ib*? and no other terms used in the other temples are used. The location of the hall on the main axis coincides with the other temples.

The *Book of the Temple* also does not mention the axis of the temple and this might explain the diversity in the axes of the Central Halls which follows the main axis in the studied temples as in the case of Edfu and Philae, the axis is north-south, while at Dendera, it is south-north, and at Kom Ombo, it is east-west. Regarding the axis of the Central Hall of the *3h-mnw* of King Thuthmosis III at Karnak, it is also east-west. Thus the *Book of the Temple* also gives the freedom to the designers to choose the axis however; there must have been a compelling reason for choosing a certain axis which differs from one temple to another. This may coincide with Konrad's opinion that the different axis may reflect different theologies of the temples (2006: 101). Additionally, the book does not specify either the shape or the architecture of the Central Hall, despite the fact that the Central Hall in the four temples has a transversal shape and it does not contain any columns or pillars. The designation of *hryt-ib* is an invention of the Dynastic Period, while the rest of the designations used to refer to the Central Hall including the usage of *Wsht hryt-ib* are confined to the Ptolemaic Period as so far there is no textual evidence that they existed before. Furthermore, the *Book of the Temple* does not mention the measurements according to which the Central Hall should be built.

2.12 Discussion:

As noticed above, in terms of shape, the Central Hall during the Ptolemaic Period was transversal and had neither columns nor pillars. If the hall of King Thuthmosis III should be considered as the antecedent for the hall in question, so it seems that the Central Halls began as a columned hall and ended without columns. It is difficult to find earlier precedents because of the ruined nature of Egyptian temples from the Middle Kingdom and the rarity of divine temples before that time.

In regard to the location, there was a constant main-axis pattern as was located between the Sanctuary and the Hall of Offerings but no constant horizontal-axis pattern can be identified. On the other hand, the architectural development of the hall does not seem to indicate repetition for a certain pattern in its design except for the halls of Edfu and Dendera which are almost identical in their design. This suggests a close relationship between the designers of the two temples.

In the light of the designations used to identify the Central Hall, three types can be identified:

Firstly, designations which reflect the mythology of the temple, such as: *sbḥt-mꜣrt*, *ḥwt-ms-nḥt* in the case of Edfu.

Secondly, designations which reflect a function for the Hall, such as: *wsḥt ḥry šḥmw ntrw*, *st-ḥtp-nt-ntrw-ntrwt*, and *wsḥt psdt* which denotes the liturgical function of the hall according to S. Cauville (1984: 31).

Thirdly, a nomination denotes the location that is *wsḥt ḥryt-ib* and its abbreviated form *ḥryt-ib*. The former nomination was translated as vestibule by S. Cauville and it is located at the entrance of the sanctuary (1984: 31).

Remarkably, there are two almost identical designations for the hall of Edfu *st-ḥtp-n-ntrw-ntrwt* and that of Philae *st-ḥtp-n-ntrw nbw iw-rꜥ*. The former is connected with the gods and goddesses that appear at the beginning of each season with Horus the Behdetite, and the latter is related to the ennead that rests in the hall at certain times.

From the texts of the temples, it appears that the Central Hall is connected to two groups of deities; the first is the Ennead that is represented on the walls of the hall and the second is the co-templar deities whose *Naoi* containing their statues were carried at certain times to reside in the hall. In a sense, the hall is considered as a temporary sanctuary of the co-templar deities of the temples who resided there during certain significant times. This is considered a cultic function of the hall and this is obvious in particular with the hall of the temple of Edfu. In the case of the temple of Dendera two

Enneads are connected to its Central Hall, the *Psdt 3htyt* and *Psdt Ntryt*. In the light of the affordable text, the nature of the Ennead of *Ntryt* is obscure.

Alternatively, the Central Hall of the temple of Philae is completely different from the other halls mentioned above as the plan of the temple itself is different from those of Edfu, Dendera and Kom Ombo. There is no ambulatory or rooms surrounding the sanctuary but two chambers flanking the sanctuary on the same row (Colin 2003: 181). So does this imply that there was only one group of deities in this particular temple as there are no rooms for co-templar gods? The case of the temple of Philae could allow us to presume that while planning the temple the priests had the freedom to decide upon the plan depending upon the temple god and his/her cult.

In regard to the function of the hall during the daily offering service, the designations of the hall do not seem to refer to it. B. Watterson mentioned that some of the offerings were carried to the Central Hall so as to be consumed by the co-templar deities whose statues were kept there (1998: 82). According to D. Arnold the Hall of Offerings, during the Dynastic temples, is the place where the ennead gathers so as to benefit from the food offerings (Arnold 1962: 45). This could imply a change in the function during the Ptolemaic period as the Central Hall encompasses other functions. Such changes also imply changes in religious practice and perhaps hint at economic and social changes between the Dynastic and Ptolemaic periods.

Concerning the earlier theories of the location of the hall, the study reveals that some parts of the above mentioned theories of P. Barguet (1962: 172, footnote 2, 325) and D. Arnold (1999: 306), especially those dealing with the Dynastic period and the Roman period, should be reconsidered. Nevertheless, there is a general agreement on the identification and role of the Central Hall during the Ptolemaic period.

Certain questions arise considering the study of the *Book of the Temple*, in particular why the Egyptians did not follow it literally while building the temples? And, more remarkably, why the temple of Tebtunis for instance, where the book was found in its library, did not follow the *Book of the Temple*? Perhaps because each temple had its own deities and own cult so the architects were trying to design the temple according to

the needs of the cult of a certain deity/s and his/her/their co-templar deities. After all it was a general guide book and nothing seems to imply that it is mandatory. In the case of the temple of Edfu there was a similarity between the measurements of the temple and the first solar temple mentioned by the Cosmogonical Texts as Reymond pointed out that the overall dimension of the enclosure wall of Edfu Temple is similar to that of the first solar temple (1969: 318-319). C. Rossi's interpretation is that the temple of Edfu was built using measurements of the mythological texts whose origin is difficult to establish and that those texts were derived later from the real measurements of the temple in order to create a suitable ancestor for it (2004: 166). B. J. Kemp sees that these measurements could either be used for much earlier temples or were a symbolic number game created by the priests (1989: 101; Finnestad 1997: 196).

Ch.2-Doc.66:

Type: text.

Location: Lower Band of Text-internal face of the enclosure wall-northern wall.

Bibliography: E VI 10, 10; Chassinat 1929: 1; Wildung 1977a: 145; Wildung 1977b: 67, fig. 43; PM VI 165 (324-326); Sethe 1902: 11, 16; Brugsch 1872: 4; Colin 2003:182.



*hw.n.f ḥ3-tp.sn m inb pn r ifdw 4 nn phr-n ifdw 4 mi nty-r šfdw n sšm ḥwt-ntr ir n hry-tp
hry-ḥb Ti-m-ḥtp wr s3-Pth*

“He (King Ptolemy IX) protected around them with this wall on four sides going around the four sides according to the Book of the Planning of the Temple which was made by the chief lector priest, Imhotep, the great, son of Ptah”.

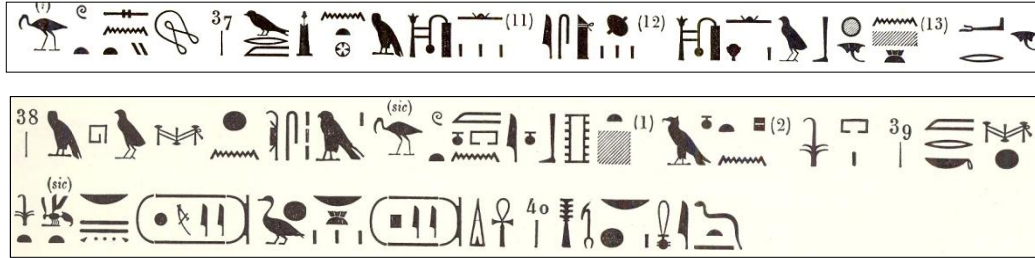
The text implies that the order of the temple was established in antiquity by Imhotep and that the factors of age and semi-divine inspiration for the book granted both protection and authenticity.

Ch.2-Doc.67:

Type: text.

Location: the eastern wall of the western crypt no. 3-temple of Dendera.

Bibliography: D VI 158, 9-159, 3; PM VI 90 (128); Reymond 1977: 32; Cauville 2004: 462-463.



Gm.tw snt wr n Twnt m sšw isw, sš hr wbh n hcr m h3w n šmsw-Hr gm.tw m-hnw Inp m 3tp n pr-nswt m rk nswt-bity, nb t3wy (Mry-R^c), s3-R^c nb h^cw, (Ppi) di nh dd w3s nb mi R^c dt.

“The great foundation ground of Dendera has been found in the ancient records inscribed on a roll of leather from the times of the followers of Horus, found in the interior of the enclosure, in a chest in the royal palace in the times of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands Mery-Re, Son of Re, lord of diadems, Pepi, given life, stability and dominion like Re eternally”.

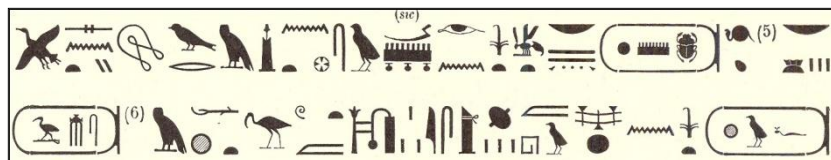
This text ascribes the plan of the temple to the reign of King Pepi I of the 6th Dynasty.

Ch.2-Doc. 68:

Type: text.

Location: the western wall of the western crypt no. 3-temple of Dendera.

Bibliography: D VI 173, 10-11; PM VI 90 (127); Cauville 1999b: 58; Cauville 2004: 480-481.



P3 snt wr m Twnt sm3w mnw iry n nswt-bity, nb t3wy (Mn-hpr-R^c), s3-R^c, nb h^cw (Dhwti-ms) m-ht gm.tw m sšw isw m isw m h3w n nswt (hww).

“The great chart of foundation in Iunet, which renews the monument made by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands, Men-Kheper-Re, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Djhwty-mes before it was found among the ancient documents of the reign of the King Khufu”.

This roll is attributed to the reign of a much earlier king, King Khufu of the 4th Dynasty. Thus, these previous examples imply that the ancient Egyptians might have followed certain books while building the temples. Alternatively, these texts should be considered with much caution since there was a propensity in ancient Egypt to ascribe temples to a much earlier date so as to legitimate it and to prove that it followed an earlier example. The case of the *Book of the Temple* is completely different as nothing is mentioned about ascribing this temple to a particular time, besides the text does not refer to a specific temple but to a temple that can be built anywhere. Moreover, the book was not found in any of the libraries of the temples during the Ptolemaic period. Other questions that could be raised are the identity of the author of the *Book of the Temple* and where it originated. Undoubtedly, a priest or a group of priests, most likely in a House of Life of a major temple, managed to create it but nothing is known about his/their identity. The second question is the one which is difficult to answer. All the copies so far are found in Upper Egypt. Besides, the plans of the temples that resemble the description mentioned in the *Book of the Temple* such as Edfu, Dendera, and Kom Ombo are all located in Upper Egypt. E. Reymond suggests that the book mentioned in Papyrus Vindob has a Memphite origin. Additionally, she pointed to the possibility that such a document with a great importance could not be formulated in a provincial town. This suggestion seems likely, since creating such a document with such a sophisticated content for a temple implies that it was formulated in a large religious and cult centre. In light of the topics investigated in this chapter, it is worth analysing the deities connected with the halls, the offering rituals represented on the walls of the Central Halls, and the festivals during which the hall is used. An in-depth study of the texts in the halls, their contents and indications of function will help to refine the characters of the individual halls and their role within the temple as a nexus for movement, access and ritual performance.

Chapter Three

Ennead and Deities-Epigraphic and Iconographic Evidence

3.1 Introduction

One of the issues that was raised in the second chapter is that there are two groups of deities connected to the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera (see 2.5.4.1). The first group is represented on the walls of the Central Hall and the second group consists of those whose enshrined statues were carried by the priests at certain times, especially during the religious festivals. Thus, the main aims of this chapter are firstly, to study in detail the epigraphic evidence that links the gods and goddesses with the Central Halls in the four studied temples. Secondly, to study the iconographic evidence, that is the deities represented on the walls of these halls to find out if there is a fixed pattern used to decorate the walls of the Central Halls with certain deities. The epithets of the deities are studied to show which exact aspects of the deities are represented. The investigation of the epigraphic evidence and the iconographic evidence will not be restricted only to the Central Halls but will include evidence from other chambers and parts of the temples in order to demonstrate the cosmic links of the Central Halls.

3.2 The Central Hall of Philae:

3.2.1 Ennead- Epigraphic Evidence:

The only text that links the Central Hall of the temple of Philae to deities is Ch.2-Doc.2 that mentions “he (the King) made for her (Isis) the Hall of the Ennead, the Resting Place of all the Gods of Philae” (Bénédict 1893: 52). The text does not specify the deities and has a broad connotation as all the deities of Philae can rest in that place. Additionally, the Central Hall lacks the Upper and Lower Band of text which are found in other temples such as Edfu and Dendera. Last but not least, the temple does not have the inventories which list the deities of the temple, the priests, the festivals and the names of Philae. The question that could be raised is: was there an ennead for the main deity of the temple, Isis? In comparison with the temples of Edfu and Dendera, there should have been an ennead. Corthals suggested that due to the small size of the temple the statues of the ennead were all kept in the sanctuary (2003: 49). Nevertheless, this is a contradictory statement as the sanctuary is small in size. In the middle of the sanctuary there is a sacred bark stand for Isis. The small size of this sanctuary suggests that it was only for Isis. Furthermore, Corthals did not mention those deities or their number. A

better suggestion for the place where the statues were kept is the crypts of the temple. Room (XI) has a small crypt and its opening is at the back wall. Additionally, Room (XII) has another crypt with its opening at the back wall. A third crypt's opening is found in the floor of Room (IX), Chamber of Linen (Coppens 2007: 25). A fourth small one is found in Room (VI) (Lyons 1908: pl. V). As a result the study will focus on the representations of the deities on the walls to analyse which deities were connected to the Central Hall.

3.2.2 Deities-Iconographic Evidence:

3.2.2.1 Isis:

Only two main forms can be recognised (Gutbub 1985: 135-136; Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001: 268). These forms are:

a) Isis, the great one, the god's mother, lady of Philae. The epithets of this form can sometimes be shortened to: "the great one, the god's mother". While in other cases her epithets are extended by adding "who resides in the temple, the foremost of all the southern foreign lands". Furthermore, other variants for Philae's name are used "lady of Mansion of the front". Additionally, the title 'god's mother' disappears and other epithets take its place "lady of the sky, and all the gods". She appears in the following scenes: [Ph-ED-L-W], [Ph-Sw-Es-R1+H], [Ph-Sw-Ws-R3], [Ph-Ww-R3-3], [Ph-Ww-R1+H], [Ph-Nw-Es-R3-1], [Ph-Ew-R3-3], [Ph-Ew-R3-1] and [Ph-Ew-R2-1].

b) Isis, giver of life, lady of Abaton. Sometimes Abaton is replaced by Philae. In other cases, lady of Abaton disappears and other epithets are used "lady of life, mistress of Biggeh". Other epithets were added to her "lady of the sky, mistress of all the gods". This form is depicted in the following scenes: [Ph-Sw-Es-R3], [Ph-Sw-Ws-R1], [Ph-Ww-R3-1], [Ph-Nw-Ws-R3-1], [Ph-Nw-Ws-R2], [Ph-Nw-Ws-R1], [Ph-Nw-Es-R2], [Ph-Nw-Es-R1] and [Ph-Ew-R1+H].

Form (a) is connected with the left side of the temple which conforms mythologically at Philae to the south and the east geographically. Form (b) is connected with the right side

which conforms mythologically with the north and geographically to the west (Gutbub 1985: 135-136; Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001: 268; Coppens 2007: 82).

3.2.2.2 Osiris:

Two main forms of Osiris are distinguished. The first connects him to Abaton as its lord appears in scenes [Ph-Sw-Ws-R3] and [Ph-Sw-Ws-R1]. The second connects him to Nubia and Philae is represented in scenes [Ph-Sw-Es-R3] and [Ph-Sw-Es-R1+H]. One of his aspects of resurrection can be reflected through one of his epithets “causing Hapy the great to come to you at his time”. The appearance of Osiris in the Central Hall is justified as the husband of the main deity of the temple whose tomb on the island of Biggeh was visited so as to be nourished and the rooms on the roof of the temple connects to his festival and resurrection each year in the month of Khoiak.

3.2.2.3 Horus the child:

Horus the child is represented in the following scenes: [Ph-Sw-Es-R3], [Ph-Sw-Ws-R3] and [Ph-Sw-Ws-R1]. According to his epithets, he is geographically connected with two main places i.e. Philae and Abaton which stress upon the mythological connection of the two sites.

3.2.2.4 Nephthys:

Only one form of Nephthys can be recognised from that is the “excellent one of all the gods” [Ph-Sw-Es-R2] and she is connected to Philae. Her primary role is as the chief mourner and sister of Osiris along with Isis. She is needed to complete the family and is an appropriate member of the mourning group.

3.2.2.5 The Aswan Triad

Khnum and Satet are geographically connected to Biggeh while Anukis is linked to Nubia. According to the ‘Book of Knowing the Methods of Existence of Re’ found in Papyrus Bremner Rhind (P. BM 10188) (Möller 1912: 9-10; Valbelle 1981: 44, 141) and the Coffin Texts (Faulkner 1973: 234; Faulkner 1933: 85; CT IV 89 j-90 g; Valbelle

1981: 1-2; 141; Faulkner 1972: 92), Satet takes the role of defending the southern boundaries. Furthermore, the triad is connected with the protection of Osiris whose tomb is on the island of Biggeh where his leg is preserved. Satet is associated with Isis and Anukis is associated with Nephthys (Valbelle 1981: 142). The role of the triad in Philae is best understood in comparison to its role in the temple of Edfu where Satet/Isis and Anukis/Nephthys protect the relic of Osiris that is his leg which is preserved in the Chapel of the Leg at Edfu. In Elephantine and in Philae they also play a role in his funeral (Cauville 1987a: 60; Valbelle 1981: 141). The triad is located on the western side [Ph-Nw-Ws-R3-2] which symbolises Upper Egypt in contrast to the Theban triad represented on the eastern side which symbolises Lower Egypt.

3.2.2.6 The Theban Triad:

The traditional Theban triad is represented in the Central Hall only once [Ph-Nw-Es-R3-2] consisting of Amun-Re, the king of the gods and his consort Mut of Isheru and their son Khonsu of Thebes, Nefer-hotep. Despite the location of the temple in the first nome of Upper Egypt, there was still a place for other long-established and national triads to be introduced into the cult of the temple during the Ptolemaic period. The triad's location is complementary to that of the triad of Aswan.

3.2.2.7 Other Deities connected to the Myth of the Runaway Goddess:

The following deities: Re-Horakhty [Ph-Sw-Ws-R2], Hathor [Ph-Sw-Es-R2], [Ph-Sw-Es-R1], [Ph-Ew-R3-2], [Ph-Ww-R3-2], Tefnut [Ph-Sw-Ws-R2], [Ph-Nw-Es-R2], and Shu [Ph-Sw-Ws-R2] are mainly related to the myth of the runaway goddess which is one of the aspects of Isis in Philae (Junker 1911; Vandier 1949: 66-67; Sternberg-El Hotabi 1985: 224-228; Quack 2002b: 285). The main deities who took part in this myth are represented on the walls of the Central Hall. Each one of these deities is represented only once except for Tefnut who is represented twice and Hathor who is represented four times. Two geographical localities denote where Hathor was worshipped. These are Philae where a temple is dedicated to her on the eastern side of the temple of Isis and the island of Biggeh. She is also a dangerous aspect of the runaway goddess (Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001: 293). All the deities above are connected to Biggeh through the epithet of "who resides in Biggeh". In addition to another epithet of Tefnut "who resides

in Abaton”. Through Thoth’s epithet “who satisfies the flame in Biggeh” his connection to the myth of the runaway goddess is stressed as he was involved in appeasing her so that she would return to Egypt.

3.2.2.8 Meret:

The Meret goddesses are represented on two corresponding scenes in the Central Hall of Philae. One of them is for Meret of the North [Ph-Ww-R2-2] and the other is for Meret of the South [Ph-Ew-R2-2]. In both cases, she is represented in her usual guise of a woman with the plants on her head (Berlandini 1982: col.81).

3.2.2.9 Arsinoe II:

There is a remarkable appearance in scene [Ph-Nw-Es-R1] of the deified Queen Arsinoe II as a co-templar goddess in the temple of Philae, as no other deified kings or queens were represented in any of the studied Central Halls. She is also represented as a deified queen in other temples (Quaegebeur 1971a: 209-217), on other documents such as stelae (Sauneron 1960: 86; Daressy 1904: 125-126, pl. XXXVIII; Winter 1978: 149-152; Sauneron 1960: 83-109; Quaegebeur 1985: 76; Spiegelberg 1904: 38-39, CGC 31104, pl.VII; Albersmeier & Minas 1998: 3-29) from *Taposiris Magna (Abu Sir)* (Hodjash & Berlev 1982: 184-186; Chauveau 1988: 77, fig. 33), from *Timai el-Amadid* (Kamel 1966: 27, pls. I-II; Kamal 1904: 183-187), from Tanis (Petrie 1885: 31-32, pl. XV, 2) showing her as the focus of a cult.

Arsinoe II is represented as a deified queen in the temple of Philae in another four scenes. She is depicted alone as in Chamber V and together with Isis as in Chambers I and X where she is represented twice (Žabkar 1988: 12). Almost similar to the guise of Isis, Arsinoe is represented in female form wearing a long garment, and holding the *w3d*-scepter in one hand and the *ʿnh*-sign in the other. Her crown consists of the red crown of Lower Egypt, the Hathoric crown and the two feathers with a sun disc. Beneath the crown is the vulture headdress surmounted with two horns. She is the only deity who wears this crown with horns (Vassilika 1989: 94, footnote 34; Dils 1998: 1308).

Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II were worshipped as “*Theoi Adelphoi*” probably before her death (Quaegebeur 1989: 95). Ptolemy II established a separate Hellenistic cult for Arsinoe II after her death and she was worshipped under the name of “*Arsinoe Philadelphus*” meaning “the Brother loving” (Jouget 1944: 60; Bell 1953: 22-23). After the death of Arsinoe II, Ptolemy II issued a decree in 270 BC, which was, recorded on the *Mendes Stele* (CGC 22181; Kamal 1904; Urk. II 40, 8-10; Minas 1994: 209). According to that decree her statue was placed in the Egyptian temples side by side with other deities. She was a temple sharing goddess “*Synnaos Theos*” as called by the Greeks (Quaegebeur 1971b: 242; Quaegebeur 1988: 45, fig.15; Thompson 1988: 127; Fraser 1972: 218; Hölbl 2001: 101).

According to the so-called revenue laws, Ptolemy II issued a decree in 263 BC stating that one sixth of the tax called “*Apomoira*” was used for the cult of Arsinoe II, and the government was responsible for collecting this tax (Hölbl 2001: 103; Bouché-Leclercq 1903: 223-224; Grenfell 1896: XXIX; Préaux 1939: 171; Tondriau 1950: 290; Chauveau 1992: 148; Macurdy 1932: 128; Walbank 1936: 214; Muhs 1998: 83). Additionally, a festival called “*Arsinoeia*” was celebrated in Alexandria and Fayum. It was held in the month of *Mesore* after Arsinoe’s death (Fraser 1972: 232). Her cult centres were all over Egypt: in Alexandria (Wace, Megaw & Skeat 1959: 13; Blomfield 1905: 41-45; Neroutsos 1888: 89) Faiyum (Stark 1897: 13; Bell 1948: 85; Kiessling 1933: 544-546; Bernand 1981: 70-72; Taubenschlag 1948: 7) in Memphis (Thompson 1988: 127, 131; Quaegebeur 1971b: 239-270) and a temple was erected in a port called Arsinoe which was situated at the northern end of the Red Sea (Naville 1902/03: 66-75). She was identified with many deities especially Isis as found on a limestone statuette preserved in the Metropolitan Museum (No. 20.2.21) (Corsu 1978: 28-29). She was also worshipped as Aphrodite in Cape Zephyrion near Canopus and was considered the protectress of sailors (Bevan 1927: 129; Macurdy 1932: 126).

As a goddess, a special priestess was appointed for her cult in Alexandria. She bore the title of “*Kanephores*” (Minas 1998: 43-60; Minas 2000: 93-96) and was introduced in the dating formula of the official documents together with the priest of Alexander, and the *Theoi Adelphoi* since 266 B.C onwards (Jouget 1944: 61; Thompson 1988:126; Bouché-Leclercq 1903: 235; Glanville & Skeat 1954: 46-57; Otto 1905: 185-190). L. Žabkar postulates that the deification of Arsinoe II in the temple of Philae was

undoubtedly carried out through cooperation or at least a compromise with the priests of Philae (1988: 12). Arsinoe II died in 270 BC (Minas 1994: 207-209) and it seems that the process of her deification in Philae took place after that date.

After analysing the deities represented on the walls of the Central Hall of Philae, it can be deduced that Isis is the most represented deity at Philae along with her consort Osiris and their son Horus together with other deities. The focus at Philae is much narrower with most of the deities displaying less diversity in their epithets and thus their roles are less defined than at Edfu and Dendera. It may be that the Central Hall is regarded as a much less dynamic space in the temple of Philae because the theological basis has not been formulated in the House of Life.

The epithets of the deities represented in the Central Hall of Philae connect them to two principal geographical sites i.e. Philae and Biggeh in addition to the Abaton- the tomb of Osiris on the island of Biggeh. The epithets are very limited in comparison to the deities of Edfu and Dendera and reflect the distinctive aspects of the temple as being the sacred space of the Osiris tomb and sanctuary of Isis. The main importance may be connected with the emergence of the Nile flood from the caverns at Philae. The Central Hall in this respect would have very little to do with this central theological aspect and would only function as a minor mirror of the central importance of the temple, hence the lack of diversity and subtlety. The presence of Arsinoe may also suggest that this space could be devoted to deified royalty without affecting the underlying function of the Central Hall and thus its relative flexibility in the accommodation of cults. Naoum (2008: 104) suggested that, based on the disappearance of Arsinoe II from the hymns dedicated to Isis, the temple of Isis does not indicate any information about the divinization of the Queen. This suggestion does not take into consideration the number of representations of the Queen in the temple and their location in the temple.

3.3 The Central Hall of Edfu:

3.3.1 Ennead-Epigraphic Evidence:

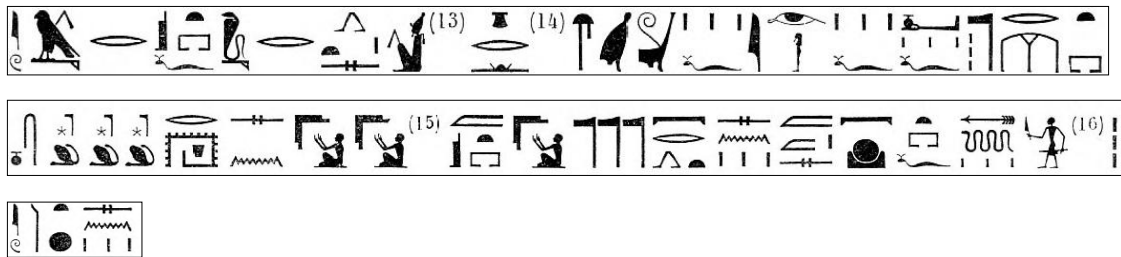
According to the texts of the temple of Edfu the Central Hall is connected with a group of deities which have been identified as an ennead. The following textual evidence reflects that fact.

Ch.3-Doc.1:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the eastern external face-the enclosure wall of the temple.

Bibliography: E VII 12, 5-6; PM VII 168; De Wit 1961b: 301; Finnestad 1985: 105; Kurth 2004: 15.



iw ntr r st.f ntrt r-nmtt.s nswt hr hpwt.f irw.f hnkwt.f ntrw r sh.sn Psdt r wsht.sn imn imn m St-imnt ntrw pt r nmtt.sn m gs-hri 3ht.f Šsrw r wnw.t.sn

“The god (Horus) is at his place, the goddess (Hathor) is at her station, the king wears his crown, (performs) his service and (brings) his offerings, the gods are in their chapels, the ennead is in their hall, the hidden one (Osiris) is hidden in the hidden place, the gods of the sky are in their station, upper part of his horizon, the Sheseru are at their time”.

It is remarkable that the text refers to the ennead with a plural pronoun despite the fact that it is considered to be a singular collective (Baines 1985: 32) which is a rare example of that usage. The text is part of the Dedicatory Inscription inscribed on the external face of the enclosure wall. Despite the fact that the text does not specify the ennead or the hall, it provides a basic statement about the main deities required in the temple and their location in order to maintain the order of the temple. Additionally, this

text might denote that there is an ennead in the Central Hall while at the same time the co-templar or subsidiary gods are in their chapels. Thus, this could imply that the ennead connected with the hall differs from the co-templar gods. This could also recall the case of the temple of Dendera where the statues of the deities carried from the crypts participated in the festivals of the temples rather than those found in the chapels of the temple.

This text is a bit problematic as it neither specifies which hall is meant where the ennead resides nor which ennead. Taking into consideration that the other Chamber of Mesen was never called or referred to in the text of the temple of Edfu as *wsht*, this text seems to point to the Central Hall.

Ch.3-Doc.2:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text- the western wall of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: E I 368, 12-13; PM VI 143; Alliot 1949: 431.



tit dsrt n hry-st-wrt.f Hr ht irw hr s3wy.s hn^c ntrw ntyw h^cw hn^c.f tp-tr nb nt hb.f

“The sacred image of him who is upon his great throne, Horus, is engraved upon its walls with the gods who appear together with him, at each season of his festival”.

The text shows that the deities represented on the walls of the Central Hall together with Horus, the main deity of the temple, were those who appear with him during the religious festivals celebrated in the temple. Thus, some of the deities represented on the walls of the Central Hall could have been those whose statues were brought enshrined in their portable chapels to participate in different religious festivals. The question that is raised is who are these deities? This will be answered in the following part.

3.3.1.1 Ennead of Mesen:

According to the text of the temple of Edfu, there are a number of enneads associated with the temple. These enneads are: *Psdt imyt Bhd* (E I 491, 1; E III 347, 11), *Psdt 3t*

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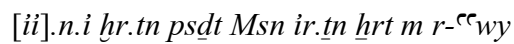


Table 3.1: Ennead of Mesen

The Ennead of Mesen comprises six deities (table 3.1). The appearance of the first three deities of the Ennead of Mesen can be justified as the triad of the Temple of Edfu. The fourth deity is a member of the triad of Dendera and a son of Hathor. The existence of the fifth and the sixth members are difficult to elucidate. Additionally, after analysing the scenes inside the Central Hall, it is deduced that Shu is the only member of the Ennead of Mesen who was not represented in the ritual offerings on the walls of the Central Hall.

After investigating the representation of the Ennead of Mesen, three points should be stressed. Firstly, they are six deities. It is not a rule that every Ennead should consist of nine deities. The Ennead of Abydos consists of seven gods (Brunner 1982: col. 475). Additionally, Reymond showed after investigating the different enneads at the temple of Edfu that the word *Psdt* is used to describe a company of the gods who were associated with another god who is believed to be their progenitor (1963: 62-63). Cauville supports this opinion as she defines the term *Psdt* as not the ennead but the divine entourage of the goddess in the case of Hathor of Dendera (1993:170). Furthermore, Goyon believes that this term “ennead” could be a synonym of “corporation de dieux” or “college divine” (1985: 470). What can support this opinion is a group of deities together with a fecundity figure depicted on the base of a statue of Senusert I and they are referred to as *Psdt* and hence, this term seems to denote multiplicity (Baines 1985: 134-135, 214, endnote a). Furthermore, W. Barta points out that inside each temple more than one ennead was represented having different numbers (1973: 65-72).

Secondly, after inspecting the scenes inside the hall in question, it seems that Shu is the only member of the Ennead of Mesen who was not represented in the ritual offerings on the walls of the Central Hall. Despite that fact, his name is mentioned several times in the texts of the hall but without a representation (E I 359, 14; E I 360, 21). Although the cartouche of the king is damaged, it is certain that the external eastern face of the girdle wall is ascribed to Ptolemy X Alexander I (Cauville & Devauchelle 1984a:45; Egberts 1987: 60).

The decoration and the execution of the scenes and the texts of the walls of the Central Hall were the work of the reign of King Ptolemy IV. This could imply a change in the members of the ennead over time. Barta showed that the same ennead can have different members (1973: 65-73). L. Gabolde also called attention to the case of the Ennead of Karnak that had different members over time (2005: 67).

Thirdly, the question that could be raised is whether the space of the lintel on which the scene was executed has influenced the representations of the members of the ennead. In other words, there may have originally been nine members of the Ennead of Mesen, but only space to represent six of them-a hypothesis that should not be excluded. It is important to investigate the Ennead of Mesen in order to establish a better

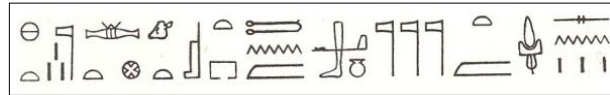
understanding of its identity and reveal its role in the temple. Thus, the following survey lists all the occurrences of that ennead in the texts of the temple of Edfu.

Ch.3-Doc.5:

Type: text.

Location: the exterior face of the northern doorjamb of the door of the Chapel of the Throne of Re.

Bibliography: E I 282, 11-12; PM VI 152 (239); Ibrahim 1975: 32.



Psdt Msn hnt st tn m-^cn ntrw tm 3b.sn

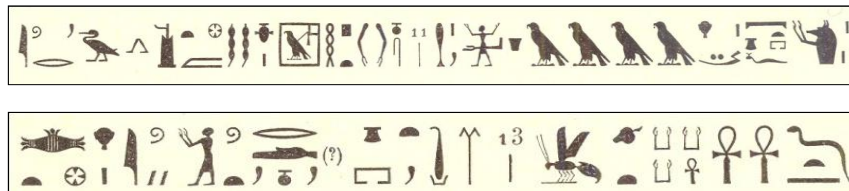
“The Ennead of Mesen is in this place together with the gods without ending”.

Ch.3-Doc.6:

Type: text.

Location: the first register of the western wall of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: E IV 50, 7-8; PM VI 156 (291)-(292), (293)-(294).



*iw.fr ^ck Wtst m ndm-ib Hwt-bik hpt.n.s hm.f h^c Hr-Hrw hr m33 hry-nst.f Psdt Msn hr
i3wt r tfn.f nst.f mn.ti m bity hnt k3w ^cn^hw dt*

“He will enter Edfu with happiness and the Mansion of the Falcon, it embraces his majesty.

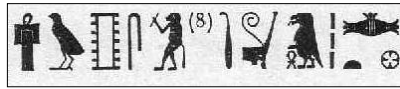
The Horus of Horuses rejoices at seeing the one who is upon his throne. The Ennead of Mesen praises so that he rejoices (on) his throne, established as king before the *kas* of the living eternally”.

Ch.3-Doc.7:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the eastern wall of the Court (H’).

Bibliography: E V 6, 5; PM VI 127.



s3wy.s sphr.ti n Psdt Msn

“Its enclosure wall is inscribed with the Ennead of Mesen”.

Document Ch.3-Doc.7 illustrates that the Ennead of Mesen also appears on the enclosure wall of the temple.

Ch.3-Doc.8:

Type: text.

Location: the internal face of the northern doorjamb of the south east passage (H'-J').

Bibliography: E V 336, 14; PM VI 127 (53).



h' ib.f m m33.s Psdt Msn hr ir n.s i3w

“His heart rejoices at seeing her, the Ennead of Mesen making praises for her”.

This document Ch.3-Doc.8 could refer to the procession of Hathor of Dendera when she arrives annually from her journey to the temple of Edfu during the festival of the happy union and the festival of Behdet. Fairman (1958a: 92) and following him Barguet (1980: 9) showed that this gate, located on the south east of the enclosure wall, is the one that was used by Hathor to enter the temple.

Ch.3-Doc.9:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the eastern external face of the enclosure wall.

Bibliography: E VII 13, 2; PM VI 168; Alliot 1949: 314; Kurth 2004: 16; Baum 2007: 33, 41.



s3t.s sš.ti n Psdt Msn

“Its (Chapel of Mesen) walls are inscribed with the Ennead of Mesen”.

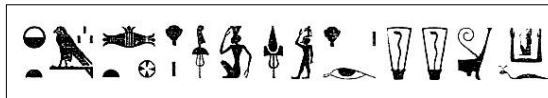
Document Ch.3-Doc.9 demonstrates that as in the case of the Central Hall, the walls of the Chamber of Mesen are decorated with the Ennead of Mesen. Hence, an investigation of the deities depicted on the walls of the Mesen chamber is important.

Ch.3-Doc.10:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the western external face of the enclosure wall of the temple.

Bibliography: E VII 21, 8-9; PM VI 166; Kurth 2004: 33-34.



Psdt Msn hr wnmy.f i3by.f hr ir(t) itryt n k3.f

“The Ennead of Mesen is on his right and his left, surrounding his ka (Horus)”

Ch.3-Doc.11:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the western external face of the enclosure wall of the temple.

Bibliography: E VII 24, 2; PM VI 166; Kurth 2004: 41.



Psdt Msn m-itrty hm.f hr ir s3.f w3m mkt.[f]

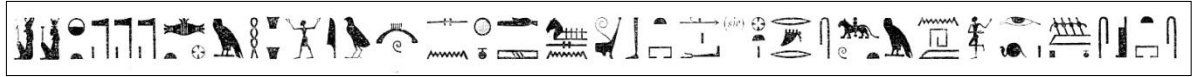
“The Ennead of Mesen is around his majesty (the king) to do his protection and repeating his protection”.

Ch.3-Doc.12:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the eastern external face of the enclosure wall.

Bibliography: E VII 26, 8; PM VI 168; Kurth 2004: 47.



*Hr Bḥdt Hwt-Hr Psdt Msn m ḥꜥw(t) r-3w.sn ḥntš.sn n bw-wꜥ niwt r-dr.s phr.ti m nhm
irt-Rꜥ šsp.n.s st.s*

“Horus the Behdetite, Hathor, the Ennead of Mesen are rejoicing all of them, they rejoice together, the whole city goes around the eye of Re (Hathor) rejoicing, (for) she has received her seat”.

Ch.3-Doc.9 mentions that the Ennead of Mesen is represented on the walls of the Central Hall of the temple of Edfu, while Ch.3-Doc.10 and Ch.3-Doc.11 have the remarkable information that the Ennead of Mesen goes with Horus the Behdetite to the roof of the temple during the festival of the New Year. This recalls the case of the Ennead of Dendera in temple of Dendera (see 3.6.1.1).

Ch.3-Doc.13:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the eastern external face of the enclosure wall,

Bibliography: E VII 27, 2; PM VI 168; Kurth 2004: 48.



Psdt Msn wnn.sn im

“The Ennead of Mesen, they exist there”.

This text refers to the festival celebrated on the 18th day of the month of *Paophi*. The *mammisi* of the temple is involved in the procession and Horus is there with the Ennead of Mesen and the *Segemeh*-spear (Kurth 2004: 47-48).

Ch.3-Doc.14:

Type: text accompanying the deities of an offering scene.

Location: the second register of the eastern external face of the enclosure wall.

Description of the scene: the King is represented offering to Geb and Nut.

Bibliography: E VII 290, 7; E X, pl. CLXXVI; PM VI 167 (337)-(344); Kurth 2004: 547.



Wnn sr wr wbn.ti m Wtst m tnr hnt [wr]-nht [hr.. .. hr] ḥ(t) ib.f hr irt 3ht n Psdt Msn

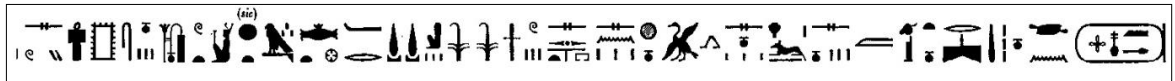
“The great official appears in Edfu as the strong one in [great] strength [to.....to] rejoice his heart to present the offering for the Ennead of Mesen”.

Ch.3-Doc.15:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the western tower of the pylon of the temple. It dates to the reign of Ptolemy XII.

Bibliography: E VIII 112, 4; PM VI 122 (3)-(4); Kurth 1998: 201.



s3wt.sn sš.ti n Psdt Msn hṇ D3d3t nn imyw šhm.sn hni.sn hr sš3.sn m-hnti st tn r wḍ mdw n iẉw n (Wnn-nfr-m3̣-hrw).

“Their walls are inscribed with the Ennead of Mesen together with this council who is inside their chapels. They alight upon their secret forms, before this place to judge the words of the heir of Wenn-nefer, the victorious”.

This Ch.3-Doc.15 describes the representations on the pylon of Edfu which is inscribed with the Ennead of Mesen. Taking into consideration Ch.3-Doc.9 which states the same about the walls of the Chapel of Mesen, in addition to document Ch.3-Doc.7 which mentions the same about the Enclosure Wall and a fourth document Ch.2-Doc.63 about the ennead of Ihy in the Central Hall of the Roman *Mammisi* of Dendera, one should also consider whether these are stereotyped texts and suspect whether these texts could have been formulated in order to give these parts of the temples legitimacy. Accordingly, the similar case of Dendera can be justified. Remarkably, another text, dating to Ptolemy XII, inscribed on the first Pylon of Philae, states: *s3wt.sn sš.ti m psdt n(t) sp3t tn* “their walls are inscribed with the ennead of this nome” (Junker 1958: 90,

18-19; Traunecker 1991:84). With the last text, it seems that the former suggestion is solid enough to consider. Furthermore, another text in the temple of Edfu reads: *Ddw Tpyw-ꜥ Psdt n(t) spꜣt hr sꜣt nbt* “the *Ddw*-ancestors, the *Tpyw-ꜥ* ancestors and the Ennead of this nome are on every wall” (E VII 15, 3-4; De Wit 1961b:306-307; Goyon 1985: 487; Kurth 2004: 20), despite the fact that the latter text denotes the idea of protection by these ancestors (Goyon 1985: 487), which might also be the case with the previous mentioned cases.

According to the documents above, the Ennead of Mesen was said to be represented in different places such as the Enclosure Wall, the Chapel of Mesen, the Pylon and the Central Hall. Their presence in these places emphasises the idea that the ennead was not exclusively connected to the Central Hall. Among their functions was the protection of Horus of Behdet and attending the festivals of the temple such as the festival of the Sacred Marriage and the Festival of Behdet during which they celebrate Hathor’s arrival. The ennead also praises the king. This general role of protectors or the entourage of the god and supporter of the king suggests that they were intended to facilitate the festivals and maintain the order around the main temple god. Baum mentioned that the Ennead of Mesen includes the deities of Mesen of the North and Edfu (Baum 2007: 41). She did not specify the members of the ennead in question. As an attempt to investigate whether the Ennead of Mesen exist on the walls the Chamber of Mesen, the deities represented on its walls do not include the Ennead of Mesen as a group as in document Ch.3-Doc.4 nor was Shu ever represented on its walls as in the case of the Central Hall (E I 227-225).

All the above investigated documents mention nothing about the deities who followed the main god of the temple during the festivals. The walls of the eastern and the western staircases of the temple which lead to the roof of the temple are covered with the reliefs of the processions of deities and may indicate the members of the group of deities whose statues were brought in their portable chapels to be kept in the Central Hall and then followed Horus to the roof.

3.3.1.2 Two Enneads from the Western Staircase Processions:

There are two processions of priests represented on both walls of the western staircase heading towards the temple. Both processions were depicted during the reign of King Ptolemy VIII (E I 539, 17-19; E I 544, 4-6).

3.3.1.2.1 First Ennead:

The scenes on the western wall of the western staircase show a procession of priests going down the stairs (plates 3.2-3.3). Nine of them are depicted carrying the portable chapels of the deities following the *Naos* of the main deity of the temple, Horus the Behdetite. Hence, the study of the deities represented on the walls of the Central Hall may help in understanding which deities were carried out in their portable *Naoi* to the Central Hall.

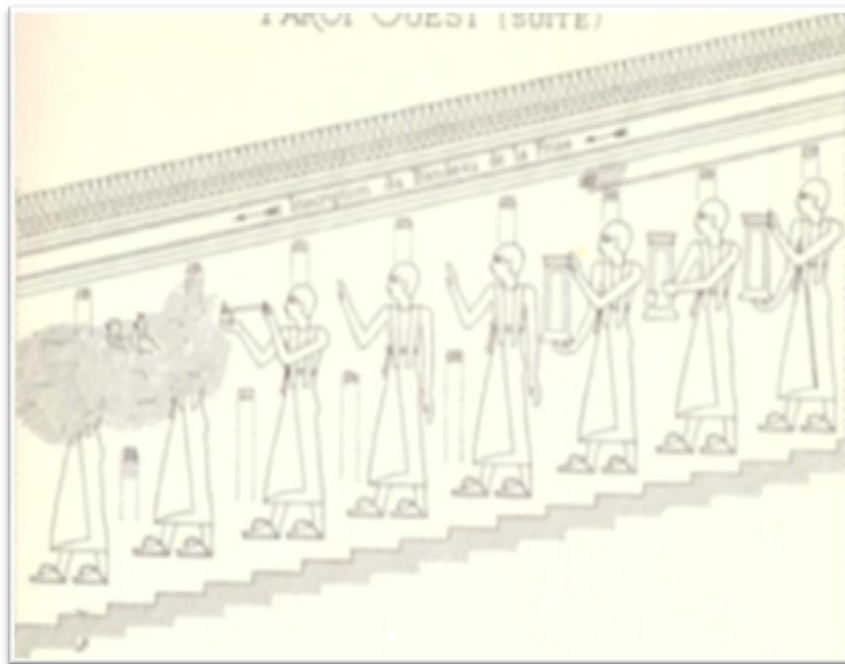


Plate 3.2: Western staircase-western wall. After E IX, pl. XXXVII c.



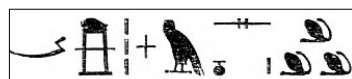
Plate 3.3: Western staircase-western wall. After E IX, pl. XXXVIIc.

Ch.3-Doc.16:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the eastern external face of the enclosure wall of the temple.

Bibliography: E VII 15, 9; PM VI 168; De Wit 1961b: 308; Alliot 1949: 45; Cauville 1983: 88; Kurth 2004: 21; Konrad 2006: 94.



g3ywt imy(wt).s nw(t) ntrw

“The portable chapels of the gods are in it (Central Hall)”.

Ch.3-Doc.16 implies that the portable chapels contain the statues of the co-templar deities who were in the Central Hall. Neither the number of these deities nor their identity was revealed. The matter becomes more complicated if the scenes of the deities represented on the walls of the eastern staircase of the temple of Edfu are compared with those of the western wall of the western staircase.

According to this text, a function of the Central Hall can be deduced as being the place which hosts the portable chapels of the deities. This text can raise several questions, on which occasions were these chapels placed there and for how long were they kept? Additionally, the deities mentioned in the text are not named. This text might imply that they were placed there during the festivals, some of which took place in the Central Hall. They were only following the main deity of the temple during the festivals processions in the Central Hall.

Regarding S. Cauville's opinion that: "c'est là que les barques de l'assemblée divine (appelée enneade même si les dieux ne sont pas neuf) étaient entreposées pendant que celles d'Horus et d'Hathor faisaient le objet d'un rituel dans la petite cour située immédiatement à droite de la salle" (1984: 31). This suggestion does not coincide with the texts which mention that the portable chapels of the deities were carried to the Central Halls and not the sacred boats. Furthermore, the scenes on the western wall (see 3.3.1.2.1) of the western staircase show the portable chapels of the ennead which are supposed to contain the statues of the deities following the *Naos* of Horus the Behdetite and not in sacred barks. Thus, the epigraphic and the iconographic evidence coincide to prove that point.

Additionally, these *Naoi* are similar to the nine chapels carried by the priests represented descending on the western wall of the western staircase (Alliot 1949: 99; E I 541, 5-12; E IX, pl. XXXVIIc). S. Cauville notes that the principal deities of the chapels around the sanctuary who had their portable *Naoi* in the Central Hall were represented on the walls of the Central Hall (1983: 88; 1987a: 84-86). She mentioned a large number of deities which exceeds the nine *Naoi* carried by the priests (1987a: 85-86).

According to H. W. Fairman (1954: 169-170) and following him B. Watterson (1998:70) and J. Assmann (2001: 31), this is the Central Hall in which the statues of the co-templar gods and goddesses were housed, each in its own portable shrine. This could interpret the reason behind naming the Central Hall as the Hall of the Ennead.

3.3.1.2.2 Second Ennead:

Another nine portable chapels were probably represented on the eastern wall of the western staircase but are now destroyed. All that can still be seen are the lower parts of the legs and the feet of seven priests following the *Naos* of Hathor in the procession (plate 3.4). Only the *Naos* of Hathor, lady of Dendera remains (E I 544,17-18; E IX, pl. XXXVII e). Alliot suggested that the nine *Naos* of the deities on both walls of the western staircase probably represent the Great and the Small Ennead (1949: 403), although there is no evidence for this assertion. It is evident that the nine chapels are not the same ones represented on the western wall of the staircase as they follow Hathor and not Horus. In light of the lack of any conclusive evidence as the remaining blocks show only the feet of the priests, other hypotheses should not be excluded, for example the possibility that there was no ennead and that the priests were carrying other objects such as staffs or emblems.

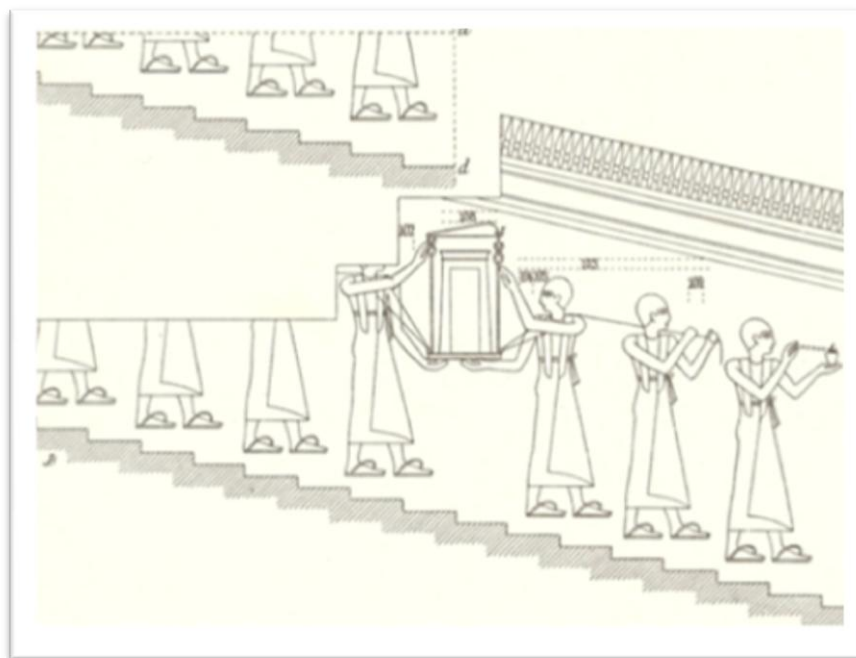


Plate 3.4: Western staircase-eastern wall. After E IX, pl. XXXVII e.

3.3.1. 3 Deities of the Eastern Staircase:

Two processions of deities are represented on both sides of the walls of the eastern staircase of Edfu. There are fifteen deities depicted on the right side of the eastern staircase (E I 560-562) while there are twenty four deities represented on the left side (E 571-575).

Alliot noted that of the thirty nine deities mentioned above, there are eighteen different forms of Horus depicted in the procession (1949: 409) and suggested that the first six deities on each side, as well as deities no. 7 on the left side and no. 8 on the right side are the lords of the temples (1949: 403-405). Furthermore, he postulated that the remaining twenty deities on both sides are the ennead of the temple, except for the last deity no. 15 on the right side (1949: 405-409). This suggestion lacks the textual evidence to prove it.

Another analysis of the procession was put forward by Cauville (1987a: 234-235) who suggested that it consisted of specific groups of gods who could be linked by their functions. This analysis is mostly based upon an attempt to group the deities geographically according to regions and nomes as well as theological houses. It may go to suggest the total control by Horus of Egypt in both a regional and theological manner.

Another analysis was proposed by Corthals, who showed that there is a connection between some of the deities and the chapels on both sides of the Mesen chapel. The gods represented on the right side seem to be associated with the eastern wall of Mesen, that is, with the gods of the Khonsu Chapels (2003: 219), while on the left side the gods seem to be associated with the western side of the Mesen, that is the chapels of Sokar (2003: 220; 2005: 216-217). This suggestion seems unlikely, and cannot be taken as a model because some of the deities are not connected with the chapels mentioned. For example, Nekhbet, the White One is mentioned among the principal deities of the Chapel of Mehyt (on the right side) (1983: 81; E I 301). Additionally, Horus *p3-hrd* is depicted on the left side and mentioned among the deities of the *hwt-sbkt* “Mansion of the Leg” on the right side of Mesen (Cauville 1987a: 63; E II 23-24). Moreover, Amun *p3-dr* is mentioned among the deities of the *hwt mnht* “Mansion of the Cloth” (Cauville

1987a: 44; E II 25, No. 192; Vernus 1979:465) and in the duplication of the same list inscribed in Dendera as well (D IX 39, 5).

It is better to look for an alternative explanation for the two groups of deities of the eastern staircase (Cauville 1987a: 234). A possibility is suggested by the two inventories of deities from the temple of Edfu (Cauville 1987a: 212, fig. 59). The first runs upon the two external doorjambs of the door of the Central Hall (E I 358-359). The second inventory is found in the outer court, on the third door on the eastern side (E V 395-397). It is noticeable that the second list is longer and mentions more deities. Due to the loss of part of the second list, all of the deities cannot be revealed. Cauville noted that the deities of these two inventories are represented on the eastern staircase (1988: 9, footnote 11). The former inventory is the older as it dates to the reign of Ptolemy IV, while the latter, despite the empty cartouches, dates to the reign of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos Auletes (Cauville & Devauchelle 1984: 45). This could imply a change in the inventory to encompass more deities or that the status of some of the deities increased to the extent that they were included later. Such changes may be due to religious reasons. These inventories are very important as a religious source as they consist of the deities of great importance in the temple only as in the case of Edfu, or the ennead of the temple as in the case of Dendera or deities belonging to the two triads as in the case of Kom Ombo.

After investigating the scenes of the processions of both staircases, several points should be stressed. Despite the disappearance of some of the chapels carried by the priests on the western wall of the western staircase (only four can still be seen), there were nine in number originally, the traditional and orthodox number of the Ennead in ancient Egypt (Corthals 2003: 215). Unlike the temple of Dendera, the names of the deities inside the shrines are not mentioned. Only the titles of the priests surmounted the chapels (E I 541, 11-13; E IX pl. XXXVIIc), perhaps suggesting that this representation was important in identifying the people who took part in the procession rather than the gods or this was intentionally planned to keep the identities of the members of the ennead unrevealed. Additionally, the statues are not represented as well and accordingly, their identity is not known. A close observation of the size of the chapels in comparison to the size of the priests carrying them shows that they are small and thus easily carried. Alliot suggested that they were made of a light material such as wood

(1949: 99). Furthermore, the way that some of the priests are holding the chapels from their sides could suggest that the double door at the front was open, displaying the image, while the back of the shrine remained against the body of the priest. The main difference between the scenes of the procession of the eastern and the western staircase is that those of the eastern side represent a parade of deities in human form or animal-headed form ascending the staircase and following the *Naos* of the main god of the temple during the festival of the New Year. Thus, there are no priests represented carrying the portable chapels of the deities. On the contrary, the scenes of the western wall of the western staircase represent an actual part of the festival when it comes to an end and the priests carry the portable chapels of the deities who participated in the festival to their original place downstairs inside the temple. Additionally, one might expect that the group of deities, which ascends the eastern staircase, is identical to those who are depicted descending on the western wall of the western staircase. They are quite different in terms of number (39 as opposed to 9 deities) and probably in identity. Thus, the former represents an ideal, fantasy and supra-mundane procession as the gods are envisaged as spirits accompanying the procession while the latter represents the actual procession at the end of a religious festival. This could coincide with Alliot's suggestion that those of the western wall of the western staircase are symbolic (1949: 403). Within the affordable information, the identity of the members of the ennead of the western staircase will remain anonymous.

3.3.1.4 The Pantheon of Edfu:

This is a term used by Cauville to identify a group of deities from the temple of Edfu that appears several times in the temple of Dendera (1988: 7-23) and following her Preys (2006a: 365). Both are using this term to refer to the Ennead of Edfu which consists of eleven deities: four forms of Horus, Hathor, Horus-sema-tawy, Ihy, Hathor Ta-menit, Osiris, Isis-*ḥddt* and Horus of Tharou (Cauville 1988: 7-23; Preys 2006a: 365). Several points should be taken into consideration. By comparing the Pantheon/Ennead of Edfu with the two groups of deities on the eastern staircase, it turns out that some of them are mentioned while others are not such as Isis-*ḥddt* and Horus of Tharu.

Additionally, the number of the deities of this Pantheon is eleven while there are nine portable chapels on the western wall of the western staircase and there are six deities in the Ennead of Mesen. Remarkably, the Pantheon of Edfu is represented several times in the temple of Dendera and is never represented in the temple of Edfu as a group as in Dendera (table 3.2). Since they appear in corresponding scenes in Dendera with the Ennead of Dendera (Cauville 2009: 94), this might denote that this Pantheon was introduced into the mythology of the temple of Dendera so as to make an equilibrium with the Ennead of Dendera in the temple. Another suggestion is this Ennead of Edfu appeared after the temple of Edfu had been built and thus this ennead appears in Dendera only and that is why it never appeared in Edfu. The pantheon appears in the following instances:

1) The first group appears on the western crypt no. 3 of the temple of Dendera (D VI, 170-173, pl. DLXXIX; Cauville 2004:476-481; Preys 2006a: 356). It consists of eleven deities, and is illustrated in the texts as *nswt-bityw ntrw wrw šspw špsw hnt Wtst* “Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, the great gods, the august images in Edfu”.

2) The second group of nine deities, which appears in the southern crypt no. 4 of the temple of Dendera (D VI 59-60; Cauville 2004: 333-335), is described as: *šhmw m St-wrt* “the cult images (statues) in Edfu” (Wilson 1997: 903). Two members of the first group do not appear i.e. Ihy and Horus of Mesen. Cauville translates it as “les Puissances” (1998: 85, 111; 2000: 601) and Leitz interprets it as “Mächten” (2001: 125-126). Gutbub pointed out that *šhmw* is the usual word used to designate the specific deities of a place (1964: 45-45), while Reynders prefers to use the basic translation i.e. “divine incarnation” or “divine appearance” (1998: 1021; Wb. I, 244-245). As for Meeks they are “image” or “manifestation divine” (Meeks 1977: No. 77.3799; Meeks 1978: No. 78.3756; Meeks 1979: No. 79.2726) or even “image divine” (Meeks 1978: No. 78.3757). As for the whole term, Gutbub prefers to translate it as “dieux parèdres” (1964: 46; 1973:269 c). Jelinková points out that they are two separate words i.e. *šhmw* which is used to refer to the creative powers and *ntrw* which seems to be another epithet used in apposition to *šhmw* and means the “divinised ones” (1962: 45,l). As for Hornung, he points out that during the New Kingdom this word which had two interchangeable meanings “image/power” and tends, during the Greco-Roman texts, to mean either an image of a god in two dimensions i.e. “relief” or three dimensions i.e.

“statue” (Hornung 1967: 137-139). Additionally, the ‘Images/powers’ have the epithet of *ḏdw wrw nw Nst-Rʿ* “the great ancestors of the Throne of Re”. Compared to the first group, two deities are omitted i.e. “Ihy, the great, son of Hathor” and “Horus, lord of Mesen, the great god, lord of the sky, lord of Tharu”. Thus, there is a debate among the scholars. One team believes that this is an epithet for a group of deities while the other one believes that it means statues of the deities.

3) The third group of the eastern wall of the sanctuary of Dendera (D I 51-53; Cauville 1998: 85) consists of six deities: two forms of Horus the Behdetite, Hathor, lady of Dendera, Horus-sema-tawy, Ihy the great and Isis-*ḥddt*. It is also referred to *šmw m St-wrt* “The cult images (statues) in Edfu”, in addition to another epithet *šspw nw Pr-Špst* “the images of the House of the August one”.

4) The fourth group, which appears on the western wall of the sanctuary of Dendera, also comprises six deities, is defined as *k3w nw K3b-t3wy* “the *kas* of Dendera” and also as *Psdt nt Bw-n-Rʿ* “the Ennead of the Place of Re (Dendera) (LGG III 152). These deities are: three forms of Horus the Behdetite, Hathor, lady of Dendera, Osiris and Horus lord of Mesen. The king is represented standing in front of the following six deities while offering bread to them (Cauville 1998: 110-111).

Despite the fact that the former epithet ascribes this group of deities to Dendera, Cauville (1988: 8, footnote 5), the latter suggests that they are the Ennead of Edfu. The last two groups of deities form the Ennead of Edfu consisting of twelve deities including a new member who appears for the first time “Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, falcon of the golden one, lady of Dendera”. The new member also recalls the case of the Ennead of Dendera which is depicted consisting of twelve deities in corresponding scenes in the sanctuary.

Another appearance of the members of the Ennead of Edfu during the Roman Period is the temple of Isis at Dendera where the deities of the last group appear on the frieze of the western wall of the Sanctuary A (*Pr-wr*) (Cauville 2008: 130-131; Cauville 2009: 86-89) before the king who is offering *ḥrw-ʿ* “grape and water drink” to them. The text identifies them as *Ḥr-Bḥdy ḥr psdt.f* “Horus the Behdetite and his ennead” (Cauville

2009: 86-87) meaning that the eleven members after him are those only considered to be the ennead.

A text found on the first register of the western wall of the exterior of the *Naos* (E IV 53, 3) mentions that the Ennead of *Wtst* has “four images of the lord of this land”. This text indicates that Horus has four forms and by comparing this text with the four groups of deities mentioned above, it appears that all of these groups have four forms of Horus the Behdetite. Thus, the members of this ennead have a different number from the nine deities who are supposed to be inside the portable chapels represented on the western wall of the western staircase. Besides, none of these enneads are referred to as the Ennead of Mesen.

Last but not least, the second group is the only one that coincides in number with the number of the nine portable chapels carried by the priests depicted on the western wall of the western staircase at Edfu. However, they are never called *Psdt Msnt*.

3.3.2 Deities-Iconographic Evidence:

There are a variety of deities represented on the walls of the Central Hall of Edfu. The following analysis shows these deities, their forms and their epithets.

3.3.2.1 Horus the Behdetite:

Different forms of Horus the Behdetite can be identified in the Central Hall of Edfu.

1) Horus, the Behdetite. 2) Horus lord of Mesen. Each form of Horus has different epithets reflecting different aspects.

1) Horus the Behdetite is the main deity of the temple. His full epithets are: “the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, who comes forth from the horizon”. Through his epithets his different aspects can be recognised as follows.

a) The fertile Horus: lord of charm, sweet of love, goddesses rejoice, because of his scent (E I 373, 13-14)”. The epithets reflect his physical presence (bull), as well as his stimulating sexual power (scent, visual appearance).

b) The creator: “procreator”, “who creates the gods, who gives birth to goddesses” (E I 377, 8).

c) The warrior: “who strikes Nubian lands to the limits of the sky, who cuts to pieces the foreign lands to the end of darkness, who slaughters the Aamu, who cuts up the Libyans to the limits of the sun-rise and the sun-set, who slays the foreign lands, the fighting ba, mighty in strength” (E I 370, 7-8), “who makes a slaughter of the one who attacks her majesty” (E I 371, 17).

d) The Protector: “who makes safe the relics of his father” (E I 371, 17).

e) King: “King of Upper Egypt and King of Lower Egypt” (E I 373, 13).

2) Horus lord of Mesen is mentioned only once in scene [E-Sw-Ws-R3]. Through his epithet “lord of Tharu” (E I 375, 3), he is linked to the eastern delta. His other epithets

emphasise his warrior aspect, “who makes his form into the lion great of might to overthrow his rebels” (E I 375, 3-4), “who turns away the footsteps of his enemies from Egypt, who drives away the rebels from the Banks of Horus (Egypt)” (E I 375, 4). Additionally, his connection to Isis is reflected through “the noble child, who came forth from Isis” (E I 375, 3). Tharu is seen as the Edfu of the North (Baum 2007: 39).

3.3.2.2 Hathor:

The different forms of Hathor that can be recognised on the walls of the Central Hall are as follows:

1) Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet is mentioned nine times in the Central Hall. Different aspects of Hathor can be also distinguished from her epithets.

a) Lady of beer, sistrum, music and joy: “lady of bread, who makes beer as the creation of her heart, who makes (it) as her handiwork” (E XV 29, 9), “one performs (the rite of) bringing drunkenness for her ka, lady of the sistra, mistress of the sistrum, lady of drunkenness, lady of music, lady of joy, lady of rejoicing, lady of desire” (E I 372, 19).

b) Lady/queen of deities: she is the Lower Egyptian queen of the gods (E I 373, 3), the beneficent ruler of the goddesses (E I 373, 3).

2) Hathor, Ta-menit. She is the Edfu form of Ta-menit as reflected by her epithets “who resides in Behdet” (E I 380, 19) and “the mistress of beauty in Edfu” (E I 380, 20). She is mentioned only once in the Central Hall [E-Sw-Es-R2]. In the temple of Dendera Ta-menit has two aspects who protect her father and solar aspect (Preys 2006a: 358) but at Edfu she has a nursing aspect as well “the noble nurse, who nurses her child” (E I 380, 19).

3) Hathor who resides in the Mansion of the Leg (E I 378, 9) is mentioned once [E-Sw-Es-R1]. This mansion is dedicated to the worship of Khonsu and the cult-object that was kept there in an ordinary shrine or reliquary in the form of an obelisk (Blackman and Fariman 1941:416-417). She has the aspect of Isis-*hddt* in Behdet and, according to a text, “protects the the divine flesh of her brother Osiris and protects the leg in the

obelisk” (E I 273, 19). She is also assimilated to the goddess Seshat through the following epithets: “lady of writing, mistress of the library, who writes down the words of the reckoner of tribute” (E I 378, 9).

3.3.2.3 Horus-sema-tawy:

The following aspects are reflected through his epithets:

a) Child and heir: great first one of (i.e eldest child) Horus the Behdetite, the divine child, child of Re, born to Hathor (E I 380, 17), the noble child, son of Hathor (E XV 32, 13; E I 367, 11) and the divine child, born to Isis, the beneficent heir of Wenn-nefer (E I 367, 11).

b) Protector: “efficient protector of Wenn-nefer” (E I 385, 3-4).

c) Lord: he is not only the lord of the sky (E I 385, 3) but also the lord of the following places “Khadit” (E I 385, 3), “Behdet” (E I 380, 18).

d) Ruler/Sovereign: he is the “ruler of Dendera” (E I 380, 18) and the “sovereign of the great nomes” (E I 380, 18).

His epithet *k3 šwty* “high plumed” (E I 385, 3) shows the lordship of the deity of the sky and it is also connected to the two feathered crown which surmounts his head (Budde 2002: 60, footnote 8). This crown is inherited by the child gods from their parents (Budde 2002: 57). Horus-sema-tawy who follows Hathor bore the epithets of “Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadet, the great god, who resides in Iunet” (Preys 2006b: 199, footnote 2).

3.3.2.4 Isis:

Isis is depicted on the walls of the Central Hall in scenes [E-Ww-Ss-R3] and [E-Ew-Ns-R3]. One form of Isis, Isis-*hddt* that appears in scene [E-Ew-Ns-R3], is closely associated with the scorpion aspect of the goddess. Isis-*hddt* of Edfu is mentioned frequently in the texts of Edfu and other temples such as Dendera and Esna (Goyon

1978a:458). It seems that she is specifically associated with Upper Egypt while her lower Egyptian counterpart is Isis-*wh̥t* (Goyon 1978a: 442). She had her own festival in the temple of Edfu on the second day of the fourth month of the *Shemu* season (Goyon 1978a: 449; E I 394, 14; Alliot 1949: 204, 214). She had her own clergy at Edfu (Bothmer 1960: 43-44, pl. 33(78); Goyon 1972a: 98, no. 146) and she is also mentioned as one of the deities of the Chapel of the Mansion of the Leg according to the inventory of the chapel (E II 23-24; Cauville 1987a: 63). Alliot translated *Hddt* as the “Luminous” (1949: 207, 214) and following him Meeks (1977: col. 1077). *Hddt* is mainly used as an epithet for Isis at Edfu and occasionally for Hathor (Blackman and Fairman 1941: 419, no. 75). As for the epithet of *nbtj rhyt*, it is connected with *Ka-mwt-ef*, who is associated with Min who is identified as Horus-Nekht (Preys 2002c: 345) which is attested also in other examples in the temple (E VII 116, 12; E VIII 35, 4-5). Additionally, this epithet stresses the royal power of Isis (Preys 2002c: 351).

3.3.2.5 Deities of the Osirian Cycle:

The Osiris cycle to the kingship and to Edfu is important in order to reinforce this issue, but without having to mention Osiris explicitly and to the detriment of Horus, the cycle is introduced under different aspects mentioned once only in the Central Hall.

3.3.2.5.1 Sokar-Osiris:

He appears only once on the walls of the Central Hall in scene [E-Ww-Ns-R3]. The role of Sokar-Osiris as a god of the dead can be seen from his epithets “lord of the necropolis”, “sacred is the place before the Great Place (Edfu)”, “the underworld is made deep to hide his body, the nomes are set out containing his limbs, the shrines are built for his statues”, “his two sisters make his protection”, and “he is lord of the cities, ruler of the nomes and the temples contain his images”.

3.3.2.5.2 Osiris wenn-nefer:

He appears in one scene on the southern wall of the Central Hall [E-Ew-Ss-R3]. The chthonic aspect of Osiris wenn-nefer is well reflected through his epithets such as: “sovereign in the realm of the dead, lord of the dwellers of the underworld” (E I 383, 9-

10). Additionally, he has an astral aspect as the “ruler of the stars” (E I 383, 9). Moreover, his kingship is expressed through “King of Upper Egypt in heaven” and “King of Lower Egypt in the land” (E I 383, 9). Furthermore, he is “chief of the gods” (E I 383, 9).

3.3.2.5.3 Shentayet:

According to the inventory of the temple of Edfu, Shentayt is mentioned as one of the deities of the *hnw n štyt* (E I 182, n. 37; E II 23, 97; Cauville 1981: 22, 30). As for the title *msn(t)* “spinner”, it seems that it was used exclusively by her at the temple of Edfu (Cauville 1981: 23). She is connected with Osiris through different texts and in this particular scene [E-Ww-Ns-R3], she is represented with Sokar-Osiris (E I 376, 4-16). Through her epithets she played a role in the resurrection of Osiris “who makes her brother (Osiris) live at his time at the beginning of the year, performing for him the rites of the rite of *ts-m3kt* assembling the ladder” (E I 376, 15-16; Cauville 1983: 86). This rite was supposed to be a funerary one as the ancient Egyptian believed that a good way for the deceased to have access to the heaven is by a ladder. She was assimilated with Isis and she was connected with another goddess Mr-khet-es that was assimilated to Nephthys. Together they rest in the second chamber of the west (E I 138, 18) and played the role of the grieving sisters who mourned Osiris and took part of his mysteries, reassembling and reviving the body (Cauville 1981: 21-40). Another text, found in the First Chamber of Sokar, states that: “it is Shentayet with Mer-Khet-es who raise up the perfection of their brother (Osiris)” (E I 176, 10-11). This is also confirmed through the Book of the Dead chapter 148 as she appears as one of the seven cows where “she raises the god” (Piankoff 1934: 100). While in the Pyramid Texts §336b, she raises the deceased to Re” (Piankoff 1934: 100). She is also a form of Isis (Coulon 2003: 138; Yoyotte 1979-1980: 195-196, 164; Nachtergaele 1981:592-594). Her cult was attested in many Osirian cult centres such as Behbeit el-Hegara (Favard-Meeks 1998: 129-132), Hibis (Osing 1986: 513), Busiris (De Rodrigo 1999: 241, 247, n.5) and Karnak where she is associated with a Coptite form of Osiris (Colin 2003: 138-144), in addition to the Osirian chapels on the roof of the temple of Dendera (Cauville 1997: 216-217). She is also identified with Isis in the temple of Dendera and also protects Osiris according to a text which mentions “Isis is called Shentayt who guards the body of the foremost of the underworld (Osiris)” (D I 115, 9). Thus, her main function is to

help to make bandages for the Osiris mummies which enable his revivification and protects his flesh from corruption.

3.3.2.6 Other Deities:

3.3.2.6.1 Khent-Iabtet:

Khent-Iabtet “the foremost of the east” is identified with Isis once on the walls of the Central Hall [E-Sw-Ws-R3] (E XV 27, 8; E I 375, 5-6). She carries out her duties as “protectoress behind her brother, who nurses her child to be his son” and “Protecting his majesty from rebels” (E I 375, 6).

3.3.2.6.2 Nephthys:

Nephthys is represented once in scene [E-Ew-Ns-R3]. She bears the epithets of “the excellent one”, and “god’s sister”. Her aspect of protection is denoted by “she protects in Edfu”.

3.3.2.6.3 Nut:

She appears only once in the Central Hall [E-Ew-Ss-R3]. Her epithets “who gave birth to the gods”, “lady of the sky”, “mother of the queen”, and “who equips the banks with her children” (E I 383, 11-12) reflects her typical aspect as a mother and her usual connection to the sky.

3.4.2.6.4 Khonsu-Thoth:

Khonsu and Thoth are associated with each other in Edfu due to their nature as lunar gods. The attributes of Thoth are passed to Khonsu (Boylan 1922: 205-207) in the texts of scene [E-Sw-Es-R1]. His epithets “the elder who decrees” (E I 378, 7) and “who decrees words in the horizon” (E I 378, 7) reflect his aspect as legislator. As a writer he is mentioned as “who engraves the protocol, who writes in the sky” (E I 378, 7). Additionally, he is “leader of the land, protector of his plans” (E I 378, 7-8).

3.3.2.6.5 Ihy:

Ihy, son of Hathor and a member of the triad of Dendera, is represented only once [E-Sw-Ws-R2]. Going through his titles the idea of being a child is reflected: “son of Hathor, the noble child, who comes from Isis” (E I 372, 15). Additionally, his role as sistrum player before his mother is revealed “shaking the sistrum to his mother daily, playing the sistrum to her ka as much as she wants” (E I 372, 15-16).

3.3.2.6.6 Min-Horus-Nekhet:

Min who is represented only once [E-Ww-Ss-R3] is assimilated with Horus-Nekht and introduced into the Osirian cycle as the son of Isis and Osiris. This assimilation may date back to the Middle Kingdom (Hornblower 1946: 116; Gauthier 1913: 14, 33,198) as a hymn dedicated to Min-Horus-Nekhet dates to that period (El-Kordy 1984: 122, footnote 3; Barucq & Daumas 1980: 370-371). From his epithets, the warrior aspect of Horus-Nekhet prevails over Min’s fertility aspect “one who stretches out the arm (to) smash the execration figures”.

3.3.2.6.7 Children of Re:

This group of nine deities (table 3.4), who are represented once in the Centrall Hall of Edfu [E-Sw-Es-R3], not only appear in the guise of mummified figures four times which denotes their nature as dead deities (E I 173, 1-174, 8; Fairman 1959: 88-89; Chassinat 1966: 280-297; E I 382, 4-15; E II, 51, 3-52, 9; E III 323, 5-12; Kees 1977: 158; Assmann 1969: 99-100, footnote 3; Reymond 1963: 55; E IX, pls. 23a; 40d; 80; E XII, pl. 327), but they also appear in the guise of human forms (E III 301, 8-16; E III 323, 5-12; E IV, 83, 4-85, 8; E IV 239, 13-241, 14; E V 61, 17-63, 16; E V, 160, 12-162, 6; E VII 118, 4-119, 9; E VII 279, 16-281, 2; E IX, pl. 79; E X, pls. 85; 91; 117; 113). The texts accompanying their representations expose their origin. According to one text (E IV 240) they went with Re to Qayet (Hermopolis Magna), were raised in Hermopolis Magna, nourished in Naref (Herakleopolis) and went to Edfu. According to another text (E V 161) they were created in Hermopolis Magna, coming forth from Naref (Herakleopolis) and arrived at Edfu. In contrast to their origin which appears to

be obscure as the texts do not give a definite location except for some Middle Kingdom localities in Upper Egypt (Jelinková 1962: 53). Their burial place is ascertained to be in the necropolis of Edfu as stated in several texts *ḏsr st ḥnt Bḥdt* “the tomb is in Behdet” (E III 301, 12), *ḏsr st m 3ḥt nḥḥ* (name of the necropolis of Edfu) (E III 323, 8; E IV 240, 4) and *ḏsr st.sn imntt Bḥdt* “their tomb is west of Behdet” (E VII 280, 4). The texts do not reveal whether they were buried in one tomb or separately. Whatever, their origin is, it seems that the priests managed to integrate these deities into the cult and the festivals of the temple as can be seen in the festival of Behdet celebrated on the first moon of the month of Epiphi (third month of the Shemu season), during which several rituals were performed for Osiris and the Children of Re in the necropolis of Edfu (Sauneron 1958: 278-279). Their connection with Edfu is also ascertained through their epithets (table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Epithets of the Children of Re connected to Edfu

Documents	Epithets
E I 382, 11; E V 62, 12; E V 161, 4; E IV 83, 14; E VII 280, 4.	<i>ntrw n Bḥdt</i> “the gods of Behdet”
E VII 280, 5	<i>ntrw wrw ʕ3w ḥnt Bḥdt</i> “the great gods in Behdet”
E IV 240, 5-6	<i>ntrw ḥnt 3ḥt-nḥḥ</i> “The gods in 3ḥt-nḥḥ (necropolis of Edfu)”.
E III 323, 8; E IV 240, 4	<i>ntrw wrw ʕ3w ḥnt Bḥdt</i> “the great gods in Behdet”
E IV 240, 6	<i>k3w ʕḥw ḥnt Bḥdt</i> “the living kas in Behdet”
E VII 118, 11	<i>ntrw ḥnt Bḥdt</i> “the gods in Behdet”

According to the text, the identity of their father is restricted only to the deities mentioned below (Atum, Re and Hor-akhty) (table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Epithets of the Children of Re showing their father

Documents	Epithets
E I 173, 12-13; E II 51, 10	<i>msw n 'Itm</i>
E I 382, 11	<i>hpr m 'Itm</i>
E I 173, 12; E I 382, 11; E II 51, 10; E IV 83, 14	<i>prw m R^c</i>
E III 301, 12; E V 62, 13	<i>msw R^c</i>
E IV 83, 14; E VII 280, 4	<i>msw Hr-3hty</i>

This denotes that they have a solar origin and since their number is nine they were also called *Psdt* (E I 173, 12; E II 51, 10). The texts remain silent regarding the identity of their mother. Interestingly, the names of their members changed and the order of the representation of the members also changed. As this group of deities were confined to the temple of Edfu, it seems that this group of deities was the genuine invention of the mythology of the temple of Edfu. They also appear in the temple of Dendera but the text connects them to Edfu as *ntrw n Bḥdt* (D IX 241; D XI 58-59). They were considered the primordial deities of Edfu as they recall the similar cases of the primordial deities of Madinet Habu who had their burial place there (Žabkar 1968:46-47). Strikingly, the priests managed to fit four different forms of Seth in the temple of Horus at Edfu (Yoyotte 1963: 105), however, their names were replaced later on as if it was an attempt to emend a mythological error (table 3.4).

Jelinková proposed that their Middle Kingdom cult centres played a role in considering them as ancestor deities (1962: 53). Thus, their presence in the Central Hall can be justified as they are the chthonic ancestors of the temple whose presence makes the space it occupies sacred. They must be present in the Central Hall to represent the power of the moment of the creation at the first time. These deities were connected to an important religious festival that took place annually when Hathor of Dendera travels to Edfu to meet Horus the Behdetite and then together they go to necropolis of Behdet during the third Month (*Epiphi*) of the *Shemu* season so as to offer the dead deities

offerings to rejuvenate them and in return rejuvenate themselves as well. Kurth points out that despite the fact that this festival is widely known as the ‘festival of the good union’ it has nothing to do with marriage and, on the contrary, it was a funeral festival (Kurth 1994: 211-216; Egberts 1995a: 16-25). The two ideas are not mutually exclusive however; both have to do with the consecration of the generation of new life.

Table 3.4: Members of the Children of Re

Documents	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eight	Ninth
E I 173, 1-174, 8.	<i>b3-nb-Dd-tpy-snwy.f</i>	<i>hry-š.f</i>	<i>Bnw-hpr-ds.f</i>	[...]	<i>Sth-n-w3ht</i>	<i>Sth-n-n3-Šnw</i>	<i>Sth-n-n3-Šnw</i>	<i>Sth-n-wnnt</i>	<i>Sth-n-sp3t</i>
E I 382, 4-15 (they are not named separately)	----	-----	----	----	-----	----	----	----	----
E II, 51, 3-52, 9.	<i>b3-nb-Dd-tpy-snwy.f</i>	<i>hry-š.f</i>	<i>Nmty</i>	<i>Mnhy</i>	<i>Bnw-hpr-ds.f</i>	[...]	[...]	[... ...] <i>Wnnt</i>	<i>Sth-n-sp3t-mrtt</i>
E III 301, 8-16.	<i>b3-nb-Dd-tpy-snwy.f</i>	<i>hry-š.f</i>	<i>Mnhy</i>	<i>Bnw-hpr-ds.f</i>	<i>Nmty</i>	<i>Sth-n-Šnw</i>	<i>Sth-n-w3ht</i>	<i>Sth-n-wnnt</i>	<i>Sth-n-sp3t-mrtt</i>
E III 323, 5-12.	<i>b3-nb-Dd</i>	<i>hry-š.f</i>	<i>Mnhy</i>	<i>Nmty</i>	<i>ntr-ε3-m-sp3t.f</i>	<i>Nb-Šnw</i>	<i>Bnw-ntr.ti-r-hpr-ds.f</i>	<i>hnty-Bhdt</i>	<i>Nb-hwt-w^crt</i>
E IV, 83, 4-85, 8.	<i>b3-nb-Dd-hnt-nst</i>	<i>hry-š.f</i>	<i>Mnhy</i>	<i>Nmty</i>	<i>ntr-ε3-m-sp3t.f</i>	<i>Nb-Šnw</i>	<i>Bnw-ntr.ti-r-hpr-ds.f</i>	<i>hnty-Bhdt</i>	<i>Nb-hwt-w^crt</i>
E IV 239,	<i>b3-nb-Dd</i>	<i>hry-š.f</i>	<i>Mnhy</i>	<i>Nmty</i>	<i>ntr-ε3-m-</i>	<i>Nb-Šnw</i>	<i>Bnw-ntr.ti-</i>	<i>hnty-Bhdt</i>	<i>Nb-hwt-w^crt</i>

13-241, 14.	<i>hnt-nst</i>				<i>sp3t.f</i>		<i>r-hpr-ds.f</i>		
E V 61, 17-63, 16.	[...] <i>nb-Dd</i>	<i>hry-š.f</i>	<i>Imn[h]y</i>	<i>Nmty wr phty</i>	<i>ntr-^ε3-m- sp3t.f</i>	<i>Nb-Šnw</i>	<i>Bnw-hpr- ds.f</i>	<i>hnty-Bhdt</i>	<i>Nb-hwt-w^εrt</i>
E V 160, 12-162, 6.	<i>b3-nb-Dd</i>	<i>hry-š.f</i>	<i>Imnh_y</i>	<i>Nmty hnty niwt</i>	<i>ntr-^ε3-m- sp3t.f</i>	<i>Nb-Šnw</i>	<i>Bnw-hpr- ds.f</i>	<i>hnty-Bhdt</i>	<i>Nb-hwt-w^εrt</i>
E VII 118, 4-119, 9.	<i>b3-nb-Dd</i>	<i>hry-š.f</i>	<i>mnhy</i>	<i>Nmty</i>	<i>ntr-^ε3-m- sp3t.f</i>	<i>Nb-Šnw</i>	<i>Bnw-hpr- ds.f</i>	[...] <i>hnty- Bhdt</i>	<i>Nb-hwt-w^εrt</i>
E VII 279, 16-281, 2.	<i>b3-nb-Dd</i>	<i>hry-š.f</i>	<i>mnhy</i>	[...]	<i>ntr-^ε3-m- sp3t.f</i>	<i>Nb-Šnw</i>	<i>Bnw-ntr.ti- r-hpr-ds.f</i>	<i>hnty-Bhdt</i>	<i>Nb-hwt-w^εrt</i>

3.4 Cauville's Theory:

Cauville suggested that there was a connection between the deities represented on the walls of the Central Hall and those in the chapels around the sanctuary: “les principales divinités des chapelles, qui avaient leur naos portative dans le vestibule, sont représentées sur les parois” (1987a: 84). She linked the deities with some offering scenes in the chapels around the sanctuary instead of comparing the deities of the Central Hall to the main deities of the chapels to prove her theory.

As a rule, the principal deities of the Chapels around the sanctuary of Edfu are represented on the right hand side of the external face of the lintel of the door of each chapel. The nine dead deities of Edfu are not mentioned among the principal gods of the Chapel of Shetyt who are: 1) Osiris in Behdet, the great god, who resides in Djeba. 2) Isis the great, the god's mother, the chieftain of Behdet. 3) Horus, the avenger of his father in Edfu (Cauville 1983: 68; E I 156; Cauville 1987a: 14, fig.5; Baum 2007: 105). Additionally, epigraphic evidence states that this room belongs to the two sisters (E I 159, 16-17) or “the two mourners” i.e. Isis and Nephthys (E I 160, 4-5; Baum 2007: 106). Hence, the Chapel of *štyt* belongs to Isis and Nephthys who were represented on the exterior face of the upper lintel of the door of the chapel (Cauville 1987a: 14, fig.5; 73). Furthermore, the inventories of the deities mentioned for this chapel both in the second Hypostyle Hall (E II 22-23) and the first Chamber of Sokar (G) (E I 181-182) do not include these nine dead deities and this was the case of the copy found in Dendera temple (D IX 37, 2-11).

Moreover, this method is not applicable for all the chapels. For example, the Chapel of Min does not have the principal deities upon the exterior face of the lintel of the door, but instead there are two serekhs. Besides, this chapel is not one of the chapels around the ambulatory. Hence, it is useful to look for the deities mentioned in the inventory of the deities of the chapel which mentions: 1) Min-*nsw-ḥr-nḥt*. 2) Min in Behdet. 3) Horus *shny*. 4) Mehnyt. 5) *d3-ꜥ*. 6) Amun the bull of his mother. The name of the deity mentioned in the last column of the deities of the Chapel of Min is missing (E II 22; Cauville 1987a: 41). The other copy found in the temple of Dendera lists the same six deities (D IX 36, 16 -17; 37, 2). Thus, Isis of Behdet is not mentioned as one of the deities of the Chapel of Min nor is this form of Isis represented in the Chapel of Min.

Furthermore, Horus *bs nwn* is mentioned in the deities list in the temple (E I 15, No. 21; E II 20, No. 83). This form of Horus neither has a chapel nor is he mentioned among the principal deities or the deities mentioned in the inventories of the deities of the chapels. Besides, it is not represented on the walls of the Central Hall of Edfu. It is represented on the external doorjamb. Thus, this theory does not explain the rest of the deities represented in the Central Hall and some of the principal deities were not even represented.

After analysing the deities represented on the walls of the Central Hall of Edfu, it can be deduced that they are the following: the triade of Edfu consisting of Horus the Behdetite, his consort Hathor and their son Horus-sema-tawy. Horus the Behdetite epithets show links to creation and fertility, power to defeat chaos and enemies and by implication this is what the king is supposed to do. It sets out the basic role of Horus/the king and so sets the Central Hall at the centre of the temple as a filter to destroy chaos before it proceeds any further towards the sanctuary. Hathor provides the aspects of female sexuality, domesticity as a nurse but also the mother-protector role. Her appearance adds to the totality of the cosmic forces present in the Central Hall. Horus-sema-tawy reinforces his role as the heir of Horus so that the succession is assured and there will be no problem when the time comes for him to accede after his father.

Additionally, the scorpion form of Isis as a protector and also guarantor of the power of Horus (her son). As the scorpion was the instrument by which Isis gained the secret name of Re and thus his power, this may allude to the power of poison in the service of the king-the magical and subtle authority of the king. Furthermore, some deities connected with the Osirian cycle were chosen i.e. Sokar-Osiris, Osiris-wenn-nefer and Shentayet. Khenet-iabtet and Nephthys are represented reflecting the aspect of protection as their epithets show. Nut's motherhood aspect is reflected through her epithet. Regarding Khonsu-Thoth and Min-Horus-Nekhet, they are important to reflect the kingship which is one of the aspects of the temple of Edfu. Ihy the son of Hathor is represented as well. Last but not least, the Children of Re who are the chthonic ancestors of the temple whose presence makes the space it occupies sacred. Their presence in the Central Hall represents the power of the moment of the creation at the First Time.

3.5 Temple of Kom Ombo:

3.5.1 Ennead-Epigraphic Evidence:

Unlike the Central Halls of the temple of Edfu and Dendera and due to the disappearance of different parts of the temple, there is no epigraphic evidence which links a group of deities with the Central Hall of Kom Ombo. Besides, the parts of the Upper Band of Text and the Lower Band of Text are still *in situ* and do not reveal any information about the Central Hall. With the lack of such information, the study will depend upon the analysis of the mural representations of the hall. Obviously the case of the temple of Kom Ombo is exceptional among the studied temples as the temple has two main deities Horus and Sobek and the temple architecturally is divided into two halves with two sanctuaries. Additionally, each deity forms his own triad grouping with other deities. The question is, does each of them have a separate ennead? The case of the Horus-sema-tawy during his festival in the temple of Dendera denotes that every deity has its own ennead during his festival (see 6.2.4.1.1). The fact remains that there is no epigraphic evidence in this particular case.

Ch.3-Doc.17:

Type: text.

Location: the dado of the extreme southern part of the western wall of the Hall of Offerings.

Bibliography: De Morgan 1909: No. 700; PM VI 192 (124)-(125); Gutbub 1995: 392, No. 290; Gutbub 1973: 237.



sdf3w.sn wdḥw n psdt.f sp 3 n ḥrw m df3w nb

“They provision the altar of his ennead (Horwer) three times a day with all food”.

This text shows that the Ennead of Horwer had his share of offerings in the Hall of Offerings three times a day. It does not identify the members of his ennead. Furthermore, nothing is mentioned about the Ennead of Sobek and whether his ennead

had offerings in the same Hall of Offerings at the same time or there was a different arrangement.

The only textual evidence that can be relied upon to make a comparison between it and the deities represented on the walls, is the inventory of the deities of the temple. The inventory is mentioned in three different lists during different periods and comprises different members of deities (table 3.5). The following table reflects this fact.

Table 3.5: Inventories of the deities of the temple of Kom Ombo

First list Location: Hall of Offerings) Ptolemy VI Philometor (Gutbub 1980: col. 680; Gutbub 1973: 2, 8 (v)	Second list Location: <i>ḥt wrt</i> Ptolemy VI Philometor (Gutbub 1980: col.680; Gutbub 1973: 20, 29 (an)	Third list Location: Hall of Appearance Ptolemy VIII Eurgettes II (Gutbub 1973: 34-35; Gutbub 1995: 31-57; Montet 1961: 26)
Horwer	Horwer	Horwer with the head of the two wedjates
Sobek	Sobek	Sobek
Amun	Ta-senet-nefert	Shu, son of Re
Ptah	Hathor	Tefnut
Khnum	Pa-neb-tawy	Ta-senet-nefert
Hathor	Khonsu	Geb
	Amun	Nut
	Ptah	Hathor
	Khnum	Osiris
	Osiris	Tefnut, daughter of Re
	Horus Khenty-en-irty	The two sisters Isis and Hathor
	Isis	Horus son of Isis
	Nephthys	Pa-neb-tawy the child

	Horus	Khonsu
		Horwer lord of Kom Ombo
		Horus
		Horwer upon his great throne of Upper Egypt
		Horwer Khentyirty
		Horwer lord of Upper Egypt
		Sobek on his great Throne
		The august crocodile
		Sobek the lord of the colour of different forms
		Sobek lord of Ched-beg, great god, lord of the place.
		Amun
		Ptah
		Khnum
		The two lions
		Min
		Thoth
		Horus son of Isis

According to Gutbub, the first list is the Pantheon of Kom Ombo (1980: col. 680) but this does not explain whether the two other lists can also be considered as Pantheons. The second list consists of the two triads of the temple. It started with the male deities, then the female consort, and finally their sons. Additionally, three deities of the first list are added Amun, Ptah and Khnum. Furthermore, Osiris, Horus Khenty irty of Qus, the two sisters Isis and Nephthys and lastly Horus are added (Gutbub 1973: 29 [an]). Montet mentioned that the majority of the deities of the third list, like at Edfu and Dendera, had chapels in the temple (1961: 26). This statement does not coincide with

the fact that the number of the chapels around the sanctuary and at the back of the temple does not fit the number of the deities of the third list, which is thirty (Gutbub 1995: fig 4). Furthermore, this part of the temple was finished during the reign of Ptolemy VI while the third list was inscribed during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Eurgetes II (Gutbub 1973: 34-35; Gutbub 1995: 31-57; Montet 1961: 26). Moreover, some of the chapels around the two sanctuaries are not identified yet such as the three southern chapels (Gutbub 1995: fig.4). The deities represented on the walls of the Central Hall can be found in both the second and the third lists except for Heqat who is not mentioned in any of the three lists.

3.5.2 Deities-Iconographic Evidence:

The following is the analysis of the deities represented on the walls still *in situ*.

3.5.2.1 Horwer:

Horwer who is one of the patrons of the temple appears in scenes [KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R3] and [KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R1]. The rest of his own triad which includes his consort Tasetnet-nefert and their son Pa-neb-tawy do not appear on the remaining walls of the Central Hall. Through his epithets, he is geographically connected to different parts of Egypt such as: “lord of Upper Egypt” (Gutbub 1995: 283, 12), “lord of Iit (Letopolis)” (Gutbub 1995: 278, 17), “who resides in Khem” (Gutbub 1995: 278, 18). Additionally, he is assimilated with other deities such as: “Shu, son of Re” (Gutbub 1995: 274, 14), “manifestations of Atum” (Gutbub 1995: 274, 14-15). Among his different aspects are those of the warrior: “who cuts off the heads without being seen” (Gutbub 1995: 278, 18), “who strikes his foes, who makes a massacre to the one who fails at his time (Seth)” (Gutbub 1995: 283, 13). Zandee notes the difference between Horwer “Horus the elder” and Horus son of Isis, as the former is the ancient royal god and the sky god while the latter is the god of the Osiris myth (1966: 35). He is also considered as the ancient deity of the sky (De Wit 1951: 248) and his eyes are the sun and the moon (Junker 1917: 42). At Kom Ombo, it is Hor-wer who is the lord of the sanctuary (De Wit 1951: 249); however, through his connection with Tefnut as his consort, he was identified with Shu (De Wit 1951: 251-252). Perhaps that was an attempt by the priests

to incorporate deities from Ombos into the Heliopolitan system (Dunand & Zivie-Coche 2004: 234-235).

3.5.2.2 Sobek:

Sobek is one of the main two patrons of Kom Ombo. His consort wife Hathor and their son Khonsu, who do not appear in the remaining scenes of the Central Hall, forms together with him the second main triad at Kom Ombo. He appears in three scenes [KO-Ww-CP-Ns-R1], [KO-Ww-CP-Ns-R2] and [KO-Ww-CP-Ss-R1]. His lordship over Kom Ombo is expressed by “lord of Kom Ombo” (Gutbub 1995: 271, 4; Gutbub 1995: 271, 15); “lord of Ssn” (Gutbub 1995: 276, 14). He is also a unifier: “who unites the two halves (Egypt)” (Gutbub 1995: 271, 16).

3.5.2.3 Hathor:

Hathor is represented in two scenes on the walls of the Central Hall [KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R1] and [KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R2]. Her epithets show her different aspects as “lady of Kom Ombo” (Gutbub 1995: 274, 17) and she is also the lord of Iit (Gutbub 1995: 281, 2). She cares for her son as she is mentioned as “the maker of bread for her son, who cuts up his foes” (Gutbub 1995: 281, 2).

3.5.2.4 Heqat:

Heqat, who is considered the female counterpart of Sobek as she bears the epithet of *dfnyt* “female ancestor” (Gutbub 1995: 283, 14; Wilson 1997: 1236), is represented only once in scene [KO-Ww-CP-MS-R3]. As god’s mother of Horwer she nurses him “who nurses his majesty in his house of life” (Gutbub 1995: 283, 14) besides she also cares for him “who increases his strength behind him” (Gutbub 1995: 283, 15).

3.5.2.5 Unidentified Deities:

In addition to the lost parts of the walls of the Central Hall which presumably were covered with scenes of other deities, there are scenes where the representations of the

deities are destroyed and the text is damaged and thus their identity cannot be revealed. These scenes are [KO-Ww-CP-Ns-R3], [KO-Ww-CP-Ss-R3] and [KO-Ww-CP-Ss-R2].

Only four deities are represented on the remaining walls of the Central Hall of Kom Ombo. These deities are the two main deities of the temples i.e. Horwer and Sobek whose wife appears also as protector and carer of her son. Heqat not only appears as a mother but her ancestral aspect is reflected as well. Due to the loss of the lateral walls of the Central Hall and the destroyed scenes the rest of the deities cannot be identified.

3.6 The Central Hall of Dendera:

3.6.1 Ennead-Epigraphic Evidence:

There are two enneads connected to the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera i.e. *Psdt Ntryt* and *Psdt 3htyt*. The following documents will illustrate that fact.

3.6.1.1 *Psdt Ntryt*:

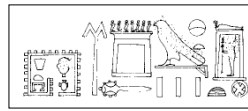
This is the first ennead connected with the Central Hall of Dendera. The following documents illustrate this fact.

Ch.3-Doc.18:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the exterior of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: Cauville 1990a: 101; PM VI 78 (238)-(247).



Wsht hryt-ib m-rwty hry Psdt Ntryt

“The Hall in the Middle (is placed) towards the exterior containing the Ennead of *Ntryt*”.

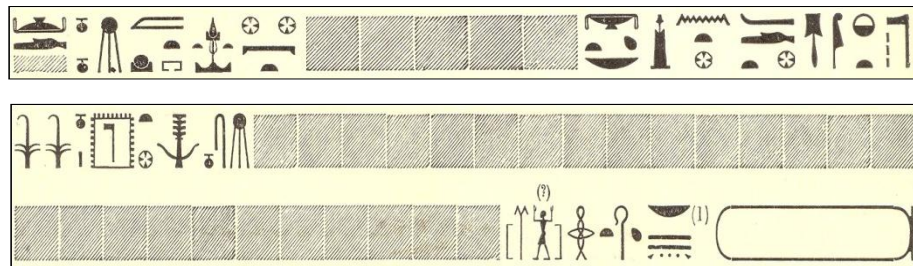
The Ennead of  *Ntryt* is also mentioned in another three texts (D IV 216, 17; Cauville 2001: 354-355), (D VIII 105, 5) and (D IV 186, 11-187, 2; Cauville 2001: 302-303, 602). From this text Ch.3-Doc.18, it would appear that the Ennead of *Ntryt* “Dendera” is the ennead whose statues were carried in the portable chapels to be placed in the Central Hall of Dendera. Cauville translated that term first as “Ennead of Dendera” (Cauville 1990a: 106; LGG III 155) but later on she translated *Ntryt* as “the divine one” (Cauville 2001: 303, 355, 602). Leitz follows Cauville’s first translation as “Die Neunheit von Dendara” (LGG III 155). Chassinat (1966: 77-86) pointed out that *Ntryt* is one of the names of the temple of Dendera and following him Favard-Meeks (1991: 394; D I 56; D VII 132) and Waitkus (1997: 276).

Ch.3-Doc.19:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-the eastern wall of the Court of the New Year.

Bibliography: D IV 186, 12- 187, 2; PM VI 59; Cauville 2001: 302-303.



Itn (hr) wbn m 3ht i3btt nnt [... ..] Nwbt nbt Twnt Bhdty s3b šwt Psdt nn n Ntryt hnm.sn [... ..] m h^ct hr hḳ3t nbt t3wy

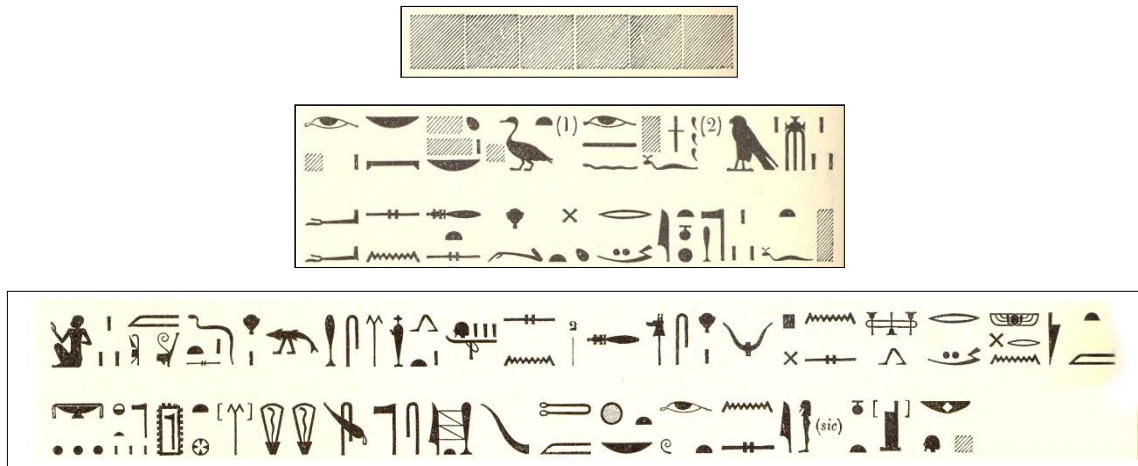
“The sun disc shines in the eastern horizon of the sky [... ..] the golden one, lady of Dendera and the Behdetite, him of the dappled plumage, this Ennead of the Dendera, they unite [... ..] with joy with the female ruler, lady of the two lands”.

Ch.3-Doc.20:

Type: text.

Location: the eastern doorjamb of the door of the *Wabet*.

Bibliography: D IV 216, 13-17; PM VI 60 (128) (a); Cauville 2001: 354-355.



[... ..] irt-R^c nbt pt [hnwt-Ntrw] nbw s3t Ir-t3 [pr] m h^cf msw-Hr ʿwy.sn
 hr-[h3t].s hr rmny Wrt r m33 itn hmw-ntr itw-ntr m šmsw n dt.s hr bs hmt.s m kb nmtt
 tpyw i3t.sn hr-h3t.s hr wpt n.s w3t r m33 ʿpy wr n ktm psdt Ntryt m-irtyt sšm.s ʿ3bt ʿb3.ti m
 iht nbt ir.ti n.s irw n St-hb-tpy

“[... ..] the eye of Re, lady of the sky, [mistress of all the gods], daughter of the Ir-ta snake, who comes forth from his body, the sons of Horus, their arms are before you, carrying the great one to see the solar disc, the priests and the divine fathers are escorting her body to introduce her Majesty with a cool of strides, their divine effigies are before her, opening the way for her to see the great winged disc of gold. The Ennead of Dendera is around her statue, the ritual offering is offered with everything. The requirements of the place of the first festival are provided for her”.

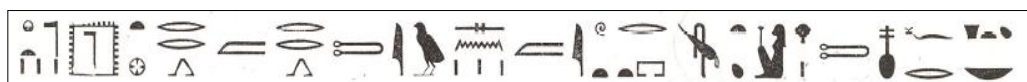
This text refers to another episode of a religious festival where the Ennead of *Ntryt* accompanies Hathor, lady of Dendera to the *Wabet* to perform the rituals there. The priests, sons of Horus, carry her *Naos* while other priests escort her. Despite the importance of the previously mentioned texts, the members of the ennead in question are neither mentioned nor named. The next text will help to clarify these texts.

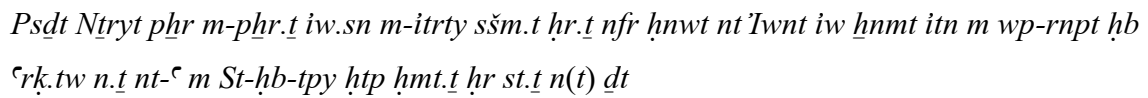
Ch.3-Doc.21:

Type: text.

Location: the northern wall of the western staircase of the temple of Dendera,

Bibliography: D VIII 105, 6-7; PM VI 91-92.





It is apparent from this text that the Ennead of *Ntryt* is again around the statue of Hathor of Dendera during her procession to the roof of the temple to perform the rite of the “uniting with the sun disc”. The identity of this ennead is revealed from this particular text, as it accompanies the procession depicted on the walls of the northern wall of the western staircase. The important part of this procession is the *Naos* of Hathor lady of Dendera being carried by the priests and followed by ten portable chapels carried by ten priests and heading to the roof of the temple (plates 3.15-3.16). It would appear that this text is relevant to the procession and those ten portable chapels are those of the Ennead of *Ntryt*. Unlike those of the temple of Edfu, the identity of the deities is revealed as the chapels are surmounted by their names. The members of the Ennead of *Ntryt* are: 1) Horus, the Behdetite. 2) Hathor, lady of Dendera, the Uraeus of Re. 3) Horus-sema-tawy who resides in Behdet. 4) Horus-sema-tawy, the child, son of Hathor. 5) Ihy, the great, son of Hathor. 6) Hathor, lady of Dendera, eye of Re, who is upon the great place. 7) Hathor, lady of Dendera, Ta-menit. 8) Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit. 9) Osiris-wenn-nefer, the victorious, the great god, who resides in Dendera. 10) Isis, the great, mother’s god, lady of Iat-dit (D VIII 119, 6-14; VIII 121, 12-122, 6). This fact is confirmed by another three occurrences of the same procession with the same number of portable chapels and the same members. They occur once more on the left side of the western staircase (D VIII 98, 14-99, 8; VIII 99, 11-17) (plates 3.13-3.14) and on both walls eastern (D VII 188, 13-189, 12) and western of the eastern staircase (D VII 202, 6-203, 10) (plates 3.5-3.12).



Plate 3.5

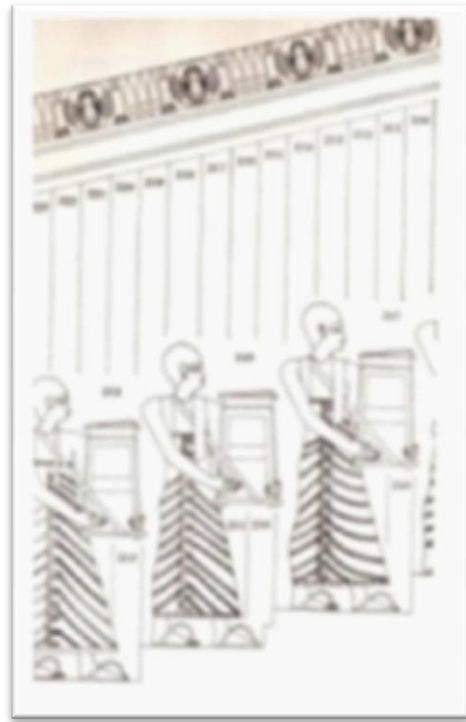


Plate 3.6



Plate 3.7



Plate 3.8

Plates 3.5 and 3.6. After D VII/II, pl. DCLXXVIII.

Plates 3.7 and 3.8. After D VII/II, pl. DC.

Procession on the eastern wall of the Eastern Staircase.



Plate 3.9



Plate 3.10



Plate 3.11



Plate 3.12

Plates 3.9 and 3.10. After D VII/II, pl. DCXCI.

Plates 3.11 and 3.12. After D VII/II, pl. DCLXXXIX.

Procession on the western wall of the Eastern Staircase.



Plate 3.13 Western wall



Plate 3.14 Northern wall

Plates 3.13 and 3.14 the procession of the western staircase on the left side.

After D VIII/II, pls. DCCLXX, DCCLXXII.

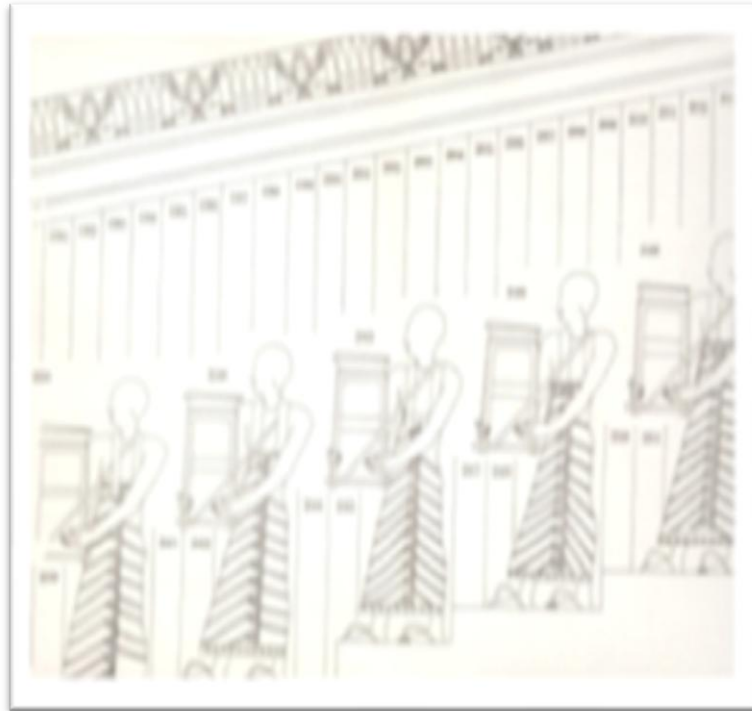


Plate 3.15 Southern wall



Plate 3.16 Eastern wall

Plates 3.15 and 3.16 the procession of the western staircase on the right side.

After D VIII/II, pls. DCCXCVIII, DCCCI.

Daumas' opinion is that the western staircase was used for the ascending of the procession after the rites were performed in the kiosks (1969: 63). In contrast, El-Damaty pointed out that both staircases were used for ascending and descending during the Festival of the New Year. He also applied this theory to the staircases of Edfu (2000: 175). El-Kordy (2007: 584) proposes that the western staircase was used for ascending and descending, while the eastern staircase was built as a precaution to make sure that the Festival of the New Year is accomplished, otherwise the order of the cosmos is in jeopardy and the bad forces will cause chaos.

Unlike those of Edfu, the portable chapels of Dendera are bigger in size and heavier in weight which can be deduced from the bands of cloth around the necks of the priests which they use to support the weight of the shrines or the representations are more accurate. More importantly they are accompanied by the names of the deities and there are ten of them in all of the occurrences.

A scene, represented on the eastern wall and continued on the northern wall of the eastern crypt no. 2, shows a procession of priests following the *Naos* of the main deity of the temple, Hathor of Dendera (plate 3.17). There are nine priests and each one is carrying a portable chapel (table 3.8). Each chapel is accompanied by the name of its deity. Why is this procession depicted in that particular place? Waitkus has proven through his work on the subterranean crypts of the temple of Dendera, that these crypts were used as a storage place for the statues of the deities of the temple (1995: 284; 1997: 235-236). Therefore the procession shows the statues being brought from the crypts.

Additionally, Cauville has studied the statues represented on the walls of the crypts, their accompanying texts, their forms, materials and measurements (1987b: 76-117). Of the 162 statues represented on the walls of the crypts, there are thirty types of representations for Hathor, seven for Isis and fifteen for Horus (Cauville 1990b: 16). On the contrary, Hoffmann pointed out that the measurements of the heights accompanying the representations of these statues are not the heights of the real statues but denote theological modes and holy plans (2002: 113).

The only three differences between the scenes are: 1) The number of the statues is nine and not ten like those depicted on the walls of the eastern and western staircases. 2) The name of the deity which accompanies the fifth chapel is destroyed. 3) The priests are not using the bands to support the chapels as in the cases of the staircases. The members of the Ennead of Dendera appearing in the eastern crypt no.2 are: 1) Horus the Behdetite. 2) Hathor, lady of Dendera, Uraeus of Re. 3) Horus-sema-tawy, the great god, who resides in Dendera. 4) Ihy, the great, son of Hathor. 5) Destroyed. 6) Hathor, lady of Dendera, son of Re, who is upon the great seat, Hathor, lady of Dendera, Tamenit. 7) Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit. 8) Osiris-Wenn-nefer, victorious, the great god. 9) Isis, the great one, the god's mother, lady of Iat-di.



Plate 3.17: Eastern & northern wall-Eastern Crypt no. 2, Chamber C.

After Cauville 2004: pl. XIX.

By comparing the members of this procession and those of the eastern and western staircases, the identity of the fifth deity whose name is lost can be shown to be Horus-sema-tawy, pa-khered, son of Hathor. Additionally, it would appear that the portable chapel number four has two forms of Hathor at the same time: “Hathor, lady of Dendera, son of Re, who is upon the great seat, Hathor, lady of Dendera, Tamenit”. Preys suggests that the reason behind this is that the chapel contained two statues of the two forms of the goddess probably due to the lack of space (2006a: 354, footnote10).

A close analysis of these two forms of Hathor shows that they were connected with many scenes of the feast of drunkenness in the temple of Dendera such as: a scene in the roof kiosk, which shows the ten sacred objects of Hathor that are offered to “Hathor Ta-menit” and “Hathor who is upon her great seat” (D VIII 25, 16; 27, 9). Additionally, there are two scenes in the *Pr-wr*, the first shows Hathor Ta-menit receiving the *menit* (D VIII 70, 3) and the second one depicts Hathor who is upon her great seat receiving the monumental gate (D VIII 80, 9). Furthermore, it is worth noting that these two forms of Hathor were mentioned in the texts of the festival of the 5th of *Paophi* (Cauville 2002: 104). Hence, these two forms of Hathor have a strong relation to the extent that they can be in one portable chapel.

One might think it was an attempt to preserve the orthodox number of the ennead by putting two forms of Hathor in the same *Naos*. But if this is the case, why were these two forms of Hathor chosen in particular? The whole arrangement of the processions suggests that the temple of Dendera had a different scenario for the usage of its statues and also the direction that the procession took. The statues used were stored in the crypts and then they were used in the religious festivals. Despite the fact that a text in the eastern crypt no. 2 might imply a connection to the Festival of Drunkenness because it states: *wynyw n Twnt th.tw m šw* “the inhabitants of Iunet are drunk with wine” (D V 60, 3-7; Cauville 2004: 144-145), besides some of the offering rituals of this crypt are connected to that festival (Sternberg-El-Hotabi 1992: 101-109). In contrast, Preys believes after studying the scenes of the rituals depicted in the crypt, that these rituals can be performed for any festival and not just the festival of Drunkenness (1998: 932). The latter conclusion can be ascertained by the following text: *m33.sn Nbwt m-ḥnt Pr-Nbwt (hr) psd r-ḥ3 m ḥbw.s* “they see the Golden one in the House of the Golden one shines in her festivals” (D V 60, 7; Cauville 2004: 146-147).

It is worth noting that the previously mentioned ten deities of the processions during the festivals (reduced to nine through lack of space) coincide with the list of the deities of the temple of Hathor represented on the northern doorjamb of the Chamber of the Eastern Staircase and the rest are represented on the southern doorjamb. The following is the list of the deities.

Deities mentioned on the northern doorjamb (D VII 140, 3-4) in addition to Hathor, the great lady of Dendera are: 1) Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky. 2) Hathor lady of Dendera, the Uraeus of Re. 3) Horus-sema-tawy, the great god, who resides in Dendera. Deities mentioned on the southern doorjamb (D VII 140, 6-7): 4) Ihy, the great, son of Hathor. 5) Horus-sema-tawy, the child son of Hathor. 6) Hathor, lady of Dendera, son of Re, who is upon his great seat [...]. 7) Hathor, lady of Dendera, Ta-menit. 8) Horus-sema-tawy, the great god, lord of Khadit. 9) Osiris-Wenn-nefer, the victorious, the great god, who resides in Dendera. 10) Isis, the great, the god's mother.

The previously mentioned list is also mentioned in the inventory inscribed on the walls of the temple of Edfu (North Western door of the court of Edfu) (E V 346, 3-6; Cauville 1988:7) with some slight additions of epithets. The list ends with four lacunas and, although it is not obvious whether the list ends or continues, the resemblance is outstanding. The list mentions the following deities after Hathor the great, lady of Dendera: 1) Horus, the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky. 2) Hathor, lady of Dendera, the Uraeus of Re. 3) Horus-sema-tawy, who resides in Dendera. 4) Ihy, the great, son of Hathor. 5) Horus-sema-tawy, the child, son of Hathor. 6) Hathor, lady of [Dendera], who is [upon her great seat]. 7) Hathor, lady of Dendera, Ta-menit. 8) Horus-sema-tawy, the great god, lord of Khadit. 9) Osiris-wenn-nefer, the victorious, the great god, who resides in Dendera. 10) Isis, the great, god's mother, lady of Khadit, who resides in Dendera.

Another inventory of the deities mentioned in the temple of Dendera (D VI 154; Daumas 1969: 62; Cauville 2004: 457-458) lists twenty one deities some of which have never appeared before such as: Shu, Tefnut, Bastet, Min, Khonsu, and Thoth. The relation between the deities represented during the processions of the New Year whose statues are supposed to be placed in the Central Hall and those mentioned in the inventory of the temple are clear in the case of the temple of Dendera because they match. Thus, the Ennead of *Ntryt* is the one represented during the procession, their statues are placed in the Central Hall and their gods are listed by one of the inventories of the temple. Additionally, the place where this ennead is mentioned is the entrance of the door of the western staircase used for ascending the roof. This might be evidence that the Ennead of *Ntryt* is the one whose members participated in the procession of the New Year festival and whose statues were placed in the Central Hall. In addition to

Ch.3-Doc.21, it is evident now that this is the ennead that accompanies Hathor to the roof in the portable chapels.

This ennead is also depicted on the lintels of the two doors (eastern and western) of the ambulatory around the sanctuary (Cauville 1991: 76). On the eastern lintel, the king offers a vase with one hand and raises his hand in the attitude of adoration before a group of five deities (D I 73-74, pl. 71). This group consists of: 1) Hathor. 2) Horus the Behdetite. 3) Hathor, [the Uraeus] of Re. 4) Horus-sema-tawy. 5) Ihy the great. 6) Horus-sema-tawy, the child. The scene on the western lintel shows the king is depicted in the same attitude as in the eastern scene but the queen follows him (D I 79-80, pl. 72). He offers to a group of five deities. It consists of: 1) Hathor, who is upon the great seat. 2) Hathor, Ta-menit. 3) Horus-sema-tawy, the great god. 4) Osiris (wenn-nefer). 5) Isis the great, the god's mother.

This group of deities are also depicted on the cornice south-east of the *Pronaos* of the temple of Dendera where the king performs the ritual of *f3i-ih* "raising offerings" before them (D XIV 205-208). The text refers to these deities as: *ntrw wrw* "great gods" (D XIV 206, 12), *shmw wrw* "the great powers" (D XIV 206, 14), *K3w ntrw m K3b t3wy* "the divine *kas* of Dendera" (D XIV 208, 8), and *Psdt Twnt* "the Ennead of Dendera" (D XIV 208, 9).

The ennead appears on the exterior wall of the *Pronaos*, roof of the temple (D XV 351, 11-353, 8) consisting of the same eleven members. The text refers to them as: *ntrw pn 3w wrw Psdt ntr(t) nw Twnt shmw nn hnt t3 n Itm* "these very great gods, the divine Ennead of Dendera, these statues in the land of Atum".

The same ennead appears again during the Roman period in the temple of Isis at Dendera on the frieze of the eastern wall of Sanctuary A (*pr wr*). The king is shown offering *š3 n nbw* "wine jars of gold" to eleven deities behind Hathor who are depicted squatting (Cauville 2008: 105-106; Cauville 2009: 58-59).

Two groups of deities appear on the walls of the Sanctuary. The first group is depicted on the fourth register of the eastern wall while the king is offering *wsh*-collar. It consists of six deities (D I 47-48): 1) Hathor, the great, lady of Dendera. 2) Horus the Behdetite.

3) Ihy the great son of Hathor. 4) Hathor, lady of Dendera, who is upon the great place. 5) Horus-sema-tawy, the great god, lord of Khadit. 6) Tefnut, daughter of Re in Dendera. The text refers to these deities as: *Ddw m T3-n-Itmw* “Ancestors of the land of Atum”, *Drtyw hnt T3-rr* “the fundamental gods in Tarer, *Šspw hnt Msn* “the primordial gods in Mesen” (Cauville 1998: 78-79). *Drtyw* is also used to refer to statues of the deities kept in the crypts of the temple (Waitkus 1997: 269-270).

The second group has the same number of deities, the same offering and consists of (D I 65-67): 1) Hathor the great, lady of Iunet, the Uraeus of Re. 2) Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit. 3) Horus-sema-tawy, the child, son of Hathor. 4) Hathor, lady of Iunet, Tamenit. 5) Osiris wenn-nefer, the victorious. 6) Isis, the great, the god’s mother. The text refers to them as: *Šhmw hnt Pr-Špst* “the strong ones in the house of the august one”, *k3w špsw K3b t3wy* “the august *kas* of Dendera”, *Šspw hnt Pr-Wt* “the primordial gods in sanctuary of the unique one” (Cauville 1998: 104-105).

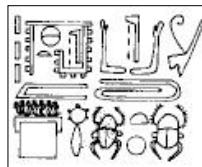
It is obvious that these two groups of deities form the Ennead of Dendera in addition to a new deity Tefnut. This may be for artistic reasons as they are supposed to be the Ennead of Edfu facing the Ennead of Dendera so as to make them identical in number and to fill the space allocated to these deities.

Ch.3-Doc. 22:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the western external wall of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: Cauville 1990a: 101-102, pl. II; PM VI 78 (238)-(247).



Wsht Psdt m-rwty hry k3w ntrw n Phr-T3wy

“The Hall of the Ennead (is placed) towards the exterior containing the divine *kas* of Dendera”.

This text links the Central Hall to another group of deities who are called the divine *kas* of Dendera. It is worth mentioning that this term was first read by Cauville as *k3w ntrw n Phr-T3wy* (1990a: 101). Later on she reads it as *k3w ntrw n K3b-T3wy* (Cauville 2001: 371) and also Leitz who reads it as *k3w n K3b-T3wy* (LGG VII 244) and following him Kockelmann (2002: 197). The term should be investigated further in order to reveal the identity of the ‘Divine *kas*’. The term appears several times in the texts of the temple of Dendera (D VII 184, 13-14; D VIII/I 137; D VIII/II, pl. DCCCVI; D VIII/I 13). These two particular documents show that this epithet was used to refer to the Ennead of *Ntryt*.

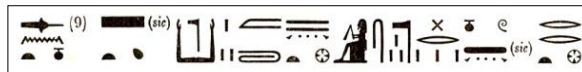
Ch.3-Doc.23:

Type: text accompanying a scene.

Description of the Scene: The king is represented offering *maet* to nine deities.

Location: the southern wall of the southern crypt no.4.

Bibliography: D VI 61, 14, pl. DIV; PM VI 89 (103)-(104); Cauville 2004: 337-339.



Mn n.tn m3t k3w m K3b t3wy Špsw wrw nw T3-rr

‘Take to yourselves *maet* the divine *kas* of Dendera, the great august ones of Tarer’.

By comparing the members of this group of deities by the Ennead of *Ntryt*, it is noticed that their number does not match the number of the ennead i.e. ten. The missing member is one of the forms of Hathor i.e. Hathor, Ta-menit. In that case, this form of Hathor is not attached to any other form as before. This is the second time this form of Hathor is neglected.

Ch.3-Doc. 24:

Type: text (column behind the deities) accompanying a scene.

Location: the eastern wall of the western crypt no. 3.

Description of the scene: The King followed by the queen offers *Maet* to eleven deities.

Bibliography: D VI 162, 6-8, pl. DLXXIX; PM VI 90 (130); Cauville 2004: 462-465.



*Nsyw-bityw K3w ntrw nw K3b-T3wy dddw wrw nw T3-rr šmw špsw ir hrt.sn m m3't htp
hmw.sn hr gs-db nbw šfy t hnt i3wt nt t3 dsrw sšmw m niwwt*

“Kings and Queens of Upper and Lower Egypt, the divine *kas* of Dendera, the great enduring ones of Tarer, the august statues who make their share of Maet, their majesties are satisfied with Maet, lords of dignity before the mounds of the land, sacred are the statues in the cities”.

The members of this ennead are identical with the Ennead of *Ntryt*. It is considered as the Ennead of Dendera (Cauville 1991: 67-90). In the latter case, the main deity of the temple is added to the ennead.

3.6.1.2 *Psdt 3htyt*:

As for the second ennead  *3htyt* that is represented on the walls of the Central Hall of Dendera. The following documents illustrate that fact.

Ch.3-Doc.25:

Type: text.

Location: the eastern wall of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: D IV 60, 7; PM VI 57; Cauville 2002: 120-121.



šspw nw Psdt.s ht m-hnt.s

“The representations of her ennead are engraved inside it”.

This text confirms that the representations of the Ennead of Hathor are incised on the walls of the Central Hall. This is confirmed by the usage of the verb *ht* which denotes the idea of 2-D representation i.e relief rather than 3-D i.e a statue.

Ch.3-Doc. 26:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the western wall of the Central Hall.

Bibliography: D IV 59, 3; PM VI 57; Cauville 2001: 120-121.



šhmw dsrw nw Psdt hmt.s sphr r nfr m-hnt.s

“The sacred effigies of the ennead of her majesty are represented in perfection inside it”.

These two previous texts Ch. 3-Doc.25 and Ch.3-Doc. 26 link the ennead of Hathor to the Central Hall of Dendera without revealing its name or the members of the ennead. The answer could be found in the next text.

Ch.3-Doc. 27:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the Central Hall of Dendera.

Bibliography: D IV 58, 2; PM VI 57; Cauville 2001: 118-119.



šspw wrw nw Psdt 3htyt ht r mnḥ im.s

“The great representations of the Ennead of the Horizon are engraved in perfection inside it (Central Hall)”.

This text is particularly important as it answers the questions raised because of the last two texts as it reveals the identity of the ennead, *Psdt 3htyt* which is represented on the walls of the Central Hall. Daumas translated this term as “l’Ennéade de l’Horizontale” (1958: 110) and thus agrees with Cauville’s translation and also with Leitz’s translation “Die Neunheit der Horizontischen” (LGG III 136). Nothing more can be disclosed about the members of this ennead as it is mentioned only once in the texts of the temple of Dendera (D IV 58, 1; Cauville 2001, 118-119; LGG III 136). Additionally, it

confirms and stresses the same idea carried by Ch.3-Doc.29 i.e. 2-D representations on the walls of the Central Hall.

3.6.2 Deities-Iconographic Evidence:

As for the deities represented on the walls of the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera, the following illustrates the classification according to their different forms.

3.6.2.1 Hathor:

The four main forms of Hathor in the temple of Dendera are not all represented on the walls of the Central Hall as only two forms of Hathor can be recognised.

1) Hathor the main deity of Dendera with her full epithets “Hathor, the great, lady of Dendera, the eye of Re, lady of the sky, mistress of all the gods”.

Additionally, different aspects of Hathor can be recognised.

a) Solar aspect: she who shines before the horizon of eternity (D IV 65, 7); who shines in the horizon at the front of the bark of Re (D IV 95, 2-3); the elder female solar disc of the solar disc (D IV 67, 2); the excellent protectress (D IV 67, 2-3); lady of brightness (D IV 68, 15); who makes bright this land (D IV 77, 9); the people are illuminated by her rays of light (D IV 96, 11); “who illuminates this land” (D IV 96, 11). b) Provisioner: lady of bread, who makes beer (D IV 64, 6). c) Protectress: the strong one of her father (D IV 67, 3). d) Astral aspect: The great Sopdet, who makes [Hapy], pours out (D IV 83, 11); the female Sopdet, who makes Hapy pours out from his cavern (D IV 87, 5).

Hathor is also identified with other goddesses: Tefnut, daughter of Re (D IV 63, 11); the great Seshat (D IV 87, 5); Bastet before Bubastis of the south, Sekhmet who drives away the wrong doing (D IV 71, 7); Seshat the great, the mistress and lady of writing (D IV 78, 4); Maet the great, daughter of Re in the Place of Re, the great wife of law (D IV 91, 19-92, 2); “lady of writing” (D IV 71, 7).

In addition to Dendera, according to the texts she is associated with the following provenances: mistress of Punt (D IV 70, 11); lady of Punt (D IV 71, 6); lady of Pe and Dep (D IV 71, 7).

Finally, as for the epithet of *nbt yt rhyt* (D IV 83, 11) it appears with Hathor on the left side (west) of the axis of the temple of Dendera where Isis is supposed to appear according to the system of the decoration of the temple (Preys 2006a: 354). When Hathor possesses this epithet, she is identified as Isis and she stresses the unity between them and reflects the Isis aspect of Hathor (Preys 2002 c: 328, 339, 351; Preys 2008a: 1554-1555, 1557). In that particular case in the Central Hall, Hathor *nbt yt rhyt* is identified with Sothis and the wind of the North (D IV 56, 8) (Preys 2002c: 339, 342) which denotes an astral aspect. It is worth noting that Hathor possesses this epithet in Dendera more than Isis (Preys 2002c: 328). Regarding the epithet of *bik ntryt* “divine female falcon” (D IV 70, 11), it is connected with the festival of the 5th of *Paophi* which is also called “the day of bringing *th*-plants which is mentioned in the calendar of Hathor at Dendera where she appears as a female falcon (Preys 2007a: 40-49). It seems that this is not the only festival, as during the festival of the New Year, which was celebrated from the 30th of *Mesore* till the 5th of *Thoth*, the statue of the female falcon of Hathor with a human head was moved from the treasury towards the terraces of the temple of Dendera (Noblecourt 1982: 193). Sometimes Hathor is identified with Mut as in the case of (D IV 76, 1) where she is referred to as “*ḥk3t m W3st*” (Preys 1999: 265, footnote 34). Regarding her epithet “she is the daughter of Ir-ta snake, who comes forth from his body” (D IV 87, 5; D IV 216, 13), which is mentioned only once in the Central Hall, it links Hathor to Ir-ta as his daughter and, therefore, one of the first created beings. When Hathor bears this epithet which is frequently attested in several places of the temple of Dendera (Preys 2006b: 210-215) she becomes the creator that takes care of the wellbeing of the creation, she is connected with the inundation and the fertility of the country. She also guarantees the production of the provisions and she is responsible for the cult of her ancestor father (Preys 2006b: 215).

2) Hathor, the Uraeus of Re appears once in scene [D-Sw-Es-R3] whose solar aspect is reflected from her epithet “who makes bright the sun rays” (D IV 73, 10). This epithet denotes an important aspect of that form of Hathor i.e. solar (Preys 2006a: 370) and by extension ensure that this quality is placed in the Central Hall. As for the two different

writings of her name *ḥryt-tp n Rꜥ* and *Tpt n Rꜥ*, the two readings are used as variants (Preys 2006a: 371). Additionally, *ḥryt-tp* is an epithet used for different forms of Hathor (Preys 2006a: 374).

3.6.2.2 Horus the Behdetite:

Horus the Behdetite appears in the Central Hall with his full epithets “the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, who comes forth from the horizon” (D IV 62, 14-15). He appears on the walls of the Central Hall in scenes [D-Nw-Es-R2-2] and [D-Nw-Es-R1-2]. Other aspects can be reflected through other epithets, such as his solar aspect: “Re-Horakhty who shines in the east” (D IV 66, 7), “Re-Horakhty” (D IV 95, 4). He is also connected with the greenery of the land and its fertility “who makes green the plants when he shines, the beautiful child who creates the grains, all the (hair of the earth) plants bloom at seeing him” (D IV 66, 7-8). His triumph over Seth as a warrior is reflected through his epithet “the champion of who stabs Seth” (D IV 62, 15).

3.6.2.3 Horus-sema-tawy:

Only two specific forms of Horus-sema-tawy can be identified. 1) Horus-sema-tawy, the child, son of Hathor who appears on the walls of the Central Hall in scenes [D-Nw-Ws-R3-1], [D-Nw-Ws-R2-1] and [D-Nw-Ws-R1-1]. 2) Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit, the great god, who resides in Dendera [D-Nw-Es-R4-2], [D-Nw-Es-R3-2], [D-Nw-Ws-R3-2], [D-Nw-Ws-R2-2], [D-Sw-Es-R4], [D-Sw-Ws-R4], [D-Sw-Es-R3] and [D-Ww-R4-2]. The former reflects his aspect as a child: “the beautiful child of the golden one” (D IV 88, 6) or the shortened form “the beautiful child” (D IV 97, 9), “the august child” (D IV 55, 16; D IV 84, 13), “the great and first (son) of Horus” (D IV 80, 16). As for the epithet of Horus of the East (D IV 73, 12) Žabkar points out that he could be one of the forms of Horus who was worshipped at Heliopolis in his temple there. He was also identified with Horus son of Isis (1988:83). Additionally, Horus of the East is used as an epithet Horakhty as mentioned in Dendera (Kurth 1975:15).

3.6.2.4 Ihy:

As a child deity his epithets reflect this fact “the beautiful child” (D IV 65, 8; D IV 68, 16; D IV 72, 2; D IV, 82, 16; D IV 86, 8), “the beautiful child of the great ennead” (D IV 73, 15). His solar aspect is reflected through: “Re himself before the place of Re” (D IV 73, 14), “Re himself before the Mansion of Sistrum” (D IV 61, 16; D IV 78, 9; D IV 91, 7), “it is Re before the pure mansion” (D IV 65, 8), “who shines everyday” (D IV 65, 8; D IV 78, 10), “he is Re before Iat-di” (D IV 82, 14).

As a mysterious deity: “no one knows his form” (D IV 86, 8-9, 17), “hidden of forms” (D IV 86, 9; D IV 91, 7-8). He is also a king: “who seizes the white crown as king of Egypt” (D IV 72, 2), “king of eternity” (D IV 73, 14), “the excellent king” (D IV 78, 9). His short forms of epithets “the great, son of Hathor” (D IV 61, 16; D IV 63, 17; d IV 65, 8; D IV 67, 8; D IV 68, 16; D IV 72, 2; D IV 73, 14; D IV 77, 4; D IV 78, 9; D IV 82, 14; D IV 86, 8; D IV 91, 7; D IV 96, 5) is mentioned alone four times and were also included among the other epithets. Ihy is called the “great god” only once in the Central Hall (D IV 82, 17) and this epithet is associated with another three representations of Ihy in the Central Hall (D IV 85, 17-86; D IV 90, 14-91; D IV 71, 10-72, 4) where he is identified with the solar god Re in the first two representations and he is the principal deity in these scenes which are associated with the birth of the deity and gaining power (Preys 2001: 153-154).

3.6.2.5 Isis:

Only one form can be identified from her epithets i.e. “Isis, the great, god’s mother, lady of Iat-di who resides in Dendera”. Her various aspects are as follows.

Solar: “the sun light shines when she opens her eyes” (D IV 84, 11-12). She is assimilated with many deities: “the great Seshat, lady of the mansion of books (D IV 72, 18). Sekhmet: “Sekhmet who is strong with her rebels, who causes to rejuvenate her brother in the nomes” (D IV 88, 5). Additionally, she also “protects her brother in the temples” (D IV 92, 11) and “who makes young her brother in the cities and nomes” (D IV 73, 2). As for the epithet “who makes bright (Egypt) six day feast to its whole” (D IV 73, 2), Aufrère suggests that the sixth day feast of the lunar month is the day when

the moon enters the phase of visibility and growth (1991: 273). Its name implies that it was celebrated each lunar month (Wilson 1997: 857). Regarding the epithet “who gives birth in Dendera at the night of the child in his nest” this day “*grḥ imy sš.f* the night of the child in his nest” according to Cauville is the name of the fourth epagomenal day when Isis was born (2001: 875; Alliot 1949: 249; Grimm 1994: 144-147; Harrison 1994: 77-79). It was mentioned twice in the Central Hall (D IV 60, 13; D IV 84, 11). Her birth was celebrated “in the shape of a black and red woman” (Bleeker 1973: 64). According to the New Kingdom evidence found in Papyrus Leyden 346 II 5 with III 4 and Papyrus Cairo (JdE 86637), this day is mentioned as the fifth day and it belongs to Nephthys, while the other part of the Papyrus Cairo (Verso XV) shows that day as the third day (Spalinger 1995: 35-37). The Middle Kingdom texts indicate that it was the fourth day (Spalinger 1995: 38; Urk VI 143, 18-19). The texts of Dendera show that this term is associated with Isis more than any other deity (Spalinger 1995: 40-41). Her name was enclosed in a cartouche (D IV 74, 10) which frequently appears with some deities in the Ptolemaic period especially in Dendera which is different from the cartouches of the deities during the Dynastic period which are associated with the solar destiny of spell 16 of the Book of the Dead (Spieser 2002: 85-95).

3.6.2.6 Osiris-wenn-nefer:

He appears on the walls of the Central Hall in scenes [D-Nw-Ws-R4-1] and [D-Sw-Ws-R3]. As lord of the necropolis, Osiris-wenn-nefer, his epithets highlight this fact “the great sovereign in the necropolis” (D IV 93, 9), “who raises the infinity (necropolis), stable containing his representation” (D IV 93, 10). Only one form can be recognised “Osiris-wenn-nefer, the victorious, the great god, who resides in Dendera”. He is also a child: “the beautiful child who makes bright those who are inside the primordial water” (D IV 92, 12-13). He is also the ruler of the gods: “king of the gods” (D IV 92, 12), “chief of the gods” (D IV 93, 10). Furthermore, he is the “lord of life” (D IV 93, 10). His name was also enclosed in a cartouch (D IV 92, 12; D IV 93, 8).

3.6.2.7 Horus son of Isis:

He appears on the walls of the Central Hall in scenes [D-Nw-Ws-R4-2] and [D-Sw-Ws-R3]. Although Horus is son of Isis; his epithets also link him to Osiris (D IV 74, 10; D

IV 92, 12; D IV 94, 5). His epithets describe him as “great god who resides in Dendera” (D IV 74, 10; D IV 92, 12; D IV 94, 5). Additionally, his sovereignty as a king is expressed as being “the excellent king” (D IV 92, 14-15) and as “the excellent king equipped with the double crown” (D IV 94, 6). He is the “the beautiful protector” (D IV 74, 11), “the excellent protector who protects Egypt” (D IV 94, 6). He is also “lord of the temples” (D IV 74, 11) and “lord of the temples without his equal” (D IV 94, 6-7). His rulership is reflected through “ruler of the nine bows” (D IV 92, 15), “ruler of the South, who decrees the words in the North, who gathers tribute in the East and the West” (D IV 74, 12), “ruler of the North” (D IV 94, 6). His unique position can be understood as being “the only god before the ennead” (D IV 92, 15).

After analysing the deities represented on the walls of the Central Hall of Dendera and comparing then with the *Psdt Ntryt*, it is deduced that two forms of Hathor do not appear on the walls of the Central Hall i.e. Hathor, Ta-menit and Hathor who is upon the great seat. Two triads are depicted i.e. Hathor, Horus the Behdetite and Horus-sema-tawy on the eastern side and the second one comprises Isis, Osiris and Horus son of Isis on the eastern side (see table 4.35).

As for the deities and their connection with the eleven chapels surrounding the sanctuary (Cauville 1990b: 47-48), only four of those deities possess a chapel. These deities and their chapels are (Cauville 1999a:2): Isis (chapel of *St-mshnt*), Horus of Edfu (chapel of *Nst-R*), Horus-sema-tawy (chapel of *Hwt sm3-t3wy*) and Sokar-Osiris (chapel of *Hwt-Skr*). As for Hathor, seven chapels are preserved for her (chapels of *Hwt-mnit*, *Pr-nw*, *Hwt-shm*, *Pr-nsr*, *Pr-wr*, *Hwt-w^cb*, *W^crt hpr h3t*). That means the following deity does not have a chapel and still he is represented i.e. Ihy.

3.7 Discussion:

It is apparent from the epigraphic evidence of the investigated temples, that the Central Hall is connected to one ennead as in the case of Edfu i.e. Ennead of Mesen or two as in the case of Dendera i.e. Ennead of *Ntryt* and *3htyt* or all the deities of Philae as in the case of Philae. Regarding the temple of Kom Ombo, it is evident that there is at least one ennead existed i.e. ennead of Horwer; however, this ennead was not linked to the Central Hall. With the lack of epigraphic evidence regarding an ennead connected with

the Central Hall in the two temples of Philae and Kom Ombo, a conclusive answer cannot be reached in these two particular cases.

As for Edfu, the Ennead of Mesen is connected to its Central Hall. The scenes of the western wall of the western staircase are additional iconographic evidence that this is the only ennead which is firmly linked to the Central Hall of Edfu. The members of this ennead, nine in number, remain a mystery as their names were not inscribed. Other epigraphic evidence suggests that this ennead is represented on the walls of the Central Hall. The analysis of the deities represented on the wall of the Central Hall sheds the light on the forms and aspects of the deities in this particular location of the temple. Additionally, the members of a group of the deities from Edfu that appeared in the temple of Dendera cannot be recognised as the Ennead of Mesen as they were never identified as such.

Regarding the Central Hall of Dendera, according to the epigraphic evidence, two enneads are connected to the Central Hall. The first ennead is the Ennead of *Ntryt* which is the one whose portable chapels were carried by the priests to participate in the festivals taking place in the temple to be placed in the Central Hall. Epigraphic and iconographic evidence stress that this ennead, was represented on the walls of the eastern and western staircases of Dendera leading to the roof of the temple, in addition to another representation in one of the crypts of the temple.

The second ennead, called *Psdt 3htyt* “Ennead of the Horizon”, is supposed to be represented on the walls of the Central Hall of Dendera according to the epigraphic evidence. The analysis of the deities represented on the walls of the Central Hall of Dendera reveals the different forms of these deities and their aspects. The epigraphic evidence stating the Ennead of the Horizon never reveals the identity of the members.

Concerning the epigraphic evidence of Philae, the Central Hall is connected to all the deities of Philae without specifying them. Additionally, no textual evidence is found in the temple of Kom Ombo which links its Central Hall to an ennead. However, the existence of an ennead of Horwer in the temple may denote that their portable chapels were carried to the Central Hall following Horwer in procession.

Table 3.6: Enneads of the Central Halls

Central Hall	Evidence	Enneads of the Central Hall
Edfu	Epigraphic/ Iconographic	Ennead of Mesen
Dendera	Epigraphic/ Iconographic	Ennead of <i>Ntryt</i>
	Epigraphic	Ennead of the <i>3htyt</i>
Philae	Epigraphic	All the deities of Philae
Kom Ombo	---	----

After investigating the deities represented on the walls of the Central Halls of the four temples, several issues should be highlighted at this stage.

Were the deities pre-chosen before the construction of the temple and was there a reference used?

A recent discovery by Quack while studying the papyri of the *Book of the Temple* is that particular deities were connected with certain places in the temples as can be shown by the following text: “Knowing the gods and goddesses that should be in every temple in Upper and Lower Egypt” (2007: 214). This fact is ascertained by part of the *Book of the Temple* which mentions a list of deities connected with the Hall of Offerings in the temple and among these deities are the seven cows of the *Book of the Dead* and their bull (Quack 2004: 18; Quack 2007: 217). The depiction of these cows and their bull on the walls the Hall of Offerings in the following temples prove this part of the *Book of the Temple*: Philae (Bénédite 1893: pl. XI), Dendera (D VII/II, pl. XXXVb), Kom Ombo (Gutbub 1995: No. 327) and El-Qalaa (Pantalacci & Traunecker 1990: 80).

The part of the *Book of the Temple* mentioning the deities of the Central Hall is not complete and full of lacunas in many papyri. At this point, it is worth noting that the following examples which illustrate the fact that some parts of religious books were used to cover some parts of the temples: parts of the temple of Kom Ombo (a doorjamb

of the southern door of the outer corridor) (PM VI 197 (220), 180) which were executed during the Roman period were inscribed with parts of the *Book of the Fayum* (Papyrus Boulaq Hood) (De Morgan 1895: 132, pl. 172; Lanzone 1896: pl. 3; Yoyotte 1962: 101; Beinlich 1991: 64; Tait 2003: 183-184, fig. 10:1). E. Winter (1967: 59-60; 74-80) noted another papyrus (Aeg. 9976) which dates to the Ptolemaic period i.e. reign of Ptolemy VIII Eurgetes II. It has drawings for the way in which a doorjamb of a temple or inner walls of a *Naos* should be inscribed. Additionally, texts of the hours of the *Book of the Day* are found in Edfu (E III 213-219; Assman 1969: 113-164; Hornung 1999: 179). Furthermore, the *Book of the Night* is found at the temples of Deir El-Bahari (Karkowski 1976: 69-70) and Medinet Habu (Piankoff 1943: 351-353). This example differs from the former ones as this is a rough draft for what is intended to be drawn on the wall and not a copy from a papyrus having part or all of a religious book.

Other examples are the developed and slightly changed quotations of the litany of Re-Horakhty from the Chester Beatty Papyrus VIII, dating to the 20th Dynasty which are found inscribed on the Gate of Ptolemy III at Karnak (Gasse 1984: 191; Urk VIII 125; Clère 1961: pls. 72-73) and inside the *Pronaos* of the temple of Edfu, dating to Ptolemy VIII (E III 10-11; E III 34-35; Gasse 1984: 192). Quoting parts from the religious books such as the *Book of the Dead* was a tendency in ancient Egypt as this can also be found in the tombs (Saleh 1984). Furthermore, the ritual of Amenhotep I which was preserved on papyri was depicted on the walls of the temples (Bacchi 1942; Nelson 1949: 201-229). The decorations of walls of the temples were taken from a catalogue or reference books and it was up to the priest to choose from them (Poo 1993: 352; Poo 2008: 1530). With the translation of the Tebtunis papyri, it seems that there is a record of the ritual liturgies used in the daily temple rituals (Osing & Tosati 1998: 101-128).

The case of the *Book of the Temple* is quite different as it states exactly which deity belongs to which place in the temple. Besides, it acts like a guide book of how the ideal temple should be built in ancient Egypt and also, to some extent, decorated as well. Moreover, a very important thing which the *Book of the Temple* does other than any other document, is that it helps to identify the places inside the temple where there are no dedicatory inscriptions, like those found in Edfu and Dendera.

After analysing the deities represented on the walls of the Central Halls of the studied temples, it is evident that there is no fixed pattern between temples concerning the gods and the goddesses represented on the walls of the Central Halls in the investigated temples. Each temple has its own agenda for representing the deities in this particular hall. These deities are connected to the main deity of the temple or are among the deities mentioned in the inventory of the deities of the temple. Thus, the Central Hall of each temple acts as a mirror which reflects the mythology of the temple in terms of the deities represented on its walls. In the case of the temple of Kom Ombo with the loss of the two walls of the Central Hall, a conclusive result is beyond reach in this particular case.

This is understandable as each temple has its own theology and thus, the specific temple deities should be connected with the Central Hall. It suggests that there was no national version of an ennead. Thus, each temple reflects its own individuality regarding the ennead connected to the Central Hall. Despite that fact that the *Book of the Temple* states the deities which appear in each place in the temple, it does not seem to have been obligatory and there was a large margin of freedom which gives a chance to the creativity of the priests and thus reflecting the uniqueness and the distinctiveness of each temple. Hence, these enneads are the genuine invention of the temples of Edfu and Dendera. The epigraphic and iconographic evidences record that the gods' portable shrines are to be placed in the Central Hall so that the gods participate in the festivals. This conclusion is restricted mainly to the Central Hall of the temples of Edfu and Dendera, because only they have relevant texts. The texts of the temples of Philae and Kom Ombo are parsimonious in contrast.

Chapter Four

Principles of Decorations of the Central Halls

4.1 Introduction:

Having explored the enneads and the deities connected to the Central Halls, this chapter is devoted to the study of the Principles of Decoration or in other words to the *Grammaire du Temple* of the Central Halls, a term first introduced by Ph. Dechain (1962: 31-65) and afterwards approved and adopted by E. Winter (1968: 14; 1987: 61-76). This term implies that there are patterns used to decorate the walls of the temple. As E. Vassilika pointed out, according to her study of the temple of Isis at Philae (1989: 7), the internal rules of the *Grammaire du Temple* may differ from one room to another in the same temple. It also seems that there are differences from one temple to another; hence, the main aim of this chapter is to give a complete picture about the decoration of the Central Halls of the studied temples and to find out whether there are fixed patterns used to decorate the walls of the Central Halls of the studied temples or each hall has its own pattern. This point is particularly important so as to examine the similarities and dissimilarities of the decoration of the same place in the studied temples during the reigns of different Ptolemaic kings.

4.2 Philae:

4.2.1 The External Face of the Door:

The top of the door is decorated with a simple *hkrw*-frieze (Bénédite 1893: pl. XI). This frieze does not appear on any of the other external doors of the studied temples.

4.2.1.1 The External Lintel:

It is divided into two scenes as in the case of Dendera. The eastern scene [Ph-ED-L-E] depicts the king offering two *nw*-jars (*rdit irp*) to Isis, the great, the god's mother, lady of *i3t-rk* who is shown seated and followed by Horus-*p3-hrd*, son of Isis who is shown standing (PM VI 241 (326)). While the western scene [Ph-ED-L-W] shows the king offering two *sistrums* (*ir ssšt*) to Isis, giver of life, who resides in *iw-wbt* seated on a throne and followed by Horus-*p3-hrd*, son of Osiris who is represented standing (PM VI 241 (325)).

4.2.1.2 The External Doorjambs:

Unlike the external doorjambs of Edfu and Dendera (see 4.3.1.2; 4.5.1.2), those of Philae are divided into three registers only (PM VI 241 (325-326)) (table 4.1). The eastern scene on the first register is destroyed [Ph-EDJ-R1] and the king offers wine to Osiris on the western scene [Ph-WDJ-R1]. The second register shows the king offering the *wtt*-symbol to Sekhmet on the western side [Ph-WDJ-R2] and the *sistrum* on the eastern side to Hathor [Ph-EDJ-R2]. While the third register shows the king offering lettuce to Min on the western side [Ph-WDJ-R3] and *maet* to Thoth on the eastern side [Ph-EDJ-R3]. All of the deities in the three registers are shown standing. The diversity of the deities represented on the registers of the doorjambs of the external face of the Central Hall of Philae is remarkable as this does not occur on any other doorjambs of the studied temples. Additionally, the main deity does not appear. The crowns of the king in the scenes of the second and the third registers show a diagonal connection (Bénédict 1893: pl. XI).

Table 4.1: Offering rituals of the external doorjambs

Registers	Western Doorjamb		Eastern Doorjamb	
	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Third	<i>rdit ʕbt</i>	Min[...] of <i>i3t-wʕbt</i>	<i>rdit m3ʕt</i>	Thoth who satisfies the Nesret
Codes	[Ph-WDJ-R3]		[Ph-EDJ-R3]	
Second	<i>hmk wtt</i>	Sekhmet, lady of the flame	<i>ir sššt</i>	Hathor, lady of Senmwat
Codes	[Ph-WDJ-R2]		[Ph-EDJ-R2]	
First	<i>hmk irp</i>	Osiris, the great god, lord of <i>i3t-wʕbt</i>	Destroyed	Destroyed
Codes	[Ph-WDJ-R1]		[Ph-EDJ-R1]	

4.2.1.3 The Dadoes of the External Face of the Door:

The dado of the doorjambs of the temple of Philae is similar to that of Dendera in terms of the theme, as the king is shown on the western dado wearing the red crown and heads towards the door. He is followed by Hapy figures carrying a tray laden with *hs*-vases. The dado on the eastern side is completely damaged (Bénédict 1893: pl. XI).

4.2.2 The Doorway:

The eastern and the western sides of the doorway are covered with fifteen decorative bands. The decorative bands consist of *nh*-sign flanked by two *ws*-signs resting over a *nb*-sign  and then a *dd*-sign separates them from the next group. Three elements of the former and two elements of the latter constitute each band. The decoration of the doorway of the Central Hall of Philae is different from that of Edfu and Dendera and it does not contain any bands of texts between them except for a band of inscription at the top of each doorway. The following inscription runs on the eastern side of the doorway: *nswt-bity (wsr-k3-Rc mry-Imn) mry 3st [...]*, while on the western side of the doorway, the inscription reads: *s3-Rc (Ptwlyms) mry 3st [...]*.

4.2.3 The Internal Face of the Door:

The upper lintel of the door is surmounted with a winged sun disc flanked by a text (Bénédict 1893: pls. XIV-XV).

4.2.3.1 The Internal Lintel:

As in the case of Edfu and Dendera, the internal side of the lintel is divided into two scenes. The western scene shows the king standing while offering two *nw*-jars (wine) and followed by Hathor, lady of Senmut. The king and the goddess stand before Osiris and Isis who are depicted seated each on a throne. The goddess holds a palm reed in her left hand and *nh*-sign in her right hand [Ph-InL-W] (Bénédict 1893: pls. XIV-XV; PM VI 241 (330)). The eastern scene is almost identical except for the goddess behind the king is Nephthys who holds a palm reed in her right hand and an *nh*-sign in her left

hand [Ph-InL-E] (Bénédite 1893: pls. XIV-XV; PM VI 241(329)). The king's crowns are identical in both scenes. Like in the case of Edfu, two Deity's Border Columns separate the two scenes. Additionally, both of the scenes are surmounted with one *pt*-sign as in the case of Edfu and Dendera.

4.2.3.2 The Internal Doorjambs:

The internal doorjambs of the door of the Central Hall of Philae are different from those of Edfu and Dendera. Their style is unique as each one of them has a text inscribed in three vertical lines surmounted by a Nekhbet and then a scene shows the main deity of the temple, Isis gives the *nh*-sign to the king. Both of the doorjambs are identical and surmounted by a *pt*-sign (PM VI 241 (327)-(328)). The king wears the red crown on the western side and the white crown on the eastern side (Bénédite 1893: pls. XIV-XV).

4.2.4 The Upper Decorative Frieze:

The decorative frieze which goes around the upper part of the four walls of the Central Hall of Philae consists of two repetitive elements (plate 4.1). 1) A winged cobra wearing the *3tf*-crown resting on a *nbw*-sign and holding the *w3s*-sceptre with a *šn*-sign attached to it. 2) A *dd*-pillar surmounted by a sun disc (Bénédite 1893:pl. XVII-XVIII). This frieze can be interpreted as Isis is represented as the winged cobra and protecting the *dd* pillar which symbolises Osiris.



Plate 4.1: A part of the Upper Decorative Frieze. After Bénédite 1893:pls. XVII-XVIII.

4.2.5 The Wall Facing the Sanctuary:

The distribution of the scenes resembles Edfu in that the wall is divided into three registers and each part of the register consists of only one scene (table 4.2). The western side of the wall shows the king standing on the eastern side while offering lotus flowers in the first register to Osiris, Isis and Horus son of Isis [Ph-Sw-Ws-R1+H]. The eastern side of the wall shows the king on the first register raising his hands in adoration while offering flowers and a *nmst*-jar on an altar to Osiris, Isis and Hathor [Ph-Sw-Es-R1+H]. On the second register, he offers a *wd3t*-eye to Re-Horakhty, Tefnut and Shu [Ph-Sw-Ws-R2+H]. In the corresponding scene, the king offers *wd3t*-eye to Horus, Hathor and Nephthys [Ph-Sw-Es-R2+H]. On the third register, he offers the *m3ʕt* to Osiris, Isis and Geb [Ph-Sw-Ws-R3] (PM VI 241 (331)). In the corresponding scene, he offers two pieces of cloth to Osiris, Isis and Horus, son of Isis [Ph-Sw-Es-R3] (PM VI 241 (336)). The walls of the Central Hall of Philae do not contain the Upper and Lower Bands of Texts as in the case of Edfu and Dendera. The two scenes represented on the middle register [Ph-Sw-Ws-R2+H] and [Ph-Sw-Es-R2+H] are identical in terms of the offering i.e. *wd3t*-eye. Each of these offering rituals on this wall is accompanied by a hymn.

Table 4.2: The offering rituals of the wall facing the sanctuary

Registers	Western side of the wall		Eastern side of the wall	
	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Third	<i>m3t</i> -symbol	Osiris, lord of <i>i3t-w^cb</i> + Isis, the great one, god's mother + Geb, Horus, son of Isis.	cloth	Osiris-wenn-nefer + Isis, giver of life, lady of <i>iw-rk</i> + Horus, son of Isis
Codes	[Ph-Sw-Ws-R3+H]		[Ph-Sw-Es-R3+H]	
Second	<i>wd3t</i> -eye	Re-Horakhty, lord of the sky + Tefnut, daughter of Re + Shu, son of Re	<i>hⁿk wd3t</i>	Horus the avenger of his father + Hathor who resides in <i>iw-rk</i> + Nephthys
Codes	[Ph-Sw-Ws-R2+H]		[Ph-Sw-Es-R2+H]	
First	<i>rdit rnpwt</i>	Osiris-wenn-nefer + Isis, giver of life + Horus, son of Isis	<i>dw3 it.f</i>	Osiris, the great god, lord of <i>i3t-w^cb</i> + Isis, the great one god's mother + Hathor, lady of <i>iw-rk</i>
Codes	[Ph-Sw-Ws-R1+H]		[Ph-Sw-Es-R1+H]	

4.2.6 The Wall Attached to the Sanctuary:

The northern wall of the Central Hall i.e the wall attached to the sanctuary of Philae is completely different in comparison to the rest of the studied temples (table 4.3)¹. The wall in question has two scenes above the lintels of the two rooms on the eastern and western sides of the sanctuary. In the scene of the eastern side [Ph-Nw-Es-R3-2], the

¹ The door of the sanctuary, the lintel and the doorjambs have been excluded from table 4.3.

king is shown offering *mꜣt* resting on the *nbw*-sign before three deities comprising the Theban triad: Amun who is shown seated, while Mut and Khonsu are shown standing behind him (PM VI 241 (339)). On the western scene [Ph-Nw-Ws-R3-2], as if the artist wanted to make a balance between the two triads, the king is shown standing offering plants before the triad of Elephantine: Khnum who is shown seated with Satet and Anukis who are depicted standing behind him (PM VI 241 (334)). The sides of the wall surrounded by the lintel of the sanctuary and the previously mentioned scenes are significant as they do not show resemblance in terms of the deities. Both sides of this wall are divided into three registers and each one contains only one scene. In the western scenes, only Isis is represented seated on a throne before the king (PM VI 241 (335)), while in the eastern scenes, Isis is represented seated with another deity depicted behind her standing (PM VI 241 (340)). A clear resemblance between the scenes in the first registers of both sides of the wall in terms of the offering is noticed [Ph-Nw-Ws-R1] and [Ph-Nw-Es-R1].

Table 4.3: The offering rituals of the wall attached to the sanctuary

Registers	Scene above the western lintel		Western side of the wall		Eastern side of the wall		Scene above the eastern lintel	
	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Third	<i>rdit rnpwt</i>	Khnum-Re + Satet+ Anukis	<i>irt sntr</i>	Isis, giver of life, lady of <i>i3t- w^cbt</i> , mistress of Senmut	<i>nw-jars</i>	Isis, the great one, god’s mother + Nephthys, the excellent one.	<i>dit m3^ct</i>	Amun-Re, king of the gods+Mut, the great one, lady of Isheru+ Khonsu in Thebes
Codes	[Ph-Nw-Ws-R3-2]		[Ph-Nw-Ws-R3-1]		[Ph-Nw-Es-R3-1]		[Ph-Nw-Es-R3-2]	
Second	Door of Room (XI)		<i>hⁿnk mnit + sššt</i>	Isis, giver of life, lady of <i>i3t- w^cbt</i>	<i>šms ʿntyw</i>	Isis, giver of life, lady of <i>i3t-rḳ</i> + Tefnut,	Door of Room (XII)	
Codes			[Ph-Nw-Ws-R2]		[Ph-Nw-Es-R2]			
First			<i>f3i iḥt</i>	Isis, giver of life, lady of life, mistress of Senmut	<i>f3i iḥt</i>	Isis, giver of life, lady of <i>iw-rḳ</i> + Arsinoe II		
Codes			[Ph-Nw-Ws-R1]		[Ph-Nw-Es-R1]			

4.2.7 The Lateral Walls:

On the contrary to the lateral walls of Edfu and Dendera studied below, those of Philae show a connection in terms of the ritual scenes on the corresponding registers. They are the eastern wall (PM VI 241 (337)) and western wall (PM VI 241 (332)). Each of them is divided into three registers. The upper third register has three scenes. While the second register has two scenes and the first register has one scene. The king stands on the southern side of each scene before the deities who are shown seated in all of the scenes except for the scene in the first register.

As for the eastern wall (table 4.4), the king is represented alone before the deities except for the northern scene of the third register. Two hymns are inscribed between the king and Isis consisting of ten columns of text on the first register [Ph-Ew-R1+H] and eight on the second register [Ph-Ew-R2-1+H]. The middle upper register on both walls [Ph-Ew-R3-2] and [Ph-Ww-R3-2] are identical in terms of the ritual offering and the recipient deity as it shows the king offering the *wnšb*-symbol to Hathor, lady of Senmut.

Regarding the western wall (table 4.5), the only scene of the first register has a hymn connected to the ritual of shaking the *sistrum* [Ph-Ww-R1+H]. Another hymn is related to the offering of wine before Isis on the second register [Ph-Ww-R2-1+H]. The second scene shows Anukis seated before the cartouches of the king and before them goddess Meret.

Table 4.4: The offering rituals of the eastern wall

Register	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Third	<i>ḥnk mnit</i>	Isis the great one, god's mother	<i>ḥnk wnšb</i>	Hathor, lady of Senmut	<i>ir sššt</i>	Isis the great one, god's mother, lady of <i>ḥwt-ḥnt</i>
Codes	[Ph-Ew-R3-3]		[Ph-Ew-R3-2]		[Ph-Ew-R3-1]	
Second	<i>irt kbḥ</i>		Satet, the great one lady of the flame in Senmut		<i>nd-ḥr m nmst</i>	Isis, the great one, the god's mother, lady of <i>iw-rḳ</i>
Codes	[Ph-Ew-R2-2]				[Ph-Ew-R2-1+H]	
First	Door to Room (IX)				<i>dw3 ntr</i>	Isis, giver of life, lady of <i>iw-rḳ</i>
Codes					[Ph-Ew-R1+H]	

Table 4.5: The offering rituals of the western wall

Registers	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Third	<i>ḥnk mḏt</i>	Isis, giver of life, who resides in <i>i3t-wʿbt</i>	<i>rdit wnšb</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Senmut	<i>irt sntr kbḥ</i>	Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, lady of Senmut
Codes	[Ph-Ww-R3-1]		[Ph-Ww-R3-2]		[Ph-Ww-R3-3]	
Second	<i>ḥnk irp</i>	Isis, lady of <i>iw-rḳ</i>	No offering Cartouches of the king		Anukis	
Codes	[Ph-Ww-R2-1+H]		[Ph-Ww-R2-2]			
First	<i>ir sššt</i>	Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, lady of <i>iw-rḳ</i>	Door to Room (VIII)			
Codes	[Ph-Ww-R1+H]					

4.2.8 The Dadoes:

Hapy gods are represented as offering bearers on the dadoes of the Central Hall of Philae (Bénédite 1893: pls. XIV-XIX). Each one of them carries a tray laden with two *ḥs*-vases and the two lotus flowers/papyri and in the middle there is a *w3s*-sign. Lotus flowers/papyri are hanging from each tray. The head of each Hapy is surmounted by the *nemes*-headdress and a floral top but it differs according to its location. Additionally, each one wears a collar; a ceremonial beard and some of them have an armlet on each arm. The western part of the southern wall has ten Hapys while the eastern part has eleven Hapys which denotes that the number is not identical. The western wall has five

Hapys in addition to another one on the dado of the south lintel of the door leading to Room VIII (Bénédite 1893: pl. XVI). The same number exits on the eastern wall (Bénédite 1893: pl. XIX). The eastern part of the northern wall has five Hapys in addition to another one on the dado of the western lintel on the door leading to Room XII. The king who wears the white crown and another Hapy are represented on the eastern dado of the lintel of the door of the Sanctuary before the latter group. As for the western part of the northern wall, there are three Hapys in addition to another one on the dado of the eastern lintel leading to Room XI. The latter group is preceded by the king wearing the red crown and another Hapy represented on the dado of the western lintel of the sanctuary. Thus, those represented on the eastern part of the northern wall, eastern wall, and the eastern part of the southern wall are coming from the south as their floral headdress consists of three lotus flowers and two buds (tables 4.9-4.11). While those represented on the western part of the northern wall, the western wall and the western part of the southern wall are coming from the north as the floral headdress consists of three papyri and two buds (tables 4.6-4.8). The king in each of those representations carries a tray laden with offerings. The analysis of the offerings carried and brought inside the Central hall will inform us about the type of offerings and the geographical areas connected to the temple and also from which areas these offerings were brought. In the following part a classification of these offerings will be introduced.

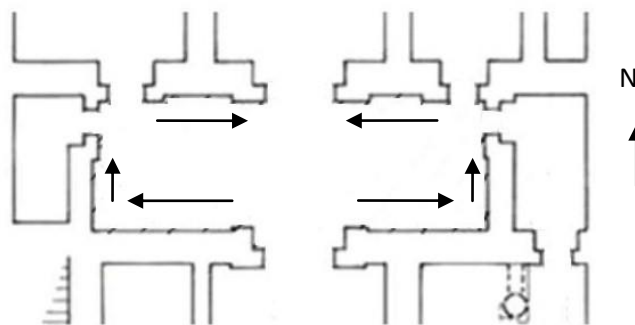


Fig. 4.1: The orientation of the Hapys in the Central Hall of Philae

Table 4.6: Hapys of the western part of the southern wall (Bénédite 1893: 41-42):

Hapys	Offerings	Provinces
First	<i>inw nb(w)</i>	<i>T3-šm^cw</i>
Second	<i>ḳbh pr.(w)-inw</i>	<i>3bw-Snmwt</i>
Third	<i>g3wt- ʿ3t nb(t) šps(t)</i>	<i>T3-sti</i>
Fourth	<i>inw</i>	<i>Pr-rsy</i>
Fifth	<i>mw w^cb</i>	<i>Snmwt</i>
Sixth	<i>mw</i>	---
Seventh	<i>mw</i>	---
Eight	<i>Rdw-ḥrrt</i>	<i>ḥry-s3 [t3]</i>
Ninth	<i>mw</i>	<i>Ḳrrty-Snmwt</i>
Tenth	<i>k3w-df3w</i>	---
Eleventh	<i>ḥww-df3w</i>	---

The fecundity figures of this group are not identified like the rest of the groups mentioned below. The texts of four of these figures do not mention the province they bring the offerings from unlike the rest of the figures which mention the province of the offerings and they are from Upper Egypt or in other words the south of Egypt: *T3-šm^cw-3bw-Snmwt*, *T3-sti* and *Pr-rsy*.

Table 4.7: Hapys of the western wall (Bénédite 1893: 45):

Hapys	Names of Hapys	Offerings	Provinces
First	---	<i>mw</i>	<i>3bw-Snmwt</i>
Second	<i>Ḥ^cpy-mḥ3</i>	<i>w3d-nḥb-nḥm</i>	---
Third	<i>Ḥ^cpy</i>	<i>ḥtp pr:f</i>	---
Fourth	<i>Ḥ^cpy-mḥ3</i>	<i>df3w</i>	---
Fifth	---	<i>ḥtpw df3w</i>	<i>T3-mḥw</i>
Sixth	<i>Ḥ^cpy</i>	<i>ḥrrt nbt</i>	---

Only two members of this group of fecundity figures are identified as their names are mentioned as the North Nile (fourth figure) and the Nile (sixth figure). Only two provinces from where the offerings come are mentioned. The offering of the first figure comes from *3bw* and *Snmwt* and the fifth one comes from *T3-mḥw*.

Table 4.8: Hapys of the western part of the northern wall (Bénédite 1893: 47-48):

Hapys	Names of Hapys	Offerings	Provinces
First	---	<i>nmst ḥst m ḥḏw nbw</i>	---
Second	---	<i>nmst m ʕ3t nbt bʕḥ.(w) ḥr mw-rnp-wḏḥ</i>	---
Third	<i>Ḥʕpy-mḥ3</i>	<i>nmst ḥḏ</i>	---
Fourth	<i>Ḥʕpy-mḥ3</i>	<i>mw-rnp</i>	---
Fifth	<i>T3 m ʕwnw</i>	<i>mw-rnp</i>	---

Only two members of this group are identified as the North Nile. None of the provinces where the offerings are coming from is mentioned. This group is lead by the king who is depicted wearing the white crown and carrying a tray laden with offerings (Bénédite 1893: pls. XVII, XVIII).

Table 4.9: Hapys of the eastern part of the southern wall (Bénédite 1893: 43):

Hapys	Names of Hapys	Offerings	Provinces
First	---	<i>ḳbḥ</i>	<i>Ḥʕpy.t</i>
Second	---	<i>ḳbḥ</i>	<i>nwn</i>
Third	---	<i>ḳbḥ</i>	<i>ḳrrty</i>
Fourth	<i>Ḥʕpy-mḥ3</i>	<i>ḥ(w)t</i>	---
Fifth	<i>Ḥʕpy-mḥ3</i>	<i>it bdt swt</i>	---
Sixth	---	<i>imntt i3btt g3wt ḥr psḏw</i>	---
Seventh	---	<i>šmʕw mḥ3 ḥry inw</i>	---

Eight	---	<i>sp nb nfr</i>	<i>T3-mḥ3</i>
Ninth	<i>Hꜥpy-mḥ3</i>	<i>nḥmt srpt</i>	---
Tenth	<i>Hꜥpy-mḥ3</i>	<i>nḥb</i>	---

Table 4.10: Hapys of the eastern part of the northern wall (Bénédite 1893: 49):

Hapys	Names of Hapys	Offerings	Provinces
First	<i>Hꜥpy-šmꜥw</i>	<i>nw ḥd</i>	---
Second	<i>Hꜥpy</i>	<i>kbḥ</i>	---
Third	---	<i>mw- rnp</i>	---
Fourth	<i>Hꜥpy-šmꜥw</i>	<i>k3w ḥtpw</i>	---
Fifth	<i>Hꜥpy</i>	<i>ḥtpw</i>	---
Sixth	---	<i>rth-ḳb ḥry imyw</i>	---

This group of Hapys are being led by the king who is depicted wearing the red crown while carrying a tray laden with offerings (Bénédite 1893: pls. XVII, XVIII).

Table 4.11: Hapys of the eastern wall (Bénédite 1893: 51):

Hapys	Names of Hapys	Offerings	Provinces
First	<i>Hꜥpy</i>	<i>it bdt Hꜥpy</i>	---
Second	<i>Hꜥpy-šmꜥw</i>	<i>kbḥ wꜥb</i>	<i>Šnmwt</i>
Third	<i>Hꜥpy</i>	---	---
Fourth	<i>Hꜥpy</i>	---	---
Fifth	<i>Hꜥpy-šmꜥw</i>	<i>ḥt nb(t)</i>	---
Sixth	<i>Hꜥpy rnp</i>	---	---

Baines has shown from a wide perspective that the function of the Hapys can be recognised as bringing, presenting offerings, protection, libation or the union of the two lands (1985: 208-329). In this particular case, as can be shown from the above

mentioned tables (tables 4.6-4.11), the function of these Hapys is bringing offerings. This is ascertained from the following:

a) The pose of Hapys represented while carrying the trays laden with the *ḥs*-vases and the plants as the arms are not high or straightened.

b) The formula of the text which accompanies them. Thus, the epigraphic and the iconographic evidence compliment each other. The formulae can be categorised as follows:

1) This is the most common and prevailing formula which occurs with the majority of the figures.

in.(i) n.t + the offering "I bring to you".

2) A shorter and infrequent version from the first one as it occurs only once in the group of the eastern part of the southern wall (Bénédict 1893: 41), however, the dative could have been omitted for other reasons.

in.(i) "I bring".

3) This particular formula accompanies only two Hapys represented on the eastern and western walls of the Central Hall (Bénédict 1893: 45, 49). It denotes that the one who causes these Hapys to bring offerings to the main deity of the temple, Isis, is the king. It is longer and more sophisticated in its composition.

ii.n + Nomen/Prenomen (Ptolemy II) + ḥr 3st, in.f n.t

4) It is another variant from the formula mentioned above (3) as *ḏḏ mdw* is added to it but without the appearance of the king. It occurs three times in the figures of the eastern part of the southern wall (Bénédict 1893: 43) and only once in the group of the western wall (Bénédict 1893: 45).

ḏḏ mdw in.(i) n.t + the offering/Hapy carrying the offering.

Table 4.12: Classification of the offerings of the Hapy figures:

Offerings	Categories
Liquid	<i>mw-ḳbh-ḳbh w^cb-mw-rnp</i>
Food	<i>df³w</i>
Different kinds of vessels	<i>nmst-wdḥ-nw ḥd</i>
Plants/Flowers	<i>nḥmt-srpt-nḥb-Rdw-ḥrrt</i>
Land	<i>imntt-i³btt-šm^cw-mḥ³</i>
Time	<i>sp nb nfr</i>
Offerings	<i>k³w-ḥtpw</i>
Grain	<i>it-bdt-swt</i>

As for the provinces from which the offerings were brought, it seems that the geographical origin does not coincide with the location on the walls of the temple. The offerings brought by the Hapys on the eastern part of the northern wall are mentioned twice to be brought from *H^cpy-šm^cw* and it would be expected to be *H^cpy-mḥw*. These offerings are brought mainly from the following geographical areas: *ḳbw*, *Snmwt*, *T³-sti*, *T³ m Iwnw*, *T³-mḥw* and *T³-šm^cw*. This list not only combines places mostly from Upper Egypt but it also includes offerings from Lower Egypt, however, it does not specify the exact locations in the case of other examples which mention *ḳbw* and *Snmwt* as a source of the offerings.

4.3 Edfu:

4.3.1 The External Face of the Door

Egyptian cornices better known as Cavetto cornices are a form of concave moulding protruding from the top of the door façade which may have been derived from the tops of the fronds of vegetation used in the predynastic huts. They are usually surmounted by a Uraeus frieze (Clarke & Engelbach 1930: 5-6; Shaw & Nicholson 1995: 71; Arnold 2002: 46) and are used at the top of both faces of the door of the Central Hall of Edfu and in the middle; the winged sun disc is carved.

4.3.1.1 The External Lintel:

Unlike the external lintels of the rest of the doors of the temples, the external lintel of the door of the Central Hall of Edfu does not have any offering scenes but the winged sun disc is carved in the middle and flanked by eleven columns of texts on each side (E IX, pl. 35a; PM VI 142 (167-168)). Additionally, it is surmounted by another Egyptian cornice only bigger in size and ornamented with a winged sun disc.

4.3.1.2 The External Doorjambs:

The external doorjambs of Edfu are divided into four registers (PM VI 142 (167-168)) (table 4.13). The first register on the western doorjamb shows the king offering fields to Horus who is shown standing and followed by his consort Hathor who is also standing while the corresponding scene is the same except for Isis who is depicted behind Horus. As for registers two, three and four they show the king offering to different forms of Horus seated on a throne and followed by different goddesses standing behind him. Each two corresponding offering scenes on the same register of the doorjambs are identical. The crowns of the king and the deities are identical in the corresponding scenes on the same register. This remarkable feature of completely identical scenes in terms of offerings does not occur on the other external doorjambs of the studied temples. Horus the mighty arm is mentioned twice in the Central Hall [E-ExD-EDJ-R4] and [E-ExD-WDJ-R2]. He is a specific Edfu form of Horus the warrior (Gasse 1984: 220). His name denotes power and strength. His epithets “punishing the evil doers in

Djbat, stabbing the One who fails at its time in the place of piercing” (E XV 33, 12) and “who stabs Seth” (E XV 27, 5), shows his victory over Seth. Additionally, another epithet “who overthrows his rebels with his great mace” (E XV 27, 6), shows his warrior aspect as well. Furthermore, he is linked geographically with Pe as he is “Lord of Pe” (E XV 27, 5).

Table 4.13: The offering rituals of the external doorjambs

Registers	Western Doorjamb			Eastern Doorjamb		
	Offering Rituals	Deities		Offering Rituals	Deities	
Fourth	<i>ḥnk ḥnkt</i>	Horus <i>k3-nḥt</i>	Hathor, lady of the two lands	<i>ḥnk ḥnkt</i>	Horus <i>tm3-ꜥ</i>	Isis-Serqet
Codes	[E-ExD-WDJ-R4]			[E-ExD-EDJ-R4]		
Third	<i>ḥnk irtt</i>	Horus-sema-tawy	Menbit	<i>ḥnk irtt</i>	Horus-sema-tawy	Hathor, lady of Iunet
Codes	[E-ExD-WDJ-R3]			[E-ExD-EDJ-R3]		
Second	<i>ḥi iht</i>	Horus <i>tm3-ꜥ</i>	Khent-iabtt	<i>ḥi iht</i>	Horus the Behdetite	Hathor, the great one
Codes	[E-ExD-WDJ-R2]			[E-ExD-EDJ-R2]		
First	<i>ḥnk sḥt</i>	Horus the Behdetite	Hathor, lady of Iunet	<i>ḥnk sḥt</i>	Horus the Behdetite	Isis, the august one, mistress of the great place
Codes	[E-ExD-WDJ-R1]			[E-ExD-EDJ-R1]		

4.3.1.3 The Dadoes of the External Face of the Door:

The dadoes i.e. parts below the lowest registers of the doorjambs of the external faces of the doors of the Central Halls are also decorated with different themes in contrast to the internal dado. The dado of the eastern doorjamb is decorated with four crawling snakes accompanied by their names *Sk-ḥꜥw*, *Hnty-Hr*, *Hꜥw-nb.f*, and [...] *wn*, then fifteen columns of texts follow. The lower part is occupied by two barks for Horus the Behdetite (E IX, pl. XXXVa).

The dado of the western doorjamb is decorated with another four crawling snakes accompanied also with their names *Iry-dndn*, *Hꜥw-Hr*, *Swḏ3-ḥꜥw*, and *ꜥ3-phṯy*. As is the case with the corresponding dado of the western doorjamb, it is occupied with another fifteen columns of text and the lower part is occupied with another two barks of Horus. These four snakes frequently appear in the temple of Edfu and have various functions such as protection of the city (E IV 98, 7; E VII 108, 11-12; Kurth 2004: 191; Waitkus 2008: 272, footnote 65), protection of the temple of Edfu (E IV 98, 13, E I 176, 13, Cauville 1983: 3 - 4; Waitkus 2009: 276, footnote 102; E I 177, 8; Cauville 1983: 4; Waitkus 2008: 276, footnote 103), catching reptiles and snakes (E VII 30, 5; Kurth 2004: 53; Wilson 1997: 155; Waitkus 2008: 277, footnote 108), provisioning and nourishing (E I 294, 2; E VII 107, 18; Kurth 2004: 190; Waitkus 2008: 272, footnote 67). In this particular case, their function is confined to protect the Central Hall. Some snakes of the temple of Dendera sometimes appear in similar representations in similar places and have the same functions (Preys 2002b: 285-298).

4.3.2 The Doorway:

The western side of the doorway of Edfu is decorated with eight decorative bands and each one is followed by a band of text except for the first register (PM VI 142 (171-172)). The first band consists of a succession of five elements of an *ꜥnh*-sign with two

human hands having a *w3s*-sign in each hand on a *nbw*-sign . The third, fifth, and seventh bands are a repetition of the first one. While the second, fourth and sixth bands

consist of a succession of three elements of  a cartouche of Ptolemy IV flanked by a

cobra snake and surmounted by two feathers on a *nbw*-sign and then two elements of . The eighth band consists of a succession of seven elements of . The eastern side of the doorway is decorated in the same manner as the western side and the only difference is the texts (E XV 34-35).

4.3.3 The Internal Face of the Door:

The internal face of the door of the Central Hall of Edfu comprises the lintels, the doorjambs and the dadoes.

4.3.3.1 The Internal Lintel:

The lintel is divided into two sides. The eastern side [E-Nw-InL-E-1] shows the king offering two *nw*-jars (wine) to Horus and Hathor who are shown seated (E IX, pl. 31c; PM VI 142 (173-174)). The king is followed by the queen who is raising her hand in the attitude of adoration and both are shown standing. The scene on the western side [E-Nw-InL-W-1] is a completely symmetrical scene in terms of the deities and the offerings (E IX, pl. XXXIc). Both of the scenes are surmounted by the same *pt*-sign. A King's Border Column is inscribed behind the royal couple of each scene and separates both of the scenes.

4.3.3.2 The Internal Doorjambs:

The internal doorjambs are divided into three registers (PM VI 142 (173-174)). On every register the king stands offering to only one deity and is followed by a goddess (table 4.14). The recipient deity, in all cases, is Horus the Behdetite, the main deity of the temple. In only one instance Horus-sema-tawy is represented on the second register of the eastern doorjamb [E-InD-EDJ-R2]. It is clear that the decorator was trying to make a balance between the deities depicted behind the king on the eastern and western doorjambs of the scenes on the same register. This is reflected through Maet in the boat [E-InD-WDJ- R3] and Hathor in the boat [E-InD-EDJ-R3], Seshat the lesser [E-InD-EDJ-R2] and Seshat the great [E-InD-WDJ-R2] and finally, Nekhbet [E-InD-EDJ-R1]

and Wadjet [E-InD-WDJ-R1]. The offerings in the scenes of the registers on the western doorjamb are identical to the corresponding scenes on the eastern doorjamb (E IX, pl. XXXIc). The crowns of the king in the scenes of the second and third registers are the same on both doorjambs. The crown of the king on the third register of the eastern doorjamb is the white crown while that on the same register on the western doorjamb is the red crown. Every scene is surmounted by a *pt*-sign. The king is represented followed by a goddess on the eastern side of the scenes on the eastern doorjamb while the deities being offered to are represented on the western side. While the king is represented on the western side on the scenes of the western doorjamb and the deities being offered to are on the eastern side. A remarkable note is that the offering rituals depicted on the internal doorjambs of the Central Hall are identical to the ones represented on the external doorjambs except for register one.

Table 4.14: The offering rituals of the internal doorjambs

Registers	Eastern Doorjamb			Western Doorjamb		
	Offering Rituals	Recipient Deities	Deity behind the king	Offering Rituals	Recipient Deities	Deity behind the king
Third	<i>ḥnk ḥnkt</i>	Horus the Behdetite	Hathor in the boat	<i>ḥnk ḥnkt</i>	Horus the Behdetite	Maet in the boat
Codes	[E-InD-EDJ-R3]			[E-InD-WDJ-R3]		
Second	<i>ḥnk irtt</i>	Horus-sema-tawy	Seshat the lesser	<i>ḥnk irtt</i>	Horus the Behdetite	Seshat the great
Codes	[E-InD-EDJ-R2]			[E-InD-WDJ-R2]		
First	<i>ḥi iht</i>	Horus the Behdetite	Nekhbet	<i>ḥi[iht]</i>	Horus the Behdetite	Wadjet
Codes	[E-InD-EDJ-R1]			[E-InD-WDJ-R1]		

4.3.3.3 The Dadoes of the Internal Face of the Door and the walls of the Central Hall:

The dadoes, which consist of the floral decoration of the papyri, are located underneath the Lower Band of Text and on the lower parts of the internal doorjambs of the door. It is a repetitive form of a fully grown papyrus plant followed by a closed bud and then another fully opened one followed by a partially opened bud. This kind of decoration resembles the marshes and was called by H. Kantor as the “vertical paratactic papyrus design” (1945: 39).

4.3.4 The Decorative Frieze:

The Upper Decorative Frieze at the top of the wall contains elements that are repeated all around the room (plate 4.2). These elements are three and consist of three *hkrw* units and then a falcon rests on a *nwb*-sign holding the *w3s*-sign facing two cartouches, each one is surmounted by two feathers and each cartouche rests on a *nwb*-sign. On the other side a falcon is depicted seated on a *nwb*-sign and holds the *w3s*-sign. Both falcons are depicted protecting the king who is symbolised by the cartouche containing his names (Plate 4.2).



Plate 4.2: A part of the Upper Decorative Frieze. After E IX, pl. XXXIc.

4.3.5 The Upper Band of Text:

Beneath the Decorative Frieze is the Upper Band of Text (E I 368) which is inscribed on two sides. The first runs on the western side of the Central Hall and starts with the formula of: *‘nh ntr nfr* “May the good god live”. Then, the epithets of Horus the Behdetite follow. Additionally, the text mentions that the Central Hall was built for the ka of Horus. Furthermore, a description of the construction and work done for the Central Hall is mentioned. Finally, it ends with: “He is King of Lower Egypt, who endures for eternity the foremost of the living kas forever”.

As for the easernt side, it starts with the same formula as on the west side *ꜥnh ntr nfr*. Then the epithets of Horus the Behdetite follows. Additionally, the text mentions a description for the work being done for the Central Hall. Furthermore, it gives the location of the room on the right side. It ends with the same text mentioned on the western side except that the king is mentioned as King of Upper Egypt.

4.3.6 The Wall Facing the Sanctuary:

Each side of this wall is divided into three registers (table 4.15). In each scene on the western side, the king is shown standing on the eastern side before the deities who are on the western side (PM VI 142 (175)). While in the scenes of the eastern side of the wall the king is standing on the western side before the deities who are depicted on the eastern side (PM VI 143 (179)). On the first register of the western side, the king is followed by his *ka* while offering four tied prisoners to Horus and Hathor [E-Sw-Ws-R1], while on the corresponding scene on the eastern side; the king is followed by the queen while he offers the scribal palette [E-Sw-Es-R1]. In scene [E-Sw-Ws-R2], the king offers a sistrum and before him a seated Ihy who offers a *sistrum* to Hathor. While on the corresponding scene on the eastern side of the wall, the king presents offerings to Horus who is shown seated and Hathor who is shown standing while he is followed by the queen [E-Sw-Es-R2]. Scene [E-Sw-Ws-R3] shows the king, who is followed by the Queen, offering flowers to a seated Horus and a seated Hathor. On the corresponding scene on the eastern side of the wall, the king is depicted pouring a libation and burning incense before the Children of Re [E-Sw-Es-R3]. From the above mentioned description and the table listed below (table 4.15), it is apparent that there is no resemblance in the corresponding scenes among the deities who are shown seated or standing except for the two scenes on the first register [E-Sw-Ws-R1] and [E-Sw-Es-R1].

Table 4.15: The offering rituals of the wall facing the sanctuary

Registers	Western side of the south wall		Eastern side of the south wall	
	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Third	<i>hnk w3d r3w</i>	Horus+Hathor	<i>ir sntr kbh</i>	Children of Re
Codes	[E-Sw-Ws-R3]		[E-Sw-Es-R3]	
Second	<i>ir sššt</i>	Hathor	<i>f3i iht</i>	Horus+Hathor
Codes	[E-Sw-Ws-R2]		[E-Sw-Es-R2]	
First	<i>mk sbiw.k nn, nd.i nn m-ḥr.k, smr.i^c-kis n h3kw-ibw</i>	Horus+Hathor	<i>si^cr gsti</i>	Horus+Hathor
Codes	[E-Sw-Ws-R1]		[E-Sw-Es-R1]	

4.3.7 The Wall Attached to the Sanctuary:

This wall is the northern wall at Edfu. It is worth noting that the studied parts in the case of Edfu and Dendera are the parts of the walls above the two doors which give access to the corridor around the sanctuary. The rest of the walls form the façade of the sanctuaries of the temples.

As for scene [E-Nw-Es], the king is represented standing while cutting the barley before Horus who is shown seated (E IX, pl. 31a; PM VI 143(182)). The corresponding scene [E-Nw-Ws] shows the king on the left hand side pouring water from two *ḥs*-vases into an altar before Horus who is depicted seated (E IX, pl. 31a; PM VI 143 (178)). Each scene has a hymn below and each hymn consists of fifteen columns.

4.3.8 The Lateral Walls:

These walls form the eastern and western walls of the Central Hall of Edfu. The eastern wall has only two scenes on the third register (table 4.16). The south one [E-Ew-Ss-R3] shows the king offering the royal insignia (*ḥnk ḥk3 nḥḥ3*) before Osiris-wenn-nefer, the victorious who is depicted seated and followed by Nut the great one who is represented standing behind him (E IX, pl. 31b; PM VI 143 (180). The scene on the northern side [E-Ew-Ns-R3] shows the king offering myrrh (*šms ʿntyw*) before Isis-*ḥddt* of Behdet who is depicted seated and followed by Nephthys the excellent one who is shown standing behind Isis (E IX, pl. 31b; PM VI 143 (181).

Table 4.16: The offering rituals of the eastern wall

Registers	Northern Scene		Southern Scene	
	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Third	<i>šms ʿntyw</i>	Isis- <i>ḥddt</i> of Behdet + Nephthys	<i>ḥnk ḥk3 nḥḥ3</i>	Osiris-wenn-nefer + Nut
Codes	[E-Ew-Ns-R3]		[E-Ew-Ss-R3]	

Table 4.17: The offering rituals of the western wall

Registers	Southern Scene		Northern Scenes	
	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Third	<i>sʿḥ k3 šḥnt</i>	Min-Horus-nakht + Isis of Behdet	<i>ḥnk mrḥt mnḥt</i>	Sokar-Osiris + Shonit
Codes	[E-Ww-Ss-R3]		[E-Ww-Ns-R3]	
Second	Door to the Chamber of Min		<i>irt sntr</i>	Horus the Behdetite

Codes		[E-Ww-Ns-R2]	
First		<i>ḥnk m3ꜥt</i>	Horus the Behdetite
Codes		[E-Ww-Ns-R1]	

The western wall has three registers (table 4.17). Each of the first two registers has only one scene and the third register has two scenes. The first register shows the king depicted on the southern side offering *maet* to Horus the Behdetite who is shown seated [E-Ww-Ns-R1]. The scene on the second register shows the king burning incense to Horus the Behdetite [E-Ww-Ns-R2]. As for the third register, the scene on the northern side shows the king offering ointment and cloth to Sokar-Osiris who is represented seated and behind him Shonit who is depicted standing (PM VI 142 (177)) [E-Ww-Ns-R3]. While the scene on the southern side [E-Ww-Ss-R3], shows a group of Nubians climbing a pole before Min-Horus-Nakht and Isis of Behdet (PM VI 142 (176)). There is no connection between the offering scenes between the eastern and western walls.

4.3.9 The Lower Band of Text:

It is located below the third register and above the dadoes. It runs on the façade of the Sanctuary and then on the western, eastern and southern walls of the Central Hall. In the case of Edfu, the text refers mainly to Horus in the Sanctuary and it is not related to the Central Hall unlike the Upper Band of Text. Some epithets are mentioned in the western side and it reflects the solar aspect of Horus (E I 19-20): *ḥd t3 wpš m3wy.f* “who sprinkles light (with) his rays” and *ḥꜥy ḥddwt.f t3wy idbw* “his rays overflow the two lands and the banks”.

The epithets of the eastern side, on the other side, show his warrior aspect (E I 19-20): *pr-ꜥ ir-ꜥd m dns* “the valiant, who makes a slaughter of the Hippopotamus”, *db3 t3rw* “who punishes the enemies”, *msnh sbiw* “drives away the foes” and *ḥnt m ntstyw* “who destroys the execration figures”.

4.4 Kom Ombo:

4.4.1 The External Faces of the Doors:

4.4.1.1 The External Lintels:

The temple of Kom Ombo is unique in its plan. Its Central Hall has two doors, one on the northern side (table 4.18) and the other on the southern side (table 4.19). Each lintel is divided into two parts. The four scenes on the exterior northern lintel are a unique feature which does not occur on any of the other lintels of the investigated temples. The scene that is still *in situ* on the southern side door lintel shows the king running while carrying a *hs*-vase before Sobek [KO-EXRDL-1]. On the lintel of the northern door, four scenes can still be seen. The first scene shows the king offering flowers to Hor-wer who is seated and followed by Khonsu [KO-EXLDDL-1] (PM VI 193, (138)). The second scene shows the king offering *maet*, followed by the queen before Hor-wer and Ta-senet-neferet [KO-EXLDDL-2] (PM VI 193, (138)). The scene on the southern side shows the king offering *maet* followed by the Queen before Sobek and Hathor who are shown seated [KO-EXNDL-Ss-1] (PM VI 193, (139)). Unfortunately the second scene on the southern side of the lintel has disappeared.

Table 4.18: The offering rituals of the external lintels-northern door

Door	External Lintel-Northern Door							
Lintel	Northern Side				Southern Side			
Scenes	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
	<i>mn n.k sty</i> <i>š3w</i>	Horwer + Khonsu	<i>Mn n.k m3ꜥt</i>	Horwer + Ta-senet-feret	<i>Mn n.k m3ꜥt</i>	Sobek + Hathor	Destroyed	Destroyed
Codes	[KO-EXNDL-Ns-1]		[KO-EXNDL-Ns-2]		[KO-EXNDL-Ss-1]		[KO-EXNDL-Ss-2]	

Table 4.19: The offering rituals of the external lintel-southern door

Door	External Lintel-Southern Door			
Lintel	Northern Side		Southern Side	
Scenes	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
	<i>hrp kbḥ n it.f</i>	Sobek + Khonsu	Destroyed	Destroyed
Codes	[KO-EXSDL-Ns-1]		-----	

4.4.1.2 The External Doorjambs:

The external doorjambs of the two doors of the Central Hall of Kom Ombo are divided into four registers (tables 4.20-4.21). The scenes on the doorjambs of the right hand side show the king standing while offering to only one standing deity. Sobek is shown on the southern side of the doorjamb of the northern door while he is shown on the northern side of the northern doorjamb of the southern door. Horwer is shown on the northern doorjamb of the northern door and on the southern doorjamb of the southern door. All the deities on the doorjambs of the two doors are shown standing. The crowns of the king represented on the scenes of the two doorjambs do not show any connection with each other.

Table 4.20: The offering rituals of the external doorjambs-northern door

Registers	Northern Doorjamb		Southern Doorjamb	
	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Fourth	<i>rdw š3w m bw wn.k ḥpr ššp mst-ib.k</i>	Horwer, upon his great throne. The great god, lord of Nbyt	<i>Mn n.k ntri m k3t rḥty</i>	Legend accompanying the deity destroyed
Codes	[KO-END-NDJ-R4]		[KO-END-SDJ-R4]	
Third	<i>Mn n.t nn 3bi.n.t (two types of sistrums)</i>	Ta-senet-nefret, lady of Nbyt	<i>šms-ḥntyw n mwt.f</i>	Isis lady of Nbyt
Codes	[KO-END-NDJ-R3]		[KO-END-SDJ-R3]	
Second	<i>Mn n.k ḥwt ḥ3i.n.i m-ḥr.k</i>	Panebtawy, the child, lord of Nbyt	<i>mn n.k irt-Ḥr</i>	Khonsu, who dwells in Nbyt, noble ba
Codes	[KO-END-NDJ-R2]		[KO-END-SDJ-R2]	

First	<i>ḳ r ḥmw^ḳ it.f sw³š nfrw n k³.f</i>	Horwer, lord of Nbyt	<i>st³-idr sfh db^ḳ iw/ r m³³ it.f sp</i>	Sobek, lord of <i>Tw-ii</i> , the great god, lord of Nbyt
Codes	[KO-END-NDJ-R1]		[KO-END-SDJ-R1]	

Table 4.21: The offering ritual of the external doorjambs-southern door

Registers	Northern Doorjamb		Southern Doorjamb	
	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Fourth	<i>Mn n.k irt-Ḥr</i>	Sobek lord of Ta-ii, the great god, lord of Nbyt	destroyed	destroyed
Codes	[KO-END-NDJ-R4]		[KO-END-SDJ-R4]	
Third	destroyed	Hathor, lady of Nbyt, lady of the two lands	<i>Mn n.t Mnyt ṯhn hr.t</i>	Ta-senet-nefert, lady of Nbyt
Codes	[KO-END-NDJ-R3]		[KO-END-SDJ-R3]	
Second	<i>ḥnk ḥh-w³s n sfī iḳr</i>	Pa-neb-tawy, the child, the august child	<i>phr n it.f sp 4 m diw t³rw šm^ḳyt n nhbt</i>	Horwer, lord of the two lands and all the foreign countries
Codes	[KO-END-NDJ-R2]		[KO-END-SDJ-R2]	
First	<i>Wn-ḥr.f it.f ḥpt Gb n ḳm³ sw</i>	Sobek, lord of Nbyt	<i>m³³-ntr n it.f sn-t³ m ḥr.f nfr</i>	Horwer, lord of Nbyt
Codes	[KO-END-NDJ-R1]		[KO-END-SDJ-R1]	

4.4.1.3 The Dadoes of the External Faces of the Doors:

The case of Kom Ombo is completely different from the other investigated temples, as the dadoes of the external faces of the doorjambs of northern door (Gutbub 1995: Nos.129, 134) and the southern door (Gutbub 1995: 162, 167) are covered with six columns of text. The text on the dado of the northern side of the northern door is completely damaged.

4.4.2 The Doorways:

Each side of each doorway of the Central Hall of Kom Ombo is divided into an external side which forms the side of the doorjambs and an internal side which forms the complete thickness of the walls of the temple. As for the external sides of the lintel, they do not have any decorative bands but they are covered with texts inscribed in long vertical columns to the full length of the doorway (PM VI 193 (104)-(141)). The texts mainly contain the epithets of Ptolemy VI. As for the internal sides, the southern side of the doorway of the northern door is decorated with six bands of decorative bands.

Decorative bands one, three and five consist of the following elements:  the *ḥnh*-sign has two arms and holding two *w3s*-signs each in a hand surmounting a *nb*-sign. While bands two, four and six consist of: two figures each consisting of  *ḥh*-god sitting on a *nb*-sign while holding two palm branches and between them a figure consisting of  two snakes, one is wearing the white and the other the red crown and between them the cartouche of Ptolemy VI and all the elements of this group rest on a *nb*-sign. Each decorative frieze is surmounted by a band of text; unfortunately the band of the sixth decorative frieze is destroyed (Gutbub 1995: 203-205).

4.4.3 The Internal Faces of the Doors:

Regarding the internal faces of the two doors of the Central Hall of Kom Ombo, the Egyptian Cornice disappears and only a band of text exists above each door (Gutbub 1995: 286).

4.4.3.1 The Internal Lintels:

The internal lintel of the northern door is divided into two scenes as in the case of the previous temples (table 4.22). The scene on the southern side shows the king running while holding a *ḥs*-vase before Sobek who is shown seated and Hathor who is shown standing [KO-InL-ND-2]. The king is depicted on the northern side running while holding an oar in his left hand and the *ḥpt*-sign in his right hand before Horus-*tm³-ꜥ* and Ta-senet-nefret [KO-InL-ND-1]. As for the southern door (table 4.23), the southern scene depicts the king offering a *ḥḥ*-sign before Horwer who is shown seated and Ta-senet-nefret [KO-InL-SD-2]. The scene on the northern side shows the king offering *ꜥnh-dd-w³s* signs on the top of a *nbw*-sign before Sobek and Hathor [KO-InL-SD-1]. A large part of the deities section is now lost but according to the left hand scene Sobek is possibly seated on a throne.

Table 4.22: The offering rituals of the internal lintels-northern door

Door Lintel	Northern Door			
	Northern Side		Southern Side	
Scenes	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
	<i>ḥns.n.i i³wy</i> <i>phr.n.i sp³wt</i>	Horwer + Ta-senet-neferet	[... ..] <i>nbw ḥs</i> [... ..] <i>ḥry mw</i>	Sobek + Hathor
Codes	[KO-InL-ND-1]		[KO-InL-ND-2]	

Table 4.23: The offering rituals of the internal lintels-southern door

Door Lintel	Southern Door			
	Northern Side		Southern Side	
Scenes	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
	<i>ꜥnh-dd-w³s</i> [Text destroyed]	Sobek + Hathor	<i>ḥḥ</i> -sign [Text destroyed]	Horwer + Ta-senet-neferet
Codes	[KO-InL-SD-1]		[KO-InL-SD-2]	

4.4.3.2 The Internal Doorjambs:

The doorjambs of both doors are divided into four registers (tables 4.24-4.25). The doorjambs of both doors show the king heading towards the inner side of the temple before the deities. The offering on the first register of both doors on the northern side and the southern side of the doorjambs are identical which is the *hrp*-sceptre on the southern door [KO-IND-SDJ-R1] and [KO-IND-NDJ-R1], while it is the *ḥi-ih* on the northern door [KO-IND-NDJ-R1] and [KO-IND-SDJ-R1]. The rest of the offerings are different. Horwer, Ta-senet-nefret and Khonsu appear on the southern doorjamb of the southern door while Sobek, Hathor and Panebtawy appear on the northern doorjamb of the southern door. Each scene on both of the doorjambs is surmounted by a *pt*-sign. All of the deities are depicted standing on both doorjambs.

Table 4.24: The offering rituals of the internal doorjambs-northern door

Registers	Southern Doorjamb		Northern Doorjamb	
	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Fourth	<i>Mn n.t sššt r šḥtp ḥm.t šḥm r shr ib.t</i>	Isis, the great, the god's mother, lady of Nbyt	<i>Mn n.k sntr</i>	(Osiris) destroyed
Codes	[KO-IND-SDJ-R4]		[KO-IND-NDJ-R4]	
Third	<i>ḥnk wḏ3t n nb inm</i>	Sobek lord of Ta-iit, the great god, lord of Nbyt	<i>šmt r š3r r s3bi ib.k</i>	Horwer, lord of Ta-setekh
Codes	[KO-IND-SDJ-R3]		[KO-IND-NDJ-R3]	
Second	<i>Mn n.k wsh r swsh ḥn.k</i>	Khonsu who resides in Nbyt	<i>ḏb3-mnhṯ ḥwn</i>	Pa-neb-tawy, the child, lord of Nbyt
Codes	[KO-IND-SDJ-R2]		[KO-IND-NDJ-R2]	

First	<i>f3i-ih̄t n nb h̄tpw sʕ3 wd̄hw n km3 wnnt</i>	Sobek-Re lord of Nbyt	<i>f3i-ih̄t n nbšpsw rdi h3w hr mnw</i>	Horwer, who loves to create
Codes	[KO-IND-SDJ-R1]		[KO-IND-NDJ-R1]	

Table 4.25: The offering rituals of the internal doorjambs-southern door

Registers	Southern Doorjamb		Northern Doorjamb	
	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Fourth	<i>Mn n.k h̄d t šps nh̄n</i>	Destroyed	[šms-ʕntyw]	Sobek, lord of Nbyt
Codes	[KO-ISD-SDJ-R4]		[KO-ISD-NDJ-R4]	
Third	<i>Mn n.t̄ hn̄kt m- ʕwy Tnmmt nbi r sʕh ib.t̄</i>	Ta-senet- nefret, lady of Nbyt	<i>Mn n.t̄ mnȳt r st̄hn hr.t</i>	Hathor, lady of Nbyt
Codes	[KO-ISD-SDJ-R3]		[KO-ISD-NDJ-R3]	
Second	<i>Mn n.k idt-n̄tr k3p.n.i m hr.k ii sty.s r.k m-d̄t.s</i>	Khonsu who resides in Nbyt	<i>ts wd̄3t n sfy ikr sh̄kr šnbt m n rh̄</i>	Pa-neb-tawy the child, lord of Nbyt
Codes	[KO-ISD-SDJ-R2]		[KO-ISD-NDJ-R2]	
First	<i>hr̄p ʕ3bt n Hr ms rnpwt n Rʕ s̄df3 wd̄hw n h̄ry tʕw</i>	Horwer, lord of Nbyt	<i>hr̄p ʕ3bt h̄ry-wdb n Šw sh̄tp ib.f n pr</i>	Sobek lord of Nbyt, Geb the great
Codes	[KO-ISD-SDJ-R1]		[KO-ISD-NDJ-R1]	

4.4.3.3 The Dadoes of the Internal Faces of the Doors:

The dadoes of the internal faces resemble that of the external ones as the northern door (Gutbub 1995: Nos. 134, 150) and the southern door (Gutbub 1995: Nos. 179, 184) are all inscribed with six columns of text.

4.4.4 The Decorative Frieze:

The decorative frieze is destroyed and the only remaining part on the top of the northern part of the western wall is a simple *hkrw*-frieze.

4.4.5 The Upper Band of Text:

The Central Hall of the temple of Kom Ombo lacks the invaluable information about the description, location and the dedication of the hall to the deity as in the case of Edfu and Dendera, this is due to its destruction. The only parts that are still *in situ* are: the northern side of the western wall: *mry [...] nb Nbyt* “Beloved of [...] lord of Kom Ombo” (Gutbub 1995:285, 6), and another part in the middle part of the western wall reads: *Pt hr nhm [...] m w3d šmꜥyt Sbk sšp.n.f pr.f nꜥr šps hnt st wrt.f di.f snb nb n s3-Rꜥ Ptwlmys ꜥnh dt* “Sky rejoicing [...] with the plants of Upper Egypt. Sobek, he received his house, the august god before his great throne “May he give all health to the son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah” (Gutbub 1995: 285, 8-9).

4.4.6 The Wall Facing the Sanctuary:

The western wall of the Central Hall of the temple of Kom Ombo is divided into three parts (table 4.26). The northern part is to the north of the northern door, the middle one is situated between the two doors and the southern part is to the south of the southern door. Each part is divided into three registers. These registers are found between the two bands of text-an Upper one and a Lower one such as in the case of Edfu and Dendera. Unfortunately the rest of the both sides of the wall are lost. The remaining parts are only two corresponding offering scenes in the first register of the northern side and the middle part. With the lost part of the wall, a conclusive and completed idea about the corresponding scenes cannot be accomplished.

Table 4.26: The offering rituals of the wall facing the sanctuary

Registers	Northern Side		Middle Side		Southern Side	
	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Third	Damaged + lost		Eye	Horwer, lord of ta- <i>šmꜥyt</i> + Heqat	Damaged + lost	
Codes	[KO-Ww-CP-Ns-R3]		[KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R3]		[KO-Ww-CP-Ss-R3]	
Second	<i>šnsw</i> -bread	Sobek-Re, lord of the two lands	Presenting myrrh	Horus, lord of Iyt + Hathor, lady of Nbyt	Burning incense and pouring a libation	destroyed
Codes	[KO-Ww-CP-Ns-R2]		[KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R2]		[KO-Ww-CP-Ss-R2]	
First	Presenting the <i>hrp</i> -sceptre	Sobek-Re, lord of Nbyt	Presenting the <i>hrp</i> - sceptre	Horwer, the foremost of Nbyt + Hathor, the lady of Nbyt	Presenting the temple	Sobek, lord of Nbyt + goddess (destroyed)
Codes	[KO-Ww-CP-Ns-R1]		[KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R1]		[KO-Ww-CP-Ss-R1]	

4.4.7 The Wall Attached to the Sanctuary:

The remaining part of the eastern wall comprises of the façade of the sanctuary and it does not fall under the scope of the study.

4.4.8 The Lateral Walls:

The northern and the southern parts of the Central Hall of the temple of Kom Ombo are lost.

4.4.9 The Lower Band of Text:

The direction of the text in the Lower Band of Text follows the same direction of the dado. The remaining parts of the Lower Band of Text run on the western wall of the Central Hall as in the case of the Upper Band of Text. It is composed mainly of epithets of King Ptolemy VI (Gutbub 1995: 269).

4.4.10 The Dadoes:

The dado of Kom Ombo shows a great diversity in terms of the figures represented on it compared to the dado of Philae (table 4.27). One female figure and two different male figures are represented on the remaining parts of the dado of the on the Central and the southern parts of the western wall. Each one of them is represented carrying the offering on a tray. A complete picture of the whole dado cannot be established with the lost parts of the northern and southern walls and also parts of the eastern and western walls. A female figure still appears on the northern part of the western wall. She wears a long wig, a collar, a long dress and carries a tray laden with plants and papyri hanging from it and one of the stems ends with the *ꜥnh*-sign (Gutbub 1995: 264). The formula which accompanies the figures is different from that of Philae as it is much longer and more complicated.

It reads as follows:

ii.n nomen/prenomen (Ptolemy VI) *hr.k* + deity + titles + *in.f n.k* + name of the figure + offerings + benefits which the figure brings.

The king appears as the primary offerer. According to the text, each figure brings the offerings to a particular deity of the temple. Each offering represented on the tray being carried with a figure is mentioned in the text. The central parts, which is situated between the two doors of the hall has three representations of two males with a female in the middle. The first male figure on the southern part wears a *nemes*-headdress, a ceremonial beard, a collar, an armlet on each arm, a bracelet on each wrist, and a short kilt with a bull's tail attached to its back. The second male figure to the north resembles those of the temple of Philae. His head is ornamented with the papyri plant, as is the tray of the female figure in the middle. Her head is covered with a wig which consists of beads. His tray has papyri hanging from it and the first and last stem ends with *ʿnh*-sign (Gutbub 1995: 268). Regarding the southern part of the western wall, there are other representations of two identical male figures with another female figure in the middle. Each male figure is represented wearing the *nemes*-headdress, a collar, a short kilt, a ceremonial beard and a bull's tail attached to its back (Gutbub 1995: 266). While the female figure wears a long wig, a collar, an armlet on each arm and a bracelet on her left wrist.

Table 4.27: The fecundity figures of the western wall

Locations	Genders	Names of the Fecundity Figures	Offering Rituals	Deities
Northern part of the western wall	Female	Nenut who creates the corn	products, no one knows their number	Horwer, who is upon his great throne
Central part of the western	Male	<i>Bks</i>	carrying birds of his bird traps	Pa-neb-tawy
	Female	Hent, mistress	fat water fowls	Khonsu who

wall		of the <i>wadjw</i> -people	of the land	resides in Nbyt
	Male	Hapy [... ...]	every beautiful thing	Min who resides in Nbyt
Southern part of the western wall	Male	Horus chief of Baharia Oasis	wines of vessels of Shefyt and Bawt	Horwer, lord of Nbyt
	Female	Imtyt, mistress of Phoenicians and the Baharia Oasis	<i>d3i-ꜥ</i> vessel of its wine, sweet water in her hand	Sobek, lord of Ta-setekh
	Male	wild bull	offering table of Re containing provisions that he fashions, the great offering is offered with him, namely bread	Horwer, who is upon his great throne

Offerings were made to some members of the two triads of the temple of Kom Ombo such as: Horwer, Pa-neb-tawy, Sobek and Khonsu, but offerings were also made to other deities, secondary in their importance compared to the primary deities as in the case of Min who resides in *Nbyt*. Concerning the offerings, it varies from the vessels filled with wine coming from *d3i-ꜥ*, Shefyt (a place in Kharga Oasis) and Bawt vessels to products of an indefinite number, birds and fat water fowls, the offering table of Re and the great offering as well. The figure below shows the orientation of the fecundity figures:

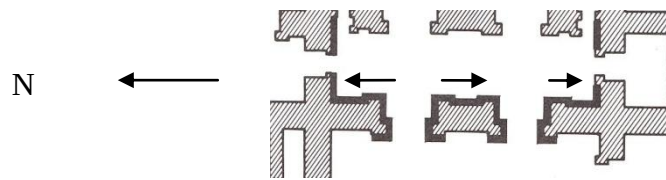


Fig. 4.2: Orientation of the fecundity figures

The direction of the figures of the central part of the Central Hall of Kom Ombo is remarkable as they are not all represented heading towards the south (see fig. 4.2). One would expect that there should be four figures, two figures heading towards the north and the other two heading towards the south. It seems that the space allocated for the dado of the middle part was not enough to have four figures as in the opposite dado (eastern) of the façade of the Sanctuary which has four figures, two heading towards the north and the other two heading towards the south. Judging from the pose of the figures while carrying the trays laden with offerings, in addition to the accompanying formulae, their function is like those of Philae to bring offerings but in this particular case to the deities of the temple.

The dado of the Central part of the western wall has a female figure depicted between two male figures and the same applies to the dado of the southern part of the western wall, however, the dado of the northern part has a female figure at the end of this so there was no system followed to depict the fecundity figures on the dados of the Central Hall of Kom Ombo.

Judging from the way the temples of Edfu and Dendera were decorated, one can assume that the dados of the Central Hall of Kom Ombo would have been decorated with the papyri like them. It seems that these decorative elements were left to the choice of the artists who were in charge of planning the decoration of the temples. The criteria for their choice of these decorative elements cannot be reached or justified.

4.5 Dendera:

4.5.1 The External Face of the Door:

4.5.1.1 The External Lintel of the Door:

The external lintel is divided into two scenes, one on each side. The western scene shows the king offering *maet* to Hathor and Horus and the king is preceded by Ihy who offers the *sšst* and the *mnit*, Monthu who offers the green eye-paint and Shu who offers the *wḏḥt*-eye [D-ED-L-Ws] (D IV, pl. CCLXXI; PM VI 56 (93)). The eastern scene shows the king offering *maet* to Hathor and Horus. The king is preceded by Ihy who offers the *sšst* and the *mnit* with Re-Horakhty who offers two kinds of *sistrums* and Thoth who offers the *wnšb*-object as well [D-ED-L-Es] (D IV, CCLXXI; PM VI 56 (92)). The king in both scenes is wearing the double crown. The king's epithets on the eastern part mention "the heir of the one who unites with *maet*". Hathor's legend does not mention anything in return (D IV 36, 9-10).

4.5.1.2 The External Doorjambs:

As in the case of Edfu, the external doorjambs of Dendera are divided into four registers (PM VI 56 (92-93)) (table 4.28). The first register on the eastern doorjamb [D-ED-EDJ-R1] shows the king offering to Hathor who is depicted standing and followed by another deity (destroyed) and both are represented standing inside a shrine. While in the corresponding scene on the western doorjamb, Isis and Horus-sema-tawy are depicted inside the shrine [D-ED-WDJ-R1]. This shrine does not occur in the corresponding register in Edfu or any of the external doorjambs of the other investigated temples. As for the second, third and the fourth registers, they show the king offering to Hathor followed by other gods on the eastern side and offering to Isis followed by other deities on the western side and both of them are shown standing. It is obvious also from the deities' representations on both of the doorjambs that the eastern side belongs to Hathor and the western side belongs to Isis (Preys 2006b: 200). Additionally, the main deity of the temple, Hathor is never shown seated on a throne on the external doorjambs. The crowns of the king and those of the deities on the corresponding scenes do not show a similarity.

The ritual offerings on the four registers of the two external doorjambs of the door of the Central Hall are remarkable as it shows some of the rituals that should take place inside the sanctuary during the daily rituals. The sequence of the rituals is also noteworthy as it begins with opening the *Naos* and seeing the god and then offering the collar, finally it involves offering the god a mirror as if it let him check it after it has been placed around the god's neck.

Table 4.28: The offering rituals of the external doorjambs:

Registers	Eastern Doorjamb			Western Doorjamb		
	Offering Rituals	Deities		Offering Rituals	Deities	
Fourth	<i>siʿr ʿnh</i>	Hathor, the great, mistress of Iunet	Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit	<i>siʿr ʿnh</i>	Isis, the great one, god's mother	Horus son of Isis and son of Osiris
Codes	[D-ED-EDJ-R4]			[D-ED-WDJ-R4]		
Third	<i>hnk wsh</i>	Hathor, the great, lady of Iunet	Horus-sema-tawy, the great god, lord of Khadit	<i>rdit wsh</i>	Isis, the great one, god's mother	Osiris-wenn-nefer, victorious
Codes	[D-ED-EDJ-R3]			[D-ED-WDJ-R3]		
Second	<i>m33 ntr</i>	Hathor, the great, lady of Iunet	Ihy, the great	<i>dw3 ntr</i>	Isis, the great one	Horus-sema-tawy, son of Hathor
Codes	[D-ED-EDJ-R2]			[D-ED-WDJ-R2]		
First	<i>Pr r hndw</i>	Hathor, lady of Iunet	destroyed	<i>Wn hr</i>	Isis, the great one	Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit
Codes	[D-ED-EDJ-R1]			[D-ED-WDJ-R1]		

4.5.1.3 The Dadoes of the External Face of the Door:

The dado of the external face of the doorjambs of the door of the Central Hall of Dendera is a completely different case from that of Edfu. Both of the dadoes are identical in terms of the theme. The king is shown walking towards the door of the Central Hall. He is followed by a female figure carrying two *hs*-vases and then followed by a Hapy carrying a tray full of *hs*-vases and lotus flowers and accompanied by a bull (D IV, pl. CCLXXI).

4.5.2 The Doorway:

The top of each side of the doorway is adorned with a *hkrw*-frieze. The eastern side has nine decorative bands each one is followed by a text. The first one consists of five elements of . The second one consists of five elements of . The third band is an imitation of the first decorative band. The fourth one consists of three elements of  and then two elements of  alternatively. The fifth, seventh and the ninth bands are the same as the first band. The sixth and the eighth bands are like the second band (D IV 47-48). The western side of the doorway is decorated in the same manner as the eastern side and the only difference is the texts. The doorway of Dendera is almost identical to Edfu in terms of decoration except for one more register.

It is worthy to note that each band of text ends with the formula of *mry* deity XX. The deities in this formula constitute the Ennead of Dendera (D IV 47-49; Cauville 1991: 76). This is also noticeable on the rest of the doorways on the south-north axis of the temple i.e. Sanctuary (D I 21-23), Central Hall, Hall of Offerings (D VII 10-12) and the Hypostyle Hall (D IX 20-22).

4.5.3 The Internal Face of the Door:

Unlike Edfu, the Egyptian cornice is not placed at the top of the external face of the door of the Central Hall of Dendera. The same feature applies to the top of the internal face of the door (D IV, pl. CCLXXII).

4.5.3.1 The Internal Lintel:

As in the case of Edfu, the internal lintel is divided into two sides. The eastern side shows Ihy offering a *sistrum* with his right hand and holding the *menit* with his left hand while being followed by the king who offers *maet*. Both the king and Ihy stand before three deities consisting of Hathor, the great, lady of Iunet, Horus the Behdetite and Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit [D-InD-EL] (D IV, pl. CCLXXII; PM VI 56 (99)) which is the main triad of Dendera. The scene on the western side is completely identical to the eastern scene as in the case of Dendera. The deities are: Isis, the great one, the god's mother, Osiris-wenn-nefer, the victorious, and Horus son of Isis, son of Osiris [D-InD-WL] (D IV, pl. CCLXXII; PM VI 56 (98)) which is the second triad of Dendera. The *pt*-sign surmounts both of the scenes. As in the case of Edfu, the King's Border Column separates the two scenes. While in the scene on the western part the king's epithet's mention "the son of the one who knows the two lands, the heir of the baboon" (D IV 37, 8-9; Cauville 2001: 87). The epithet of the king on the eastern part is "the heir of the baboon, begotten by Isden" (D IV, 49, 18-19; Cauville 2001: 107). The epithets of the king on the western part state that he is "the son of the one who unites with *maet*, the heir of the one who knows the two lands (Thoth)" (D IV 51, 2-3; Cauville 2001: 109). A part of the text accompanying Hathor reveals the connection as she is mentioned as "lady of *maet*, who lives in *maet*" (D IV 37, 14; Cauville 2001: 87).

4.5.3.2 Internal Doorjambs:

The internal doorjambs of the Central Hall of Dendera are divided into four registers (PM VI 56 (98-99)) (table 4.29). In each scene, the king is shown standing while offering to two standing deities. The offering scene on each register is identical in terms of the offering to the other corresponding one. As for the crowns of the king, the crowns on the first three registers are identical, while the fourth one is different. Each scene on

each register is surmounted with a *pt*-sign. Unlike the external doorjambs, those of the internal ones show Hathor on both doorjambs except for only one scene on the fourth register of the eastern doorjamb where Isis appears to be the recipient deity. The deities of the scenes of the doorjambs consist of ten of the eleven members of the Ennead of Dendera (D IV 51-57, pl. 272), however, the ninth member, Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit does not appear (Preys 2006a: 355-356). In addition to the members of the ennead, two new deities appear i.e. Horus son of Isis and Hathor *nbtj rhyt* (Preys 2006a: 355). Only two forms of Hathor appear on the internal doorjambs of the Central Hall. 1) Hathor, Ta-menit [D-InD-WDJ-R2] who appears as a member of the enneads of both Edfu and Dendera (Preys 2006a: 357). She protects her father (Preys 2006a: 358; D IV 55, 13-14) and appears in the festival of the sacred union in the third month (Epiphi) of Shemu season (Kurth 1994: 211-216; Preys 2006a: 359). 2) Hathor, the Uraeus of Re who appears in the corresponding scene [D-InD-EDJ-R2]. Among her epithets: “the great one in the sky, the two lands make bright with her beauty, lady of manifestations at the front of that you have created, lady of fear” (D IV 52, 16-17). She also occurs again in scene [D-InD-WDJ-R1] and her epithets are the glorious one in the middle of the horizon, the beautiful wind of the north which opens the doors of the sky, lady of food, who makes provisions (D IV 55, 2-3). These epithets reflect her solar aspect. She is also a provisioner: lady of food, who makes provisions (D IV 55, 3).

Table 4.29: The offering rituals of the internal doorjambs.

Registers	Western Doorjamb			Eastern Doorjamb		
	Offering Rituals	Deities		Offering Rituals	Deities	
Fourth	<i>ḥnk mnḥt</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet	Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit	<i>irt mḏt</i>	Isis, the great one, god's mother, lady of Iat-di	Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris.
Codes	[D-InD-WDJ-R4]			[D-InD-EDJ-R4]		
Third	<i>Ms msw</i>	Hathor, lady of Tarer, <i>nbty rhyt</i>	Osiris-wenn-nefer, the victorious	<i>Ms msw</i>	Hathor, lady of Iunet, <i>ḥry st-wrt</i>	Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit
Codes	[D-InD-WDJ-R3]			[D-InD-EDJ-R3]		
Second	<i>ḥnk sššt</i>	Hathor, lady of Iunet, <i>t3-mnit</i>	Horus-sema-tawy, son of Hathor	<i>ḥnk sššt</i>	Hathor, lady of Iunet, <i>ḥry-tp n R^c</i>	Ihy, the great, son of Hathor
Codes	[D-InD-WDJ-R2]			[D-InD-EDJ-R2]		
First	<i>ḥnk šḥt</i>	Hathor, lady of Iunet, <i>tp̄t n R^c</i>	Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit	<i>ḥnk šḥt</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet	Horus the Behdetite
Codes	[D-InD-WDJ-R1]			[D-InD-EDJ-R1]		

4.5.4 The Upper Decorative Frieze:

There are two types of the Upper Decorative Freize in the Central Hall of Dendera. The first runs on the upper part of the external lintel of the door of the Central Hall (plate 4.3). It consists of a section that appears in a repeated manner. The focal part is the female head of Hathor with cow's ears surmounting the *nwb*-sign and it is flanked by two cobras. The head of Hathor is surmounted with the *Naos*. Each one of the cobras has the *šn*-sign around its body. The one which turns towards the east wears the white crown, while the other one wears the red crown. The whole diagram is flanked with a cartouche surmounted with a *šwtj*-crown and resting on a *nwb*-sign. On either side of the cartouches there is a unit consisting of three *hkrw*-signs.



Plate 4.3: Upper decorative frieze of the external lintel of the door. After D IV, pl. CCLXXI.

The second type runs on the internal walls of the Central Hall and comprises of a repetitive decorative unit (plate 4.4). The focal part is a *dd*-sign flanked on either side by two cartouches surmounted with a sun disc and resting upon a *nwb*-sign. Then a unit of three standing cobras on their tails follows. There are three signs of temples above each other behind each group of snakes and each temple has a star hanging inside it. The snakes around the cartouches convey the meaning of protecting the king; however, the cartouches are empty. This decorative unit keeps repeating.

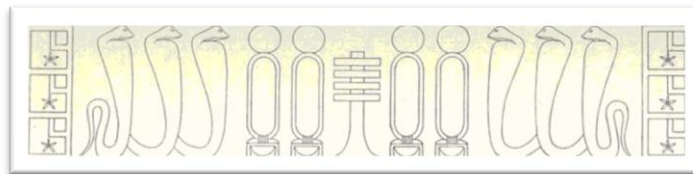


Plate 4.4: Upper Decorative Frieze of the walls. After D IV, pls. CCLXXII-CCLXXV.

4.5.5 The Upper Band of Text:

It is inscribed on two sides, the first runs on the eastern side (right side) and the other is on the western side (left side). The former is devoted to Hathor. It starts with (D IV 60) *nswt-bitit* “Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt”. Then, the epithets which reflect her solar aspect follow: *Nbwt, tḥnt mshꜥ r psdt, 3ḥtyt m 3ḥt, h3y t3wy m stwt.s, itnt mḥ t3 m nḥr nbw, wbn m bi3 m 3ḥt b3ḥt*. Additionally, another part is dedicated to the description of the forms of Hathor: the first is: the female falcon *bikt*, the second is: the beautiful lady *rpyt nḥrt*. Finally, it ends with the power that she gives to the king who is sitting on his throne as the falcon.

The latter is dedicated to Isis, the great, god’s mother. It also starts with the same form as the former. Her solar aspect is reflected through the following epithet *Wbn wbn m bi3*. The festival of the *grḥ nḥn m sš.f* which was celebrated on the fourth epagomenal day is highlighted. Additionally, another two aspects are declared: the first one is *nswyt* “the Queen” and the second is: *rpyt nḥrt* “the beautiful lady”. Finally, the text ends with the same part as the former part.

4.5.6 The Wall Facing the Sanctuary:

The walls of the Central Hall of Dendera consist of four registers. This wall i.e the northern wall has two scenes in each register of each side (table 4.30).

Table 4.30: The offering rituals of the wall facing the sanctuary

Registers	Western Side				Eastern Side			
	Outer Part		Inner Part		Inner Part		Outer Part	
	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Fourth	<i>ḥnk nfrt nt</i>	Horus son of Isis, son of Osiris	<i>ḥwt bḥsw</i>	Osiris-wenn-nefer, the victorious	<i>st3 mrt sp fdw</i>	Horus son of Isis, son of Osiris	<i>ḥnk W3dty</i>	Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit
Codes	[D-Nw-Ws-R4-2]		[D-Nw-Ws-R4-1]		[D-Nw-Es-R4-1]		[D-Nw-Es-R4-2]	
Third	<i>w3ḥ ʿḥ</i>	Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit	<i>ḥnk mnit</i>	Isis, the great, god's mother+Horus-sema-tawy, son of	<i>sʿḥʿ wnšb</i>	Hathor, the great, lady of Iunet+Ihy, the great, son of Hathor	<i>3sh it</i>	Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit
Codes	[D-Nw-Ws-R3-2]		[D-Nw-Ws-R3-1]		[D-Nw-Es-R3-1]		[D-Nw-Es-R3-2]	
Second	<i>ḥnk t ḥnkṯ</i>	Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit	<i>ḥnk wnty-ḥr</i>	Isis, the great, the god's mother+Horus-sema-tawy, the child	<i>siʿr wnty-ḥr</i>	Hathor, lady of Iunet+ Ihy, the great, son of Hathor	<i>ḥnk irp</i>	Horus the Behdetite
Codes	[D-Nw-Ws-R2-2]		[D-Nw-Ws-R2-1]		[D-Nw-Es-R2-1]		[D-Nw-Es-R2-2]	

First	<i>ḥwt-ꜥ r stpw</i>	Horus-sema- tawy, lord of Khadit	<i>irt šsst shm</i>	Isis, the great, god's mother+Horus- sema-tawy, son of Hathor	[...]sššt	Hathor, the great, lady of Iunet+Ihy, the great, son of Hathor	<i>ḥwt-ꜥ r stpw</i>	Horus the Behdetite
Codes	[D-Nw-Ws-R1-2]		[D-Nw-Ws-R1-1]		[D-Nw-Es-R1-1]		[D-Nw-Es-R1-2]	

4.5.7 The Wall Attached to the Sanctuary:

The southern wall, which is attached to the sanctuary, is divided into two parts. Each part is divided into two registers and each register has a ritual offering scene (PM VI 56 (103), 57 (108)) (table 4.31). There is a strong resemblance in the corresponding scenes in terms of the number of the deities i.e. three in each scene. The upper register in both scenes [D-Sw-Es-R4] and [D-Sw-Ws-R4] are occupied by a triad consisting of Hathor, the great, lady of Iunet+Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit+Ihy, the great, son of Hathor. As for the lower register, the western scene [D-Sw-Ws-R3] is dedicated to a triad comprising of: Isis, the great one, the god's mother+Osiris-wenn-nefer, the victorious + Horus son of Isis, son of Osiris. The eastern scene [D-Sw-Es-R3] has the same triad as the upper register. One might think that the triad on the upper register of the western side should be for Isis and her spouse and their child, but it seems that the decorator wants to show the supremacy of Hathor and her triad in the Central Hall.

In terms of representation, all the deities are depicted seated. In terms of the ritual offerings, the upper two scenes show the king raising his hands in adoration [D-Sw-Es-R4] and [D-Sw-Ws-R4] while the lower scenes show the king offering the *wsht*-collar on the western scene [D-Sw-Ws-R3] and another collar in the eastern side [D-Sw-Es-R3]. In terms of the crowns of the king, on the upper western side, he wears the blue crown while on the corresponding scene on the eastern side he wears the skull cap. The Upper Band of Text is found above the top registers. These two scenes of the third and fourth registers are found above the lintels of the doors giving access to the corridor around the sanctuary. Each of the scenes is surmounted by a *pt*-sign.

Table 4.31: The offering rituals of the wall attached to the sanctuary

Registers	Eastern Scenes		Western Scenes	
	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities
Fourth	<i>dw3 ntr</i>	Hathor, the great, lady of Iunet+Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit+Ihy, the great, son of Hathor	<i>dw3 ntr</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet+Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit+Ihy, the great son of Hathor.
Codes	[D-Sw-Es-R4]		[D-Sw-Ws-R4]	
Third	Offering a collar [no text]	Hathor, lady of Iunet+Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit+Ihy, the great, son of Hathor	<i>hmk wsht</i>	Isis, the great one, the god's mother+Osiris-wenn-nefer, the victorious+Horus son of Isis, son of Osiris
Codes	[D-Sw-Es-R3]		[D-Sw-Ws-R3]	

4.5.8 The Lateral Walls:

The lateral walls of Dendera as in the case of Edfu are the western and eastern walls. Each wall has a window of which the lower part has a half sun disc with sun rays depicted coming from the window. The eastern wall is divided into four registers (table 4.32). The first two registers are found on both sides of the door leading to the chamber of the eastern staircase. Each scene on those two registers is surmounted by *pt*-sign. As for the third register, the four scenes are surmounted by one *pt*-sign. Regarding the fourth register, each scene is surmounted by a *pt*-sign and a hymn consisting of fourteen columns of text is situated between them [D-Ew-R4-H]. In all these scenes the king is depicted on the southern side either alone or accompanied by a deity before only one seated deity on the northern side except for the deities in the first register who are

represented standing. Regarding the fourth register, the northern scene [D-Ew-R4-1] shows Re-Horakhty standing at the front of the king while shaking the *sistrums*. The king offers a *nw*-jar with his left hand and raises his hands in adoration. Each of these two acts is mentioned with a separate title as if it is a double offering scene to the same deity. This is also applicable to all the scenes of the southern side of the four registers. Ihy accompanies the king in the first and stands on the pedestal of the throne of the female deities, third, and fourth registers while Horus-sema-tawy accompanies the king on the second register on the fourth scene on the southern side. Despite the fact that Ihy holds in the other hand the *menit*, the text does not mention it.

As for the western wall of the Central Hall of Dendera (table 4.33), the scenes on the northern part of the wall of the first two registers do not exist and instead there is a hymn [D-Ww-R1+2-H]. Both of the first two registers consist of two scenes. The first two scenes on the first register are surmounted by one *pt*-sign. The two scenes of the second register are the same but the *pt*-sign extends to cover even the lintel of the door leading to the room leading to the Court of the *Wabet*. As for the four scenes of the third register, one *pt*-sign surmounts them all. As for the Upper fourth register, two scenes are situated on the southern side surmounted by one *pt*-sign and a window having the same decoration as the one on the eastern wall separates them from another scene located on the northern side of the door. Another hymn [D-Ww-R4-H] is found below and on the northern side of the window consisting of nine columns of texts. In all of the scenes the king is represented offering to only one seated deity except for the northern scene of the first register where the goddess is depicted standing. Ihy appears offering the *sistrum* in three northern scenes of the second, third and fourth registers while standing before the king on the pedestal of the throne of the deities. Horus-sema-tawy, in the last mentioned scene is standing. The scenes of the fourth register are remarkable as on the northern scene on the right hand side of the window Horus the Behdetite is depicted behind Hathor raising his hands. As for the first scene on the southern side of the window [D-Ww-R4-1], the king is not offering but just standing before the deity.

Table 4.32: The offering rituals of the eastern wall

Registers	Offering Rituals		Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities	Offering Rituals	Deities			
Fourth	King	<i>irt ḥnkt</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet	Window + Hymn					King	<i>ḥnk wd3t</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet	
	Re- Horakhty	<i>irt sšst šhm</i>							Ihy, the great , son of Isis	<i>irt sššt</i>		
Codes	[D-Ew-R4-1-H]			[D-Ew-R4-H]					[D-Ew-R4-2]			
Third	King	<i>šms ᵐntyw</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet	King	<i>Ms rrm ḥr ᵐntyw sšn</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet	King	<i>ḥnk šmᵑ mḥ</i>	Ihy, the great , son of Hathor	King	<i>ḥnk m3ᵑt</i>	Isis, the great one, god’s mother
										Horus sema- tawy, the child,	<i>ir.n.i sššt</i>	

										son of Hathor					
Codes	[D-Ew-R3-1]			[D-Ew-R3-2]			[D-Ew-R3-3]			[D-Ew-R3-4]					
Second	King	<i>Ms</i> [...] <i>n</i> <i>nbw</i> , <i>snn</i> <i>n R^c</i>	Hathor, lady of Iunet	Door to the Treasury						King	<i>irt</i> <i>sntr</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet			
										Ihy, the great, son of Hathor	<i>ir.n.i</i> <i>sššt</i>				
Codes	[D-Ew-R2-Ns]									[D-Ew-R2-Ss]					
First	King	<i>ḥnk ḥḥ</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet							King	<i>ḥi</i> <i>iḥt</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet			
										Ihy, the great, son of Hathor	<i>ir.n.i</i> <i>sššt</i>				
Codes	[D-Ew-R1-Ns]									[D-Ew-R1-Ss]					

Table 4.33: The offering rituals of the western wall

Registers	Offering Rituals		Deity	Offering Rituals		Deity	Offering Rituals	Deity	Offering Rituals	Deity		
Fourth	King	<i>ḥnk wḏ3t</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet	King	---	Horus-sema-tawy-lord of Kadit	Window + Hymn		King	<i>ms p3 mnnw</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet	
	Ihy, the great, son of Hathor	<i>ir.n.i sššt</i>										
Codes	[D-Ww-R4-1]			[D-Ww-R4-2]			[D-Ww-R4-H]		[D-Ww-R4-3]			
Third	King	<i>ḥnk m3ꜥt</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet	King	<i>ḥnk ḥḥ</i>	Ihy, the great, son of Hathor	King	<i>ts wḏ3</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet	King	<i>ms m3ḥ n ḏꜥm</i>	Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet
	Ihy, the great, son of Hathor	<i>ir.n.i sššt</i>										
Codes	[D-Ww-R3-1]			[D-Ww-R3-2]			[D-Ww-R3-3]		[D-Ww-R3-4]			
Second	King	<i>irt ḳbhꜣw</i>	Hathor, the foremost of Iunet	King	<i>ḥnk h3drty</i>	Ihy, the great, son of Hathor					Hymn	
	Ihy, the	<i>ir.n.i</i>										

	great, son of Hathor	<i>sššt</i>					Door to the Mansion of Cloth	
Codes	[D-Ww-R2-1]			[D-Ww-R2-2]				
First	King	<i>sḫr t- ḥd</i>	Hathor, lady of Iunet	King	<i>ḥnk irtt</i>	Ihy, the great, son of Hathor		
	Horus- sema- tawy, the child, son of Hathor	<i>ir.n.i sššt</i>						
Codes	[D-Ww-R1-1]			[D-Ww-R1-2]				[D-Ww- R1+2-H]

4.5.9 The Lower Band of Text:

It runs on two parts (D IV 58-59). The first part is inscribed on the eastern part (right). It commences with the form of *ʕnh ntr nfr* “may the good god live” and then follows the epithets of the king with empty cartouches. Then, the dedication text for the building of the Central Hall to a deity who is supposed to be Hathor follows. Her name and epithets are mentioned once after the cartouches of the King. Furthermore, from the context of the text, it is deduced to be Hathor, the main deity of the temple. It ends with *di.s isw nn irt hm.f n hmt.s hnty k3w [ʕnhw dt]* “she gives this exchange to what his majesty (king) done to her majesty (Hathor) the foremost of the kas of the living eternally” (Cauville 2001: 118-119).

The second part runs on the western part (left) and it starts with the same form as the eastern part and then the epithets of the king follow with empty cartouches. The dedication text for the building of the Central Hall is stated. A description for the decoration on the walls is provided. Finally, it ends with the same formula as the eastern part with one difference, instead of *hmt.s* there is *k3.s*.

4.6 Discussion:

It has been shown that there are several ways to read the scenes of a certain room in the temples or even for a certain part of it, and that each place has its own reading depending on the sequence of the scenes representing the ritual. The latter case is the easiest to determine as the scenes have to be followed in order to establish their sequence. This might be theoretically true but in reality it turned out that it is a more complicated issue than it seems. One can recall the case of the rituals of the daily offerings in the seven sanctuaries of the temple of Seti I at Abydos where scholars have been trying to determine the right way to read the scenes including A. Mariette (1869: 18), A. Blackman (1918-1919), M. Alliot (1949: 76), G. Roeder (1960: 85), W. Barta (1966: 116-122), H. Altenmüller (1969: 16-25) and finally R. David (1973: 114-119). Last but not least, Heiden proposes that these rituals were symbolic and he posited a new sequence based on the actual treatment of the statue of the god and pointed out that this result is applicable to the sources of the Nineteenth Dynasty (2000: 313). A point to note is that each of these scholars has a different way to read the scenes.

Another good example are the scenes of the coronation ritual in the Chamber of the Throne of Re in the temple of Edfu, which have been studied by M. Alliot (1954: 561-676) and following him M. Ibrahim who had a slightly different way of reading them (1971: 73-105). As for the scenes of the exterior walls of the *Pronaos*, P. Barguet pointed out the parallelsim between the scenes of the registers, but the reading of the scenes was not attempted (1971: 26-31). Most of the chambers of the temples are decorated so that the scenes are depicted from the entrance of the room to the rear wall of the room but this is not the rule for all parts of the temples and there are exceptions. This can be seen in the other group of coronation scenes represented in the small ambulatory around the sanctuary where the scenes can be read from inside the temple to the outside (Watterson 1976: 41). In other cases, the scenes of the same ritual were represented on the same register i.e. first register on both sides of the walls of the hall such as the case of the foundation rituals in the Inner Hypostyle Hall (Watterson 1976: 45).

Additionally, the daily rituals in the sanctuary of the temple of Edfu were distributed on the interior eastern and western walls of the sanctuary; however, they occupy a part of

the two walls only. M. Alliot (1949) and R. David (1973: 125-130) construct the sequence of the scenes, each using a different method. As for the daily rituals of Dendera, they were studied by G. Hussey who proposes a way to read them (2007: 95-118) unlike S. Cauville, who focused only on the translation of the text and read them in the same order mentioned in the publication of Chassinat (2001: 66-100). B. Watterson proposed a new method to read the scenes on the eastern and western wall of the *Naos* of the temple of Edfu and called it “boustrophedon” which means that the scenes were executed in “alternate lines running contrary ways as in ploughing” (1967: 149-154). That means that there is no system to read the order of the scenes or even the registers, additionally, the scenes of the rites are not depicted in the order which they were performed (Vassilika 1989: 1ff; 1998: 938).

Furthermore, Vassilika believes that the scenes are not necessarily deployed in a way to identify the function of the room (1998: 938). This opinion slightly contradicts the opinion of A. Egbert that the scenes depicted in certain places in the temple are connected with the function of this particular place (1995: 13-38) such as the stairs leading to the roof of the temples. One also might recall the scenes of the New Year Festival of the temple of Edfu are distributed among different parts of the temple, such as the Mesen chamber, the Ambulatory, the Food Altar and the Pure Place, the eastern and western staircases leading to the roof (Fairman 1954: 183-198; Alliot 1949: 303-433).

The case of the Central Halls is quite different, as there is no one group of ritual scenes in each of the Central Halls of the studied temples that can be followed on the walls. The scenes of each of the Central Halls can be described as an assortment of different ritual offering scenes that have been chosen to be depicted on the walls of each of the Central Halls (see 5.4). The fact that has just been mentioned about the Central Halls presents a main problem about the way the scenes should be read.

A simple way to read the scenes on the walls of the Central Halls is to go register by register. As investigated, each scene on the walls facing the sanctuary, in Philae, Edfu and Dendera corresponds to another scene in the same register. As for the lateral walls, each scene in a register on one of the lateral walls corresponds to another scene on the same register on the other wall. The following irregularities can be observed. The two

scenes on the western wall of the first two registers [E-Ww-R1] and [E-Ww-R2] are corresponding to a hymn [E-Ew-Ss-H1] and not two other scenes on the eastern wall. Another two scenes [D-Ew-Ns-R1] and [D-Ew-Ns-R2] on the eastern wall of the Central Hall of Dendera corresponds to a hymn on the western wall [D-Ww-R1-2-H]. Additionally, two scenes [D-Ww-R1-2] and [D-Ww-R2-2], depicted on the western wall of the Central Hall of Dendera, corresponds to a part of the lintel of the eastern door leading to the chapel of cloth and a text on the southern doorjamb of the same door. Moreover, the wall facing the sanctuary in the temple of Kom Ombo is divided into three parts due to the existence of two doors which is different from those of Edfu, Dendera and Philae where the walls are divided into two parts.

Table 4.34: The decoration scheme of the Central Halls

	Philae	Edfu	Kom Ombo	Dendera
Scenes on the External Lintels	2	---	4 on northern lintel-one still <i>in situ</i> southern lintel	2
Registers of the External Doorjambs	3	4	4	4
Scenes on the Internal lintels	2	2	4 on each lintel	2
Registers on the Internal Doorjambs	2	3	4	4
Upper Decorative Frieze	✓	✓	✓	✓
Upper Band of Text	---	✓	✓	✓
Wall Registers	3	3	3	4
Windows	---	4	(?)	2
Doors connecting the Central Hall	6	6	8	6
Lower Band of Text	---	✓	✓	✓

External Dadoes of the Doorjambs	King followed by Hapy gods	Four snakes + text+two barks	Text	King followed by Hapy gods
Internal Dadoes	Hapy gods	Papyri	Fecundity Figures	Papyri
Relief Style	High relief	High relief	High relief	High relief

Regarding the decorative friezes found on the upper most part of the walls of the Central Halls of the studied temples, they are different from one temple to another. The main common factor between them is that the cartouche of the king is protected by falcons in the temple of Edfu (see 4.3.4), snakes in the case of Dendera (see 4.5.4) and a winged snake protecting the *dd*-pillar in the case of Philae (see 4.2.4). Kurth points to the importance of these decorative friezes as they were partly connected to the function of the rooms in the temples, thus, they help to determine the function of the rooms (1994d: 198). The latter point was also concluded earlier while investigating the southern rooms of the temple of Luxor by H. Brunner (1977: 83). Kurth also points out that depending only on these friezes is not conclusive and difficult to determine the function of a room in the temple especially when the frieze is so simple. On the contrary, Kurth did not make a complete study of the friezes of the rest of the chambers and halls of the temple of Edfu including the Central Hall (1994d: 198).

Concerning the dadoes of the Central Halls of the four studied temples, there is a similarity between the temples of Edfu and Dendera as both of them are ornamented with repetitive elements of papyri. On the other hand, the dadoes of Philae are decorated with Hapys and are in close relation to the fecundity figures depicted on the dadoes of Kom Ombo.

The resemblance in some offering rituals on the doorjambs of the Central Halls of Kom Ombo and Dendera is remarkable. This can be noticed in the following scenes: the ritual of revealing the face *wn hr* occurs in Kom Ombo in scene [KO-ESD-NDJ-R1] where the king performs this rite before Sobek, lord of Nbyt. The same ritual appears in scene [D-ED-EDJ-R1] where the king stands before the *Naos* having inside it Hathor and another unidentified deity due to the damage of the text and the relief. This ritual might

be a part of the daily temple rituals performed after opening the shrine (Moret 1902: 50-53) and it is also mentioned in the Coffin Texts spells so as to help to resurrect the deceased and grant him an eternal life (CT III, spell 241; Lohwasser 1991: 34-35). Furthermore, this ritual is performed among the rituals of the Festival of the New Year at the roof of the temple when the portable shrine of Hathor is carried there (Alliot 1949: 353; Bleeker 1973: 90). It is because of this ritual that the light is placed on the face of the goddess (Bleeker 1973: 90). In the case of Kom Ombo the chamber of the southern staircase bears evidence that the same ritual can be carried out on the roof of the temple.

The second ritual which appears in both temples is the ritual of *m33 ntr* seeing the god. In scene [KO-ESD-SDJ-R1] in Kom Ombo, the king wears the *3tf*-crown and stands before Horwer whose legend is “I give to you the screen wall portico; this land is sacred to your ka” (Gutbub 1995: 235). The title of this scene is accompanied by another ritual of kissing the earth which the attitude of the king is far from the normal representations of this kind of ritual. Thus, when the king sees the god, he kneels so as to kiss the earth before the deity as part of the daily rituals performed by the King or the high priest after entering the sanctuary and opening the *naos*. These two rituals appear frequently on corresponding scenes in the Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (Beinlich 2008: 92). This case is remarkable as they appear in one scene only.

As for Dendera, this ritual occurs once in scene [D-ED-EDJ-2] where the king stands before Hathor whose legend grants the king “I give to you all that is seen by the sun disc and all that is seen by the moon” (D IV 39, 9) and behind her Ihy whose legend mentions “I give to you the men and women exulting at seeing you” (D IV 39, 10-11).

Other rituals such as *pr r hndw*, occurs only in Dendera in scene [D-ED-WDJ-R1] where the king opens the *Naos* while wearing the blue crown. Inside the *Naos* is Isis the great and Horus-sema-tawy. The text accompanying the goddess mentions: “I caused that the closed doors are opened for you, you seize the land with your power” (D IV 41, 16-17; Cauville 2001: 92-93). While Horus grants the king the following: “I illuminate the darkness in your sanctuary” (D IV 42, 3). This ritual is one of the daily temple rituals and is performed before the ritual of revealing the face of the god and it forms the first part of the chapter of revealing the face of the god (Moret 1902: 104-108;

David 1981:63). Another text mentions *pr r rd* “Ascending the staircase” which took place during the festival of the New Year in Edfu (E I 413, 13; Alliot 1949: 351-352; Corthals 2003: 114).

Another remarkable similarity occurs in the scenes of the internal lintels of the doors of the Central Halls of Philae [Ph-IL-W], [Ph-IL-E] and Edfu [E-Nw-InL-E-1] and [E-Nw-InL-W-1]. This scene is for offering wine to the main deity of the temple by the king followed by the queen.

Regarding the relation between the scenes represented on the walls of the Central Halls, it has been noted by Lurson (2000: 81-84; 2007: 189) that there are two main types of relations: symmetrical and diagonal. His work concentrated on the Dynastic temple of Gerf Hussein, while in the Central Halls, other relations can also be recognised such as the vertical relation as in the case of three scenes of the western wall of the Central Hall of Dendera [D-Ww-R1-2], [D-Ww-R2-2], [D-Ww-R3-2] and they are also linked to another scene on the opposite eastern wall [D-Ew-3-R3]. This vertical relation between the ritual scenes was observed earlier by Osing while studying the northern external wall of the temple of Seti I at Qurnah, the temple of Ramesses III at Karnak, the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, the sanctuary of Alexander at Luxor temple, and sanctuary of Philippe Arrhidaeus at Karnak, however, this relation was confined only to the deities appearing in the registers and not the rituals themselves (1981: 39-47).

As for the orientation of the scenes on the external doorjambs of the Central Halls of the investigated temples, they all follow the same pattern shown in figure 4.3, while the orientation of the scenes of the internal door jambs also follows one pattern shown in fig. 4.4. Concerning the orientation of the scenes of the Central Halls of the temples, three of them have the same scene orientations i.e. Edfu, Dendera and Philae while Kom Ombo has a different one where the scenes of the middle part of the western wall are oriented towards the south like the southern part of the temple.

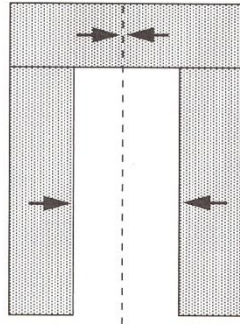


Fig 4.3: The orientation of the scenes on the external doorjambs of the Central Halls

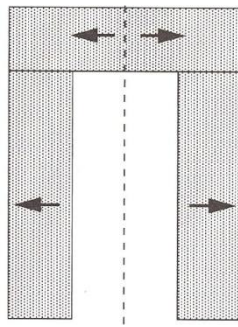


Fig. 4.4: The orientation of the scenes of the internal doorjamb of the Central Halls.

Concerning the relation between the Central Hall and the investigated temples, it can be recognised from table 4.33 that the temple of Dendera is not only divided according to its South-North axis between Hathor on the eastern side and Isis on the western side of the temple, but it is divided among two triads. The first consists of: Hathor, Horus of Behdet and Horus-sema-tawy while the second comprises: Isis, Osiris-wenn-nefer, and Horus son of Isis (Cauville 1990b: 14). The eastern side belongs to the former triad while the western belongs to the latter. Despite the fact that Hathor is represented on the western side of the external lintel of The Central Hall, she is depicted with the throne of Horus on her crown which identifies her with Isis (Cauville 2009b: 302). The distribution of the deities in the Central Hall conforms to the same system used in the rest of the temple as shown in table 4.35.

Table 4.35: The distribution of the deities along the main axis (South-North) of Dendera.

		Western side/Lower Egypt		Eastern side/Upper Egypt	
<i>Pronaos</i>	External cornice	Isis, the great, the god's mother + Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit + Wadjet, lady of P		Hathor, lady of Dendera + Horus the Behdetite + Nekhbet, the white one.	
	Internal cornice	Isis the great, the god's mother + Khnum-Re		Hathor the great, lady of Dendera, eye of Re + Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky	
Hall of Offerings	External lintel	Isis the great, the god's mother, lady of Iat-dit + Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit	Hathor	Hathor	Hathor the great, lady of dendera, eye of Re + Horus the Behdetite
	Internal lintel	Isis, the great, the god's mother, lady of Iat-dit		Hathor, the great, lady of Dendera	
Central	External	Hathor, lady of the temple of Purification, female sun		Hathor, the great, lady of Dendera, eye of Re	

Hall	lintel	disc + Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit		+ Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky	
	Internal lintel	Isis the great, the god's mother + Horus son of Isis, son of Osiris + Osiris wenn-nefer, the victorious		Hathor, the great, lady of Dendera, eye of Re + Horus the Behdetite, the great god + Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit	
Sanctuary	External lintel	Isis the great, the god's mother + Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit.	Isis the great + Horus-sema-tawy, son of Hathor	Hathor, the great, lady of Dendera, eye of Re + Ihy, son of Hathor	Hathor, the great, Hryt st-wrt + Horus the Behdetite.
	Internal lintel	Isis the great, the god's mother + Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit.		Hathor, the great, Lady of Iunet + Horus the Behdetite.	

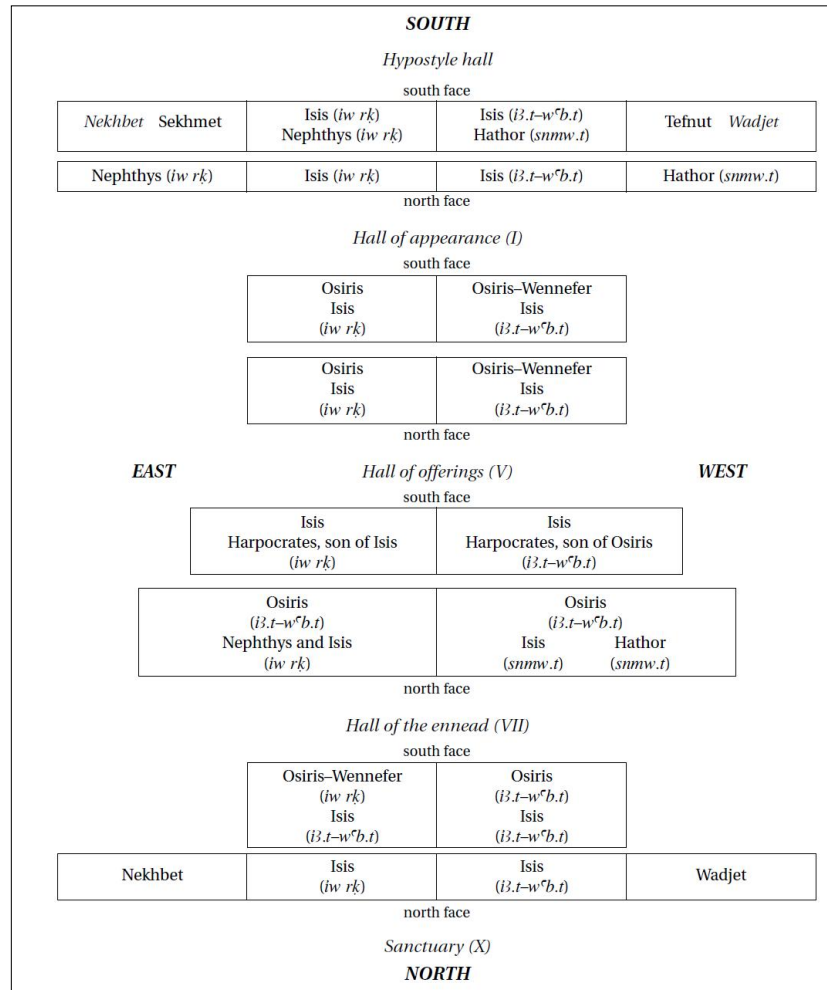


Fig. 4.5: The distribution of the deities along the main axis of Philae. After Coppens 2007: 81.

This figure 4.5 reveals that the temple is divided along the central axis between the two forms of Isis. The eastern side symbolises Upper Egypt and belongs to Isis *wrt mwt ntr nbt iw-rk* while the western side symbolises Lower Egypt and belongs to Isis *dit ʿnh hryt-ib i3t-w^cbt*.

The case of the temple of Kom Ombo is quite different, as there is one main Central axis which divides the temple into two equal parts and there are two other secondary axes which start at the two doors of the temple and head towards the two sanctuaries (Gutbub 1995: XV). Judging from the scenes of the northern external lintels of the Central Hall of Kom Ombo, the Central Hall follows the same scheme as the rest of the

temples in terms of the location of Horwer appearing on the external lintels and doorjambs while Sobek appears on the internal lintels and doorjambs as seen from the (see fig.4.6). The infant deity of each triad is swapped over. As for the temple of Edfu, there is one main axis i.e. north-south which divides the temple into two equal parts. There is no system that can be followed depending on the lintels of the halls of the temple as most of them are not divided into two scenes but it is one main scene as in the case of the first Hypostyle Hall (E IX, pl. XLVII) and the Central Hall (E IX, pl. XXXIa). Additionally, the deities on the doorjambs on both sides of the main axis do not imply a system comparing to Kom Ombo (E IX, pls. XXXIa, XXXVa, XLa, XLVI).

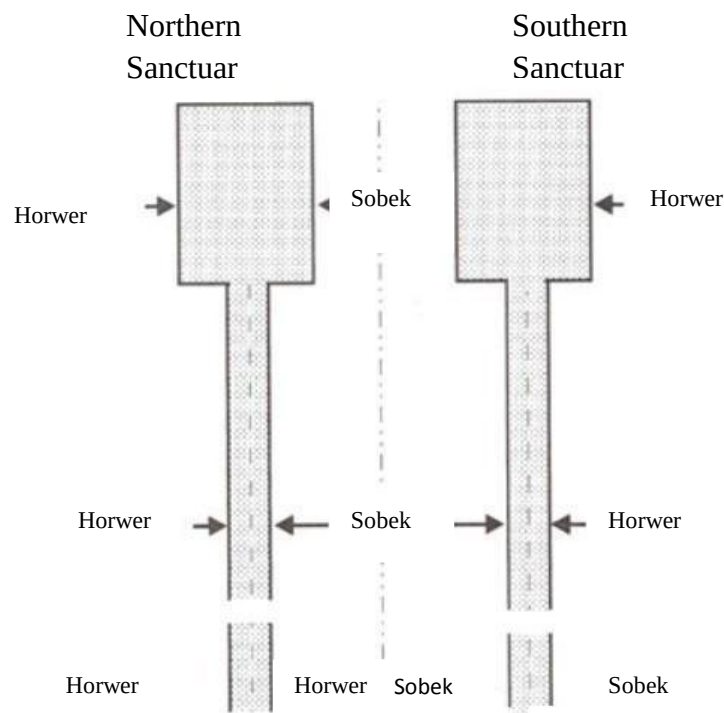


Fig. 4.6: The three axes of the temple of Kom Ombo. After Gutbub 1995: fig. 6.

In order to understand the connection between the ritual offering scenes represented on the walls of the Central Halls of the investigated temples, it is compelling to find what kinds of scenes are represented. Are they connected and form homogeneous episodes of a certain ritual? And what is their significance? Hence, the following chapter will shed light on these points.

Chapter Five

Ritual Offerings and Hymns of the Central Halls

5.1 Introduction:

As seen in chapter four, the walls of the Central Halls of the studied temples are covered with scenes representing offering rituals performed not only before the main deity of the temple but also other deities and hymns which used to be recited in this particular place of the temple. Hence, the main aims of this chapter are the following. Firstly to find out about the significance of these offering rituals performed by the king before the deities represented in the Central Hall. This will show whether these ritual offerings are just mere offerings meant to decorate the walls or whether they are connected to religious festivals celebrated inside the temple. Secondly, a study of the hymns inscribed in the Central Halls is presented to show the different aspects of the deities they convey, the rituals they are connected with and the religious festivals during which they were chanted.

5.2 Ritual Offerings of the Central Halls:

This section will focus on the ritual offerings represented on the walls of the Central Halls of the four temples.

5.2.1 Ritual Offerings of Philae:

5.2.1.1 Adoring the god: *dw3 ntr*

This ritual occurs two times in the Central Hall of the temple of Philae. The first scene [Ph-Ew-R1+H] shows the king wearing the white crown and standing before Isis. He does not raise either of his hands before the deity in adoration, the usual gesture for the ritual. The legend of the goddess mentions “I give to you all the lands and the foreign lands” (Bénéдите 1893: 51). The second scene [Ph-Sw-Es-R1+H] shows the king wearing the red crown and raising his hands before Osiris, Isis and Hathor. Despite the fact that the formula is addressed to Osiris only, the other deities also respond with reciprocal gifts. Osiris’ legend mentions that “I give to you all life and all power” (Bénéдите 1893: 51), Isis’ legend states that “my arms are behind you forever and eternally” (Bénéдите 1893: 51), while Hathor grants the king “all strength” and “all life, dominion, and health” (Bénéдите 1893: 51). This rite is one of the series of rites

connected to the rituals of consecrating the temple which was celebrated annually on the first of the year and performed mainly to the main deity of the temple (Žabkar 1988: 126; Corthals 2003: 99). In both scenes the deities are not enshrined and both of the scenes are accompanied by a hymn. It also appears as one of the daily cult rituals and it is connecting to the rite of “kissing the earth” (Coppens 2007: 95).

5.2.1.2 Raising up Offerings: *ḥi-ih*

It appears in [Ph-Nw-Ws-R1] where the king who wears the *ḥt*-crown offers a tray laden with offerings to Isis who in return grants the king “this land in peace”. The goddess grants “all life and all authority” (Bénédict 1893: 47). In the corresponding scene [Ph-Nw-Es-R1], the king wears a composite crown and offers with one hand and raises the other in adoration before Isis and Arsinoe and Isis grants “all the lands in peace” (Bénédict 1893: 49).

5.2.1.3 Presenting Cloth:

It appears in [Ph-Sw-Es-R3+H] where the king offers *idmi* and *irtyw* clothes to Osiris wenn-nefer followed by Isis, giver of life, lady of *irḥ* and Horus, son of Isis. Osiris grants the king: “all power” (Bénédict 1893: 40). The former cloth is white in colour and connected to the brightness of Re and it has defensive power and also connected with the Osirian deities while the latter cloth is green and connected to the goddess Wadjet and has the attribute of vitality (Bénédict 1893: 40; Pécoil 1981: 319). Despite the fact that, the offering of the *mnḥt*-cloth is part of the daily rituals, this cloth offering could be linked with the ritual of offering cloth to Osiris on the first epagomenal day which is considered the birthday of Osiris a clothing ritual is devoted to Osiris (Meeks & Favard-Meeks 1999: 193).

5.2.1.4 Shaking the Sistrum: *ir(t) sššt*

It appears in scene [Ph-Ww-R1+H] where the king wears the blue crown and shakes two *sistrums* before Isis who in return grants him “numerous great feasts” (Bénédict 1893: 45). Additionally, it occurs in scene [Ph-Ew-R3-1], and the beneficiary deity is Isis who awards the king “the circumference of the sky and the earth” (Bénédict 1893:

50). The ritual is performed before the main deity of the temple, Isis so as to appease her.

5.2.1.5 Offering Plants: *rdi(t) rnpwt*

It occurs in scene [Ph-Nw-Ws-R3-2] where the king is shown offering the plants to Khnum, Satet and Anukis. The god's legend states "I give to you plants on the back of earth" (Bénédite 1893: 47). As for Satet, her legend is silent in terms of what should be granted to the king. Regarding Anukis, her legend states "I give to you all life, and dominion, and all happiness" (Bénédite 1893: 47). Another scene [Ph-Sw-Ws-R1+H] shows the king offering plants to a triad of Osiris wenn-nefer, Isis and Horus the child accompanied by a hymn. In return Osiris grants the king "all life", while Isis grants him "all strength" and Horus the child bestows on him "offerings and provisions" (Bénédite 1893: 47). This offering consists mainly of lotus and papyrus with its rejuvenating powers for the deity (Dittmar 1986: 103; Preys 2002a: 181).

5.2.1.6 Offering *Maet*: *hmk m3t*

The offering appears twice, first, in scene [Ph-Sw-Ws-R3+H], where the king offers *maet* to Osiris who is followed by Isis and Horus the child accompanied by a hymn. The king wears the White Crown of Upper Egypt. Osiris awards the king "the strength of Re" (Bénédite 1893: 42, 10-11). Additionally, Isis and Horus offer "strength". In the second scene [Ph-Nw-Es-R3-2], the king offers wearing the *3tf*-crown before a triad consisting of Amun, Mut and Khonsu. The *maet* offering is a supreme offering (Assman 1990: 186) in which all kinds of offerings can be included (Teeter 1997: 82). It also functions as the compelling idiom of the legality of the king (Teeter 1997: 82). *Maet* has two aspects which are justice and nutrition (Assmann 1989: 55-88).

5.2.1.7 Offering *Menit*: *rdi(t) mnit*

It occurs in [Ph-Ew-R3-3] where the king wears the double crown and offers it to Isis whose legend states "I give to you all lands in peace" (Bénédite 1893: 50). This offering symbolises vital force and fecundity (Ivanov 2003: 336). According to the texts of the temple of Edfu, it is considered to symbolise the two testicles of Seth which were cut by

Horus during the combat with Seth and also signifies the idea of renaissance (Barguet 1953b: 107-109). The *menit*-collar is known since the Middle Kingdom as a costume for Hathor (Gardiner 1912: 72 ff.; Barguet 1953b: 106). Being made out of string of beads, the *menit* is not only a collar but also a musical instrument as when it is shaken it makes a rattling sound (Wilson 1997: 423). When it is offered as a collar, it gives the king protection from disease, impurity and sadness (E I 184, 45-11; E III 118, 17-119, 12).

5.2.1.8 Presenting the Myrrh: *šms-ntyw*

It occurred in scene [Ph-Nw-Es-R2] where the king offers myrrh to Isis who in return grants him “strength like Re” (Bénédite 1893:49) and to Tefnut who gives him “Egypt young in peace” (Bénédite 1893: 49). The text of the offering does not show its normal connection with Punt and the return of the runaway goddess to Egypt. It is one of the rites connected with the Festival of the New Year (Corthals 2003: 87).

5.2.1.9 Presenting the Wine: *hnk /dit irp*

In scene [Ph-Ww-R2-1+H] the king offers it to Isis, lady of *irk* who grants the king “all provisions”, (Bénédite 1893: 44). Regarding scene [Ph-Nw-Ws-R3-1], Osiris says: “I give to you all produce” and Isis says: “I give to you all lands and foreign lands” (Bénédite 1893:46).

Wine is connected to Hathor mythologically as mentioned in the myth of the destruction of mankind (Roeder 1978: 142ff.; Piankoff 1977: 29) and in religious festivals such as the festival of the drunkenness of Hathor celebrated on the 20th of *Thoth* (Bleeker 1973: 91; Schott 1950: 962).

These fall under the three benefits that are expected to be received in return for offering wine to the deities as shown by M. Poo (1995: 139-141). The wine as an offering to a deity signifies the creative and the rejuvenating power which is considered an act for the restoration and the maintenance of the cosmic order (Poo 1995: 169; Te Velde 1967: 50; Derchain 1962b: 61-73). From the text studied above, it is noticed that wine is offered to the deities to pacify them and in return the deities grant the king rulership,

lands, and foreign lands (Götte 1986: 63-80; Poo 1995: 219-233; Dils 1993: 111). Additionally, wine was used for purification of the deities as well as mentioned in the texts of the temple of Edfu (E I 211, 1; Junker 1910: 82; Dils 1993: 110). It is worth mentioning that pouring the wine is extremely rare in the temples whether in the Pharaonic temples or the Ptolemaic temples (Dils 1993: 111-113). One of the main purposes of this offering is to calm down deities when they are raging dangerously and thus they need to be tranquillised (Brunner 1954: 81-83).

5.2.1.10 Giving the *Wnšb*-symbol: *rdi wnšb*

It appears in scenes [Ph-Ww-R3-2] and [Ph-Ew-R3-2] where the king in both of them offers it to Hathor. In the former, he is granted “all life and health” (Bénédite 1893: 44) while in the latter “all lands in peace” (Bénédite 1893:50). This offering symbolises the pacification of the eye of Re, daughter of Re, by the messenger Thoth (Sambin 1988: 383 ff.) who is represented as a baboon squatting before *ḥn*-pillar symbol of the *ka* of the goddess (Cauville 1993: 92).

Sambin believes that the statuettes representing the offering, have no connection with the idea of measuring time (1988: 383) as suggested by E. Naville (1892: 9, 24) and following him E. Uphill (1965: 370). It is also not the symbol of the regular return of organised time and the restoration of the cosmic order as hypothesised by Handoussa (1979: 69-74) or a water clock as postulated by Graefe (1984: 895-905). They were used in the offerings to the deities and considered as sacred objects of the temple and were different from those represented on the walls of the temples as the baboon statuettes in the former were sometimes mummified (Sambin 1987: 290, 192). This offering is not only restricted to Hathor but it was offered mainly to the main goddesses of the locality which bears the epithets of the Uraeus and the Flame goddess (Sambin 1989: 372) with only one exception to one god, Ptah (Sambin 1989: 372; Handoussa 1979: 66-67). Furthermore, this offering is considered the *ka* of the eye of *Wd3t* (Derchain-Urtel 1981: 31-33) which denotes the relation with the myth of the runaway goddess in Philae [Ph-Ww-R3-2] and [Ph-Ew-R3-2].

5.2.1.11 Presenting *Wd3t*-eye: *ḥnk wd3t*

It occurs twice where the king offers it to Horus the avenger of his father in scene [Ph-Sw-Es-R2+H] in return for “all life and dominion” (Bénéдите 1893: 40) and offers it to Re-Horakhty in scene [Ph-Sw-Ws-R2+H] who grants the king “lands in peace” (Bénéдите 1893: 42). But these offering rituals are connected to the mythology of the temple as one of the aspects of Isis in the temple of Philae is the “one who was distant” (Innconu-Bouquillon 2001: 153-154) and these scenes pertain to this aspect (Clark 1959: 218-230). This idea is stressed by the text accompanying the king in scene [Ph-Sw-Es-R2-H] and mentions that: *nḥm wd3t, m-^c it.s, in.s wrt.t r st.s, wn ḥrt tḥn ḥr.k m nfrw.s* “who rescues the *Wd3t*-eye from the one who seized it, who brings the great one to her place, the one who was distant, who brightens your face with her beauties” (Bénéдите 1893: 40-41).

5.2.1.12 Presenting *Sistrum* and *Menit*: *ḥnk mnit sššt*

It appears in scene [Ph-Nw-Ws-R2] where the king wears a double crown and offers them to Isis. These two objects are usually carried by the child gods in the temple of Dendera i.e. Horus-sema-tawy and Ihy who are represented in the guise of children (Jéquier 1946: 211). The offering consists of a *sistrum* flanked by two *menits* (Bénéдите 1893: pl. XVII, XVIII).

5.2.1.13 Burning Incense and Pouring a Libation: *irt sntr ḳbḥw*

It appears in scene [Ph-Ww-R3-3] where the king wears the *3tf*-crown and is shown offering a *nw*-jar and burning incense before Isis whose legend grants the king “the lifetime of the sky” (Bénéдите 1893: 44). In another scene the king who wears the blue crown offers the same offerings to Satet whose legend states “I give to you all happiness” (Bénéдите 1893: 50). Burning the incense and pouring libation seems to have the idea of reviving the body of the god (Blackman 1912: 75).

5.2.1.14 Burning Incense: *irt sntr*

The ritual occurs in scene [Ph-Nw-R3-1] where the king wears the blue crown and offers to Isis whose legend states “I give to you the two lands in peace” (Bénédite 1893:47). As the rest of the rituals of burning incense it is used mainly for purification.

5.2.1.15 Greeting with *Nemset* vases: *nd-ḥr m nmst*

It appears once in scene [Ph-Ew-R2-1-H]. The king offers water from a *nemset* vase presented to Isis who in return grants him the reign of Re in the sky (Bénédite 1893: 5). The offering is accompanied with a hymn. This vase usually holds liquids such as water and beer and used for libation (Du Buisson 1935: 131-135). This ritual is a part of the series of the daily cult rituals performed for the main deity of the temple for purification where they are usually four vases (Wilson 1997: 519). It also has a funerary significance as it is used to be performed before the ritual of opening the mouth (Schiaparelli 1890: 30-35, 128-130). Additionally, it is one of the rituals performed in the *Wabet* during the festival of the New Year (Coppens 2007: 150).

5.2.2 Ritual Offerings of Edfu:

5.2.2.1 Offering *Maet*: *ḥnkt mʕt*

It appears once in scene [E-Ww-R1] (E IX, pl. 31b). The king wears the Red Crown of Lower Egypt while offering to Horus the Behdetite. The king is mentioned as “son of Isden (Thoth), official of *maet*, who appeases Horus with what he loves” (E I 371, 14-15). In return the deity rewards the king by saying “I cause that your body lives, your sinew and your bones are fixed in their places” (E I 371, 17-18).

5.2.2.2 Presenting Prisoners:

It occurred only once in scene [E-Sw-Ws-R1]. The King presents four tied prisoners before Horus and Hathor while wearing the *hmhm*-crown. Despite the fact that the prisoners are mentioned in the text as coming from four different origins including Nubia, Libya, Asia and a fourth unknown origin, they look alike artistically. From both

the artistic and textual points, this ritual cannot be grouped under the category of smiting the enemies as it was a typical and repetitive item of the decorative themes in ancient Egypt (Gaballa 1976: 113) which was used mainly to commemorate the victory of the king (Hall 1986: 3). Additionally, Ptolemy IV did not have any military campaigns against these people but he was involved in the fourth war against Syria only (Hölbl 2001: 127-134).

5.2.2.3 Lifting up the Scribe Palette: *siʿr gsti*

The ritual occurred once in [E-Sw-Es-R1] where the king, who wears the double crown, offers the palette to Khonsu-Thot and Hathor. The king's legend matches the nature of the offering as they state: "He inscribed the testament of all that is enclosed by the sun disk" (E I 378, 3). Khonsu-Thot replies "I write your annals for as long as the lifetime of Re, your kingship span is (until) eternity" (E I 378, 6-7). Additionally, Hathor grants the king "the reign of [...] more than the number of the years of Atum" (E I 378, 10-11).

5.2.2.4 Offering the Crook and the Flail: *hṅk(t) hḳ3 nhḥ3*

It appears in one scene [E-Ew-Ss-R3]. The king wears the double crown and offers the crook and the flail on a plate which has the *nb* shape to Osiris whose legend states: "I give to you the crook of the majesty of Re, the flail of rejuvenating you like the moon" (E I 383, 8) and Nout whose legend reads: "I give to you the rulership of my father, Shu, (and) the throne of the prince of the gods" (E I 383, 12). This offering is mainly for royal insignia which are connected to rulership and coronation and since kingship is a main topic in Edfu thus this offering ritual is suitable for it. The royal insignia is connected with Heliopolis as mentioned in a text in Edfu (E I 333, 11; Cauville 1987a: 29; Derchain 1963: 22-25) and with the festival of victory (Cauville 1987a: 29).

5.2.2.5 Erecting the Structure of Min: *sʿhʿ(t) k3-shnt*

The ritual appears only once [E-Ww-Ss-R3] where the king wears the *3tf*-crown and also offers lettuce with his right hand to Min-Horus and Isis of Behdet who is standing behind the god. The king also holds in his left hand the *hḏ*-mace and the *ʿb3*-stick.

Before the deities there is a pole fastened in its place by four ropes and a group of people are represented climbing the ropes. A group of three Nubians are climbing each of the two outer ropes and a group of two Nubians are getting down each of the two inner ropes. Their total number is ten and each one has a feather on his head (E IX, pl. 31b). A part of the Min-Horus' legend mentions "I give to you the *Iuntyu*-people, (and) the *Khentyu*-people as slaves, their elders bring to you their tribute" (E I 375, 14-15). Another text reads "I give to you south as far as the two lands of the gods, all their living people are behind you" (E I 375, 16). As for Isis' legend, it mentions "I give to you awe of Min upon his terrace, fear of you before the southern foreign lands" (E I 376, 3). This ritual can be interpreted as bringing together the southern people whom Min has subdued according to his myth and they climb the four ropes signifying the four cardinal points. Thus, by performing this ritual the king also takes the role of Min and subdues the southern people and by erecting this structure of Min in Egypt, he will endure. In return Min accepted the king as his son and heir and provides him with the titles of kingship (Feder 1998: 43-44). This ritual was performed during the festivals of Min such as the festival of "going out" which can be equated with the birth of Min (Badawy 1959: 165; Bleeker 1956: 69ff.; Gauthier 1931: 135). Feder believes that this ritual was a temple festival for Min and not a public festival (1988: 44). This ritual is linked with kingship in Edfu which is an important theme there.

As for the offering of lettuce, V. Loret was the first to identify this plant as the kind of lettuce scientifically known as *Lactuca Sativa* L. (1892: 68-69; Keimer 1924: 140-143; Adams 1980: 11; Defossez 1985: 1). According to the texts, the offering of the lettuce enabled him to perform sexual acts (E I 82, E II 44; Adams 1980: 11). Keimer suggested that since the plant has a milky sap it explains its association with the god Min (1924: 143; Adams 1980: 11; Kees 1977: 91; Germer 1980: 85-87). It underlined nevertheless that it is rather improbable that the lettuce or its juice were considered as aphrodisiacs (Defossez 1985: 3; Wb I 176, Posener *et al.* 1959: 173). Kuhlmann also suggests that the lettuce is a symbol of vegetation and not for sexuality (1983:196-206).

5.2.2.6 Shaking the *Sistrum*: *ir šhm*

The *sistrum*, as a musical instrument, was connected mainly to the goddess Hathor, appears once in scene [E-Sw-Ws-R2]. The king is depicted wearing the *šwty*-crown and

holds in each hand a *sistrum* before Hathor. Through the king's epithets, it is evident that he plays the role of Ihy while he performs the shaking of the *sistrum* "child of Hathor, the great one, Ihy, child of the lady of Dendera" (E I 372, 13) and "heir of the beneficent god upon his throne is like Ihy appeasing his mother" (E I 372, 13-14). In return Hathor says "I give to you drunkenness; you repeat drunkenness, happiness without stopping" (E I 372, 19). From the king's epithet and from the Deity's Border Column which mentions *sh̥tp.i ib.t m mrt.t* "I appease your heart with what you love", this offering can be linked to the myth of the runaway goddess and the rites of *sh̥tp* Sekhmet.

As for the two types of *sistrums*, it has been argued that the *naos/sh̥m-sistrum* or the *sššt-sistrum* is not a real musical instrument while the arched *sistrum* is the real musical instrument known as the *sh̥m-sistrum* (De Vartavan 1986: 26-29; Daumas 1970: 72) but is regarded as a divine fetish or a Hathoric symbol used as votive offering (Pinch 1993: 138, 146). M. Reyniers called the attention to the nature of the *sh̥m-sistrum* that it refers to the symbolic representation of the *sistrum* as a *sekhm* of Hathor and not a musical instrument (1998: 1018-1023). G. Jéquier (1946: 200) thought that it is an object that shows power and A. Roberts shares the same opinion (1984: 18-21). Several scholars have the opinion that the *sistrum* is a manifestation of Hathor (Davies 1920: 71; Blackman 1914: 25; Daumas 1970: 72, 77).

5.2.2.7 Presenting Cloth and Ointment: *hnk mr̥ht mn̥ht*

It appears once in scene [E-Ww-Ns-R3]. The king who wears the double crown offers them to Sokar-Osiris whose legend states "I give to you my office, upon my throne before the living and those on earth" (E I 376, 12) and to Shonit whose legend mentions that "I give to you the testament of my son, Horus, who is upon his throne, master of the earth" (E I 376, 17). The offering of these two items suggests renewal and regeneration (Cauville 1983: 174; Roeder 1996: 96-114; Coppens 2007: 125).

5.2.2.8 Offering Papyrus and Water Fowls: *hnkt w3d(w) r3(w)*

It occurs once in [E-Sw-Ws-R3] where the king wears the *3tf*-crown and offers papyrus and three water fowls to Horus lord of Mesen whose legend grants the king "Egypt

carrying her offerings to you; the foreign lands bringing their wonders to you” (E I 375, 2-3) and Khent-Iabtet whose legend reads “I give to you a glorious appearance as ruler of Egypt, the two lands as slaves of your majesty” (E I 375, 6-7). The superficial message carried by this ritual offering is Kingship which is an important theme of the temple of Edfu. This exact ritual performed before the same deities appeared in the temple of Edfu again twice (E IV 120-121; E IV 276-277). The liturgical texts in these two scenes illustrate the connection with the myth of the winged sun disc (Cauville 1987a: 227). The texts in this case do not show directly this connection but the resemblance is remarkable and cannot be ignored. This scene can also be an expression to this myth.

5.2.2.9 Presenting the Myrrh: *šms ʿntyw*

This offering ritual occurs only once in [E-Ew-Ns-R3] where the king wears a composite crown and offers myrrh to Isis-*ḥddt* and Nephthys. The epithets of the kings suit the offerings as it states; “who is sweet of fragrance like the divine falcon, who caused the noble one to rejoice with her smell” (E I 384, 2). In return Isis-*ḥddt* grants the king “the elders of the land carrying their work to your temple” (E I 384, 50, while Nephthys says to him “I give to you the great kingship with rightness, may you triumph against your enemies” (E I 384, 7-8).

5.2.2.10 Burning Incense and Pouring a Libation: *irt sntr kbḥw*

Only one scene appears in the Central Hall of Edfu where the king is shown pouring a libation and burning incense before the nine deities called the Children of Re [E-Sw-Ws-R2]. The legend of the deities does not reveal what the king is granted in return for these offerings. It should be pointed out that these offerings are part of the offerings presented to the ancestors’ cult or the *w3ḥ-ih* rituals. These rituals are also a part of the rituals performed for the nine dead deities who were buried in the necropolis of Edfu to the south west of the temple of Edfu during the festival of Behdet. This offering has nourishing and purifying aspects (Blackman 1912: 69-75; Leitz 2001: 213-215).

5.2.2.11 Burning Incense: *irt sntr*

It appears once in scene [E-Ww-R1] where the king wears the *3tf*-crown and burns incense before Horus the Behdetite whose legend mentions “I give to you the white vulture upon your head; terror of you and your power are against your enemies” (E I 373, 11).

5.2.2.12 Cutting the Barley: *3sh it*

This ritual offering is represented only once [E-Nw-Es] (E I 384, 11-385, 20; E XII, pl. CCCXXX). Additionally, it was mentioned and depicted in the texts of Edfu in the exterior corridor (E VI 280, 18-281, 10; E X, pl. CLI) and mentioned only in text (E V 352, 9-353, 6). Finally, it is also depicted in the temple of Esna; however, the king is performing the rite before Neith and Nekhbet (Esna VI, No. 492). Another occurrence is found in the chapel of the bark of Hathor where Ptolemy VIII is performing the rite before Horus-sema-tawy (Cauville 1993: 100-101). The king is represented cutting barley with a sickle before Horus-sema-tawy. The king wears the *3tf*-crown which denotes a funerary ritual and strengthens the suggestion that Horus-sema-tawy is the son of Osiris (E IX, pl. XXXIa; D IV pl. CCLXXII). On the other hand, Cauville sees that it is an agrarian ritual (1993:101). It seems that this festival is a very ancient one as according to one text in the temple of Dendera (D VI 157, 4-6; Cauville 2002: 16, 15) the divine mound of Re at Khadit where the festival took place existed from the first time.

This ritual is connected to a festival celebrated for Horus-sema-tawy of Dendera which took place on the New Moon of the month of *Pakhons* and lasted for five days (Egberts 1995b: 370-371). According to the text of Edfu, the king says “I cut down for you Upper Egyptian grain which is spread upon your way on the first day of the first month of *Shemu*” (E I 384, 13). The name of the festival is called *pr šm r H3-dit* “Going to Khadit” and this festival involved an important ritual which is laying the barley in the way of Horus-sema-tawy where the barley symbolises the enemies whom Horus-sema-tawy is supposed to trample and then take control of the two lands (Wilson 1997: 22) as the text of Edfu states: “When you walked upon the land, you crushed your enemies, you reached the underworld” (E I 384, 14). In return Horus-sema-tawy grants the king:

“the Nine Bows under your sandals; one who deserts your house does not exist” (E I 385, 2).

According to the texts (E I 384, 12; D IV, 69, 9; E VI, 281, 5), *w3h.k ihwt n ntrw wrw* “May you put down the offerings of the great gods” is mentioned and according to (E VI 281, 2), these great gods are the “Children of Re” (Cauville 1993: 102). This is a ritual performed for the cult of the ancestors of the temple of Dendera (see 5.2.4.24).

This scene which is a ritual offering of *3sh-it* corresponds to the festival of the first of Pakhons. It is one of the rituals performed for the cult of the dead deities. This cult was also performed during the 10th of *Thoth*, 30th of *Paophi* and the 20th of *Tybi* (Cauville 2001: 11-12). Nevertheless, Chassinat inclines to believe that this festival is attached to Min, the god of vegetation because of the date and that in each city the local deity who had the same nature like Min received the same homage as Min (Chassinat 1968: 564).

5.2.3 Ritual Offerings of Kom Ombo:

5.2.3.1 Presenting the Temple: *rdit pr*

It occurs once in scene [KO-Ww-CP-Ss-R1] where the king who wears the blue crown presents the house to his father Sobek and an unidentified goddess is following him. Sobek’s legend states: “I give to you the house of the King of Upper Egypt, protecting your body” (Gutbub 1995: 271) in addition, the goddess’ legend mentions: “I give to you the king’s palace, preserving your body” (Gutbub 1995: 271). The king’s epithets do not reveal its connection to the offering. This ritual is a part of the rites of the temple foundation.

5.2.3.2 Presenting the Myrrh: *šms ʿntyw*

This ritual offering occurs in scene [KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R2] (Gutbub 1995: No.137, 187; De Morgan 1909: No. 745) where the king offers to Isis whose legend states: “I give to you the god’s land with what it contains”. It is evident that this ritual is connected to Punt which is known as the God’s land as it is a product of that region.

5.2.3.3 Presenting *šnsw*-bread:

The king offers bread to Sobek-Re, lord of the two lands in scene [KO-Ww-CP-Ns-R2]. In return the deity legend addresses the king “I make great your offering table with all offerings”.

5.2.3.4 Burning Incense and Pouring Libation: [...] *m pr m nwn*

It appears once in scene [KO-Ww-CP-Ss-R2] where the king is performing these rituals before a deity who is destroyed. Pouring libation is usually related to purification and indicating the beginning of the inundation (Corthals 2003: 104). Also the burning of the incense is connected with the purification.

5.2.3.5 Presenting the *hrp*-sceptre: [title destroyed]

It occurs twice in the Central Hall of Kom Ombo. First in scene [KO-Ww-CP-Ns-R1] where the king offers it to Sobek-Re, lord of Nbyt and second in scene [KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R1] where the recipient deity is Horwer, the foremost of Nbyt and followed by Hathor, lady of Nbyt. Despite the fact that this sceptre is the symbol of authority and power, but the offering is always accompanied by an offering before the king presented to the deity. In both cases the title of the scene is destroyed and the deity’s legend in the former is not complete to show what is granted, while in the latter, the deity grants the king “millions of offerings and provisions”.

5.2.4 Ritual Offerings of Dendera:

5.2.4.1 Driving the Four Calves: *hwt bhswt*

This ritual occurred only once in the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera in scene [D-Nw-Ws-R4-1] where the King is represented driving the four calves before Osiris-wenn-nefer, the victorious while holding a stick with the head of a snake in his right hand. Each calf is tied by a separate rope and ends in the left hand of the King together with another rod. The text accompanying the king states that: “I bring to you the four calves” (D IV 93, 6; Cauville 2001: 170-171) and Osiris in return gives the king “the

fields blooming with the plants” (D IV 93, 8; Cauville 2001: 170-171). The king and Osiris wear the *3tf*-crown (D IV, pl. CCLXXII). This ritual has been a matter of debate among the scholars who studied it in terms of its significance but most of them emphasised the agrarian nature of the ritual which was later reinterpreted as Osirian in nature. As for H. Kees (1943: 467-470) and following him B. H. Stricker (1970: 6-7) the four calves are Sethian animals and by treading the threshing floor they kill Osiris who is identified with the corn. This interpretation was completely rejected by A. Egberts (1995b: 364). A. Blackman and H. W. Fairman suggested that this ritual is a harvest rite that was performed by the king before a harvest god. It then experienced an Osirian effect since the threshing floor was regarded as the site of the grave of Osiris as a dead corn god and thus they also help to hide the graves from the enemies of Osiris (Blackman and Fairman 1950: 77-81). E. Chassinat seemed to concur with the former explanation by Blackman and Fairman (1968: 655-667). M. Alliot considered the ritual to have an Osirian origin (1954: 463-465). As for D. Kurth, he forms the connection between the Agrarian and the Osirian nature of the ritual (1986: 750-751). A. Egberts who carried out a profound study of this ritual concluded that both natures of the ritual are of the same importance (1995b: 335-374). A point that should be mentioned is that there might be a connection between this ritual and the festival of Behdet. During the first day of the festival after presenting the offerings to Osiris and the Children of Re a ceremony called the “treading the grave by the priests” (E V 131, 9) was performed, after which the divine procession of Horus of Behdet and Hathor of Dendera left the necropolis (Egberts 1995b:349-350). Nothing in the text mentions the calves. Another text in Edfu Temple states that: “the calves are driven to tread their grave” (E II 51, 12) which might imply a connection between the ritual and the festival of Behdet.

5.2.4.2 Presenting the Four *Meret* Chests: *st3 mrt sp fdw*

This ritual is depicted only once also in the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera in scene [D-Nw-Es-R4-1]. The king is represented wearing the *3tf*-crown and presenting four chests while raising his right hand and holding the *hrp*-scepter before Horus, son of Isis and son of Osiris. Each of the four *meret* chests is mounted upon a sledge and a feather adorns each of the four corners of each of the chests (D IV, pl. CCLXXII). The king states that “I bring to you the Egyptians dragged to your majesty” (D IV 74, 8; Cauville 2001: 142-143). And the text behind the god states that “I give to you the four

points of the sky in adoration before your face” (D IV 74, 13; Cauville 2001: 142-143) in return for the king’s offering. Since the *meret* chests contain four different kinds of linen: white, green, *irti* and red, which are supposed to adorn the beneficiary deity who is present during the ritual, thus many scholars suggest that they had a role in the daily cult (Lemm 1882: 57; Moret 1902: 170-171; Alliot 1949: 89, footnote 3; Žabkar 1988: 166, footnote 16). On the other hand, A. Egberts believes that the *meret* chests have a festive usage and were not used during the daily cult (1995b: 179-181). Obviously, these *meret* chests are associated with the Osiris mystery which took place during the month of *Khoiak* as it contains the linen used in bandaging the corpse of Osiris which denotes its funerary purpose (Egberts 1995b: 200). Additionally, dragging these chests also symbolised the offering of Egypt to the deity and what enforces this meaning can be found in the texts mentioning “I am bringing to you the 42 nomes and the cities, they are your members” (Beinlich 1984: 146; 148, 152; Daressy 1889: 94). These texts establish also the connection with Osiris and these chests also represent Egypt.

5.2.4.3 Presenting Mirrors: *siʿr wnty-ḥr*

As one of the ten sacred objects of Hathor, the ritual occurs in the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera two times. In the first instance, the beneficiary deity is Hathor [D-Nw-Es-R2-1] where the king offers two mirrors to Hathor, lady of Iunet and Ihy, the great, son of Hathor (D IV 65, 5-7, pl. CCLXXII; PM VI 56 (92-93)). The second example, Isis is the beneficiary [D-Nw-Ws-R2-1] where the king offers them to Isis, the great, the god’s mother and Horus-sema-tawy, the child (D IV 83, 12-13, pl. CCLXXV; PM VI 56 (104)). One of these scenes, [D-Nw-Ws-R2-1] is connected to the rite of *Shṭp shmt* performed to pacify the goddess (Goyon 2006: 20-21). Every two scenes complement the other two. In the four scenes, the king is wearing a composite crown consisting mainly of the blue crown and surmounted by the sun disc. The offering was associated mainly with Hathor or another goddess equated with her such as: Isis, Mut, and Ta-senet-nefert. In only one instance in the temple of Edfu, the beneficiary deity is a male, Horus (Husson 1977: 250-253). This ritual of offering the mirrors is connected to some cultic festivals such as on the day of the birth of Isis celebrated on the fourth epagomenal day (Husson 1977: 261; D VI, 87). Additionally, the mirror was presented on the day of the union with the sun disc, the Festival of the Drunkenness and the

Festival of the Good Union (Husson 1977: 262-263). In the temple of Dendera, the symmetric scenes are the mirror offerings; however, in the rest of the temples, the symmetric scenes are offerings of *Sistrums*, *wnšb*-symbol, the crown of gold and offering of the collar (Husson 1977: 270). It has been noted that the places where this offering was depicted inside the temples were connected to the places related to the rite of the union with the sun disc or which have a solar character and the places where the *ba* of the goddess is censured to unite with her statue (Husson 1977: 263, 273). This ritual like the other ritual gestures contributes to preserve the balance in the universe (Husson 1977: 275) as one mirror represents the sun and the other represents the moon (Husson 1977: 255, 263).

5.2.4.4 Presenting the *h3drty*-bracelets:

This specific offering is very rare in the Ptolemaic temples (Beinlich 2008: 40). It occurs in the temple of Dendera three times, one of them is in the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera (D II 215, 7-216, 3, pl. CLVI; D IV 85, 17-86, 10, pl. CCLXXV; D IV 268, 9-18, pl. CCCXII). The recipient deity is Hathor in the first scene, Ihy in the second [D-Ww-R2-2] and Isis in the third. Additionally it appeared once only in the temple of Edfu to be presented to Horus the Behdetite (E II 282, 2-11; E IX, pl. XLVb). The bracelets have the power to protect the members of the beneficiary deity and it also contributes to the serenity of the deity (Hassan 1986: 20). This offering is connected to the festival of the second of *Thoth* (Preys 2001: 153-154) (see 6.2.4.1.2).

5.2.4.5 Presenting the Electrum Band: *Ms m3h n dʿm*

It is one of the sacred cult objects of Hathor. It occurs once in [D-Ww-R3-4] (Daumas 1969: 45, 62; Daumas 1970: 76-77). Despite Daumas' statement that it is offered only to Hathor, however, it is rarely offered to Isis (D III 25, 8-16) and in one instance to Horus the Behdetite (El-Kordy 1986: 446). The king wears the double crown and offers the band of electrum to Hathor. According to the king's epithets, he takes the role of Ihy: "who satisfies her heart with what she loves, who crowns her head with electrum" (D IV 89, 13). Hathor's epithets do not reveal the connection with the offering. The electrum band is made out of gold (El-Kordy 1986: 445) and hence Hathor is supposed to grant the king the mines and the region of *Hh* which contains the gold (D II 119, 20-

120-1; D V 83, 5). This crown has cosmic, primordial and solar attributes. It is supposed to be worn by Hathor on the occasion of the Festival of the New Year on the 1st of *Thoth* where she performs the rite of uniting with the sun disc (El-Kordy 1986: 446-447).

5.2.4.6 Offering the Red and the White Crowns: *ḥnk nfrt nt/ḥnk šmꜥ mh*

It occurs in scene [D-Nw-Ws-R4-2] where king who wears the double crown offers them to Horus son of Isis. The king's epithets "king of the South, king of the North" (D IV 93, 19; Cauville 2001: 172-173) reflect the connection with the offering. In return the deity grants the king "I give to you [...] in adoration [...] on earth in ovation before your majesty" (D IV 94, 8; Cauville 2001: 172-173). In the second scene [D-Ew-R3-3], the recipient deity is Ihy whose legend is silent in terms of what the king is granted in return for his offering. Remarkably, these are the two child deities in the two triads of Dendera and the ones who are supposed to inherit the throne of their fathers. It is worthy to note that the second scene is connected to the elevation of Ihy to be a great god and was a part of the ritual performed during his festival of the Second of *Thoth* (Preys 2001: 153-154).

5.2.4.7 Consecrating Pieces of Meat: *ḥwt-ꜥ r stpw*

It appears in two corresponding scenes, the first [D-Nw-Es-R1-2] shows the king offering them to Horus-sema-tawy whose legend mentions "I give you power against your enemies" (D IV 81, 12; Cauville 2001: 154-155) and also "I give to you your enemies bowing under your sandals" (D IV 81, 13-14; Cauville 2001: 154-155). The second scene [D-Nw-Ws-R1-2] shows the king offering them to Horus the Behedetite in return for which he gives "your enemies pierced at your road" (D IV 62, 14; Cauville 2001: 126-127). Another part of the text states "I give to you [...] to attack your foes" (D IV 62, 16; Cauville 2001: 126-127). This offering which belongs to the food offerings is also connected to the idea of strength and power being given to the king against his enemies as can be deduced from the texts showing what is granted to the king. It is a solar rite performed against the enemies of the solar deity (Preys 2002a: 371).

5.2.4.8 Offering *ḥḥ*-symbol:

This offering appears only twice in scene [D-Ew-R1-Ns] where the king wears a crown consisting of four feathers which identifies him with Shu and offers it to Hathor the great, lady of Iunet whose legend states that: “I give to you the lifetime of the sky and the kingship of Atum carrying the double crown” (D IV 63, 12; Cauville 2001: 126-127). Hathor in that scene is identified with Tefnut as her epithet states: “Tefnut, daughter of Re in Iat-dit”. While in the second scene [D-Ww-R3-2], the king who wears a composite crown offers it to Ihy whose legend is silent in regard of what is given to the king (D IV 91, 7-9; Cauville 2001: 166-167). This offering which only occurs in the temples of Graeco-Roman period and mainly offered to a god who carries the vault of heaven or a goddess representing the sky itself has a cosmic significance. What is granted by the deities can be grouped under the aspects of eternity and durability. In addition to that, it signifies also the idea of the air or wind as it was called sometimes in texts “the breath of life” (E IV 360, 14-15; D III 19, 2). Furthermore, the four feather crown of the king which is a characteristic of Shu or Onuris during the offering reflects its cosmic character (Bourghouts 1977: cols. 1084-1086).

5.2.4.9 Offering the two Uraei: *ḥnk w3dty*

This offering appears only once in scene [D-Nw-Es-R4-2] where the king who wears the double crown offers them to Horus-sema-tawy. Among the king’s epithets is “one who raises the crowns with the Uraei” (D IV 75, 8; Cauville 2001: 142-143) which is compatible with the offering. Additionally, a part of the King’s Border Column reads “I give to you the young uraei placed on your front, you are a king of the living” (D IV 75, 12; Cauville 2001: 144-145). The epithets of the king *imy-r ḥmw ntr nw Pr-wr Pr-nsr* (D IV 75, 4) are the specific epithets for provoking the Uraeus (Cauville 2009b: 137, footnote 239).

5.2.4.10 Offering Bread and Beer: *ḥnk t ḥnkt*

The ritual appears once in [D-Nw-Ws-R2-2] where the king wears the *3tf*-crown and offers bread to Horus-sema-tawy who grants the king the following “I give to you the

provisions of bakery” (D IV 85, 10; Cauville 2001: 160-161). This offering is categorised under the food offerings.

5.2.4.11 Offering White Bread: *skr t-ḥd*

Occurring once in scene [D-Ww-R1-1], the king is depicted wearing the *3tf*-crown and offering it to Hathor whose legend grants the king “your mouth ready to eat” (D IV 83, 10; Cauville 2001: 156-157). This offering has a solar connotation, additionally; it was identified with the eye of Horus (Stroot-Kiraly 1989: 157,160). The Deity’s Border Column reveals that this is connected to the ancestors’ cult as it was performed for them as stated: *rdit t-ḥd n tpyw-ꜥ* “to offer the white bread to the ancestors” (D IV 83, 13).

5.2.4.12 Pouring a libation: *irt/hrp kbḥw*

The ritual appears once in [D-Ww-R2-1] where the king is shown wearing the double crown while pouring a libation from two *ḥs*-jars on an altar before Hathor the foremost of Iunet. Among the king’s epithets “who pours out the water for his mother” (D IV 86, 18-19; Cauville 2001: 160-161). In return for the libation offered, the goddess legend mentions “I give to you an inundation great at his time” (D IV 87, 4; Cauville 2001: 162-163). The Deity’s Border Column mentions that Hathor is the daughter of Ir-ta which corresponds to the ancestor cult (Preys 2006b: 199-215; Preys 2007b: 118 footnote 55). This also connects this ritual vertically with another scene [D-Ww-R1-1] which is also connected to the same cult.

5.2.4.13 Presenting the Twin Gold Vases of Perfume containing myrrh and lotus: *ms rrm hr ꜥntyw sšn*

This offering is found six times in Edfu and four in Dendera (Daumas 1975: 102-103; Beinlich 2008: 341-342). The scene, found in the Central Hall of Dendera [D-Ew-R3-2], shows the king offering it to Hathor with the epithet of “mistress of Punt” from which the myrrh was brought (D IV 71, 6; Cauville 2001: 138-139). Despite the fact that the text shows that it is a combined offering of myrrh and lotus, F. Daumas believes that this offering consists of incense and gold and it aims at uniting the divine brightness of gold and the intoxicating power of incense to increase the vital potential divinity

(1975: 102-109). Through the goddess epithets, *nb(t) Pwnt* (D IV 71, 6), her connection with the myth of the runaway goddess is established as she returns from Punt and she brings the aromatic products towards Egypt (Preys 2002d: 102, footnote 51).

5.2.4.14 Presenting the [...] of gold the figure of Re: *ms [...] n nbw snn n R*^c

This rare offering [D-Ew-R2-Ns] appears only once during the Graeco-Roman period in the Central Hall of Dendera (Beinlich 2008: 110). The king wears the *3tf*-crown and offers the golden figure of Re to Hathor. The figure of Re is depicted as a man holding a long stick in his hand. Hathor's epithets connect her to Re "eye of Re, daughter of Re comes from his body, the great female sun" additionally, she has the epithet of "the female sun disc, the elder of sun disc" (D IV 67, 2). The connection between this offering and Hathor in the Central Hall of Dendera is significant as this offering could signify a symbolic union between Hathor and Re. Hathor is supposed to unite with Re during the religious festivals. This idea is also stressed by the text in the title of the scene as it states that: *sm3.tw hr.t* "he unites with you" (D IV 67, 13; Cauville 2001: 130-131). Thus, Hathor becomes *r^cyt wrt* "the great female sun" and the *itnt tpyt nt itn* "the chief female solar disc of the solar disc" (D IV 67, 2; Cauville 2001: 132-133).

5.2.4.15 Offering *Maet*:

This offering is depicted once in the Central Hall of Dendera. In scene [D-Ww-R3-1], the king is shown wearing a composite crown and offering *maet* to Hathor (D IV, pl. CCLXXV). Hathor is mentioned as "*Maet* the great, son of Re in the place of Re" (D IV 91, 19; Cauville 2001: 169).

5.2.4.16 Offering *Menit*:

It also occurs once in scene [D-Nw-Ws-R3-1] where the king wears the *3tf*-crown and offers it to Isis and Horus-sema-tawy whose legends do not reveal what the king is granted in return for the offering in question (D IV 88, 4-7, pl. CCLXII; Swinnen 1982: 40-41; Cauville 2001: 162-163). The crown of Isis has a uraeus with the head of the lioness which indicates a connection with the rituals of *Sh^tp shmt* performed to appease the goddess (Goyon 2006: 20).

5.2.4.17 Presenting the Myrrh: *šms ʿntyw*

The offering occurs once in [D-Ew-R3-1] where the king offers it to Hathor. The goddess's epithets are suitable for the ritual as it states that she is: "mistress of Punt, sweet of fragrance among the goddesses" as Punt is the source of such commodity (D IV 70, 11-12). In Dendera, this offering is confined to two deities: Hathor and Isis and is also connected to the myth of the runaway goddess as she received among other gifts, myrrh (Cauville 1993: 120).

5.2.4.18 Presenting Milk: *hmk irtt*

This offering occurs in [D-Ww-R1-2] where the king wears the blue crown and offers it to Ihy, the great, son of Hathor whose legend mentions: "I give to you strength to overthrow your rebels" (D IV 82, 14). This offering is connected to the festival of the Second of *Thoth* (Preys 2001: 153-154) (see 6.2.4.1.2).

5.2.4.19 Offering Wine:

The ritual also appears once in [D-Nw-Es-R2-2] where Horus the Behdetite received it from the king who wears the white crown. In return for the offering, the deity's legend mentions that; "I give to you the two lands of the Phoenicians carrying their wine and all wonder of the vineyards" (D IV 66, 6).

5.2.4.20 Presenting the *Wd3t*-eye:

It appears twice being presented by the king in scene [D-Ww-R4-1] to Hathor while wearing the red crown who grants the king "I give to you eternity to see with your right eye" (D IV 96, 13), in scene [D-Ew-R4-2] while wearing the white crown before Hathor who gives the king "the two *wd3t* eyes installed in their place" (D IV 77, 12). The epithets of the king in the former *hmqw n ʿIsdn* "The craftsman of Isden (Thoth)" and *snw n ʿIsdn* "the equal of Isden (Thoth)" while in the latter, the king is called *hmqw n ʿlpy* "the craftsman of the censor" and *snn n ʿm-t3wy* "the image of the one who knows the two lands (Thoth)" which enables him to play the role of Thoth in this offering ritual and it is among the epithets of the king when he offers the eye (Leitz 2001: 220). The

eye as an offering is a symbol of power and grace (Rudnitzky 1956: 33; Griffiths 1960: 28). The offering of the *Wd3t*-eye by Shu and Thoth are connected to the myth of the runaway goddess as these are the two messengers sent by Re to fetch her after being transformed into a baboon. After her return, Re decreed that a feast should be celebrated on the 20th of *Tybi* (Cauville 1993: 161-162, 166).

5.2.4.21 Offering the *Wnšb*-symbol:

This symbol is one of the sacred cult objects of Hathor of Dendera. It appears in scene [D-Nw-Es-R3-1] where the king who wears the *hemhem*-crown offers it to Hathor and Ihy whose legends do not reveal what the king is granted in return for the offering (D IV 68, 4-69, 2; pl. CCLXXII). As the rest of the scenes of this offering it is connected to the myth of runaway goddess.

5.2.4.22 Adoring the God: *dw3 ntr*

It appears in two corresponding scenes, the first [D-Sw-R4-Ws] shows the king wearing the blue crown and raising his hands in adoration before Hathor, Horus-sema-tawy and Ihy, the great, son of Hathor. Hathor in return grants the king “I give to you the men and women in adoration before your face” (D IV 97, 4; Cauville 2001: 176-177). The legends of the other two deities are silent. The other corresponding scene [D-Sw-R4-Es] shows the king also raising his hands in adoration before Hathor, Horus-sema-tawy and Ihy whose legends do not reveal what the king is granted in return for his adoration.

5.2.4.23 Offering the *Wsh*-collar: *hmk/rdit/mn wsh*

It appears in scene [D-Sw-R3-Ws] the king wears the double crown and offers the *wsh*-collar to Isis, Osiris and Horus son of Isis whose legends do not reveal what is granted to the king in return (D IV 92, 10-15; Cauville 2001: 168-171). The corresponding scene [D-Sw-R3-Es] shows the king wearing a composite crown while offering to Hathor, Horus-sema-tawy and Ihy. The king’s epithets states: “sovereign of mountains” (D IV 73, 8; Cauville 2001: 140-141) which is connected to the quarries where the semi-precious stones are found for the collar. Their legends are also silent about what should be granted to the king (D IV 73, 10-15; Cauville 2001: 140-141).

This collar was known since the Dynastic period and it was connected to the New Year festival which is a cosmic event connected to the renewal of the vegetation (Handoussa 1981: 147-149). Additionally, it was offered to the dead to ensure their revival (Goyon 1972b: 146). When the king is offering this collar, protection is bestowed on him (Baud 1990: 58, 61). During the Ptolemaic period it is connected mainly with protection (D I 47, 6-10; D II 46-47; D III 159, 7-8; E VI 333, 11-18; Handoussa 1981: 148).

It is noticed that the type of the *wsḥ*-collar that appears in the temple of Dendera is the U-shaped *wsḥ*-collar. Additionally, there is a connection between this collar and the Osiris cycle as it is offered mainly to deities such as: Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and forms of Horus (Riggs 2001: 61-62). Furthermore, a connection between the collar and Osiris is strengthened as it is mentioned in a list of amulets that adorn the Osiris mummy during the month of *Khoiak* (D X/I 399, 12, D X/II, pl. 241, 266; Cauville 1997: 187-191). Furthermore, the text of the chapel of Osiris on the roof of the temple of Dendera (east No.1) mentions this collar four times in relation to the embalming of Osiris (Cauville 1997: 12, 21, 25, 28) and this strong connection makes it suitable for funerary use (Riggs 2001: 62).

5.2.4.24 Cutting the Barley: *ṣḥ it*

There is a parallel scene in the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera to the one depicted in Edfu [D-Nw-Es-R3-2] (D IV, 69, 9; pl. CCLXXII; Cauville 2001: 134-135; Favard-Meeks 1991: 421-422; Chassinat 1968: 551-552). Furthermore, it is also mentioned twice more in the texts of the temple of Dendera (D V 31, 13-32) and (D X 203, 5-8). The king who wears the *ṣḥ*-crown is representing cutting barley by a sickle before Horus-sema-tawy. The deity's legend is silent about what the king is granted.

This ritual corresponds to the festival of the first of *Pakhons*. During this festival, Hathor does not participate (Cauville 2002: 15) and there is a hymn for Horus-sema-tawy which was probably recited during the procession of that festival (D II 166; Cauville 2002: 16). According to two texts of the temple of Dendera found in the eastern crypt no.1, one in Chamber F (D V 31, 14; D V 32, 1-2) and the other in Chamber G (D V, 42, 5-7), Horus-sema-tawy heads from Dendera towards Khadit during the month of *Pakhons* in his bark called *psd tḥwy* “the two lands shine” Horus-

sema-tawy offers the offerings before the local ancestor gods of Dendera buried in Khadit (El-Kordy 1983: 273).

These formulas of these types of offering rituals which include bread and beer are expressed in several ways such as *f3i-ht*, *hrp 3bt*, *skr t3* and *3b htpw ntr* (Preys 2002a: 25). Preys pointed out that there are a number of scenes in the Central Hall of Dendera, a group of vertical scenes dedicated to Horus-sema-tawy, which can be grouped under this category (see 6.2.4.1.2). He shows that these rituals are part of the offering ritual of *w3h iht*. The only two scenes that coincide with his description are the two vertical scenes located on the western wall of the Central Hall of [D-Nw-Ws-R2-2] with the formula of: *hmk t hmk* and [D-Nw-Ws-R1-2] with a formula of: *hwt-3 r stpw*. That also raises the question of the situation of the two corresponding scenes on the same wall with offerings to Horus-sema-tawy i.e. *hwt-3 r stpw* [D-Nw-Es-R1-2] and *hmk irp* [D-Nw-Es-R2-2]. It should be noted that these texts of these scenes do not mention *w3h iht*. The only offering ritual which mentions the *w3h iht* is the ritual of “cutting the barley” *3sh it* before Horus-sema-tawy where the texts mentions clearly *w3h iht n ntrw wrw* (D IV 69, 9) [D-Nw-Es-R3-2]. This ritual is connected to the festival of the first of *Pakhons*. In addition to another ritual scene where the king burns incense and pours a libation *irt sntr kbhw* before a group of nine deities in the Central Hall of Edfu [E-Sw-Es-R3]. This text accompanying the deities reads: *r w3h-iht n h3wt ntrywt ntyw imn m dw n Bhdt* “to set down the offerings to the divine corpses which are hidden in the mountain of Behdet”. This ritual was also performed before these nine mummified deities in the festival of Behdet. Two texts, which are inscribed in the eastern crypt no.1 of Dendera, confirm that the *w3h-iht* was performed before the ancestors’ deities of Edfu, and state that:

Ch. 5-Doc.1:

Type: text.

Location: western band of text-eastern crypt no.1.

Bibliography: D V 32, 2; Waitkus 1997: 59; Cauville 2004: 114-115.



w3h.n.f iht n hmw.sn

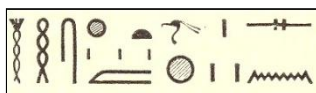
“He set down the offerings to their majesties”

Ch. 5-Doc.2:

Type: text.

Location: western band of text-eastern crypt no.1.

Bibliography: D V 16, 14; Waitkus 1997: 31; Cauville 2004: 92-93.



w3h.s iht m 3ht.sn

“She set down the offerings at their glories”

Thus, the ritual of *w3h-iẖt* was performed during several festivals encompasses several rituals inside it such as *3sẖ it* and *ẖnk t ẖnḵt* (Favard-Meeks 1991: 421). These two offering rituals should not be looked upon as normal offering scenes but they have wider and subliminal meanings.

5.2.4.25 Shaking the *Sistrum*:

It occurs in two corresponding scenes in the Central Hall of Dendera [D-Nw-Ws-R1-1] and [D-Nw-Es-R1-1]. In the former, it is presented to Isis the great, god's mother and Horus-sema-tawy, son of Hathor while in the latter it is presented to Hathor, the great, lady of Iunet and Ihy, the great, son of Hathor. In a third scene [D-Ew-R4-1], Re-Horakhty is shaking two kinds of *sistrums* *sššt* and *šhm* before Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet where her epithets: *wrw mrwt ḥnwt ḥmwt* (D IV 75, 16) usually appear with this kind of offering (Preys 2002d: 97, footnote 21). In scene [D-Nw-Ws-R1-1], the *sistrum* is described as: *dbḥw spsw nw šhntš šhmw* "the august cult objects (to) cause to make happy the powerful ones" (D IV 80, 8; Cauville 2001: 152-153) and its function is to *šhtp nbty m nšn* "to appease the two Uraeus after anger" (D IV 80, 8; Cauville 2001: 152-153). The usage of the term *dbḥw* also evokes the myth of the runaway goddess (Preys 2002d:101). Additionally, when Ihy is represented as a child, he always holds the *sistrum* *sššt* in these scenes [D-ED-L-Es],[D-ED-L-Ws],[D-Ew-R4-

1],[D-Ew-R3-4],[D-Ew-R2-Ss], [D-Ew-R1-Ss], [D-Ww-R4-1],[D-Ww-R3-1], [D-Ww-R2-1], [D-Ww-R1-1], [D-EnD-WL] and [D-EnD-EL].

5.3 Hymns of the Central Halls:

The following section of this chapter is dedicated to the hymns that were inscribed on the walls of the Central Halls of the investigated temples i.e. Edfu, Dendera, Philae and Kom Ombo. These hymns are important to find out how they were used to fill a space on the walls of the temples, and how it reflects the different aspects of the deities mentioned in these hymns and their relation to the main deity of the temple. More importantly, to investigate how these hymns are connected to the festivals celebrated in the Central Halls. Ten hymns are found in Philae, five hymns are inscribed in the Central Hall of Edfu, and six are inscribed in Dendera. In contrast, no hymns are found in the remaining parts of the Central Hall of Kom Ombo; however, there might be hymn(s) that were inscribed in the lost parts. These hymns were not dedicated only to the main deity of the temple but for other deities as well. As for the case of Edfu all of them are dedicated to Horus the Behdetite. On the contrary, at Dendera one of them is dedicated to Horus-sema-tawy while the other to Atum. As for Philae four are dedicated to Isis while four are dedicated to Osiris, one is dedicated to Horus, the avenger of his father and one is dedicated to Re-Hor-akhty.

5.3.1 Hymns of Philae:

5.3.1.1 Hymn I [Ph-Ww-R1+H]:

Location: first register of the western wall.

Description: the king is represented standing before Isis while he holds two *sistrums* in his hands and between them a hymn consisting of nine columns of text.

Bibliography: Bénédict 1893: 44-45; Žabkar 1988: 103-114; El-Sayed 1982: 609, doc. 985; Otto 1964: 13; Quack 2001: 102-119. Other versions appear on the temple of Isis at Aswan (Bresciani & Pernigotti 1978: 112f.), Temple of Hathor at Dendera (D IV 75, 14-76, 1), and in the *mammisi* of Edfu (Chassinat 1939: 133-6-8).

Comment:

Isis is linked to different cult centres all over Egypt extending from the north to the south and the assimilation between Isis and the deities of these cult centres are highlighted. Through this assimilation she assimilated their qualities and thus became a universal goddess (Žabkar 1988: 108-109). On the contrary, it elucidates her aspect as a national goddess. This can be recognised from her epithets: “great lady of the Mansion of the Prince” (Bénédite 1893: 45, 4), “the mighty one in the Mansion of the Benben Stone” (Bénédite 1893: 45, 4) and “great goddess in *ḥwt-k3w-Pth* (Memphis)” (Bénédite 1893: 45, 5) where she is connected with Heliopolis. Additionally, she is linked to the sun god Re through the following titles: “Eye of Re without an equal in heaven (or) earth” (Bénédite 1893: 45, 3) and “lady of movement in the bark of millions, who governs the divine barque” (Bénédite 1893: 45, 4-5). Then she is linked through other epithets to Assiut, Thebes and Biggeh as follows “mistress of *T3-ḥ* (Land of Life), queen in Thebes, lady of Isheru, great of appearance in Senmut” (Bénédite 1893: 45, 5). She is also identified with the goddess “Menhyt, lady of Buto, mistress of P, mistress of Dep, with tall white crown in Nekheb (El-kab), lady of Abaton, mistress of Philae” (Bénédite 1893: 45, 7).

5.3.1.2 Hymn II [Ph-Ew-R1+H]:

Location: first register - eastern wall.

Description: the king stands before Isis and between them are 10 columns of text.

Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 51; Goyon 1972a: 87 (28); Borghouts 1973: 128; Žabkar 1988: 115-127. Another version of this hymn appears in the *Wabet* while the king offers the *menit* necklace to Isis (Coppens 2008: 116-118). A third version is inscribed in the temple of Isis at Aswan (Bresciani & Pernigotti 1978: 66-67, pl. XVI).

Comment:

Through the epithets mentioned for Isis she is linked to other goddesses such as Nut “Nut, the glorious one in heaven before Re” (Bénédite 1893: 51, 6). Her connection with Re is reflected through these epithets as she is one of the crew of his bark and also as a magician protecting the bark with her spells against the *ḥpp*-snake “Beloved of Re,

you are inside his boat repelling the Apophis-snake with the power of your spells” (Bénédite 1893: 51, 9-10). Additionally, her position as a member of the crew of the sun god Re on his boat is ascertained through “Adoration to you in the evening bark, jubilation to you in the morning bark” (Bénédite 1893: 51, 6-7). Despite the fact the title of the scene is different regarding the ritual performed by the king before the goddess, however, these two hymns correspond to each other judging from their location and the association between her and the sun god Re. This hymn describes the events towards the end of a year as stated: “removing misfortunes and yearly turmoils, his evils of this year have been removed, his back is turned against it” and the beginning of another and then it is related to the festival of the New Year. Additionally, one of her aspects as the raging goddess is expressed as mentioned: “the one whom the gods satisfy after rage”.

5.3.1.3 Hymn III [Ph-Sw-Es-R1+H]:

Location: first register -eastern side-southern wall.

Description: the king stands before Osiris, Isis and Hathor while raising his two hands in adoration before them. He wears the red crown of Upper Egypt. The hymn consists of eleven columns of text and is inscribed between the king and the deities. An altar is depicted before the king upon it there are a jar and a papyrus flower.

Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 41, 5-15; Chassinat 1966: 319; SERaT Scene No. 310094.

Comment:

This hymn shows Osiris-wenn-nefer assimilated to many other deities connected to different places in Egypt but mostly Upper Egypt. Through this procedure of incorporation and functional identification, Osiris adopts the qualities of the other deities. This is reflected in the following instances: Amun in that your name lord of Thebes (Bénédite 1893: 41, 8-9), Horshaef, who raises up your seat- the foremost of Ehnasya El-Madinah (Herakleopolis) in that your name of Narfy (Bénédite 1893: 41, 9), the foremost of Ta-nnt-*Ghery-bakef*, Iunu in that your name of lord of Iunu (Heliopolis) (Bénédite 1893: 41, 9). The different places mentioned in this hymn reinforce the idea of the national deity Osiris-wenn-nefer as the King of all the living upon earth. It also

highlights his nature as a dead deity “who resides in the tomb” and the king himself is taking care of his tomb as stated: “I watch over your *ba* inside the shrine”.

5.3.1.4 Hymn IV [Ph-Sw-Ws-R2+H]:

Location: second register - southern wall - western side.

Description: King Ptolemy II stands before a triad consisting of Re-Horakhty, Tefnut and Shu. He holds with his left hand *wḏ3t*-eye resting on a *nb*-sign while he raises his hand in adoration. The hymn consists of six columns of text and it is located between the king and the deities.

Bibliography: Bénédict 1893: 42, pls. XIV, XV; Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001: 19 (9); De Wit 1951: 208.

5.3.1.5 Hymn V [Ph-Sw-Es-R2+H]:

Location: second register - southern wall - eastern side.

Description: King Ptolemy II stands before a triad consisting of Horus the avenger of his father, Hathor and Nephthys. The hymn consists of nine columns of text and is inscribed between the king and the deities.

Bibliography: Bénédict 1893: 40, pls. XIV, XV; Junker 1911: 19.

Comment:

These two corresponding hymns [Ph-Sw-Ws-R2+H] and [Ph-Sw-Es-R2+H] are two almost identical hymns. These two hymns are not only clearly pertaining to the myth of the runaway goddess but they are connected to one of the main aspects of Isis which is the runaway goddess. This can be confirmed through this text of hymn *wn ḥrt tḥn ḥr.k m nfrw.s* “The one who was distant brightens your face with her beauties” (Bénédict 1893: 40). Additionally, Horus the avenger of his father is addressed as “who brings the great one to her place”.

5.3.1.6 Hymn VI [Ph-Ww-R2-1+H]:

Location: second register-western wall.

Description: King Ptolemy II offers two *nw*-jars of wine to a seated Isis. The king wears the double-crown. The hymn runs between them in eight columns of text.

Bibliography: Bénéдите 1893: 44.

Comment:

This hymn is connected to the myth of the *Wd3t*-eye since it mentions the ritual of filling the eye of Horus with wine (Aufrère 1991: 201). This ritual is also connected to the offering of myrrh (E VIII 135, 7-137-16; Wilson 1997: 163). The verb used *mḥ* bears the idea of reconstructing the eye after being dismantled into six parts by Seth (Möller & Junker 1911: 99-106). It also denotes the idea of completing which is also one of the epithets of Thoth who played this role in the myth of the struggle between Horus and Seth (Faulkner 1958: 21). Then, the term *irt-Ḥr* which is used for wine also appears in the hymn as if the writer is using one term having several meanings as a word play.

5.3.1.7 Hymn VII [Ph-Ew-R2-1+H]:

Location: second register - eastern wall.

Description: King Ptolemy II stands while offering a *nemset* vessel filled with water to Isis who is seated. He wears the *3ḥ*-crown. The hymn runs in eight columns of text between them.

Bibliography: Bénéдите 1893: 50-51.

Comment:

This hymn addresses Isis as one of the deities of the Ogdad i.e. the primeval water. Additionally, she is also identified with another deity of the Ogdad as she is *Kekw*. Thus, the hymn ascribes to her the powers of creation. Isis is also identified with the flood water. She is also the mother of the king as she gave birth to him and hence the king is identified with Horus. The king brings to her the Northern Nile and fields

containing everything. Isis in return is granting him strength over the south and he is appearing as a king on the throne of Horus.

5.3.1.8 Hymn VIII [Ph-Sw-Ws-R1+H]:

Location: first register-western side -southern wall.

Description: King Ptolemy II offers two plants to a triad consisting of Osiris-wenn-nefer, Isis and Horus the child. The hymn consists of nine columns of text and is inscribed before the king.

Bibliography: Bénéдите 1893: 43.

Comment:

The hymn ascribes to Osiris the qualities of the creator deity as it describes him as: “your plants and all flowers coming forth from the fields growing by your scent, living by your rays. You fill the land with it in that your name of Mehenyt” (Bénéдите 1893:43).

5.3.1.9 Hymn IX [Ph-Sw-Es-R3-H]:

Location: third register-eastern side-southern wall.

Description: The king stands before a triad while offering two pieces of cloth. The triad consists of Osiris-wenn-nefer, Isis the giver of life and Horus the child.

Bibliography: Bénéдите 1893: 40; PM VI 241 (336)-(340); SERaT Scene No. 310092; El-Sayed 1982: 572, Doc. 910; Pécoil 1981: 138.

Comment:

The hymn enumerates different kinds of clothes and their qualities and merits which will be bestowed on Osiris. The first cloth is the *idmi*-cloth which is made by the goddess Tayt. While the clothes of Re will enable Osiris to be triumphant against his enemies. As for the *irtyw*-cloth, made by Wadjet, it makes those who wear it healthy and it seems that the eye of Horus cloth also has the same qualities as the former.

5.3.1.10 Hymn X [Ph-Sw-Ws-R3-H]:

Location: third register-southern wall-western side.

Description: King Ptolemy II offers *maet* to a triad consisting of Osiris, Isis and Horus the child.

Bibliography: Bénédict 1893: 42; PM VI 241 (331)-(335); SERaT Scene No. 310095; Otto 1964: 145 (25); Goyon 1972: 119 (308).

Comment:

It seems that *maet* has other qualities other than justice and nutrition as according to the hymn when the king receives it he is purified. *Maet* is also compared with the papyrus of the New Year that Re receives. Besides, *maet* protects the King and scares his enemies as well. Furthermore, *maet* hears the petitions of the king, makes healthy his limbs and provides him with strength and might in the sky and in earth.

5.3.2 Hymns of Edfu:

5.3.2.1 Hymn I [E-Ww-Ss-H3]:

Location: first register- western wall-southern side.

Description: Five columns of text-no vignette.

Bibliography: E I 370-371; E IX, pl. XXXI b; PM VI 142(176); Barucq 1962: 194, 224; Drioton 1940: 343-344; Alliot 1949: 154-155; Egberts 1995b: 133 (10).

Comment:

Despite the location of the hymn on the western wall of the Central Hall of Edfu, the hymn also mentions some of his aspects of the sun god Re which suits the eastern side as can be seen in: “who rises at the morning, the noble sun disk, being bright with beams of light, who shines in the east daily”. The hymn stresses the aspect of Re when he sets and enters the underworld: “who sets in the west like Re everyday, he is not tired to sail to his place of yesterday” and also in: “entering the underworld, he illuminates the realm of the dead, the dwellers of the underworld rejoice near it”. Another aspect

celebrated by the hymn is the creator god which is reflected through: “who begets men, who caused all the gods to exist from the god” and also in: “the primeval being, before the primeval age, who first made land when he came into existence he was alone, who made all this”. Despite the fact that the hymn addresses Re it is obvious that it is being sung for the solar aspect of Horus of Behdet as the hymn states that he is “Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, who comes forth from the horizon”. Therefore, the Central Hall may mirror the passage of the sun overhead from east to west and the space above represents the cosmic path of the sun god.

5.3.2.2 Hymn II [E-Nw-Ws-H5]:

Location: second register - northern wall - western side.

Description: thirteen columns of text-no vignette.

Bibliography: PM VI 143 (178); E I 373, 17-374, 7; E IX, pl. XXXI a; Blackman & Fairman 1950: 71; Gutbub 1962: 55 (7); Chassinat 1966: 322; Drioton 1940: 343-344; Alliot 1949: 338-339; Egberts 1995b: 308 (23); Wilson 1997: 971; Budde 2002: 83-84.

Comment:

This hymn clearly addresses Horus of Behdet and concentrates on two main aspects: the solar aspect, as can be seen through “who illuminates with his eyes, he illuminates the two lands with his sacred eyes” and the aspect as king of the two lands “wearing the white crown united with the red crown, crowning his head with the double crown”. In addition to this, his realm extends to other places “lord of Nubia, he rules the Khet land, who gather tribute from Tefrt”. Furthermore, this is an important aspect of Horus’ theology and creates a link between him and the ruler. In turn this must be important for the patronage of the temple.

5.3.2.3 Hymn III [E-Ew-Ss-H1]:

Location: first register-eastern wall-southern side.

Description: three columns of text-no vignette.

Bibliography: PM VI 143 (180)-(181); E I 378, 15-379, 4; E IX, pl. XXXI b; Barucq 1962: 36, 194; Blackman and Fairman 1943: 19 (2); Fairman 1944b: 18; Alliot 1949: 156; Egberts 1995b: 115-116.

Comment:

This hymn reflects another aspect of Horus of Behdet as a warrior which can be seen in: “who stabs Seth”, “strong harpooner, who brings an end to the one who attacks him, who makes a massacre with his enemies, who injures his rebels”, “sharp of claws, who punishes Seth because of his crimes”, “who slays Seth because of the smell of his wounds to bring an end to the one who attacks his dignity”. Another aspect of the king can be realised through: “King of Upper and Lower Egypt”, also “standing as King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of his father to protect his throne against the raging one (Seth)”. This hymn for that aspect of the main deity of the temple in that particular place may denote the idea of driving away chaos from the sanctuary together with the innermost parts of the temple.

5.3.2.4 Hymn IV [E-Ew-Ns-H2]:

Location: first register-eastern wall-northern side.

Description: seven columns of text-no vignette.

Bibliography: PM VI 143 (181); E I 379; E IX, pl. XXXIb; Barucq 1962: 36, 228; Finnestadt 1985: 99; Egberts 1995b: 294 (12).

Comment:

This Hymn stresses again the solar aspect of the main deity of Edfu through these texts: “who shines in the horizon, the beautiful sun disk, who illuminates the darkness”, “who illuminates the banks”, “who lights the two lands with his rays, his beams illuminate the whole earth, Horus of the east, Horus who shows himself in heaven, who sprinkles the land with his rays of his sun disk”. The location of the hymn on the eastern side is appropriate with his mentioned epithets as it describes his attributes as sun god when he is born: “young child in the morning”, “he is conceived everyday upon his lotus, who brightens the land, at dawn he shows himself in the horizon, who rises in the east in his

body (as) Re everyday”, “who illuminates in the morning those who are in the morning boat, the bas of the east”, “illuminates the two lands with his rays, who caused everyone sees, who shines with gold, who illuminates cities and nomes, morning starts to be born in order that he is born (as) Re everyday”. Additionally, his kingship is reflected through: “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt”.

5.3.2.5 Hymn V [E-Nw-Es-H4]:

Location: second register-northern wall-eastern side.

Description: thirteen columns of text-no vignette.

Bibliography: PM VI 143 (182); E I 381, 9-18; E IX, pl. XXXI a; Barucq 1962: 197; Blackman and Fairman 1943: 19 (3)-20, 30; Alliot 1955: 6; Alliot 1949: 339-340; Egberts 1995b: 297- 298, 302(12); Dunand 1973:147.

Comment:

This hymn focuses only on one aspect of Horus the Behdetite which is the warrior as can be seen through: “who brings an end to the one who attacks his majesty”, “who carries the penis of his enemies”, “his foes are execration figures under him, the strong harpooner, who repels those who are in the water, who casts [his harpoon] at his enemies violently”, “he slaughter the rebels, who is victorious against the foe, who does not miss his time, who makes his enemies does not exist, he raises his hands, he seizes the harpoon, he casts at the nose of the hippopotamus, cutting his body and cutting up upon his hide”. Additionally, the later epithets show his victory over Seth.

5.3.3 Hymns of Dendera:

5.3.3.1 Hymn I [D-Ww-R4-H]:

Location: below and right hand side of the window of the western wall.

Description of the scene: The king stands before Horus-sema-tawy of Khadit who is shown seated. He wears a two feathered crown with a sun-disc and holds in his right hand the *w3s*-scepter and the *ʿnh*-sign in his right hand. A text consists of nine columns are behind a scene.

Bibliography: PM VI 57; Cauville 2001: 178-179 ; D IV 98, 13-99, 4, pl. CCLXXV

Comment:

This hymn is recited before Horus-sema-tawy of Khadit [D-Ww-R4-2]. The hymn is appropriate in terms of both the location i.e. western window of the Central Hall and the subject as it addresses Horus-sema-tawy as a solar deity as Atum and thus it reflects his condition as an aged god who is about to die to go through the journey in order to be born again the next morning. This fact is reflected through the following epithets: *i3w m mšr* “old man in the evening” (D IV 98, 14), *b3w Imntt (hr) šsp hm.k m hꜥwt r šhd.k r 3ht m3nw* “the *bas* of the west receives your majesty with joy to turn you upside down to the horizon of the west” (D IV 99, 2), *kḫkḫ mnḥ ꜥk ht nt mwt.f* “The excellent old man who enters the body of his mother” (D IV 99, 3), the latter refers to the myth of the sun disc that is swallowed by his mother Nut, the sky goddess, to be born again in the next morning, *i3w n nḥḥ sb dt* “old man of eternity who travels eternity” (D IV 99, 3). Finally, it shows his state when he is born again: rejuvenation in the next morning as shown by: *rnp r nw.f m ḥi ꜥnh mshꜥ* “who rejuvenates at his time as a living and bright child” (D IV 99, 4), *wbn m b3h m nhpw* “who appears in the east in the early morning” (D IV 99, 4). There is no mention of Hathor or her connection to that hymn, although the solar link cannot be ignored.

5.3.3.2 Hymn II [D-Ew-R4-H]:

Location: below and the right hand side of the window of the eastern wall.

Description: Text consists of fourteen columns-no vignette.

Bibliography: PM VI 57; D IV 79, 6-17, pl. CCLXXIII ; El- Kordy 1982b: 179-181; Cauville 2001: 148-151.

Comment:

As seen in the first hymn, the location of the hymn is suitable for the eastern wall of the Central Hall as it addresses Horus-sema-tawy in his solar aspect: *itn n Hr wbn hr i3btt Hr-sm3 t3wy* “the sun disc of Horus who shines in the east, Horus-sema-tawy” (D IV 79, 7), *di.f sw m dw3* “he places himself in the morning” (D IV, 79, 7), *sfy šps hr tp dw3* “the august child at the morning” (D IV 79, 9-10), *ms.tw Rꜥ rꜥ nb* “who gives birth to Re

everyday” (D IV 79, 10), *shd t3wy m m3wt m irty.f* “who illuminates the two lands with his beams of his eyes” (D IV 79, 10), *dg ntrw nbw im.f* “all the gods see because of him” (D IV 79, 10), *nhh wr rnp sw n nw.f* “the great old man who rejuvenates at his time” (D IV 79, 10-11), *h3y sw r r3-^c n sf* “who lights up himself in the place of the old man” (D IV 79, 11), *wbn m kkw wpš snkt* “who shines in the darkness and illumines the darkness” (D IV 79, 11), *bd.n.f ntrw m w3dty.f* “he illumines the gods with his eyes” (D IV 79, 11-12). Additionally, other aspects of Horus-sema-tawy are mentioned as the creator which is reflected through the following texts: *pr ntrw m r3.f* “the gods come from his mouth and the people from his eye” (D IV 79, 12-13), *ir ntrw km3 nww shpr dww* “who creates the gods, who creates the promodial water, who causes to create the mountains” (D IV 79, 13-14)- *ir hryw shpr hrywkm3 t3w swr hmwt* “who makes those who are above (birds), who creates those who are underneath (reptiles/fish), who creates men and who increases women” (D IV 79, 14-15), *km3 ntrw m hf.f* “who creates gods from his body, (what) he says is happened immediately” (D IV 79, 16). Moreover a third aspect, primordial, is recognised through: *ir hpr m sp tpy* “who created what happened the first time” (D IV 79, 9), *p3wty smsw p3wtyw* “the primordial, the elder of the primordials” (D IV 79, 8-9).

Despite the fact that there is no mention of the main deity of the temple of Dendera, Hathor, the location of the two hymns [D-Ew-R4-H] and [D-Ww-R4-H] in comparison to the location of Hathor in her sanctuary is remarkable. Taking into account that a form of Hathor is in the bark of Re appears in the Central Hall which might denote that the hall with its two hymns under the windows on the eastern and western wall of the Central Hall could imply the daily journey of Re and Hathor accompanies him on his bark in this journey. This could also imply an architectural representation of a mythological idea. Additionally, these two hymns might have been recited during the sunshine and the sunset which is also adequate with their location.

5.3.3.3 Hymn III [D-Ww-R1+2-H]:

Location: the hymn runs along the western wall of the Central Hall on a very narrow space which lies on the northern part of the northern lintel of the door leading to the Treasury. It covers the full length of the first two registers.

Description: two columns of text-no vignette. There are other versions of this hymn inscribed in the ambulatory (D II 11-12; Cauville 1999a: 28-31), eastern staircase (D VII 173-175) and in the doorway of the Chapel B (*Pr-nw*) in the temple of Isis at Dendera (Cauville 2008:138-139, pl. 135; Cauville 2009: 96-99) and a very short version on the eastern doorjamb of Chapel C (*Pr-nsr*) in the temple of Isis at Dendera (Cauville 2008: 189, pl. 172; Cauville 2009: 160-161).

Bibliography: PM VI 56 (105); D IV 82, 2-5; pl. CCLXXV; Cauville 2001: 154-155; Cauville 2002: 41.

Comment:

This hymn is associated with Hathor, the main deity of the temple. The hymn stresses on one of her aspects, Hathor the golden one as it states that: *Nbwt psd m pr.s* “the golden one shines in her House”. This is also emphasised by *Nbwt h^c.tw m hkrw.s* “the golden one shines with her adornment” (D IV 82, 4; Cauville 2001: 155). Another text reflects this idea mentions that *Nbwt m pr.s m pr-Nbwt* “the golden one is in her portable shrine in the House of Gold” (D IV, 82, 5; Cauville 2001: 155; Cauville 2002: 41). Her qualities as a shining goddess are apparent through “*wpš.n.s t3wy m nfrw.s* “she lightens the two lands with her beauty” (D IV 82, 3; Cauville 2001: 155). It seems that this hymn was recited by the priests who came from the corridor carrying the portable shrine of Hathor during the festival of the New Year to the Central Hall before entering the House of Gold (see 6.2.4.2.1.4). This suggestion could be ascertained through the following text *špst mr.s h^c sp fdw* “the august one, she likes to appear in procession” (D IV 82, 4; Cauville 2001: 155).

5.3.3.4 Hymn IV [D-EDJ-H]:

Location: the top of the thickness of the eastern doorjamb of the Central Hall.

Description: It consists of four columns of texts and the text is greatly destroyed (D IV 44, 13-45, 5)-no vignette. Cauville managed to complete the text (2001: 96, 98) as there are parallel texts inscribed on the *Pr-nw* (D II 199, 4-200, 2; Cauville 1999a: 353-354; Preys 2002a: 28-46). A third version found in Chamber U (D VII 113, 2-5). A fourth version is inscribed in the western staircase (D VIII 110, 10-111, 3). A fifth one runs on the doorjambs of the Hypostyle Hall (D IX 16, 19-17, 4).

Bibliography: D IV 44, 13-45, 5; Cauville 2001: 96-99).

Comment:

This hymn begins with a summons of Re to the deities of Edfu and an ennead to praise Hathor. The identity of the ennead is not revealed, however, it seems that this is her ennead based on texts in the same hymn. It is mentioned *psdt.s hr i3w sp-snw* “her ennead is in great adoration” (D IV 44, 19). In addition to another text which states that: *dw3 psdt r sns sḥ.t* “the ennead is early in the morning to praise your statue” (D IV 45, 2). The hymn refers to Hathor with her epithets only and never with her name *Nbwt* “the golden one” and *Wsrt* “the strong one” (Cauville 2001: 96-97). It describes a procession of Hathor when she leaves Dendera on her way to Edfu annually especially on the festival of the Happy Union. She gets out from *ḥwt-sššt* “the Mansion of the Sistrum” (Dendera temple) (Kockelmann 2002: 146-148) and she enters the *st-wrt-nt-Rḥ* “the great throne of Re” (Temple of Edfu) (Cauville 2001: 96-97). The hymn creates a live picture of the procession and also describes the participants of the procession including: the souls of Buto and Hierakonopolis who are rejoicing. The *mrwt* singers play harp for her majesty while the men and women declare her beauty (Cauville 2001: 98-99).

5.3.3.5 Hymn V [D-WDJ-H]:

Location: the top of the thickness of the western doorjamb of the Central Hall.

Description: four columns of text-no vignette.

Bibliography: D IV 45, 10-46, 14; Cauville 2001: 98-103.

Comment:

This hymn is a continuation of the corresponding hymn [D-EDJ-H]. It prolongs the description of the rest of the deities mentioned on the corresponding hymn who were performing cultic rituals and other jobs for her to make her ready for the procession. Like the preceding, this hymn refers to it with several epithets but not her name to name but a few *ḥnwt* “mistress” (D IV 45, 14), *Wsrt* “the strong one” (D IV 45, 14), *Nbwt ntrw* “the golden one of the gods” (D IV 45, 14), *ḥnwt ntrwt* “mistress of the deities” (D IV 45, 14), *ḥnwt wrt m-ḥnt t3-trr* “the great mistress in Dendera” (D IV 45, 14), *ḥnkst m*

Wrt-hpr-h3t “woman with braided hair” (D IV 45, 14-15), *nbt ib3* “lady of dance” (D IV 45, 15), *nbt shmw* “lady of the sistrum” (D IV 45, 16), *hnwt W3dty* “mistress of Uraeus” (D IV 45, 16). In that hymn, there is an emphasis on the king bringing drunkenness to her as he brings places that offer wine to Hathor i.e. *Knmt* “Kharga Oasis”, *DsDs* “Baharia Oasis”, *Imty* “Nebsheh”, *Snw* “Pelusium” (D IV 46, 10), *Nh3mw* “Lake of Mariut”, *idbw Fnhw* “the Phoenician banks” (D IV 46, 11).

5.3.3.6 Hymn VI [D-Ew-R4-1-H]:

Location: the northern scene of the eastern wall of the Central Hall-fourth register.

Description: seven columns of text. It is located before Re-Horakhty who stands while shaking two *sistrums* before Hathor who is seated on a throne. The king stands behind him while raising his right hand in adoration while carrying with his left hand a *nw-jar*.

Bibliography: D IV 75, 15-76, 7, pl. CCLXXIII; Cauville 2001: 144-145.

Comment:

This hymn is connected to the shaking of the *sistrum* by Re-Horakhty and the offering of Beer to Hathor by the king. These two offering rituals are connected to an aspect of Hathor as the runaway goddess. They are performed in order to perform the ritual of *shtp Shmt* (Goyon 2006: 18). This might be recognised through the legend of Re-Horakhty which states that: *shtp Itnt n hrw.s shr k3.s m sššt* (D IV 76, 9) “who appease the female solar disc with her voice who makes content her *ka* with the *sistrum*” (Cauville 2001: 146-147). It enumerates the several epithets of Hathor while focusing on her aspects such as Protectress: *hw h m pr.s im.f* “who protects the body of the one who she issued (D IV 76, 3), and *mk it.s* “Protectress of her father” (D IV 76, 3). B) Creator: *ir wnnt* “who creates what exists” (D IV 75, 17). Additionally, it reflects the connection between Hathor and different cult places all over Egypt where she was worshipped as if it denotes that she is a national goddess. This idea is demonstrated through the following epithets: *hk3t m W3st* “the female ruler in Thebes” (D IV 76, 2), *nbt Twnt nt hw m Ipt-swt* “lady of Dendera, whose appearance is beautiful in Karnak” (D IV 76, 2), *ntrt 3t hnt t3-šm w* “the great goddess in Upper Egypt” (D IV 76, 2), and finally *hnwt m Twnw-Mhw* “mistress in Heliopolis of the north” (D IV 76, 2-3).

5.4 Discussion:

After investigating the offering rituals on the walls of the Central Halls, the questions that can be raised are how the mythology of the temple affected the decoration of the walls i.e. the offering rituals depicted on the walls of the Central Halls? Is there a one programme that was used to decorate the walls of this particular part of the temple i.e. the Central Hall? Was the decoration following the *Book of the Temple* or other books?

As for the first question, it is evident that the ritual offerings depicted on the walls of the Central Halls are connected to the main deity of the temple, his/her aspects and more importantly the festivals celebrated within the temple. This can be noticed in the following examples. In the temple of Philae, the offering rituals of presenting the *Wnšb*-symbol [Ph-Ww-R3-2] and [Ph-Ew-R3-2] and presenting the *Wd3t*-eye [Ph-Sw-Ws-R2] and [Ph-Sw-Es-R2] are connected to the myth of the runaway goddess which is one of the aspects of Isis in Philae. Regarding the temple of Edfu, the ritual of cutting the barley [E-Nw-Es], although an ancestor cult, it pertains to the festival of the first of *Pakhons* and this festival is also depicted in Dendera [D-Nw-Es-R3-2]. As for the rituals of the ancestor cult, it can be noticed in the following: offering of the white bread [D-Ww-R1-1] and pouring libation in scenes [D-Ww-R2-1] and [D-Ww-R1-1].

Regarding the temple of Dendera, two scenes are connected to the festival of the 20th of *Thoth* [D-Ww-R4-3] and [D-Ew-R4-1-H] (Cauville 2002: 87-89). They are two offerings of beer which is suitable with the nature of such festival as a festival of Drunkenness. Additionally, there are four scenes that are connected to the festival of the 2nd of *Thoth*; three of them are depicted on the western wall: offering milk [D-Ww-R1-2], offering bracelets [D-Ww-R2-2] and presenting the *ḥḥ*-symbol [D-Ww-R3-2] (D IV 82, 6-16; D IV 85, 17-86, 10; D IV 90, 14-91, 8, pl. CCLXXV) and one on the eastern wall [D-Ew-R3-3] (D IV 71, 10-72, 4, pl. CCLXXIII) of the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera (Cauville 2001:14-15). These are the only scenes which show Ihy being offered to as a sole deity. These scenes are part of the rituals of the enthronement of Ihy during that festival when his status is elevated (Cauville 2001: 15). Preys (2001: 153-154) also suggested the same former point. He depended on the epithet of *ntr ʕ3* “the great god” which he claimed that Ihy possessed in the four scenes. It is worth noting that this epithet might occur in only one scene [D-Ww-R1-2], as there is a vertical

lacuna which could be filled with 𓆎. Regarding the rest of the three scenes, the epithet does not appear. Furthermore, Cauville (2002:20) explained that milk and crowns show a change of being in a higher status. Despite the fact that both of them agreed that the four scenes are connected to that festival, neither of them explained the offering of the bracelets and the *hh*-symbol. Moreover, two scenes, dragging the four *meret*-chests [D-Nw-Es-R4-1] and the driving of the four calves [D-Nw-Ws-R4-1] are related to the festival of the first of *Tybi* (Cauville 2001: 12; Egberts 1995b: 440).

Regarding the second question, it can be deduced that every temple has its own isolated separate programme. This is reflected through the previously mentioned offering scenes which are a reflection of the important festivals celebrated in each temple or an important aspect of the main deity or another deity of the temple. Additionally, some of the offerings are the sacred cult rituals of the deity such as *wnšb*-symbol, *menit*, mirrors, and the *sistrum*. In several scenes in the temple of Dendera and Edfu, they appear as the sacred objects of Hathor and were presented to her together with other objects ten in number. The ten sacred objects are: *sšst-sistrum*, *shm-sistrum*, *nw*-vase, *wnšb*-symbol, *menit*, three vases of milk, diadem, *mammisi*, monumental gate (pylon) and symbol of the world (Daumas 1969: 45; Daumas 1970a: 63-78; Daumas 1970b: 7-18; Preys 2008b: 305). They appear as an offering to Hathor several times in the temple of Dendera (D VII, pl. DCXVII; D I, pls. LI, LXII; D III, pl. CLXXX; D VI, pl. CCCCLXII; D IV, pl. CCCI; D VIII, pl. DCCXL). These objects also appear in the temple of Edfu (E X, pl. CXXXVI).

Concerning the third question, it is evident that the *Book of the Temple* was followed to decorate the Central Halls of the studied temples (see 3.7); however, epigraphic evidence shows that other books were used to decorate the temples. This can be ascertained in the temples of Edfu (E VII 22, 7), *mammisi* of Edfu (Mam. E. 6, 12) and Dendera (D II 3, 2). The sacred writings of the *Bas of Re* were used to decorate certain parts of the temple as in the case of the enclosure wall of the temple of Edfu (see Ch.2-Doc.15) and the *Book of the two lands* which the plan of the temple has been based on it (E VI 6, 5; VI 201, 5). There is no firm evidence to confirm or to deny that other books other than the *Book of the Temple* were used to decorate the Central Hall.

An important question that can be raised is whether these rituals were in *de facto* performed in the temples? The answer is still a matter of debate among the scholars who are divided by Poo to the following categories (2008: 1528). A) The first group argues that the ritual scenes are just mere religious ideas and do not represent a ritual act. The reliefs are not pictures but signs which are to be read and interpreted (Derchain 1993a: 93-97; Derchain 1994b: 99-105; Graefe 1993: 143-156). B) The second group believes that some of the ritual scenes represent real rites that are performed while others are just symbolic (Egberts 1995a: 13-38; Colin 2003: 183-186; Poo 2008: 1528). C) The third group postulated that these rituals are real rites performed in the temples based on the study of the religious festivals (Alliot 1949-1954; Sauneron 1962; Cauville 2002).

As for the classification of the offering ritual scenes, C. Traunecker (1991: 85- 91) has shown after studying the decoration of the Egyptian temples that the scenes on the walls of the temples can be divided from the function point of view into two main groups. 1) Scenes of action. 2) Scenes of evocation. 3) Additionally, he added a third category i.e. images of substitution. As shown above from the scenes of the offering rituals represented on the walls of the Central Halls of the investigated temples, these scenes can be classified to the following categories:

Table 5.1: The different categories of the offering rituals on the walls of the Central Halls

Temple	Philae	Edfu	Kom Ombo	Dendera
Religious Festivals	[Ph-Sw-Es-R3+H]	[E-Nw-Es] [E-Ww-Ss-R3]		[D-Nw-Es-R3-2] [D-Ww-R4-3] [D-Ew-R4-1-H] [D-Ww-R1-2] [D-Ww-R2-2] [D-Ww-R3-2] [D-Ew-3-R3] [D-Nw-Es-R4-1] [D-Nw-Ws-R4-1] [D-Ww-R3-4]
Sacred Cult Objects of the Deity				[D-Nw-Es-R2-1] [D-Nw-Ws-R2-1]
Kingship Offerings		[E-Ew-Ss-R3]	[KO-Ww-CP-Ns-R1] [KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R1]	[D-Nw-Ws-R4-2] [D-Nw-Es-R4-2] [D-Sw-R3-Es] [D-Sw-R3-Ws] [D-Ew-R3-3]
Rejuvenation Offerings-Fecundity-Renewal & Regeneration-rejoice	[Ph-Nw-Ws-R3-2] [Ph-Sw-Ws-R1+H] [Ph-Ew-R3-3] [Ph-Ww-R2-1+H] [Ph-Nw-Ws-R3-1]	[E-Ww-Ns-R3]	[Ph-Nw-Ws-R2]	[D-Nw-Ws-R3-1]

Myths	[Ph-Ww-R3-2] [Ph-Ew-R3-2] [Ph-Sw-Ws-R2-H] [Ph-Sw-Es-R2-H] [Ph-Sw-Es-R2-H]	[E-Sw-Ws-R2] [E-Sw-Ws-R3]		[D-Ew-R3-1] [D-Ew-R3-2] [D-Ww-R4-1] [D-Ew-R4-2] [D-Nw-Es-R3-1]
Ancestor cult		[E-Nw-Es]		[D-Nw-Es-R3-2] [D-Ww-R1-1] [D-Ww-R2-1] [D-Ww-R1-1]
Main Themes of the Temple		[E-Sw-Ws-R1] [E-Sw-Es-R1]		
Food Offerings	[Ph-Nw-Ws-R1] [Ph-Nw-Es-R1]		[KO-Ww-CP-Ns-R2]	[D-Nw-Es-R1-2] [D-Nw-Ws-R2-2] [D-Ww-R1-2] [D-Nw-Es-R2-2] [D-Nw-Ws-R1-2]
Purification	[Ph-Ww-R3-3] [Ph-Nw-R3-1] [Ph-Ew-R2-1-H]	[E-Ew-Ns-R3] [E-Sw-Ws-R2] [E-Ww-R1]	[KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R2] [KO-Ww-CP-Ss-R2]	[D-Ww-R2-1]
Daily Cult Ritual / New Year Festival	[Ph-Sw-Es-R1+H] [Ph-Ew-R1+H]			[D-Sw-R4-Ws] [D-Sw-R4-Es]
Cosmic Rituals	[Ph-Ww-R1+H] [Ph-Ew-R3-1] [Ph-Sw-Ws-R3+H] [Ph-Nw-Es-R3-2]			[D-Ew-R1-Ns] [D-Ww-R3-1]
Temple Foundation			[KO-Ww-CP-	

Rituals			Ss-R1]	
Statue of Re				[D-Ew-R2-Ns]

Hymns cover a considerable space of the walls of the Central Halls. They can also be categorised according to the subject they pertain the following. 1) Hymns reflecting aspects of the deity. 2) Hymns connected to myth. 3) Hymns connected to religious festivals. 4) Hymns connected to a ritual. 1) Hymns reflecting the aspects of the deity: These hymns despite the fact that some of them were chanted during the religious festivals, they reflect some aspects of the deities. This is apparent in the case of hymn [D-Ww-R1+2-H] which reflects some of Hathor's aspects but at the same time was chanted during the festival of the New Year. The hymns in the Central Halls were not only used to reflect the different aspects of the main deity of the temple but also addressed to other deities so as to reflect their aspects. Out of the ten hymns which run on the walls of the central hall of Philae, only four are addressed to Isis, the main deity of the temple while four hymns are addressed to her espouse, Osiris.

Table 5.2: Hymns of the Central Halls and the aspects of the deities

Deity/aspects	Hymns	Philae	Hymns	Edfu	Hymns	Dendera
Deities	[Ph-Ww-R1+H]	Isis	[E-Ew-Ss-H3]	Atum	[D-Ew-R4-H]	Re/Horus the Behdetite
Aspects		National goddess-solar		Old man-Rejuvenator		Solar-creator
Deities	[E-Nw-Ws-H5]	Isis	[E-Nw-Ws-H5]	Horus-sema-tawy	[D-Ww-R4-H]	Horus of Behdet
Aspects		solar		Solar-creator-primordial		Solar-king of the two lands
Deities	[Ph-Sw-Es-R1+H]	Osiris	[E-Ew-Ss-H1]	Horus the Behdetite	[D-Ww-R1+2-H]	Hathor
Aspects		National god		Warrior-King		The golden one
Deities	[Ph-Ew-R2-1+H]	Isis	[E-Ew-Ns-H2]	Horus the Behdetite	[D-Ew-R4-1-H]	Hathor
Aspects		An Ogdad deity		Solar-King		Protectress Creator National deity

Deities	[Ph-Sw-Ws-R1+H]	Osiris	[E-Nw-Es-H4]	Horus the Behdetite		
Aspects		Creator god		Warrior		

2) Hymns connected to myth: this can be recognised in the two identical hymns of Philae [Ph-Sw-Ws-R2+H] and [Ph-Sw-Es-R2+H] which are connected to the myth of the runaway goddess.

3) Hymns connected to religious festivals: this can be seen in the Central Hall of Dendera where hymn [D-Ww-R1+2-H] was chanted when the procession of the festival of the New Year arrives to the Central Hall before entering the *Wabet* (see 6.2.4.2.1.4). Another hymn [D-Ew-R4-1-H] was recited during the festival of the 1st of *Thoth* (Cauville 2002: 37, 56; Cauville 2001: 144-145; D IV 75-76; pl. CCLXXIII). Furthermore, two hymns [D-EDJ-H], and [D-WDJ-H] were chanted during the procession of the festival of the 1st of *Epiphi* heading towards the Hypostyle Hall on her way to the temple of Edfu during her annual visit (Gutbub 1986: 403; Cauville 2002: 62; D IV 44-46) (see 4.6.3.4; 4.6.3.5). Regarding the hymns of the Central Hall of Edfu, there are two hymns that were chanted not only during the festival of the New Year [E-Nw-Es-H4] and [E-Nw-Ws-H5] but also during all the solar festivals of the temple (Alliot 1949: 341).

4) Hymns connected to a ritual: one hymn can be recognised in the Central Hall of Philae [Ph-Ww-R2-1+H] which is related to the ritual of the filling of the eye of Horus. Another hymn is connected to the ritual of *shṭp Shmt* [D-EW-R4-1-H] at Dendera.

The common factor among the hymns of the Central Hall of Philae is that they end with a formula showing the protection of King Ptolemy II and rewarding him with the throne of Horus appearing on it like Re forever. Besides, they are all accompanied with an offering scene which denotes how the priests made use of the offering scene in connection to the subject of the hymn. As for the hymns of Dendera, the majority of them are just plain text without any offering scene while only one has an offering scene. Regarding the hymns of Edfu, they are all plain text without any vignettes. The hymns in the Central Hall are not only addressed to the main deity of the temple but also to other co-templar deities. In the case of Philae four hymns are addressed to Isis while four are addresses to her espouse, Osiris. In the temple of Dendera, three of the Hymns are addressed to Hathor while two are addressed to Horus-sema-tawy. As for Edfu, all of them are addressed to Horus the Behdetite.

Chapter Six

Temple Festivals, Cult Rituals and Daily Offering Rituals

6.1 Introduction:

In the previous chapter, it has been discussed how the offering rituals represented on the Central Halls of the studied temples were performed during different religious festivals celebrated in the temple. In addition to this, several hymns which run on the walls of the Central Halls were chanted during the festivals; as a result, the aims of this chapter are to investigate the festivals celebrated in each temple which are connected to the Central Hall either mentioned in the festival calendars or in the texts of the temple. Secondly, the chapter will investigate the usage of the Central Hall during the festivals, the statues of the deities placed there, and the priests who were in charge of these statues and their *Naoi* are investigated. Thirdly, the courses of movement of the processions during these festivals will be determined. Thus, the detailed activities of these festivals performed outside of the temples do not fall within of the scope of this study. Accordingly, the study will focus on the parts of the festivals celebrated in the Central Hall of the studied temples.

The first obstacle, which faces this study while dealing with the festival calendars of the studied temples, is that some of the temples do not mention any information except for the dates of the festival. Besides, they do not mention the names of the festivals and their duration. There are festival calendars where the dates and the names of the festivals are given without the duration and the rituals performed in these festivals. For example, the small calendar of Hathor in the temple of Dendera has only two exceptions which is the 3rd month of the *Shemu*, “the New Moon festival” where the rituals and the offerings of the festival are mentioned and “the feast of rowing the barque of this goddess” (Alliot 1949: 239-240; El-Sabban 2000: 181). Additionally, although the festival calendars do not mention the usage of the Central Halls during these festivals, it can be deduced that the Central Hall during these feasts were used as a crossing area or in other words as a “bridge” which allowed the festival procession to proceed to other halls inside the temples. The festivals which fall under this category are those of the calendars of Edfu, Dendera and Kom Ombo temples where there are resting points during the procession or the deity can make a stop before commencing again.

The second obstacle is that when the temple does not have a festival calendar for the festivals celebrated in the temple as in the case of the temple of Isis of Philae. This does

not mean that there were no festivals celebrated inside the temple as there are other sources which mention the festivals of Isis (Bergman 1970: 45-57; Dunand 1973: 215-244; Schott 1950: 992-993). Despite the fact that the festival calendar was a characteristic aspect of the most religious institutions from the Old Kingdom onwards but the former example of the Ptolemaic period is a significant case. Additionally, there was a remarkable difference between the festival calendars of the Dynastic period and those of the Ptolemaic period as the former were concerned with mentioning the provisioning of the temples and the endowments while the latter ignored them (Spalinger 2001a: 520).

6.2 Central Hall and the Temple Festivals:

6.2.1 Philae:

6.2.1.1 Festivals Celebrated in Philae and the Central Hall:

As mentioned before, the temple of Philae does not have a festival calendar, however; it is not imaginable that there were not festivals celebrated in the temple of Isis due to the lack of the festival calendars. The following festivals and processions can be mentioned.

There was an annual festival during which Isis had to cross the Nile to visit her husband to commemorate his death and his resurrection which took place during the 22nd of the month of *Khoiak*. Epigraphic evidence from the roof of the temple of Isis proves that this festival was still celebrated until the fourth and fifth centuries AD (Dijkstra 2005: 74; Dijkstra 2008: 203-205). The statue of Isis was carried in a sacred bark (Dijkstra 2005: 76; Dijkstra 2008: 206-207) called the “Protectress” (Daumas 1980b: 49). Following a dispute between the Blemmyes and Nubians, the sacred bark was taken from the temple of Isis (Dijkstra 2005: 77; Dijkstra 2008: 207) which might have affected the cult of Isis at Philae.

Furthermore, the festivals of the birthdays of Isis, Osiris, Horus, Seth, and Nephthys were also celebrated every year during the five epagomenal days at the end of each year where their statues were taken from the *mammisi* to the sunlight as a symbol of their rebirth (Dijkstra 2005: 77; Dijkstra 2008: 208). Demotic inscriptions from the temple of

Philae (No. 411) and (No. 421) mention the Festival of the entry of the shrine of Isis however there is no sufficient information about it (Griffith 1935: 113, 121-122, Griffith 1937: pls. LXIII, LXVI).

Thus, during these festivals, the Central Hall had been used as a crossing point towards the outside of the temple. The question that can be raised is whether the statue was taken from the sanctuary? Or was it stored in one of the crypts and then taken outside? In case it was the former then the Central Hall was used as a crossing point. In case it was stored then which crypt was used to store it in? It may have been taken from one of the different crypts in the temple. In either case, at some point the statue would have to cross through the Central Hall. If, however, the statue came from Room VI, then it could have been taken outside without passing through the Central Hall. Without further textual evidence a conclusive answer is beyond reach.

6.2.1.2 Central Hall used a Crossing Point during a Cult Ritual:

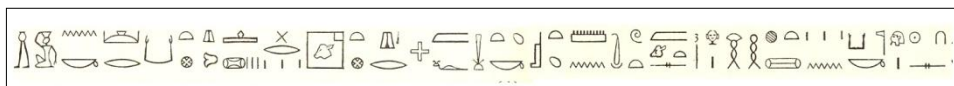
One of the most impressive cult rituals performed in honour of Osiris, was the weekly (every ten days) visit of Isis to Osiris who was buried on the island of Biggeh during which she had to cross the Nile from the Hadrian's gate to Biggeh to unite symbolically with Osiris and to present offerings (Junker 1913: 55-57; Daumas 1980b:49; Dijkstra 2005: 73; Dijkstra 2008: 203). This weekly visit is confirmed by the forth mentioning textual evidence Ch.6-Doc.1, Ch.6-Doc.2 and Ch.6-Doc.3.

Ch.6-Doc.1:

Type: text accompanying personification of a nome.

Location: exterior of the Naos-eastern wall- Dado-Table III.

Bibliography: Bénédict 1893: 88, pl. XXIX; PM VI 246 (382)-(383); Favard-Meeks 1991: 428; Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001: 34.



In.f n.k irk hry htpw wrw hwt-hnt hry imwy.f snt.k 3st mn.tw m-hnt.s hr w3h-ht n k3.k tp hrw10

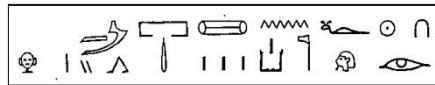
“He (the king) brings to you (Osiris) Philae carrying great offerings, *ḥwt-ḥnt* (Philae) carrying what is in it, your sister Isis established before it, to lay down offerings to your ka at the first ten days”.

Ch.6-Doc.2:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-exterior of the *Naos*-western wall.

Bibliography: Bénédict 1893: 112, pl. XXXII; PM VI 245 (375)-(377); Favard-Meeks 1991: 428.



ḥr m3^c(t) prt-ḥrw n k3.f tp ḥrw 10

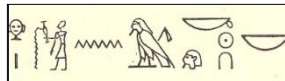
“to offer invocation-offerings to his *ka* (Osiris) at the first ten days”

Ch.6-Doc.3:

Type: text accompanying personification of a nome.

Location: exterior of the *Naos*-western wall.

Bibliography: Bénédict 1893: 114, pl. XXXII; PM VI 245 (376)-(377); Favard-Meeks 1991: 428; Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001: 34.



ḥr ḳbh n b3.k tp ḥrw 10 nb

“to make a libation to your *ba* at the first of every ten days”

6.2.2 Temple Festivals of Edfu:

According to the Festival Calendars of the temple of Edfu, there are some festivals which imply that the Central Hall was used just as a “crossing point”. Despite the fact that there is no textual evidence, the texts of the festival calendars usually mention the resting points during the festival procession of some festivals beyond the Central Hall while heading towards the outside of the temple. The resting points are always beyond the Central Hall which implies that the Central Hall was used as a crossing point that

the procession had to pass to reach other halls in the temple. While not all the crossing points might be mentioned, it is clear that the festival calendar lists the most important resting points connected with certain acts. The festivals are the following:

6.2.2.1 Festival using the Central Hall for Chanting Hymns:

6.2.2.1.1 Festival of the New Year:

One of the most important festivals in ancient Egypt is the Festival of the New Year and it was celebrated in all the temples all over the country. The aims of the festival are to renew the kingship of Horus which also applies to the king (Louant 2003: 233) and the confirmation of the royal power as well (Goyon 1972a). According to one text, it is “a feast of all gods and all goddesses (El-Sabban 2000: 181; Alliot 1949: 304). It seems that each temple had a different scenario concerning the statues used for the festival and the course of movement inside each temple. The New Year festival commenced on the 30th day of the fourth month of the *Shemu* season and continued over the five epagomenal days, and may have ended on the fifth day of the First Month of the Inundation season (Watterson 1988: 93).

6.2.2.1.1.1 Statues:

One might assume that the statue of the main deity of the temple, which resides in the sanctuary, is the focal point of the New Year festival. According to the texts of the temple, the statue used during this festival was residing in the axial chamber which lies right behind the sanctuary. The texts refer to this chamber as “Mesen” (E IV 13, 7; E VII 13, 1), *Hwt-ḳn* “House of Valour” (E IV 5, 1; E IV 13, 7), and *ndm-ḥnh* “Pleasant to live in” (E IV 13, 7). Additionally, there was another statue for the goddess Hathor. Both of these statues were kept in two separate shrines in one *Naos* made of black granite. A third statue for Horus in the form of the golden falcon was in the same chamber in addition to the two sacred lances of Horus (Fariman 1954: 170).

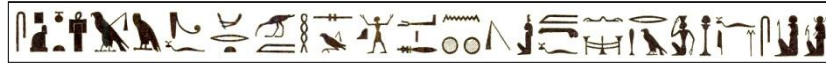
Statue of Horus:

Ch.6-Doc.4:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the western wall of *Naos* of Edfu.

Bibliography: E IV 5, 3-4; PM VI 157; Alliot 1949: 315; De Wit 1961a: 65.



sp3 nt si3w m tit.f dsrt gmḥsw k3-ꜥ 1 hry nh3h3 M3ꜥt m-b3ḥ.f n ḥr r ḥm.f ḥtp.f im.s rꜥ-nb

“The throne of the Falcon in his sacred image *Gemehsw*, the height is one cubit carrying the flail, Maet is beside him not away from his majesty, he rests in it everyday”.

According to Ch.6-Doc.4, the statue of Horus, which participated in the festival of the New Year appears in the guise of a *Gemehsw*, the sacred falcon, carrying a flail, is one cubit high and Maet is a form of Hathor which shares with him the same *Naos*.

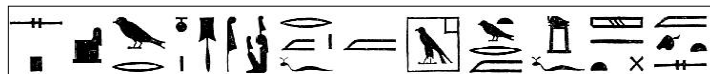
Statue of Hathor:

Ch.6-Doc.5:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the external western face of the enclosure wall.

Bibliography: E VII 13, 2-3; PM VI 168; Alliot 1949: 314; De Wit 1961b: 302; Kurth 2004: 16.



sp3 wr n s3b-šwt M3ꜥt r-gs.f m Ḥwt-Ḥr wrt m k3r.f št3 m ḥnt.s

“It (Mesen chamber) is the great throne of him of the dappled plumage, Maet is beside him, Hathor the great, she is inside his secret *Naos* (Horus), inside it (Mesen Chamber)”.

Ch.6-Doc.6:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the eastern exterior wall of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: E IV 13, 8-9; PM VI 159; Alliot 1949: 315; De Wit 1961a: 88-89.



sḥm Hr-3ḥty ḥtp m-k3b..s m sšt3.f wr n s3b-šwt sw m k3 nḥt m ḥr [n] drty psšnt wts.tw m tp.f

“The statue of Hor-akhty rests inside it in his great image of him of the dappled plumage; he is the strong bull before the falcon, the double crown is raised upon his head”.

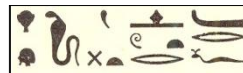
This text of Ch.6-Doc.6 describes the statue of Horus which was surmounted by the double crown.

Ch.6-Doc.7:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the eastern exterior wall of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: E IV 13, 10; PM VI 159; Alliot 1949: 316; De Wit 1961a: 89.



ḥry-tp wrt ḥtp.tw r-ḥn̄.f

“The great Uraeus rests together with him”

Text of Ch.6-Doc.7 provides another epithet used to refer to Hathor who accompanied Horus in the *Naos* in the Chamber of Mesen.

Ch.6-Doc.8:

Type: text.

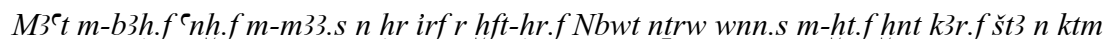
Location: the Upper Band of Text-the outer western wall of the court.

Bibliography: E V 8, 10; PM VI 126 (39)-(42); Alliot 1949: 316.



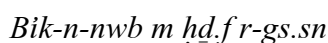
More epithets for Hathor are stated in Ch.6-Doc.8 “Maet” which is reinforced again and “the golden one, lady of Iunet”. This document introduces another term used to refer to the portable shrine *ḥd* in comparison to the term *k3r* which refers to the *Naos* in Ch.6-Doc.5.

Bibliography: E V 10, 4-5; PM VI 127 (47)-(50); Alliot 1949: 317.



Statue of the Falcon of Gold:

Bibliography: E IV 13, 11; PM VI 159; Alliot 1949: 316; De Wit: 1961a: 89.



“The falcon of Gold is in his portable shrine together with them”

Despite the fact that Ch.6-Doc.10 mentions a third statue in the Chamber of Mesen accompanying the two previously mentioned statues, the text is silent in terms of whether or not this statue accompanies them in the procession of the New Year Festival. Additionally, the issue of being a member of their ennead is inconclusive. This is due to the fact that there is neither epigraphic nor iconographic evidence can confirm that the third member of their triad accompanies his parents during the procession of the New Year Festival.

It was deduced from the above texts that there was a *k3r naos* made from black stone and inside it there were two portable shrines made of wood *hḏ* and it was covered with gold (Alliot 1949: 317). The statue of Horus is one cubit tall. The material of the statue is not mentioned in the text. M. Alliot proposes that it is made out of wood and might have inlays of precious stones (1949: 318, 329). A third statue of the Falcon of Gold is found in his portable shrine also in the Mesen Chamber (Alliot 1949: 322).

It is certain from the texts and scenes as can be seen below that the two statues of Horus and Hathor were carried each inside a portable shrine during the procession and placed on the sacred boats which in turn were placed on top of a litter carried by priests. Despite the fact that there is neither epigraphic nor iconographic evidence to confirm that the third member of their triad accompanies his parents during the procession of the New Year Festival, M. Alliot proposes that Horus-sema-tawy was present there (1949: 327) and he seems to ignore the third statue placed with them in the Mesen Chamber. The question that arises is where this statue was kept and how it suddenly appears in the procession without even being a member of the ennead that follows Horus and Hathor.

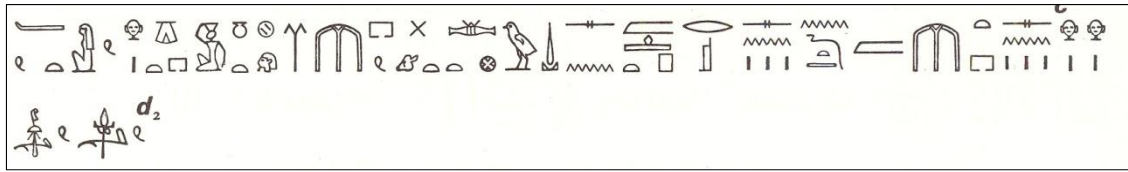
It can be proposed that the statues of the ennead came from the chapels around the sanctuary (Alliot 1949: 330). The questions that should be asked at this stage are which deities and from which chapels did they come? Could the uninscribed crypts of the temple be a possible place to store these statues as in the case of the temple of Dendera? The answer to this crucial question is found in the next document.

Ch.6-Doc.11:

Type: text.

Location: the western wall of the western staircase.

Bibliography: E I 541, 9-10; E IX, pl. XXXVIIc; PM VI 153; Alliot 1949: 331.



*hfd.f hr nst.f nt sp tpy m sh.f hnt Msnt wd3.sn m htp r st.sn n dt m sh.sn hr.wnmy.f hr
ibby.f*

“He sits on his throne of the first time in his Chapel in Mesen; they go in procession in peace to their place of eternity in their chapels on his left and on his right”.

This text is extremely important as it ascertains that the statues of the deities were brought back to their original places after the end of a festival. It does not specify which deities and from which chapels exactly. This means that the suggestion that the statues of the deities were stored in the crypts can be firmly discarded. The question remains from which chapels these statues of the members of the ennead were taken.

6.2.2.1.1.2 Temple Furniture:

Ch.6-Doc.12:

Type: text.

Location: the Upper Band of Text-west wall-eastern staircase.

Bibliography: E I 554, 8-9; PM VI 153; Alliot 1949: 327-328; Barta 1968: 76.



3w sk 4 n s3wy r k'h 4 n š-n-htp m'yt 4 hr k'h 4 nms p3kt ts r.sn

“Four columns of gold at four corners of the “support of rest”, four loops are attached to the four corners, hangings of fine linen attached to them (four sides of the shrines)”.

The statue of Horus was installed on a support made of gold *š-n-nwb* (Wilson 1997: 985) which is called *š-htp* “support of rest”. This is the support of a chair or shrine in which the statue of the god was placed on during the procession. This shrine does not appear on the scenes of the New Year Festival. Besides, from the description provided in the text it can be deduced that the shrine was opened from four sides and the linen

hanging from four sides is probably an extra precaution to keep the shrine away from the eyes of the priests carrying it despite the fact that the statue resides inside the shrine.

Ch.6-Doc.13:

Type: text.

Location: the doorjamb of the eastern door which leads to the eastern staircase.

Bibliography: E I 551, 7-8; PM VI 155; Alliot 1949: 328.



psdt r3 m šmw.f ḥtp m ḥd.f

“All the ennead is following him (while he) rests in his portable shrine”.

6.2.2.1.1.3 Priests:

The priests who carried the portable shrines of Horus were referred to as *smrw Msnt* (Alliot 1949: 312; E I 554, 8).

6.2.2.1.1.4 Course of Movement:

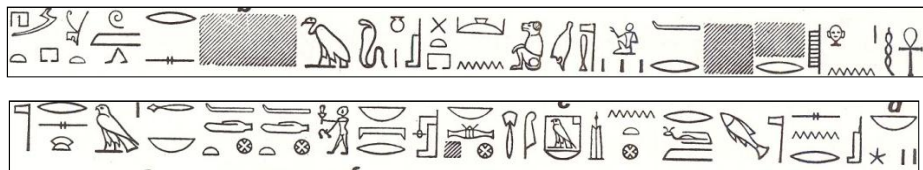
According to the Upper Band of Text of the eastern staircase (E I 553, 15; E I 554, 2; E I 554, 3) the procession starts from the Mesen Chamber (Alliot 1949: 312).

Ch.6-Doc.14:

Type: text.

Location: the western thickness of the eastern door of the Ambulatory.

Bibliography: E I 351, 8-9; PM VI 147 (182) (c); Alliot 1949: 313-314.



m3ht n šmw r s[...] wnmy i3b n st-wrt i3t n nswt-bity ḥmw-ntrw ḥnᵉ [...]r ʿ3 ḥr n nḏm-ᵉnh r shᵉ ntr ʿ3 nb Bḥdt Bḥdy ntr ʿ3 nb pt r wts nb Msn s3b šwt Ḥwt-Ḥr nb(t) Twnt r pr m bs.sn r St-ḥb-tpy

“The door of procession to [...] on the right and left sides of the great place [...] The priests together with [...] of the sweet of life to cause to appear the great god, lord of Behdet, the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky to raise the lord of Mesen, him of the dappled plumage, Hathor, lady of Iunet, to go forth with their statues to the place of the first festival”.

This text describes the direction of the procession as the Central Hall was used again as a crossing point from the Food Altar towards the Hall of Offerings and then to the eastern staircase to the roof of the temple where the rituals of “Uniting with the sun disc” (Watterson 1988: 95) took place in the chapels which have now disappeared (Waitkus 1999: 147-161). The priests start to chant two hymns after getting from the two doors of the corridor. The eastern side of the corridor was used by Hathor while the western side was used by Horus (Alliot 1949: 337). These two hymns are [E-Nw-Es-H4] and [E-Nw-Ws-H5] (Alliot 1949: 341).

6.2.2.2 Festivals using the Central Hall as a Crossing Point:

6.2.2.2.1 Festival of Sokar:

During the 26th of *Khoiak* the divine litter was heading from Chamber (G) *Ḥwt-Skr* towards the western side of the ambulatory and then crossing the Central Hall towards the Outer Court (H') (Goyon 1978b: 429-430, fig.6). Despite the richness of the information about the rituals performed during this festival provided by the festival calendar of Edfu, there is not enough material regarding the usage of the Central Hall (Grimm 1994: 64-65; El-Sabban 2000: 171). Additionally, there is a mention of Sokar's ennead which accompanies him on a procession on the 30th day of the same month (El-Sabban 2000: 171). This also points out that there is a different ennead for each deity in the same temple.

6.2.2.2.2 The Festival of *Epiphi* (Happy Union):

This festival took place inside the temple of Edfu where Hathor sailed annually from Dendera to Edfu to unite with her husband Horus. It was celebrated at Edfu in the third month of *Shemu*, beginning on the day of the New Moon and ending fifteen days later on the day of the Full Moon (Watterson 1998: 104). This is confirmed from a text that runs on the external doorjambs of the eastern and western sides of the door of the Central Hall. The king addresses Horus the Behdetite saying that: *r w3h st-shn n Hr-3hty* “to set out the place of the union of Horus of the two horizons” (E I 360) and *r sm3 Twnt hn Wtst-Hr* “to unite Iunet together with Edfu” (E I 360). The former reflects the idea that the king is taking care of the arrangements of the union. The latter text is a metaphor which corresponds to the union of Horus and Hathor. The text on the eastern doorjamb states that (E I 361): *shnt.i nb(t) Twnt m tr n-rnpt r ir shnw nfr hn Hr.s* “I caused the lady of Iunet to sail south at the appropriate time annually, to celebrate the beautiful union with her Horus”. The location of these texts on the door of the Central Hall implies that a part of the festival was celebrated there. This also marks the procession of the festival towards inside of the temple of Edfu.

6.2.2.3 Festivals using the Central Hall for Placing Offerings and a Resting Point:

A sole example is mentioned in the Festival Calendar of Edfu which took place on the second epagomenal day. During that day, Isis heads towards the Central Hall where not only she rests there, which denotes the usage of the Central Hall as a “resting point”, but also offerings, were presented to her. The text states that (Grimm 1994: 136-137):



sw 2 sh 3st hddt mwt ntr hryt-ib Bhdh htp m Wts-hw wdn n.s ht nfrt nb(t)

“Day 2, the appearance of Isis- *hddt*, the god’s mother, who resides in Edfu, resting in *Wts-hw*, offering for her every good thing”.

6.2.3 Kom Ombo:

As in the case of the temple of Edfu, the festival calendars of Kom Ombo state that the deity or deities participating in the processions rest in certain places before commencing again towards their final destination. This could be seen in the festivals which are mentioned in a list inscribed on the eastern side of the outer vestibule (PM VI 190(94); De Morgan 1909: No. 596).

Regarding the festivals of Kom Ombo, it is obvious that despite the fact that the temple is divided architecturally fairly between the two deities i.e. Horwer and Sobek, there are only two appearances of Sobek mentioned on the 3rd day of the 2nd month of the *Akhet* season and on the 20th day of the fourth month of the *Peret* season. In addition to the procession of the New Year Festival, the names of the festivals are rarely mentioned in the festival calendars of Kom Ombo. Additionally, some other appearances are not mentioned precisely as they are mentioned in the texts of the festival calendars simply as “appearing of this god” (EL-Sabban 2000: 156). Other fewer dates of the festivals are connected with appearances without connecting them to any deity or any place inside the temple (El-Sabban 2000: 159). Unlike the festivals of the calendars of Dendera, the festival calendars of Kom Ombo do not mention the return of the procession back to the temple as if it is understandable or the priests did not find it important to record it or perhaps the lack of space could be considered. This might imply that the Central Hall was simply a conduit, not a meaningful part of the festival procession, without any symbolic role.

A remark to note is that in the festival calendar of Kom Ombo, there is a mention of the *mammisi* twice during the course of two festivals. The festival calendar dates back to Ptolemy VI while the *mammisi* was built under Ptolemy VIII 142/140 BC (Minas 1997: 100). That means at least these two festivals were not celebrated until the *mammisi* was finished or was the *mammisi* being used before being finished or this is what is intended to be done after the completion of the temple. Additionally, the inner hypostyle hall was decorated under Ptolemy VIII (Minas 1997: 97) and thus the same suggestion may apply to the festivals associated with these parts.

On one hand, the first festival calendar of Kom Ombo does not state either the specific location inside the temple where the festivals were celebrated or the rituals which took place such as the appearance of Horus on the first day of the first month of *Shemu*. On the other hand, the second calendar fills in the gaps of the first one and mentions that Horus appears in the *mammisi* (El-Sabban 2000: 156). Furthermore, the first calendar does not mention all of the festivals of the temple of Kom Ombo and the second calendar mentions new festivals such as the 8th day of the first month of the *Shemu* (El-Sabban 2000: 156). The first calendar is almost confined to the festival of Horus, lord of Ombos except for one festival of Hathor, who resides in Ombos celebrated on the 28th day of the third month of *Akhet* (El-Sabban 2000: 155). Thus, when the text mentions *ntr pn* it could imply that Horus, lord of Ombos is meant. Alternatively, the second calendar mentions the festival of the other deities who reside in Ombos (El-Sabban 2000: 157-159).

Table 6.1: Festivals using the Central Hall as a crossing point- Kom Ombo

Festivals	Deities	Time/ Date	Ennead / Priests	Place of the stop of the procession
	Horus, chief of the two lands	8 th hour the first day of the second month of the <i>Akhet</i> season	---	Broad Hall (El-Sabban 2000: 155) <i>wsht tn</i> “this hall” is described in another text as “the hall of Horus and Thoth”. (Grimm 1994: 33, 159, footnote B2 (d))
festival of <i>d3rt</i> or “the devouring of <i>ibm</i> ”	Horwer	9 th day of the second month of the <i>Peret</i> season	---	<i>wsht n bnr</i> “Broad Hall of encounter” (Grimm 1994: 79; El-Sabban 2000: 155)
“Festival of treading the fishes”	“this god” But since it is stated at the beginning of the list that these festivals were celebrated in the temple of Horwer, lord of Ombos	the 19 th day of the third month of the <i>Shemu</i> season	---	<i>t3 wsht (n) bnr</i> “Broad Hall of the Encounter” (Grimm 1994: 131; El-Sabban 2000: 156)
	Horus, lord of Ombos	the 30 th day of the fourth month of the <i>Shemu</i> season	---	<i>wsht nt Hr Dḥwty</i> “Broad Hall of Horus and Thoth” (Junker 1942: 57)

				EL-Sabban 2000: 156
	Ta-senet-neferet and Hathor	7 th day of the second month of <i>Akhet</i> season + day 6 of the 1 st month of the <i>Peret</i> season + day 10 of the 4 th month of the <i>Peret</i> season		Birth House (El-Sabban 2000: 157)

6.2.4 Dendera:

6.2.4.1 Festivals using the Central Hall as Crossing Point:

6.2.4.1.1 Festival of Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadit:

The festival was celebrated on the first day of the first month, *Thoth*, of the *Akhet* season. According to a text (E V 349, 5-8) of the festival calendar of Hathor at Edfu, it states that (Grimm 1994: 20-21; El-Sabban 2000: 173): “This god and his ennead are taken out in their procession in their portable shrines; they stop at his Pure Place opposite the House of Re”. Three important points can be deduced from this text. Firstly, each god in the temple has a different ennead. Secondly, the Central Hall is used as a crossing point to reach the Pure Place. Finally, Priests carrying the portable shrines used the Central Hall. Nothing is mentioned about from which crypt the statue was taken. Additionally, the members of the god’s ennead are not listed. His ennead was mentioned in other festivals such as the festival of the first month of *Shemu*, New Moon (first day of the lunar month) (El-Sabban 2000: 176).

6.2.4.1.2 The Festival of the second of *Thoth*:

6.2.4.1.2.1 Temple Furniture:

In the festival of the second of *Thoth*, Ihy’s statue appears on his throne called *tjentayet*, flanked by two lions (Mam. D., pl. LXVI). On the fourth hour of that day, he is exposed to the public at the “gate of giving Maet” which could be the *Propylon* of Nectanebo before proceeding to the *mammisi* to perform other rituals and then returning back to the temple at 12 o’clock midnight (Preys 2001: 164).

6.2.4.1.2.2 Statues:

The statues used during these festivals were kept inside two crypts (Cauville 2002: 19): south (D V 153, 157) and east crypt (E) (D VI 91-92, 94). The procession heads from Chamber (I) to (H) and then to the axial chapel (J) and then to chamber (M) and then towards chapel (K) and then along the western part of the corridor towards the Central

Hall (Cauville 2002: 20, fig.4). The statue of Ihy arrives on the second day of *Thoth* on the fourth hour to the Hall of Offerings (Preys 2001: 161). Cauville (2002: 21) suggests that the procession stopped in the Central Hall as there is a scene on the eastern wall of the Central Hall [D-Ew-3-R3], where the king offers the two crowns to Ihy (D IV 71-72, pl. CCLXXIII; Cauville 2001: 138-139). Milk and the crowns played an important role in the transformation of the status of Ihy to be a king (Cauville 2002:20). R. Preys (2001:153-154) stressed on the same point by adding three additional scenes: being offered milk [D-Ww-R1-2] (D IV 82, 6-16, pl. CCLXXV), bracelets [D-Ww-R2-2] (D IV 85, 17-86, 10, pl. CCLXXV) and the *hh*-symbol [D-Ww-R3-2] (D IV 90, 14-91, 9, pl. CCLXXV). In these four scenes Ihy is shown as the sole receiver and the principal deity.

During his tour not only are there scenes depicted where he stopped but also hymns (D III 99-100; 105-106; D III 102, 106-107; Cauville 2002: 20-21). Hathor also participated in this festival (D III 101-102; Cauville 2002: 21). The two groups of statues used were:

- 1) Represented on the walls of the south crypts (D) and (E) (D V 145-160) which includes Horus *nb wrwt*, Horus *hn hrt*, Hathor *nb šwty* and Hathor *nbt Twnt*.
- 2) These statues that were used for the procession to the *mammisi* are probably those in the west crypt (E) (D VI 91-96) including: Ihy-noun, Ihy-wab, Khepri, Re, and Atum (Cauville 2002: 21). After coming outside from the Court of the New Year, they made a stop in the Central Hall as indicated by the scene of the third register of the western wall before heading to the *mammisi* (Daumas 1958: 268-272; Cauville 2000: 12-16).

It is worth noting that the old calendar of Hathor which is found at the temple of Edfu (Alliot 1949: 215) dates back to the reign of Ptolemy IX Soter II and Ptolemy X Alexander I (Alliot 1949: 202; E V 348, 4-353, 6; 354, 2-360, 2). Taking into consideration that the building of the temple of Dendera began in year 54 BC during the reign of Ptolemy XII Auletes, the question that can be raised is where were these festivals celebrated? Definitely there was a Dynastic temple in the same site and some blocks dating from the reign of Amenemhet were found in the Ptolemaic part of the temple of Isis (Cauville 2002: 65; Cauville 1992: 35-36). Additionally, there is also a

mention in this festival calendar of a building dating back to the reign of Senusert as on the day of the 27th of the third month of the *Shemu* season (Alliot 1949: 234-235). This text implies that this building was still in use and it disappeared from the calendar of the temple of Hathor. Furthermore, this calendar also mentions a kiosk of Ptolemy II on two different occasions: firstly, on the 28th day of the first month of *Akhet* (El-Sabban 2000: 175) and secondly, on the first day of the fourth month of the *Shemu* (El-Sabban 2000: 178). The foundation of this building could be the one situated on the east of the temple of Hathor (Cauville 2002: 66) which denotes that earlier buildings were used to celebrate the festivals of Hathor and then they disappeared (Alliot 1949: 268). The text implies that there was another temple of Hathor which does not exist anymore and thus this festival calendar falls out of the scope of this work (Alliot 1949: 236, footnote 3; Chassinat 1931: 300).

6.2.4.1.3 Festival of Sokar:

The festival calendar of Dendera mentions two processions on the same day, the 26th day of the fourth month of *Khoiak*. The first procession for Sokar heads towards the Mansion of Horus. The second one for Hathor, lady of Dendera heads towards the temple roof accompanied by her ennead and then her return back (Grimm 1994: 65; El-Sabban 2000: 182-183). There is no mention of an ennead during that festival calendar. The differences between the processions undertaken during the same festival denote that every temple has its own version of rituals performed during the same festival. This is also another difficulty dealing with the festivals as generalising the rituals performed for the same festivals in different temples is problematic.

6.2.4.1.4 Festival of the Birth of Isis:

This festival, which was celebrated to commemorate the birth of Isis, took place on the fourth epagomenal day. The festival calendars of Edfu (El-Sabban 2000: 178; Grimm 1994: 145) and Dendera (El-Sabban 2000: 184; Grimm 1994: 145) ascribe that day to Hathor and not to Isis and Kom Ombo (El-Sabban 2000: 159; Grimm 1994: 145) mentioned that festival. The texts of one of the crypts of Isis give details that point at the usage of the Central Hall of Dendera as a crossing point two times.

The texts of the southern crypt no. 1 of Dendera inscribed on the western side of the corridor of entrance mentions that on the fourth day of the epagomenal days the king opens the doors of the chamber called ʿ3wt ny ʿt imnt n(t) ḥwt-ʿb(w) “the doors of the chamber hidden in the Mansion of Purification” and he performed several rituals (D V 118, 2; Waitkus: 1997: 95; Cauville 2004: 208-209).

The priests carry the animal statues of Hathor and Isis which were made out of gold and one cubit long from the south crypt (D) where they were stored (D V 86-90; Cauville 2002: 23). These statues include: Horus, Horus-sema-tawy, Osiris and Horus son of Isis (Cauville 2002: 23). The procession of that festival started from the Chapel of *Pr-nsr*, then went to chapel of *ḥwt-sḥm*, then to the chapel of *ḥwt-mshnt* and then to the Central Hall to cross it to get into the *Wabet*. Then the procession comes back to the Central Hall to the outside of the temple heading to the temple of Isis (Cauville 2002: 22-24, fig.5).

6.2.4.1.4.1 Statues:

Ch.6-Doc.15:

Type: text.

Location: western side of the corridor of entrance-south crypt no.1.

Bibliography: D V 118, 5; PM VI 86 (62)-(63); Daumas 1951: 391; Waitkus 1997: 96; Cauville 2004: 208-209.



ḏrtyw wrw m-irty.s

“The great fundamental gods are around her”.

According to this text the statue of Isis was carried outside of the crypt with other statues of other deities. It does not reveal the members of the deities accompanying her in her procession towards the outside of the crypt. The members of her ennead were called *ḏrtyw wrw* “the great fundamental gods” or “Göttervorfahren” (Waitkus 1997: 96). While lifting the statue to go outside the crypt to its final destination to the roof of the temple, spells from a religious book called “carrying her statue” were recited (D V

118, 4; Daumas 1951: 391; Waitkus 1997: 95; Cauville 2004: 208-209). Additionally, the king carries the censer to cense her way with her fragrance (D V 118, 6; Daumas 1951: 391; Waitkus 1997: 96; Cauville 2004: 208-209).

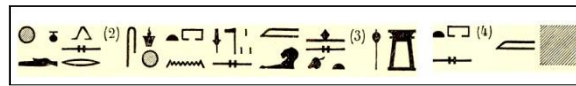
6.2.4.1.4.2 Course of movement:

Ch.6-Doc.16:

Type: text.

Location: western side of the corridor of entrance-south crypt no.1.

Bibliography: D V 119, 2-3; PM VI 86 (62)-(63); Daumas 1951: 392; Waitkus 1997: 96; Cauville 2004: 208-209.



hnd.s r sbht nt shm.w.s m h3t htp.s hnt hdt.s m [htp]

“She (Isis) returns to the chamber of her statues (where) she rests in her shrine in [peace]”.

This text points out that the statue was taken alone without the portable shrine. This interpretation is reinforced by another text which mentions that her statue was carried to the kiosk on the roof of the temple. It also mentions the return of the statue of Isis to the first place where it was taken from.

6.2.4.1.4.3 Priests:

The texts of Dendera, stated below Ch.6-Doc.18, mentions a number of priests involved in the procession of the festival who perform specific duties. Those priests accompany the procession and therefore they were also in the presence of the goddess while crossing the Central Hall. Those priests according to the following documents are:

Ch.6-Doc.17:

Type: text.

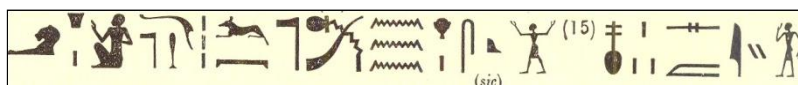
Location: western side of the corridor of entrance-south crypt no.1.

[illegible]

“The chief lector priest reads out with sacredness, recites the ritual service book with his spells”.

Type: text.

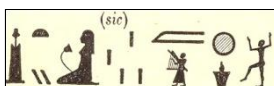
Bibliography: D V 118, 10; PM VI 86 (62)-(63); Daumas 1951: 392; Waitkus 1997: 96; Cauville 2004: 208-209.



“The governor, the overseer of the priests, master of secrets, the god’s purifier exalting her beauty in adoration”.

Type: text.

Bibliography: D V 119, 2; PM VI 86 (62)-(63); Daumas 1951: 392; Waitkus 1997: 96; Cauville 2004: 208-209.



“The musicians (participate) with music and dance”.

These three documents provide vital information about the type of priests participating in the procession of the goddess. They also draw a lively picture about the roles of each type of priest. As for Ch.6-Doc.17, it mentions the role of the chief lector priest who recites the rituals from a service book. Regarding Ch.6-Doc.18, it shows four types of priests taking part in the festival to be precise the governor, the overseer of the priests, master of secrets, and the purifier who exalts the beauty of the goddess. According to Ch.6-Doc.19, Musicians are also present to play their music and dance.

From the festivals and processions mentioned above of the goddess Hathor in the temple Dendera, it can be deduced that only one form of the goddess Hathor is mentioned in these festivals. There is a focus mainly on the stopping places during the procession of the festival. The majority of these texts are silent regarding the priests involved in the procession and whether the barque of the goddess was used or not.

6.2.4.1.5 Other Festivals using the Central Hall as a Crossing Point:

There are other festivals in the temple of Dendera where the Central Hall was used also as a crossing point, but the actual course of movement cannot be established with precision as the texts do not provide enough information.

Table 6.2: Festivals during which the Central Hall was used as a crossing point-Dendera

Festival	Deity	Time/Date	Ennead/ priests	Place of stop of procession
---	Hathor	first hour/ 5 th day of the 2 nd month of the <i>Akhet</i> season	---	The great Broad Hall (El-Sabban 2000: 182)
---	Hathor	19 th day of the first month of <i>Peret</i> season	Ennead	<i>Pronaos</i> + The kiosk of the quay
---	Hathor	the 21 st day of the first month of the <i>Akhet</i> season	Ennead	great heavenly vault (temple-roof)

				(El-Sabban 2000: 183)
---	Hathor	Third hour the New Moon (first day) of the 4 th month of the <i>Peret</i> season + 28 th day of the 4 th month of the <i>Peret</i> season	Ennead	The Birth House (El-Sabban 2000: 183)
Feast of the New Moon	Horus, the great god, lord of Khadit	1 st Day on the fourth month of the <i>Peret</i> season	Shemsw priests	(El-Sabban 2000: 183)
---	Hathor	11 th day of the <i>Shemu</i> season	---	(El-Sabban 2000: 183)
---	Hathor	the 27 th day of the 2 nd month of <i>Shemu</i>	---	(El-Sabban 2000: 183-184)
---	Hathor	3 rd hour the 4 th month of the <i>Shemu</i> season	Ennead	The great Broad Hall (El-Sabban 2000: 184)
---	Hathor	27 th day of the 4 th month of the <i>Shemu</i> season	Ennead	The Hall of Appearance El-Sabban 2000: 184

6.2.4.2 Festivals using the Central Hall for chanting hymns:

6.2.4.2.1 Festival of the New Year:

The text of the festival of the New Year comes mainly from two main sources i.e. a text inscribed on the southern crypt no. 1 in the temple of Dendera (Traunecker 1994: 38;

Daumas 1977: col. 468) and another text engraved on the southern doorjamb of the second western room (D III 133-134; Cauville 2000: 232-237; Cauville 2002: 40).

As for the text of the southern crypt no. 1, it mentions that it is *ḥb n wts ḥꜥw* “the festival of the presentation of the crowns” (D V 116, 11; Daumas 1951: 385; Waitkus 1997: 94; Cauville 2004: 206-207), however, at the end of the text, it is revealed that this text is connected to the festival of the New Year *ḥb.s nfr tp rnpt* “her (Hathor) beautiful festival at the beginning of the year” (D V 117, 5; Daumas 1951: 388; Waitkus 1997: 94; Cauville 2004: 206-207).

6.2.4.2.1.1 Statues:

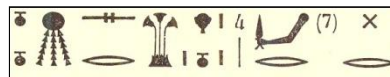
The statue of Hathor is mentioned twice in the texts of the southern crypt no.1 as stated by the following documents.

Ch.6-Doc.20:

Type: text.

Location: eastern side of the entrance of the corridor of the southern crypt no.1.

Bibliography: D V 116, 13; PM VI 86 (60)-(61); Waitkus 1997: 94; Cauville 2004: 206-207.



wbn.s r-h3 m dsr wr

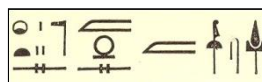
“She appears in procession in great sacredness”.

Ch.6-Doc.21:

Type: text.

Location: eastern side of the entrance of the corridor of the southern crypt no.1.

Bibliography: D V 117, 3; PM VI 86 (60)-(61); Daumas 1951: 387; Waitkus 1997: 94; Cauville 2004: 206-207.



psdt.s m šnw.s m wnmy.s i3by.(s)

“Her ennead is around her on her right and on her left”.

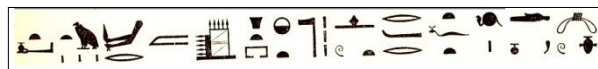
As in previous instances neither the members of the ennead are listed nor the name of the ennead. It is only referred to her ennead as *psdt.s*.

Ch.6-Doc.22:

Type: text.

Location: the southern doorjamb of the second western room (Chamber L = Chapel of the *menit*-collar).

Bibliography: D III 133, 14; PM VI 73 173 (a)-(b); Cauville 2000: 234-235; Cauville 2002: 40.



mwt mwwt dsr m-hnw wsht-Psdt htp r-hn^c it.t R^c di n.f 3wt-ib

“The mother of the mothers (Hathor) is inside the Hall of the Ennead, resting and uniting with your father, Re, giving to him happiness”.

This text shows that a statue of Hathor is brought to the Central Hall; however, it does not state which form of Hathor is involved. Nevertheless, as this is a part of a hymn, it was addressed to Hathor the great, lady of Iunet, eye of Re, lady of the sky, mistress of all the gods, lady of the universe among the gods, lady of terror among the ennead” implying that this is the main deity of the temple (D III 133, 7-8; Cauville 2000: 232-233). It should be noted that the other hymn inscribed on the northern doorjamb mentions another form of Hathor that is “lady of Iunet, the Menit” (DIII 133, 17; Cauville 2000: 235). It should be stressed that the former form of Hathor is the one connected to the Central Hall and not the latter. Cauville notes that this hymn was recited during the festival of the 1st of *Thoth* by the priests (Cauville 2002: 39).

It is quite apparent from epigraphic and iconographic evidence that the statue appears from one of the crypts underneath the temple. The statues of Hathor and her ennead participated in the festival (Cauville 2002: 33; see plate 3.17). Despite the fact that

Cauville pointed out that there were only three forms of Hathor participating in the festival, she did not point out to the disappearance of her fourth form from the procession (2002: 35). She believes that the statues of Hathor were taken from chamber (A) east crypt (2002: 35; D V 3-6). Additionally, the statues of Horus-sema-tawy were kept in chambers (F) and (G) of the eastern crypt (Cauville 2002: 35). Due to the numerous statues of Horus-sema-tawy represented in these chambers, it is difficult to determine with precision which statues participated in the New Year Festival (Cauville 2002: 35). On the other hand, the statues of Isis, Osiris and Ihy were kept in the southern crypt which has access to the Court of the New Year (Cauville 2002: 35).

The crypts of Dendera are quite different from those of Edfu as those of the latter were not inscribed. The texts of the crypts state that the statue of Hathor which was involved in the festival of the New Year resided in the southern crypt no. 1 (Daumas 1977: col. 468; Daumas 1951: 386-387). This statue was kept all year around to be used only for that special festival. The crypts of Dendera have many texts and representations which describe statues of Hathor and other divinities. It seems that the statue residing in the sanctuary of the temple of Dendera did not leave the temple to participate in festivals and processions. This is in accordance with the fact that in Dynastic Egypt, there was a statue for the sanctuary which was called *sšm imnw* (*dsrw*) “hidden (sacred) image” and another one for the processions especially during the oracles which was referred to in the texts as *sšm hw* “protected image” or *ntr pn šps/ntrt tn špst* “this venerable god/goddess” (Kruchten 1997: 28-29; Kruchten 1989: 36-37, 40, 253, footnote 4; Kruchten 1986: 27, footnote 2, 28, footnote 1, 29-30, 32, 118, 337-339; Stadler 2008: 3). It seems that the functions of the crypts in Edfu were different from those of Dendera (Traunecker 1986: 571) judging from the number of the accessing points of the crypts of Edfu which are few compared to those of Dendera. It seems that some of them were connected to celebrations of Osiris during the month of *Khoiak* while others were probably connected to the leg of Osiris (Traunecker 1994: 39).

6.2.4.2.1.2 Course of movement:

The procession moves then towards the outside of the crypt and the next stopping point mentions which is *st-ḥb-tpy* “the Place of the First Festival” (D V 117, 2; Daumas 1951: 387; Waitkus 1997: 94; Cauville 2004: 206-207). Despite the fact that this term was

used to refer to two places, one of them is a kiosk on the roof of the temple and the other is the court of the *W^cbt* nevertheless, the Central Hall has to be crossed in either case. The second and last stopping point is when it returned to her starting place in the crypt.

6.2.4.2.1.3 Temple Furniture:

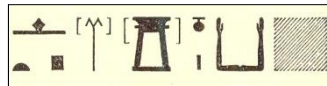
The statue of Hathor the great, lady of Iunet was placed on a litter/support as attested in the following texts.

Ch.6-Doc.23:

Type: text.

Location: eastern side of the entrance of the corridor of the southern crypt no.1.

Bibliography: D V 117, 6; PM VI 86 (60)-(61); Daumas 1951: 388; Waitkus 1997: 95; Cauville 2004: 206-207.



ḥtp m k3r n k3.[s]

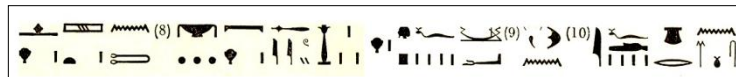
“Resting in the *naos* of her ka”.

Ch.6-Doc.24:

Type: text.

Location: eastern side of the entrance of the corridor of the southern crypt no.1.

Bibliography: D V 116, 13-14; PM VI 86 (60)-(61); Daumas 1951: 386-387; Waitkus 1997: 94; Cauville 2004: 206-207.



ḥtp ḥr š n nbw pt ḥr ʿ3w ḥrtp.f fdw m ʿywt nt ifdw ḥr nms

“Resting upon the litter of gold, a dais is placed on the columns upon it, the four rings on the four sides containing hangings of fine linen”.

The description of this support resembles that of Horus in the temple of Edfu which is remarkable and the text is almost identical. It denotes that both of the deities have the same portable chapel as indicated by the description provided in the text.

A shrine is used to shelter the statue of the goddess during the procession (D VIII 83, 12). The scenes of the litter of Hathor during the festival look different from that mentioned in the text (Alliot 1949: 329).

6.2.4.2.1.4 Priests:

Ch.6-Doc.25:

Type: text.

Location: the southern doorjamb of room L of Chassinat.

Bibliography: D III 133, 14; PM VI 73 (173) (a)-(b); Cauville 2000: 224-225.


$$Mrwt\ hs.sn\ n\ hmt.t$$

“The musicians, they play the harp for your majesty”.

According to the text musician priests were involved in the procession of Hathor and they were playing a musical instrument which is not her favourite i.e. the *sistrum* or the *menit*. Perhaps because of her title which mentions that she is *nbt ihy n gs-prw* “the lady of music in the temples” (D III 133, 10-11; Cauville 2000: 234-235) which implies any musical instrument.

Some priests of Dendera were depicted on the lintels of the doors of the two chapels *Pr-nw* Chamber (H) i.e. who appeases her majesty, Ihy who is united with life, the young man of the young lady, servant of the lord of Upper Egypt and servant of Sema-tawy (D II 197-198; pl. CLIV; Cauville 1999a: 296-297; Preys 2002a: 3-11) and *Pr-nsr* Chamber (M) i.e. who unites the forms of eldest one, who provision the two lands to the one who makes her *bas* live, servant of Sema-tawy, the young man of the young lady and who unites the two lands (D III 163, pl. CCXXXI; Cauville 2000: 278-279; Preys

2002a: 257-259) on either side of the axial chapel. They are depicted carrying offerings and following the king to present it to Hathor (D II 197-198; D III 163-164; Cauville 2002: 38).

These priests are also depicted participating in the processions of the festival of the New Year carrying different emblems of the deities (Preys 2002a: 5-11). This indicates the chapels from where the procession came from as it was divided into two groups each on either side of the corridor. For the direction of the procession of the New Year, it started from chapel of *Pr-nsr* and proceeded to the axial chapel, *Pr-wr*, towards chapel of *Pr-nw* and then to the western side of the corridor, to chapels (E) and then (D) respectively. It went on to the Central Hall where a hymn [D-Ww-R1+2-H] was chanted (D IV 82, 2-5) and then to the *Wabet* (Cauville 2002: 42, fig. 9).

The modern statues for two forms of Hathor i.e. *hry st-wrt* and *t3-mnit* were made out of gold and one cubit long which participated in the festival of the New Year and were placed inside eastern crypt no. 1 chamber (A) (D V 4-5; Cauville 2002: 104-105).

It is worth noting that the festival also started with a procession during which the king or the high priest acting on his behalf marched with other priests towards the crypts to collect the statues. The Central Hall was also used as a crossing point at this point during these festivals. A text, found in one of the crypts, mentions that during the festival of the New Year (D V 116-117; Daumas 1951: 384-400; Cauville 2002: 35) the king reached this particular crypt with the statues to collect the statue of Hathor before going outside the temple to perform the rituals of the festival. Another remark is that the first stop of some festivals was mentioned to be *nwt wsh't wrt*. M. Alliot translated the term as “Grande voûte du ciel” and suggested that it designated the chapel on the roof of the temple (1949: 243) while S. Cauville considered that the term referred to “toit” or “salle hypostyle” (2002: 56-57, 59). On the other hand W. Waitkus believes that the term refers to the temple roof (1997: 250, 47). El-sabban agreed with Waitkus and considered this term to be the “great heavenly vault = temple roof” (2000: 182). A third remark regarding the temple of Horus is mentioned twice in that calendar on the 26th day of *Khoiak* and on the 27th of *Paoni* where it was visited by the deities when this temple existed at Dendera and at Edfu (Chassinat 1927: 298-308; Alliot 1949: 252-253). As for Grimm, the term means “Tempeldach der Großen Halle” (1994: 23, 225 J1 (i)).

As for the statues of the deities participating during the festival of the New Moon of *Pakhons*, they were kept and taken out from the eastern crypts (G) and (F) situated underneath the chapel of Horus-sema-tawy. Another text connected with the festival is inscribed in chapel (F) (Cauville 2002: 18; D V 31-32). Cauville suggested that all of the statues of the deities represented on the walls of these two chambers participated in the festival of the New Moon of *Pakhons* and also took part in other festivals of a funerary nature such as the festivals of 10th of *Thoth* and the 30th of *Paophi* (2002: 19). The names of the crypts reflect the idea of being a storing place for the statues: *st šṯt nt sšpw nw ḥwt-s3-t3* (D V 34) and *sbḥt ḥw šḥmw nw ḥwt-sm3-t3wy* (D V 45; Waitkus 1997: 79; Cauville 2002: 18, footnote 18).

6.2.4.2.2 Festival of Drunkenness:

Despite the fact that almost all of the sources mentions the date of this festival as the 20th of *Thoth* (Spalinger 1993: 297-300; Spalinger 2002: 244; E V 70, 6; D V 76, 1; D VIII 9, 12; 45, 13; 66, 14; 82,5), there is only one source, the calendar of Hathor at the temple of Edfu (old calendar), which states that it takes place from the 18th till the 20th of *Thoth* (E V 329, 3; Cauville 2002: 50). There are three dates to celebrate drunkenness: 1) 1st of *Thoth* (D V 126, 7). 2) 20th of *Thoth* (D V 131, 15; D V 121, 5) which is the main one (Cauville 2002: 51). 3) 5th of *Paophi* (D V 134, 15; D V 121, 5) (Preys 2007a: 40-49).

The statues which participated in the festivals of drunkenness were kept in the south crypt no. 1 Chambers (A) *ḥwt sššt* and (B) *ḥwt-mnit* (Cauville 2002: 51). As for the 5th of *Paophi*, Chamber (F) (D VI 97, 6) is where some statues were used during that specific festival (Cauville 2002: 51). Concerning the direction of the procession during the festival of the 20th of *Thoth*, it started from the chapel of *Pr-nsr* then proceeded to the axial chapel (*Pr-wr*) towards the chapel of *Pr-nw* and then to the eastern side of the corridor where it went to the chapel of *W^crt-ḥpr-ḥ3t* then it returned all the way back to the southern corridor and then to the western side of the corridor where it went to the chapel of *ḥwt-w^cb* and then to the Central Hall from where it entered the Court of the New Year (Cauville 2002: 55, fig. 14).

Additionally, some scenes inside the Central Hall are connected to a ritual called “nomination” that took part during the festival of the 20th of *Thoth* which is held mainly in the chapel of *W^crt-hpr-h3t* (Cauville 2002: 52, fig. 13).

The first scene [D-Ww-R4-3] shows the king presenting beer in *nw*-jar to Hathor while Horus of Edfu is standing behind her (D IV 94-95; pl. CCLXXV).

The second scene [D-Ew-R4-1], which is depicted on the eastern wall, also shows the king offering beer while Re-Horakhty stands before him playing the *sistrum* for Hathor. The hymn [D-EW1-R4-H] inscribed before him was recited during the festival of the 1st of *Thoth* (Cauville 2002: 37, 56; Cauville 2001: 144-145; D IV 75-76; pl. CCLXXIII).

As the hymn refers to Hathor as the lady of drunkenness and the offering of the two *nw*-jars connects her with the festival of drunkenness, there is no definite answer whether it was also used during the two festivals of the 1st and the 20th of *Thoth*.

According to the large Festival Calendar of Dendera (El-Sabban 2000: 182), at the tenth hour of the festival of the 20th of *Thoth*, Hathor’s procession including her ennead went to the roof of the temple.

6.2.4.2.3 The Festival of the First of Epiphi (Happy Union):

It was celebrated on the 1st day of *Epiphi* and during it Hathor navigated to visit the temple of Horus at Edfu. It was mentioned in both the old calendar in Edfu (E V 358-359) and the small calendar of Dendera (D VI 158). Additionally, a third text mentioned the name of the festival and the date precisely (D I 20; Cauville 1998: 40-41; Cauville 2002: 60). A statue of Hathor, lady of Iunet, the *menit* made of gold and one cubit long was kept in the eastern crypt in chamber (A) (Cauville 2002: 60, fig.16). This statue participated in the annual festival and sailed to Edfu. Additionally, other statues which joined the festival were kept, as mentioned in the text inscribed on the lintel of the door of the eastern crypt, in chamber (C) (Cauville 2002: 61; D V 14, 16). Her ennead accompanied her while she was in her sacred bark *wts-nfrw*. Two hymns [D-EDJ-H], and [D-WDJ-H] inscribed on either side of the thickness of the doorjambs of the Central Hall were chanted during the procession towards the Hypostyle Hall (Gutbub 1986:

403; Cauville 2002: 62; D IV 44-46) (see 4.6.3.4; 4.6.3.5). That means the Central Hall was used as a crossing point and hymns were recited while the procession was in it denoting a cultic function as well.

6.2.4.3 Festival using the Central Hall for Offerings:

This is the only one festival in the Festival Calendar of Hathor in the temple of Edfu which mentions the Central Hall of Dendera being used for placing offerings for Hathor together with her ennead. This takes place during the festival of the 8th day of *Paophi* (Grimm 1994: 36-37, 377).

The text states that:



sw 8 h^c in hwt-hr [nbt Twnt hn^c psdt.s] ir nty-^c.sn htp m Wts-h^cw ir wdn m t hnkt k3w
3pdw ht nfr(t) nb(t)

“day 8, appearance of Hathor [lady of Dendera together with her ennead] doing their ritual, resting in the *Wts-h^cw*, offering consisting of bread, beer, oxen and fowls and every good thing”.

6.2.4.4 Festival using the Central Hall as a Resting Place:

Another festival mentioned in the Festival Calendar of Hathor in the temple of Dendera is the festival of the Birth of Horus on the fifth epagomenal day (Grimm 1944: 142-143). During that festival, Hathor together with her ennead heads towards the Central Hall until night where she rests there. The Central Hall is referred to in the text also as *Wts-h^cw*.

Some points should be taken into consideration after mentioning these two festivals.

Firstly, the designation used to refer to the place where Hathor rests in both of these festivals is *Wts-h^cw*. In the first festival of the 8th day of *Paophi*, El-Sabban reads this designation as “bark-sanctuary” (2000: 174).

Secondly, in the festival of the fifth epagomenal day, El-Sabban reads this designation as *st* (?) which denotes uncertain sign (2000: 178) and hence translated it as “place” and not as *Wts* as read by Grimm in both cases.

Thirdly, the designation is mentioned in both the temples of Edfu (see 6.2.2.2) and Dendera which denotes that this place exists in both temples. Based on the fact that this place exists in both temples and that it is used to refer to the Central Hall. Hence, it points out to the Central Hall. This also denotes that the Central Hall of the temple of Edfu was referred to as *Wts-hw*.

6.3 Central Hall and Daily Offering Rituals:

With the lack of epigraphic evidence, it seems that the Central hall of Philae was used as a crossing point by the priest in order to perform the daily ritual inside the sanctuary. The role of the Central Hall of the temple of Edfu during the daily rituals is completely vague due to the lack of texts. It can be deduced that the Central Hall was the same as Philae. A theory proposed by M. Alliot (1949: 312) and followed by H. Fairman (1954: 179) and B. Watterson (1988: 82) that some of the offerings after being prepared in the kitchen of the temple were carried to be placed in the Central Hall to be consumed by the statues of the co-templar deities whose shrines were housed here is questionable. This does not depend on any epigraphic or pictorial evidence ever mentioned by them. The statues of the co-templar deities are supposed to be following the *Naos* of the main deity during different processions and there is no textual evidence that these statues were carried there during the daily rituals as well. Nevertheless, one might recall the case of Edfu during one of the festivals the Central Hall was used as an offering place to the main deity with his ennead.

The certain fact is that the Central Hall is used by the high-priest of the temple and other priests to assist in the daily rituals carried out inside the sanctuary. It was used also as a waiting area before the high priest of the temple proceeded into the sanctuary. Additionally during the evening service the Central Hall was used again as a crossing area as the service took place in the Chapel of the Throne of Re (Watterson 1988: 84). It seems that the function ascribed to the temple of Edfu as a place where the daily

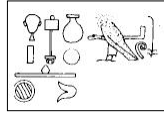
offerings were placed without epigraphic evidence is proved to be evident for the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera as stated by the following document.

Ch.6-Doc.26:

Type: text.

Location: the Lower Band of Text-the western wall of the *Naos*.

Bibliography: Cauville 1990: 101-102, pl. II; PM VI 78 (238)-(247).



ḥr wbn ḥtp ḥr.(i)m(i).s

“To shine and set therein (Central Hall)”

This text does not denote any presentation of offerings in contrast to Cauville’s translation “(Making the service of offering of) morning and night therein” (1990: 102) is particularly significant as it might shed light on a new function for the Central Hall of Dendera as it is the place of offerings for the divine *kas* of Dendera according to Ch.6-Doc.26 for the morning and night service only and not three times. Based on this text this function is not certain.

6.4 Discussion:

Generally, festivals and their processions can be divided into different categories depending upon either their location whether within the temple building, and inside or outside the temple precinct or their geographical importance or impact whether national, regional and local (Coppens 2009: 2). Another classification distinguishes the festival into eight types according to: their nature whether agrarian or for the dead, their time of festivals, the season of the year, family seasons, connected with important events in life, in honour of mythical divine figures, and to commemorate events (Bleeker 1967: 24). The best example for the latter is the festival established by Ramesses III to commemorate his victory over the Meshwesh (Spalinger 2001b: 522).

Each temple in ancient Egypt celebrated certain festivals during certain times of the year whether locally connected to the specific temple or national festivals celebrated all over the country. Consequently, festivals can be regarded as enactments of religious renewal (Bleeker 1967: 6). The names of the festivals are usually mentioned together with the dates and the rituals performed during these festivals in some texts. These texts are widely known as the festival calendars of the temple. Both the festival calendars and the texts connected with the festivals of the investigated temples have been the focus of the study of many scholars. M. Alliot studied the festivals of the temple of Edfu (1949; 1954). É. Chassiant examined the festival of the Mysteries of Osiris in the Month of *Khoiak* (1966; 1968). G. Grimm investigated the festival calendars of Edfu, Dendera and Kom Ombo in addition to Esna (1994). S. El-Sabban studied the Pharaonic festivals calendars in addition to those of the Ptolemaic and Roman ones (2000: 169-185). S. Cauville focused mainly on the festivals of Dendera (2002) and following her R. Preys concentrated his study on some festivals from Dendera (1999: 259-268; 2002a: 555-570; 2007b: 111-122). Additionally, some other scholars focused on only one festival as (Kurth 1994b: 211-216; Kurth 1994c: 93-100; Kurth & Waitkus 1994: 49-51) in addition to Corthals (2003) who concentrated on the Festival of the New Year in the Ptolemaic temples of Upper Egypt i.e. Edfu, Dendera and Philae.

A classification of the festival calendars according to the usage of the Central Hall:

There are three main categories of festivals mentioned in the texts and the festival calendars of the investigated temples where the Central Hall was used in the festivals.

The first group includes festivals that do not mention any of the places where the festivals took place and not any other information connected to these festivals. The Central Hall during these festivals was used as a crossing point. Under this category the following festivals can be grouped:

a) All the festivals mentioned in the festival calendars of the studied temples, which only mention the date of the festival, and the period they lasted for. The names of the festivals are not even mentioned e.g. the festivals mentioned in the small calendar of Horus found in the east outer doorjamb of the Central Hall of the temple of Edfu where

only the dates of the festivals are mentioned (E I 359, 16-19; El-Sabban 2000: 169; Alliot 1949: 205-206; Grimm 1994: 19-147).

b) Festivals that mention the period that the festival lasted for, the rituals performed in honour of the deity whom the festival was celebrated for and the name of the festival. For example, “the festival of Hathor” was celebrated on the second month of the summer season, day 1 (El-Sabban 2000: 177). Additionally, the festivals which the festival calendar mentions only their dates and their names such as “the festival of Robing” celebrated on the first day of the first month of the Akhet season (El-Sabban 2000: 181).

This is one of the functions of the Central Hall for the circulation inside the temple. Despite the fact that this was pointed out by the texts of the Festival Calendars, one cannot think that such festivals were silent in terms of chanting hymns. Taking into consideration at the same time that there should be a balance between the ritual offering depicted and the hymns inscribed in the Central Hall, one can understand that it was not possible to cover the walls of the Central Halls with all the hymns chanted during all the festivals which took place in the Central Halls or even used the Central Halls. Thus, it is not feasible to find out evidence about which priests attended which festival, which rituals were carried out and which temple furniture was used as they are never mentioned in a text or depicted on a wall.

The second group comprises of festivals where the texts mention the usage of the Central Hall. These festivals are not in the festival calendars but are mainly in scattered texts in some of the studied temples. During these festivals the Central Hall was not only used as a crossing point but also, hymns were to be chanted there which denotes the liturgical function of the Central Hall.

The third group of festivals used the Central Hall for placing offerings and a resting point. This can be noticed in the case of the temples of Edfu in the second epagomenal day (see 6.2.2.3) and Dendera during the festival of the 8th of *Paophi* (see 6.2.4.3) where the Central Halls were used to place the offerings. In addition, the Central Hall of Dendera was used as a resting place for Hathor on the fifth epagomenal day (see

6.2.4.4). In the light of the epigraphic evidence, some of these functions of the Central Hall cannot be applied to the other temples as there is no evidence.

During these three categories, different kinds of priests had access to this important part of the temple. These priests were carrying statues of the main deity of the temple and the ennead of that deity. Additionally, other staffs and insignias were also carried. The most important festival was the New Year Festival as a large number of the clergy participated in this festival and also judging from the areas allocated to depict such festival especially in the temples of Edfu and Dendera.

Other usage of the Central Hall during the daily offering rituals and other cult rituals:

The Central Hall is used also to present offerings to the divine *kas* of Dendera a term used to refer to Hathor and her ennead during the daily offering rituals (see Ch.6-Doc.26); however, the case is not certain. One more point to mention, that the Central Hall is also a very important crossing point to enable the clergy to get into the Sanctuary of the temples to perform the rituals of the daily cult. Based on epigraphic and iconographic evidence, different types of priests were allowed to access this area of the temple especially during the festivals and the zenith of these festivals is the Festival of the New Year. As for the temple furniture, it consisted mainly of statues of the deities, their shrines, litters and the staffs and emblems as well. Taking into consideration the frequency of the festivals in each temple, it seems that the Central Hall was a very busy place all year around.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the Central Halls of the Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic period in different aspects depending on the compatibility of the epigraphic and the iconographic evidence gathered mainly from these halls. In addition, the exploring process had to go beyond the borders of the halls to get more evidence and to speculate upon these evidences within the frame work of this thesis. Accordingly, in the preceding chapters, the research questions, proposed in chapter one, are attempted to be answered.

As for the second chapter, an investigation of the earliest example of the Central Hall is presented. The potential Central Halls in both the Dynastic period and the Ptolemaic period are examined including a critique for previous theories about the Central Halls that have been put forward. It has been pointed out in chapter two that the *3h-mnw* of King Thuthmosis III of the 18th Dynasty at Karnak may be a prototype of the later Central Halls in position and function. Architecturally, the shape of the hall corresponds to the predecessors of the Ptolemaic period, but the appearance of the columns is the difference as well as the fact that it is connected to the bark sanctuary and not the sanctuary of the temple. Functionally, there are allusions from the documents mentioned that it has many roles to fulfil within the Great Temple of Karnak and one of them is to house the Ennead of Karnak.

Regarding the evolution of the Central Hall in the Egyptian Temples of the Ptolemaic Period, it seems that the model plan of the Central Hall is consistent throughout the period as it is a transversal in shape and does not contain any columns or pillars. Although the plan of the temple of Philae is different because it does not have an ambulatory around the sanctuary such a change did not affect either the shape of the Central Hall or its location.

It is worth noting that the location of the Central Hall in the studied temples as located between the Sanctuary and the Hall of Offerings on the main axis cannot be applied as a general pattern to the rest of the temples. It is a fact that according to the epigraphic evidence that the Central Hall possesses such a location where it existed and it never appeared in any other location. One of the terms used to refer to it, *hryt-ib*, was used to refer to other localities in the temple with a different function. The factors that control the existence of the Central Hall in the first place are the size of the temple which is

surely influenced by the economic resources and the need for that hall for the usage of the cult of deity which in return are managed by the priests. Thus, the location of the Central Hall should be determined mainly by the epigraphic evidence.

Concerning the designations of the temples, there is no doubt that there is no single term that was used to refer to the Central Hall consistently starting from the Dynastic period through the Ptolemaic period and ending with the Roman period. The most two frequent terms used to refer to the Central Hall in the Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic period are: *hryt-ib* and *wsht-psdt*. The influence of the local mythology of the temple has affected some of the terms used to refer to some of them and they were only confined to a particular temple i.e. Edfu. The usage of the term *hryt-ib* for other chambers inside the temple having different locations and functions reveals that it has a wider meaning. The primary idea of the *hryt-ib* is to be in the middle of the buildings.

Having pointed out to the sole example of a Central Hall during the Roman period, it is obvious that the hall in question did not get out of fashion and was still used in a small sized building i.e. the Roman *Mammisi* of Dendera.

Chapter three focused on the epigraphic evidence of the connection of a group or two groups of deities connected with the Central Hall i.e. an ennead or more. The ennead of the main deity of the temple as in the case of Edfu and Dendera was carried in their portable chapels during the festivals and part of their rituals was performed in the Central Hall. One ennead in Edfu, the Ennead of Mesen was following Horus the Behdetite during the festivals. The identity of the members of that ennead is beyond reach since the texts of the temple of Edfu do not reveal it.

Concerning Dendera, two enneads were connected to its Central Hall i.e. the Ennead of the *Ntryt* and the Ennead of *3htyt*. The former is the one whose statues were carried in their portable chapels to follow Hathor in her processions during the festivals. The latter is the one whose representations are depicted on the walls of the Central Hall. The Ennead of the *Ntryt* is referred to with a series of epithets such as: *k3w ntrw n K3b-T3wy*. The number of its members fluctuates between ten, eleven or twelve due to artistic reasons. During the Roman period, the number of this ennead is fixed and appears with twelve members. The Ennead of *3htyt* is represented on the walls of the Central Hall.

Following the epigraphic evidence, an analysis was made on the deities depicted on the walls of the Central Halls of Edfu and Dendera so as to find out the ennead connected with each temple. It turned out that in the case of Dendera, where the members of the ennead are identified, these members were not represented on the walls of the Central Hall.

With the lack of epigraphic evidence in the case of the Central Halls of Philae and Kom Ombo, a conclusive answer cannot be reached in their cases. Additionally, the part of the *Book of the Temple* dealing with the deities that should be represented in the Central Hall is in bad condition and cannot be determined yet with certainty.

Furthermore, the iconographic evidence of the deities represented on the walls of Central Hall was examined. The different forms and their aspects which can be reflected through their epithets were examined. Having a study of this iconographic evidence has revealed that the deities represented on the walls of the Central Halls are not the members of the ennead of the main deity of the temple as stated by epigraphic evidence. The appearance of the deified Queen Arsinoe II in the Central Hall of Philae as a sole example is remarkable. There is no evidence to show whether this was done by the priests on their own initiative to curry favour with the king; or was it a royal command designed to maintain control of the temple cult and as a result of patronage by the king and queen.

Having investigated the principle of decoration in the four studied Central Halls in Chapter four, it seems that each Central Hall has its own system which was followed to decorate the hall. Each temple has its own system. The Central Hall, in turn is part of a system for the decoration of the whole temple. It can be seen that there is a resemblance between the temple of Edfu and Dendera rising from the fact that their religious connection and their architectural resemblance. The system of the decoration of the Central Hall of the Kom Ombo is unique not even among the rest of the studied temples as well as in the temple of Kom Ombo. This is evident from the orientation of the scenes which is different from the rest of the temples. It is also apparent that a fixed pattern cannot be established for the rituals scenes represented on the walls of the Central Hall. Single examples of rituals scenes can be recognised in the Central Halls of some of the temples but not in all of them.

By studying the offering rituals and the hymns inscribed on the walls of the Central Halls in chapter five, it can be deduced that each Central Hall acts as a mirror which reflects the mythology of the temple. This is tangible in the case of the offerings rituals connected with the festivals that took place in the Central Halls. Some of the hymns were recited during the festivals while others reflect different aspects of the main deity of the temple or another deity connected to a co-templar deity. As for the daily offering ritual, there is only one definite case where the Central Hall of Dendera used to have daily offering rituals. It is not possible to apply this general result to the rest of the temples. The usage of the space of the walls allocated to the offering rituals and the hymns were made mainly according to the decision of the priests who chose them according to the needs of the particular cult and perhaps their importance in this specific place.

Chapter Six has illustrated the correlation between the religious festivals celebrated in the temples and the Central Halls of the studied temples. The link is obvious through the usage of the halls during these days of celebration. Some festival used the Central halls as a crossing point when the procession was heading outside of the temple or returning to the temple. Other festivals used the Central Halls as a cultic place to recite hymns. During the festivals, priests carried the portable shrines of the members of the ennead of the main deity; others carried staffs having religious connotations.

The dedicatory inscriptions of the Central Hall in the case of Edfu and Dendera, give a hint about the function of the Central Hall during the religious festivals. On the contrary the *Book of the Temple* is quiet silent about the function of the Central Hall either during the daily rituals or the religious festivals.

After going through the above mentioned results, it seems that, if the sanctuary of the temple is the “brain” of the temple, thus, the Central Hall, based on the functions stated above, is the “heart” of the temple since the processions and festivals had to be pumped from it into several parts of the temple. If the Sanctuary of the temple is dedicated to the main deity of the temple, then, the Central Hall is devoted to the ennead of the main deity and reflects the mythology of the temple. If the Sanctuary is adorned with the rituals of the daily offerings, the Central Hall is decorated with a selected number of

ritual offerings reflecting the most important rituals and the ones that are connected to the main deity of the temple and reflect the doctrine of the cult.

While there are some places inside the temples that have only a circulatory function, while others have only a cultic function, the Central Hall based on its strategic location inside the temple managed to fulfil both the Circulatory and the Cultic functions.

To conclude, the functions of the Central Hall in the investigated temples can be identified as follows:

A resting place for the statues of the main deity and the ennead of the main deity of the temple and in that case it acts as proxy-sanctuary for these deities.

A crossing point in the temple for the processions of the festivals celebrated in the temple and other cult rituals which denote a circulation function for the Central Hall and in this sense it was the nexus of the course of movement inside the temple.

A place for chanting hymns during the festivals of the temple which is a cultic function.

A place for placing offerings during some of the festivals of the temple which is obvious in the case of the temple of Dendera.

The Central Hall, especially in the case of Dendera with its epigraphic evidence and probably in the case of Philae and Kom Ombo, is the middle place where the statues of the ennead are placed between the crypts where the statues are stored and the roof of the temple where the ritual of the “uniting with the sun disc” took place, it is considered the threshold of contact between the terrestrial, i.e. the priests, and the divine i.e. the statues of the deities. Thus, this is another interpretation introduced for the term of *ḥryt-ib* which denotes also an intermediate location between the underworld, i.e. the crypts, and the resurrection, i.e. the roof of the temple and thus the Central Hall in that sense symbolises the terrain. This opinion can be supported by taking into the account the designation of *ḥryt-ib* which refers to the Central Hall and which literally mean “which is in the heart”, thus the usage of the heart by the ancient Egyptians still denote the link of the heart with the Central Hall.

Last but not least, this thesis is presented as a platform from which the future research can consider more meaningful interpretations for the study of the sole example of the Central Hall dating to the Roman period i.e. the Central Hall of the Roman *Mammisi* of Dendera.



The Central Hall in the Egyptian Temples of the Ptolemaic Period

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Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD

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Volume Two of Two

The Central Hall of the Temple of Philae

The Translation of the Texts

Chamber VII

Bénédite 1893: 39-52.

Southern Wall	
Outer Door Lintel	
Horus the Behdetite is represented on the middle of the Lintel as a winged sun disc spreading his wings.	
Lintel	
Bibliography:	
Bénédict 1893: 30.	
On the left of the winged sun disc a text reads (F):	
<i>Bḥdt ntr ʕ3 nb pt s3b šw</i>	
“The Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage”	
On the right of the winged disc a text reads (F’):	
<i>Bḥdt ntr ʕ3 nb pt s3b šw</i>	
“The Behdetite, the grea god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage”.	
Table I	Ph-ED-L-E
Bibliography:	
Bénédict 1893: 30.	
PM VI 241 (325)-(326).	
Under the sun disc:	
<i>Bḥdt nb pt</i>	
The Behdetite, lord of the sky.	
King:	
<i>nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rʕ mry-ʔmn s3-Rʕ nb ḥʕw Ptlwmȝs</i>	
“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy”.	

Formula:

ir(t) sššt n mwt.f

“Shaking the *sššt*-sistrum to his mother”.

Isis:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k ḥḥ n Rḥ wr m bity 3st di(t) ḥnh ḥry(t)-ib Tw-wḥbt

“Words spoken, I give to you the reign of Re, great as a King of Upper Egypt, Isis, giver of life, who resides in Abaton”.

Horus the child:

Hr p3 hrd s3 Wsir nb Bt-wḥbt

dd mdw [...] n ḥḥ hr s3-t3 mi Rḥ wbn ḥtp iw.k ḥḥ.t hr st-Hr

Horus the child, son of Osiris, lord of Abaton.

“Words spoken, [...] ... upon earth like Re, rising and setting, you appear on the throne of Horus”.

Table I'

Ph-ED-L-W

Bibliography :

Bénédict 1893: 30.
PM VI 241 (325)-(326).

Under the sun disc:

Bḥdt nb pt

The Behdetite, lord of the sky.

King:

nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rḥ mry-Imn s3-Rḥ nb ḥḥw Ptlwmys

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy”.

Formula:

rdit irp n mwt.f

“Offering wine to his mother”.

Isis:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k rnpwt ʕšwt m nswt 3st wrt mwt-ntr nb(t) Irk

“Words spoken, I give to you numerous years as a King of Lower Egypt, Isis, the great, god’s mother, lady of Philae”.

Horus the child:

*Hr-p3-hrd s3-3st hryt-ib Irk*¹.

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k 3h n pt hr Rʕ wsr m t3 hr Gb iw.k hʕ.i hr st-Hr dt.

Horus the child, son of Isis, who resides in Philae.

“Words spoken, I give to you glory in the sky through Re, strength in earth through Geb, you appear on the throne of Horus eternally”.

Bibliography:

1) For *p3 iw rk* as “the Island of time”, see Kákosy 1968: 39-48.

Doorjamb (left)

Table II

Ph-EDJ-W-R1

Bibliography :

Bénédite 1893: 30.
PM VI 241 (325)-(326).

Under the sun disc:

Bhdy

The Behdetite.

King:

ntr-nfr nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rʕ mry-Imn s3-Rʕ nb hʕw Ptlwmys

“The good god, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy”.

Formula:

Rdit ʕbt n it.f

“Offering lettuce to his father”

Text accompanying Min:

Min [...] n ʾBt-wʿbt

Min [...] of Abaton”.

Text behind the king:

s3 ʿnh w3s h3.f

Protection, life and authority are around him.

Table III

Ph-EDJ-W-R2

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 30.

PM VI 241 (325)-(326).

King:

ntr-nfr wsr-k3-Rʿ mry-ʾmn s3-Rʿ Ptlwmys di ʿnh

“The good god, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, Ptolemy, given life”.

Formula:

hmk wtt n mwt.f

“Offering the wtt-figure to his mother”.

Sekhmet:

Shmt ʿ3t nb(t) nsrt hry-ib Snmwt

di.n.(i) n.k snb nb 3wt-ib nb

“Sekhmet, the great, lady of the flame, who resides in Biggeh”.

“I give to you all health and all happiness”.

Table IV

Ph-EDJ-W-R3

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 30.

PM VI 241(325)-(326).

Under the sun disc

Bḥdty

The Behdetite.

King:

nṯr-nfr nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rꜥ mry-Imn s3-Rꜥ nb ḥꜥw Ptlwmys

“The good god, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy”.

Behind the king:

dī ṛnh mi Rꜥ

“Given life like Re”.

Formula:

ḥnk irp n it.f

“Offering wine to his father”.

Osiris:

Wsir nṯr ʿ3 nb Bt-wꜥbt

“Osiris, the great god, lord of Abaton”.

Doorjamb (Right)

Table II'

Ph-EDJ-E-R1

Bibliography :

Bénédite 1893: 30.

PM VI 241 (325)-(326).

King:

nṯr-nfr nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rꜥ mry-Imn s3-Rꜥ nb ḥꜥw Ptlwmys

“The good god, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy”.

Formula:

ḥnk m3ꜥt n nb m3ꜥt ir.f di ʿnh

“Offering Maet to the lord of justice, that he may be given life”.

Thoth:

Dḥwty šḥtp Nsrt m Snmwt

di.n.(i) n.k ʿḥꜥ n Rꜥ m pt

Thoth who appeases the flame in Biggeh.

I give to you the reign of Re in the sky.

Table III'

Ph-EDJ-E-R2

Bibliography :

Bénédite 1893:30.

PM VI 241 (325)-(326).

King:

nṯr-nfr wsr-k3-Rꜥ mry-Imn s3-Rꜥ Ptlwmys

“The good god, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, Ptolemy”.

Formula:

ʿIr(t) sššt

“Shaking the sššt-sistrum”.

Hathor:

Ḥwt-Ḥr nb(t) Snmwt

di.n.(i) n.f [... ...]

“Hathor, lady of Biggeh”.

I give to him [... ...].

Table IV'

Ph-EDJ-E-R3

Bibliography :

Bénédite 1893: 30.
PM VI 241 (325)-(326).
The entire scene is damaged.

Southern Wall
Inner Door Lintel
Horus the Behdetite is represented on the middle of the Lintel as a winged sun disc spreading his wings.
Lintel (F) (left side):
On the left of the winged sun disc a text reads:
<i>Bḥdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt di ʿnh¹.</i>
“The Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, given life”
Commentary:
1) Only Behdetite exists in G. Bénédite’s copy while the rest of the line is missing.

Table I	Ph-InL-E
Bibliography:	
Bénédite 1893: 39. PM VI 241 (329)-(330). SERaT Scene No. 310088.	
King:	
<i>nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rʿ mry-ʿImn s3-Rʿ nb ḥʿw Ptlwmys</i>	
“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy”.	
Above the King:	
A sun disc flanked by two cobras is represented above the king’s head. A text above the king and accompanying the sun disc reads:	
<i>di [... ...] mi Rʿ</i>	
“Given [... ...] like Re”	

Under the Sun disc:

Bḥdt

“The Behdetite”.

Behind the king:

*s3 ʕnh w3s ḥ3.f*¹

“Protection, life and authority are behind him”.

Formula:

ḥnk irp n mwt.f

“Offering wine to his mother”.

Nephthys:

Nbt-ḥwt mnḥt ntrw

“Nephthys, excellent one of the gods”.

Osiris:

*ḏḏ mdw di.n.i n.k knt nb(t)*² *Wsir ntr ʕ3 nb ʔbt-wʕbt*

“Words spoken, I give to you all strength, Osiris, the great god, lord of Abaton”.

Isis:

3st nb(t) ʔw-rkt nb(t)ʕnh ḥnmt-ʕnh.

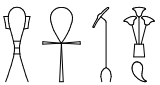
“Isis, lady of Philae, lady of life, united with life.”

Text behind Isis:

*ḏḏ mdw di.n.(i) n.k nsyw n Wsir*³ *tp t3 ḥʕ.t(i) m nswt-bity ḥr st-Ḥr*⁴ *ḏt*

“Words spoken, I give to you the kingship of Osiris on earth, appearing as King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of Horus forever”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows  and not  as in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as in G. Bénédite's copy.

Door: Lintel (F')

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 39.

On the right side of the winged sun disc a text reads:

Bḥdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt di ʿnh¹.

“The Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, given life”

Commentary:

- 1) Only Behdety exists in G. Bénédite's copy while the rest of the line is missing.

Table (I')**Ph-InL-W**

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 39.

PM VI 241 (329)-(330).

SERaT Scene No. 310089.

King:

ntr-nfr nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rʿ mry-Imn nb ḥʿw Ptlwmys di ʿnh w3s.

“The good god, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy, given life and dominion”.

Behind the king:

s3 ʕnh w3s h3.f nbt¹

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.

Formula:

hmk irp n it.f

“Offering wine to his father”.

Hathor:

Hwt-Hr nb (t) Snmwt

“Hathor, lady of Biggeh”.

Osiris:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k ʕnh w3s nb Wsir ntr ʕ3 nb ʔbt-wʕbt

“Words spoken, I give to you all life and authority, Osiris, the great god, lord of Abaton”.

Isis:

3st nb(t) Snmwt.

“Isis, lady of Biggeh”.

Text behind Isis:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k ʕhʕ n Rʕ n² pt hʕ.t(i) m nswt-bity hr st-Hr³ dt

“Words spoken, I give to you the lifetime of Re in the sky, appearing as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of Horus forever”.

Commentary:

- 1) This original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) For the n replaces m, see Žabkar 1988: 163, footnote 25.
- 3) The original shows  and not  as in G. Bénédite's copy.

Left Doorjamb (M)

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 39.

*Hr ḥwnw kn nbty wr phty Hr¹ nbw sh^c sw² it.f nswt-bity wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c Ptlwmys.
ir.n.f m mnw.f(n) mwt³.f 3st di(t) ḥnh nb(t) Irk ḥnwt ntrw nbw. dd mdw in 3st di(t) ḥnh, nb(t)
Tbt-w^cbt s3.s mry.s Ptlwmys rdit ḥnh r fnd.k.*

“Horus the strong child, who belongs to the Two Ladies, great of power, Horus of Gold, his father causes him to appear, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, Ptolemy. He made (as) his monument (to) his mother, Isis, giver of life, lady of Philae, mistress of all the gods. Utterance by Isis, giver of life, lady of Abaton, her beloved son Ptolemy, giving life to your nose”.

Isis gives the life sign to the king:

r fnd.k

“to your nose”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédict copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédict copy.
- 3) The original shows  and not  which is missing in G. Bénédict copy.

Right Doorjamb (M')

Bibliography:

Bénédict 1893: 39.

*Hr ḥwnw kn nbty wr phty Hr nbw sh^c s(w) it.f nswt-bity wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c Ptlwmys.
ir.n.f m mnw.f(n) mwt¹.f 3st ir.n.f ḥnh dt. dd mdw in 3st wrt mwt²-ntr nb(t) Irk ḥry(t)-ib ḥwt
hnt ḥ3swt rsyw(t) nb(wt) di ḥnh nb mi R^c dt.*

“Horus the strong child, the two Ladies, great of power, Horus of Gold, his father causes him to appear, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re Ptolemy. He made (as) his monuments (to) his mother Isis, may he be given life forever. Utterance by Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, lady of Philae, who resides in the temple, the foremost of all the southern foreign lands, given life like Re forever”.

Isis gives the life sign to the king:

r fnd.k

“to your nose”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  and not  which is missing in G. Bénédite copy.
- 2) The original shows  that is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

Wall α

Table I

Ph-Sw-Es-R3-H

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 40.
 PM VI 241 (336)-(340).
 SERaT Scene No. 310092.
 El-Sayed 1982:572, Doc. 910.
 Pécoil 1981:138.

Under Horus of Behdet:

Bḥdt

“The Behdetite”.

King:

nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb ḥ^cw Ptlwmys. di ḥ^cnh mi R^c¹.

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy. Given life like Re”.

Behind the king:

s3 ḥ^cnh w3s ḥ3[.f] nb²

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.

Text before the King:

šsp Wsir nb T3t-w^cbt št3 m³ idmi šhn ^cwy T3yt r iwfk dmi r ntr(t) st3m ntrw m-rn.s pfy nt idmi i^ci ntt.k in H^cpy šd hr.k in hnmwt mnht sšn (i)n 3st msn in Nbt-Hwt. sšpt mnht in R^c Wsir nb Tw⁴-w^cbt m³-hrw.k r sbiw⁵.k, h^c W3dt nb(t) Nbyt ikr iwty hsf.s n pt t3w3d.s irtyw.s Wsir nb i3t-w^cbt m w3d.s smnh.s m mnht.f tn sw3d.sn imyw w3d.s rnp.f mi rnp i^ch r^c nb Wsir-Wnn-nfr nb Tw-rkt 3st wrt mwt-ntr nb(t) Tw-rkt hnwt h3swt nb(w)t rsyw(t) mn n.tw irt-Hr⁶ swd3 n shm.s hw.tw nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn nb h^cw Ptlwmys di.w n.f hbw š3w wrw m hhw hfnw db^cw h3w nw rnpwt. h^c.t (i) m nswt-bity hr st-Hr nt ^cnhw nbw mi R^c dt nhh.

“Receive, Osiris, lord of Abaton, clothed with *idmi*-cloth, the work of Tayt covers your limbs, clothing (for) the goddess, clothing the gods in that his name of, ‘the one of the *idmi*-clothes’, your spittle is purified by Hapy, your face is brightened by the sun people, clothes are spun by Isis, woven by Nephthys. Receive the clothes by Re, Osiris, lord of Abaton, you are triumphant against your enemies, Wadjet lady of *Nbyt*, the excellent one, none is opposing her in heaven or earth, who makes green her *irtyw*-clothes, Osiris, lord of Abaton (is) in her green clothes, she makes excellent in this his cloth. They prosper those who are in her green clothes; he is young like the young moon everyday. Osiris-Wenn-Nefer, lord of Philae, Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, lady of Philae, mistress of all the southern foreign lands. Take to yourselves the eye of Horus (i.e. wrappings) healthy for your statue. May you protect the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy. They give to him very many festivals of millions, hundred of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds and tens of years, appearing as King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of Horus of all the living like Re forever and eternally”.

Osiris:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k wsr nb Wsir-Wnn-nfr nb T3-sti nb Trk.

“Words spoken, I give to you all power, Osiris-Wenn-Nefer, lord of Nubia, lord of Philae”.

Isis:

3st di(t) ^cnh nb(t) Trk, nb(t) pt hnwt ntrw nbw

“Isis, giver of life, lady of Philae, lady of the sky, mistress of all the gods”.

Horus the child:

Hr-p3-hrd s3 3st nb Trk

“Horus the child, son of Isis, lord of Philae”.

Commentary:

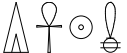
- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 5) The original shows a sign that may be a corruption of the sign used in the temple of Esna , see Daumas 1995: 686, No. 554; Sauneron 1963:154, 3. For another closer example , see Gautheir 1911: 118, l.2. This particular sign is not found in Daumas 1995.
- 6) This word means wrappings, see El-Saady 1994: 215.

Table II	Ph-Sw-Es-R2+H
Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 40-41. PM VI 241(336). SERaT scene No. 310093.	
King: <i>nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn nb h^cw Ptlwmys.</i> “Lord of the two lands strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy.	
Behind the king: <i>s3 ^cnh w3s h3.f nbt mi R^{c1}</i> “All protection, all life and all authority are behind him like Re forever”.	
 Under : <i>di.s ^cnh w3s²</i> “She gives life and authority”.	
Formula: <i>hnk wd3t³ n nb.s</i> “Offering the <i>wd3t</i>-eye to her lord”.	

Text before the King (Hymn):

Hr nd-it.f nb Irk. mn n.k irt.k rdit m-hnt.k ʕwy hḥ m twt⁴ Hr⁵ hry.s mn n.k irt.k rdit m-hnt.k ʕwy nswt-bity wsr-k3-Rʕ mry-Imn hr hnk.s m hr.k nfr Hr nd-it.f mn n.k w3dt htp.s m-hnt.k wp.k pt t3 m-m ʕ3 hy n pt s3 m t3 ntrw 3ht m-hʕ wd3t wbn.tw⁶ imy h3t.f hḥ hr rdit.s m wpt.f twt Rʕ htp hr irt.f mh.n.k dt.k im.s hʕ.k im.s r ntrw nb(w) m-rn.s pwy n hʕ wbn.k htp.k hr.s m-rn.s pfy n htp⁷. sšp⁸.k sipt wdʕ.tw m-rn.s pfy n wd3t ʕnh.k im.s rʕ iʕh nb⁹ m-rn.s pfy n ʕnh Hr s3 3st m htp sp-sn hr irty.f ii¹⁰.n s3-Rʕ Ptlwmys hr.k Hr¹¹ s3 3st nhm wd3t m-ʕ it.s in.s wrt.t r st.s wn hrt thn hr.k m nfrw.s iwʕ irw rdi.k t3š.k r- h3w.k iw.k m nswt-bity hr st- Hr h3swt nb(wt) hry tbtyw.k.

“Horus the avenger of his father, lord of Philae, take to yourself your eye which is placed before you, eternal work being complete with what it contains. Take to yourself your eye which is placed before you, the handiwork of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, offering it at your beautiful face, Horus the Avenger of his father. Take to yourself the wedjat-eye, it rests before you. You separate the heaven and the land with great joy for heaven and protection in the land. The gods of the horizon are rejoicing, the wedjat-eye is shining on his brow; Heh placed it on his forehead complete. Re is satisfied because of his eye, you fill your limbs with it, you are made to appear with it for all the gods in that its name, ‘Kha’; you shine and you set because of it, in that its name of ‘Hetep’. May you receive the inventory; complete in that its name of ‘Wedjat’. May you live on it every sun and moon, in that its name of ‘Ankh’. Horus son of Isis (welcome) in peace, in peace with his eyes, the son of Re Ptolemy comes to you; Horus son of Isis, who rescues the wedjat-eye from the one who seized it, who brings the great one to her place, the one who was distant brightens your face with her beauties. Heir thereof, you have set out your boundaries at your time, you are King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of Horus and all the foreign lands are under your sandals”.

Horus the avenger of his father:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k ʕnh w3s nb Hr nd-it.f s3 3st nb Irk nb h3swt rsy(wt).

“Words spoken, I give to you all life and dominion, Horus the avenger of his father, son of Isis, lord of Philae, lord of the southern foreign countries”.

Hathor:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k ʕhʕ n Rʕ n pt mry¹² Hwt-Hr hry(t)-ib Irk hnwt ntrw di ʕnh mi Rʕ.

“Words spoken, I give to you the reign (lifetime) of Re in the sky, beloved of Hathor, who resides in Philae, mistress of the gods, given life like Re”.

Nephthys:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k knt nb Nbt-hwt mnht.t ntrw nbw hry(t)-ib Irk.

“Words spoken, I give to you all strength, Nephthys; you are excellent of all the gods, who resides in Philae”.

Text before Nephthys:

*di.n.(i) n.k snb nb 3wt-ib nb*¹³.

“I give to you all health and all happiness (joy)”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which does not exist in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original does not have the sign  which occurs in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 5) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 6) The original shows  and not  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 7) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 8) The original shows  and not a lacuna as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 9) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy and the .k does not exist in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 10) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 11) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 12) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 13) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

Table III

Ph-Sw-Es-R1+H

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 41.
SERaT Scene No. 310094.
Chassinat 1966: 319.

King:

nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys di ʕnh mi R^c1.

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of

Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy”.

Behind the king:

s3 ʕnh w3s h3.f nbt²

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.

Formula:

dw3 it³ f Wsir

“Adoring his father Osiris”.

Text before the King (Hymn):

wnn nswt-bity wsr-k3-Rʕ mry-Imn hr dw3 it.f dd mdw in rs.k nfr m htp Wsir-Wnn-nfr nsw ʕnhw nbw hry⁴ t3 hry-ib štyt. rs.i b3.k m-hnw hḏ m-rn.k pfy n Wsir nb Tw-wʕbt Irk. iwn⁵.k nfr nn šb⁶.f m-rn.k pn n Wnn-nfr nb 3bdw dd nsyw.k dw3y m-rn.k pfy nb Ddw. wsr twt.k m Imn m-rn.k pfy nb W3st. ntk iwn mry iwnw m-rn.k pfy nb Twnw. dsr hprw.k m T3-nnt⁷ m-rn.k pfy nb t3-dsrt. sk.k ibw n⁸ h3kw⁹-ibw m-rn.k pfy Skr¹⁰ rs.k m¹¹ ʕnh wd3 hʕw.k m-rn.k pfy rs-wd3¹² ii.tw¹³ m Hr db3.tw m šwty m-rn.k pfy hry db3t¹⁴ hry db3t nb 3w m-rn.k pfy Hry-š.f shnt st.k ʕ3 b3w.k m-rn.k pfy Hnty-irty¹⁵ sm3ʕ-hrw.k r hftyw¹⁶.k m-rn.k nb m3ʕ-hrw. hkn¹⁷.k n pt ʕnh.tw.k m t3 m-rn.k pfy b3 ʕnh. ʕ3.k wr.k m-hnt Hwt-nny-nsw m-rn.k N3rfy¹⁸ hr st.f sb3k¹⁹ hʕw.k hw.tw k3.k m-rn.k pfy Hry-b3k.f²⁰ mn i3t.k nn hpr snn.k m-rn.k pfy Hnty T3-nnt hw.k s3-Rʕ Ptlwmys mi Rʕ dt.

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, praising his father. Utterance (by), may you wake well in peace, Osiris-Wenn-Nefer, king of all the living, upon earth, who resides in the tomb. I watch over your ba inside the shrine in that your name of Osiris, lord of Abaton and Philae. Your beautiful appearance, it does not change in that your name of (Wenn-Nefer) lord of Abydos, your kingship is stable by early morning in that your name of lord of Busiris. Your images are powerful like Amun in that your name of lord of Thebes. You are Iun, beloved of Iunu in that your name of lord of Iunu (Heliopolis). Your forms are sacred as Tanenet in that your name of lord of the necropolis. You destroy the hearts of the rebels in that your name of Sokar. You wake with life, your limbs are healthy in that your name of Osiris. (You) come as Horus (or from far away), equipped with the shwty-crown, in that your name of one who is upon the shrine, one who is upon the shrine. Lord of awe in that your name of Horshaef, who raises up your seat. Your bas are great in that your name of Khenty-irty. You are triumphant against your enemies in that your name of lord of rightness. You rejoice in heaven, you live in earth in that your name of the living ba. You are great, you are great as the foremost of The Mansion of the royal child (Ehnasya el-Madinah = Herakleopolis) in that your name of Narfy on his throne. Your limbs are made bright, you protect your ka in that your name Ghery-bakef. Your office is firm, your image does not exist in that your name of the foremost of Ta-nnt. You protect the son of Re, Ptolemy, like Re forever”.

Osiris:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k ʿnh wsr²¹ nb Wsir ntr ʿ3 nb ʾBt-wʿbt.

Words spoken, “I give to you all life and all power, Osiris, the great god, lord of Abaton”.

Isis:

3st wrt mwt²²-ntr nb(t) Tw-rkt²³ ʿwy.i h3.k dt nhh.

“Isis, the great one, god’s mother, lady of Philae, my arms are behind you forever and eternally”.

Hathor:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k knt nb(t). dd mdw in Hwt-Hr²⁴ nb(t) Trk. di.n.(i) n.k ʿnh w3s nb²⁵ snb nb.

“Words spoken, I give to you all strength. Utterance by Hathor, lady of Philae. I give to you all life, dominion, and health”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 3) The original shows a vertical stroke | which does not appear in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as appeared in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 5) The original shows the strokes like  and not like  as appeared in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 6) The original does not show  as shown in in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 7) It is a name of a sanctuary at Memphis which is consecrated to the deities of Ptah, sokar and Osiris, see DG VI 21.
- 8) The original shows  and not a lacuna as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 9) The original shows the  and not the  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 10) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 11) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 12) An epithet for Osiris, see LGG IV 713; see also Hassan 1928:21.
- 13) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 14) He who is upon his sarcophagus, see LGG V 403; Cauville 1997: 389.
- 15) For other variants, see Junker 1917:135.
- 16) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 17) The original shows  and not the peculiar sign as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 18) The name of this god means “who belongs to Naref” which is a name of Osiris, see LGG III 519; a form of Osiris that has been worshipped in Herakleopolis since the 11th Dynasty, see Hassan 1928: 88-89. Narf is a locality that is located in the 20th nome of Upper Egypt,

Herakleopolis Magna (nny-nsw), today Ihnasya el-Madina, see DG III, 66-67, 71.

- 19) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.
 20) The name of his god means "who is under his Moringa tree", see LGG VI 36-37.
 21) The original show  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
 22) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
 23) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
 24) The original shows  and not two separated signs as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
 25) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

Base (S)
Bibliography : Bénédite 1893: 41-42. PM VI 242.
Procession of Hapy gods
a) <i>in.(i) n.t inw nb(w) m T3-šm^cw</i> "I bring to you all revenues of Upper Egypt".
b) <i>in.(i) kbḥ pr.(w) m 3bw¹. i² inw m Snmwt.</i> "I bring libation water coming forth from Elephantine. Revenues come from Biggeh".
c) <i>in.(i) n.t g3wt nw T3-sti. bs.f n.t ʿ3t nb(t) šps(t)</i> "I bring to you offerings of Nubia. He brings to you every noble semi-precious stone".
d) <i>in.(i) n.t Pr-Rsy m inw ḥwt[...].f nbt</i> "I bring to you House of the South with revenues and all his [...] mansion".
e) <i>in.(i) n.t mw w^cb pr.(w) m Snmwt ndm bnr³</i> "I bring to you pure water coming forth from Biggeh sweet and pleasant".
f) <i>in.(i) n.t mw pr.(w) m mnw mw r kb^yw⁴ hr.s</i> "I bring to you water coming forth from mnw-jars and water for the vessels containing it".
g) <i>in.(i) n.t mw ipw⁵ nfr n ʿnh w3s nb</i> "I bring to you these beautiful waters of all life and all authority".

h) *in.(i) n.t rd nb hry-s3⁶ [t3] hrrt nb(t) wbg⁷*

“I bring to you all plants which are upon earth and all flowers blooming”.

i) *in.(i) n.t mw pr.(w) m krrty. ii.w m Snmwt.*

“I bring to you water coming forth from the two caverns. They come from Biggeh”.

j) *in.(i) n.t k3w⁸ nb(w) df3w nb(w)⁹*

“I bring to you all provisions and all supplies”

k) *in. (i) n.t hww nb df3w nbw*

‘I bring to you all food and all provisions’.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 3) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 5) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 6) The original shows  and not the lacuna as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 7) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 8) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 9) The original does show ° ° as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.

Wall (β)

Table I'

Ph-Sw-Ws-R3 +H

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 42.
PM VI 241 (331)-(335).
SERaT Scene No. 310095.
Otto 1964:145 (25).
Goyon 1972:119 (308).

King:

nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys. di ^cnh mi R^{c1}.

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of diadems, Ptolemy. Given life like Re”.

Behind the king:

s3 ^cnh w3s h3.(f) nb²

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.

Hymn:

ii.n nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn hr.k it.f Wsir nb T3t-w^cbt in.n.f n.k m3^ct twr³.k si^cr⁴.n.f sw r⁵ hr.k m33.k sw hnm ib.t n.k šsp.k sw m3^ct m ^cwy.k mi šsp R^{c6} w3d-n-rnpt-nfrt⁷ hw s3.k Ptwlyms hr nst.k ir hftyw⁸.f ^cwn(?)⁹ my¹⁰ n mdw.f sdm.k sprw.f swd3.k h^cw.f r dw nb di.k n.f knt n pt hr R^c wsr m t3 hr Gb di.k n.f hhw hfnw m hbw rnpwt hb-inw m t3w nb(w) h3swt nb(wt) m ndyt n hm.f iw.f h^c.t(i) m nswt-bity hr st-Hr hnt k3w ^cnhw nbw mi R^c dt nhh.

“The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, comes before you, his father, Osiris, lord of Abaton. When he brings to you *maet*, you are purified, he raises it up to you, you see it, her heart joins with you, you receive it, *maet* from your hands like Re receives the child of the good year, protecting your son Ptolemy upon your throne, making his enemies cry out (?). Come at his words, (so that) you hear his petitions, you make well his limbs against all evil, you give to him the strength of the sky before Re, and might in the earth before Geb. You give to him millions, hundreds of thousands of festivals and years, gathering tributes from all the lands and all the foreign lands are slaves of his majesty. He appears as king of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of Horus before the kas of all the living like Re forever and eternally”.

Osiris:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k phty n R^c Wsir nb T3t-w^cbt¹¹ nb pt t3 d3t¹²

Words spoken, “I give to you the strength of Re, Osiris, lord of Abaton, lord of the sky, the earth and the underworld”.

Isis:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k knt nbt¹³ 3st wrt mwt-ntr hryt-ib Snmwt mry.

Words spoken, “I give to you all strength, beloved of Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, who resides in Biggeh”.

Horus the child:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k phty n Gb Hr p3¹⁴ hrd s3 3st hry-ib 'Bt-w^cbt.

Words spoken, “I give to you the strength of Geb, Horus the child, son of Isis, who resides in Abaton”.

Commentary:

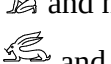
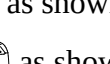
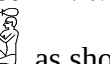
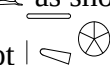
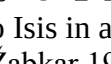
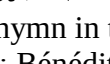
- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 5) The original shows  which is missing by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 6) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 7) For another occurrences and translations of this expression as “the papyrus of the New Year”, see E VII, 195, 3; Kurth 2004:354; or the “papyrus scpeter of the New Year”, see D IV 25, 6; Cauville 2001: 71. See also the “offspring of Sekhmet”, D III 70.8.
- 8) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 9) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 10) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 11) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 12) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy. The same title was given to Isis in another hymn in the temple, room X, see Žabkar 1988: 51-53. For another case, see Žabkar 1983:134; Bénédite 1893:63.
- 13) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 14) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

Table II'

Ph-Sw-Ws-R2+H

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 42.
PM VI 241 (331)-(335).
SERaT Scene No. 310096.
Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001: 19 (9).
De Wit 1951: 208.

King:

nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn nb h^cw Ptlwmys.

“Lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of diadems, Ptolemy”.

Behind the king:

s3 ^cnh w3s h3.f nb mi R^c¹

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him like Re”.

Under Nekhbet:

di ^cnh mi R^c dt²

“Given life like Re forever”.

Hymn:

R^c-Hr-3hty hry-ntrw mn n.k irt.k rdit m-hnt.k ^cwy nh^h m twt Hr hrt.s mn n.k irt.k rdit m hnt.k ^cwy nswt-bity wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn hr hn^k.s m hr.k nfr³ R^c-Hr-3hty šsp n.k irt⁴.f htp.s m hnt.k wp.k⁵ pt⁶ m t3 m m3^c-hrw hy n pt s3-t3 m t3 ntrw⁷ 3ht m-h^c wd3t wbn.tw h^h m rdit.s m wp.f twt R^c htp hr irt.f mh.n.k dt.k im.s h3.k im.s r ntrw m-rn.s pfy H^c wbn.k htp.k hr.s m-rn.s pfy Htp^t šsp nb.s ipt wd3.ti m-rn.s pfy wd3t ^cnh.k im.s r^c nb m-rn.s pfy n ^cnh R^c-Hr-3hty⁸ m htp sp-sn hr irt.f⁹.

“Re-Horakhty, master of the gods, take to yourself, your eye placed at your brow, a handiwork of eternity as the image of Horus containing it. Take to yourself your eye placed at your brow, the handiwork of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, offering it at your beautiful face, Re-Horakhty, receive to you his eye, may it rest at your brow, separating heaven from earth with rightness. Joy is in heaven and adoration in earth, gods of the horizon are rejoicing, the wedjat shines upon his brow, Heh places it in his forehead. You are Re who is satisfied with his eye. You fill your body with it; you appear with it for the gods in that her name of “Kha”. You rise and you set because of it in that her name of “Hotepet”. Its lord receives that one who is whole in that her name of “Wedjat”. You live by it everyday in that her name “Ankh”. Re-Horakhty in peace twice because of what he has done”.

Horus:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k wsr nb. dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k t3w m htp R^c-Hr3hty nb pt¹⁰ hry-ib Snmwt.

“Words spoken, I give to you all might. Words spoken, I give to you lands in peace, Re-Horakhty, lord of the sky, who resides in Biggeh”.

Tefnut:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k h3swt nb(wt) m htp Tfnwt s3t-R^c hry(t)-ib Snmwt¹¹ hnwt¹² ntrw.

“Words spoken, I give to you all foreign lands in peace, Tefnut, daughter of Re, who resides in Biggeh, mistress of the gods”.

Shu:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k nḥ w3s nb¹³ dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k knt nbt Šw s3-R^c hry-ib Snmwt. di.n.(i) n.k pḥty n R^c n pt.

“Words spoken, I give to you all life and dominion. Words spoken, I give to you all strength, Shu, son of Re, who resides in Biggeh. I give to you the strength of Re in the sky”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows a lacuna and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 5) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 6) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 7) The original does not show the lacuna as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 8) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 9) The original shows .
- 10) The original does not show the  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 11) The original shows  before the vulture which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 12) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's.
- 13) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's.

Table III'

Ph-Sw-Ws-R1+H

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 43.
PM VI 241 (331), (332), (335).
SERaT Scene No. 310097.
Meeks 1972a:116-119.

King:

nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn nb h^cw Ptlwmys di ^cnh.

“Lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of diadems, Ptolemy, given life”.

Behind the king:

s3 ^cnh w3s h3.f¹

“Protection, life and authority are behind him”.

Formula:

rdit rnpwt n it.f ir.f di ^cnh.

“Giving flowers to his father, may he be given life”.

Hymn:

ii.n nswt-bity wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c Ptlwmys hr.k it.f Wsir-Wnn-nfr in.n.f n.k sht-htp in.f n.k sht-w3d in.f n.k sht-df3w² htp.k im ^cnh.k im w3š.k im 3wt-ib.k im n d3t-Wsir htp³.n.(i) n.k R^c m pt htp.n.(i) n.k Gb m t3 htp.n.(i) n.k grh htp.n.(i) n.k hrw htp.n.(i) n.k htp-di-nsw ir r.k htpw df3w⁴ n k3.k Wsir ntr ^c3 nb i3t-w^cbt mn n.k irt-Hr, htp.k hr.s Wsir nb i3t- w^cbt⁵ mn n.k idt⁶.k inm⁷.k hrret nb(t) pr(.w) m 3ht rdt⁸ m fdt.k ^cnh m m3w.k⁹. mh.k im.s t3 m-r[n].s¹⁰ pfy n Mhn htp.k hr irt-Hr htp ntrw im.k ^cnh hn^{c11} k3¹².k Wsir-Wnn-nfr ntr-^c3 nb Snmwt iw.w w^cb.(w) hw.k s3¹³.k mry.k Ptwlyms nhm.k sw m-^c ht nb(t) dw di.k n.f psšt.k h^c.t(i) m nswt-bity hr st-Hr mi R^c dt nh¹⁴.

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, Ptolemy comes before you, his father, Osiris-Wenn-Nefer. He brings to you the field of offerings. He brings to you the field of papyrus. He brings to you the field of supplies. You are satisfied therein, you live therein, you worship therein, you rejoice therein in the underworld of Osiris. I pacify for you Re in the sky, I pacify for you Geb in the earth, I pacify for you night, I pacify for you the day, I pacify for you the *hotepdinesw* offering. Make to yourself offerings, supplies to your ka, Osiris, the great god, lord of Abaton. Take to yourself the eye of Horus; you are satisfied with it, Osiris, lord of Abaton. Take to yourself your scent, your plants and all flowers coming forth from the fields growing by your scent, living by your rays. You fill the land with it in that your name of Mehenyt. You are satisfied because of the eye of Horus, the gods are satisfied with you living with your ka, Osiris-Wenn-Nefer, the great god, lord of Biggeh, for they are pure. You protect your beloved son, Ptolemy, you protect him from everything evil, you give to him your share, appearing as King of Upper and Lower Egypt on the throne of Horus like Re forever and eternally”.

Osiris-Wenn-Nefer:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k ʿnh nb Wsir-Wnn-nfr ntr ʿ3 nb i3t wʿbt di(t) ii n.k Hʿpy wr r-tr.f.

“Words spoken, I give to you all life, Osiris-Wenn-nefer, the great god, lord of Abaton, causing Hapy the great to come to you at his time”.

Isis:

3st di(t) ʿnh hry(t)-ib ʿ3t wʿbt¹⁵ hnwt nb(t) ʿrk¹⁶.

“Isis, giver of life, who resides in Abaton, the mistress, lady of Philae”.

Before Isis:

hw.i hʿw.k m pr.k m Snmwt.

“I protect your body as you come forth from Biggeh”.

Horus the child:

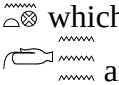
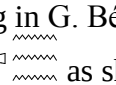
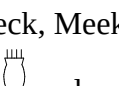
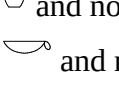
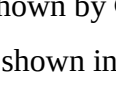
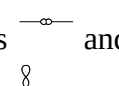
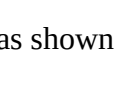
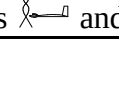
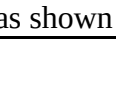
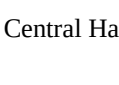
Hr (p3) hrd s3-3st nb ʿrk¹⁷.

“Horus the child, son of Isis, lord of Philae”.

di.i n.k htpw df3w

‘I give to you offerings and provisions’.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 3) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 5) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 6) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 7) May be flowers, check, Meeks 1972a:118 (5, 6).
- 8) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 9) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 10) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 11) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite’s copy.

- 12) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 13) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 14) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 15) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 16) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 17) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

Base(s)
Procession of Hapy Gods
Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 43. PM VI 242. Žabkar 1988:98.
a) <i>dd mdw in.(i) n.t kbh pr.(w) m H^cpy¹</i>. “Words spoken, I bring to you libation water coming forth from Hapy”.
b) <i>dd mdw in.(i) n.t kbh pr.(w) m nwn²dit,f knt</i>. “Words spoken, I bring to you libation water coming forth from the primeval water, he gives strength”.
c) <i>dd mdw in.(i) n.t kbh pr.(w) m krrty³</i>. “Words spoken, I bring to you libation water coming forth from the two caverns”.
d) <i>in.(i) n.t H^cpy-mhw⁴ m h(w)t.f nbwt</i> “I bring to you the northern-Nile with all of his produce”.
e) <i>in.(i) n.t H^cpy-mhw hry⁵ it⁶ bdt⁷ swt</i> “I bring to you the northern-Nile carrying barley and emmer and grain”.
f) <i>in.(i) n.t imntt i3btt m w3h-tp⁸ g3wt hr psdw⁹</i>. “I bring the West and the East to you with bowed heads and offerings on the backs”.
g) <i>in.(i) n.t sm^cw mh3 hryw inw nb(w)</i>. “I bring to you the South and the North carrying all revenues”.

h) *in.(i) n.t sp nb nfr pr.(w) m T3-mḥ3*

“I bring to you every good time which comes from Lower Egypt”.

i) *in.(i) n.t Ḥꜣpy-mḥ3 ḥry nḥmt srpt*

“I bring to you the northern-Nile carrying lotus and lotus leaves”.

j) *in.(i) n.t Ḥꜣpy-mḥ3 ḥry nḥb*

“I bring to you the northern-Nile carrying lotus”.

Commentary:

1) The original shows   and not   as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

3) The original shows   and not   as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

4) The original shows   and not   as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

5) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

6) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.

7) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.

8) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

9) The original shows three horizontal strokes | which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

Western Wall

Table I

Ph-Ww-R3-1

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 44.

PM VI 241 (331), (332), (335).

SERaT Scene No. 310098.

King:

ntr nfr nb t3wy¹ wsr-k3-Rꜥ mry-Imn s3-Rꜥ nb ḥꜥw² Ptlwmys.

“The good god, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy”.

Behind the king:

*s3 ʕnh w3s h3.f nbt*³

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.

Under :

*di.s ʕnh w3s*⁴

“She gives life and authority”.

Formula:

hnk mdt n mwt.f 3st

“Offering oil to his mother, Isis”.

Isis:

*dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k Pwnt*⁵ 3st di(t) ʕnh hry(t)-ib Tw⁶-wʕbt.

“Words spoken, I give to you Punt, Isis, giver of life, who resides in Abaton”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows      which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows    which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 5) The original shows   and not   as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 6) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.

Table II

Ph-Ww-R3-2

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 44.
PM VI 241 (331), (332), (335).
SERaT Scene No. 310099.
Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001:18 (7).

King:

nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn nb h^cw Ptlwmys di nḥ nb snb nb¹.

“Lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy, given all life and health”.

Behind the king:

s3 nḥ w3s h3.f nbt²

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.

Under :

di.s nḥ w3s³

“She gives life and authority”.

Formula:

rdi⁴ wnšb n mwt.f⁵

“Giving the *wnšb*-symbol to his mother”.

Hathor:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k t3w nbw m htp Hwt-Hr wrt⁶ nbt Snmwt.

“Words spoken, I give to you all lands in peace, Hathor, the great one, lady of Biggeh”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 5) The original shows  and not a lacuna as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 6) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

Table III	Ph-Ww-R3-3
Bibliography:	
Bénédite 1893: 44. PM VI 241 (331), (332), (335). SERaT Scene No. 310100.	
King:	
<i>nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys. di ^cnh mi R^{c1}.</i>	
“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy. Given life like Re”.	
Behind the king:	
<i>s3 ^cnh w3s h3.f nb mi R^{c2}</i>	
“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him like Re”.	
	
Under :	
Transliteration:	
<i>di.s ^cnh w3s³</i>	
“She gives life and authority”.	
Formula:	
<i>irt sntr kbh⁴</i>	
“Offering incense and libation water”.	
Isis:	
<i>dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k ^ch^c n pt 3st wrt⁵ mwt-ntr nb(t) Snmwt⁶ mry⁷.</i>	
“Words spoken, I give to you the lifetime of the sky, Isis, the great one, god’s mother, beloved of the lady of Biggeh”.	

Commentary:

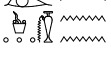
- 1) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 5) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 6) The original shows  before the vulture which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 7) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

Table IV	Ph-Ww-R2-1+H
Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 44. PM VI 241 (331), (332), (335). SERat Scene No. 310101. Poo 1995:108-109.	
King: <i>ntr-nfr nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys.</i> “The good god, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy”.	
Behind the king: <i>s3 nḥ w3s ḥ3.f¹</i> “Protection, life and authority are behind him”.	
Formula: <i>ḥnk irp</i> <i>dd mdw in rdt.n nb n 3st wrt mwt-ntr nb(t) Irk, ḥ^c b3ḥ im².f (mḥ.i n.k) irt-Ḥr m irp iw.(w) w^cb wn 3wy n pt sš t3 kbḥ 3st wrt mwt-ntr Dhwtj tpy-^c Ḥ^cpy R^c-Ḥr-3ḥty di.f i3w 3st wrt mwt-ntr di.f swri³ 3st wrt mwt-ntr iw.f mw.f ḥnkt⁴.f irp.f kbḥ.(f)swri.s im.sn shm.s im.sn iw.(w) w^cb.w mi shmt Gb n p^ct hrw⁵ pfy it.n.f t3wy im⁶.f. 3st wrt mwt-ntr nb(t) iw-rkt mn n.t irt-Ḥr wp.t r.t im.s di.t ḥrt.t nfr(t) (n) niwt sp3wt Irk Bt-w^cbt grg.k st m ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) ḥd nwb 3t nb šps nḥm.t nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn nb h^cw Ptlwmys ḥw sw m-^c ḥt nb(t) dw ḥr st-Ḥr mi R^c dt.</i>	

“Offering wine.

Utterance, All our plants are for Isis, the great one, god’s mother, lady of Philae. May the inundation rejoice with it, I fill the eye of Horus with wine; it is pure, which opens the doors of the sky, which opens earth. Cool waters of Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, Thoth, the ancestor of the flood, Re-Horakhty, he gives adoration; Isis, the great one, the god’s mother. It is his water, his beer, his wine, (his) cool water - she drinks them, she is strong with them, they are pure like Geb is mighty for the *Paet*-people on that day on which he seizes the two lands. Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, lady of Philae, take to yourself the eye of Horus, your mouth is opened with it. You give your beautiful face (for) cities, nomes, Philae, Abaton; you establish them with every good thing, silver and gold, every semi-precious stone and noble. You protect the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy, protecting him from everything upon the throne of Horus like Re forever”.

Isis:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k k3w nb(w). dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k df3w⁷ 3st nb(t) Trk.

“Words spoken, I give to you all provisions. Words spoken, I give to you offerings, Isis, lady of Philae”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 3) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 5) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 6) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 7) The original does not show ° ° ° which is shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.

Table V¹

Ph-Ww-R2-2

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 44.
PM VI 242 (333) (a)-(b).
Valbelle 1981: 56, Doc. 407 B.

Ptlwmys wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn ḥwnw.

“Ptolemy, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, the child”.

Anukis:

ꜥnkt² nbt Stt³

“Anukis, lady of Sett”.

Meret:

Mrt⁴ mḥw

“Meret of the North”

Commentary:

- 1) G. Bénédite mentioned wrongly that this scene is located on the western wall while in reality it is mentioned on the western wall.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows this line of script which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy .
- 4) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

Table VI	Ph-Ww-R1+H
Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 44-45. PM VI 241 (331), (332), (335). SERaT Scene No. 310102. Žabkar 1988:103-114. El-Sayed 1982: 609, Doc. 985. Otto1964: 13.	
Under Horus of Behdet: <i>Bḥdt nb pt</i> “The Behdetite, lord of the sky,	

King:

nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn nb h^cw Ptlwmys.

“Lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of diadems, Ptolemy”.

Behind the king:

s3 ^cnh w3s h3.f nb

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.

Formula:

ir(t) sššt

“Playing the sistrum”.

Hymn:

ii.n nswt-bity wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c Ptlwmys hr.t 3st wrt mwt-ntr in.f n.t sššt r shtp.t im.f. dd mdw in ir sššt m hr.t nfr 3st di(t) ^cnh hry(t)-ib i3t w^cbt irt-R^c iwt-y-snw.s m pt t3 wrt mwt-ntr n k3-mwt.f hmt-nswt wrt n Wnn-nfr šps(t) nb(t) ^c3t m Hwt-sr nht m Hwt-bnbn nb(t) nmt m wi3 n hh irt-shrw m dpt-ntr ntrt ^c3t m Hwt-k3w-Pth Hnwt n T3-^cnh h3t m W3st nb(t) Išrw ^c3(t) h^cw m Snmwt ntrt ^c3t hnt T3-šm^cw hnwt m T3-mhw htp hr.t nfr(t) n s3.t Hr Ptlwmys hy nbt šri(t) n Mnhyt nb(t) W3dt nb(t) P hnwt Dp k3t hdt m Nhb nb(t) T3-W^cbt hnwt Irk n.t Imw k3(t) m S3w Ntt nb(t) trrk m hnt w3d(t) wdḥ hy m P hwnw rš m Dp hwt s3-R^c Ptlwmys dt.

“The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, Ptolemy comes before you, Isis, the great one, the god’s mother. He brings to you the sistrum to satisfy you with it. Utterance, playing the sistrum at your beautiful face, Isis, giver of life, who resides in Abaton. Eye of Re without an equal in heaven (or) earth, great of love, mistress of women, who fills heaven and earth with her beauty, the god’s mother of Kamwtef, the great royal wife of Osiris-Wenn-nefer, the noble one, great lady of the mansion of the prince, the mighty one in the mansion of the benben stone, lady of movement in the bark of millions, who governs the divine barque, great goddess in *Hwt-k3w-Ptah* (Memphis), mistress of *Ta-ankh*¹ (Land of Life), queen in Thebes, lady of Isheru, great of appearance in Biggeh², great goddess in Upper Egypt, mistress in Lower Egypt. May your beautiful face be satisfied with your son Horus, Ptolemy. Hail to the lady of the red crown³, Menhyt, lady of Buto, mistress of Pe, mistress of Dep, with tall white crown in Nekheb (El-Kab), lady of Abaton, mistress of Philae. To you belongs *Imw*, you are exalted in Sais, Neith, lady of streams of fresh water, the weaned child who exalts in Pe, and the child who rejoices in Dep, you protect the son of Re, Ptolemy, forever”.

Isis:

dd mdw in 3st wrt mwt-ntr nb(t) Irk. di.n.(i) n.k hbw ʕ3w wrw.

“Utterance by Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, lady of Philae. I give to you numerous great feasts”.

Commentary:

- 1) This is a locality near Assiut, see Žabkar 1988: 180, 16; Gardiner 1947: 73 ff.
- 2) For this epithet as “great of manifestation in Biggeh”, see Žabkar 1988: 84, 176, footnote 52.
- 3) Žabkar translated it as daughter of Menhyt, see Žabkar 1988: 107.

Base(S)

Procession of Hapy gods

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 45.
PM VI 242.
Žabkar 1988:100.

a) *dd mdw in.(i) n.t mw ipw¹ n prw m 3bw w^cb.tw ii.w m Snmwt. dit n.f^cnh w3s nb².*

“Words spoken, I bring to you libation water, it comes from Elephantine, pure, they come from Biggeh. Giving to him all life and dominion”.

b) *ii.n nb h^cw Ptlwmys hr 3st in.f n.t di H^cpy³ mh^w nb w3d⁴ m ʕwy.fy hr nhb nhm. di im n k3⁵*

“The lord of diadems, Ptolemy, comes before Isis, he brings to you everything the Northern Hapy gives, papyrus from his two hands containing *nhb*-lotus and *nhm*-lotus, which is given to the ka”.

c) *in.(i) n.t H^cpy htp⁶ pr.f b^ch sw^cb.*

“I bring to you Hapy, pacifying his house (with) its pure inundation”.

d) *in.(i) n.t df3w nb n H^cpy-mh^w w^cb.*

“I bring to you all supplies of the northern Hapy, pure”.

e) *in.(i) n.t htpw df3w m t3-mh^w⁷ n k3.(t) šps*

“I bring to you offerings and supplies from Lower Egypt to your noble ka”.

f) *in.(i) n.t H^cpy hr hr^rt nbt*

“I bring to you Hapy carrying all flowers”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows .
- 3) The original shows  and not the lacuna as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not the horizontal lacuna as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 5) The original shows two strokes and not three as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 6) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 7) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

Door

Lintel (F)

Bibliography:

Winter 1968: 36.

Bénédite 1893: 45.

PM VI 242 (333) (a)-(b).

Bḥdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt s3b-šwt di.f ʿnh.

“The Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, he gives life”.

1) *ʿnh ntr nfr wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn mry Wsir-Wnn-nfr.*

“May the good god live, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Osiris-Wennefer”.

2) *ʿnh ntr nfr Ptlwmys mry 3st¹ nb(t) Irḳ.*

“May the good god live, Ptolemy, beloved of Isis, lord of Philae”.

3) *ʿnh ntr nfr wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn mry Hr-nd-it.f.*

“May the good god live; strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Horus the Avenger of his father”.

4) *ʿnh ntr nfr Ptlwmys mry 3st² nb(t) Irḳ.*

“May the good god live, Ptolemy, beloved of Isis, lady of Philae”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

Lintel (F')

Bibliography :

Bénédite 1893: 45.
PM VI 242 (333) (a)-(b).

Bhdt

“The Behdetite”.

1) $\epsilon nh \ ntr \ nfr \ nb \ t3wy^1 \ wsr-k3-R^{\epsilon} \ mry-Imn \ mry \ Wsir^2$.

“May the good god live; strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Osiris.

2) $\epsilon nh \ ntr \ nfr \ nb \ h^{\epsilon}w^3 \ Ptlwmys \ mry \ 3st$.

“May the good god live, Ptolemy, beloved of Isis”.

3) $\epsilon nh \ ntr \ nfr \ nb \ t3wy^4 \ wsr-k3-R^{\epsilon} \ mry-Imn \ mry \ Hr^5$.

“May the good god live; strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Horus”.

4) $\epsilon nh \ ntr \ nfr \ nb \ h^{\epsilon}w^6 \ Ptlwmys \ mry \ 3st$.

“May the good god live, (Ptolemy), beloved of Isis”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 5) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 6) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.

Doorjambs (m)

Bibliography :

Bénédite 1893: 46.

PM VI 242 (333) (c)-(d).

Thiers 1997: 70.

*Hr hwnw kn nbty wr phty Hr nbw sh^c it.f nswt-bity wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn n^ch dt s3-R^c Ptlwmys
ir.n.f m mnw.f n mwt.f 3st wrt mwt-ntr nb(t) Irk ir.f n.s wsht psdt m sb3 n Thyt¹.s r.s^c3 pr.s²
rdi.s n.f t3š r h3w mry.f.*

“Horus , the strong child; he who belongs to the two ladies, great of power; Horus of gold, who causes his father to appear; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, may he live forever; son of Re, Ptolemy. He made (it) as his monuments to his mother Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, lady of Philae, he made for her the Hall of the Ennead at the door of her Sanctuary (Room X), in order to make great her house. She gave to him boundaries to the limits, his beloved”.

Commentary:

1) For this word which means the sanctuary of the temple of Isis, see Žabkar 1980: 129, footnote 17; Žabkar 1988: 175, footnote 25; Vercoutter 1950: 93; Urk II, 117, 10-118.

2) For a parallel text for this part which occurred in the dedicatory inscriptions of the porch of Nectanebo at Philae, see Žabkar 1988:174, footnote 24.

Doorway (e)

Bibliography:

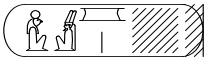
Bénédict 1893: 46.

PM VI, 242 (333) (c)-(d)

*nswt-bity nb t3wy [wsr-k3-]¹R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys ir.n.f m mnw.f n
mwt².f 3st nb(t) Irk.*

“The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, [strong is the ka] of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of diadems, Ptolemy, he made (it) as his monuments to his mother Isis, the great one, lady of Philae”.

Commentary:

1) The original shows  and not a complete cartouch as shown by G. Bénédict's copy.

2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédict's copy.

Doorway (e')

Bibliography:

Bénédict 1893 : 46.

PM VI 242 (333) (c)-(d).

*nswt-bity nb t3wy [wsr-k3-]¹ R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys)ir.n.f m mnw.f n
mwt ².f 3st nb(t) Irk.*

“The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, [strong is the ka] of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of diadems, Ptolemy, he made it (as) his monuments to his mother Isis, the great one, lady of Philae”.

Commentary:

1) The original shows  not a complete cartouch as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

The Northern Wall Central Door

Lintel (F)

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 46.

Bḥdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt.

“The Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky”.

Lintel (F')

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 46.

Bḥdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt.

“The Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky”.

Table I

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 46.

PM VI 243 (348)-(349).

SERaT Scene No. 310103.

King:

ntr nfr nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw¹ Ptlwmys. di ^cnh mi R^{c2}.

“The good god, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of diadems, Ptolemy, given life like Re”.

Behind the king:

s3 ^cnh w3s h3.f³

“Protection, life, and authority are behind him.”

Under :

di.s ^cnh w3s⁴

“She gives life and protection”.

Formula:

di(t)⁵ irp n it.f.

“Offering wine to his father”.

Osiris:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k wnnt nbt Wsir ntr ^c3 nb Tw⁶-w^cbt mry di ^cnh w3s.

“Words spoken, I give to you all produce, beloved of Osiris, the great god, lord of Abaton, given life and dominion”.

Isis:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k t3w nb(w) h3swt nb(wt) 3st di(t) ^cnh nb(t) Tw-w^cbt mry di (^cnh) mi R^c.

“Words spoken, I give to you all lands and foreign lands, beloved of Isis giver of life, lady of Philae, given (life) like Re”.

Text behind Isis:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k nht r ifdw t3 h^c.t(i) hr st-Hr mi R^c dt⁷.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows and not as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows which does not show in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows which does not show in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 5) The original shows and not as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 6) The original shows and not as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 7) The original shows the following which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy:

7) The original shows the following which is missing from G. Bénédicté's copy:



Table I'	
Bibliography :	
Bénédite 1893: 46. PM VI 243 (348)-(349). SERaT Scene No. 310104.	
King:	
<i>nṯr nfr nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb ḥ^cw Ptlwmys. ȝi ḥnh mi [R^c]¹.</i>	
“The good god, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of diadems, Ptolemy, given life like Re”.	
Behind the king:	
<i>s3 ḥnh w3s ḥ3.f²</i>	
“Protection, life, and authority are behind him”	
Under  :	

Bénédite 1893: 46.
PM VI 243 (348)-(349).
SERaT Scene No. 310104.

ntr nfr nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys. di nḥ mi [R^c]¹.

$$s^3 \tau_{nh} w_{3s} \dot{h}_{3,f}^2$$

“Protection, life, and authority are behind him”

Under  :

*di.s ʕnh w3s*³

“She gives life and protection”.

Formula:

*hnk(t)*⁴ *irp n it.f*.

“Offering wine to his father”.

Osiris:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k ʕnh w3s nb Wsir-Wnn-nfr hnt T3-sti nb Irḳ. dd mdw

“Words spoken, I give to you all life and dominion, Osirs-Wenn-nefer, who is foremost of Nubia, lord of Phiale. Words spoken”.

Isis:

*di.n.(i) n.k wsr nb 3st wrt*⁵ *mwt*⁶ *-ntr nb(t) Irḳ*⁷ *mry*⁸.

“Words spoken, I give to you all strength, beloved of Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, lady of Philae”.

Text behind Isis:

*dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k pḥty iw.k n nsw ḥt(i) ḥr st-Hr mi Rḳ dt*⁹.

“Words spoken, I give to you the strength; you are a king appearing on the throne of Horus like Re forever”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which does not show in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows  which does not show in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  which does not show in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 5) The original shows  which does not show in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 6) The original shows  which does not show in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 7) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 8) The original  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 9) The original shows the following which is missing from in G. Bénédite's copy.



Doorjamb

Table II

Bibliography :

Bénédite 1893: 46.
PM VI 243 (348)-(349).
SERaT scene No. 310105.

King:

ntr nfr nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys.

“The good god, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of diadems, Ptolemy”.

Behind the king:

*s3 ʕnh w3s h3.f nbt*¹

“Protection, life, and authority are behind him”.

Under :

*di.s ʕnh w3s*²

“She gives life and protection”.

Isis:

*3st di(t) ʕnh nb(t) Tw-wʕbt*³.

“Isis, giver of life, lady of Abaton”.

Text before Isis:

*di.n.(i) n.k ʕnh w3s nb*⁴.

“I give to you all life and all dominion”.

Commentary:

1) The original shows  which does not show in G. Bénédite's copy.

2) The original shows  which does not show in G. Bénédite's copy.

3) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.

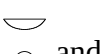
4) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.

Table III

Bibliography :

Bénédite 1893: 46.

PM VI 243 (348)-(349).

SERaT Scene No. 310106.

Under the sun disc:

Bḥdt

“The Behdetite”.

King:

nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn nb h^cw Ptlwmys. di ^cnh¹

“Lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of diadems, Ptolemy”.

Behind the king:

s3 ^cnh w3s h3.f²

“Protection, life, authority are behind him”.

Formula:

ir(t) sntr

“Offering incense”.

Nephthys:

Nbt-Hwt mnht ntrw hry-ib Irk³.

“Nephthys, the excellent one of the gods, who resides in Philae”.

Before Nephthys:

di.n.(i) n.k snb nb.

“I give to you all health”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original show  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

Table IV

Bibliography :

Bénédite 1893: 46.
PM VI 243 (348)-(349).
SERaT Scene No. 310107.

King:

ntr nfr wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c Ptlwmys di ʕnh.

“The good god, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of diadems, Ptolemy, given life”.

Behind the king:

s3 ʕnh w3s h3f¹

“Protection, life and health are behind him”.

Formula:

rdi(t)² rnpwt³.

“Offering fresh plants”.

Isis:

3st di(t) ʕnh nb(t) Tw-w^cbt hryt-ib Irk⁴

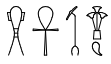
“Isis, giver of life, lady of Abaton, who resides in Philae.

Before Nephthys:

di.n.(i) n.k rd⁵ nb f[...]iw⁷

I give to you all plants”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original show  which is missing in G. Bénédict's copy.
- 2)  is a mistake for .
- 3) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédict's copy. SRat reads it as *ir di-nfr* which does not coincide with the text.
- 4) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédict's copy.
- 5) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédict's copy.
- 6) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédict's copy.
- 7) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédict's copy.

Doorjamb
Table II'
Bibliography : Bénédite 1893: 46. PM VI, 243 (348)-(349). SERaT Scene No. 310108. Under the sun disc: <i>Bḥdt</i> “the Behdetite”. King: <i>ntr nfr nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rꜥ mry-Imn s3-Rꜥ nb ḥꜥw Ptlwmys. di ꜥnh mi Rꜥ¹.</i> “The good god, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of diadems, Ptolemy”. Behind the king: <i>s3 ꜥnh w3s ḥ3.f²</i> “Protection, life and authority are behind him”. Isis: <i>3st nb(t)(sic) Irk.</i> “Isis, lady of Philae”. Text before Isis: <i>di.n.(i) n.k ꜥnh w3s nb.</i> “I give to you all life and all authority”. Commentary: 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy. 2) The original show  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

Table III'
Bibliography : Bénédite 1893: 46-47.

PM VI 243 (348)-(349).

SERaT Scene No. 310109.

Under the sun disc: *Bḥdt* “the Behdetite”.

King:

nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rꜥ mry-Imn nb ḥꜥw Ptlwmys. di ꜥnh¹.

“Lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of diadems, Ptolemy, given life”.

Behind the king:

s3 ꜥnh w3s ḥ3.f²

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.

Formula:

rdi(t) dsrw³

“Offering beverages”.

Hathor:

Ḥwt-Ḥr nb(t) Snmwt.

“Hathor, lady of Biggeh”.

Before Hathor:

di.n.(i) n.k ḥꜥpy⁴ wr tr.f⁵

“I give to you the great Hapy at his time-season”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 3) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 5) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite’s copy.

Table IV': (but Bénéдите has VI')**Bibliography:**

Bénéдите 1893:47.
 PM VI 243 (348)-(349).
 SERaT Scene No. 310110.

King:

ntr nfr wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c Ptlwmys. di ʕnh¹.

“The good god, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, Ptolemy, given life”.

Behind the king:

s3 ʕnh w3s h3.f nb²

“All protection, all life and all health are behind him”.

Formula:

hnk(t)³ w3d msdmt.

“Offering green eye paint, black eye paint”.

Isis:

3st nb(t) ʔrk.

“Isis, lady of Philae”.

Before Isis:

di.n.(i) n.k [...]⁴

“I give to you [...]”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénéдите's copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is in G. Bénéдите's copy.
- 3) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénéдите's copy.
- 4) The original is not clear for reading.

Doorway (e)
Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 47. PM VI 243 (350)-(351).
<i>ʕnh ntr nfr nb k3w wr df3w ʕs3 r ntrwt . ii n.f Hʕpy wr r-tr.f nswt-bity nb t3wy (wsr-k3-Rʕ mry-Imn) 3st wrt mwt¹-ntr nb(t) Irk di ʕnh mry.</i> “May the good god live, lord of provisions, great of supplies, more abundant than the goddesses. Hapy great at his time, comes to him. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, lady of Philae, given life”.
Commentary: 1) The original shows [△] which is missing from G. Bénédite’s copy.

Doorway (e')
Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 47. PM VI 243 (350)-(351).
<i>ʕnh ntr nfr ts-prt sʕs3w k3w nh̄t t3wy wḥm-šn m ḥwt nb(t) m-rk.f ḥw B3kt s3-Rʕ nb ḥʕw Ptlwmys 3st di(t) ʕnh ḥry(t)-ib ʔt-wʕbt di ʕnh mry.</i> “May the good god live, who plants seeds, abundant in bulls, the mighty one of the two lands, who repeats the circuit with everything in his time, who protects Egypt, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy, beloved of Isis, giver of life, who resides in Abaton, given life”.

Wall δ	Ph-Nw-Ws-R3-2
Table I	
Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 47. PM VI 241 (331)-(335). SERaT Scene No. 310111. Valbelle 1981: 56 (Doc. 407 C).	

King:

ntr nfr nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys di nḥ mi R^c dt.

“The good god, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of diadems, Ptolemy, given life like Re forever”.

Behind the king:

s3 nḥ w3s h3.f nbt¹

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.

Formula:

rdi(t) rnpwt n it.f.

“Offering fresh plants to his father”.

Khnum:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k rdw nb hr s3-t3 mry Hnm-R^{c2} nb kbḥ hnt Snmwt.

“Words spoken, I give to you all the plants on the back of earth, beloved of Khnum-Re, lord of libation water, who is at the front of Biggeh”.

Satet:

mry S3tt nḥt nb(t) 3bw hry(t)-ib Snmwt³.

“Beloved of Satet, the great one, lady of Elephantine, who resides in Biggeh”.

Anukis:

nḥt hnt T3-sti.

“Anukis, who is foremost of Nubia”.

Before Anukis:

di.n.(i) n.k nḥ w3s nb 3wt-ib nb.

“I give to you all life, and dominion, and all happiness”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

Table II	Ph-Nw-Ws-R3-1
Bibliography : Bénédite 1893 : 47. PM VI 241 (331)-(335). SERaT Scene No. 310112.	
King: <i>nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn nb h^cw Ptlwmys di nḥ mi R^c¹.</i> “Lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of diadems, Ptolemy, given life like Re”.	
Behind the king: <i>s3 nḥ w3s h3.f nb mi R^c²</i> “All protection, all life, and all authority are behind him like Re”.	
Before Nekhbet: <i>Nḥbt</i> “Nkhbet”.	
 Under :	
<i>di.s nḥ w3s³</i> “She gives life and authority”.	
Formula: <i>irt sntr.</i> “Offering incense”.	
Isis: <i>dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k t3wy⁴ m htp. dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k pḥty⁵ n R^c n pt. 3st di(t)nḥ nb(t) t3t-w^cbt ḥnwt Snmwt⁶.</i> “Words spoken, I give to you the two lands in peace. Words spoken, I give to you the reign of Re in the sky, Isis, giver of life, lady of Abaton, mistress of Biggeh”.	
Commentary: 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy. 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.	

- 3) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows    which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 5) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 6) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

Table III	Ph-Nw-Ws-R2
Bibliography :	
Bénédite 1893: 47. PM VI 241 (331), (332), (335). SERaT Scene No. 310113.	
Under <i>Bḥdt</i> “the Behdetite”.	
King:	
<i>nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb ḥ^cw Ptlwmys di ḥ^cmi mi R^c.</i>	
“The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy, given life like Re”.	
Behind the king:	
<i>s3 ḥ^cmi w3s ḥ3.f nb mi R^c 1</i>	
“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him like Re”.	
Formula:	
<i>ḥnk mnit sššt n mwt 2.f.</i>	
“Offering the <i>menat</i> -necklace and <i>sššt</i> -sistrum to his mother”.	
Isis:	
<i>dd mdw s^cs3 rnpwt.k ḥr st-Ḥr 3st di(t) ḥ^cmi nb(t) I3t-w^cbt nb(t) pt ḥnwt ntrw nbw.</i>	
“Words spoken, One who makes numerous your years upon the throne of Horus, Isis, giver of life, lady of Abaton, lady of the sky, mistress of all the gods”.	
Commentary:	
1) The original shows      which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.	
2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.	

Table IV	Ph-Nw-Ws-R1
Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 47. PM VI 241 (331), (332), (335). SERaT Scene No. 310114.	
King: <i>Ntr-nfr¹ nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys. di nḥ²</i> “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy, given life”.	
Behind the king: <i>s3 nḥ w3s h3.f mi R^c ³</i> “Protection, life and authority are behind him like Re”.	
Under the crowned cobra  which holds the was-scepter: <i>di.s nḥ w3s⁴</i> “She gives life and protection”.	
Formula: <i>f3i-ih^t</i> “Carrying offerings”.	
Isis: <i>dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k t3 pn m htp mry 3st di(t) nḥ nb(t) nḥ ḥnwt Snmwt.</i> “Words spoken, I give to you this land in peace, beloved of Isis, giver of life, lady of life, mistress of Biggeh”.	
Before Isis: <i>di.n.(i) n.k nḥ w3s nb.</i> “I give to you all life and all authority”.	

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédict's copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédict's copy.
- 3) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédict's copy.
- 4) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédict's copy.

Base(S)

Bibliography:

Bénédict 1893: 47.
PM VI 242.
Aufrère 1991:175.
Chassinat 1966: 159.

King:

Nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-'Imn nb h^cw Ptwlyms. di ^cnh mi R^c dt¹.

“Lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of diadems, Ptolemy. Given life like Re forever”.

Behind the king:

s3 ^cnh w3s h3.f²

“Protection, life, authority are behind him”.

The Procession of Hapy Gods

Bibliography:

Bénédict 1893: 47-48.
PM VI 242.

a) *in.(i) n.(t) nmst³ hst m h^cdw nbw.*

“I bring to you *nmst*-vases and *hst*-vessels of silver and gold”.

b) *in.(i) n.t nmst m ^c3t nbt b^ch.(w) hr mw-rnp r sw^cbt im.sn hr hrp wd^ch n k3.t.*

“I bring to you *nmst*-vases of every semi-precious stone, flooded with fresh water to purify with them and to consecrate *wd^ch*-vessels for your ka”.

c) *in.(i) n.t H^cpy-mh3 h_ry nmst h_d.*

“I bring to you the northern-Nile carrying silver *Nemset*-vases”.

d) *in.(i) n.t H^cpy-mh3 h_r mw-rnp nb.*

“I bring to you the northern Nile carrying all fresh water.

e) *ii.n s3-R^c (Ptlwmys) h_r 3st in.f n.t mw-rnp pr.(w) m t3 m 'Twnw psdt 3t im.sn m hwt-bnw m Twnw. mn n.t.*

“Son of Re, Ptolemy, comes before you, Isis, he brings to you fresh water coming forth from the land of Iunu, the great ennead with them in the mansion of the benu bird in Heliopolis. Take for yourself”.

Commentary:

1) The original shows that the catouches and the text accompanying them are missing in G. Bénédite's copy.



2) The original shows  behind the king which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

3) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

Lateral door (§)

Lintel (f)

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 48.

PM VI 244 (334) (g)-(h).

Bhdt ntr 3 nb pt.

“The Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky”.

1) *nh Hr hwnw kni mry Wsir nb 3t-w^cbt.*

“May Horus live, the strong child, beloved of Horus lord of Abaton”.

2) *nh nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn mry 3st wrt¹ mwt²-ntr.*

“May the King of Upper and Lower Egypt live, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Isis, the great one, the god's mother”.

3) *nh s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys mry Hr-nd-n-it³.f h_ry-ib Irk.*

“May the son of Re live, the lord of the diadems, Ptolemy, beloved of Horus the avenger of his father, who resides in Philae”.

4) *ʕnh nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rʕ mry-Imn mry 3st di(t) ʕnh hry(t)-ib T3t -wʕbt*⁴.

“May the king of Upper and Lower Egypt live, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Isis, giver of life, who resides in Abaton”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows | which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.

Lintel (f')

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 48.
PM VI 244 (334) (g)-(h).

Bḥdt ntr ʕ3 nb pt.

“The Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky”.

1') *ʕnh Hr ḥwnw kni mry Wsir*¹.

“May Horus the strong child live, beloved of Amun”.

2') *ʕnh nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rʕ mry-Imn mry 3st*².

“May the King of Upper and Lower Egypt live, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Isis”.

3') *ʕnh s3-Rʕ nb ḥʕw Ptlwmys [mry] Hr-s3-3st*³.

“May the son of Re live, the lord of the diadems, Ptolemy, Horus son of Isis”.

4) *ʕnh nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rʕ mry-Imn mry 3st*⁴.

“May the King of Upper and Lower Egypt live, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Isis”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

(§)Doorjamb (m)**Bibliography:**

Bénédite 1893: 48.

PM VI 244 (334) (g)-(h).

Vulture: *Nhbt*, *hdt*. “Nekhbet, the white one”.

nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn ʕnh dt ir.n.f m mnw[.f] n mwt¹.f 3st nb(t) Irk mry di ʕnh².

“The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun living forever, he made (as) his monuments for his mother, beloved of Isis, lady of Philae, given life”.

dd mdw in 3st wrt nb(t) Irk dt r-hnt ntr nfr mry R^c.

“Utterance by Isis, the great one, lady of Philae, forever, before the good god, beloved of Re”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.

(§)Doorjamb (m')**Bibliography:**

Bénédite 1893: 48.

PM VI 244 (334) (g)-(h).

nswt-bity nb t3wy iw^c 1-n- ntrwy- snwy stp-n-R^c ʕnh-shm²-(n)-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys- ʕnh dt-mry Pth. ir.n.f m mnw[.f] n mwt³.f 3st nb(t) Bt-w^cbt Irk mry.

“The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands, hier of the brother gods, chosen of Re, strong is the life of Amun, son of Re, lord of diadems, Ptolemy- may you live forever-beloved of Ptah. He made (as) his monuments for his mother, beloved of Isis, lady of Abaton, Philae”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  and not the lacuna as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 3) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.

(§) Doorway (n)	
Bibliography:	
Bénédict 1893: 48. PM VI 244 (334) (i)-(j).	
<i>ʕnh sm3 smn ir.n nswt-bity iwʕ-(n)-ntrwy snwy stp-(n)-Rʕ shm-ʕnh-(n)-Imn s3-Rʕ nb hʕw Ptlwmys-mry Pth-ʕnh dt 3st di(t) ʕnh mry.</i>	
“The living one, who renews, who establishes what is made by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, hier of the brother gods, chosen of Re, strong is the life of Amun, son of Re, lord of the two lands, Ptolemy-beloved of Ptah-living forever, beloved of Isis, giver of life”.	

(§) Doorway (n')	
Bibliography:	
Bénédict 1893: 48. PM VI 244 (334) (i)-(j).	
<i>ʕnh sm3 smn ir.n nswt-bity iwʕ-(n)-ntrwy snwy stp-(n)-Rʕ shm-ʕnh-(n)-Imn s3-Rʕ nb hʕw Ptlwmys-mry Pth-ʕnh dt 3st nb(t) Irk mry.</i>	
“The living one, who renews, who establishes what is made by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, hier of the brother gods, chosen of Re, strong is the life of Amun, son of Re, lord of the two lands, Ptolemy-beloved of Ptah-living forever, beloved of Isis, lady of Philae”.	

Wall (ξ)	
Table I'	Ph-Nw-Es-R3(2)
Bibliography:	
Bénédict 1893: 48. PM VI 241 (336)-(340). SERaT Scene No. 310115	

King:

nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c Ptlwmys.

“The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, Ptolemy”.

Behind the king:

s3 ʿnh w3s h3.f nb mi R^c 1

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him like Re”.

Formula:

h₃nk m3^ct n it.f.

“Offering maet to his father”.

Amun:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k ʿnh w3s nb Imn-R^c nsw ntrw nb pt t3 d3t.

“Words spoken, I give to you all life and dominion, Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of the sky and the land and the underworld”.

Mut:

Mwt wrt nb(t) Išrw nb pt hnwt ntrw.

“Mut, the great one, lady of Isheru, lady of the sky, mistress of the gods”.

Khonsu:

Hnsw m W3st nfr- htp di ʿnh mi R^c dt.

“Khonsu in Thebes, Neferhotep, given life like Re forever”.

Commentary:

1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

Table II'

Ph-Nw-Es-R3-1

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 48.

PM VI 242 (336)-(340).
SERaT Scene No. 310116.

King:

nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn nb h^cw Ptlwmys.di nḥ mi R^c ¹.

“The lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy. Given life like Re”.

Behind the king:

s3 nḥ w3s h3.f nb mi R^c ²

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him like Re”.

Under the :

di.s nḥ w3s ³

“She gives life and authority”.

Isis:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k t3 hn^c nty.f⁴ 3st wrt mwt-ntr nb(t) Irk, di nḥ mi R^c.

“Words spoken, I give to you the land with what is in it, Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, lady of Philae, given life like Re”.

Nephthys:

mry Hwt-nbt mnht ntrw⁵ hry(t)-ib Irk. di.n.(i) n.k nḥ w3s nb hr.

“Beloved of Nephthys, the excellent one of the gods, who resides in Philae. I give to you all life and health before”.

Commentary:

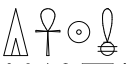
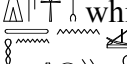
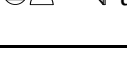
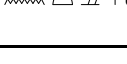
- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 3) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 4) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 5) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédite’s copy.

Table III'	Ph-Nw-Es-R2
Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 48-49. PM VI 242 (336), (337), (340). SERaT Scene No. 310117. Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001: 18 (6).	
King: <i>nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys.</i> “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy”.	
Behind the King: <i>s3 ^cnh w3s h3.f nbt¹</i> “All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.	
Formula: <i>šms-^cntyw n mwt.f.</i> “Presenting myrrh to his mother”.	
Isis: <i>dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k knt mi R^c 3st di(t) ^cnh nb(t) Irk hnwt h3swt rsyw(t) nb(wt).</i> “Words spoken, I give to you strength like Re, Isis, giver of life, lady of Philae, mistress of all the southern foreign lands”.	
Tefnut: <i>dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k t3-mri rnp m htp Tfnt s3t²-R^c hry(t)-ib T3t-w^cbt di m3^c-hrw.k r hftyw³.k.</i> “Words spoken, I give to you Egypt young in peace, Tefnut, daughter of Re, who resides in Abaton, who puts your victory against your enemies”.	

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

Table IV'	Ph-Nw-Es-R1
Bibliography:	
Bénédite 1893: 49. PM VI 242 (336), (337), (340). SERaT Scene No. 310118.	
King:	
<i>nb t3wy¹ wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn nb h^cw² Ptlwmys.</i>	
“The lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy”.	
Behind the king:	
<i>s3 n^h w3s h3.f nbt³</i>	
“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”	
Under the crowned cobra  :	
<i>di.s n^h w3s⁴</i>	
“She gives life and protection”.	
Formula:	
<i>f3i-ih^t⁵.</i>	
“Carrying offerings”.	
Isis:	
<i>3st di(t) n^h nb Tw-rkt.di.n.(i) n.k t3w nb(w) m htp⁶.</i>	
“Isis, giver of life, lord of Philae. I give to you all the lands in peace”.	

Queen:

nb(t) t3wy 3r⁷sn.

“The lady of the two lands, Arsinoe”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédict's copy.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédict's copy.
- 3) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédict's copy.
- 4) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédict's copy.
- 5) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédict's copy.
- 6) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédict's copy.
- 7) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédict's copy.

Base(S')

Bibliography :

Bénédict 1893: 49.

PM VI 242.

nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn nb h^cw Ptwlyms di n^ch mi R^c dt¹.

“Lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy, given life like Re forever”.

Behind the king:

s3 n^ch w3s h3.f nbt²

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.

Procession of Hapy gods

Bibliography:

Bénédict 1893: 49.

PM VI 242.

a) *in.(i) (n)(.t)³ Ḥꜥpy-šmꜥ hr nw⁴ ḥd.*

“I bring to you the southern Nile carrying *nw*-vessels of silver”.

b) *in.(i) n.t Ḥꜥpy hr kbh pr.(w) m* ⁵

“I bring to you the Nile carrying libation water coming from .

c) *in.(i) n.t mw- rnp m ht.f nbt.*

“I bring to you fresh water with all its things”.

d) *in.(i) n.t Ḥꜥpy-šmꜥw hry k3w⁶ ḥtpw⁷.*

“I bring to you the southern Nile carrying provisions and offerings”.

e) *in.(i) n.t Ḥꜥpy hry ḥtpw m33.n k3.t.*

“I bring to you the Nile carrying offerings which your ka sees”.

f) *il.n nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rꜥ mry-Imn hr.t 3s, in.f n.t rth-kb hry imyw fdt hpr im.f.*

“The lord of the two lands comes before you, Isis; he brings to you one who subdues the libation waters carrying what is in it, inundation water coming into being in it”.

Commentary:

1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

3) The original does not show  as shown in G. Bénédite's copy.

4) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

5) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy. This sign can be read as *ḥ*, see Weill 1940:225-227.

6) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

7) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

Lateral Door

Lintel (f)

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 48.
 PM VI 245 (339) (a)-(b).
 Aufrère 1991:175.
 Chassinat 1966:159.

King:

Nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn. nb h^cw Ptwlyms¹. di nḥ mi R^c dt.

“Lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of diadems, Ptolemy. Given life like Re forever”.

Behind the king:

s3 nḥ w3s h3.f²

“Protection, life, authority are behind him”.

Bḥdt ntr-^c3 nb pt.

“The Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky”.

1) *nḥ Hr ḥwnw kni mry Wsir nb T3t-w^cbt.*

“May Horus the strong child live, beloved of Horus lord of Abaton”.

2) *nḥ nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn mry 3st³ nb(t) Irḳ.*

“May the king of Upper and Lower Egypt live, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Isis, lady of Philae”.

3) *nḥ s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys mry Hr-nd-nt⁴-it.f.*

“May the son of Re live, the lord of the diadems, Ptolemy, beloved of Horus the avenger of his father”.

4) *nḥ nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn mry 3st⁵ nb(t) Irḳ.*

“May the king of Upper and Lower Egypt live, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Isis, lady of Philae”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows this text which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows this text which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 5) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

Lintel (f')

Bibliography :

Bénédite 1893: 49.

PM VI 245 (339) (a)-(b).

Bḥdt ntr-ʿ3 nb pt.

“The Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky”.

1) *ʿnh Hr ḥwnw kni mry Wsir.*

“May Horus the strong child live, beloved of Osiris”.

2) *ʿnh nswt-bity nb ʿwy wsr-k3-Rʿ mry-Imn mry 3st.*

“May the king of Upper and Lower Egypt live, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Isis”.

3) *ʿnh s3-Rʿ nb ḥʿw Ptlwmys mry Hr.*

“May the son of Re live, the lord of the diadems, Ptolemy, beloved of Horus”.

4) *ʿnh nswt-bity nb ʿwy wsr-k3-Rʿ mry-Imn mry 3st.*

“May the king of Upper and Lower Egypt live, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Isis”.

Doorjamb (m)

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 49.

PM VI 245 (339) (a)-(b).

Vulture: *Nḥbt, ḥdt.*

“Nekhet, the white one”.

nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn ʕnh dt ir.n.f m mnw[.f] n mwt¹.f 3st nb(t) Trk hw.s dt.

“The King of Upper and Lower Egypt live, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun living forever, he made of his monuments to his mother Isis, lady of Philae, she protects forever”.

dd mdw in 3st wrt mwt-ntr nb(t) Trk di(t) ʕnh

“Utterance by Isis, the great one, lady of Philae, giver of life”.

r fnd n ntr nfr.

“For the nose of the good god”.

Commentary:

1) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.

Doorjamb (m’)

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893:49.

PM VI 245 (339) (a)-(b).

ntr nfr iw^c n R^c stp.n.f sw hr nst.f r irt nsw n Kmt nswt-bity nb t3wy¹ iw^c-(n)-ntrwy-snwy stp-n-R^c shm-ʕnh-(n)-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw² Ptlwmys- mry Pth-ʕnh dt mry³ 3st.

“The good god, hier of Re, whom he has chosen (to be) upon his throne to act as the King of Egypt, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, hier of the two brother gods, chosen by Re, strong is the life of Amun, son of Re, Ptolemy-beloved of Ptah, living forever, beloved of Isis”.

Commentary:

1) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.

2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.

3) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.

Doorway (n)

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 49.

PM VI 245 (339) (c)-(d).

nswt-bity nb t3wy iw^c-(n)-ntrwy-snwy stp-n-R^c shm-^cnh-(n)-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys-mry Pth-^cnh dt mry 3st di(t) ^cnh hry(t)-ib W^cbt.

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, hier of the two brother gods, chosen by Re, strong is the life of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy-beloved of Ptah-living forever, beloved of Isis, giver of life, who resides in Abaton”.

Doorway (n')

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 49.

PM VI 245 (339) (c)-(d).

nswt-bity nb t3wy iw^c-(n)-ntrwy-snwy stp-n-R^c shm-^cnh-(n)-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys-mry Pth-^cnh dt 3st di(t) ^cnh hsw¹ nb(t) Irk, mry.

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, hier of the two brothers gods, chosen by Re, strong is the life of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy-beloved of Ptah-living forever, beloved of Isis, giver of life and praise, lady of Philae”.

Commentary:

1) The original shows  and not  that is hand copied by G. Bénédite. For this sign see, Gaber 2007a:1-9.

Eastern Wall

Table I

Ph-Ew-R3-3

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 50.

PM VI 242 (336)-(340).

SERaT Scene No. 310119.

King:

nswt-bity nb t3wy¹ wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys.

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy”.

Behind the king:

*s3 ʕnh w3s h3.f nbt*²

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.

Under :

*di.s ʕnh w3s*³

“She gives life and authority”.

Formula:

*rdi(t)*⁴ *mnit n mwt*⁵.f

“Giving the *menit* to his mother”.

Isis:

*dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k t3w nb(w) m htp 3st wrt*⁶ *mwt-ntr nbt rk*⁷.

“Words spoken, I give to you all lands in peace, Isis, the great one, the god’s mother”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 3) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 5) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 6) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 7) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.

Table II

Ph-Ew-R3-2

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 50.
PM VI 242 (336)-(340).
SERaT Scene No. 310120.
Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001 : 19 (8).

King:

nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn nb h^cw Ptlwmys.

“The lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy”.

Behind the king:

s3 nḥ w3s ḥ3.f nbt mi R^{c1}

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him like Re”.

Under :

di.s nḥ w3s²

“She gives life and authority”.

Formula:

rdi(t)³ wnšb n mwt.f.

“Giving the *wnšb*-symbol to his mother”.

Hathor:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k nḥ w3s nb Hwt-Hr nb(t) Snmwt nb(t) pt⁴ ḥnwt ntrw nb(w).

“Words spoken, I give to you all life and health, Hathor, lady of Biggeh, lady of the sky, mistress of all the gods”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.

Table III

Ph-Ew-R3-1

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 50.
PM VI 242 (336)-(340).
SERaT Scene No. 310121.

King:

nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptlwmys¹.

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of the diadems, Ptolemy”.

Behind the king:

s3 ^cnh w3s h3.f nb²

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.

Underneath :

di.s ^cnh w3s³

“She gives life and authority”.

Formula:

ir(t)⁴ sššt n mwt.f.

“Shaking the sistrum for his mother”.

Isis:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k šn n pt t3 3st wrt⁵ mwt-ntr nb(t) Hwt-hnt.

“Words spoken, I give to you the circumference of the sky and the earth, Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, lady of Mansion of the front”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 2) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 3) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 5) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.

Table IV

Ph-Ew-R2-2

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 50.

PM VI 242 (338)
 SERaT Scene No. 310122.
 Valbelle 1981: 56, Doc. 407 D.
 Inconnue-Bocquillon 2001 : 20 (13)¹.

King:

ntr nfr nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn.

“The good god, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun”.

Behind the king:

s3 nḥ w3s ḥ3.f nbt²

“All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.

Meret³:

mrt šm^cyt ḥnt- i3btt.

“Meret of the South, the foremost of the east”.

Before Meryt:

di.n.(i) n.k ḥbw ^cš3w wrw.

“I give to you many great festivals”.

Formula:

rdi(t)⁴ kbḥ.

“Giving libation water”.

Text before the King:

dd mdw i(n) S3tt ^c3t nb(t) nsrt m Snmwt. mn⁵.t kbḥ ipn imy t3 pn. Wtt⁶ ḥwt⁷ nb (t) ^cnḥ ḥwt nb(wt). twt⁸ di t3 pn is wtt ḥwt nb(wt) ^cnḥ pr m- ḥt nb im.s⁹ sdb¹⁰.t im.s s^cnḥt im.s.

“Utterance by Satet, the great one, the lady of fire in Biggeh. Take to yourself these fresh waters which are in this land, which begets everything and everything live. It is you who causes this land to beget every living thing, everything comes forth from her, you maintain life with her, you live with her”.

Satet:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k 3wt-ib nb S3tt ^c3t nb(t) nsrt m Snmwt.

“Words spoken, I give to you all happiness, Satet, the great one, lady of the fire in Biggeh”.

Commentary:

1) D. Inconnue-Bocquillon mentioned wrongly that this table is found in chamber IX, eastern door, see Inconnue-Bocquillon 2001: 20 (13).

2) The original shows  which is missing from G. Bénédite's copy.

3) The original shows a female goddess and not a male god as shown by G. Bénédite, pls. XIX, IV.

4) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

5) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

6) The original and D. Inconnue-Bocquillon show  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

7) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

8) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

9) The original shows  and not as D. Inconnue-Bocquillon mentioned wrongly that it does not exist, see Inconnue-Bocquillon 2001:21.

10) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

Table V	Ph-Ew-R2-1+H
Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 50-51. PM VI 242 (336), (337), (340). SERaT Scene No. 310123.	
King: <i>ntr nfr wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c Ptlwmys.</i> “The good god, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, Ptolemy”.	
Behind the king: <i>s3 ʿnh w3s h3.f¹</i> “All protection, all life and all authority are behind him”.	

Formula+Hymn:

nd-ḥr m nmst.

dd mdw in ind-ḥr.k nwn m-rn.k nwn ind-ḥr.k nwy m-rn.k nwy ind-ḥr.k kkw m-rn.k kkw ind-ḥr.k nwn-sm3 m-rn.k nwn-sm3w ms.k nswt-bity wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn mi R^c r^c nb shpr.k sw mi hpr 3st nb(t) Irk ink Dhwti shtp ntrw rdi ht.s hr st irw iw di.i hr n Hr n.f dr dw hryw mw dr dw hryw mw nsw hn-m-^cnh iw.w w^cb iw s3.s mry s3-R^c (Ptlwmys) h^c.ti m nsw in.f n.t H^cpy-šm^c hr hwt nb(wt) pr.(w) im.f in.f n.t shwt hry pr.(w) nb im.s hr rt nb(w) wbs im.s rmt nb šs3w² nit(?).sn di.t n.f knt r rsy isw hr mw.f mi Ddwn tr shm hbn-hrw m-hnt.sn h^c.ti m nswt-bity hr st-Hr dt.

“Greetings with nemset vessels.

Utterance by, greetings to you primeval water in your name, Nun. Greetings to you flood water in your name, nuy-flood. Greetings to you darkness in your name Keku. Greetings to you primeval water in your name Nun-smaw, you give birth to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, like Re everyday. You create him like the creation of Isis, lady of Philae. I am Thoth, who satisfies the gods, placing its (or her) things upon the places thereof. I give the face of Horus to him, driving away the evil of those who are above the water, driving away the evil of those under the water. The king is equipped with life, they are pure, my beloved son, son of Re, Ptolemy, appearing as king. He brings to her the Northern Nile carrying everything coming forth from him. He brings to her fields containing everything which comes forth from it, all flowers which bloom in it. All men cross their wrongdoing, she gives to him strength over the southerners (who are) loal to him, like Dedwen when (he) controls the condemned before them, appearing as king on the throne of Horus forever”.

Isis:

dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k h^c n R^c n pt 3st wrt³ mwt-ntr nb(t) Irk nb(t) pt hnwt⁴ ntrw nbw.

“Words spoken, I give to you the reign of Re in the sky, Isis, the great one, lady of Philae, lady of the sky, and all the gods”.

Commentary:

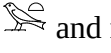
- 1) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédict's copy.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédict's copy.
- 3) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédict's copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as shown in G. Bénédict's copy.

Table VI	Ph-Ew-R1+H
Bibliography: Bénédite 1893: 51. PM VI 242 (336), (337), (340). SERaT Scene No. 310124. Borghouts 1973: 128. Žabkar 1988: 115-127.	
King: <i>ntr nfr nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rꜥ mry-Imn.</i> “The good god, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun”.	
Behind the king: <i>s3 ꜥnh w3s h3f¹</i> “Protection, life and authority are behind him”.	
Formula: <i>dw3 ntr sp 4.</i> “Praising the god four times”.	

Hymn:

*Wn nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn hr dw3 mwt.f. dd mdw in ind-hr.t 3st wrt hk3w
 smswt m ht mwt.s Nwt 3hwt m pt hr R^c i3w n.t m msktt hnw n.t m m^cndt mswt ntrw nbw ii.n
 s3-R^c Ptlwmys hr.t nb(t) ^cnh m hrw pn nfr h^c.n.t im šn.f ts.f n.t tpt smn.f n.t wsrt² wsr-k3-R^c
 mry-Imn s3.t Hr iw k3.t m htp nb ^cnh m hrw pn nfr h^c.n.t im.[f] shtp.t ntrw m-ht nšn mryt R^c
 wnn.t m-hnw wi3.f hr hsf ^cpp m 3hw tp-r3.t mt Ptlwmys ii.i hr.t dw3 nfrw swnh iw^cw h3wtyw
 rnpt smn n.f sdbw.f rnpt tn rwiw iw s3.f r.s iw ir.n.f htpw hr.s iw hr.f r Nbt ii.wy tn n m3wt nn
 ir.f hn ntr niwt.f n ir.n.f isw di tmsw n hrt-rnp s^ck st3 idrw n nmt-ntr iw.f wd3 m-^c rnpt tn
 nhwt.s imy-ht m htp m htp rnpt nfrt mh.f m htpw k3.t hr.f m ^cnh.*

“The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun adores his mother. Hail to you Isis, great of Magic, the elder woman from the body of her mother, Nut, the glorious one in heaven before Re. Adoration to you in the evening bark, jubilation to you in the morning bark, the one who gave birth to all the gods, son of Re, Ptolemy, comes before you, lady of life on this beautiful day. You appeared in its circuit, he ties to you the uraeus, he fastens to you the mighty one, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, your son, Horus. Your ka is in peace, lady of life on this beautiful day, you appeared in it, the one whom the gods satisfy after rage. Beloved of Re, you are inside his boat repelling the Apophis-snake with the power of your spells. Behold, Ptolemy comes before you, adoring the beauties, removing misfortunes and yearly turmoils, his evils of this year has been removed, his back is turned against it. He made offerings because of it, while her face is towards the lord. How welcome are you again, he has not done anything bad towards the god of his town, he has not done any evil, nothing will be counted against him among the assessors and the scribes of the two lands. Those who inflict injuries every year, who drives the herds to the god’s slaughtering-block - he is protected from this year, from its inimical spells, which accompany (it). In peace in peace: O happy new year, he provides your ka with offerings, o Isis, his face is (filled) with life”.

Isis:

*dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k t3w nb(w) h3swt nb(wt) 3st di(t) ^cnh nb nb(t) ^cnh. di.n.(i) n.k nsyw n R^c n
 pt.*

“Words spoken, I give to you all the lands and the foreign lands, Isis, giver of life. I give to you kingship of Re in the sky”.

Commentary:

- 1) This line of script, which is shown by the original, is missing in G. Bénédite’s copy.
- 2) Goyon read sit as *h3t*, see Goyon 1972: 87 (28).

Base(S)
Bibliography : Bénédite 1893: 51. PM VI 242.
a) <i>in.(i) n.t Hꜥpy bꜥh.f¹ šnwt² n it bdt</i> “I bring to you the Hapy, he floods the granary with barley and emmer”.
b) <i>ii³.n nswt-bity wsr-k3-Rꜥ mry-Imn hr.t 3st in.f n.t Hꜥpy-šmꜥw hr kbh wꜥb m Snmt r swꜥb pr.t.</i> “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, comes to you Isis; he brings to you the southern Hapy carrying pure libation water from Biggeh to purify your temple”.
c) <i>in.(i) n.t Hꜥpy r sdf3 t3w nbw.</i> “I bring to you Hapy to provision all the fields”.
d) <i>in.(i) n.t Hꜥpy sw3d⁴.f wdhw bꜥh.f⁵ šnwt.</i> “I bring to you the Hapy, he makes prosperous the offering table/granary, he floods the granary”.
e) <i>in.(i) n.t Hꜥpy-šmꜥw hr ht nb(t) pr.(w) im.f.</i> “I bring to you the southern Hapy carrying everything coming forth from it”.
f) <i>in.(i) n.t Hꜥpy rnp hr ii(t) r-tr.f nn hb⁶</i> “I bring to you the young Hapy coming at his time without lessening”.
Commentary: 1) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy. 2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy. 3) <i>in.n</i> is a mistake for <i>ii.n</i>, see Žabkar 1988:179, footnote 144. 4) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy. 5) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy. 6) The original sign has now disappeared however, Žabkar read it as <i>3bw</i>, see Žabkar 1988: 184, footnote 11.

Door Lintel (F)**Bibliography:**

Bénédite 1893: 51-52.
PM VI 242 (338).

Bḥdt ntr-ꜥ nb pt s3b-šwt.

“The Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage”.

1) *ꜥnh Hr ḥwnw kni mry Wsir¹ nb ʿBt-wꜥbt.*

“May Horus live, the strong child, beloved of Osiris, lord of Abaton”.

2) *ꜥnh nswt-bity nb t3wy² wsr-k3-Rꜥ mry-Imn mry 3st³ nb(t) ʿIrḳ.*

“May the King of Upper and Lower Egypt live, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Isis, lady of Philae”.

3) *ꜥnh s3-Rꜥ nb ḥꜥw Ptlwmys mry Hr⁴-nd-it.f ḥry-ib ʿIrḳ.*

“May the son of Re live, the lord of the diadems, Ptolemy, beloved of Horus the avenger of his father, who resides in Philae”.

4) *ꜥnh nswt-bity nb t3wy⁵ wsr-k3-Rꜥ mry-Imn mry 3st⁶ nb(t) ʿIrḳ.*

“May the King of Upper and Lower Egypt live, the lord of the two lands, (strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun), beloved of Isis, the lady of Philae”.

Commentary:

- 1) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 3) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 4) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.
- 5) The original shows  which is missing in G. Bénédite's copy.
- 6) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

Door Lintel (F')**Bibliography:**

Bénédite 1893: 51.
PM VI 242 (338).

Transliteration:

Bḥdt ntr-ʿ3 nb pt s3b-šwt.

“The Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage”.

1) *ʿnh Hr ḥwnw kni mry Wsir¹.*

“May Horus live, the strong child, beloved of Osiris”.

2) *ʿnh nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-Rʿ mry-Imn mry 3st.*

“May the king of Upper and Lower Egypt live, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Isis”.

3) *ʿnh s3-Rʿ nb ḥʿw Ptlwmys mry Hr².*

“May the son of Re live, the lord of the diadems, Ptolemy, beloved of Horus”.

4) *ʿnh nswt-bity wsr-k3-Rʿ mry-Imn mry 3st.*

“May the king of Upper and Lower Egypt live, the lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, beloved of Isis”.

Commentary:

1) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

2) The original shows  and not  as shown by G. Bénédite's copy.

Lintel (m)**Bibliography :**

Bénédite 1893: 52.
PM VI 242 (338).

*Hr ḥwn kni nbty wr pḥty Hr-nbw šḥ sw it.f nswt-bity wsr-k3-Rʿ mry-Imn s3-Rʿ Ptlwmys.
ir.n.f m mnw.f n mwt.f 3st di(t) ʿnh nb(t) Irḳ ir.n.f wsh psdt st ḥtp.n ntrw nbw Irḳ ḥw.s dt.*

“Horus, the strong child, who belongs to the two ladies, great of power, the golden Horus, his father caused him to appear, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, Ptolemy, he made (as) his monuments to his mother, Isis, giver of life, lady of Philae, he made for her the hall of the ennead, the place of rest of all the gods of Philae, she protects

forever”.

Lintel (m')

Bibliography :

Bénédite 1893: 52.
PM VI 242 (338).

Hr ḥwn s3-R^c Ptlwmys 3st nb(t) Irḳ nb(t) ḥ3swt rsyw.

“Horus, the child, son of Re, Ptolemy, Isis, lady of Philae, lady of the southern foreign lands”.

Doorway (e)

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 52.
PM VI 242 (338).

nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb ḥ^cw Ptlwmys 3st nb(t) Irḳ mry.

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of diadems, Ptolemy, beloved of Isis, lady of Philae”.

Doorway (e')

Bibliography:

Bénédite 1893: 52.
PM VI 242 (338).

nswt-bity nb t3wy wsr-k3-R^c mry-Imn s3-R^c nb ḥ^cw Ptlwmys 3st nb(t) Irḳ mry.

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, strong is the ka of Re, beloved of Amun, son of Re, lord of diadems, Ptolemy, beloved of Isis, lady of Philae”.

The Central Hall of the Temple of Edfu
The Translation of the Texts
Chamber N of É. Chassinat

E I 18-19.

E I 357-385.

E XV 25-36.

External Doorjambs of the Western Side	
First Register	E-ExD-WDJ-1
Bibliography: E XV 25-26. E XV, pl. 34. SERat Scene No. 901572.	
Title: <i>hṅk(t) šḥt n ʕpy ntrī swr tšš n Bḥdt.</i> “Offering fields to the divine winged beetle, who increases the boundaries of the Behdetite”.	
King: <i>nswt-bity iwʕ-ntr-mnh s3-Rʕ p3-mry-3st. iwʕ mnḥ ḥry-idb wp tššw n ntrw šmʕyw¹.</i> <i>dd mdw wp.n.i tššw.k m bw 3b-ib.f mtr.i n.k ḥnbwt² m st-ib.k ḥmt.i ḥ3-t3.k tn.i dniwt.k rdi.i ḥʕw.k ḥr mnw.k rd.sn n.k mi wn.sn šsp.k šmw.sn tp-rnpt.</i> <i>s3 ʕnh w3s nb ḥ3.f mi Rʕ dt.</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis. The beneficent heir who is in charge of the river bank, who opens the boundaries to the gods of Upper Egypt. Words spoken: ‘I open your boundaries at the place of his heart’s desire, I assign to you gardens at the place of your heart. I treble your fields, I distinguish your portion, I caused your abundance of your daily offerings, they grow to you as they exist. May you receive their harvest at the beginning of the year. All protection, life, and dominion are around him like Re forever”.	

Horus:

“*di.i n.k rww n dr-3hw š3w n ifd n t3.*”

dd mdw in Hr Bḥdt ntr 3 nb pt s3b šwt pr m 3ḥt ḥnty itryt mḥ3 nsw nḥt nb ntrw nb m3t iwty whi m spw.f 3 šfyt m t3wy nbw hry prt.sn ḥ(w)t nb(w)t hr wdḥ.sn.

“I give to you the districts of the lands to the limits of the sun, fields to the four sides of the land.”

Utterance by Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, who comes forth from the horizon, the foremost of the Double Sanctuary of the north, the strong king, lord of the gods, lord of maet, there is no neglect at his time, great of awe in all of the two lands. I give to you all fields containing their seeds, all trees with their fruit”.

Hathor:

dd mdw in Hwt-Hr nb(t) Twnt irt Rḥ hry(t)-ib Bḥdt ḥmt-ntr n Bḥdt

di.i n.k t3šw r-ḥ wbn n šww drp.k ntrw r mrt.k.

dd mdw šsp.i ww.k ḥnd.n.i 3ḥwt.k 3wi.i šmw.k tp rnpt rdi.i n.k (t3šw) r-ḥ wbn n šww r Psšt.k hyn m nnt swr.k psšt n ntrw r mrt.k šps.k ḥnw r di(t) ib.k.

Utterance by Hathor, lady of Iunet, eye of Re, who resides in Behdet, god’s wife of the Behdetite.

“I give to you the boundaries to the limit of the shining of the sunlight. You provision the gods as much as you wish.”

Words spoken, “I received your fields, I tread on your fields, I reap your harvest at the beginning of the year. I give to you (boundaries) to the limit of the shining of the sun light for your share, the boundary is the sky. May you increase the share of the gods as much as you wish, may you provide the living as much as your heart gives”.

Commentary:

- 1)  is a mistake for .
- 2)  is a mistake for .

Second Register	E-ExD-WDJ-2
Bibliography: E XV 26-27. E XV, pl.35. SERat Scene No. 901568.	
Title: <i>ḥḥi-ihṯ n Hr n pr.f shṯp nsw¹m ḥtpw.f.</i> Raising offerings to Horus of his house, who pacifies the king with his offerings.	
King: <i>nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh s3-R^c p3-mry-3st. ḥsbw š3w n B3kt sdf3 ḳbhwy swr ^cb3w n ntrw.</i> <i>dd mdw šsp.i dniwt [... ...] sšr šnsw ps t3-ḥd m3^c n ntrw r swrd p3wt.sn ^cnh.sn r-3w ib.sn ms.n.i n k3.k mi ḳd w^c ḥtp.k im ḥr mr.n.k.</i> <i>s3 ^cnh w3s nb ḥ3.f mi R^c.</i> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the beneficent heir of Re, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, Shai of Egypt, who provisions the two lands, who increases offerings of the gods. Words spoken, “I receive (your portion of) [... ...] sesher-bread, shenw-bread, Ps-bread, real white bread of the gods to cause to endure their bread offering, they live to the extent of their heart, I present to your ka all of them, you are content therein because of what you wished. All protection, life, and dominion are around him like Re.”	
Horus: <i>di.i n.k ḥwt nb(wt) bnr k3w špsw di nwn ms 3h(w)t.</i> <i>dd mdw in Hr tm3-^c wnp Nhs ntr ^c3 nb P-Msn Hn mt3w.f m s3 btⁿww.f sh^r sbiw m ḥd.f wr.</i> <i>di.(i) n.k Kmt ḥr f3i n.k inw.sn Idbwy-Hr n.k špssw.sn.</i> “I give to you every sweet thing and noble provisions (which) the primeval waters give and the fields produce.” Utterance by Horus, the mighty arm, who stabs Seth, the great god, lord of Edfu, his fork cane² is driven in the back of his enemies³, who overthrows his rebels with his great mace. “I give to you Egypt carrying to you their tribute, Banks of Horus (Egypt) carrying to you their provisions”.	

Khent-Iabtet:

dd mdw n Hnt-i3btt nb(t) Hnt-i3btt 3st S3wt-h3-s3.s

di.i n.k hḥ n h(w)t nb(wt) nfr(w)t dbꜥw h3w m ḥtpw.

[... ..] *m hrt.sn di.i n.k wrw[...]* *f3i n.k inw.sn wrw n.k hry b3kw.sn.*

Utterance by Khent-Iabtet, lady of Khent-Iabtet (14th nome of Lower Egypt), Isis, who protects behind her son⁴.

“I give to you a million of every good thing and tens of thousands and thousands of offerings [... ..] with their portion. I give to you elders [...] carrying their tributes, elders (carrying) to you their work”.

Commentary:

1)  is a mistake for .

2) It also means harpoon shaft or a staff. It was used for the stabbing the crocodile and the hippopotamus and other sethian enemies, see Wilson 1997:401. For other reading for this word, see Hassan 1976: 7.

3) An epithet for Horus, see LGG IV 805-806.

4) For this epithet, see LGG VI, 138.

Third Register	E-ExD-WDJ-3
Bibliography: E XV 27-28. E XV, pl.36. Serat Scene No. 901566.	
Title: <i>hḥnk(t) irtt n ḥwnw šps rdi ꜥnh w3s n nhn.</i> Offering milk to the noble child, giving life and dominion to the child.	

King:

nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh s3-R^c p3-mry-3st. tit dsrt nt nb wpw mhr n Hs3t m mndt.s.

*dd mdw hd bnr iry-nph n 3ht imyw-mndt n sh3t-Hr s^cnh n hrd srnp i3w srwd phty n [... ...
... ..] r ntrw.*

s3 ^cnh w3s nb h3.f mi R^c dt.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis. The sacred image of the lord of the milk cows, suckled by the cow from her breasts.

Words spoken, “White milk, sweet milk, milk of cows, milk of the sacred cow, which makes the child live, who rejuvenates the old (man), who makes strong the strength of the [... ..] more than the gods.

All protection, life, and dominion are around him”.

Horus-sema-tawy:

di.i n.k hmwt hry hdt.sn mi Mnht hry msw.sn.

*dd mdw in Hr sm3-t3wy p3 hrd 3 wr tpy n Hr Bhdt ntr 3 nb pt hy-^cnh-n-nb-dr-ds.f¹ r-p^ct wr
n psdt.*

di.n.i n.k 3ht [... ..].s.

“I give to you cows with their milk like Menhet with their children”.

Utterance by Horus-sema-tawy, the child, the very great and first (born) of Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, the living child of the lord of the universe himself, the great hereditary prince of the ennead.

“I give to you cows [... ..]”.

Menbit:

dd mdw in Mnbit 3t Hr wts-nfrw.f hḳ3t t3wy rr hmt.f hnt st-wrt hr [...] r st n Hr-3hty.

dd mdw šsp.n.i bnr m ꜥwy [...] bꜥh m ꜥnh [...] nb

di.i n.k ꜥk srwd [p3] mdw.k, hw.k [... ..].

Utterance by Menbit, nurse of Horus, who raises up his beauty, queen of the two lands, who nurses his majesty before the great place on [...] upon the throne of Horakhty.

Words spoken, “I receive your milk as the handiwork of [...], flooded with all life and [...].

I give to you your arm to make firm your stick. May you strike [... ..].”

Commentary:

1) An epithet of Horus-sema-tawy, see LGG V 617.

Fourth Register	E-ExD-WDJ-4
Bibliography:	
E XV 28-29 E XV, pl. 37. SERat Scene No. 901571.	
Bibliography:	
Simonet 1994:53.	
Title:	
<i>bꜥh hnḳt n nb st-wnp¹ ttf ibw n hꜥkw-ibw.f</i>	
“Pouring out beer for the lord of the Place of Piercing, overflowing the hearts of his enemies”.	

King:

Nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh s3-R^c p3-mry-3st. ^ck3-ib ph3-n-ht hr ntrw nnsnk m h3ty.f.

dd mdw nht-Hrwy nn iry ^cwy Mnkt hmyt nty hnmt nwd n 3st m ^cwy.s dsr.s rdiwt.s (n)(?) ntrw swri.k im.sn wnf hr.k hntš ib n k3.k.

s3 ^cnh w3s nb h3.f mi R^c dt.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, whose heart is content, open of belly in the presence of the gods, there is no gloom in his heart.

Words spoken, “This *nht-Hrwy*-beer which belongs to the hands of Menqet, khemyet-beer of the nurses, made by Isis as her handiwork, she makes sacred her giving (to) the gods (?). May you drink from them, your face rejoices and your heart rejoices to your ka. All protection, life and dominion are around him like Re forever”.

Horus:

sr.i nrw m hrw n P^ct snd.k m htyw Rhyt.

dd mdw in Hr k3 nht hw h3kw-ibw Bhdt wnp.f htyw.f ttf.i ibw n sbiw r.k hk3.i n.k h3tyw n wn-mw.k.

di.i n.k ib.k mn hr st.f h3ty.k htp hr mnbit.k.

“I proclaim fear in the faces of the *P^ct* -people, fear of you in the bodies of the Rekhyt-people.”

Utterance by Horus, the strong bull, who strikes the rebels of the Behdetite, he stabs his enemies, I overwhelm the hearts of the rebels for you. I rule the hearts of your opponents for you.

I give to you your heart upon his place; may your heart be satisfied on your couch”.

Hathor:

dd mdw in Hwt-Hr nb(t) t3wy nb(t) t3 irt hnkt m km3.n ib.s m ir m-^cwy.s.

di.i n.k th šw m ksm ph3-ib n wdi ht.k isft.

*dd mdw šsp.n.i dsrw.k s^cm htyt im.sn msh3 ib tñn hr di.i [...].s šhrw.k mnḥ sh.k n ts w3w3tyw
hftyw.k w3i dw r.k d3[...].sn hr st.sn wn.k [hr] t3[...]*

Utterance by Hathor, lady of the two lands, lady of bread, who makes beer as the creation of her heart, who makes (it) as her handiwork.

“I give to you drunkenness free from a hangover and happiness without making your body disordered”.

Utterance, I receive your *dsrw*-beer, when the throat drinks from them, the heart rejoices, and the face brightens, I give her [...] your plans, excellent is your advice, the conspirators and your foes are not joined, those who plot evil against you, they [move] upon their place, you walk [upon] [...].

Commentary:

1) [□] is a mistake for [◡].

Doorjamb of the Eastern Side

First Register

E-ExD-EDJ-1

Bibliography:

E XV 30.

PM VI 130 (167)-(168).

E XV, pl.38.

SERat Scene No. 901573.

Title:

hnk shwt n Hr n nbw swr t3šw n ^cwy iw^c t3wy.

Offering fields to Horus of Gold, who increases the boundaries for the heir of the two lands.

King:

Nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh s3-R^c p3-mry-3st. snn nḥ n Šw imy-r 3ḥt mtr rww n ntrw rsyw.

dd mdw si^cr.i n.k 3ḥ(w) ms [...]¹ šdyt ḥnk.i šḥt r-ḥft-ḥr.k Mwt ms.(ti) Ḥnmt rr.(ti) nḥ t3 m msw.s n^cw^cy n.k šmw nb stp n R^c n rnpt mḥ.k šnwt.k m ḥwt.k.

s3 nḥ w3s ḥ3.f mi R^c dt.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis. The living image of Shu, overseer of the fields, who assigns districts to the southern gods.

Words spoken, “I lift up to you fields, floral offerings and meadows, I offer fields in your presence. Mut produces, Meskenet nurses and the lands live as her children, stealing for you every harvest chosen by Re annually. May you fill your store room with your things.

All protection, life, and dominion are around him like Re forever”.

Horus:

di.i n.k 3ḥw iwr.tw [tp]-tr.s ms.s n.k r dmdyt.s.

dd mdw in Hr Bḥdt ntr 3 nb pt s3b-šwt pr m 3ḥt ḥnty itrt šm^cw bik 3 s3b šwt [r]-3w n pḥty.f ḥry-ib Wts-Hr.

di.i n.k šḥwt ṯḥn.tw m w3d^cw3d^c ḥr ms n.k rnpwt nb(wt).

“I give to you the field full at its season. It produces for you at its time.”

Utterance by Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, who comes forth from the horizon, the foremost of the Double Sanctuary of the south, the great falcon great, him of dappled plumage entirely to his strength, who resides in Edfu.

“I give to you fields bright with green plants bringing to you all fresh plants.”

Isis:

dd mdw in 3st ḥnwt st wrt nbty-rḥyt ms [...].

di.i n.k šḥt bk3.tw r-nwy.s ms.s n.k ḥḥ n msw.s.

Utterance by Isis, mistress of the great place, two ladies of the Rekhyt-people, [... ...].

I give to you the field pregnant at its time; it produces for you a million of its plants”.

Commentary:

1) This lacuna probably contains .

Second Register	E-ExD-EDJ-2
Bibliography: EXV 31. E XV, pl.39. SERat Scene No. 901569.	
Title: <i>f3i-ih̄t n h̄k3 psdt¹ sdf3 wdḥw n k3 nh̄t.</i> “Raising up offerings to the ruler of the ennead, provisioning the offering table of the strong bull”.	
King: <i>nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh̄ s3-R^c p3-mry-3st. s3 Ḥ^cpy wtṯ n Rnnt drp ^cb3 ntrw nbw.</i> <i>dd mdw šsp.n.i tnw mdnw gs-ph3 wnw nb(w) n ḥtpw-ntrw ḥnk n šmw r srwd p3wt.sn</i> <i>^cnh̄.sn ḥntš.sn si^cr.i n.k st h3 phr(?) m ḥwt ḥtp.k ḥr 3bi ib.k.</i> <i>s3 ^cnh̄ w3s nb ḥ3.f mi R^c dt.</i> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, son of Hapy, created by Rennet, provisioning the offering table of all the gods. Words spoken, “I receive the tenth part of the bread, and all of the cattle of the divine-offerings. Offering to the statues to cause to endure their bread (that) they may live and they may rejoice, I raise up them to you, turn around (?) with things. May you be satisfied with the desire of your heart. All protection, life, and dominion around him like Re forever”.	

Horus:

di.i n.k t3-rsy hry k3w t3-mh3 hry df3w.s.

dd mdw in Hr Bhd ntr 3 nb pt nswt sm3w bity mh3w dmd pssty wnn m wp sm3 w3dwy.

di.i n.k hwt nb (wt) n t3 hr ndb.f[...] r 3ryt.k.

“I give to you Upper Egypt containing provisions and Lower Egypt containing its supplies.”

Utterance by Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, King of Upper Egypt and King of Lower Egypt, who unites the parts which were divided, who ties the two plants.

“I give to you all things of the land upon its foundation [...] to your roof”.

Hathor:

dd mdw in Hwt-Hr wrt hryt-ib Wtst-Hr hmt-ntr n Hr Bhd ntr 3.

di.i n.k bw nb(w) n dr-i3hw hry hwt.sn r [s]df3² sn^c.k.

Utterance by Hathor, the great one, who resides in Edfu, god's wife of Horus the Behdetite, the great god.

“I give to you all places to the limit of the sunlight containing their things to provision your storehouse”.

Commentary:

1) ☉ is a mistake for ☽.

2) This lacuna probably contains ☐.

Third Register

E-ExD-EDJ-3

Bibliography:

E XV 32-33.

E XV, pl. 40.

SERaT Scene No. 901567.

Title:

hmk irtt n hy 3nh msw di h3dw bnr n hrd nhn.

Offering milk to the child, great of manifestations. Giving h3d-milk and bener-milk to the young child”.

King:

nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh, s3-R^c p3-mry-3st. snn nh n Hr m Inpw imh m nph n 3ht.

dd mdw nh w3s nn n phw n wrt b^ch.n.i iry-nphw n mht irtt hdt b3hw, bnr imyw mndt sh3t-Hr imh.k im.sn wsr phty.k rnp r h^cw.k nb.

s3 nh w3s nb h3.f mi R^c dt.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis. The living image of Horus with Anubis, who sucks from the udder of the *akht*-cow.

Words spoken, “This life and dominion of the great cow, I pour out the milk of the Mehet goddess, milk, hedj-milk of the east, bener-milk, milk of the sacred cow. May you suck from them, strong is your strength, young are all your limbs.

All protection, life and dominion are around him like Re forever”.

Horus-sema-tawy:

di.i n.k phty n Hr-m-3h-bit it.k t3wy mitt.f. dd mdw in Hr sm3-t3wy hy wr nh-mswt¹ p3 hrd šps s3 Hwt-Hr.

di.i n.k wsr n Hr Dd^cwt wnp.k hftyw.k mi ir.n.f.

“I give to you the strength of Horus in Khemmis, may you seize the two lands like him.”
Utterance by Horus-sema-tawy, the great child, who with the living manifestations, the noble child, son of Hathor.

“I give to you the strength of Horus of Buto², may you stab your enemies like he has done”.

Hathor:

dd mdw in Hwt-Hr nb(t) Twnt irt-R^c hry(t)-ib Bhdt mwt-ntr n Hr sm3-t3wy.

di.i n.k wts n Hr m st-wrt.f hk3.k hr mnbit.f. dd mdw s^cm h^dw sh [...] nh-w3s.k nh.i wsr phty

di.i n.k knt n [... ..].

Utterance by Hathor, lady of Iunet, the eye of Re, who resides in Behdet, god's mother of Horus-sema-tawy.

"I give to you the throne of Horus at his great place. May you rule upon his throne." Words spoken, "Swallowing the hedj-milk, swallowing [...] your milk that I may live strong and powerful.

I give to you valour [... ..]."

Commentary:

1) For this epithet, see LGG II 146. See also Baines 1986:43-50. Franke sees that it means creation, see Franke 1991: 39-53; see also Fecht 1962: 26, footnote 1.

2) For this form of Horus, see LGG V 296-297.

Fourth Register	E-ExD-EDJ-4
Bibliography:	
E XV 33.	
E XV, pl. 41.	
SERat Scene No. 901570.	
Title:	
<i>wdn hnkt n nb 3w-ib sh^c ib n Hr</i>	
Offering beer to the lord of happiness, making glad the heart of Horus.	
King:	
<i>nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh s3-R^c p3-mry-3st. k^c-ib hr ntrw ph3-ib hr ntrwt 3hw shrw mn^ch sh.</i>	
<i>dd mdw 3hw nn m r^cwy 3ht nbi špst m k3w.s m sm3w nfr(w) pr m Gb¹ m ntyw m Npy s^cm.k im.sn hntš ntri.k sbi špt.k.</i>	
<i>s3 nh w3s nb h3.f mi R^c dt.</i>	

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis. Exact of heart before the gods, open of heart before the goddesses, efficient of plans and excellent of advice.

Words spoken, “These alcoholic beverages are from the hands of the glorious one, which the noble one made as her beverages from beautiful plants which come forth from Geb as myrrh from Nepyt. May you swallow from them, your heart rejoices, your anger is removed.

All protection, life and dominion are around him like Re forever”.

Horus:

gnh h3tyw n p^ct r hty.k rth.i n.k ibw n hnmmt .

dd mdw in Hr tm3-^c db3 dw m Db3t wnp whi-sp.f m st-wnp.

Rdi.i n.k snd.k m ibw sbiw.k rth n.k h3ty(w) n h3kw-ibw.k.

“Welding the hearts of the Paet-people in order to follow you, I subdue for you the hearts of the mankind.”

Utterance by Horus the mighty arm, punishing the evil doers in Edfu, stabbing the “one who fails at its time” in the Place of Piercing.

“I place fear of you in the hearts of your rebels for you; I subdue for you the hearts of your rebels”.

Isis:

dd mdw in 3st-Srkt nb(t) Wtst-Hr ttf h3tyw nw hftyw.s.

rdi.i hryt.k m t3wy h3swt Kmt htp hr mw.k.

dd mdw swri.i m ntri.k thn hr.i htp ib.k hr mnbit.f k3 dw š[...].sn m ʕd.sn hftyw m ht.s n sbiw.k nb sbi m [...].sn rhyw.k rkḥ m nsrt.

Utterance by Isis-Serqet, lady of Edfu, overwhelming the hearts of her enemies.

“I place fear of you in the two lands and the foreign lands. Egypt is content and loyal to you.”

Words spoken, “I drink from your beer, my face brightens, your heart is content upon his throne. Those who plot evil, they [...] with their slaughter, enemies with her fire of all your rebels, burnt with their [...], your adversaries are burnt with fire”.

Commentary:

1) Geb is the personification of the earth and his name in the Pyramid Texts is a synonym for the earth also in the Coffin Texts, Geb embodies the earth; see Bedier 1995: 173ff, footnote 4. For other parallel examples, see E I 367-368; 372-373.

Doorways

Doorway of the Western Side

Bibliography:

E XV 34-35.

First Register

No inscriptions.

Second Register

ḥnh ntr nfr s3 Bḥdt sšp-ḥnh n ḥ3b šwt ms mwt.f Hwt-Hr wrt nb(t) Twnt nswt-bity (Ptolemy VI) mry¹ Bḥdt ntr ḥ3 s3b šwt.

May the good god live, son of Behdet, the living image of him of the dappled plumage, child of his mother, Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Ptolemy VI), beloved of the Behdetite, the great god, him of the dappled plumage”.

Commentary:

1)  is a mistake for .

Third Register

[... ...] [*hw*] sš.f s3w snwt swd3 B3kt s3-Rḥ p3-mry-3st mry Hr Bḥdt ntr ḥ3 nb pt.

[... ...] [who protects] his nest, who protects Egypt, who protects Egypt, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, beloved of Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky.

Fourth Register

[*ḥnh*] ntr nfr ḥn m ḥḥ.f mi nbw. di.f sw m b3ḥw nswt-bity iwḥ-ntr-mnh mry Hr Bḥdt ḥry st-wrt

May the good god [live], beautiful in his appearance like gold. He placed him in the east, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, beloved of Horus the Behdetite who is upon the great throne.

Fifth Register

[*ḥnh ntr nfr*] *wtt n Hr ir mnw.[f] m st-ib.f s3-Rḥ p3-mry-3st mry Hr Bhdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt.*

[May the good god live], created by Horus, making his monuments in his place of his heart, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, beloved of Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky”.

Sixth Register

[*ḥnh ntr nfr*] *ms-m-3h-bit nst-Rḥ mn.(w) hry sšm.f nswt-bity iwḥ-ntr-mnh mry Hr sm3-t3wy.*

“May the god live, born in Khemmis, the throne of Re is firm containing his statue, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, beloved of Horus Sema-tawy”.

Seventh Register

[... ..] *n nb shṭp Rḥ m mr.f s3-Rḥ nb ḥḥw p3-mry-3st mry Hwt-Hr nb(t) Twnt.*

“[... ..] who appeases Re with his love, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, beloved of Hathor, lady of Iunet”.

Eighth Register

ḥnh ntr nfr Bhdt wr pḥty sḥw ib.f m spr nswt-bity iwḥ-ntr-mnh mry Hr Bhdt nb Msn.

“May the god good live, the Behdetite, great of strength, who protects his heart with petitions, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the beneficent heir of the god, beloved of Horus the Behdetite, lord of Mesen”.

Doorway of the Eastern Side

Bibliography:

E XV 35-36.

First Register

No inscriptions.

Second Register

ḥnh ntr nfr ḥḥ m nsw hrp w3dty nswt-bity (Ptolemy VI) mry Hwt-Hr wrt, nb(t) Twnt.

“May the good god live, who stands as king, who controls the two Uraei, (Ptolemy VI), beloved of Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet”.

Third Register

ḥnh ntr nfr tp ḥwt.f Hwt-bik mn.(w) hry shr.f s3-Rḥ p3-mry-3st mry Hr Bḥdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt.

“May the good god live, upon his roof; the Mansion of the falcon is firm containing his statues, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, beloved of Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky.

Fourth Register

[ḥnh] ntr nfr wtt n ntrw iwḥ mnḥ n ntrwt nswt-bity iwḥ-ntr-mnḥ mry Hr sm3-t3wy.

“May the good god live, created by the gods, the beneficent heir of the goddesses, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, beloved of Horus-sema-tawy”.

Fifth Register

[ḥnh] ntr nfr mḥi hr Htm¹ r shḥ hr nst [... ...] s3-Rḥ p3-mry-3st mry Hr Bḥdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt.

“May the good god live, who cares for Egypt, in order to cause to appear on the throne [... ...] , son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, beloved of Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky”.

Commentary:

1) For this word representing Egypt, see LGG V 847, 924. Literally, it means the fortress but it was used to refer to Egypt, see also Fairman 1943: 280.

Sixth Register

[... ...] iwḥ 3ḥt bḥ m33-Hr¹ m df3w.f nswt-bity iwḥ-ntr-mnḥ mry Hr Bḥdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt.

“[...] flooding the fields, inundating the Horus land with his provisions, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, beloved of Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky”.

Seventh Register

[... ..] .f *sh̄tp ḥm.s m sšst s3-R^c p3-mry-3st mry Ḥwt-Ḥr wrt nbt Twnt.*

“[... ..] who appeases her majesty with the sistrum, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, beloved of Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet”.

Eighth Register

ḥnh ntr nfr wr mnw m Msn mnḥ bit m st-wrt nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnḥ mry Ḥr Bḥdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt.

“May the good god live and the monuments of Mesen be great, O excellent king of Lower Egypt in the Great Place, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, beloved of Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky”.

Commentary:

1) “Seeing Horus” is the agriculture land of the Edfu nome in the geographical list of the temple of Edfu, see Wilson 1997:394. For *Ḥr-m33*, see Goyon 1985:6(35); 134 (48). For other variants, see E VI 328, 17; E VII 23, 6-7; E III 9, 10; E I 18, 38; E VI 205, 8. However, D. Meeks reads it as *m33-Ḥr*, see Meeks 1972b: 100, footnote 156. M. Alliot 1954: 711, footnote 4. D. Kurth’s reading concurs with Meeks, See Kurth 2004: 38; see also Husson 1977: 84, footnote.12.

Door Frame - Eastern side

Bibliography:

E I 357- 358.
PM VI 142 (167)-(168).
Schenkel 1977: 98-100.
Alliot 1956:711, 805-806.
Fairman 1935: 28.
Caminos 1956:17.

Nsw-šm^c bity-mḥw Hr-Bḥdty ntr ʕ nb pt ʕpy ntri ḥry-ib 3ḥt ʕpy-r-pt-m-ʕpy-wr. sk3.n.f pt n b3.f ir(t)-n.f-š^ct nt sbiw m ḥrt n m33 m irty.sn n sdm m ʕnhwy¹.sn sm3w w^c sn.nw.f im.sn m ḥd 3t n tp ʕnh.sn im² ntr wr ḥry-ntrw sm3.n.f ḥftyw.f ʕwy.fy-mds-m- ḥ3kw-ibw. dd in R^c r.f ntk snn pw m t3-šm^cw nḥt ʕḥ pw Nḥbt W3dt r-gs.k m i^crty m33 tw.k³ sbiw sd3.sn m ḥ^cw.sn bdš.sn nn ʕḥ^c.sn mr.sn ḥr-ʕ whm. dd r.f in R^c wr pw rdit.n.f sw imi-tw w3dty⁴ s3b šwt pr.f m 3ḥt ḥnty itrt šm^cyt nt pt ḥw n.f sbiw m ḥprw.f šḥr n.f d3d3 m r3-w3t⁵ ir.tw-sšmw.f-m-swt-nb(wt)-nt-ntrw-ntrwt ḥr sd3 sbiw n m33.f bh m dw3w m sb3 w^cty m ntr dw3y⁶ Hr-dw3ty Hr-Bḥdty šḥr.sn ḥftyw nb s3-R^c Ptwlmys ʕnh dt mry 3st n f3i.sn tp.sn r nhḥ.

“The King of Upper Egypt and King of Lower Egypt, Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, the divine sun disc who resides in the horizon, who flies to the sky as the great winged disc. He raises the sky for his ba, making a slaughter of the rebels for him in the sky, they neither saw with their eyes nor did they hear with their ears. (Each) one kills his fellow among them in the harmful moment; there is no head (so that) they live there. The elder god, who is upon (master of) the gods, he slays his foes; his hands are sharp with rebels. Saying by Re to him: “You are this image in Upper Egypt; it is he with the strong palace. Nekhbet and Wadjet are beside you as the two cobras. (When) the rebels see you, they tremble in their bodies, they are weak and they cannot stand, they suffer immediately and repeatedly.” Re says to him: “He is great; he placed him between the two uraei. Him of the dappled plumage, he comes out from the horizon, the foremost of the southern shrine of the sky, striking the rebels in his forms; overthrows to him the foes from the way. His statues are placed in all the places of the gods and goddesses to cause the rebels to tremble at seeing him, who shines in the morning as a lonely star as a morning god, Horus-dwaty (of the under world). O Horus the Behdetite, they overthrow all the enemies (of) the son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, the beloved of Isis, may they never raise their heads for eternity”.

Commentary:

- 1)  replace . For other examples where  replaces  in other words due to the similarity between these two signs in hieratic, see De Wit 1955:116-117. On the other hand, Leitz noted that  has the phonetic value of ʕnh and that  can be read ʕnhwy, see Leitz 2004: 173, 178. It also appeared during the Roman period in several examples which date back to emperor Hadrian in the temple of Deir el-Chelouit where  has the phonetic value of , see Zivie-Coche 1982-1986; Zivie-Coche 1996:869. Another example shows that  could have also the phonetic value of  as can be found in E I 371, 17.
- 2) For a parallel expression, see E VI 111, 4-6; Alliot 1954:711; Leitz 2004:128; see Fairman 1935:28-31.
- 3) Object pronoun 2nd person singular, see Junker 1906: § 52; Junge 1996: 80.
- 4) This text refers to the Myth of Horus when he placed himself between the two serpents (Nekhbet and Wadjet) and his enemies fell down as they were afraid, see E VI 128, 10-12; Wilson 1997: 208-209.
- 5) This expression is usually used in the stairway texts (E I 536, 10; 555, 4; 564, 17-18) and

the doorways (E I 358, 8-9; E VI 131, 1-2) to ensure the unobstructed progress of the processions, see Wilson 1997: 1221.

6) For this epithet, see LGG II 821.

Door Frame-Western Side

Bibliography:

E I 357-358.

PM VI 142 (167)-(168).

Gutbub 1964: 57 (7).

[... ..] s3b šwt hpwy wr[... ..] sšm.f sntyw [... ..] r-mn r-
 ʕ.sn phrr r-r ʕ ib.f nsw-n-pt hk3-t3wy bity-n-ntrw-rmt st-m-B3w¹ shd t3 ʕnh hr nb n m33.f htp m
 Msnt wbn-(m)-P wr st.f m St-wrt ir w3dty st.sn r-gs.f snty (m)-h3.f ʕh-ʕ-m-nsw-m-Wtst-Hr Nrt
 m-h3t hr.f m Nhbt ʕpy-hr-bhdw.f [...] ʕpyw ity ntri nb ityw ʕpy-r-nnt d3i.n.f [...] n.f t3 m
 dmt.f ʕnh-r-nb-wnm-m-hddwt.f m 3hw nbw rd giw hry nht.f² prw-ntrw-hry-shrw.f rwt-nt-
 dd-m3ʕt shd.ti hr(yw) srk.f³ imy-h3t-n-spwt-nbt t3-r-dr.f ksi n b3w.f ʕpy-nfr hw m hmw nn
 iwnn 3b hr sšmw.f hw.k nswt-bity iw-ʕ-n-ntrwy mnhwyt stp-n-Pth wsr-k3-R ʕhm-ʕnh- n- Imn
 nhm.k m-ʕ hwt nb(wt) dw dt.

“[... ..] him of the dappled plumage, great of wings, [... ..], he controls the rebels, [... ..], as far as their limit, which pervades to the limit of his heart. Upper Egyptian king of the sky, ruler of the two lands, Lower Egyptian king of the gods and people, (when he) illuminates in Baw (?), the earth is illuminated and everyone lives at seeing him. He who sets in Mesen and rises (in) Pe, his throne is great in the Great Place in Edfu, the two uraei make their place beside him, and the two sisters are behind him, king in Edfu. The female vulture before his face is Nekhbet, the winged beetle is upon his throne [...] winged beetles; divine king, lord of sovereigns, who flies to the sky, he crossed heaven, he [...] the land with his wings. Every mouth lives and eats with its rays from all the sweet plants, who let the plants grow because of his strength, under his planning the temples stand, the Gate-of-giving-Maet⁴ is bright containing his rays, raises up that which is upon the brow for all of the nomes, the entire land bow to his bas. The beautiful winged beetle, who protects in the sanctuaries. There is not a sanctuary which does not contain his statues. May you protect the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the two beneficent gods, chosen of Ptah, strong is the ka of Re, living image of Amun, you are rescued from every bad thing eternally”.

Commentary:

1) This locality is unknown, for this epithet, see LGG VI 685.

2) For this epithet, see LGG IV 732.

3) For this epithet, see LGG III 48.

4) It seems that during the Ptolemaic period there was a sprerate building in the temple which used for petition for justice which is usually the gate of the temple, see Van den Boorn 1985: 12. It seems that this gate was so popluar during the Ptolemaic period that it was found in any temples such as Coptos (Traunecker 1992: 373- 379), Dendera (D V 157,

Mam. D. 66, 67), temple of Edfu (E VIII 162, 16; VIII 5; VIII 111, 7; VIII 146, 1; VIII 106; VIII 95, 6), temple of Esna (Esna II 366, 3; III 275, 9; V 147), temple of Medamoud (Saunerson 1954: 119), temple of Mut at Karnak (Fairman 1934: 1-4), gate of Euregetes (Urk VIII 92, 110), temple of Akhmin (Scharff 1962: 103-104; Derchain 1987: 50), Tanis (Montet 1946: 97-98; Montet 1959: 53). It was also mentioned on some statues such as statue of Senuscheri B.M. 1668 (Derchain 2000: 45-53). This term was also studied by Daumas (1952: 149-151), Sauneron (1954: 117-127) and Badawy (1975: 85), see also Quaegebeur 1993:201-220; Derchain 1995: 1-12; Lorton 1977: 2-64.

Inscriptions of the Base of the Doorjambs

Western Side

Bibliography:

E I 358-359.
PM VI 142 (167)-(168).
Van de Walle 1952:134, 92.
Chassinat 1966: 277-279.
Fairman & Blackman 1944: 79.
Gutbub 1961: 308 (1).
Montet 1961: 32-33, 35-36.
Montet 1950:87, 92.
Gessler-Löhr 1983:278.
Kockelmann 2002: 49, 51.

rn(w) niwt.tn Db3 šns¹ Hbn Nst-R^c Msn Wtst-Hr. rn(w) sh(w)-ntr Msnt wr nht st [...]Bhdt.

rn(w) ntrw R^c- Hr-Bhdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt Hr-Bhdt hry st-wrt Hr(?)² idbwy sm3.f h3swt Hr sm3-t3wy s3 Hwt-Hr Hwt-Hr t3-mnit Wsir ntr ʿ3 n Bhdt 3st hddt Nbt-hwt Nhbt Dhwt n pr-md3t Hr dw3 idbwy sm3 sbiw Hr-Bhdt hry-ib 3ht Hnm Mnt Hr nb Hm Hr Mtry Imn p3 ʿdr p3 mdw n Hr-Bhdt.

rn(w) w^cb(w) hm Hr hm-gmhs³ wnp imy-r Bhdt msnty wr ʿh3 iry-h3t nst ntrw wr P nbi h^cw imy-⁴ shtp hmt.s n nb(t) Twnt.

rn(w) i3(w)t-ntrit Bhdt i3t m3^ct i3t Št3t t3 fdwt i3(w)t ʿ3 nbīt.

rn(w) šnd hw i3d [... ...] im3.

rn(w) bwt db msnty [...] wn m3rw im dd.tw [...] .

“Names of this city: Djeba, Shens, Hebenu, Neset-Re, Mesen, Wetjeset-Hor.

Names of the shrines of the god: Mesen, Great of Strength, Place of [...] Behdet.

Names of the gods: Re, Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky; Horus the

Behdetite upon the great throne; Horus illuminating the two banks [Egypt], he slays the foreign lands; Horus who unifies the two lands, son of Hathor; Hathor the Menat; Osiris, the great god of Behdet; Isis Heddet; Nephthys; Nekhbet; Thot of the House of Books [library]; Horus who illuminates the two banks, who slays the rebels; Horus the Behdetite who resides in the horizon; Khnum; Montu; Horus lord of Letopolis; Horus Mertu; Amun 'the Saviour', the staff of Horus the Behdetite.

Names of the priests: servant of Horus; servant of the sacred falcon image; Wenep-priest; overseer of Behdet; the harpooner; the great warrior; He who is at the front of the throne of the two gods; the great one of Pe; the one who fashions the limbs; *imy-ꜥ*, the one who appeases her majesty of the lady of Iunet.

Names of the divine mounds of Behdet: mound of Maet, mound of (the vulture goddess of el-Kab) Shetyt, the four mounds of the great one of fire.

Names of the trees: the Ished tree protects, [...]

Names of the abominations [forbidden actions]: the hippo and the harpooner [... ..]. the pavilion [summer house] is there, it is called [.....]".

Commentary:

- 1)  is one of the names of Edfu, however, its reading is a matter of debate among scholars. Fairman suggests *šns*, see Fairman 1945: 119. K. Sethe read it as *ʿin*, see Sethe 1928: 26 (m). J. Yoyotte read it as *šn-sw* (?), see Yoyotte 1954: 85, footnote 5. For a complete discussion about this word, see Kurth 1983: 21, 27-28. However, D. Kurth agrees with Fairman and translated it as *šns*, see Kurth 2004: 507. Also C. Leitz agrees on the same translation, see LGG V 866. However, Gutbub did not translate it and preferred the hieroglyphic writing, see Gutbub 1961: 308, footnote, 1. Could it be *int*.
- 2) D. Kurth points out that the reading of this sign is not confirmed. For the different ways of reading it, see Kurth 2007: 320, no. 25, 330, footnote 138.
- 3) "servant of the falcon", a title of the priest of the live falcon venerated in Edfu temple in honour of whom an annual festival was celebrated, Blackman and Fairman 1943: 7, footnote (e).
- 4) For this unknown priest, see Montet 1961:35.

Eastern Side

Bibliography:

E I 359.
PM VI 142 (167)-(168).
Van de Walle 1952: 134, 92.
Chassinat 1966: 207-211.
Fairman 1944: 16 (36), 17(a).
Montet 1961: 31, 37.

Grimm 1994: 19-147.

Alliot 1949: 205.

Alliot 1956: 695, 700.

Egberts 1995: 144.

[...] *nt Hr Bḥdt Wts-Hr st-wnp* [...] *ntrw nst Hwt-Hr hwt-isbt ntrw spwt [bw]*¹ *dsr n Wnn-nfr m3^c-hrw st-shn n Hr-3hty sm3 Bḥdt* [...] *Bḥdt m33t nb Msnt Imn n šnt* [...] *ntrw Hwt-Hr nbt Twnt Hr-Bḥdt nb Msnt* [...] *nb Msnt Thy Min-nsu Hr nḥt* [...] *n Bḥdt Hr šm hr p3 sgmḥ Hr* [...] *hry-ib Bḥdt Pth nfr-hr hry-ib Wts-Hr Šw* [...] *Hr nfr n nwbt Mnt Hr-Hnty-hty Imn-n-3t-ntr* [...] *Hr hnty Bḥdt p3 mdw n Hnsu n Bḥdt*.

rn(w) šm^cyt mnit hnwt² hry nst.s.

rn(w) š(w) ntri š Hr³ š h3b.

rn(w)ht nb hwt-ntr mi nty hr-wnmy.

rn(w) hbw 3b 3ht sw 1 3bd 3ht sw 4 3bd 3ht sw 5 3bd 2 3ht sw 18 18 3bd 2 3ht sw 23 3bd 43ht sw 5 3bd 4 3ht sw 14 3bd 4 3ht sw 20 tpy prt sw 5 tpy prt sw 27 3bd 2 prt sw 10 3bd 2 prt sw 17 3bd 2 prt sw 21 3bd 3 prt sw 5 3bd 3 prt sw 24 3bd 3 prt sw 26 3bd 4 prt sw 1 3bd 3 prt sw 2 3bd 4 prt sw 3 3bd 4 prt sw 5 3bd 4 prt [sw] 8 3bd 3 šmw sw psdntyw 3bd 4 šmw sw 15. ʕrk n rn(w) hnt phw š n hry rwd wsht im dd.tw n.s wsht-nḥt.

“[...] of Horus the Behdetite; Wetjeset-Horus; Place of Piercing; [...] gods; the throne of Hathor; House of the throne of the gods of the nomes; the sacred [place] of Wenn-nefer, justified; Place of the perfect union of Horus of the two horizons, who unites Behdet; [...] Behdet, (the building of seeing)(?) the lord of Mesen; Amun of Shenet, [...] gods; Hathor lady of Iunet; Horus the Behdetite, lord of Mesen; [Horus] lord of Mesen; Ihy; Min the king of Upper Egypt; Horus the strong one [...] of Behdet; Horus strong of face, the *sgmḥ*-spear; Horus [...] who resides in Behdet; Ptah, beautiful of face⁴, who resides in Wetjeset-Horus; Shu [...] ; Horus the beautiful of the golden one; Monthu; Horus Khenty Khetay; Amun of the god standard [...]; Horus foremost of Edfu; the staff of Khonsu of Behdet.

Names of the singers: mnit- singer; Khenet; She who is upon her throne.

Names of the divine lakes: Lake of Horus, Lake of the Hippopotamus.

Names of every place like that are on the right side.

Names of the festivals: first month of the inundation season day 1; first month of the inundation season day 4; first month of the inundation season day 5; the 2nd month of the Inundation season day 18; the 2nd month of the Inundation season day 23; the 4th month of the Inundation season day 5; the 4th month of the Inundation season day 14; the 4th month of the Inundation season day 20; the 1st month of the Winter season day 5; the 1st month of the Winter season day 27; the 2nd month of the Winter season day 10; the 2nd month of the Winter season day 17; the 2nd month of the Winter season day 21, the 3rd month of the Winter season day 5, the 3rd month of the Winter season day 24, the 3rd month of the Winter season day 26, the 4th month of the Winter season day 1, the 3rd month of the Winter season

day 2, the 4th month of the Winter season day 3, the 4th month of the Winter season day 5, the 4th month of the Winter season day 8, 4th month of Winter season day 1, the 4th month of the Summer season day 15. Last of the names of canals and marshes: Lake of *Hery-rwd*, the hall there is called the Hall of strength”.

Commentary:

1) This lacuna probably contained .

2) It seems that *Menit* has a wide array of meanings, but in this particular context it means “singer” mentioned in the texts of Dendera and Edfu, see Wb II 76, 6-7; Wilson 1997: 424. However, D. Kurth points out that in some occurrence *Menit* is just a musical instrument and this also encompasses the example mentioned above, for other examples, see Kurth 2004: 599, footnote 2. Nevertheless, it seems that stating such an example is not accurate in this milieu. As for *hnwt* it means “musician” that plays the *sistrum* before Hathor, see Wb III 286, 11-13; Wilson 1997: 731-732. According to the text in question, it seems that *hnwt* has other tasks which include singing (omitted from Onstine 2001: 12-20, 82-84).

3) It is a big canal from the Nile near Edfu and it could also be a name for the city of Edfu, Brugsch 1879: 519; DG V 124; Montet 1961:37.

4) For other translations for this epithet such as “gnädig erklären wollte”, see Brunner 1955: 8, “He with the beautiful (possibly gracious) face”, see Holmberg 1946: 108, “schöngesichtig”, Spiegelberg 1917: 115; “schön anzuschauende”, Kees 1931:59.

External Doorjambs of the Western Side

Bibliography:

E I 360-361.
 PM VI 142 (169)-(170).
 Cauville 1982:115 (1), 122.
 Junker 1917:23.

*dd mdw in nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-mnhwy stp-(n)-Pth wsr-k3-R^c shm-^cnh-Imn ii.n.i hr.k ^cpy
 wr Hr-Bhdt nsw ntrw r km3 st nbwy¹ n Hr Wsir R^c hn^c Šw r-^h3t r3w r š3i kd pr-Hr n Hr T3btt
 bw imn Gm-B3w-st dt-ntr r hts bw dsr n Wnn-nfr² r w3h st-shn n Hr-3hty³ r wts sbi Bhdt n
 Hr nfr r smn sm3-Bhdt⁴ n sšm h3kw-ibw r dwn dn^h n Hr r sm3 Twnt hn^c Wtst-Hr r sšt3 hwt-
 sbkt⁵ n Hnsw⁶ n Bhdt r shy⁷ h^d šps n h^d-w⁸ r r s^c3 ^c n nht n Hm n Bhdt r sh^r.f sbiw r hwt-sr⁹ r
 rdit Nbt-hwt Mhyt m-phr.s r bhn B r Twnt htp.n.i hr.k nfr.*

Utterance by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the two beneficent gods, chosen by Ptah, strong is the ka of Re, living image of Amun. “I come to you, the great winged disc, Horus the Behdetite, king of the gods, to create the throne of the two lords for Horus, Osiris, Re, together with Shu before the doors (and) to command the building of the temple of Horus for Horus of the east, the place of hiding, Gem-Baw-St¹⁰, the god’s body to finish the sacred place of Wenn-nefer, to set out the place of the union of Horus of the two horizons, to raise (and) bring Behdet to the beautiful Horus, to establish Sma-Behdet, to slay the rebels, to spread the wings of Deweny, to unite Iunet together with Edfu, to hide the Mansion of the Leg of Khonsu of Behdet, to raise up the noble shrine of the Great White One, to make great the arm of the Strong One of Khem of Behdet, so that he overthrows the rebels against the Mansion of the Prince, to place Nephthys and Mehyt in her course, to keep away Seth from Iunu. I pacify your beautiful face”.

Commentary:

- 1) Horus and Seth, see Wilson 1997: 505.
- 2) This toponym is used to refer to the temple and the city of Edfu as well; see Egberts 1995:144 (3). For another example, see E I 351, 11.
- 3) The name of the temple of Edfu and of the city of Edfu, see DG V 86; Wilson 1997: 953. This name is mentioned among the temple names; cf. E V 396, 2-3. In this context the toponym refers to the temple of Edfu and not to the city.
- 4) The 17th nome of Upper Egypt-Diospolis, see DG V 33.
- 5) This nomination refers to chamber No.22 in the temple, see Wilson 1997: 632.
- 6) The lacuna probably contained .
- 7) The lacuna probably contained .
- 8) It is an epithet of Horus of Behdet and also a name of a god, see Wilson 1997: 694.
- 9) The name of the Chapel of Sokar No.18, see Wilson 1997: 632-633.
- 10) This name refers to a temple of Osiris, see Wilson 1997: 1099.

External Doorjamb of the Eastern Side

Bibliography:

E I 361.
PM VI 142 (171)-(172).
Alliot 1956: 507-508, 669.
Junker 1942:42.

*dd mdw in s3-R^c Ptwlyms ^cnh dt ii.n.i hr.k Hr Bhd^t nsw n nsww r d3d3 ndm-^cnh n hm k3.k r ir
kd hwt-^cnh n snn.k rdi m s3t3 n Hbnw hr ssm.k r hnb hftyw.k m-hnt.s shnt.i nb(t) Twnt m tr n-
rnpt r ir shnw¹ nfr hn^c Hr.s m33.s [sw] shpr m ntr hr nst.f hr w3h mw n msw Šns² dd.tw r.f Hr
sm3-t3wy m- rn.f hr smn.f t3wy n ntrw wrw sfsf.f n.w 3w mw r tp[.] m [...] n Hr smn.i srh n
B3-^cnh- n- R^c s3.f Šw [hr]³ k^ch.f drt⁴ nn 3w ir.n.i m hr ir [... ...] .sn htp.n.i hr.k nfr.*

Utterance by the son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, the beloved of Isis. “I come to you, Horus the Behdetite, king of kings to build the Sweet of Life for the majesty of your ka, to make the Mansion of Life for your image, placed in the ground plan of Hebnw containing your statue, to drive away your foes inside it. I caused the lady of Iunet to sail south at the appropriate time annually, to celebrate the beautiful union with her Horus, she sees [him], who is caused to exist as god upon his throne, offering water to the Children of Shenes (Edfu), he is called Horus Sema-tawy as his name, because he established the two lands for the great gods, he presented to them offerings and water [...] [...] of Horus. I establish the serekh of the living ba of Re, his son, Shu, he bends the hand (with) these offerings which I made, making [...] [...] them. I pacify your beautiful face”.

Commentary:

- 1) The lacuna probably contained  or .
- 2) There is a locality situated near old Cairo called by that name, see LGG III 428.
- 3) The half lacuna probably contained . For a parallel text which has *hr*, see E I 416, 9; Alliot 1956: 669.
- 4) The lacuna probably contained .

Inscriptions on the Interior of the Door South Wall

Lintel-Western Part

E-Sw-InL-W1

Bibliography:

E I 362-363
PM VI 142 (173)-(174).
SERat Scene No. 901580.

Title & Formula:

hnk irp.

dd mdw mn n.k iry-ib hpr m Dsds [... ...] nb 'Imt 'Inmt m t3wy Fnḥw [... ...] ḥꜥ r imyw-ḥt nb [... ...]

Offering wine, words spoken,

“Take to yourself wine coming from Desdes¹ (Baharia oasis) [... ...] every/all, Imet, Inmet-wine² from the two lands of the Phoenicians³ [... ...] rejoicing for all the followers [... ...]”.

Adoration:

King:

nswt-bity iwꜥ ntr mnḥ nb t3wy p3 mry 3st

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the beneficent god, lord of the two lands, the beloved of Isis.

Under the winged Sun Disc:

Bḥdt

Nsw⁴ ḥr st nd it.f tt hryw Nbd m dšrw.

Wnn nswt-bity ḥr nst.f m nsw ḥk3 [... ...]

The Behdetite. King upon the throne of his father, who seizes those who are under the control of Seth in impurity.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon his throne as southern king and ruler [... ...]”.

Queen:

ḥk3t nbt t3wy () snt-ḥmt n s3-Rꜥ p3-mry-3st.

it.f r.k⁵ pr m shm wr [... ...]

Queen, lady of the two lands (), sister-wife of son of Re, the beloved of Isis.

“You are his father (lit: his father is you), who came forth from the great power [... ...]”.

Horus:

di.n.i n.k Kmt hr mw n hm.k t3wy h3swt hry tbwy.k.

*dd mdw in Hr Bhd̄t n̄tr ʕ nb pt s3b-šwt pr m 3ht hnt itryt mht Hr Hrw hr s(w) r sb3w
wpš nnt m hddwy.f šnbty wr nb h3yt b3 šps ikr ʕnwt⁶*

*Wnn Msnwy hr st wnn.s m-ʕk3 pt hry Bhd̄t ʕpy n̄tri htp.tw hrp.s Bhd̄t.f 3ht m hryt.f sw m Bhd̄t
rdi-tp.f m nnt rd rd nb m m3w.f.*

“I give to you Egypt loyal to your majesty, the two lands and the foreign lands are under your sandals.”

Utterance by Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, who comes forth from the horizon, foremost of the Double Sanctuary of the north, Horus of the Horuses, who makes himself as distant as the stars, who sprinkles the sky with his rays, great šnbty-falcon, lord of the sky, the noble ba, who with excellent claws.

Meseny is upon the throne, it is opposite the sky containing Behdety, the divine sun disc is satisfied when she controls his Behdet, the Bright One is his uraeus, and he is the Behdetite who shows himself in the sky, all the plants grow through his rays”.

Hathor:

*dd mdw in Hwt-Hr wrt nbt Twnt irt Rʕ hry(t)-ib Bhd̄t nbwt n̄trw hnwt n̄trwt srwd š3 r shʕt
ib.s ir.tw sb-th nk3.s.*

Utterance by Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet, eye of Re, who resides in Behdet, lady of the gods, the golden one of the gods, plants grow to please her heart, one performs (the rite of) bringing drunkenness for her ka.

Commentary:

1) A personification of the Baharia Oasis together with another six Oases of the Western Desert are found on the interior face of the gridle wall of the temple of Edfu which dates back to the reign of Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra III (E VI 20, 4), see Aufrere (2000: 104-105) and Kaper (1992: 117-129). According to A. Egberts this relief was executed during the reign of Ptolemy IX (1987: 60). During the reign of Kamos, he launched a military campaign against the people of Baharyia who formed an alliance with the Hyksos (Colin 2005:35-39).

2) For this word meaning wine and its etymology, see Poo 1995: 25-26.

3) For *t3wy-Fnhw* as the Phoenicians, see Poo 1995: 128.

4) The word is a mistake for .

5) For other cases, see Blackman 1945: 66 (53).

6) For this epithet, see LGG I 564.

Lintel-Eastern Part	E-Sw-InL-E1
Bibliography: E I 363-364. PM VI 142 (173)-(174). SERat Scene No. 901581.	
Title and Formula: <i>hnk irp</i> <i>dd mdw mn n.k š3w srd n.k m t3 šspw [... ..] bs n.k m 3ht.k r sh^{cc} ib.k [... ..]</i> <i>wdn r nb pr.k m snty.f.</i> Giving wine. Words spoken, “take to yourself vines growing for you in the land, Shepsu plants [... ..], pouring out for you from your eye to make your heart glad [... ..] offered for the Lord of your house with its perfume”.	
Adoration: King: <i>nswt-bity iw^{cc}- ntr- mnḥ nb t3wy p3-mry-3st.</i> <i>Bḥdt nsw n Kmt (sic) ḥk3 Fnḥw ḥbi-inw m Hnty-š.</i> <i>Wnn nswt-bity p3-mry-3st ḥr Bḥdt.f m ity [... ..]</i> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the beneficent god, lord of the two lands, the beloved of Isis. Behdety, King of Egypt, ruler of Phoenicia who gathers tribute from the inhabitants of Lebanon. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the beloved of Isis, on his Behdet as sovereign [... ..].	
Queen: <i>ḥk3t nb(t) t3wy (3) snt-ḥmt n s3-R^{cc} p3-mry-3st [... ..]</i> Queen, the lady of the two lands, Arsinoe, sister-wife of the son of Re, the beloved of Isis [... ..].	
Divinities:	

Horus:

di.n.i n.k Kmt m i3w dšrt m ndyt hnty-š m w3h-tp.

dd mdw in Hr Bhdt ntr 3 nb pt s3b-šwt pr m 3ht hnty itrt šm^cyt [...] Hr ntri hk3 m srh.f hry Bhdt.f m Wts-Hr ts pt m h3yt n b3.f dšr itrt n hprw.s¹.

wnn N[ht] nht.tw m Msn mi pr-wr m-hnd Hr Bhdt htp.ti m-hnt.f s3t.f wsrt m shnt.f sw m Hr-3hty w3rhi t3wy m hddwt.f² msnh šny.s hr šmt.f³.

“I give to you the Black Land in praise, the Red Land as slaves and the tenant land with bowed head.”

Utterance by Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, who comes forth from the horizon, the foremost of the Double Sanctuary of the Upper Egypt, [...] the divine Horus, ruler in his serekh (palace façade), master of his Behdet in Wetjeset-Horus, who raises the sky as a portal of his ba, sacred is Double Sanctuary for his forms.

The [Strong] Place is strong in Mesen like the Per-wer (great house) with the bark of Horus. The Behdetite is pacified in it, his daughter, the Mighty One is in his embrace, he is Horus of the two horizons, who floods the two lands with his light, its plants turn back at his going”.

Hathor:

dd mdw in Hwt-Hr wrt nb(t) Twnt nb(t) pt hry(t)-ib Bhdt m3^ct špst m Ik hwnt wrt hnty T3-rrt hntš R^c hr m33.s.

Utterance by Hathor, the great one, lady of Dendera, lady of the sky, who resides in Behdet, Maet, the noble lady in Iq (name of Dendera), the great young girl, foremost of Dendera, Re rejoices at seeing her”.

Commentary:

1) It is an epithet for Horus the Behdetite, see LGG VII 654. It should be *dšr itrt n hprw.f* or *dšr itrt n hprw.sn*, see *ibid*.

2) Leitz reads it as *w3h*, see LGG II 251.

3) For the reading of this epithet which is uncertain, see LGG III 433.

Doorjamb of the Western Side	
First Register	E-InD-WDJ-R1
Bibliography: E I 364. PM VI 142 (173)-(174). SERat Scene No. 901579.	
Title and Formula: <i>βi [... ...] mn n.k [... ...] [...] nḥt n ꜥꜣt-wrt r.k m k3 [...].s [...].k m ḥt.k snw n psdt.k.</i> Raising up [... ...] take to yourself [... ...] [...] strength of the Great one who enters for you with [...] [...] your offerings and bread-offerings for your Ennead”.	
King: <i>nswt-bity iwꜥ-ntr-mnḥ s3-Rꜥ mry-p3-3st ꜥnh mi Rꜥ dt ꜥ3 ꜥ3bt m ntrw nb(w)t [...] psdt m ḥtpw.f</i> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, may he live like Re forever, great offerings are with all the gods, [...] the ennead with his offerings”.	
Wadjet: <i>dd mdw in W3dt Pyt Dpyt nb(t) ꜥnh nb(t) P Dp mḥnyt špst ḥry(t)-ib Bḥdt.</i> <i>Wnn.i m-ḥt.k ḥr sb n.k [...].s [...].k ḥnt mi T3-tnn.</i> Utterance by Wadjet, who belongs to Pe and Dep (Buto), lady of life, lady of Pe and Dep, the noble Uraeus, who resides in Behdet. ‘I am with you to present to you [...] your [...], as before Ta-tnn”.	

Horus:

di.n.i n.k ḥḥw m k3w ḥtpw ḥfnw m ḥwt nbwt nfrwt.

dd mdw in Hr Bḥdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt nb šmʿ.s ḥḳ3 mḥw.s dmd psšty wnty wp.ti sm3 swt dmd.ti m w3d.

di.n.i n.k t.s [... ..].

“I give to you millions of provisions, hundreds of thousands of every beautiful thing.”

Utterance by Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, king of the Upper Egyptian Crown, ruler of the Lower Egyptian Crown, who unites the two halves which were divided, who unites the Upper Egyptian reed with the papyrus.

I give to you her bread, [... ..].

Second Register	E-InD-WDJ-R2
Bibliography:	
E I 365. PM VI 142 (173)-(174). Budde 2000: 216-217. SERat Scene No. 901574.	
Title and Formula:	
<i>ḥnḳ irtt.</i>	
<i>dd mdw mn n.k nn ḥḏw bnrw Ḳm3¹ n mwt.k Nwt ʿnh.k im.sn w3d.k im.sn [...] ḥʿw.k rʿ nb.</i>	
Offering milk.	
Words spoken, “take to yourself these white and sweet milk, created by your mother Nut. May you live on them, may you be healthy on them, may your body be [...] every day”.	
King:	
<i>nswt-bity iwʿ-ntr-mnh s3-Rʿ p3-mry-3st ʿnh mi Rʿ dt s3 Hs3t wtt n Hp šsp- ʿnh n hrd² nhn.</i>	
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved of Isis, may he live like Re forever, son of Hesat, begotten of Apis, the living image of the young child”.	

Seshat the great³:

dd mdw in Šš3t wrt nb(t) sš wr(t)-ḥk3w ḥnwt pr-md3t⁴.

Utterance by Seshat, the great one, lady of writing, great of magic, mistress of the house of the books.

Horus:

swr.i nḥt.k r ḥw(t) sbiw sḥḥ.i šfyt.k r kf3w.i.

dd mdw in Hr Bhdt ntr 3 nb pt k3-mwt.f iwḥ n Hs3t⁵ nsw ntrw ndty mnḥ swr.i pḥty[.k] snḥt.i ḥpš.k twt ḥn.k r ḥm.i.

“I increase your strength to strike the rebels; I distinguish your dignity more than my dignity”.

Utterance by Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, bull of his mother, heir of Hesat, son of Isis, king of the kings, excellent protector, “I increase your strength, I strengthen your arm, your valour is like (that of) my majesty”.

Commentary:

1) For the writing of *km3* , see Kurth 1991:193 (45); Budde 2000: 217, footnote 31; Kurth 2007: 47, 305, no. 62.

2)  is a mistake for ; see also LGG VI, 51.

3) Mentioned wrongly as Sefkhet-Abou in E I 365, 9.

4)  is a mistake for . For parallel texts, see Budde 2000: 315 (620), 284 (79).

5) For this epithet, see LGG I, 179.

Third Register

E-InD-WDJ-R3

Bibliography:

E I 365-366.

PM VI 142 (173)-(174).

Guglielmi 1994:131, footnote 81.

SERat Scene No. 901577.

Title and Formula:

hnk hnkt

dd mdw mn n.k hnkt nbi n Mnkt dsrt m bity Tnmt s^ck.k im.sn wnf hr.k h3ty n k3w.k .

Offering beer.

Words spoken, “take to yourself beer made by Menqet, djeseret-drink as work of Tenmyt. May you drink of them, may your face and heart rejoice for your kas.”

King:

nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh s3-R^c p3-mry-3st s3 3st ms n Mnkt htyt [... ...] mstt sw.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved of Isis, son of Isis, born to Menqet, Htyt (throat) [... ...] who gave birth to him”.

Maet:

dd mdw in M3^ct m-h3t wi3 n R^c bgstt šps(t) nt Itm.

Utterance by Maet at the front of the bark of Re, noble throat of Atum.

Horus:

di.n.i n.k ib.k smn hr st.f h3ty.k hry-mkt.f.

dd mdw in Hr Bhdt ntr 3 nb pt 3 nht shm 3 imn rn.f s3t3 s3m.f 3 hprw r ntrw nb(w).

“I place for you your heart firmly in its place, your heart in its right place.”

Utterance by Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, great of strength, mighty of arm, who hides his name, who conceals his image, great of forms more than all the gods”.

Doorjamb of the Eastern Side

First Register

E-InD-EDJ-R1

Bibliography:

E I 366.

PM VI 142 (173)-(174).

SERat Scene No. 901576.

Title and Formula:

ḥi-iḥt

ḏḏ mdw mn n.k iḥt m ḥḥ ḥr ḥḥw ḏbꜥw ḥ3w m ḥtpw k3w špsw. N ii n.i ḏrw.sn [...] nt rꜥ.k n ḥr rꜥ.

Raising up offerings.

Words spoken, “take to yourself, offerings consisting of millions upon millions, tens of thousands, thousands of offerings and noble provisions, for I do not come to their end, [...] of your day of everyday”.

Adoration:

King:

nswt-bity iwꜥ-ntr-mnḥ s3-Rꜥ mry-p3-3st ꜥnh mi Rꜥ ḏt nb ḏf3w špsw itryt shb prw ntrw m ḥwt.f

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, living like Re forever, lord of the offerings, noble of the Double Sanctuary, who makes the temples festive with his offerings.

Nekhbet:

ḏḏ mdw in Nḥbt ḥḏt-Nḥn 3w(t)-ꜥ nb(t) Fꜥgt dm3t-pḏwt ḥry(t)-ib Bḥdt Bḥdy¹.

Utterance by Nekhbet, White One of Nekhen, out-stretched of arm, lady of *Fꜥgt* (locality in the 3rd nome of Upper Egyptian nome), the one who binds the bows, who resides in Behdet of the Behdetite”.

Horus:

mḥ.i n.k t3 ḥry dḥw [r]²-h3w.k swd3.k t3 nn kn,

*dd mdw in Ḥr Bḥdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt Gmḥsw psd m wd3ty.fy³ ḥpr̄r šps⁴ wsn⁵ ir ndmndm msh3
nfrwt ḥr m33.f.*

d.n.i n.k [ḥt]⁶ nb(t) nfr(t) k3w wtt n Ḥpi di [...]

“I fill the land (for you) with food before you; May you make healthy the land (Egypt), without famine.”

Utterance by Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, the sacred falcon image who shines with his wedjat-eyes, the noble beetle, procreator, who makes sexual pleasure, women rejoice at seeing his face.

“I give to you every beautiful [thing], food that Hapy creates [...]”.

Commentary:

1) The second B could be a mistake as there is a sic.

2) The lacuna probably contained .

3) For other examples of the same epithet, see Kurth 2004:509, footnote 1; Wilson 1997: 257.

4) For other examples in the Graeco-Roman period, see Egberts 1995:142 (17).

5) For parallel texts, see E I 373, 19; E II 34; Chassinat 1966: 322, footnote 10.

6) The lacuna probably contained .

Second Register	E-InD-EDJ-R2
Bibliography: E I 367. PM VI 142 (173)-(174). SERat Scene No.901575.	

Title and Formula:

hnk irtt

dd mdw mn n.k irtt ḥḏw bh bnr imyw-nph¹ n sh3t²-Hr, imḥ³ r.k st, ḥrd ḥw.k twt pḥty.k r it.k.

Offering milk.

Words spoken, “take to yourself white milk, bright, and sweet milk in the udder of the Hor-Sechat cow. Drink it and may your limbs be young, may your strength be more than that of your father”.

King:

nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh s3-R^c p3-mry-3st šsp-^cnh n ḥrd nhn hry nst.f hnt ^cnhw.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent gods, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, the living image of the young child, he who is upon his throne before the living.

Seshat the elder⁴:

dd mdw in Sš3t ndst hnwt pr-md3t⁵ s[mn(t)]⁶ wd ntrw⁷.

Utterance by Seshat the lesser, mistress of the House of Books, who establishes the decrees of the gods.

Horus-sema-tawy:

di.n.i n.k pḥty n Mnti r ḥpšw.k ḥw.k sbiw mitt ḥm.f.

dd mdw in Hr sm3-t3wy ntr 3 hry-ib Bḥdt ḥrd šps s3 Hwt-Hr hy ntri ms n 3st iw^c mnḥ n Wnn-nfr.

di.i ḥrd dt.k rnpi ḥw.k whm.k msw mi i^ch.

“I give to you the strength of Montu for your arms; may you drive away the rebels like his majesty.”

Utterance by Horus Sema-tawy, the great god, who resides in Behdet, the noble child, son of Hathor, the divine child, born to Isis, the beneficent heir of Wennefer.

“I cause your body to be young, your limbs are rejuvenated, you repeat births like the moon”.

Commentary:

- 1) □ is a mistake for ◡.
- 2) The lacuna probably contained |.
- 3) ◡ is a mistake for ◡.
- 4) Mentioned wrongly as Sefkhet-Abou in E I 367, 9.
- 5) For other parallel texts, see Budde 2000: 321 (717).
- 6) This half horizontal lacuna probably contained |.
- 7) For other parallel texts, see Budde 2000: 286 (114), 311(544).

Third Register	E-InD-EDJ-R3
Bibliography: E I 367-368. PM VI 142 (173)-(174). Otto 1964: 114 (13), 126(10), 148. SERat Scene No. 901578. Title and Formula: <i>hnk hnkt</i> <i>dd mdw mn n.k dsrw 3hw nfrw ṭh.(w) n špst m 3wy.s m¹ sm² nfrw pr(w) m Gb m ir-t3 pr.(w)³ m Ip.</i> Offering beer. Words spoken, “take to yourself <i>djeseru</i>-beverage, bright and good brewed by the noble lady with her hands, as the beautiful plants come forth from Geb, as myrrh comes forth from Ip (the inspector)”.	
King: <i>nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh s3-R^c p3-mry-3st ṭnh mi R^c dt 3h-r3 ntrw ph3-ht⁴ hr ntrwt mnḥ-ib ntrw nbw.</i> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, living like Re forever, clearest of speech (of) the gods, sincere before the goddesses, perfect of heart (of) all the gods”.	

Hathor:

dd mdw in Hwt-Hr m-h3t wi3 n R^c mhnyt špst n Itm.

Utterance by Hathor before the bark of Re, the noble uraeus of Atum.

Horus:

di.n.i n.k ib.f^ck3 ht.k ph3.ti nn snk m h3ty.k⁵.

dd mdw in Hr Bhd t ntr 3 nb pt nb Twnw hnt Hwt-3t dsr sšm.f m Hwt-bik R^c wr psd m Nnt in sm3^ct⁶ sšp hddwt.

di.i mrt.k m ibw ntrw šfyt.k m ht rhtyw.

“I give to you correctness of heart, may you be sincere without darkness in your heart.”

Utterance by Horus the Behedetite, the great god, lord of the sky, lord of Iunu, who is at the front of the Great House. Sacred are his statues in the Mansion of the falcon, Re the great, who shines in the sky, who brings smaet, bright of beams.

“I placed love of you in the hearts of the gods, and your dignity in the bodies of the *Rekhtyu* people”.

Commentary:

1)  is a mistake for .

2) It seems that an inversion or an error occurred thus  precedes the .

3)  is a mistake for .

4) | is a mistake for .

5) The lacuna probably contained .

6) The reading of this epithet is not certain, see LGG I 382.

Inscriptions of the Bands

Lower Band of Text

Inscriptions on the Western Side

Bibliography:

E I 19-20.

[...]bw s3b šwt n 3ht n 3hyt di.f tp.f m hnt.s htp.f is m-k3b.s wp.tw 3wy [...] tp-^c hđ t3 wpš m3wy.f ndt st-wrt pw n(t) R^c-Hr-3hty 3b.n ib.f dr-b3h Nnt pw n psđ m nwb t3wy m wts-nfrw.s 3 3yt wrt n 3py ntri k3yt wrt n.k n-b3h R^c hwt-nhđ pw wbn.f m-m.s h^cy hđdwtf t3wy idbw ns m Hr-i3btt R^c w3h.s n sdd.f niw(?) k3.f psđ [m]s

[...] (Sanctuary?) of him of the dappled plumage of the horizon of the one of the horizon. He shows himself in it and indeed he rests in the middle of it, opening the two doors [...] before dawn, who sprinkles light (with) his rays, he is the “Protector of the Great Seat of Re-Hor-akhty”, it is his desire since the primeval time of the “One shining with Gold”. The two lands are raising its beauty, the great shrine of the divine scarab, the great high mounds are to you before Re, it is the Mansion of Eternity, he shines in it, his rays overflow the two lands and the banks, [travelling] as Horus of the East, it is established for his image, in which his ka rests shining [in] it.

Inscriptions on the Eastern Side

Bibliography:

E I 19-20.

Pr pn n [...] Hr [...] nst [...] n Wtst pw nd it.f Hwt-bik pw nt bik n nwb štyt št3 n šnbt wr nht n Msntyw pr-^c ir-^cd m dns Db3t pw db3 t3rw im.f Msn n Msn msnđ sbiw [...] nht pw nt 3pp ntri wnp.n.f Nhs Hr [...] n [...] Hr wr phty hnt m ntstyw hr.f ns [...] Hr n nwb Hr mn.s hr shm.f dd k3.f wbn m hnt.s

This House of [...] Horus [...], the throne [...] of Wtst (Edfu) is the avenger of his father, it is the Mansion of the Falcon of the Falcon of Gold, the hidden place is hidden for the sacred falcon, “Great of Power” of the Harpooner, the valiant, who makes a slaughter of the Hippopotamus, It is the Punisher (Djebat) , who punishes the enemies in it, The harpooner of of Mesen (Edfu) who drives away the foes, it is the strong place of the divine scarab, he stapes Seth, Horus [...] of [...] Horus, great of power, who destroys the execration figures in it belonging to [...], Horus of Gold, it is established containing his statue, his ka endures shining in it.

Upper Band of Text

Inscriptions of the Western Side

Bibliography:

E I 368.

Fairman 1954: 176.

Drioton 1944:20 (1).

Gutbub 1961: 316 (2).

Alliot 1949:99, 431.

ḥnh ntr nfr iw^c n [...] ir-ht m Ḥdbw-Ḥr nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh mry Ḥr Bḥdt ntr ʿ3 nb pt s3b¹-
 šwt pr.(w) m 3ht (hnty) itrty mh3 nbi.n.f wsht hryt-ib dsrt n k3.k m k3t mnht n(t) nhḥ šps.ti m
 irw s3h.ti m shr.s tp-rdw.s hn^c iry.sn 3w.s r-nfr wsh.s r-mtr k3-dḥ r tp-ḥsb tit dsrt n Ḥr st-
 wrt.f Ḥr ht irw hr s3wy.s hn^c ntrw ntyw h^cw hn^c.f tp-tr nb n² nb.f sw mi Nnt Itn imy.s Twn-ḥ^c
 m hnty.s ʿpy ntri dgi.n.f hwt-ntr.f m-snt-r 3ht hry Itn.f ii.n.f m hry psdt.f m-ht.f nbty.f m s3.f
 ii.n Mhnyt.f šps m-ht.f Hwt-Ḥr wrt nb(t) Twnt šsp.sn st.sn hnt st-wrt im3 b3.sn hn^c bsw.sn
 htp.sn hr mnw pn nfr ir n.w s3-R^c p3-mry-3st di.w n.f isw n k3t.t tn m i3t³ [n]t nswt-bity
 sphr.sn snd.f r hpty šfyt.f r-r^c stwt Itn⁴ iw.f m bity w3ḥ n nhḥ hnt k3w ḥnhw dt.

“May the good god live, heir of [...], performing rituals in the Banks of Horus (Egypt), King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, beloved of Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, who comes forth from the horizon, the foremost of Double sanctuary of Lower Egypt. He fashioned the Hall which is in the Middle, sacred for his ka as an excellent work of eternity; noble with images, glorious in its design, its regulations, together with what belongs to them; its length to perfection, its width is precise, top to bottom (height of walls) is accurate; the sacred image of who is upon, his great place, Horus, all engraved upon its walls with the gods who appear with him, at each season of his lord; it is like heaven, the sun disc is in it, the moon is at its front, the divine winged beetle. When he sees his temple it is in the likeness of the horizon containing the sun disc, he comes as Horus, his ennead is behind him, his two ladies are his protection, his noble uraeus comes behind him, Hathor, the great, lady of Dendera. They (Horus and Hathor) received their place before the Great Place (Edfu), their bas unite with their images. They are content with this beautiful monument, which the son of Re made for them, the beloved one of Isis. They give to him a reward for this his work, namely the rank of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt; they circulate fear of him to the extreme limits, his dignity to the limit of the rays of the sun disc. He is king of Lower Egypt, who endures for eternity before the living kas forever”.

Commentary:

- 1)  is a mistake for .
- 2) (Sic) *hb.tp-tr hb nty m nb.f*.
- 3) This lacuna probably contained .
- 4) For this expression and other parallel examples, see Egberts 1995: 135 (2).

Inscriptions on the Eastern Side

Bibliography:

E I 369.
 PM VI 142 (175).
 Drioton 1944:20 (1).
 Gutbub 1961: 316 (2).
 Alliot 1949:99, 431.
 Eldamaty 1995: 47, footnote 1.

ḥnh ntr nf shm itryt ir mnw m kbhwy nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh mry Hr Bhdṯ ntr ʿ3 nb pt s3b šwt
 pr m 3ht hnty itrty šm^cw s^ch^{c1}.n.f wsht hryt-ib m-s3 st-wrt.f m inr ḥd nfr rwdt nht m k3t.s špst
 m hwt.s [...].tw m shr.s nb ht m sš m d3isw stpw² 3h-^c r mnḥ m k3t gnwtw st-htp pw nt ntrw
 ntrwt h^cw hn^c.f m tpw-tr hwt-mnht hr wnmy.s rḥ m k3t.s w^cbt.f mitt hr i3by.s sw mi gbt h3yty
 imy.s ḥnhw dmd.(w) m-hnt.s py šps dgi.n.f h3yt twt r b3.f phr.n.f m nnt psdt.f m-phr.f w3dty.f
 m gs-dpt.f ii.n hry-tp.f wrt m-ht.f Hwt-Hr wrt nbt Twnt di hwt-isbt ʿwy.s r šsp.sn htp.sn irw
 hnt wtst hntš.sn hr mnw pn nfr ir n.w s3-R^c p3-mry-3st di.w n.f isw n r-ʿwy.f m hdt mnht m
 htp ir.sn s3.f whm.sn mkt.f dr.sn hftyw n hm.f iw.f m nsw w3h n nhḥ hnt k3 ḥnhw dt.

“May the good god live, who controls the Double Sanctuary, who makes monuments in the two cavern lands (Egypt), King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the beneficent god, beloved of Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, who comes forth from the horizon, the foremost of the Double Sanctuary of the south. He erected the Hall in the Middle behind his Great Place, from white, beautiful and enduring stone, strong in its workmanship, ennobled by its contents [...] by all of its design, inscribed with the choicest written words, carved to perfection as the work of sculptors. It is the *Place of Peace of Gods and Goddesses* appearing with him in the beginning of each season. The Mansion of Cloth is on its right, completed in its work, his pure place likewise on its left. It is like the sky, the two lights are in it, stars are united inside it. The noble winged beetle, he sees his sanctuary completed for his *ba*, he goes round in heaven, his ennead around him, the two cobras are his protection, his great uraeus comes behind him, Hathor, the Great, lady of Dendera. The Mansion of the Throne gives its workmanship in order to receive them, they all rest before Wetjeset, they rejoice because of this beautiful monument which the son of Re, the beloved one of Isis made for them. They give to him a reward for his handiwork consisting of the excellent white crown in peace. They make his protection, they repeat his protection, they drive away the foes of his majesty, for he is the King of Upper Egypt, who endures for eternity, the foremost of the kas of the living forever”.

Commentary:

- 1)  is a mistake for .
- 2) For other examples of *d3isw stpw*, see Kurth 2004: 567, footnote 1. For other variants of *d3isw*, see E I 378, 12.

Western Set of scenes

First Register

Southern Wall

E-Sw-Ws-R1

Bibliography:

E I 369-370.
 Cauville 1988:13.
 Cauville 1987a: 85.
 Egberts 1995:117 (11).

E IX, pl. XXXI c.
SERaT Scene No. 901593.

Formula:

*mk sbiw.k nn nd.i nn m-ḥr.k smr.i¹-k̄is n ḥ3kw-ibw ḥ^ᶜ r.k² mds.n.k r mr.k ir.k bḥbḥ r-dr
ib.k³.*

“Behold these, your enemies, I crush these before you, I make the bonds of the rebels hurt.
The one who stands against you, you stab as much as you like, you make slaughter to the
end of your heart”.

King:

nswt-bity iw^ᶜ-ntr-mnh s3-R^ᶜ p3-mry-3st Hr wr pḥty nh̄y n it.f ir ᶜdt m bdšw.

*Wnn nswt-bity p3-mry-3st ḥr-nst.f m pr-ᶜ ḥry ḥry ḥ3swt sw mi Hr tm3-ᶜ stt smsw wnp tkk it
pḥty m ḥfty n it.f ir ᶜdt n wn-mw.f.*

k3-nsw n ᶜnh̄ n nb t3wy ḥnt db3t ḥnt pr-dw3t. Hr ḥwnw kn.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved one
of Isis, Horus, great of power, protector of his father, who makes a massacre amongst the
enemies.

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the beloved one of Isis, who is upon his throne as a
champion, master of rulers of foreign lands, he is Horus, the mighty arm, Leader of
Asiatics, who stabs the assailants, who takes the strength from the enemy of his father, who
makes a massacre of those who are disloyal to him.

The ka of the king of life of the lord of the two lands, the foremost of Djebat⁴, the foremost
of the House of the morning, Horus, the strong child”.

Horus:

di.n.i n.k Twntyw Mntyw m ndyw Tḥnw ʕ3mw m ḥmw.

dd mdw in Hr Bḥdt sm3 ḥ3swt b3 tkk⁵ tkr-pḥty ḥw Styw r-dr pt⁶ tštš⁷ [...] r pḥwy kkw ʕd ʕ3mw sm3 Tmḥw r-dr wbn ḥtp.

di.n.i n.k Tm3 dmd.(w) ḥry tḃtyw.k šn t3 ḥry šfyt.k.

“I give to you the Iuntyu-people and the Mentyu-people as serfs, Tjehenu and Aamu as servants.”

Utterance by Horus the Behdetite, who slays the foreign lands, the fighting ba, mighty in strength, who strikes Nubians to the limits of the sky, who cuts to pieces the [...] to the end of darkness, who slaughters the ʕ3mw-people (Asiatics), who slays the Libyans to the limits of the sun-rise and the sun-set.

“I give to you *Tma* united under your sandals. May the circuit of the earth contain your dignity”.

Hathor:

dd mdw in Hwt-Hr wrt nbt Twnt irt-Rʕ ḥry(t)-ib Bḥdt, špst wsrt m st ib.s.

di.i ḥswt.k m ibw pʕt mrt.k m hwt rhytw.

Wnn st-wnp mi ir-wḥmw sm3 Rʕ ʕ3pp im.f Bḥdt sm3 ḥ3swt wsrt m-ḥnt.s pḥty.f wrt.(w) r ntrw sw mi Rʕ šhr Nik sš.f ifdt m ʕd wd3.

Utterance by Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet, eye of Re, who resides in Behdet, the noble and strong one in the place of her heart.

“I put praises of you in the hearts of the Paat-people, and love of you in the bodies of the Rekhyt-people.

The Place of Piercing is like the sky, Re slays Apophis in it, the Behdetite slays the foreign lands, the strong one at its front, his strength is stronger than the gods. He is like Re overthrowing the Nik-snake, he crosses the quartette (i.e the sky) in safety and well”.

Commentary:

1)  is a mistake for .

2)  is a mistake for .

3)  is a mistake for .

4) This word can also mean the tomb of Osiris, see Vercoutter 1950:99, footnote ai. It can also used to refer to coffin, see Caminos 1958b: 22, footnote, 2. Also on the ambiguities,

see Wilson 1997:1231-2. However, in this context, it means the House of Robing, see Wilson 1997: 356.

5)  is a mistake for .

6) The lacuna probably contained .

7) It is an epithet for a warlike god. It is used for Geb sometimes; see Žabkar 1968:86ff, footnote 35; Bedier 1995: 52, 13.

The Western Wall	
Invocation	E-Ww-Ss-H3
Bibliography: E I 370-371. Barucq 1962:194, 224. Drioton 1940:343-344. Alliot 1949:154-155. Egberts 1995:133 (10). E IX, pl. XXXI b.	

(i)nd-ḥr.k R^c wbn ḥr-tp dw3 ^cpy šps sšp ḥddwt psd m B3ḥw m ḥrt-ḥrw ḥtp m M3nw mi R^c n r^c nb d3i ḥrt R^c nb nn wrd.n.f ḥr skd r st.f nt sf wbn m Nwn r st.f m nnt shd.n.f t3wy m ntrty.fy ^ck r d3t wpš.n.f igrt ḥ^c d3tyw m-ḥs.f stḥn ww m m3wt nt itn.f w3rḥi šm3w m pr.f wtt rmt shpr ntrw nb (r) dr ḥk3 psdt p3wttyw tpy ḥpr m-ḥ3t p3wt š3^c t3¹ n p3i.n.f ḥpr w^c pw ir nn r-3w tfn ntrw ntrwt m dgi.tw.f b3.f m ḥrt dst.tw m 3ḥt, bs.f š3.(w) ḥnt Msn nswt-bity Ḥr Bhdt ntr ^c3 nb pt s3b šwt pr m 3ḥt ḥnty itrty mh3 ḥtp ḥr.k i3w n nswt-bity nb t3wy iw^c-ntr-mnh s3-R^c nb ḥ^cw p3-mry-3st ḥws st-wrt.k dr-b3ḥ di.k n.f isw n mnw.f pn m i3t wrt n.t nswt-bity ḥ^c.k m nnt nswtyw.f m t3 m33.n 3ḥty [...] m ndyt.f iw.f m bity w3ḥ n nhḥ ḥnt k3w ^cnhw dt.

“Greeting you, Re, who rises in the morning, the noble winged sun disc, being bright, who shines in the east daily, who sets in the west like Re everyday. Who sails heaven everyday and does not tire voyaging to his place of yesterday; who rises from Nun to his place in the sky, he makes the two lands light with his divine eyes. Who enters the underworld, he illuminates the realm of the dead, the dwellers of the underworld rejoice near him. One who makes blue the land with beams of his sun disc, flowers are green at what comes from him, who begets men, who caused the gods to exist, Lord of all, ruler of the ennead, the primeval being who existed before the primeval age, who first made land to the one who existed, he is unique, who made all this. The gods and goddesses rejoice at seeing him, his ba is in the sky, sacred in the horizon, his image is hidden in Mesen, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, who comes forth from the horizon, the foremost of the Double Sanctuary of the north. Peace be upon you [may your face be content], praise to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, lord of the diadems, the beloved one of Isis, who built your great place before. May you give to him a reward for this his monument, namely this great office of King of Upper and Lower Egypt. May your lifetime be (that of) the sky, your kingship is (that of) the earth, may [your] eyes see his slaves, for he is the King of Lower Egypt, who endures for eternity before the kas of the living forever”.

Commentary:

1) For this epithet of Re, see LGG VII 17.

Table	E-Ww-R1
Bibliography:	
E I 371.	
Otto 1964:150 (17), 158(23).	
Reymond 1967 :104 (2).	
Caminos 1958a: 14.	
Cauville 1987a:85.	
Labrique 1992: 223 (1040-1041).	
SERaT Scene No. 901594.	

Formula :

hnkt m3t

dd mdw mn n.k m3t n it.k swd3 hm.k m srh.k mrt wrt dsr.tw m sst3 si'r.n.i st r-h3w-hr.k sšp r.k shkr.n.k sw hr šnbt.k n tš.s r-rdwy k3.k.

Offering Maet.

Words spoken, “take to yourself Maet of your father, making whole your majesty in your serekh. Maet, the great one (lit. The Great Throat’), sacred with secrets, I have elevated her before you. Receive! You cause her to adorn (upon) your chest, she does not stray from beside your ka”.

King:

nswt-bity nb t3wy iw-ntn-mnh s3-R p3-mry-3st s3 Isdn sr-n-m3t shtp Hr m mrt.f.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, son of Isden (Thoth), sovereign of Maet, who appeases Horus with what he loves.

Horus:

di.n.(i) n.k t3w ndm r hnm(t) hnmt.k iwn r srk htyt.k.

dd mdw in Hr Bhdt ntr 3 nb pt nb nh hry st-wrt bik n nwb swd3 iht it.fir 3dt n tkk šfyt.s.

di.i nh h'w.k rwd.k ksw.k rwd.(w) r st.sn.

“I give to you sweet breezes to unite with your nose, wind to open your throat.”

Utterance by Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, lord of life, Master of the Great throne, the falcon of gold, who makes safe the relics of his father, who makes a slaughter of the one who attacks her majesty.

“I cause that your body lives, your sinew and your bones are fixed in their places”.

Second Register

South Wall

E-Sw-Ws-R2

Bibliography:

E I 372- 373.

E IX, pl. XXXI c.

PM VI 142 (175).
 SERaT Scene No. 901592.
 Leclant 1961:145-146.
 Cauville 1991: 116-117.
 Cauville 1987a: 85.
 Cauville 2002:78, footnote 68.
 Sternberg- El Hotabi 1992:17, 62-63.
 Bedier 1995:173, footnote 4.

Title and Formula:

ir šhm

dd mdw nfr.wy nn 3ḥw ipn ḥnwt 3ḥw Ḥwt-Ḥr nb(t) 3ḥw 3ḥt r 3ḥwt irp(t) r irpwt Ḥwt-Ḥr nb(t) t3wy nb(t) t irt-ḥ(n)kt m km3 n ib.s m ir m ʿ3wy.s m smw¹ nfr pr m Gb m ʿntyw pr m Npīt nfr.wy st mnw pn sššt nn 3bi.n.t ḥnwt sššt nty mr ib.t šḥ.i n.(t) st r šḥtp² k3.t ḥ^{cc} ib.t m ngg.sn nd.t nbt sššt ḥn n.s ntrw ḥbi ntrwt r šḥtp ib.s.

Shaking the *šhm*-sistrum.

Words spoken, “How beautiful are these! These akhu-beer of the mistress of the magical spells, Hathor, lady of the fields³, the shining one is more than the shinning ones, wine goddess more than the wine goddesses, Hathor, lady of the two lands, Lady of bread, who makes beer as the creation of her heart, as one who makes as her handiwork from beautiful plants coming from Geb, as the myrrh which comes from Nepit. How beautiful it is! This *menu*-jar, this sistrum (that) you desire, (O) mistress of the sistrum which your heart loves. I shake them for you to appease your ka, your heart rejoices at their noise. Welcome, lady of sistrum, the gods make music to her, the goddess dance to appease her heart”.

Adoration:

King:

Ḥr ḥwnw kn nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh s3-R^c p3-mry-3st sdti ikr n Ḥwt-Ḥr wr(t) Ithy- nwn n nb(t) Twnt.

wnn nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh ḥr wtst.f m Ithy ḥr šḥtp mwt.f n [... ...] ḥr mdw.f tḥn-ḥr.s sbi [...] m33 sw ḥm.s mi nww.s.

Horus, the strong child, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, the excellent child of Hathor, the great one, Ihy-Nun of the lady of Dendera.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the beneficent god upon his throne is like Ihy appeasing his mother for [... ...] [because] of his words, her face is bright, [her rage] is removed, when her majesty sees him like her child”.

Ihy:

dd mdw in Ihy-wr s3 Hwt-Hr sf šps pr m 3st

ir sššt n mwt.f hrt-hrw hn n k3.s r-mrrt.s. ir.n.(i) n sššt m hr.t nfr štp.i ib.t m mrt.t hn.n.i hm(t).t rwi špt hn.i n k3.t htp ib.t.

Utterance by the great Ihy, son of Hathor, the noble child, who comes from Isis, who shakes the sistrum to his mother daily, who plays the sššt-sistrum to her ka as much as she wants.

“I shake the sššt-sistrum at your beautiful face, I appease your heart with what you love, I play music to your majesty (to) drive away anger, I play music to your ka (so that) your heart is pleased”.

Hathor:

di.n.(i) n.k th wḥm.k th ph3-ib nn ir 3b.

dd mdw in Hwt-Hr wrt nb(t) Twnt nb(t) sššt hnwt sššt nb(t) th nb(t) hsi nb(t) hy nb(t) ḥᶜ nb(t) hn hnwt i3bwy st3 n.s ntrw 3s r sbi nšn.s hnw n.s ntrwt hr in(t) htp.s.

wnn st-wrt dsr.ti m Bḥdt mi 3ht hry hry-tp Rᶜ irt-Rᶜ wsrt htp.t m-hnt.s m Hrt r-gs Hr 3 sw m bityt nt ntrw ḥk3t mnht nt ntrwt.

“I give to you drunkenness; you repeat drunkenness, happiness without stopping.”

Utterance by Hathor, the great one, lady of Dendera, lady of the sššt-sistrum, mistress of the sistrum, lady of drunkenness, lady of music, lady of joy, lady of rejoicing, lady of desire, mistress of dance, the gods move to her to drive away her anger, the goddesses play music to her to bring her satisfaction.

The Great Place [Edfu temple] is sacred in Behdet like the horizon containing the uraeus of Re, the eye of Re, the strong one. May you be content inside it as the female Horus beside Horus the great; she is the Lower Egyptian Queen of the gods, the beneficent ruler of the goddesses”.

Commentary:

1) For the phonetic value of this word and other different words, see Egberts 1995:112 (2).

2)  is a mistake for .

3) For another translation of this epithet as “lady of sayings”, see LGG IV 4.

The Western Wall	
Table	E-Ww-R2
Bibliography: E I 373. Cauville 1987a: 85. E IX, pl. XXXI b. SERaT Scene No. 901597.	
Title and Formula: <i>ir sntr</i> <i>dd mdw in mn n.k hnm-ntr pr.(w) m idt.k nšp hnmty.k sty.f</i> Burning incense. Utterance by, “take to yourself, the god’s fragrance coming from your scent, may your nostrils inhale his (scent)”.	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh s3-R^c p3-mry-3st sns n R^c m idt¹.f wrt štp Hr m hnm².f</i> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, who unites Re with his great scent, who appeases Horus with his fragrance”.	
Horus: <i>di.n.(i) n.k hdt št3t m tp.k hryt.k b3w.k r sbiw.k.</i> <i>dd mdw in Hr Bhd^t Thy nb pt nb Msn hnty wst nsw šm^cw bit mh^w nswt-bity k3 šwty spd hnty nb im3t bnr-mrwt tfn ntrwt hr sty idt.f.</i> “I give to you the white vulture upon your head; terror of you and your power are against your enemies.” Utterance by Horus the Behdetite, Ihy, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen, who is foremost of Wetjeset, king of Upper Egypt and king of Lower Egypt, who of the high double feathered crown, sharp of horns, lord of charm, sweet of love, goddesses rejoice because of his scent”.	
Commentary: 1)  is a mistake for . 2)  is a mistake for .	

The Northern Wall	
Invocation	E-Nw-Ws-H5
Bibliography: E I 373-374. E IX, pl. XXXI a. PM VI 143 (178). Blackmn & Fairman 1950: 71. Gutbub 1962: 55 (7). Chassinat 1966: 322. Drioton 1940: 343-344. Alliot 1949: 338-339. Egberts 1995: 308 (23). Wilson 1997: 971. Budde 2002: 83-84.	
<i>ī3w n hr.k hnf n hm.k sn-t3 n sšm.k št3 Hr Bhdt ntr ʕ3 nb pt s3b šwt pr m 3ht hnty itrty mh3 Dwn-ʕnwy hdd dnh.f m-sts ʕp-pt-m-dmty.fy Bi3y¹ Gmḥsw šps psd m w3dty.fy shd.n.f t3wy m ntrty.fy šnbty ntri ʕhʕ hr sd.f dm3ty.fy pg3.(ti) hr-s3.f phr nst.f m irw.f n phty sndm m-hr.f r-ʕ n Rʕ k3wt nfrt dmd.(tw) hr nt hnḳ tp.f m shmt² spd hnty dm hnty šwt³.fy hr ph.n.f hrt f3i-ʕ ʕbʕ.tw m nfrw.f ḥs3-šnʕ m dt.f ds.f š3t wrt sbḥ h3-tp.f hr mḳi ʕhʕw.f m dm3ty.s nb Hh³ ḥḳ3 n.f Ht⁴ ḥbi-inw m Tfirt shm.f šps htp.(w) m st-wrt dd.ti hr st.f hnt Msn ḥsi.f s3.f mry.f nswt-bity ir mnw pn m pr.f.</i> “Praise to you, worship to your majesty, kissing the earth of your secret statue, Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, who comes forth from the horizon, the foremost of the Double Sanctuary of the north; <i>Dwn-ʕnwy</i> who spread his wing in the sky, flying the sky with his both wings, who belongs to Egypt; the noble sacred falcon image, he illuminates the two lands with his divine eyes; the divine falcon image of Horus stands upon his tail, his wings are opened behind him, his throne takes the form of a lion, sitting before him to the limit of Re, wearing the white crown united with the red crown, crowning his head with the double crown, sharp of horns, pointed of horns, his two-featherd crown, it reaches the sky, one of the raised arm, one who boasts of his ‘beauty’, who inspires fear with his own ‘member’. The great vulture enclosing the back of his head and protecting his body with her wings, lady of Hehet. He rules Khet, gathering tribute from Teferret. His noble statue rests in the Great Place [Edfu], enduring on his seat before Mesen, his favoured beloved son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, making this monument as his house”.	
Commentary: 1) This word signifies Egypt as it literally means “the two shrub plants”, see Blackman and Fairman 1950: 67, n.19; Wilson 1997: 305. For other examples of this epithet, see Egberts 1995: 308 (23). For the same land, see E VII 95, 9; Kurth 2004:166, footnote, 3.	

- 2)  is a mistake for .
- 3) A locality in Nubia, see LGG III 688. For this epithet, see LGG II 758.
- 4) For this epithet, see LGG V 520.

Third Register	
The Southern Wall	E-Sw-Ws-R3
Bibliography: E I 374-375. E IX, pl. XXXI c. PM VI 142 (175). Blackman & Fairman 1946:83 (48). Budde 2003: 32-33. Gutbub 1962: 57 (1), 58(3)-59. Cauville 1988:13-14. Cauville 1987a: 85. SERaT Scene No. 901591.	
Title and Formula: <i>hnkt w3d(w) r3(w)</i> <i>dd mdw mn n.k w3d(w) ini.n.i m 3ht.k r3w sht.n.i m š3.k ht nb(t) nfr(t) hpr m 3hw r mnw.k n hrt hrw tñn hr.k m m33 iñ kn wdhw¹ m r3w.</i> Offering papyrus and water fowls. Words spoken, “take to yourself papyrus which I bring from your marsh, (and) water fowls which I trapped in your lake and every good thing which comes into being in the fields for your daily offerings. May your face be bright at seeing the papyrus, may your stand be fat with water fowls”.	
Adoration: <i>mry itw- ntrw nbw t3wy dsr st m gsw-prw.</i> Beloved of the fathers of the gods, lords of Upper and Lower Egypt, sacred of place in the temples.	

King:

Hr ḥwnw kni, nswt bity iw^c-ntr-mnh nb t3wy p3-mry-3st.

Horus, the strong child, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the beneficent god, lord of the two lands, the beloved one of Isis.

Sheltered by the sun disc: *Bḥdt* “the Behdetite”.

Queen:

ḥk3t nb(t) t3wy (3) ḥmt-snt n(t) R^c p3-mry-3st sšp st mfk ḥr.f inw pnw r r3²-ḥ3wt

Queen, lady of the two lands, (Arsinoe), sister-wife of Re, the beloved one of Isis. “Receive it and may his face rejoice (because of) these tributes from the mouths of the Nile.”

Divinities:

Horus:

di.n.(i) n.k Kmt ḥr f3i(t) n.k iḥt.s ḥ3swt ḥr in(t) n.k bi3t.sn.

dd mdw in Hr nb Msn ntr 3 nb³ T3rw t3 šps pr m 3st ir sdd.f m rw wr pḥty r šḥr sbiw.f m [t3rw (?)] idr nmt nt sbiw r B3kt šḥr sbiw r Idbw-Hr.

“I give to you Egypt carrying her offerings to you; the foreign lands bringing their wonders to you.”

Utterance by Horus, lord of Mesen, the great god, lord of Tjaru, the noble child, who came forth from Isis, who makes his form into the lion great of might to overthrow his rebels in[Tjaru (?)], who turns away the footsteps of his enemies from Egypt, who drives away the rebels from the Banks of Horus (Egypt)”.

Khent-Iabtet:

dd mdw in Hntyt-i3btt nb(t) Hnt-i3btt 3st s3wt-ḥ3-sn.s mn^ct t3.s r s3.f m s3w ḥm.f ḥr ḥnniw [... ...].

di⁴.n.(i) n.k ḥ^c m ḥk3 n t3-mri t3wy m ndyt n ḥm.k.

Utterance by Khent-Iabtet, lady of Khenet-Iabet (14th nome of Upper Egypt), Isis, protectoress behind her brother, who nurses her child to be his son as protector his majesty from rebels [... ...].

“I give to you a glorious appearance as ruler of Egypt, the two lands as slaves of your majesty”.

Commentary:

- 1) For a comparison between the ḥ -altar and the $\text{ḥ}3\text{wt}$ -alter, see Alliot 1949: 88, 89; Quaegbeur 1993: 342.
- 2) Sic.
- 3) E I 372, 7 has got the same word without mentioning that it is sic.
- 4) The sign mentioned in Chassinat's copy is a mistake for .

The Western Wall

Table

E-Ww-Ss-R3

Bibliography:

E I 375-376.
 E IX, pl. XXXI b.
 PM VI 142 (176)-(177).
 Blackman & Fairman 1950: 71.
 Drioton 1944: 20 (1).
 Gutbub 1961: 312 (1), 317(2).
 Cauville 1987a: 85.
 Egberts 1995: 302 (13).
 SERaT Scene No. 901598.

Title:

$s^{\text{ḥ}}(t) k3\text{-}shnt n it.f$

“Erecting the structure of Min for his father”.

King:

$nswt\text{-}bity iw^{\text{ḥ}}\text{-}ntr\text{-}mnḥ nb t3wy p3\text{-}mry\text{-}3st rwd\text{-}wy mi d3\text{-}ḥs3 šn^{\text{ḥ}} m k3t wy.f$

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the beneficent god, lord of the two lands, the beloved one of Isis, strong of arms like the one who stretches out the arm, driving away (foes) with his handiwork”.

Sheltered by the sun disc: $Bḥdt$.

The Behdetite.

*wnn nswt-bity p3-mry-3st hr kniw.f h^c.(w) m Hr k3 nht sw m nb f3w m-^ck wsr šfyt hr tp-htyw
^c.fkn hr shmt Twnty r shtp ib n [...].*

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the beloved one of Isis, upon his throne, appearing as Horus, the strong bull, he is the lord of magnificence opposite the strong of awe upon the stairway his arm is valiant and controls the Iuntyu-people to appease the heart of [...].

Min:

di.n.(i) n.k Twntyw Hnty m ndyt wrw.sn hr hr hrp n.k inw.sn.

*dd mdw in Min nsw Hr-nht hry-ib Wtst-Hr k3-mwt.f iwh-nhh nfr-hr k3-hbswt 3w-šwty spd
 itn¹ h33-šn^c m-dt.f hnt ntrw d3-^c ptpt ntstyw.*

di.n.(i) n.k rsy r t3wy-ntrw nhw.sn nb(w) r-ht.k.

*Wnn nst-Hr sip.tw m t3 nhr.n.s hrt R^c hry hry hndw.f htp.tw m-k3b.s mwt.f 3st hr mkit dt.f sw
 mi i^ch km.n.f smdt hr shd t3 m-ht snk.*

“I give to you the Iuntyu-people, (and) the Khentyu people as slaves. Their elders bring to you their tribute.”

Utterance by Min, the king, Horus the strong one, who resides in *Wtst-Hr* (Edfu), Kamutef, who carries the flail, beautiful of face, long of beard, wide of plumes, effective of the sun disc, strong in his body before the gods, the one who stretches out the arm (to) smash the execration figures.

“I give to you south as far as the two lands of the gods, all their living people are behind you.”

The throne of Horus is built in the land; it resembles the sky of Re, containing the one who is upon his stairway (Min), at rest within it. His mother, Isis, protects his body. He is like the moon; he completed the 15th moon day of the month, brightening the land after darkness”.

Isis:

dd mdw in 3st nt Bḥdt nbty-rḥyt mwt-ntr nt k3-mwt.f ḥry-tp wrt ḥnwt nsw pr ḥ^c nb ḥry st-r3.s².

di.n.(i) n.k šfyṯ nt Min ḥr ḥtyw.f snd.k ḥr ḥ3swt rsywt.

Utterance by Isis of Behdet, lady of the Rekhyt-people, god's mother of Kamutef, great Uraeus, mistress of the king's house, under his spell the lord appears.

"I give to you awe of Min upon his terrace, fear of you before the southern foreign lands".

Commentary:

1) For this title, see LGG VI 281; Budde 2003:33, footnote 67, 67 footnote 209.

2) For this title, see E VII 96, 9; Kurth 2004:168, footnote 6; see also LGG V 645.

Table	E-Ww-Ns-R3
Bibliography:	
E I 376. Cauville 1981:29. Cauville 1983:85, 224. El-Sayed 1982: 584, doc.934. SERaT Scene No. 901596.	
Title and Formula :	
<i>ḥnk(t) mdḥt [mnḥt]</i>	
<i>dd mdw iḥt-nḥḥ nn ḥm-nt-sb3kt ntri¹ k3t rḥty² nwd šps nt nwd m ḥwt-Nt ntr-i3b m Rs-Nt srnp.w ḥdw.k št3.w ḥ^cw.k ḥnh.tw ḥm.n.k sk.</i>	
Offering unguent and cloth.	
Words spoken, "These oils of Eternity, oil which makes sound the cloth, the <i>ntri</i> -cloth, the work of the two ladies, noble unguent pressed out in the house of Neith, <i>iab</i> -cloth of Res-Neith. May they make your bones young, may they hide your flesh, may you live, you do not know destruction".	

King:

nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh nb t3wy p3-mry-3st s3 Wsir ms n 3st hts h^cw n km3 dt.f. wnn nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh hr p(3) h^ct.f h^c m hr whm msw sw m nswt w3h n nhh n whm ky r.f h3w.f h3w pt rnpwt.f rk itn hnty.f ihmww-skww .

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, lord of the two lands, the beloved one of Isis, son of Osiris, born to Isis, who clothes the flesh of the one who created his body. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god is upon his throne, appearing as Horus, who repeats births. He is king of Upper and Lower Egypt who endures for eternity. No other one shall repeat him, his reign is the reign of the sky, his years are the time of the sun disc, his span of time is that of the indestructible stars”.

Divinities:

Sokar - Osiris:

di.n.(i) n.k i3t.i hry nst.i hnt ^cnhw tpyw-t3.

dd mdw in Skr-Wsir ntr ^c3 nb styt dsr st hnt st-wrt ^ch [pt] n b3.f³ grg t3 n shm.f smd dw3t r h3p dt.f⁴ snt sp3wt hry h^cw.f hws hmw n shmw.f.

wnn styt st3.ti hnt Msn mi nnt hry s3h s^cnh-Pth dsr.tw m-hnt.s snty.f hr ir bs3.f sw m nb niwwt hk3 sp3wt hwwt-ntrw hry ^chmww.f.

“I give to you my office, upon my throne before the living and those on earth.”

Utterance by Sokar-Osiris, the great god, lord of the necropolis, sacred is the place before the Great Place. “[The sky] is raised to his ba, the land is founded for his statue, the underworld is made deep to hide his body, the nomes are set out containing his limbs, the shrines are built for his statues.

The necropolis is hidden before Mesen like the sky containing Orion, one who makes Ptah live, sacred before it. His two sisters make his protection, he is lord of the cities, ruler of the nomes and the temples contain his images”.

Shentayet:

dd mdw in Šnt3yt hry(t)-ib Bhd t špst msnt s^cnh t sn.s r tr.f tp-rnpt ^crk.n.f irw n pt ts-m3kt⁵.

di.n.(i) n.k imyt-pr nt s3.i Hr hry nst.f hry-tp t3

Utterance by, Shentayet, who resides in Behdet, the noble one, the spinner, who makes her brother live at his time at the beginning of the year, performing for him the rites of the tes-maket ritual.

“I give to you the testament of my son, Horus, who is upon his throne, master of the earth”.

Commentary:

1) M. Eldamaty translated this word from a parallel text from Dendera as *sntr* “incense”. He ignored the determinative of the word which shows the clothing and the scene which also shows the king offering clothing; see Eldamaty 1995: 40. For other parallel examples, see E I 64, 1; 178, 16; 188, 2; S. Cauville 1983: 62, 85.

2) Two words are often confused *rhty* and *rhty* and both of them have the same meaning “the female companion” as they are a common designation for Isis and Nephthys, see Fairman 1944a: 263-268; Wilson 1997: 589. A. Egberts points out that there is a certain difference in their function. *rhty* are mentioned in the texts of the Graeco-Roman temples mainly connected to the production of clothing. They are only rarely associated with the mourning women. On the other hand, *rhty* have a wide array of functions such as: supporters of the sun god, nurses of Horus or the king, and consorts of the snake-gods Neferhotep of Diospolis Prava and Horus-sema-tawy. They are rarely associated with the making of clothing, see Egberts 1995:161 (5); Wilson 1997: 589. Fairman (1944a:263-268) and following him Leitz (LGG IV 711) prefers the the reading of *rhty*.

3) For parallel texts, see E I 25, 19; 81, 17; 495, 17; E VII 134, 9; Eldamaty 1995: 38, footnote 4.

4) For parallel texts, see E I 25, 19; 383, 9; 494, 17; Eldamaty 1995: 38.

5) This is an archaic funerary ritual, see Cauville 1987a:178; Zandee 1966:39; Wilson 1997: 1172.

The Northern Wall	E-Nw-Ws
Bibliography: E I 376-377. E IX, pl. XXXI a. PM VI 143 (178). Cauville 1987a: 85. SERaT Scene No. 901590.	
Title and Formula: <i>ir(t) kbh,</i> <i>dd mdw mn n.k kbh.k pr.(w) m H^cpy nwn wbn krrty t^h(w) n 3st m wy.s ds.s ini.n.i r skbb</i> <i>ib.k shb.k im.sn nh.k im.sn srf.k m tw imy.sn .</i> Making a water libation. Words spoken, “take to yourself your libation water which comes from Hapy, the flood water which rises in the two caverns, pressed out by Isis with her own hands. I bring (it) to cool your heart. May you drink of them, may you live on them, may ‘you rest on the wind’ by them”.	

King

Hr ḥwnw Ḳn nswt-bity iwꜥ-ntr-mnh nb t3wy p3-mry-3st Hr s3-Spdt pr m Spdt shꜥp ntr m ḥt ib.f.

Horus, the strong child, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, lord of the two lands, the beloved one of Isis, Horus, son of Soped, who comes from Sopdet, who appeases god with things of his heart”.

Horus:

di.n.(i) n.k nwn wb3.f n.k ḳrrty r bꜥḥ 3ḥt.k r-tr.s.

dd mdw in Hr Bḥdt bs Nwn r tr.f ir ntrw ms rmt r tr.f n-3b tp-rnpt ꜥnh t3wy m r-ꜥwy.fy mh ntrw rmt ꜥwt mnmnwt¹ ddft nbw m ḥrt.sn.

“I give to you the flood; he opens the two caverns for you to flood your field at its time.”

Utterance by Horus the Behdetite, who conducts flood waters at its season, who creates the gods, who gives birth to the people at its time. He is young without cease annually. May the two lands live with his handiwork, providing all gods, mankind, animals, cattle, and reptiles with their portion”.

Commentary:

1) For this word, see Kurth 2007: 55; see also E V 265, 18.

**Southern Wall
Eastern Series of Scenes**

First Register

E-Sw-Es-R1

Bibliography:

E I 377-378.
E IX, pl. XXXI c.
PM VI 143 (179).
Budde 2003: 67 (208).
Budde 2000: 281 (7).
Müller 1961: 24 (11).
Fairman 1944a: 265.
Cauville 1987c:186.
Derchain-Urtel 1981:17-18.
Alliot 1949:156.
Morenz 1973:336.
SERaT Scene No. 901589.

Title and Formula:

si^cr gsti

*dd mdw m33-sdm.k pn nfr tw3 ntrw r-h3w-hr s^ch^c.n.i ^c.k hr ir(t) k3t.f im.f sš.i mḥ.k m nfrw [...]
...] df3.tw m iḥt.k m dt.k dt.*

Lifting up the scribe palette.

Words spoken, “This is your beautiful palette, which the gods raised before (you), I raise up ‘your arm’ doing your work with it, I open your palette, with beautiful things [... ...], provided with your things in your body forever”.

King:

nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh nb t3wy p3-mry-3st snn n ikr pr m ḥ^cw.f si^cr ḥt ib.f r hr.f.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of beneficent god, lord of the two lands, image of the Excellent One, who comes forth from his body. Lifting up the things of his heart to his face.

Sheltered by the Behdetite.

*wnn nswt-bity p3-mry-3st hr-nst.f mks.f 3mw m 3mnt.f sw mi Hr sphr.n.f imyt-pr n šn nb n itn
nsw.f rsy bity.f mḥty ḥk3.f imntt i3btt.*

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god upon his throne, his Mekes is held tightly by his fist. He is like Horus. He inscribed the testament of all that is enclosed by the sun disc. May he rule the south, may he rule the north, may he rule the west and the east.

Queen;

ḥk3t nbt t3wy (3) ḥmt-snt n s3-R^c p3-mry-3st.

Queen, lady of the two lands, Arsinoe, sister-wife of the son of Re, the beloved one of Isis.

Sheltered by the winged sun disc:

s3.k im.f ^ch^c-hr- nst.k šsp ḥwt ib.k m ^cwy.f.

“He is your son, your successor. May your heart receive things from his hands”.

Divinities:

Khonsu-Thoth:

sphr.i gnwt.k r ḥꜥ n Rꜥ nswy.k ḥnty dt.

dd mdw in Hnsw-Dḥwty ḥry-ib Wtst-Hr smsw-wd¹ ḥt m nhbt sš imy pt wd-mdw m 3ḥt sšm n t3 ndty shrw.f²

sr.i snd.k r ḥpty ptw [... ...] n ḥrt.k

“I write your annals for as long as the life time of Re, your kingship span is (until) eternity.” Utterance by Khonsu-Thoth, who resides in Edfu, the elder who decrees, who engraves the protocol, the scribe who is in the sky, who decrees words in the horizon, leader of the land, protector of his plans.

“I proclaim fear of you to the limits of the heavens [... ...] through terror of you”.

Hathor:

dd mdw in Hwt-Hr wrt ḥry(t)-ib Hwt-sbkt nb(t) sš ḥnwt pr-md3t sphr ddw nw ḥsb-inw m nswyt nt h3 ḥr [...].f³ shf.i n.k ḥꜥ [...] r tnw rnpwt n Itm.

Wnn Hwt-sbkt dsr.tw m Msn mi 3ḥt ḥry Hnsw-Dḥwty ḥtp.tw m-ḥnt.s 3st r-gs.f m Sš3t sw m nb sš nn ḥm.n ib.f š3ꜥ d3is m3t si3.

Utterance by Hathor, the great one, who resides in the Mansion of the Leg, lady of writing, mistress of the library, who writes down the words of the reckoner of tribute as the kingship which went down upon his [...].

“I write down for you the reign of [...] more than the number of the years of Atum.

The Mansion of the Leg is sacred in Mesen like the horizon containing Khonsu-Thot resting inside it; Isis is beside him like Seshat. He is lord of writing, his heart is not ignorant, who began words, who invented perception”.

Commentary:

- 1) For parallel texts, see E VII 91, 3; Kurth 2004:157, footnote, 1.
- 2) For a different translation, see LGG IV 579.
- 3) For a parallel text, see E I 522, 8; LGG VI 279.

The Eastern Wall	E-Ew-Ns-H2
Bibliography: E I 378-379. E IX, pl. XXXI b. PM VI 143 (180)-(181). Barucq 1962:36, 194. Blackman and Fairman 1943:19 (2). Fairman 1944b:18. Alliot 1949:157-158. Egberts 1995:115-116.	
Invocation: <i>i3w n.k Bḥdty wnp Nhs bik nwb s3 Hr nswt-bity msnty kn in-phwy n thi.tw sw ir-ḥd m ḥftyw.f nkn sbiw.f mn tp i3t.f dbdb t3w¹ r3 nw ḥm.f drty šps spd² ḥnwt db3 Dns m tmsw.f ḥḥ m nswt-bity hr st nt it.f hr mk wtst.f r nšn sm3 Mg m sty nkn.f hr ini-phwy-n tkk šfyt.f sndm hr nst³.f ḥnt Wtst-Hr hr šnḥ dšryw r st-wrt nswt-bity Hr Bḥdt ntr 3 nb pt s3b šwt pr m 3ḥt ḥnty itrt mḥ3 ḥtp hr.k nfr n nswt-bity nb t3wy iwḥ-ntr-mnh s3-Rḥ p3-mry-3st ḥws Msn m st ib.k.</i> “Praise to you the Behdetite, who stabs Seth, falcon of gold, son of Horus, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, strong harpooner, who brings an end to the one who attacks him, who makes a massacre among his enemies, who injures his rebels, who remains firmly upon his mound. Who cuts up the foes of his majesty, the noble falcon, sharp of claws, who punishes Seth because of his crimes, standing as King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of his father protecting his Wetjeset (throne) against those who rage, who slays Seth because of the smell of his wounds, bringing an end to the one who attacks his dignity. One who sits upon the throne before Edfu to drive away the red ones from the Great Throne. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, great god, lord of heaven, him of the dappled plumage, who comes forth from the horizon, the foremost of the Double Sanctuary of Lower Egypt. May your beautiful face be satisfied at the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, the heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, lord of the diadems, the beloved one of Isis, who builds Mesen in the place of your heart”.	
Commentary: 1)  is a mistake for . 2)  is a mistake for . 3)  is a mistake for .	

Table	E-Ew-Ss-H1
Bibliography: E I 379. PM VI 143 (180)-(181). Barucq 1962: 36, 228. Finnestadt 1985:99. Egberts 1995:294 (12).	
Invocation: <i>i3w n.k Bhdt nb pt ʕpy šps Psd m 3ht itn nfr šhd snk sf šps ikh idbw dfd n wd3t wbg t3wy m stwt.f h3 hddwt.f ndb Hr i3btt Hr di-tp.f m nnt wpš t3 m stwt itn.f i3w m wh3 hy rnpy m dw3w¹ ntr wʕ hry ntrw nb(w) iwr.tw m.f rʕ-nb-hr-nhm.f² hd t3 di.f sw m 3ht wbn m b3hw m-dt.f rʕ nb ʕk.(w) m3nw m-ht.f Rʕ nb hr bi3.f m hrt-hrw nmt nnt iwtw wrd.n.f psd m dw3 imy-tw msktt b3w i3btt htt n k3.f htp m m3nw tp šs3t šsp sw b3w imntt m htp ʕpy šps šhd t3wy m m3w.f di dgt.n hr nb psd m nbw bh niwwt sp3wt dw3.tw r ms.tw.f rʕ n rʕ nb wʕ pw ir-nn r-3w hpr t3 m wts-nfrw.f hn-hrt m wi3.f hrt-hrw hnt pt rʕ n rʕ nb m msktt šhd³ wr, šhd t3wy m kkw wpš itrty m 3hty.f spr m Mhnyt.f hry-tp t3wy.f sn rhyt t3 n b3w hm.f nswt-bity Hr Bhdt ntr ʕ3 nb pt s3b šwt pr m 3ht hnty itrty šmʕw mhww htp hr.k nfr n nswt-bity nb t3wy iwʕ-ntr-mnh s3-Rʕ nb hʕw p3-mry-3st ir mnw pn n pr.k.</i> “Praise to you, the Behdetite, lord of the sky, the noble winged disc, who shines in the horizon, the beautiful sun disc, who illuminates the darkness. The noble child, who illuminates the banks, iris of the <i>wedjat</i>-eye, who lights the two lands with his rays; his rays illuminate the whole earth. Horus of the east, Horus, who shows himself in heaven, who sprinkles the land with the rays of his sun disc. An old man in the darkness, a young child in the morning, the unique god, master of all the gods. He is conceived everyday upon his lotus, who brightens the land, he shows himself in the horizon, rising in the east in his body (as) Re everyday, entering the west in his body (literally says ‘after his belly’) as Re. One who swims his sky daily, who traverses the sky without being tired. The one who illuminates in the morning those who are in the morning boat. The bas of the east rejoices for his ka. The one who sets in the west at night. The bas of the west receive him in peace. The noble winged disc illuminates the two lands with his rays and causes everyone to see; one who shines with gold, who illuminates cities and nomes. Morning begins in order that he is born to the limit of everyday. He is the one, who does all this, the lands emerge from the raising of his beauty, he who sails the sky in his boat daily, who sails the sky everyday in the morning boat, the great illuminator, who illuminates the two lands from darkness, who illuminates the Double Sanctuary with his two eyes, who arrives with his uraeus, who controls his two lands. The Rekhyt-people kiss the earth before the bas of his majesty. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, who comes forth from the horizon, the foremost of the Double Sanctuary of the south and the north. May your beautiful face be satisfied at the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, the heir of the beneficent spirit, son of Re, lord of the crowns, the beloved one of Isis, who builds this monument for your house”.	

Commentary:

- 1) | is a mistake for .
- 2) For this expression meaning night or evening, see Fairman 1964: 9-11.
- 3)  is a mistake for .

Second Register

Southern Wall

E-Sw-Es-R2

Bibliography:

E I 380-381.
E IX, pl. XXXI c.
PM VI 143 (179).
Gutbub 1961:312 (1).
Cauville 1987a:85.
SERat scene No. 901587.

Title and Formula:

ḥi-ih

dd mdw mn n.k ḥtpw m ḥh-ḥr-ḥḥw ḥfnw dbꜥw bw nfr sḏḥ.i tt.k swr.i šbw.k

ir ḥm.k ḥt im drp.k ntrw sšm.k ntrwt ir.k ḥrt .

Raising up offerings.

Words spoken, “take to yourself offerings consisting of millions upon millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands of good things. I supply your food table; I increase your food offerings.

May your majesty make things, may provision the gods and lead the goddesses, may you make offering-portions”.

Adoration:

mry itw-ntrw w3ddwy¹ nw ntrw sḏḥ ꜥb3² n psdt

Beloved of the gods’ fathers, the two w3dd-serpents of the gods, who supplies the offering table of the Ennead.

King:

nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh nb t3wy p3-mry-3st.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent god, lord of the two lands, the beloved one of Isis.

Sheltered by Horus

Bhdt ntr 3 di.f^cnh.

The Behdetite, the great god, may he be given life.

Wnn nswt-bity p3-mry-3st hr niwt.f h^c m Hr hrd nhn sw m nb htpw hk3 špsw shb gsw-prw m ih(w)^{r3} f nswt n B3kt bity dšrt ity m nfy mi nn.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the beloved one of Isis, in (upon) his city, appearing as Horus (the) young child. He is the lord of offerings, ruler of noble ones, who makes festive the temples with his offerings, King of Upper Egypt in Wedjat-land, King of Lower Egypt of the Red Land, sovereign of these and those”.

Arsinoe:

hk3t nb(t) t3wy (3) snt-hmt n s3-R^c p3-mry-3st.

Queen, lady of the two lands, (Arsinoe), sister-wife of the son of Re, the beloved one of Isis.

Sheltered by the vulture Nekhbet:

Nhbt hdt Nhn di.s. šsp st m-m.f kḳ m iht.f htpw di.n.f iw.w w^cb.

Nekhbet, the white one, Nekhen, may she give. “Receive them from him, eat from his things and offerings which he has given, for they are pure”.

Divinities:

Horus-sema-tawy:

di.n.(i) n.k iht nb(t) nfr(t) df3w di pt km3 t3.

dd mdw in Hr sm3 t3wy p3 hrd wr tp n Hr Bhdt hwnw ntri sdti n irt-R^c ms n Hwt-Hr wrt nbt Bhdt hk3t T3-rrt ityt m sp3t wrw.

“I give to you every beautiful thing, provisions (which) the sky gives and (which) the earth creates.”

Utterance by, Horus Sema-tawy, the great first child of (i.e. eldest child) Horus the Behdetite, the divine child, child of eye of Re, born to Hathor, the great, lady of Behdet, female ruler of Dendera, female sovereign of the great nome.

Hathor:

dd mdw in Hwt-Hr t3 mnit hry (t)-ib Bhdet Rnnt špst⁴ rrt nwn.s ʕt m pt wsrt m t3 hnwt nfrt m Wtst-Hr.

di.n.(i) n.k h(w)t [wti nb] n hʕpi km3 nb n k3w.

Wnn Nst-Rʕ špst.(w) m t3 mi nst.f hnt 3ht.f Hr sm3-t3wy ʕnh.tw m-hnt.s mi Rʕ wbn m b3hw sw m hwnw nfr bnr-mrwt ir hrt n hr nb.

Utterance by, Hathor, Ta-menit, who resides in Behdet, the noble nurse, who nurses her child, the great one in the sky, the strong one in the land, the mistress of beauty in Edfu.

“I give to you everything (begotten) of the Nile inundation, everything created by the Flood.”

The throne of Re is noble in the land like his throne upon his horizon, Horus Sema-tawy, living before her like Re rising in the east. He is the beautiful child, who is sweet of love, who makes portions for everyone.

Commentary:

- 1) The lacuna probably contained .
- 2)  is a mistake for .
- 3)  is a mistake for .
- 4) The reading of this epithet is not certain, see LGG VII 54.

Northern Wall	
Invocation	E-Nw-Es-H4
Bibliography: E I 381. E IX, pl. XXXI a. PM VI 143 (182). Barucq 1962: 36, 197. Blackman and Fairman 1943:19 (3) - 20, 30. Alliot 1955: 6. Alliot 1949: 339-340. Egberts 1995: 297-298, 302(12). Dunand 1973:147.	

i3w n hr.k hnw n k3.k sn-t3 n shm.k šps Hr Bḥdt ntr ʕ nb pt s3b šwt pr m 3ht šnbty šps(t) ʕs3w iwn Gmḥsw ʕpr dm3ty drty kn nšd ʕnwt in-phwy n tkk šfyt.f šmʕ.s mḥs dmd.(w) n tp.f k3-šwt y spd¹-hnty iwh nhḥ3 m dt nt sbiw.f ḥs3-šnʕ m ḥʕw-ḥḥ.f ʕḥʕ hr sd.f m bik hr hn.f dm3ty.f pg3 hr-s3.f mwt.f 3st m št3t ḥ3.f hr ḥw² ʕḥʕw.f rʕ nb ʕbb ntri ts tp štyt.f ḥftyw.f m ntstyw hr.f i3wty kn ḥsf imyw-mw sti r mdd ḥftyw.f pd.n.f nmmt 3m.n.f mʕb3 npd.n.f sntyw wdi r sʕrk nn whi-n-sp.f ir ḥftyw.f m tm-wn f3i.f ʕwy.f ḥfʕ.n.f ḥmt sti.f r fnd n ḥ3b stf ḥʕw.f dbdb hr msk.f³ rdit ksw.f n Wnmyt mn hr srḥ.f hnty Hwt-bity dd.ti hr st.f hnt wtst.f ḥis.n.f s3.f mry.f nswt-bity nb t3wy iwʕ-ntr-mnh s3-Rʕ nb ḥʕw p3-mry-3st ir mnw pn n k3.f.

“Praise to your face, rejoicing to your ka, kissing the earth to your noble statue, Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, who comes forth from the horizon. The noble falcon image of Horus, multi-coloured, the sacred falcon image, provided with wings, the valiant falcon, who is sharp talonned, who brings an end to the one who attacks his dignity. The White Crown of Upper Egypt, the Red Crown of Lower Egypt are united on his head, high plumed, sharp of horns, who carries the flail consisting of the penis of his enemies, who is fierce with the limb of his life [phallus], standing upon his tail as the falcon in his chest. His wings are opened behind him, his mother Isis is the diadem behind him protecting his body everyday. The divine falcon is raised upon his tomb-sanctuary; his foes are execration figures under him. The strong harpooner, who repels those who are in the water, who casts (his harpoon) in order to press his enemies hard, he stretches the stride, he grasps the harpoon, he slaughters the rebels. One who is victorious against the foe, who does not miss his time, who makes his enemies non-existent. He raises his hands, he seizes the harpoon, he casts at the nose of the hippopotamus, cutting his flesh and chopping up upon his hide, giving his bones to Wenmyet [fire goddess]. One who remains upon his throne, the foremost of the house of the Upper Egyptian King, enduring on his seat before his throne, he praises his beloved son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, heir of the beneficent god, son of Re, lord of diadems, the beloved one of Isis, who makes this monument for his ka”.

Commentary:

1)  is a mistake for .

2)  is a mistake for .

3) For this expression, see E VIII 149, 4; Wilson 1997:1192; Kurth 2004:268, footnote 4.

Third Register

Southern Wall

E-Sw-Es-R3

Bibliography:

E I 382.

E IX, pl. XXXI c.

PM VI 143 (179).

Chassinat 1966: 279-280.

Fairman 1954: 200.
 Sauneron 1958:278-279.
 Kurth 1994b: 214-215.
 Alliot 1956: 516-517.
 Alliot 1949: 49.
 Egberts 1995: 382 (h).
 SERat Scene No. 901588.

Title and Formula:

irt sntr kbhw

dd mdw sntr hr wrt kbhw n k3.tn ntrw r hpr(t)¹ m R^c šsp.tn kbh m it.tn Hr Bhdn ntr ʿ3 nb pt kḳ.tn m t.f s^cm.tn mw.f nšp hnmty.tn [...].

Performing the censuring and libation.

Words spoken, “Incense upon the flame, libation water for your kas, O gods who shall come into existence from Re. May you receive libation from your father, Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, may you eat of his bread, may you drink of his water, may your nostrils inhale [...]”.

King:

nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh s3-R^c p3-mry-3st s3-R^c pr m h^cw.f sfsf 3wt n msw.f

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re, the beloved one of Isis, son of Re, who comes forth from his body, who presents offerings to his children.

Sheltered by the sun disc: *Bhdn* “the Behdetite”.

Divinities:

dd mdw in ntrw nw Bhdn prw m R^c msw hprw m Tm št3w m dw3t.sn hr dw imntt hr rsy n Wtst-Hr h3t.sn dsr.ti m-hnt t3-dsr.sn b3w.sn m-gs.sn hryw hnt hrt.sn r-tr-n-rnpt m k3 psdntyw hmtnw n šmw in Hr Bhdn ntr ʿ3 nb pt Hwt-Hr wrt nb(t) Twnt r w3h-ihnt n h3wt ntrywt ntyw imn m dw n Bhdn šspw kbhw.sn ʿnh b3.sn srḳ htyt.sn m ʿnh r hpr tr ky n sp.f m htp n sk n fdḳ r nhḳ.

Utterance by the gods of Behdet, who come forth from Re, children created from Atum, hidden in their tomb on the western mountain at the south of Edfu. Their dead bodies are sacred inside their sacred land, their bas are beside them, those who are above walking upon their necropolis at the time of the bull of the New Moon on the first day of the 3rd month of the Shemu by Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, Hathor, the great one, lady of Iunet to set down the offerings to the divine corpses which are hidden in the mountain of Behdet. Receiving their libation water, their bas live; their throat cause to breathe life to create another time of his time in peace, never perishing, nor being disinterred forever”.

Commentary:

1)  is a mistake for .

Eastern Wall	
Table	E-Ew-Ss-R3
Bibliography: E I 382-383. E IX, pl. XXXI b. PM VI 143 (180) - (181). Cauville 1983: 86-87, 224. SERat Scene No. 901586.	
Title and Formula: <i>h_{nk}(t) h_k3t nh3h3</i> <i>dd mdw mn n.k [h_k3t]¹ 3m.n.s i3b.f nhh3 3m.n.s imnt.f ntri h^cw.k ^cd nn kn [...].k tm iry.sn ip.tw m [^cwt.k tm.ti] m dt.k dt.</i> Offering the crook and the flail. Words spoken, “take to yourself [the crook] it is grasped in your left, the flail it is grasped in your right. May your limbs be divine, whole without disease [...] all of them are complete, one counts [your limbs, you are complete] in your body eternally”.	
King: <i>nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh nb t3wy p3-mry-3st sb3k h_k3 s^cd nh3h3 htm ntr m sipy.f.</i> <i>wnn nswt-bity p3-mry-3st hr isbt.f h^c m Hr nb kbhw sw m nswt-bity hnk tp.f nt hf^c.f nstyw 3m.n.f w3dw Pssty dmd.(w) m k3.f.</i> The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the beneficent god, lord of the two lands, the beloved one of Isis, who makes the crook bright, who makes the flail safe, who equips the god with his regalia. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt is upon his throne, appearing like Horus, lord of the caverns, he is the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, his head is crowned with the Red Crown, he holds <i>netyu</i>-plants, he grasps the papyrus, the two halves united with his ka.	
Divinities:	

Osiris:

di.n.(i) n.k ḥk3t nt ḥm n R^c nh3ḥ3.k mi i^ch.

dd mdw in Wsir Wnn-nfr m3^c-ḥrw nsw ntrw ntr^c3 nb Wtst-Ḥr nswt m nnt ḥk3 ḥ3bs² bity m t3 ḥry ntrw ity m igrt nb d3tyw smd.tw.s r ḥ3p ḥ3t.f³.

“I give to you the crook of the majesty of Re, you are reborn like the moon.”

Utterance by Osiris, Wenn-nefer, justified, king of the gods, the great god, lord of Edfu, king of Upper Egypt in heaven, ruler of the stars, King of Lower Egypt in the land, chief of the gods, sovereign in the realm of the dead, lord of the dwellers of the underworld, it is made deep to hide his dead body.

Nut:

dd mdw in Nwt wrt ms(t) ntrw⁴ nb(t) pt ḥry(t)-ib Bhdt tm3t n ḥk3t grg idbw m msw.s⁵.

di.n.(i) n.k ḥk3t nt it.i⁶ Šw nst nt rp^ct ntrw⁷.

Wnn Ḥwt-sbkt dsr.tw m t3 mi pt w^cb.tw ḥry s3ḥ Wsir Wnn-nfr m3^c-ḥrw wsr⁸ m-ḥnt.s mwt.f Nwt ḥr ḥw k3.f sw m ḥk3 ḥdt nb(t) wrwt nswt-bity k3.tw m rn.f.

Utterance by Nut, the great one, who gave birth to the gods, lady of the sky, who resides in Behdet, mother of the female ruler, who equips the banks with her children.

“I give to you the rulership of my father, Shu, (and) the throne of the prince of the gods.”

The Mansion of the Leg is sacred on the earth like heaven, pure containing Orion, Osiris-Wenn-nefer, justified; the strong one is before her. His mother, Nut protects his ka, he is the ruler of the white crown, lord of the Upper Egyptian crown, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, one calls his name”.

Commentary:

1) The lacuna probably contained .

2) An epithet for Osiris, see Cauville 1983:200; D II 160, 18; Bedier 1995: 21, 13.

3) The reading of this epithet is uncertain, see also LGG VI 359.

4) For a parallel title, see D II 126, 5-127; Bedier 1995: 9, 11.

5) For a parallel title, see E I 173, 10; D II 126, 5-127; Bedier 1995: 9, 11; Wb V, 308, 3.

6) The stroke | should be excluded.

7) This title is used for Geb. For other occurrences see Bedier 1995:48, 14.

8) The lacuna probably contained .

Table	E-Ew-Ns-R3
Bibliography: E I 383-384. PM VI 143 (180)-(181). Blackman 1945:62 (19). Müller 1961:24 (9). Fairman 1944a: 267-268. SERat Scene No. 901585.	
Title and formula: <i>šms ʕntyw.</i> <i>dd mdw mn n.t ḥbb¹ ḥnʕ.tw m ti-šps ḥr ʕwy nb ḥk3 Pwnt m-ḥnw tp wr [...] n n ḥʕw.t ḥʕ snt-ntr m sty idt ḥnm n w3t phr m ʕntyw nšp.tw r-ḥnty itr.</i> Presenting myrrh. Words spoken, “take to yourself the vessel for myrrh, filled with tisheps from the hands of the lord and ruler of Punt, inside [...] your limbs. The god’s sister rejoices with the smell of the perfume, the smell of the ways is permeated with myrrh (and) inhaled for a distance of one schoenus”.	
King: <i>s3-Rʕ iwʕ-ntr-mnh nb ḥʕw p3-mry-3st ndm idt mi bik ntry shʕ špst m ḥnm.s.</i> <i>wnn nswt-bity p3-mry-3st ḥr srḥ.f m ity m 3ḥt nb sw mi Hr it.n.f dm3t-pdwt² ḥbi.f inw m t3 snd.f phr.(w) m ḥ3swt ḥr.ti ḥnty-š sš n phty.f.</i> Son of Re, heir of the beneficent god, lord of diadems, the beloved one of Isis, who is sweet of fragrance like the divine falcon, who caused the noble one to rejoice with her smell. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the beloved one of Isis is upon his throne like a sovereign in every horizon, he is like Horus, he seizes the vulture ornament, he extracted tribute from the land, fear of him goes around in the distant foreign lands, the Khentyu-se is opened by his strength”.	

Divinities:

Isis:

di.n.(i) wrw nw t3 hry b3k.sn r ʕyt.k.

dd mdw in 3st hddt n Bḥdt ḥmt-nswt-nt-nswt-bity rpʕtt-wrt-n-it.s-Gb špst-n-mwt.s- Nwt³.

“I give to you the elders of the land carrying their work to your temple.”

Utterance by Isis-Hedetet of Behdet, wife of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the great hereditary princess of her father Geb, the noble one of her mother Nut.

Nephthys:

dd mdw in Nbt-ḥwt mnḥt snt-ntr s3.s m Wtst-Ḥr⁴.

di.n.(i) n.k nswyt ʕt m m3ʕ-ḥrw m3ʕ-ḥrw.k r ḥftyw.k.

wnn Š3-Ḥr⁵ dsr.tw m t3 mi gbt⁶ rʕ nb 3st ḥdt ḥtp.tw m-ḥnt.s Ḥrskt⁷ m irt-rdwy⁸.s sw m Š3wt - ḥ3-sn.s⁹ rḥty mki dt.f.

Utterance by Nephthys, the beneficent one, god's sister, her protection is in Edfu.

“I give to you the great kingship with rightness, may you triumph against your enemies.”

“The lake of Horus, sacred in the land like the sky everyday, Isis, the white one, resting inside it, Kherskt is her attendant. He is like the protectress behind her brother; the two ladies protect his body”.

Commentary:

- 1) The lacuna probably contained .
- 2) For another reading for this epithet as *it.n.f- pdwt-psdt* “he sizes the nine bows”, see LGG I 630.
- 3) For this epithet, see LGG VII 62.
- 4) For this epithet of Nephthys which occurred only once in the temple of Edfu and it is a possible hapax during ancient Egypt, see LGG VI 117.
- 5) For this locality, see DG V 125; Clédat 1921:171. It refers to two localities having the same name. The first is lake of the 14th nome of Lower Egypt. The second is the agriculture land of the 15th nome of Upper Egypt (Hermopolis), see Wilson 1997:983-984.
- 6)  is a mistake for .
- 7) This goddess together with Isis protect Osiris from his enemies, see LGG VI 47.
- 8) For the translation of this epithet as “Comrade”, see LGG I 422.
- 9) For this epithet, see LGG VI 138.

Northern Wall	
Table	E-Nw-Es
Bibliography: E I 384-385. E IX, pl. XXXI a. PM VI 143 (180)-(181). Fairman 1944a: 276-277. Chassinat 1968:518, 561-563, 569, 664, 667, 671. Otto 1964:116. Cauville 1987a: 86. Cauville 2002:17. SERat Scene No. 901582	
Title and Formula: <i>3sh-it</i>¹ <i>dd mdw w3h.n.i n.k šm^cw sš n.(i) hr w3t.k m psdntyw² n.t tpy šmw hnd.k hr t3 titi.k hftyw.k spr.k d3t štyt h3p [...] w3h.k ihwt n ntrw wrw nn sk³ n fdḳ r nhḫ.</i> Cutting the barley. Words spoken, “I cut down for you upper Egyptian grain, which I spread upon your way on the first day of the first month of Shemu. When you walked upon the land, you crushed your enemies, you reached the underworld, the hidden tomb [...] May you put down the offerings of the great gods, never perishing, nor being disinterred forever”.	
King: <i>Hr hwnw kn nswt-bity iw^c-ntr-mnh nb t3wy p3-mry-3st.</i> Horus, the strong child, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, the beloved one of Isis”.	
Sheltered by the disc: <i>d3w h3tyw kn m sht wb3-hr-m k3t šdy</i> Adoring the valiant cultivator in the field, expert in the work of the field”.	

Horus-sema-tawy:

di.n.(i) n.k p_dwt p_sdt h_ry t_bty.k⁴ h₃^c-h_bsw pr.k n wn.

dd mdw in Hr sm₃-t₃wy nb h₃dt n_r ʕ h_ry-ib Twnt n_r šps h_ry-ib B_hdt bik n_ri šm hr srh k₃ šwt_y sšp itn R^c-Hr-ʕhty nb pt s₃b šwt nd_ty mn_h n Wnn-n_r m₃^c-h_rw.

“I give to you the Nine Bows under your sandals; one who deserts your house does not exist.”

Utterance by Horus-sema-tawy, lord of Khadet, the great god, who resides in Iunet, the noble god, who resides in Behdet, the divine falcon, image upon the serekh, high plumed, who lightens the sun disc, Re-Horakhty, lord of the sky, him of the dappled plumage, efficient protector of Wenn-nefer, justified”.

Commentary:

1) For other scenes of reaping the barley, see D IV 69, 4; Cauville 2002:17, footnote 16; Egberts 1995: 371, footnote 337.

2)  is a mistake for .

3)  is a mistake for .

4)  is a mistake for .

**The Central Hall of the Temple of Kom Ombo
The Translation of the Texts**

**Salle de l'Ennéade N of A. Gutbub.
Gutbub 1995 : Nos. 129-218.**

Right Door (North)
Exterior Doorjamb (North)
Base
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 129. Not mentioned in De Morgan. Destroyed entirely except for some signs at the base of the fourth column <i>dšg</i> and at the base of the fifth column <i>fw</i>.

First Register	KO-END-NDJ-R1
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 130. De Morgan 1909: No. 740. SERaT Scene No. 210360.	
Title: <i>ḥr r ḥmwʿ3 it.f sw3š nfrw n k3.f ir.f di ḥnh</i> “Entering the sanctuary/shrine, the door of his father (and) praising the beauty of his ka that he may be given life”.	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iwʿ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr iri-M3ʿt-Imn-Rʿ s3-Rʿ Ptwlyms ḥnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: <i>s3 ḥnh [w3s] nb [ḥʿ.f] nb [mi Rʿ dt]</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	
Horwer: [... ..] <i>nb Nbyt</i> [... ..] <i>itryt</i> [... ..] <i>ḥry st</i> [... ..] <i>di.i n ... st</i> [... ..] [... ..] lord of Kom Ombo [... ..] the two shrines [... ..] upon the throne [... ..] I give to [you] [...] place [... ..].	

Second Register	KO-END-NDJ-R2
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 131. De Morgan 1909: No. 742. SERaT Scene No. 210362.	
Title: <i>Mn n.k hwt f3i.n.i m-hr.k 3ms hry-tp ʕwy.i</i> “Take to yourself, offerings which I have raised before you. May you eat at my hands”.	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iwʕ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3ʕt-Imn-Rʕ s3-Rʕ Ptwlyms ʕnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: <i>s3 ʕnh w3s nb hʕ.f nb mi Rʕ dt</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	
Panebtawy: <i>dd mdw in P3-nb-t3wy p3-hrd nb Nbyt hwnw nfr hy ʕnh mswt nb k3w di n mrt.f rdi d3w n nty m-hsw.f</i> <i>di.i n.k htpw n wn dr-ʕ.sn</i> “Utterance by, Panebtawy, the child, lord of Kom Ombo, the beautiful child, the child, living manifestaions, lord of provisions, who gives to his beloved, who gives food to the one who is in his favor. “I give to you offerings; there is no existence to their limit”.	

Third Register	KO-END-NDJ-R3
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 132. De Morgan 1909: No. 744. SERaT Scene No. 210364.	

Title:

Mn n.t nn 3bi.n.t hnwt.i

“Take for yourself these (which) you have desired, my mistress”.

King:

*Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ʿnh dt mry
Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt*

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, The heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him:

s3 ʿnh w3s nb h^c.f nb mi R^c dt

“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.

Ta-senet-nefret:

*dd mdw in T3-snt-nfrit nb(t) Nbyt nb(t) wrh mrt thhwy hbi m-b3h.s r^c nb di.i mrt.k sš m-
ht t3wy*

Utterance by Ta-senet-nefret, lady of Kom Ombo, lady of dancing, who loves joy, who dances in front of her everyday. “I cause your love to spread through the two lands”.

Fourth Register

KO-END-NDJ-R4

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 133.
De Morgan 1909: No. 746.
SERaT Scene No. 210366.

Title:

rdw š3w m bw wn.k hpr sšp mst-ib.k

“Plants and vine in the place (where) you have created light, in the place of your heart”.

King:

[Nswt-bity][iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr] iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c [s3-R^c Ptwlyms] ^cnh dt mry Pth [ntrwy mrywy mwt]

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him:

[s3] ^cnh w3s nb h3.f nb mi R^c dt

“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.

Horwer:

[... ...]hry st-wrt ntr ^c3 nb Nbyt nb th ^cš3 hbw wnf ib hrt-hrw di.i n.k inw Kmt m-^cb Dšrt

[... ...] upon his great throne. The great god, lord of Kom Ombo, lord of drunkenness, numerous of festivals, rejoicing the heart daily. “I give to you revenue of the Black Land and the Red Land”.

Left Doorjamb (South)

Base

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 134.

De Morgan 1909: No. 739.

Gutbub 1973:195-203.

Junker 1942:17-18.

sp3wt pw ntywt k3 nht spd hr mds irty sš is n drty kn bik sš ^cnwy pr n hnty-tnnt nnt n Hnmt-wrt hwt R^cyt n nbt ntrw Mnbyt wrt n Nb-t3wy h^cyt is n hns iww hryw-ibw šhr.n.f šm3yw imy.s hwt-wd3ty¹ pw nty hm n R^c pr-^cnhwy itrty nty Hr-3hty ptry s3tyw Itm imnt.f i3bty.f is di.sn ^cnh sm3² m snb n s3-R^c Ptwlyms ^cnh dt mrt Pth swr.sn hsw.f hr tpyw-tw3

These are the nomes of the strong bull, sharp of face, sharp of eyes, the nest of the strong black kite; the falcon that spreads out talons, the House of Khenty-tennt, Nut of the great nurse. The mansion of the female form of Re of the gold of the gods, the great Mnbyt of Neb-tawy, indeed the Place of Appearance (sanctuary) of the one who traverses the central islands. He has driven away the Shmayw-demons who were in it. It is the mansion of the two wd3t-eyes of the majesty of Re, the house of life of the two eyes of Horakhty, the two eyes of the two daughters of Atum. Indeed his right eye and his left eye, they give life joined with health to the son of Re, Ptolemy, they make great his praises before those who live on earth.

Commentary:

1) Gutbub believes that the two *wd3t* signifies Horwer and Sobek, see Gutbub 1973:202-203 (q).

2) The sign is a mistake for .

First Register	KO-END-SDJ-R1
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 135. De Morgan 1909: No. 741. SERaT Scene No. 210361.	
Title: <i>st3-idr sfh db^c iw/ r m33 it.f sp sir.f di.^cnh</i> Drawing back the cord, unfastening the seal in order to see his august father that he may be given life.	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ^cnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: <i>s3 ^cnh w3s nb h3.f nb mi R^c dt</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	
Sobek: <i>dd mdw in Sbk-R^c nb T3-sty¹ ntr ^c3 nb Nbyt bs dsr nn si3 irw.f sm st3 iwty rh.f</i> Utterance by Sobek, lord of <i>T3-sty</i> , the great god, lord of Kom Ombo, secret image, his form is not known, the hidden image, no one knows him”.	
<i>di.i n.k rwt wrt hr ir h^c.k im.f</i> I give to you the Great Gateway, making you appear in it.	
Commnetary: 1) C. Leitz translated this locality as <i>T3-sty</i> “Nubia”, see Leitz 1994: 21. SERaT’s	

transliteration is *t3-stš*.

Second Register	KO-END-SDJ-R2
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 136. De Morgan 1909: No. 743. SERaT Scene No. 210363.	
Title: <i>mn n.k ir-Hr rdi.n.k s(w) r-h3t.k ndm idt.k</i> “Take to yourself the eye of Horus. You placed it before you. Sweet is your scent with it.	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ^cnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: <i>s3 ^cnh w3s nb h^c.f nb mi R^c dt</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	
Khonsu: <i>dd mdw in Hnsw¹ hry-ib Nbyt b3 šps šhm m idbw-Hr nbw hry-tp t3wy Db3-it.f² hḳ3 imy-r hwt imy-Nwn-m-wd.n-hm.f³sn pt hr [... ...].</i> <i>di.i šhm Shmt m h^cw n hftyw.k</i> Utterance of Khonsu, who dwells in Kom Ombo, noble ba, power-image in the Banks of Horus of gold, chief of the two lands, who replaces his father, the ruler, the overseer of the palace, what is inside Nun as what his majesty commands, who encircles the sky [... ...]. “I placed the strength of Sekhmet in the body of your enemies”.	
Commentary: 1) The sign is shown in the opposite direction. 2) An epithet for Khonsu, see LGG VII 615. 3) For this epithet, see LGG I 238.	

Third Register	KO-END-SDJ-R3
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 137. De Morgan 1909: No. 745. SERaT Scene No. 210365.	
Title: <i>šms-ntyw n mwt.f wsrt ir.f di ʕnh</i> Presenting myrrh to his mother, The Powerful One that he may be given life.	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iwʕ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3ʕt-Imn-Rʕ s3-Rʕ Ptwlyms ʕnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, The heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: <i>[s3] ʕnh w3s nb hʕ.f nb mi Rʕ dt</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	
Isis: <i>dd mdw in 3st nb(t) Nbyt stpt mr.s r [ʕhʕ] hr nst nn wn ʕk r ʕh m hm.s di(.i) n.k ntr-t3 hnʕ imy.f</i> Utterance by Isis lady of Kom Ombo, the one she loves is chosen to stand on the throne. No one enters the palace without knowing her. “I give to you the god’s land with what it contains”.	

Fourth Register	KO-END-SDJ-R4
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 138. De Morgan 1909: No. 747. PM VI 193 (138)-(139). SERaT Scene No. 210367.	
Title: <i>Mn n.k ntri m k3t rhty¹</i>	

Take to yourself the <i>ntr</i> -cloth as the work of the two weavers.
King: <i>Ptwlym[s ʕnh dt mry Pth] ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, The heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.
Behind him: <i>s3 ʕnh w3s nb hʕ.f nb mi Rʕ dt</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.
Deity: The legend which accompanies the deity (god) is destroyed except for this text. <i>di.i n.k šfyt m hrw hʕ.k</i> “I give to you dignity on the day of your appearance”.
Commentary: 1) For this epithet, see LGG IV 711.

Lintel North Door	
Right Side (North)	KO-EXNDL-Ns-1
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 139. De Morgan 1909: No. 748. PM VI 193 (138)-(139). SERaT Scene No. 210368.	
First Table	
Title: <i>mn n.k sty š3w r sw3d hr.k</i> Take to yourself the scent of plants to make green your face.	

King:

*Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Pt[w]lyms ʕnh dt mry
Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt*

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, The heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him:

[s3] ʕnh w3s nb h^c.f nb mi R^c dt

“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.

Horwer:

di.i n.k pr.k m 3ht dd mdw in Hr-wr-Šw s3-R^c ntr ʕ3 m sp-tpy nfr hr shb mndty¹

“I give to you everything which comes from the field.” Utterance by Horwer-Shu, son of Re, the great god on the First Occasion, beautiful of face, to make festive the eyes.

Khosnu:

*dd mdw in Hnsw hry-ib Nbyt sr n m3^ct nb tp nfr hrt mtwt-k3t² ʕnh hm.f n m33 hr.s h^c.f
h^c.f im.s*

Utterance by Khonsu who resides in Kom Ombo, noble of Maet (usually of Thoth), Lord of ‘a good beginning’ (=Maet), seed of the bull; his majesty lives at seeing her face. When he appears, he is satisfied with (it) her.

A column behind the king:

ʕnh ntr nfr h^cw idbw bs hr k3.s shmh-ib hnḫ rnpwt n nb nfrw

May the good god live, the marshes and banks emerge with its produce, making glad the heart, offering fresh plants to the lord of beauty.

Commentary:

1) It is a mistake for . For this divine epithet, see Wilson 1997:440; LGG VI 450.

2) For this epithet, see LGG III 460-461.

Second Table

KO-EXNDL-Ns-2

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 140.
De Morgan 1909: No. 750.
PM VI 193 (138)-(139).

SERaT Scene No. 210370.
Title: <i>Mn n.k m3^ct mr.k mr.s tw</i> Take for yourself Maet, your love, she loves you.
King: <i>Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ʿnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, The heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.
Behind him: <i>s3 ʿnh w3s nb ḥ^c.f nb mi R^c dt</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.
Queen: <i>ḥk3t nbt t3wy Klpw3dr3t šsp.k mr.k m-^c.f snb.k n ḥm.f r-^c r nhḥ</i> The female ruler, the lady of the two lands Cleopatra, “May you receive your love from him your health of his majesty for eternity.
Horwer: <i>dī.i n.k m3^ct m r3.k dd mdw in Hr-wr nb Nbyt m3^c ib ḥtp hr m3^ct</i> “I give to you <i>maet</i> to your mouth.” Utterance by Horwer, lord of Kom Ombo, true of the heart, who is satisfied with <i>maet</i>.
Ta-senet-nefret: <i>dd mdw in T3-snt-nfrt nb(t) Nbyt s3t R^c mryt ib.f ḥnt st.s m wp.f</i> Utterance by Ta-senet-nefret, lady of Kom Ombo, daughter of Re, who loves his heart at (before) her place on his brow.

Column behind the deities:

Nswt-bity, k3 mr m3ꜣt bwt-k3.f-rdi-ḥr-gs¹ nb th² iwty-gs3.f

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the bull, who loves *Maet*, his ka abominates bias; lord of solder, his bias is not there.

Commentary:

1) For this epithet “the abhorrence of his Ka is partial”, see LGG II 791.

2) For this epithet, see LGG III 782.

Left Side (South)

First Table

KO-EXNDL-Ss-2

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 141.

De Morgan 1909: No. 749.

PM VI 193, (138)-(139).

SERaT Scene No. 210369.

Scene completely destroyed except for some words.

Transliteration:

Ntrwy mrywy mwt

The mother-loving gods.

s3

Protection.

A column behind the king:

ꜣnh ntr nfr wtt n Ḥnmt 3tt n bk3t wrt¹

May the good god live, who is engendered from Khenmet (the Nurse), nursed by the great mothercow.

Commentary:

1) For this epithet, see LGG II 839.

Second Table

KO-EXNDL-Ss-1

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 142.

De Morgan 1909: No. 751.
PM VI 193 (138)-(139).
SERaT Scene No. 210371.

Title:

Mn n.k m3^ct 3b k3.k

Take for yourself Maet (which) your ka desires.

King:

*Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ^cnh dt mry
Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt*

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him:

s3 ^cnh w3s nb h^c.f nb mi R^c dt

“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.

Queen:

hk3t nbt t3wy KI[... ..] iw mi hr.k nfr n snt mry

The female ruler, lady of the two lands, Ql[eopatra], your beautiful face of your beloved sister.

Sobek:

di.i r-k m3^ct m ib.k r^c nb dd mdw in Sbk nb Nbyt ntr [^c3] nb r3-st3w¹ b3w šps imn dt.f

“I place for you maet in your heart everyday.” Utterance by Sobek, lord of Kom Ombo, the great god, lord of t3-stš, who drags the august bas, whose body is hidden.

Hathor:

dd mdw in Hwt-Hr nb(t) Nbyt Nnt tm3t nt h3yty

Utterance by Hathor, lady of Kom Ombo, the sky, mother of the two lights (the sun and the moon).

Column behind the deity:

Nswt-bity it ntrw b3 dsr hpr hnt wr pf n si3.n.tw.f

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, father of the gods, the sacred ba, who existed at the beginning, the Great One, he is not known'

Commentary:

1) The reading of this locality is uncertain, see LGG III 681-682.

Cornice

Right Side

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 143.

Not mentioned in De Morgan.

iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c

Ptwlyms ʿnh dt mry [Pth mry]

“The heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re”

“Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah”.

Left Side

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 144.

Not mentioned in De Morgan.

iw^c-n-[ntrwy-prwy] stp-n-Pth-Hpr [iri]-M3^ct-Imn-R^c

[P]twlyms ʿnh dt mry [Pth mry]

“The heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re”

“Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah”.

Thickness of the Doors

Right Side

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 145.
De Morgan 1909: No. 752 (left).
PM VI 193 (141).

Hr [... ..] *nh hr mshnt.sn nbty m m3t sh.n.s sw it.f Hr-nbw wr phty nb hbw mi it.f Pth-t3tnn it ntrw ity mi R nswt-bity iw-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3t-Imn-R s3-R Ptwlyms nh dt [mry Pth] hn snt.f hmt.f*

Horus, [... ..] lives upon their birth-bricks, two ladies 'In Maet' she caused him to appear, (like) his father, Horus of gold, great of power, lord of festivals like his father Ptah-Ta-tennen, father of the gods, sovereign like Re, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, together with his sister and his wife.

nh Hr nb Nbyt [... ..] *hnty wd3ty k3 m- [...] n wn msb[...].s r.f ity kn itt m f shm phty n3s g3bty* [... ..] *m mtn n k3.f hh isft pfy ds.f nb knt hk3 r3- ht shr h3 nb m [...].f hsf sbiw*

May Horus live, the lord of Kom Ombo [... ..] the foremost of two *wedjats*, the bull with [...] there is no [...] the strong sovereign, who seizes with his arm, strong of power, strong of arm, [...] with a road for his ka, who seeks his own fault, lord of strength, ruler of war, who overthrows every warrior with his [...], who drives away the foes.

The rest of the text is completely destroyed except for some words:

Ity, rdi hsw, h, [...].f nry di nh [...] nb s[nb] nb [mi] R

Left Side

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 146.
De Morgan 1909: No. 752 (right).
PM VI 193 (140).

[... ..]snsn Hp ʕnh hr mshn.sn Nbtj [... ..] phty nb hbw mi it.f Pth-t3-tnn it ntrw ity mi Rʕ nswt-bity Nswt-bity iwʕ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3ʕt-Imn-Rʕ s3-Rʕ Ptwlyms ʕnh dt mry P[t]h [h]nʕ snt.f hmt.f hk3t nbt t3wy Klw3[p]dr3 ntrwy mrywy mwt

[... ..] who joins the living Apis, upon their birth bricks, the two Ladies [... ..] power, lord of the festivals like his father Ptah-ta-tennen, father of the gods, the sovereign like Re, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, together with his sister and his wife, the female ruler, the lady of the two lands, Cleopatra, the mother-loving gods.

Sbk nb Nbyt Gb ity n psdt nb nrw wr [... ..][i]nm ʕs3 hprw sd3.f ʕkw [wʕfw]¹ b3 dsr sp-sn iwty rh.f št3 sp-sn[...] n 3 m3ʕ n it.f nt mw [...] m t3 [...] shkr m ʕt nbt špst shm phty m-s3 hftyw.f wnm.f iw.f.sn zhb trw.sn [... ..]ts.n[...]n ury h3ʕ hr g3(?)r [... ..] n nty m hsw[...] then a long lacuna.

At the back ʕt msw[...]t3 [..] mr di ʕnh [w3s] nb snb nb [mi] Rʕ dt

Sobek, lord of Kom Ombo, Geb, the sovereign of the ennead, lord of terror, great [... ..] skin, numerous of forms, he makes tremble those who enter and subdues, the sacred ba, twice, no one knows him, the very hidden [...]. true of his father water and in land, [...] adorned with every noble precious stone, strong of power behind his enemies, who eats their flesh, who drinks their blood [... ..] they fix their things, who set out [... ..] for those with praise [...].

Given all life, authority and health like Re forever.

Commentary:

1) For this epithet, the reading is uncertain, see LGG VI 716.

Ceiling of the Thickness of the Doorjamb

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 147.

Not mentioned in De Morgan.

Winged sun disc and beside it Bhdty [...] the Behdetite [...].

Thickness

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 148.

De Morgan 1909: No. 753.

PM VI 193 (142).

Six bands of decorative motives above them a text reads:

ʕnh ntr nfr Hʕpy ʕs3 [... ..]

May the good god live, Hapy, numerous of [... ..]
[... ..] 3t(?) hrw nfr mry Hrt-Hr nb(t) Nbyt [May the good god live], (?) the happy day, beloved of Hathor, Lady of Nebyt
ʕnh ntr nfr igp hkr nb m ʕ[...] [...] mry [S]bk nb Nbyt May the good god live, who makes bright every adornment with [...] [...] beloved of Sobek lord of Kom Ombo.
ʕnh ntr nfr iwʕ n 3st[...] ms n [...] ... May the good god live heir of Isis, born of [... ..]
ʕnh ntr nfr [...] ... May the good god live [... ..]

Ceiling of the Thickness

Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 149. Not mentioned in De Morgan. Only this text has survived.
[...] snb n s3-Rʕ [ptl]my[s][ʕnh] dt [mry][P]th Health to the son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah.

Interior

Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 150. De Morgan 1909: No. 755. The first column is destroyed and only five columns survived.
šn Wrwy šn W3d-wr wn.f št3 hnw.sn wnnt n bʕrf m hfʕ.f nswt-bity iwʕ-n-ntrwy prwy stp-n-Pth -Hpr iri-M3ʕt-Imn-Rʕ Sbk nb Nbyt s3 Gb hry-tp ity ntrw ʕhm ntri hw h3kw-ibw r3-ḥs3 ¹ ḥs3-hr m hftyw.f wnm sm3ytyw ʕ3pp bhḥ hrwyw.f nb k3w shpr df3w hw rsf m wd k3.f di.f im r mr.f The high waters encircle, the sea surrounds, he opened the two hills and everything which (what) is inside them; one who holds tight with his fist, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Sobek, son of Geb, the chief, sovereign of the gods, the divine cult image of the god, who strikes the rebels, grim of mouth, fierce of face with his enemies ² , who eats the confederates of Apophis, who cuts up his foes, lord of provisions, who creates supplies, food and the catch (fish and birds) as his ka commands, he gives thereof according to what he desires.

Commentary:

- 1) For this epithet, see LGG I 107.
- 2) For this epithet for Sobek, see LGG V 479.

First Register	KO-IND-NDJ-R1
Bibliography:	
Gutbub 1995: No. 151. De Morgan 1909: No. 757. SERaT Scene No. 210373.	
Title:	
<i>ḥ3i-ih̄t n nb špsw rdi h3w ḥr mnw</i>	
Raising up offerings to the lord of good things, giving excess of daily offerings.	
King:	
<i>Nswt-bity iwꜥ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr iri-M3ꜥt-Imn-Rꜥ s3-Rꜥ Ptwlyms ꜥnh̄ dt mry Pth ntrwy [mrywy] mwt</i>	
“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: text is destroyed.	
Horwer:	
<i>dd mdw in Ḥr-wr mr ḳm3 ꜥḥ3 m Pr-b3w ntr ꜥ3 nb Nbyt nb k3w ꜥš3 dḥ3w</i>	
<i>di.i n.k wnnt nb ḳm3 3ḥt</i>	
Utterance by Horwer, who loves reating, who fights in the House of bas, the great god, lord of Kom Ombo, lord of provisions, numerous of supplies.	
“I give to you all products and what the fields create.”	

Second Register	KO-IND-NDJ-R2
Bibliography:	
Gutbub 1995: No. 152. De Morgan 1909: No. 759. SERaT Scene No. 210375	

Title: <i>db3-mnhṯ ḥwn skṛ nmt.f t3[...]</i>¹ Clothing with cloth the child, whose stride strikes the land [...?]
King: <i>Nswt-bity iwꜥ-n-nṯrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3ꜥt-Imn-Rꜥ s3-Rꜥ Ptwlym[s] ꜥnh dt mry Pth nṯrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.
Behind him: text is destroyed.
Panebtawy: <i>dd mdw in P3-nb-t3wy p3 hrd nb Nbyt nfr ḥr ꜥn-m-ptr šfyt.f m-ḥr-n m33.n.sn sw di.i n.k šfyt m pr r ḥ3yt</i> Utterance by Panebtawy, the child, lord of Kom Ombo, beautiful of face, who of beautiful view, his dignity is before those who see him. “I give to you dignity coming out from the (sanctuary) hall.”
Commentary: 1) This epithet is not mentioned in LGG, besides the last word is not clear in the original.

Third Register	KO-IND-NDJ-R3
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 153. De Morgan 1909: No. 761. SERaT Scene No. 210377	
Title: <i>šmt r š3ꜥ r s3bi ib.k</i> Going to the fields according to what your heart desires.	

King:

*Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlym[s] ^cnh dt mry
Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt*

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him: text is destroyed.

The sun disc with the Uraeus: *Bhdt* the Behdetite.

Horwer:

*dd mdw in Hr-wr nb T3-Sth¹ ntr ^c3 nb Nbyt nb w3dw3d tñn hppwy w3rhi šni-t3 n k3.f di.i
n.k wbs nb m 3ht*

Utterance by Horwer, lord of Ta-setekh, the great god, lord of Kom Ombo, lord of the green plants, who makes bright the grains, who makes green the “hair of the earth” plants for your ka, “I give to you all plants in the field.”

Commentary:

1) Name of a district of the 8th nome or the 9th nome of Upper Egypt. It was associated with the cult of Sobek, see DG IV 32-33.

Fourth Register	KO-IND-NDJ-R4
Bibliography:	
Gutbub 1995: No. 154. De Morgan 1909: No. 763. SERaT Scene No. 210379	
Title:	
<i>Mn n.k sntr ntri.f dt.k ii hnm.f ndm r [...]</i>	
Take for yourself incense; it makes divine your body. His smell comes sweetly to [...]	
King:	
All the text is destroyed except for: <i>ntrwy</i> [... ..]	
God (Osiris?):	
All the text is destroyed except for:	
[... ..] <i>ity</i> [... ..] <i>pt</i>	
[... ..] sovereign [... ..] sky	

di.i n.k ḥ3swt nbwt r ḥm n k3.k

“I give to you all the foreign countries for the majesty of your ka.

Left Doorjamb

Base

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 155.

De Morgan 1909: No. 754.

*ḥnh ntr nfr wr s3 wr [ḥk3] ity ms n ḥk3t iwᶜ t3wy m ḥwt.f nty mwt.f šsp mks tp mshnt.f ḥk3
mnḥ imytw ḥk3w spd shrw mnḥ sh wr knt s3wy nht iw nsw hy hry ḥ3t.f s3-Rᶜ Ptwlyns ḥnh
dt mry Pth Hr-wr nb Nbyt Šw s3-R3 Ḥḥ tw3 pt nnt wh3 3 rmn gbt di t3w srḳ-ḥtyt m nf pr
m r3.f ntr wr pw m-ḥ3t psdt¹ nn ḥn.tw ḥ3 wd.f Hr tm3-ᶜ nhw kn tkr-phṯy mry*

May the good god live, the great one son of the Noble [ruler] born to female ruler, the heir of the two lands in his mansion of his mother; one who receives the mekes, upon his birth seat, the excellent ruler, between the rulers, sharp of plans, excellent of advice, great of strength, how satisfying the (his) strength more satisfying than the Upper Egyptian kings, raised up at his front, the son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, Horwer, lord of Kom Ombo, Shu, son of Re, Heh who carries the sky and the great column, who carries the heavens, who gives the wind and causes the throat to breath with breath coming forth from his mouth; he is the great god at the front of the ennead, no-one turns back (his) command, beloved of Horus, the strong of arm, the strong protector and mighty in strength.

Commentary:

1) C. Leitz's copy does not show *pw*, see LGG IV 422.

First Register

KO-IND-SDJ-R1

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 156.

De Morgan 1909: No. 756.

SERaT Scene No. 210372.

Title:

ḥ3i-ihṯ n nb ḥtpw sᶜ3 wdḥw n ḳm3 wnnt

Raising up offerings to the lord of offerings, increasing the offering-altar by the produce for the one who created that which exists.

King:

*Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ^cnh dt mry
Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt*

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, The heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him:

s3 ^cnh w3s nb h3.f nb mi R^c dt

“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.

Under the sun disc with Uraeus *Bhdt* “The Behdetite”.

Sobek:

dd mdw in Sbk-R^c nb Nbyt k3 nb k3w W3dd nb htpw wr-hrt rdi-tp.f

di.i n.k htpw df3w hrt-hrw

Utterance by Sobek-Re, lord of Kom Ombo, ka lord of offerings, the *W3dd*-snake lord of offerings, great of portion, one who shows himself.

“I give to you offerings and provisions daily.”

Second Register

KO-IND-SDJ-R2

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 157.

De Morgan 1909: No. 758.

SERaT Scene No. 210374.

Title:

Mn n.k wsh r swsh hn^c.k msw tm m-s3.k r^c nb

Take to yourself the *Wskhet* collar to make wide your throat; the children of Atum are protecting you everyday.

King:

*Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M³t-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ^cnh dt mry
Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt*

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, The heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him:

s3 ^cnh w3s nb h3.f nb mi R^c dt

“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.

Under the sun disc with Uraeus *Bhdt* “The Behdetite”.

Khonsu:

*dd mdw in Hnsw hry-ib Nbyt ntr ^c3 nb m3^cty k3.f m hy h^cw.f-m-s^ch im3h šps nb wp^rt
di.i ^cwy.i h3.k mk3*

Utterance by Khonsu who resides in Kom Ombo the great god, lord of two *maets*, his form is a child; his flesh is a mummy; the venerated one, the august one, lord of the hair locks.

“I put my arms behind you protecting”

Third Register

KO-IND-SDJ-R3

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 158.
De Morgan 1909: No. 760.
SERaT Scene No. 210376.

Title:

hnk wd3t n nb inm¹sth n hh.f m 3wt-ib

Presenting the *wd3t*-amulet to the lord of colour, to make bright his throat with the *3wt-ib* pectoral.

King:

Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ^cnh dt mry Pth mry mwt ntrwy

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him:

s3 ^cnh w3s nb h3.f nb mi R^c dt

“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.

Under the sun disc with Uraeus *Bhdt* “The Behdetite”.

Sobek:

dd mdw in Sbk nb T3-sty ntr 3 nb Nbyt ntr wr imytw Psdt dsr hpr n rhy dt.f di.i n.k psdt m-s3 n h^cw.k

Utterance by Sobek lord of *T3-sty*, the great god, lord of Kom Ombo, great god between the ennead, sacred of form, no-one knows his body. “I give to you the ennead as the protection of your limbs.”

Commentary:

1) For another reading for this epithet as *awn*, see LGG III 576.

Fourth Register

KO-IND-SDJ-R4

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 159.
De Morgan 1909: No. 762.
SERaT Scene No. 210378.

Title:

Mn n.t sššt r štp hm.t šhm r shr ib.t

Take for yourself *sššt* -sistrum to satisfy your majesty and *šhm* -sistrum to make content your heart.

King:

*Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ^cnh dt mry
Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt*

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, The heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him:

s3 ^cnh w3s nb h3.f nb mi R^c dt

“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.

Under the sun disc with Uraeus *Bhdt* “The Behdetite”.

Isis:

*dd mdw in 3st wr[t] mwt ntr nb(t) Nbyt 3ht sn(t?) [...] Wsir s3h b3.f[...] s^ch.f s[...
...]t*

di.i n.k t3wy nb n dr-3hw

Utterance by Isis, the great, the god’s mother, lady of Kom Ombo, the useful one, sister (?) [...] Osiris who makes bright his ba [...], “I give to you all of the two lands of the limits of Akhu (sun).”

Lintel

Right Side (North)

KO-InL-ND-1

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 160.
De Morgan 1909: No. 765.
PM VI 193 (143)-(144).
SERaT Scene No. 210381.

Title:

hns.n.i i3wy phr.n.i sp3wt [...]

“I have traversed the mounds, I have gone around the nomes [...]”

King:

Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ^cnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him:

s3 ^cnh w3s nb h3.f nb mi R^c dt

“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.

Horwer:

di.i n.k i3t wrt nty nd it.f dd mdw in Hr-wr mhnty irty b3 špss ntri hpr Hr-tm3-^c ndty n km3 sw mh-ib-im.f-n-ntr-nb¹

“I give to you the great rank of the protector of his father.’ Utterance by Horwer, mekhenty-irty, the august ba, divine of form, Horus strong of arm, the avenger of the one who created him, the trusted one by every god.

Tasenetnefert:

dd mdw in T3-snt-nfrt nb Nbyt ^cnh^t wnmt wnnt ii.n.s snt.s md^c

di.i n.k m33 nb n[...]

Utterance by Tasenetneferet, lady of Kom Ombo, the fire who eats the existing, which her brother brings on the wind.

“I give to you everything seen [...]

Column behind the king:

Wnn s3-R^c Ptwlyms [^cnh dt mry Pth] [hr] nst.f m nswt t3wy h3 idbwy [... ..]h[...].f iw iry [...]

Son of Re Ptolemy living forever, beloved of Ptah, upon his throne like the King of the two Lands, the ruler of the two banks, [... ..]

Column behind the deities:

*Wnn nb ḥꜥ ḥnty ḥwt tm3-ꜥ mi Itn ḥnty nnt sw m Tw[n]w sꜥnh t3wy smsw shpr wnn t3w n
ꜥnh [... ..]*

Lord of joy the foremost of the mansion of the strong of arm like Aten, the foremost of the sky; he is Iunu, who causes the two lands to live, the eldest wind which creates that what exists, the wind of life [... ..].

Commentary:

1) For this epithet which has unconfirmed reading, see LGG III 360.

Left Side (South)	KO-InL-ND-2
Bibliography:	
Gutbub 1995: No. 161. De Morgan 1909: No. 764. PM VI 193 (143)-(144). SERaT Scene No. 210380.	
Title:	
[... ..] <i>nbw ḥs</i> [... ..] <i>hry mw</i> [... ..] gold, <i>hes</i> -vase, [... ..] containing water.	
King:	
<i>Nswt-bity iwꜥ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3ꜥt-Imn-Rꜥ s3-Rꜥ Ptwlyms ꜥnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind the king:	
[... ..] <i>mi Rꜥ dt</i> [... ..] like Re eternally.	
Sobek:	
[... ..] <i>dd mdw in Sbk-Rꜥ nb Nbyt ntr šps bs-ḥꜥpy-r-sꜥnh-wnnw¹ sšm ntrw mi rmꜥ ir-ḥrt-n-ir-nbt-ꜥnh²</i> [... ..] Utterance by Sobek-Re lord of Kom Ombo, the august god, who causes inundation to come forth to make live what exists, who leads the gods like	

people, who creates the food share for every living.

Hathor:

dd mdw in Hwt-Hr nb Nbyt nnt psd w3dty m-kb.s ʿnh ntrw m wdt n hmt.s

di.i n.k mrt [... ..]

Utterance by Hathor, lady of Kom Ombo, the sky, the two *w3d*-eyes illuminates around her; the gods live as commanded by her majesty.

“I give to you love [... ..].”

Column behind the king:

[... ..] mi [...]Hr sšp i3t nt it.f

Translation:

[... ..] like [...] Horus who receives the rank of his father.

Column behind the deities:

Wnn Sbk ʿpr m dt .f [... ..] inm.f dsr.tw m sšt3.f sw [... ..]nb ntrw ntrwt dmd m s3.f [... ..]

Sobek-Re who is equipped with his body, [... ..] his skin, sacred in his form. He is [... ..] lord of the gods and goddesses united with his protection [... ..].

Commentary:

- 1) For this epithet, see LGG II 826.
- 2) For this epithet, see LGG I 482.

Left Door (South)

Exterior Right Doorjamb

Base

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 162.
De Morgan 1909: No. 766.
Gutbub 1973: 203-210.

st[... ...] pw n b3 n Šw t3w h3yt nftr srk-htyt s3-n-ḥḥ iḥ n snb pr pw nty 3wt-ib st-shn n kḥw špse tḥr pw n ḥw ḥbw h3w r3wp pw n ḥwt nfrwt nb df3w k3.tw r nb.f di.f im r mrt.f ḥnk.f r-dr ib.f ḥs.f s3.f nty ḥr st.f s3-Rḥ Ptwwlyms ḥḥ dt mry Pth bḥ.f pr.f m k3w di.n.f sdf3w.f st nftr¹ f m shp.n.f

It is the place of [... ...] of the ba of Shu, the beautiful shrine of the one who opens the throat; the stall of life, the net of health, it is the house of happiness, the place of uniting with provisions and offerings; it is the fortress of food, it is the catch (of fish and fowls) of good things, the lord of provisions is called his lord. He offers thereof as he wishes, he offers to the end of the heart, he praises his son who is upon his throne, son of Re Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, he floods his house with provisions, he caused that he provisioned his beautiful place with what he received.

Bibliography:

1) This term refers to the Hall of Offerings, see Gutbub 1973:210(g).

First Register	KO-ESD-NDJ-R1
Bibliography:	
Gutbub 1995: No. 163. De Morgan 1909: No. 768. SERaT Scene No. 210382	
Title:	
<i>Wn-ḥr.f it.f ḥpt Gb n km3 sw di.ḥḥ</i>	
Revealing the face of his father, embracing Geb for the one who created him, given life.	
King:	
<i>Nswt-bity iwḥ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr iri-M3ḥt-Imn-Rḥ s3-Rḥ Ptwwlyms ḥḥ dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i>	
“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him:	
<i>[s3] ḥḥ w3s nb ḥḥ.f nb mi Rḥ dt</i>	
“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	

Sobek:

dd mdw in Sbk nb Nbyt dfn[...] nbi m-š3^c ir ntt km3 wnnt iit m ḥ3t si3.n.f phwy
di.i n.k ḥ3-wr mn.ti hry nfrw.k

Utterance by Sobek, lord of Kom Ombo, the ancestor [...], one who created what at the beginning, who makes those things that exist, who creates that which exists, who comes at the beginning, he has perceived the end.

“I gave to you the great hall fixed and containing your beauty.”

Second Register	KO-ESD-NDJ-R2
Bibliography:	
Gutbub 1995: No. 164. De Morgan 1909: No. 770. SERaT Scene No. 210384.	
Title:	
<i>ḥnk ʕnh-w3s n sf ikr ir.f di ʕnh</i>	
Offering milk to the excellent child that he may be given life.	
King:	
<i>Nswt-bity iw^c-[n]-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ʕnh dt mry</i> <i>Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i>	
“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him:	
<i>s3 ʕnh w3s nb ḥ^c.f nb mi R^c dt</i>	
“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	
Panebtawy:	
<i>dd mdw in P3-nb-t3wy p3 hrd nb Nbyt hy šps ḥwnw n mrt di ʕnh n ḥr nb di.i nḥt Pḥty.k r</i> <i>ḥftyw.k</i>	
Utterance by Panebtawy, the child, lord of Kom Ombo, the august child, child of love, who gives life to everyone, “I put your might and strength against your foes.”	

Third Register	KO-ESD-NDJ-R3
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 165. De Morgan 1909: No. 772. SERaT Scene No. 210386. Title: [... ..] ḥw [? ?] [... ..] [? ?]	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iw^c-[n]-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ʿnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: <i>s3 [ʿnh w3s nb ḥ^cf nb mi R^c dt]</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	
Hathor: <i>dd mdw in Ḥwt-Ḥr nb(t) Nbyt, nb(t) t3wy nb(t) t3 ir ḥnkt m km3 m ir m ʿwy[...]</i> [... ..] r.k Utterance by Hathor, lady of Kom Ombo, lady of the two lands, lady of bread, who makes beer as created by her wish, as made by [her] hands. [... ..] to you.	
Fourth Register	KO-ESD-NDJ-R4
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 166. De Morgan 1909: No. 774. SERaT Scene No. 210388.	

Title:

Mn n.k irt-Hr bꜥḥ n k3.k 3wt-ib ib tp-im.s

Take for yourself the eye of Horus flooding for your ka. May the heart rejoice by means of it.

King:

Nswt-bity iwꜥ-[n]-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3ꜥt-Imn-Rꜥ s3-Rꜥ Ptwlyms ꜥnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him:

s3 ꜥnh w3s nb ḥꜥ.f nb mi Rꜥ dt

“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.

Sobek:

dd mdw in Sbk nb t3-ii ntr ꜥ3 nb Nbyt b3 šps ntri ḥpr ḥ3p [... ..]
di.i n.k 3wt-ib ḥrt-ḥrw ḥꜥ rꜥ nb n 3b

Utterance by Sobek lord of Ta-ii, the great god, lord of Kom Ombo, the august ba, divine of form, concealing [... ..].

“I gave to you joy daily and rejoice everyday without stopping.”

Left Doorjamb

Base

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 167.

De Morgan 1909: No. 767.

*st swnwn n p^ct rhyt bw sw3š n hnmmt hwt w3dd wd k3w m hnt.s nbŠ3i Rnnt m-k3b.s nfr
h^tp.tw imy.s r^cn b dw nb hr r.s hb im.s hrt-hrw 3wt-ib nsy-ımyw h3w k^ch ttf m-hnt.s hwt
nb(wt) nfr(wt) nbwt hr pr.s Nswt-bity iw^c-[n]-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c
mswt n nb.s s3.s wr mry.f di.(i) n.f t3wy nb m htp n bi3.sn ir r k3.f.*

The Place of Flattery of the Pat and the Rekhyt people, the Place of Praising the Sun-People, the Mansion of the w3dd-snake who decrees the offerings before her, the lord of Shai (fate) and Rennet (wealth) within it, [happy] satisfied with that in it everyday, all evil is far away from it, festivities in it everyday, joy belongs to it, the excess of vessels is overflowing before it; everything and all goodness is before her house, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re. Manifestation of its lord, his great son, his beloved. He gives to you all of the two lands in peace. They forsake thereof his ka not.

First Register	KO-ESD-SDJ-R1
Bibliography:	
Gutbub 1995: No. 168. De Morgan 1909: No. 769. SERaT Scene No. 210383.	
Title:	
<i>m33-ntr n it.f sn-t3 m hr.f nfr ir.f di ^cnh</i>	
Seeing the god, for his father, kissing the earth before his beautiful face, that he may be given life.	
King:	
<i>Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ^cnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i>	
“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him:	
<i>s3 ^cnh w3s nb h^c.f nb mi R^c dt</i>	
“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	

Horwer:

*dd mdw in Hr-wr nb Nbyt, Šw s3-R^c fnd n Tm. rdi t3w n g3w [... ...].
di.i n.k sbht t3 pn ds.tw n k3.k*

Utterance by Horwer, lord of Kom Ombo, Shu, son of Re, the nostrils of Atum, who gives air to the one who is in need.

“I give to you the screen wall portico. This land is sacred to your ka.”

Second Register	KO-ESD-SDJ-R2
Bibliography:	
Gutbub 1995: No. 169. De Morgan 1909: No. 771. SERaT Scene No. 210385.	
Title:	
<i>pḥr n it.f sp 4 m t3w 5 šm^cw nw Nḥb</i>	
Going around, for his father four times, with five pellets of Upper Egypt of El-Kab.	
King:	
<i>Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ḥnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i>	
“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him:	
<i>s3 ḥnh w3s nb ḥ^c.f nb mi R^c dt</i>	
“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	

Horwer:

dd mdw in Hr-wr nb t3wy h3swt nb šꜥt pw m t3 r dr šhr hftyw bhn sm3wty ir ntstyw m-tm-wn

di.i snd.k m t3-hr-ndb.f

Utterance by Horwer, lord of the two lands and the foreign countries, lord of slaughter in the whole land, who overthrows the foes, who cuts up the confederates (companions of Seth), who makes execration figures as those who do not exist.

“I place the fear of you in the land in the whole land.”

Third Register	KO-ESD-SDJ-R3
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 170. De Morgan 1909: No. 773. SERaT Scene No. 210387.	
Title: <i>Mn n.t Mnyt thn hr.t</i> Take to yourself <i>Menit</i> to make bright your face.	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iwꜥ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3ꜥt-Imn-Rꜥ s3-Rꜥ Ptwlyms ꜥnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, The heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: [s3] <i>ꜥnh w3s nb hꜥ.f nb mi Rꜥ dt</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	

Tasenetnefert:

dd mdw in T3-snt-nfirt nb(t) Nbyt irt-R^c hnwt.f is mḥnyt.f pw m ḥ3t.f mḥnyt ḥry-tp n ntr nb [...].

di.i n.k t3wy nbw m ḥtp.

Utterance by Tasenetnefert, lady of Kom Ombo, eye of Re, his mistress. She is the Uraeus at his front; Uraeus is upon the head of every god.

“I give to you all the two lands in peace.”

Fourth Register	KO-ESD-SDJ-R4
Bibliography:	
Gutbub 1995: No. 171. De Morgan 1909: No. 775. SERaT Scene No. 210389.	
Title:	
[... ..] <i>di ʕnh</i> [... ..] given life.	
King:	
The text is destroyed except for the formula behind him.	
[s3] <i>ʕnh w3s nb ḥ^c.f nb mi R^c dt</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	
Deity:	
Text destroyed except for the following. [... ..] <i>nb</i> [... ..] <i>dn</i> [... ..] <i>ib.f</i> [... ..] <i>nty im.f</i>	

Lintel	
Right Side (North)	
First Table	KO-EXSDL-Ns-1
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 172. De Morgan 1909: No. 776. PM VI 193 (145)-(146). SERaT Scene No. 210390.	
Title: <i>hrp Ḳbh n it.f</i> Consecrating libation water to his father.	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iwꜥ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr iri-M3ꜥt-Imn-Rꜥ s3-Rꜥ Ptwlyms ꜥnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: <i>s3 ꜥnh w3s nb ḥꜥ.f nb mi Rꜥ dt</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	
Sobek: <i>di.i n.k Ḳbh Ḥr ḥnꜥ imy.f dd mdw in Sbk pr m nwn ntr ꜥ3 nb Nbyt</i> “I give to you libation water of Horus together with what is in it.” Utterance by Sobek who comes forth from the primeval water, the great god, lord of Kom Ombo.	
Khonsu: <i>dd mdw in Ḥnsw-Dḥwty ḥry-ib Nbyt sš tm3-ꜥ mꜥr-spw spd ḥr ꜥḥ3 m ꜥr.f</i> Utterance by Khonsu-Thot who resides in Kom Ombo, the scribe, strong of arm,	

successful of deeds, sharp of face, who fights with his reed-pens.

Column behind the king:

dwn [... ...] *hry mw n rnp r skbh ib.k n pr im* [...]

who stretches out [... ...] carrying water of youth to purify your heart with what comes forth from [it].

Left Side (South)

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 173.

Not mentioned in De Morgan.

First table: only part of the legend of the deity can be seen.

[... ...] *m33,f*

Second Table

Only part of the legend of the King can be seen.

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 174.

Not mentioned in De Morgan.

s3-R^c [... ...] [*mrywy*] *mw ntrwy*

Son of Re [... ...] beloved of the two mother-loving gods.

And part of the legend of the queen.

hk3t [...]

Cornice

Gutbub 1995: No. 175.

Not mentioned in De Morgan.

The cartouches which flank the winged sun disc have disappeared.

Thickness of the Doorjambs

Right Side (North)

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 176.

De Morgan 1909: No. 777 (left).
PM VI 193 (147).

[... ..] *msḥnt.sn nbty m m3^ct s[h]^c.n.s sw it.f Hr-nbw wr pḥty nb ḥbw mi it.f Pth-t3-tnn it ntrw ity mi R^c nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ḥnh dt mry Pth mry ḥn^c snt.f ḥmt.f ḥk3t nbt t3wy Klpwtr3 ntrwy mrywy mwt*

[... ..] their birth seat, the two ladies of maet, she causes him to appear, his father, Horus of Gold, great of power, lord of the festivals like his father Ptah-ta-tennen, the father of the gods, the sovereign like Re, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, together with his sister, his wife, the female ruler, lady of the two lands, Cleopatra, the two mother-loving gods.

Sbk [... ..] si3 n nb dr nb nrw 3 stt¹ nb inm nwr.tw n m33.f ir ḥprw nbw dr ib.f [... ..] km3 wnnt r hn.sn ḥr-s3 ḥm.f š[.]^c ḥr k3.f mnmn.sn ḥr st.sn ḥtp.f ii.sn r m-^c ḥrt.sn ḥ[... ..] ḥ^cpy [... ..] sd^c dd[ft] imyw-mw šni-t3[... ..]

Sobek [... ..] perception of the lord of the universe, lord of terror, great of trembling, lord of the skin, one trembles at seeing him, who creates all forms to the extent of his heart, who creates that which exists in order that they rejoice around his majesty, [...] at his ka, they move quickly at their places, he is satisfied when they come with their portion, the inundation [.....] who makes tremble the reptiles and those in the water; the hair of earth plant [... ..].

Commentary:

1) For another reading of this epithet as *sd3d3*, see LGG II 44.

Left Side (South)

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 177.
De Morgan 1909: No. 777 (right).
PM VI 193 (148).

[... ..] *snsn Ḥp ḥnh ḥr mshnt.sn Nb[ty] m m3^c sh^c.n sw it.f Hr-nbw wr-pḥty nb ḥbw mi it.f Pth-t3-tnn it ntrw ity mi R^c nswt-bity [Ptwlmy]y[s][ḥnh] dt mry Pth ḥn^c snt.f ḥmt.f ḥk3t t3wy Klpwtr3 ntrwy mrywy mwt.*

[... ..] who unites with the living Apis, upon their birth seat, the two ladies, his father caused him to appear in reality, Horus of gold, great of power, lord of festivals like his father Ptah-ta-tenen, father of the gods, sovereign like Re, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, together with his sister, his wife, the female ruler, the lady of the two lands, Cleopatra, the two mother-loving gods.

W3st [...] nb Nbyt hnty W3dty Šw wr smsw n nb dr Hr-tm3-^c ity n psdt itt phty n sbiw hr it.f sk rn.sn hr tp t3 nhr n.f^cnh in spy¹ [...] .sn n wr n dw.sn di.f sbi t3 mi nty n hpr.sn n di hp ssf n h3kw-ibw [... ..]

Thebes [...] lord of Kom Ombo, foremost of Egypt; Shu, the great, the eldest of the lord of the Universe; Horus strong-armed, sovereign of the ennead, who seizes the strength of the enemies because of his father, who destroys their names upon the earth. Life is pleaded by those who are left (survivors) to him [...] because of the greatness of their evil. He makes the land pass away today, they do not exist and the ashes of the rebels are not made to exist [... ..].

inw m t3 hr ndb [...] f nhw nfr[.] n ntr[w] rmt nd m3r [...] m-^c [...] ²

Products from the whole land [...] the good protector of god[s] and people. The one who protects the downcast before [...].

Nswyt 3t mi R^c dt

Great of kingship like Re forever.

Commentary:

1) For this epithet, see LGG IV 270.

2) For this epithet, see LGG IV 584.

Doorjamb

Left Side (South)

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 178.

Not mentioned in De Morgan.

All is destroyed except for the band of the text of the second table where few signs are still in situ. [...] *mry*

Interior

Right Doorjamb

Base

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 179.

De Morgan 1909: No. 779.

[... .. [...] *r hftyw.f[...]* *hn*¹ [*h*]ryw [...] *sm3wty.f nht m skyw* *3 nrw hnt mnfyf .f ii n.f t3wy nb m [...]* *ms inw.sn irw hr psd.sn nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c Hr-wr hnty w3dty ntr 3 nb Nbyt nhw nfr*² *ndty n km3 s(w) mh-ib n ntrw rmt mry di nh w3s nb snb nb 3wt-ib nb*

[... ..] against his enemies together with his foes [...] and his confederates, strong in the battle, great of fear, the foremost of his soldiers. All the two lands come to him bowing, the tribute pertaining to them on their backs, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Horwer, the foremost of Egypt, the great god, lord of Kom Ombo, the good protector, the protector of the one who created him, beloved of the loyal one of gods and people, given all life and authority, all health and all happiness.

Commentary:

- 1) For this epithet, see LGG IV 293.
- 2) *.f* written in error.

First Register	KO-ISD-NDJ-R1
Bibliography:	
Gutbub 1995: No. 180. De Morgan 1909: No. 781. SERaT Scene No. 210392.	
Title:	
<i>hrp 3bt hry-idb n Šw shtp ib.f n pr [...]</i>	
Consecrating offerings to Lord of largess to Shu to make satisfied his heart with what comes forth [...]	
King:	
<i>Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c [Ptwlmys nh dt mry] Pt[h] ntrwy mrywy mwt</i>	
“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, The heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: Text destroyed.	

Sobek:

dd mdw in Sbk nb Nbyt Gb ʿ3 nb s3-t3 b3 šps bs wnnt nbt ʿnh ntrw rmt[...]

di.i n.k km3 nb n 3ht

Utterance by Sobek lord of Kom Ombo, Geb the great, lord of Sa-ta, the august ba, who brings all products (so that) the gods and the people live [...]
“I give to you everything that is created by the fields.”

Second Register	KO-ISD-NDJ-R2
Bibliography:	
Gutbub 1995: No. 181. De Morgan 1909: No. 783. SERaT Scene No. 210394.	
Title:	
<i>ts wd3t n sf ikr shkr šnbt m n rh</i>	
Attaching the <i>wd3t</i> -amulet to the excellent child, to adorn the throat as no one knows.	
King:	
<i>Nswt-bity iwʿ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3ʿt-Imn-Rʿ s3-Rʿ Pt[w]lym[s] ʿnh dt [mry] Pth ntrwy [mrywy] mwt</i>	
“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: text is destroyed.	
Panebtawy:	
<i>dd mdw in P3-nb-t3wy p3 hrd nb Nbyt hk3 sm-sw wtt n hrj-idb¹ ʿpʿp n P3ht wrt</i>	
<i>ir.n.i s3.k whm (?)².i mkt.k</i>	
Utterance by Panebtawy the child, lord of Kom Ombo, eldest magican, begotten of the lord of largess, born to the great Pachet.	
“I make your protection, (sic) your protection.	
Commentary:	
1) For another meaning of this epithet “Director of what the bank produces”, see LGG II 602.	
2) The reading is not certain, SERaT reads it <i>whm</i> , see scene number 210394.	

Third Register	KO-ISD-NDJ-R3
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 182. De Morgan 1909: No. 785. SERaT Scene No. 210396.	
Title: <i>Mn n.t mnyt r sthn hr.t nfr hr bnr mrwt</i> Take to yourself the menit-necklace to make bright your face, beautiful of face, sweet of love.	
Transliteration: <i>Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwl[y]ms ʕnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: Text destroyed.	
Hathor: <i>dd mdw in Hwt-Hr nb Nbyt d^cm n ntrw ntrwt nb mnyt hnwt sššt ihy hb n.s imy di.i hswt.k ht t3-dr.f</i> Utterance by Hathor, lady of Kom Ombo, electrum of the gods and goddesses, lady of Menit, mistress of the two sššt-sistrums, playing music and dancing to her there. I put praises of you throughout the entire land.	

Fourth Register	KO-ISD-NDJ-R4
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 183. De Morgan 1909: No. 787. SERaT Scene No. 210398.	
<i>[šms-ʕntyw ..]sn hnḳ.n.i n nb Pwnt</i> [Myrrh...]. I offer to the Lord of Punt.	

King:

*Nswt-bity iw^c-n-[ntrwy-prwy] [stp]-n-Pth-Hp[r] [iri-M3^ct-Imn]-R^c [s3-R^c] Pt[w]lyms ^cnh
dt mry P[t]h ntrwy mrywy mwt*

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the two mother-loving gods”.

Behind him: Text destroyed.

Sobek:

*dd mdw in Sbk nb Nbyt ntr ^c3 nb [... ...] wr wsr nb tp
[... ...] rdi hr gs
di.i n.k t3-ntr m-k3.f nb*

Utterance by Sobek, lord of Kom Ombo, the great god, [... ...] great, strong lord of ...
“I give to you the god’s land entirely.”

Left Doorjamb (South)

Base

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 184.

De Morgan 1909: No. 778.

*[... ...] m3w mi 3hty Š3y n B3kt w3dd n im.s ^cnh pw nb ^cnhw srk-htyt n p^ct rhtyw
t3w n ^cnh n hnmmt Hr-nbw ity n nh^h bity iwty whmty.fy nbty wr w3dty ^c3 h^cw hk3 hpwt
s3-R^c Ptwlmys ^cnh dt mry Pth Sbk-R^c nb t3-sty¹ sdd ntr ^c3 nb Nbyt wr ntrw ity n psdt k3
^ch^c wr nswyt hr st.f r isftyw inw-phw n hftyw.f mry*

[... ...] brightness like the horizon-god, Shai of Egypt, w3dd-snake belonging to it. He is the one who causes to live the lord of the living, who opens the throat of the Paet and the Rekhyt people, the wind of life for the sun-people, Horus of gold, the sovereign of eternity, the king, who shall not be repeated, the two ladies, great of the two Uraei, great of appearances, ruler of diadems, son of Re, Ptolemy living forever, beloved of Ptah, beloved of Sobek-Re, lord of Nubia, image of the great god, lord of Kom Ombo, great one of the gods, sovereign of the ennead, long of lifetime, great of kingship, his throne is distant from the sinners, who puts an end to his foes.

Commentary:

1) For this reading as t3-sty, see LGG III 772. It could mean “the country of the three curved bow” or “land of the st-bow”, see Vinogradov 2000: 234.

First Register	KO-ISD-SDJ-R1
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 185. De Morgan 1909: No. 780. SERaT Scene No. 210391.	
Title: <i>hrp ʕ3bt n Hr ms rnpwt n Rʕ sdf3 wdḥw n hry t3w</i> Consecrating the great offering for Horus, presenting floral offerings to Re to provision the offering table of ‘master of the wind’	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iwʕ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3ʕt-Imn-Rʕ s3-Rʕ Ptwlyms ʕnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the two mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: Text destroyed.	
Horwer: <i>dd mdw in Hr-wr nb Nbyt, Šw s3-Rʕ mstyw n Itm s3ḥ ḥnbwt n ntrw ntrwt sdf3 ʕ3b.k m ḥwt nbwt nfrwt</i> Utterance by Horwer, lord of Kom Ombo, Shu, son of Re, child of Atum, who endows gardens of the gods and goddesses, “May I provision your offering table with everything good.”	

Second Register	KO-ISD-SDJ-R2
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 186. De Morgan 1909: No. 782. SERaT Scene No. 210393.	
Title: <i>Mn n.k idt-ntr k3p.n.i m ḥr.k ii sty.s r.k m-dt.s</i> Take for yourself divine scent, which I burn before you, its scent comes to you entirely.	

King:

Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ^cnh dt mry Pth [ntrwy] mrywy mwt

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him: Text destroyed.

Khonsu:

*dd mdw in Hnsw hry-ib Nbyt ntr šps tp-r3 n Wsir ^cnh mwt m wd.n.f wnn.f r-ḥ3t r-^cht m hrw skw.
di.i n.k nswyt 3t m 3wt-ib*

Utterance by Khonsu who resides in Kom Ombo, the august god, Utterance of Osiris; the dead live at what he decreed. He is at the front of the battle on the day of fighting.

“I give to you a great kingship with happiness.

Third Register	KO-ISD-SDJ-R3
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 187. De Morgan 1909: No. 784. SERaT Scene No. 210395.	
Title: <i>Mn n.t hnkt m-^cwy Tnmyt nbi r s^ch ib.t</i> Take for yourself beer as the handiwork of the Tenmyt (beer goddess); the beer jars to make exalt your heart.	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ^cnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: Text destroyed.	

Ta-senet-nefret:

dd mdw in T3-snt-nfret nb(t) Nbyt nb(t) th ʿ3t mrwt ḥk3t ibw nw ḥftyw.s ttf.i ibw nw sbiw r.k

Utterance by Ta-senet-nefret, lady of Kom Ombo, lady of drunkenness, great of love, ruler of the hearts of her foes, “May I overwhelm the hearts of the rebels for you.”

Fourth Register	KO-IsD-SDJ-R4
Bibliography:	
Gutbub 1995: No. 188. De Morgan 1909: No. 786. SERaT Scene No. 210397.	
Title:	
<i>Mn n.k ḥd t šps nḥn w3dyt ir.s s3.k</i>	
Take to yourself the noble white cloth of Nekhen, <i>w3dyt</i> , she makes your protection.	
Deity:	
<i>di.i šfy.t.k m pr ḥ3 pr.k</i>	
“I give to you your dignity, when coming from your house.”	

Lintel	
Right Side (North)	KO-InL-SD-1
Bibliography:	
Gutbub 1995: No. 189. De Morgan 1909: No. 789. PM VI 193 (149)-(150). SERaT Scene No. 210400.	
Title: destroyed.	

King:

Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwwlyms ʿnh d[t] mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him:

s3 ʿnh w3s nb h3.f nb [mi] R^c dt

“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.

Sobek:

di.i n.k ʿnh snb m ndm-ib dd w3s m 3wt-ib dd mdw in Sbk-R^c nb Nbyt Gb hry-tp n ntrw nbw sdm m3^c wd^c-ryt bwt k3.f itt int

“I give to you life, health with joy, stability and authority with happiness.” Utterance by Sobek-Re, lord of Kom Ombo, Geb, chief of all the gods, who hears the maet, who judges, the abomination of his ka comes-and-brings.”

Hathor:

dd mdw in Hwt-Hr nb(t) Nbyt Nwt wrt ms ntrw wrt msw hk3 hm.sn t3 ʿh^c.sn hr [... ...]

Utterance by Hathor, lady of Kom Ombo, Nut, the great one who bears the gods, great of children¹, their majesties rule the earth, they stand upon [... ...].

Column of text behind the king:

Wnn s3-R^c Pt[w]lyms ʿnh[dt] mry Pt[h] wnn.f h^c m nb r [...]

Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah. He appears as lord of [...]

Some signs still can be seen:

[...]i [...] nfr.

Commentary:

1) For this epithet, see LGG II 489.

Left Side (South)

KO-InL-SD-2

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 190.

De Morgan 1909: No. 788.

SERaT Scene No. 210399. PM VI 193 (149)-(150).
Title destroyed.
King: [Nswt-bity] iw ^c -n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr iri-M3 ^c t-Imn-R ^c [s3-R ^c] Ptwlyms ʿnh dt mry Pth “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah”.
Behind him: Text destroyed.
Horwer: [di.n.(i)] n.k ʿh ^c n R ^c n pt nsyw n Ḥr tpt t3 Ḥr-wr hnty W3dty [... ..]i[...]š[w]s3-[R ^c] [... ..] nb ʿnh “I give to you the reign of Re of the sky, the kingship of Horus the first one of the earth (?), Horwer the foremost of Egypt [... ..] [...] Shu son of Re, [... ..] lord of life.
Ta-senet-nefret: dd mdw in T3-snt-nfret nb(t) Nbyt irt-R ^c [... ..] wrt ḥw tm3t- ^c s3 k3.f[...] Utterance by Ta-senet-nefret lady of Kom Ombo, eye of Re, [... ..] the great who protects, the strong of arm, who protects his ka [...]. The rest of the text is destroyed.

Walls
Only the western wall still exists.
Base
Right wall (North)
Western Wall
It exists until the rest of the series.

Before the last table.
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 191.

De Morgan 1909: No. 795.

m-ht-n idb.k n [...]

Last Table

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 192.

De Morgan 1909: No. 795.

ii n s3-R^c Ptwlyms ᵀnh dt mry Pth hr.k Hr wr hry st wrt

Son of Re comes to you Ptolemy living forever, beloved of Ptah comes to you; Horwer who is upon the great throne.

in.f n.k Nnwt wtt npy hry msw.s n rh tnw ii ib.s r iwr m pr.k di.s r t3 m hwt-ntr.k ntk b3 Šw t3w di tp.f m 3ht shnt Nwn r b3h 3ht di.k n.f wnnt nb(wt)

He brings to you Nenut (serpent goddess), who (creates) begets the corn carrying its products, no one knows their number. Her heart comes to conceive in your house. She gives birth in your temple you are ba of Shu, the north wind who shows himself in the inundation season, who causes Nun to go south to flood the field. May you give to him all products.

Left Side (South)

Western Wall

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 193.

De Morgan 1909: No. 799 (left).

ii. n s3-R^c nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c hr.k Hr-wr nb Nbyt in.f n.k Hr hry-tp DsDs hry irpw.f šfyf b3tt hnw.f m^c.f hry sšp.f iw nwh.n.k im.sn ᵀh.k im hrp.k m-dt.k ᵀwt-ib.k h3ty.k ntk nb th mry.k n.f psdt pdwt hry tbywt.k

Son of Re King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, comes to you Horwer, lord of Kom Ombo. He brings to you, Horus, chief of Baharia Oasis carrying his wines of vessels of Shefy¹ and Bawt, his vessels with him containing his wine. You drink from them, may you rejoice thereon, you are in control of yourself, your happiness and your heart. You are lord of drunkenness; you desire for him the nine bows under his sandals.

Commentary:

1) Shefy¹ is a wine-growing soil which is very probably located in the Khargah Oasis, see Osing 1985: 190-193.

Second Table

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 194.

De Morgan 1909: No. 799 (right).

*ii.n s3-Rc Ptwlyms ꜥnh dt mry Pth hr.k Sbk nb t3-iit in.f n.k Imtyt¹ hnwt Fnḥw DsDs hry
d3i-ꜥ tsm n.i inmt.s mw ndm m-ꜥ.s n.k nh3 m th r skbh ib.k m.sntk nb inmt² nwr.tw n
m33.f nb snd wr šfyt di.k n.f t3wy nb*

Son of Re Ptolemy living forever, beloved of Ptah comes to you Sobek, lord of Ta-iit. He brings to you Imtyt, mistress of Phoenicians and the Baharia Oasis carrying a *d3i-ꜥ* vessel of its wine, sweet water in her hand for you, flood of drunkenness by which to purify your heart. You are lord of the wine vessels, one trembles at seeing him, lord of fear, great of dignity. You give to him all of the two lands.

Commentary:

1) For this goddess whose name means “the one of Buto”, see LGG I 298-299.

2) For this epithet as *iwn*, see LGG III 576.

Third Table

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 195.

De Morgan 1909: No. 800.

*ii.n nswt-bity iwꜥ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3ꜥt-Imn-Rc hr.k Hr-wr hry st wrt in.f
n.k sm3 wr iry-wdḥ n Rc hry dḥw hr pꜥpꜥ.f ꜥb3 ꜥ3bt m-ꜥ.f m t nb ndm r bꜥḥ ht.k m.sn ntk
Hr tm3-ꜥ smsw s3-Rc ndty n ntrw ntrwt di.k hr nb m iw n hr.f*

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, comes to you, Horwer who is upon the great throne. He brings to you the great ‘wild bull’, who belongs to the offering table of Re containing provisions that he fashions, the great offering is offered with him, namely bread. Lord of sweetness to flood your table of food with them, you are Horus strong of arm, the eldest, son of Re, the protector of gods and goddesses. You cause everyone to be in adoration at his face.

South Wall

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 196.

Not mentioned in De Morgan.

Only the following exists.

[...].s r [...].f

Central Part
Western wall
First Table
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 197. De Morgan 1909: No. 780. <i>ii.n s3-R^c Ptwlyms ʕnh dt mry Pth hr.k P3-nb-t3wy p3-hrd nb Nbyt in.f n.k Tks¹ hry-tp wh^cw hry 3bdw n ibtt.f ntk nb nrt bnr mrwt di.k n.f t3wy nb m htp</i> Son of Re Ptolemy living forever, beloved of Ptah comes to you, Panebtawy, the child, lord of Kom Ombo. He brings to you Iaqs, chief of hunters carrying birds of his bird traps. You are lord of terror, sweet of love. I give to you all the two lands in peace. Commentary: 1) For this god whose name probably means “the god of the royal robe”, see LGG I 112-113.

Second Table
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 198. De Morgan 1909: No. 791 (left). <i>ii.n nswt bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c hr.k Hnsw hry-ib Nbyt. In.f n.k Hnt¹ hnwt w3dw hry r3w dd3n t3 ntk rp^ct hnt psdt di.k t3 hnw m-sn-t3 nhr.f</i> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, comes to you, Khonsu who resides in Kom Ombo. He brings to you Hent, mistress of the wadjw-people carrying fat water fowls of the land. You are the hereditary prince before the ennead. You cause Tjehenu to kiss the earth before his face. Commentary: 1) For this goddess, see LGG V 158-159.

Third Table
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 199. De Morgan 1909: No. 791 (right).

*ii.n s3-R^c Ptwlmys ʕnh dt mry Pth hr.k Min hry-ib Nbyt in.f n.k h^cpy [... ...] hry h(w)t
nbt nfrt nk3.k ntk k3-mwt.f nb nfrw si3 tñn hrw di.k n.f Iwnyw m w3h-tp*

Son of Re Ptolemy living forever, beloved of Ptah comes to you Min who resides in Kom Ombo. He brings to you Hapy [... ...] carrying every beautiful thing for your ka. You are bull of his mother, lord of beauty, Sia, bright of the faces. You give to him Iunyu with bowed-head.

Lower Band of Text -Right side (North)

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 200.

De Morgan 1909: No. 803-804.

mry [...]nb Nbyt di ʕnh w3s nb snb nb mi R^c dt

Beloved of [...] lord of Kom Ombo given all life, authority like Re forever.

Lower Band of Text - Left side (South)

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 201.

De Morgan 1909: No. 804.

*ʕnh ntr nfr iw^c n Hr hts i3dtr sbiw-n-wd3t ih m3-hd r mh irt-Hr m-^c.f s3-R^c Ptwlmys ʕnh
dt mry Pth mry Hr wr hnty Wd3t*

May the good god live, heir of Horus, who lays the net for the enemies of the *wedjat*-eye, to net the gazelle to fill the eye of Horus with it, beloved of Horwer the foremost of the two *Wd3t*-eyes.

Lower Band of Text- Central Part

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 202.

De Morgan 1909: No. 804.

*ʕnh ntr nfr nb w3d-wr šn-wr phr-wr m-^c.f mdw.f pr(?).tw iw (r) srk-hyty hryw-t3 hft
ddw.f nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c mry Hr nb Nbyt*

May the good god live, lord of the green sea, the pehu of *šn-wr* (of Memphis) and the *phr-wr* (sea located to the north) are with him, his words come forth to open the throat of those who are upon the earth with his speech, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, beloved of Horus, lord of Kom Ombo.

First Register	
Right Part (North)	
Western Wall	
First Table	KO-Ww-CP-Ns-R1
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 203. De Morgan 1909: No. 796. PM VI 193 (151). SERaT Scene No. 210405.	
Title: destroyed.	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c s3-R^c Ptwlyms ʿnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the two mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: <i>s3 ʿnh w3s nb h^c.f nb mi R^c dt</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	
Sobek: <i>dd mdw in Sbk nb Nb[yt] [...] ht nb [...]</i> Utterance by Sobek, lord of Kom Ombo [...] everything [...]	
Column behind the king: <i>iw nn n b3.k htp m šbw.k is mry ib.k ʿbw n Nnt twr m-^c H^cpy w^cb m irt-Hr</i> These (ones) of your ba are satisfied with your food offerings, indeed your heart desires pure water from Nun, clean water from Hapy, purified with the Eye of Horus.	
Left Side (South)	
Western Wall	

First Register-First Table	KO-Ww-CP-Ss-R1
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 204. De Morgan 1909:No. 801. PM VI 193 (153). SERaT Scene No. 210407.	
Title: <i>Rdit pr n nb.f dd mdw nfr.wy pr.k n snw.f hmwt.f nb r-tp-ḥsb</i> Giving the house to his lord. Utterance, “How beautiful is your house, there is no second to it and all its craftsmanship, lord of correct reckoning.”	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iwꜥ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr iri-M3ꜥt-Imn-Rꜥ s3-Rꜥ Ptwlyms ꜥnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the two mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: <i>s3 ꜥnh w3s nb ḥꜥ.f nb mi Rꜥ dt</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	
Under the winged sun disc: <i>Bḥdty</i>	
Sobek: <i>dd mdw in Sbk nb Nbyt nhw kn ndty n iwꜥ.f wp sn.wj ḥr psš.sn dmd psšty n [ꜥ3 m3ꜥ ḥrw]¹</i> <i>di.i n.k pr-nsw hr mk dt.k</i> Utterance by Sobek, lord of Kom Ombo, the strong protector, protector of his heir, who segregates the two brothers, dividing them; who unites the two halves (Egypt) with [great of victory]. “I give to you the house of the King of Upper Egypt, protecting your body.”	
Goddess: <i>di.i n.k ḥw ḥr swd3 ḥꜥw.k</i> “I give to you the king’s palace, preserving your body.”	

Column behind the King:

Nswt-bity s3 mšꜥ wr mnfyꜥ nb d3mw iꜥr tsw iwꜥ n Wsir pr m 3st rdi.n.f imy-pr n it.f stp n Rꜥ r ꜥꜥꜥ hr nst.f r grg t3w n k3.f

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, numerous of soldiers, great of infantry, lord of (conscripted) youths, excellent of companies, heir of Osiris, who came forth from Isis. He gave the tastement of his father, chosen by Re, to stand upon his throne to establish the lands of his ka [.....].

Column behind the deities:

Destroyed except for the following: [... ..].f

Commentary:

1) For this epithet, see LGG VII 543.

South Wall

Only the end of a column still exists. *mry [... ..]mwt*

Central Part

Western Wall-First Register

KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R1

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 205.
De Morgan 1909: No. 792.
PM VI 193 (152).
SERaT Scene No. 210401.

Title: without a title.

Nswt-bity iwꜥ-n-nꜥrwy-prwy stp-n-Pthꜥ-Hꜥpr iri-M3ꜥt-Imn-Rꜥ s3-Rꜥ Ptwlyms ꜥꜥꜥ dt mry Pthꜥ nꜥrwy mrywy mwt

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him:

s3 ꜥꜥꜥ w3s nb ꜥꜥꜥ.f nb mi Rꜥ dt

“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.

Horwer:

*dd mdw in Hr-wr hnty irty ntr ʕ3 nb Nbyt Šw s3-Rʕ mstyw n Tm hry-wdb wp-t3š, rdi
hnbwt n ntrw ntrwt*

di.i n.k hhw nw htpw df3w

Utterance by Horwer, the foremost of eyes, the great god, Lord of Nebyt, Shu, son of Re, child of Atum, lord of Largess, who opens the boundaries, who gives gardens to gods and goddesses.

“I give to you millions of offerings and provisions.”

Hathor:

*dd mdw in Hwt-Hr nb(t) Nbyt Špst-wsrt mrt snt.s Rʕ 3bi ib.f tm hr r k3.f m-rn.s pfy Hwt-
Hr*

di.i n.k hwt nb(wt) pr(w) m Gb

Utterance by Hathor, lady of Kom Ombo, the August and Strong one, who loves her brother, Re, what his heart desires, who is not distant from his ka in that her name of Hathor.

“I gave to you all offerings which come forth from Geb.”

Column behind the king:

*Mn n.k hwt wdi.n.i m-hr.k t3ms.k tp-ʕwy.i ir.k m ht m-ʕb psdt sšm.k iry.f n imyw-ht.k twt
Š3y wd ʕnh nt t3wy ir hry hwt.sn ir nb*

Take to yourself the offerings (that) I placed before your face. May you eat what is upon my hands, may you eat from things together with the ennead. May you lead what pertains to him to your followers. You are Shai who decrees life for the two lands, who makes the portions for them?

Column behind the deities:

*šsp.n.i htpw.k ir.n.i m ʕbt.k smn.n.i m k3w in.n.k hms n.k wrw m t3-hrt.sn r šhb pr.k Rʕ
3hty ht nb nb mh.tw m nfrw.k r nb hr dw3 n.k ntr*

“I receive your offerings which I made as your offering. I bring to you the great ones supplicating to you on the ground, their food portions to make festive your house, Re-Horakhty. Every belly is filled with your beauty; every mouth adores the god for you.”

Western Wall	
Second Register - Right Side (North)	
First Table	KO-Ww-CP-Ns-R2
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 206. De Morgan 1909: No. 797. PM VI 193 (151). SERaT Scene No. 210404.	
Title: <i>iw nn n k3.k w3š.k im šnsw m3ꜥ 3bi ḥm.k</i> These things are for your ka, may you worship thereon. Real bread that your majesty eats.	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iwꜥ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr iri-M3ꜥt-Imn-Rꜥ s3-Rꜥ Ptwlyms ꜥnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: <i>s3 ꜥnh w3s nb ḥꜥ.f nb mi Rꜥ dt</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	
Sobek: <i>swr.i tt.k m wndw nbwt</i> <i>dd mdw in Sbk Rꜥ nb Ḥmnw¹ sr imywt [... ... it.f ntrwsn t3 ...]</i> “I make great your offering table with all offerings.” Utterance by Sobek-Re, lord of Ashmunin, great among [the ennead his father of their gods...].	

Column behind the king:

ʕnh ntr nfr ms n ʕkyt² wb^ʕ hr m k3t mwt.f f3i-ʕ šnsw n it.f šps štp k3.k n pr im.f

May the good god live, born to ʕkyt, clever at the work of his mother, who raises up the arm with bread for his august father to satisfy his ka with what came forth from him.

Commentary:

1) The sacred name of the administrative centre of the 15th nome of Upper Egypt (Hermopolis) while the civil name is Wnnet. The name in question is a synonym for the Khemenou (Ashmunin), it is read as *Ssnw*, see DG V 61-62; LGG III 716-718. However, it seems that another city was located in Lower Egypt as well with the same name in the area between Memphis and Heliopolis and very close to Letopolis, see DG V 62.

2) For this goddess, see LGG II 235-236.

Left Side (South)

Western Wall - Second Register

KO-Ww-CP-Ss-R2

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 207.
De Morgan 1909: No. 802.
PM VI 193 (153).
SERaT Scene No. 210408.

Title:

[...] *m pr m nwn*

[...] with what comes forth from the primeval water.

King:

[Nswt-bity][iw^ʕ]-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-[Pth]-Hpr iri-M3^ʕt-Imn-R^ʕ s3-R^ʕ Ptwlyms ʕnh dt mry Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him:

s3 ʕnh w3s nb ḥ.ḥ nb mi Rʕ dt

“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.

Deities:

The representations and the text are destroyed.

Column behind the King:

*Wnn s3-Rʕ Ptwlyms ʕnh dt mry Pth ḥr pwy.f m nsw t3wy ḥr-tp idbw sw mi Ḥr ʕḥ ḥr nst
it.n.f st nty it.f rdi.n.f imyt-pr nw šn n t3-dr.f ḥ.ḥ n ii.f*

Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, is upon his two thrones as king of the two lands, chief of Egypt. He is (like) Horus, standing on the throne, he has seized the throne of his father, he gave the testament of the circumference of the whole earth. How joyous at his coming.

Central Part

Western Wall - Second Register

KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R2

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 208.
De Morgan 1909: No. 793.
PM VI 193 (152).
SERaT Scene No. 210402.

Title:

šms ʕntyw n nb m3ʕ r sndm idt n Nnwn¹

Presenting Myrrh to the lord of *maet*, to make sweet the exudations of Nenwen.

King:

*Nswt-bity iwʕ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr iri-M3ʕt-Imn-Rʕ s3-Rʕ Ptwlyms ʕnh dt mry
Pth ntrwy mrywy mwt*

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.

Behind him:

s3 ʕnh w3s nb ḥ.ḥ nb mi Rʕ dt

“All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.

Horwer:

di.i n.k t3-ntr hry nty im.f dd mdw in Hr nb Iyt hry-ib Hm ntr 3 nb Nbyt Mhnty² shm m irty.f hsk tpw nn m33.tw.f

“I give to you the god’s land, carrying what is in it.” Utterance by Horwer, lord of Iyt³, who resides in Letopolis⁴, the great god, lord of Kom Ombo, Mekhenty who is powerful with his eyes, who cuts off the heads, he can not be seen”.

Hathor:

dd mdw in Hwt-Hr nbt Iyt hryt-ib Hm Špst hryt-ib hwt-bik wr hk3w ir nht n s3.s⁵ iit[...] r sbiw.f

Utterance by Hathor, lady of Iyt, who resides in Letopolis, the August one, who resides in the Mansion of the Falcon, great of magic, who makes protection for her son, slaughter-knife against his rebels.

Column behind the king:

Mn n.k hnmty m hnḳ m hknw hr ʿwy.f snw šps n dt sk.n.f n.i tp.k m ʿntyw in.n.i wrh.n.i hʿw.k ibr m3ʿ-ḥrw.k iw.k iry.f m m3ʿ ḥrw

Take to yourself the scent offered with oil upon my hands. August image of Djet, I anoint your head with myrrh, I bring unguent for your body and perfume. May you be justified, you belong to him as one justified.

Column behind the deities:

di.i n.k i3t wrt nt (n?) mn.tw hr nst hm iw.k m nswt-bity m 3ht t3wy hr wts nt Hr-3hty hnt k3w ʿnhw dt t3wy nb hry st-ḥr.k

“I give to you the great rank of (?) established upon the throne of (my) majesty, for you are king of Upper and Lower Egypt in the horizon of the two lands upon the throne of Hor-akhty before the kas of the living forever, all the two lands are under your supervision.”

Commentary:

- 1) It is an epithet for Horwer, see LGG IV 251.
- 2) For this god, see LGG III 394.
- 3) This is the name of a locality where the sacred trees of the second nome of Lower Egypt were adored. This village is usually mentioned in the temple of Kom Ombo as the cult place of Horwer, see DG I 38. See also Montet 1957: 52-53; LGG III 572; LGG IV 8.
- 4) Gauthier’s reading it as *Shm* which is the name of the capital of the second nome of Lower Egypt which is known as Letopolis during the Greco-Roman Period, see DG V

45-46; see also Montet 1957: 5051; LGG V 343.

5) For this epithet, see LGG I 520-521.

Third Register	
Right Side (North)	
Western Wall	
First Table	KO-Ww-CP-Ns-R3
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 209. De Morgan 1909: No. 798. PM VI 193 (151). SERaT Scene No. 210406.	
Title: [... ..] <i>Dsds hry [i]rp.sn</i> [... ..] and Baharia Oasis carrying their wine.	
King:	
Only: [... ..] <i>y</i>	
Behind him: <i>s3 ʕnh w3s nb ḥʕ.f nb mi Rʕ dt</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	
Column behind the king: [...] <i>n[... ..] mi[...] šfyt pr n.tn nb nw t3-ntr rnp.sn irw n k3.k šps šḥʕ ib.k rʕ nb</i> [... ..] like [...] Shefyt, everything which comes to you of the god's land, may they be young with them for your august ka, to make rejoice your heart every day.	

Left Part (South)	
Western Wall - Third Register	KO-Ww-CP-Ss-R3
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 210. De Morgan 1909: No. 803. PM VI 193 (153).	
Column behind the king: [... ...] <i>dmd hry tbtwy.f t3wy idbw hry st-hr.f</i> [... ...] united under his sandals, the two lands and the banks are under his supervision.	

Central Part	
Western Wall - Third Register	KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R3
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 211. De Morgan 1909: No. 794. PM VI 193 (152). SERaT Scene No. 210403.	
Title: <i>Mn n.k irt.k wrt ʕpr m ht.s nhrhr-ib.k m-hsf.s</i> Take for yourself your great eye, equipped with all its things. May your heart rejoice near it.	
King: <i>Nswt-bity iwʕ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr [iri-M3ʕt-Imn-Rʕ] s3-Rʕ Ptwlyms ʕnh dt mry Pth ntrwy [mryw]y[mwt]</i> “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Kheper has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, the mother-loving gods”.	
Behind him: <i>s3 ʕnh w3s nb hʕ.f nb mi Rʕ dt</i> “All protection, life and authority are behind him like Re eternally”.	

Horwer:

*ḏi.i bs Šhm ḥꜥw n sbiw.k ḏḏ mdw in Hr-wr nb t3 šmꜥyt ntr ʿ3 nb Nbyt nb ʿ3 nrw ḥw
ḥftyw.f ir-ʿḏt nt whi-sp.f*

“I cause Sekhmet to burn the bodies of your rebels.” Utterance by Horwer, lord of Upper Egypt, the great god, lord of Kom Ombo, lord, great of terror, who strikes his enemies, who makes a massacre of the one who fails at his time (Seth).

Heqat:

ḏḏ mdw in Hk3t wrt mwt-ntr ḏfnt tm3t nt wr 3tt ḥm.f m-s3 pr.f n ʿnh swrt pḥty.f m-3t.f

Utterance by Heqat, the great, the god’s mother, the female ancestress, mother of the lion, who nurses his majesty in his sanctuary (lit. stable of life), who makes great his strength at his moment of attack.

Column behind the King:

*ii.n.i hr.k hry ir-Hr[...] šps n ḥnty ḥnmty.f r iw.f.k sti.f r ḥꜥw.k idt.f irw r hr.k itt n.k nb
m.s šhm.k šhm t3wy*

I come to you carrying the eye of Horus, [...] august one of Henty, his scent is for your body, his fragrance is for your body, all his exudations are for your face. You have taken the crowns by it for the gods; your control is the control of the two lands.

Column behind the deities:

Nfr.wy hr.f pr m ḥꜥw.i hry nst [...] wdꜥ ḏt.i

ḏi.i n.k Rwd hry b3kw.s bw-nbw sn-t3 n šfy.t.k hr nḥb ʿnh .sn hr k3.k

How beautiful is his face which came forth from my body, heir [...] who is separated from my body, I give to you *Rwd* with its products and everyone kissing the earth to your dignity, begging for their lives before your ka.

Upper Band of Text (Frieze)

Right Part (North)

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 212.

De Morgan 1909: No. 798.

mry[...] nb Nbyt

Beloved of [...] lord of Kom Ombo.

Central Part
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 213. De Morgan 1909: No. 794. <i>Pt hr nhm [... ...] m w3d šm^cyt Sbk sšp.n.f pr.f ntr šps hnt st wrt.f di.f snb nb n s3-R^cPtwlmys ^cnh dt</i> The sky is rejoicing [... ...] with the plants of Upper Egypt. Sobek, he received his house, the august god before his great throne. May he give all health to the son of Re Ptolemy living forever, beloved of Ptah.

Frieze
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 214. Not mentioned in De Morgan. Only part of the cartouche.

Texts above the Doors
Right Door (North)
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 215. Not mentioned in De Morgan. <i>[... ...] hr ršwt t3 m 3wt-[ib] [... ...] sti m tñn p^ct rhyt m hb hr hbw [... ...] thwt mwt [...] ir.f mn pw ir.n.f s3-R^c[... ...]</i> [... ...] making rejoice the whole land [... ...] scattered with brilliance, the Paet and the Rekheyt people are in festival, celebrating [... ...] his mother rejoices, his father, [...] this monument, he made the son of Re [... ...].

Left Side (South)
Bibliography: Gutbub 1995: No. 216. Not mentioned in De Morgan.

ṣpr ḥ3-tp stwt iry.f smsw R^c wḥm.n.k k3 [... ..] st.sn

di.k ṣnh w3s nb n nswt-bity (iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Hpr iri-M3^ct-Imn-R^c) [... ..]

Equipped all around, made whole by it, the elder of Re, who repeats for you [... ..] their throne.

May you give all life and authority to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, The heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re [... ..].

Ceiling

North Side

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 217.

De Morgan 1909: No. 819.

Legends of the vultures:

Nḥbt ḥdt nḥn Wnt šm^ct di.s nswyt ʿ3t n nswt-bity (iw^c-n-ntrwy prwy [...] n Pt[h]... ..
.... ..).

Nekhet, the white one of Nekhen, the Uraeus of Upper Egypt. She gives great kingship to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah [... ..].

W3dyt ḥwnt Wnt ḥ3 di.s 3wt-ib nb n [...]

W3dyt, the young girl, the Uraeus of Lower Egypt. She gives all happiness to [...].

Nḥbt nb(t) kn¹ ḥ^ct m thnt di.s ḥtpw nbw n nswt-bity (iw^c-n-ntrwy prwy [...] n Pth[
..... ..]

Nekhet, lady of Auripigmentes, who rejoices with faience. She gives all offerings to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest gods, whom Ptah [... ..].

W3dyt nb(t) ḥsbd mfk3t thnt di.s t3wy nb ḥ3swt nb n s3-R^c Ptwlm [ys] [... ..]

W3dyt, lady of Lapis Lazuli, Turquoise and Faience. She gives all the two lands and all the foreign countries to the son of Re, Ptolemy [... ..].

Nḥbt rwd ḥt² ḥft ntrw di.s kn²t nb n [... ..]

Nekhet, who flies before the gods. She gives all strength to [... ..].

Commentary:

- 1) For this epithet which has uncertain reading, see LGG IV 148.
- 2) For another reading for this word as *ḥt*, see LGG II 206.

Band

Bibliography:

Gutbub 1995: No. 218.

Not mentioned in De Morgan.

Hr-nbw wr pḥty nb ḥbw mi it.f Pth-t3-tnn it ntrw ity Rḥ mi nswt-bity bity iwḥ-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth-Ḥpr iri-M3ḥt-Imn-Rḥ s3-Rḥ Ptwlyms ḥnh dt mry Pth mry mwt ntrwy s3-Rḥ Ptwlyms ḥnh dt mry Pth ḥnḥ snt.f ḥmt.f ḥk3t.k nb t3wy klwp3dr3t mry Sbk-Rḥ nb Nbyt

Horus of Gold, great of strength, lord of the festivals like his father Ptah-ta-tennen, father of the gods, sovereign like Re, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the Manifest Gods, whom Ptah-Khepre has chosen, who brings forth the order of Amun-Re, Son of Re, Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah, his sister, his mother, the female ruler, lady of the two lands, beloved of Sobek-Re lord of Kom Ombo.

Appendix I

Codes of the Offerings Rituals and Hymns of Dendera and their relevant Texts and Translation

Codes	D IV	Translation in Cauville 2001
[D-ED-L-Ws]	36-37, pl. CCLXXI	86-89
[D-ED-L-Es]	35-36, pl. CCLXXI	84-86
[D-ED-EDJ-R4]	40-41, pl. CCLXXI	90-93
[D-ED-EDJ-R3]	39-40, pl. CCLXXI	90-91
[D-ED-EDJ-R2]	38-39, pl. CCLXXI	88-91
[D-ED-EDJ-R1]	38, pl. CCLXXI	88-89
[D-ED-WDJ-R4]	43-44, pl. CCLXXI	96-97
[D-ED-WDJ-R3]	43, pl. CCLXXI	94-97
[D-ED-WDJ-R2]	42, pl. CCLXXI	94-95
[D-ED-WDJ-R1]	41-42, pl. CCLXXI	92-93
[D-InD-EL]	49-50, pl. CCLXXII	106-107
[D-InD-WL]	50-51, pl. CCLXXII	106-109
[D-InD-WDJ-R4]	56-57, pl. CCLXXII	116-117
[D-InD-WDJ-R3]	56, pl. CCLXXII	114-115
[D-InD-WDJ-R2]	55-56, pl. CCLXXII	114-115
[D-InD-WDJ-R1]	54-55, pl. CCLXXII	112-113
[D-InD-EDJ-R4]	53-54, pl. CCLXXII	112-113
[D-InD-EDJ-R3]	53, pl. CCLXXII	110-111
[D-InD-EDJ-R2]	52-53, pl. CCLXXII	110-111
[D-InD-EDJ-R1]	51-52, pl. CCLXXII	108-111
[D-Nw-WS-R4-2]	93-94, pl. CCLXXII	170-171
[D-Nw-WS-R3-2]	88-89, pl. CCLXXII	162-165
[D-Nw-WS-R2-2]	84-85, pl. CCLXXII	158-159
[D-Nw-WS-R4-1]	92-93, pl. CCLXXII	168-171

[D-Nw-WS-R3-1]	87-88, pl. CCLXXII	162-163
[D-Nw-WS-R2-1]	83-84, pl. CCLXXII	156-159
[D-Nw-ES-R4-1]	75-76, pl. CCLXXIII	142-147
[D-Nw-ES-R3-1]	68-69, pl. CCLXXII	132-135
[D-Nw-ES-R2-1]	73-74, pl. CCLXXII	140-143
[D-Nw-ES-R4-2]	74-75, pl. CCLXXII	142-145
[D-Nw-ES-R3-2]	69, pl. CCLXXII	134-135
[D-Nw-ES-R2-2]	65-66, pl. CCLXXII	128-131
[D-Nw-ES-R2-1]	64-65, pl. CCLXXII	126-129
[D-Nw-WS-R1-2]	81, pl. CCLXXII	152-155
[D-Nw-WS-R1-1]	80, pl. CCLXXII	152-153
[D-Nw-ES-R1-1]	61-62, pl. CCLXXII	124-125
[D-Nw-ES-R1-2]	62, pl. CCLXXII	124-127
[D-Sw-R4-ES]	77-78, pl. CCLXXIV	146-149
[D-Sw-R4-WS]	96-97, pl. CCLXXIV	174-177
[D-Sw-R3-ES]	73, pl. CCLXXIV	140-141
[D-Sw-R3-WS]	92, pl. CCLXXIV	168-171
[D-Ew-R4-1]	75-76, pl. CCLXXIII	142-147
[D-Ew-R3-1]	70, pl. CCLXXIII	136-137
[D-Ew-R4-H]	79, pl. CCLXXII	148-151
[D-Ew-R3-2]	70-71, pl. CCLXXIII	136-139
[D-Ew-R3-3]	71-72, pl. CCLXXIII	136-141
[D-Ew-R4-2]	76-77, pl. CCLXXIII	144-147
[D-Ew-R3-4]	72-73, pl. CCLXXIII	138-141
[D-Ew-R2-NS]	66-67, pl. CCLXXIII	130-133

[D-Ew-R1-NS]	63, pl. CCLXXIII	126-127
[D-Ew-R2-SS]	67, pl. CCLXXIII	132-133
[D-Ew-R1-SS]	63-64, pl. CCLXXIII	126-129
[D-Ww-R4-1]	95-96, pl. CCLXXV	172-175
[D-Ww-R3-1]	91-92, pl. CCLXXV	166-171
[D-Ww-R2-1]	86-87, pl. CCLXXV	160-163
[D-Ww-R1-1]	82-83, pl. CCLXXV	154-157
[D-Ww-R4-2]	95, pl. CCLXXV	172-175
[D-Ww-R3-2]	90-91, pl. CCLXXV	166-169
[D-Ww-R2-2]	85-86, pl. CCLXXV	158-161
[D-Ww-R1-2]	82-83, pl. CCLXXV	154-157
[D-Ww-R4-H]	98-99, pl. CCLXXV	176-179
[D-Ww-R3-3]	90, pl. CCLXXV	166-167
[D-Ww-R4-3]	94-95, pl. CCLXXV	172-175
[D-Ww-R3-4]	89, pl. CCLXXV	164-167
[D-Ww-R1+2-H]	81-82, pl. CCLXXV	152-157
[D-EDJ-H]	44-45	96-99
D-WDJ-H	45-46	98-103
D-EW1-R4-H	75-76	144-145

Appendix II

The Deity's Border Column and the King's Border Column

The Deity's Border Columns and the King's Border Columns frequently appear in the scenes of the offering rituals of the Central Halls of the studied temples. These columns of texts contain valuable epithets of the deities and the king as well. The following are their categories encountered throughout the research.

i) Philae:

The Deity's Border Column:

The Deity's Border Column in the Central Hall of Philae does not appear in any of the scenes except for four times only. Firstly, it appears in both scenes of the internal lintel of the door of the hall behind Isis [Ph-IL-Ws] and [Ph-IL-Es] (Bénédict 1893: 40, pl.14-15). Secondly, it occurs in the both scenes of the external lintels of the door [Ph-ED-L-Es], and [Ph-ED-L-Ws]. In the latter case, it exists with Horus the child, lord of *i3t-w^cbt*. The formula is simpler and basic compared to that of Edfu and straight forward as it contains text related mainly to the king and not to any of the deities mentioned in the scenes. Each two Deity's Border Column serves as the border between the two scenes on each face of the lintels. The formula consists of the following:

dd mdw + di.n.(i) n.k + what is given to the king.

The King's Border Column:

The King's Border Column in the scenes of the registers of the walls of the Central Hall of Philae does not exist. The only rooms in the temple which contain them are: Room (V) and Room (X) (Winter 1968:19-20).

ii) Edfu:

The Deity's Border Column:

There is no Deity's Border Column in the scenes on the registers of both the external lintels of the door of the Central Hall. This is also the case of the scenes on the internal

doorjambs of the hall. It appears on the scenes of the first two registers on both sides (eastern and western) of the southern wall of the Central Hall. As for the northern wall, it also appears on both parts of the scenes of the Central Hall as there is a space reserved for them but they never existed on the wall (E I 377, footnote 2; E I 383, footnote 1). It also appears on the two scenes on both the third registers of the eastern and western walls. It does not exist in the scenes of the first and second registers of the western wall. The following are the scenes which have the Deity's Border Column: [E-Sw-InL-E-1], [E-Sw-InL-W-1], [E-Sw-Ws-R1], [E-Sw-Ws-R2], [E-Sw-Es-R1], [E-Sw-Es-R2], [E-Ew-Ss-R3], [E-Ew-Ns-R3], [E-Ww-Ss-R3], and [E-Ww-Ns-R3]. The formula below is used for the Deity's Border Column in the Central Hall of Edfu.

Wnn +[name of a place connected with Edfu] + *sḏm.tw m/hnt/hr* definition of that place + epithet or name of the deity connected with the formula/ other deities + *sḏm.tw m-hnt.s/m-k3b.s*+ deity/deities protecting [Horus] + *sw m/mi* Deity+ epithets of Horus.

It is clear that the Deity's Border Column pertains to the first deity whom the king is offering to and not to the second deity. This fact coincides with the conclusion of E. Winter who pointed out that before the reign of Ptolemy IV it is connected to the first deity (1968:18). This is ascertained by the epithets of the deity mentioned in the Deity's Border Column. The case of the Deity's Border Column in the temple of Edfu is quite interesting as it is only one formula and the scribe was only replacing the epithets of the deity and the other places so as to suit each deity.

As for the *sḏm.tw m-hnt.s* it appeared in almost all the examples as all the places referring to it are feminine except for only one when the place was masculine and it refers to it [E-Sw-InL-E-1]. Additionally, *m-k3b.s* appeared only in one instance [E-Ww-Ss-R3] while for the rest of the scenes *m-hnt.s* occurs.

The King's Border Column:

There is no King's Border Column in the scenes of the external doorjambs of the door of the Central Hall which resembles the case of the Deity's Border Column. This is the case also with the scenes of the internal doorjambs of the door. Despite the fact that their places exist on the two scenes of the eastern and western parts of the northern wall of the Central Hall, they were never inscribed as in the case of the Deity's Border Column (E I 377, footnote 2; 384, footnote 1). Furthermore, they do not appear on the northern scenes of the first and the second registers of the western wall of the Central Hall. As for the scenes of the eastern and western part of the third register of the southern wall, they do not exist as well.

Only one common formula can be recognised and is used inside the King's Border Column in the Central Hall of Edfu. It can also be noticed that the *nomen* and the *prenomen* of King Ptolemy IV (*p3-mry-3st/ iw^c-ntr-mnh*) is used with the title of *nswt-bity*. A closer look at the text shows that there is a slight difference which denotes another version of the formula in question. This formula resembles the schema 3 of E. Winter from his study of the schemas during the time of Ptolemy IV (1976:37), however, the other investigated schemas by E. Winter do not appear in the Central Hall (1976:35-39). In contrast to other rooms in the temple of Edfu (Winter 1969: 123), a different schema appears on every register, but in the case of the Central Hall this schema with its two versions is confined to it.

Version 1:

Wnn + nswt-bity + nomen/prenomen + hr place + m Ihy / m ity / m nsw/ m pr-^c + sw mi/m deity/epithets.

Version one of this formula occurs five times in the following scenes: [E-Ew-NS-R3], [E-Sw-InL-W-1], [E-Sw-InL-E-1], [E-Sw-WS-R1] and [E-Ww-SS-R3]. The only irregularity occurs once when this part changes into *mks.f 3mw m 3mnt.f* [E-Sw-ES-R1]. In scene [E-Sw-WS-R2] the formula states that the king appears as *Ihy* which is the only one of its kind in the King's Border Column. The places stated in the formula are

used to refer to it as: *nst*, *w_tst*, *k_ni_w*, *isbt*, *srh*, and *p* (3) *h^ct* which all have the same meaning as “throne”, and *niwt* “city”.

Version 2:

Wnnn + *nswt-bity* + *nomen/prenomen* + *hr* place + *h^c m Hr* + *sw mi/m* deity/epithets.

The only slight difference with version 1 is the appearance of *h^c m Hr*. This formula occurs only once in the second register [E-Sw-Es-R2] and three times in the third register [E-Ww-Ss-R3], [E-Ww-Ns-R3] and [E-Ew-Ss-R3].

iii) Kom Ombo:

The Deity's Border Column:

The Deity's Border Column, used in the Central Hall of Kom Ombo, shows a great diversity of formulae and there is no system that each register can be grouped under (Winter 1968:44). All the formulae are connected to the second deity of the scene. The different formulae mentioned below can be categorised as follows:

a) It occurs only in two scenes [KO-EXRDL-2] and [KO-EXRDR-3].

Nswt-bity + king's epithets.

b) It occurs also twice in the scenes of the Central Hall [KO-InL-ND-2] and [KO-InL-ND-1].

Wnn + deity epithets of the deity.

c) It is attested in only one scene [KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R2].

di.n.i + something being offered/being provided.

d) This formula might resemble schema 4 of Ptolemy IV, however, the beginning of the schema is omitted *dd mdw in* (Winter 1968:39). It appears in only one scene [KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R1].

šsp.n.i

e) This schema is unique as not only it appears once in the Central Hall of Kom Ombo [KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R3] but also it does not appear in any of the reigns of the Ptolemaic kings.

Nfr.wy hr.f + di.i n.k

Five different formulae can be found for the Deity's Border Column in the scenes of the registers of the walls of the Central Hall of Kom Ombo. A remarkable feature is that the formula of the first and the second registers of the central part of the western wall is the same. This may denote that a new system was introduced in addition to the old one and it might have been a vertical formula and not horizontal as in the case of Dendera. Given that formula (a) is found on both parts of the external lintel of the northern door and formula (b) is found on the internal lintel of the south door, the traditional vertical system was still followed, nevertheless, this might be also to create a balance in the same place. Taking into consideration, the rest of the wall and the disappearance of the northern and southern walls of the Central Hall, a conclusive result is far from reach. A point to mention is that these formulae are connected to the second deity close to the formula and not with the first one which ascertains E. Winter's conclusion that during the reign of Ptolemy VI, the Deity's Border Column was connected to the second deity (Winter 1968:18).

The King's Border Column:

The King's Border Column appears only in the following scenes as shown from the following categories of the formulae.

a) It occurs in two scenes of the Central Hall of Kom Ombo [KO-EXNDL-Ns-1] and [KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R1].

ᵐnh ntr nfr.

b) It is attested three times in the following scenes [KO-InL-ND-1], [KO-InL-SD-1], and [KO-Ww-CP-Ss-R2].

Wnn s3-R^c+Nomen+ hr nst.f/hr phwy.f+m nswt-bity/nsw t3wy+sw mi hr.

c) It appears only on one scene in the Central Hall [KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R2].

Mn n.k

d) It also occurs in only one scene [KO-Ww-CP-Ms-R3].

ii.n.i hr.k

e) It appears in only one instance in scene [KO-Ww-Ns-R1].

iw nn n b3.k htp m sbw.k

f) A rare formula occurs in one scene [KO-EXSDL-Ns-1].

dwn [... ...]

g) It also occurs in one scene [KO-Ww-Ss-R1].

Nswt-bity

Seven different formulae of the King's Border Column appear on the Central Hall of the temple of Kom Ombo. Looking at the formulae which occur in the three scenes of the first register of the western wall, an important aspect should be highlighted as each formula is different and as in the case of the rest of the scenes of the same register. Thus, the horizontal system of the same formula appearing on the same register is not found in that case. With the disappearance of major parts of the walls of the hall in question, a definite answer cannot be established.

iv) Dendera:

The Deity's Border Column:

In contrast to Edfu, the Deity's Border Column appears more extensively on the scenes of the Central Hall of Dendera. The Deity's Border Columns do not appear in the following scenes: scenes on the western and the eastern walls, scenes on the both interior lintels of the door, the northern scene on the third register of the eastern wall, the northern scenes on the first and the second register of the eastern wall. Additionally, it does not appear on the southern scene of the third register of the western wall. It is worth noting that in five cases the Deity's Border column is destroyed due to the chiselling out of the text in antiquity. These cases are: [D-ED-EDJ-R1] with the deity related to it being chiselled out, [D-ED-EDJ-R2], [D-ED-EDJ-R3], [D-ED-WDJ-R1] and [D-Nw-WS-R3-1].

The different formulae used in the Central Hall of Dendera can be classified into the following:

a) This formula is attested in the following scenes: [D-ED-L-ES], [D-ED-L-WS], [D-ED-WDJ-R4], [D-InD-WL] and [D-InD-EL].

ii.tw m ḥtp+ epithets of the king+ *šsp.n.i*+ something being provided+ *di.i n.k*+ something being given.

b) This formula occurs in the scenes of the first register seven times. These scenes are: [D-Ew-R1-Ss], [D-Ww-R1-1], [D-Ww-R1-2], [D-Nw-WS-R1-2], [D-Nw-WS-R1-1], [D-Nw-Es-R1-2], and [D-Nw-Es-R1-1].

Nswt-bity /Nswt-bitit + epithets of the deity.

c) It is another variant to formula (a). It occurs in the scenes of the fourth register seven times in the following scenes: [D-Ew-R4-2], [D-Ww-R4-1], [D-Ww-R4-2], [D-Ww-R4-3], [D-Nw-WS-R4-2], [D-Nw-WS-R4-1], and [D-Nw-Es-R4-1].

dd mdw + ii.tw m htp + epithets of the king + šsp.n.i + something being provided+ di.i n.k + something being given.

d) It is attested in the scenes of the third register. It occurs eleven times in the following scenes: [D-Ew-R3-4], [D-Ew-R3-3], [D-Ew-R3-2], [D-Ew-R3-1], [D-Ww-R3-1], [D-Ww-R3-2], [D-Ww-R3-3], [D-Ww-R3-4], [D-Nw-Ws-R3-2], [D-Nw-Es-R3-2], and [D-Nw-Es-R3-1].

dd mdw + ntr pn/ntrt tn + epithets of the deity.

e) It occurs on the second register eight times even on the second register of the doorjamb. These scenes are: [D-Ew-R2-Ss], [D-Ww-R2-1], [D-Nw-Ws-R2-2], [D-Nw-Ws-R2-1], [D-ED-WDJ-R2], [D-Ww-R2-2], [D-Nw-Es-R2-2], and [D-Nw-Es-R2-1].

Wnn + epithets of the deity.

Each of the formulae of the Deity's Border Column in the Central Hall of the temple of Dendera occurs in the scenes of the same registers. They all are connected to the deity close to it. It should also be stated that due to the fact that some of the scenes have two deities, the formula is connected to the first deity in the scene that the offering is the recipient and not the second deity.

The King's Border Column:

Five different formulae of the King's Border Column appears in the ritual offering scenes of the Central Hall of Dendera, however, it disappears from the following scenes: the scenes of the four registers of the interior doorjambs of the door of the Central Hall, the scenes of the third and the fourth registers of the eastern and the western part of the southern wall, the southern scenes of the first and the second registers of the western wall and the middle scene of the fourth register of the western wall. It is worth noting that each two corresponding scenes on the same register have the same formula which implies that there was kind of system used when texts were chosen to be inscribed on the walls.

Going through the King's Border Column the following formulae can be identified:

a) This formula is mentioned five times in the following scenes [D-InD-WL], [D-ED-L-Es], [D-ED-EDJ-R4], [D-InD-EL] and [D-InD-WL].

il.n.i hr.t/t + epithet of deity+ *in.n.i n.t* + offering brought by the king to the deity+*twt*+ epithet of the deity.

b) Another variant from the above mentioned formula (a) but with the appearance of *dd mdw* at the beginning of the formula. This formula occurred nine times in the following scenes of the fourth register: [D-ED-WDJ-R4],[D-Nw-Es-R4-1], [D-Nw-Es-R4-2], [D-Nw-Ws-R4-1], [D-Nw-Es-R4-2], [D-Nw-Ws-R4-2], [D-Ew-R4-2], [D-Ww-R4-1], and [D-Ww-R4-3].

c) This formula occurred nine times with its two variants in the Central hall of Dendera. in the scenes of the second register (Winter 1968:47-49). The main feature of this formula is the *hr sdm* (infinitive) clause. The first type has the *nswt-bity* epithet. It is attested in the following five scenes: [D-Ww-R2-1], [D-Ew-R2-Ss], [D-Nw-Ws-R2-2], [D-Nw-Es-R2-2], and [D-ED-EDJ-R2]. There is another variant with the *s3-R* which occurs four times in the following scenes: [D-Ew-R2-Ns], [D-Nw-Ws-R2-1], [D-Nw-Es-R2-1], and [D-ED-WDJ-R2]. It is noteworthy that each formula appears in a scene on the same register with its variant in the next scene.

Wnn nswt-bity/s3- R (empty cartouche) *hr* + place + *hr sdm* + *hr sdm* + *hr sdm* + *sw m/mi* + deity + epithets of the deity.

d) It is identified seven times in the scenes of the third register. These scenes are: [D-Ww-R3-4], [D-Ww-R3-3], [D-Ww-R3-2], [D-Ww-R3-1], [D-Ew-R3-4], [D-Ew-R3-3], [D-Ew-R3-2], [D-Ew-R3-Ns], [D-Nw-Ws-R3-1], [D-Nw-Es-R3-2], and [D-Nw-Es-R3-1].

Additionally, there is a rare variant of this formula which occurs twice in the following scenes: [D-ED-WDJ-R3], and [D-ED-EDJ-R3]. The *dd mdw* is omitted in this variant.

dd mdw *ḥnh Hr ḥwn* + epithets of the king.

e) This formula occurred nine times in the scenes of the first register. These scenes are: [D-Ww-R1-1], [D-Ew-R1-Ss], [D-Ew-R1-Ns], [D-Nw-Ws-R1-2], [D-Nw-Ws-R1-1], [D-Nw-Es-R1-2], [D-Nw-Es-R1-1], [D-ED-WDJ-R1], and [D-ED-EDJ-R1].

ḥnh ntr nfr + epithet of a deity + *nswt-bity* (empty cartouche).

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