

Two Denderite Inscriptions and Related Documents From the Roman Era *

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Abstract: During the Greco-Roman period, Egypt witnessed the flourishing of a rich epigraphic tradition, reflecting the complex interactions between political, religious, and social spheres. It was common during this era to dedicate monuments to deities—as acts of piety or gratitude, or in the hope of obtaining divine favor—as well as to emperors, prominent officials, especially strategoi, or individuals, such as family members, relatives, or benefactors. These dedicatory inscriptions, engraved on various supports such as temples, stelae, statues, or columns, are valuable sources for understanding the social dynamics of the period. Regardless of their dedicatee, they reveal the growing importance of individual or collective initiatives in the construction and assertion of civic, religious, or political identities. Frequently displayed in public spaces, such dedications served to express honor, loyalty, or gratitude toward the persons commemorated. This paper highlights these dedicatory inscriptions through the analysis of two Greek-inscribed monuments discovered at Dendera, one of which contains a reference to a strategos.

Keywords: Strategos- Dendera -Tryphon- Ptolemaios son of Panas – Aphrogenia- Pertinax

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نقشان من العصر الروماني ووثائق مرتبطة بهما

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الملخص: شهدت مصر خلال العصرين اليوناني-الروماني ازدهارًا ملحوظًا في تقاليد النقوش الكتابية (Epigraphy)، وهو ازدهار يعكس طبيعة التفاعلات بين المجالات بين المجالات السياسية والدينية والاجتماعية في تلك المرحلة التاريخية. وقد كان من المؤلف أن تُكرَّس النُصُب إلى الآلهة، بوصفها أعمال تقوى أو شكر أو طلبًا لنيل في نيل رضا الإلهة، كذلك أن تُخصَّص للأباطرة وكبار رجال الدولة، ولا سيما الـ strategos (الحاكم العسكري أو الإداري للإقليم)، أو لأفراد محددين من الأسرة أو الدائرة الاجتماعية أو للمحسنين. نُقِشت هذه الإهداءات على وسائط متنوعة شملت جدران المعابد، واللوحات التذكارية (stelae) والتماثيل والأعمدة، وهي تمثل مصادر أولية بالغة الأهمية لفهم ديناميات المجتمع وتحولاته في تلك الفترة. وتكشف، بصرف النظر عن هوية الجهة المُهدى إليها، عن تزايد أهمية دور المبادرات الفردية والجماعية في صياغة الهويات المدنية والدينية والسياسية وتعزيزها.

ولأنها كثيرًا ما وُضعت في فضاءات عامة، فقد كانت هذه الإهداءات تُوَدِّي وظيفة رمزية واجتماعية تتمثل في إعلان التكريم وإظهار الولاء أو الامتثال تجاه المكرَّمين. وتسلط هذه الدراسة الضوء على هذا التقليد الإهدائي من خلال تحليل نموذجين من النُصُب اليونانية المكتشفة في دندرة، أحدهما يتضمَّن ذكرًا صريحًا لـ strategos، ما يتيح مقارنة أوفى لدور هذه الفئة في المشهدين الديني والاجتماعي للمدينة.

الكلمات الدالة: الاستراتيجوس - دندرة - تيرفون - بطلميوس بانوس - افروجينيا - بيرتيناكس

In a quick visit to Dendera, it was gratified to witness Inspector Abd-El-Hakim's endeavors over the objects collected from the enclosure. The site of Dendera and its surroundings have yielded scattered stones, ruins of columns, sarcophagi, sculptures, and statue bases throughout the previous century¹. The objects, previously shown for an extended duration on the left side of the temple's main gate, are now systematically arranged on mastabas, maybe planned to be exhibited in a future site museum (Pl. 1. A, B). Among these items, two monuments inscribed with Greek writings required a reexamination considering certain related texts.

Text I
Greek Inscription on a Statue Base of the Strategos Tryphon

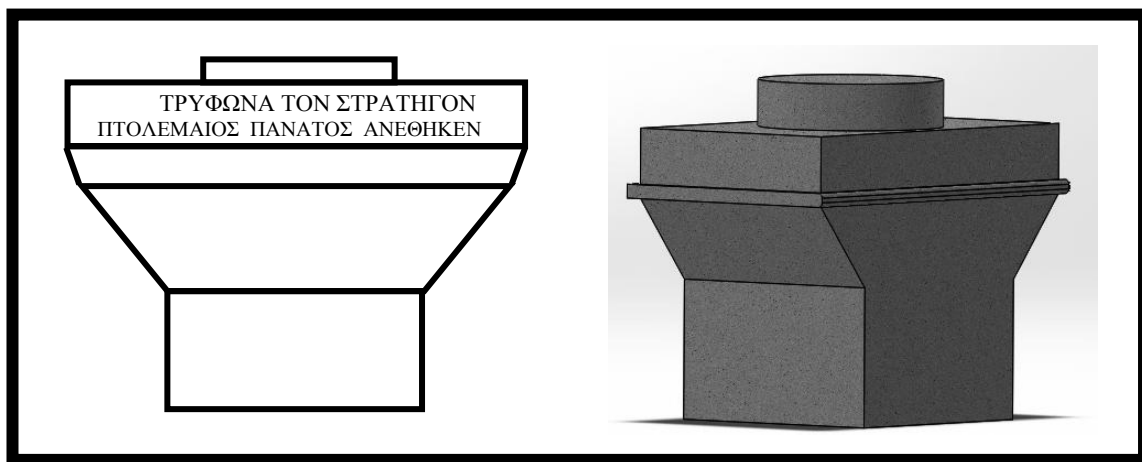


Fig. 1. A reconstruction of the base
ΤΡΥΦΩΝΑ ΤΟΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝ
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
“Tryphon the Strategos, Ptolemaios son of Panas has dedicated (this statue)”.

This short Greek text has previously been published numerous times², but we will begin with other experts' conclusions and reassess its contents in light of other

* We would like to express our sincere gratitude to S. Cauville and Noha Salem, who helped us with the texts and provided us with some references concerning the Roman Era. We also address our thanks to L. Coulon and Gaël Pollin de l'*IFAO* who gave us the permission to publish the photographs of the texts.

¹ See J. Maspero, “Sur quelques inscriptions grecques provenant du grand temple de Dendérah”, *RecTrav* 37(1915): 93–96; André Bernand, *Les portes du désert: Recueil des inscriptions grecques d'Antinooupolis, Tentyris, Koptos, Apollonopolis Parva et Apollonopolis Magna*, (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1984), 133–36 (no. 32), 143–46 (nos. 35–38), 149 (no. 44), pls. 25, 28–29; G. Wagner, R. Boutros, “Une dédicace en l'honneur de Titianus, ex-stratège du Tentyrite,” *BIFAO* 93 (1993): 403–6; Aly Abdalla, “Finds from the sebbakh at Dendera”, *GM* 145 (1995): 21. For other statues of this kind that was transported to some museums, see Aleksandra Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera (SEG LVIII 1823)”, in *Illuminating Osiris, Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith*, Ed. Richard Jasnow and Ghislaine Widmer (Atlanta, Georgia: Lockwood Press, Jan 3, 2017), 380–81.

² Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 379–387, pls. 28–29. According to this author, Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 378, The monument in question was previously documented by Bernard Bothmer, and subsequently transcribed, translated, and photographed by Robert Bianchi.

documents related to the three names stated in the inscription. The text is engraved on the sandstone base of a standing human statue, with only the feet remaining. The two feet, with the left one facing forward, are placed on two pedestals built as polyhedra that extend toward the top (max. height 27.5 cm; max. width 52.5 cm; max. depth 65 cm)¹. The upper pedestal, with a rounded front, was hollowed in the middle with a wide rectangular cavity (25.3 × 44.2 cm), allowing insertion of a statue plinth. The lower base is in fact just a big block of which the two sides are roughly chiseled, and the back is partly unfinished with a lump of stone projecting from its midsection (Fig. 1). This suggests that the monument was meant to be placed either against a wall, leaving its front directly visible, or in a shrine or a niche². The front face bears two lines of curved inscriptions (Pl. 2. A - B)³. As the three men mentioned in the text held the post of strategoi of the Tentyrite nome, it is certain that the lost statue was intended to be placed in the domain of Hathor, the Lady of Dendera.

Starting from this point, this paper will explore in more detail the three mentioned names, presenting other relevant documents that have not yet been compiled into a single work, with the aim of providing a deeper insight into them and exploring the family background and career of Tryphon, Ptolemaios, and his father, Panas (ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲓ *p3-n-njw.t*⁴).

1- The Documents of the Strategos Tryphon

The name Strategos Tryphon, inscribed on this base, is among the Denderite strategoi named in other Greek and Demotic inscriptions discovered at the same site⁵. The following lines compile these epigraphic documents.

Document 1: A Greek dedicatory text carved on the propylon of the temple of Isis⁶ (Pl. 3 A-B & Pl.4)

P. Jollois and Devilliers remarked this text for the first time in 1818 and wrote, “*Ce propylon est remarquable par une inscription en beaux caractères grecs, répétée sur chacun des listels de la corniche.*”⁷. Then it was cited in 1823 by Jean-Antoine Letronne, who copied and gave a full description and commentary of the text⁸. Being

¹ At least four of this base's shape were found in Dendera: see for example: Maspero, *Rec. Trav.* 37, 94; Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 380, notes 4-9.

² Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 380.

³ For the details of this text, cf. Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 382.

⁴ Ranke, *PN*, I, p.108(23).

⁵ Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 382.

⁶ Bernand, *Les portes du désert*, 116-121 (no. 25); Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 382.

⁷ P.Jollois & Divilliers, *Description de l’Égypte, Description des Antiquités*, 50 (S. VII); Bernand, *Les Portes du Désert*, 116-117.

⁸ Jean-Antoine M. Letronne, ‘Inscription du propylon d’Isis à Tentyris, gravée dans la XXXI^e année du règne d’Auguste’ dans *Recherches pour servir à l’histoire de l’Égypte pendant la domination des Grecs et des Romains, tirées des inscriptions grecques et latines relatives à la chronologie, à l’état des arts, aux usages civils et religieux de ce pays*, (Paris: Chez Boulland-Tardieu, libraire, 1823) Première partie; Seconde section, Chapitre I, 155-171; Bernand, *Les Portes du Désert*, 116-117.

able to see and reexamine what was thought to be a lost text¹, it is to be confirmed that the text, which is incised on the upper band of the cavetto-cornice of the inner side of the propylon, consists of three lines of carved uppercase letters depicting Greek inscriptions, with the right portion damaged (Pl. 3 A-B & Pl.4)². The top line is divided from the two lower ones by a carved line. Based on our interpretation and the copy of Jean-Antoine Letronne³, the text reads:

Ι¹ΥΠΕΡ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΥ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ
ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥ ΟΚΤΑΥΤΟΥ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΣ
Ι²ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΚΛΩΔΙΟΥ ΠΟ[ΣΤΟ]ΜΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟΣ
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΟΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ
Ι³ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΠΥΛΟΝ ΙΣΙΔΙ ΘΕΑΙ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ[ΙΣ
ΣΥΝΝΑΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ
ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΑ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΘΩΥΘ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΙ].

“¹ For the Emperor Caesar, son of the god, Zeus Liberator, the August, during the governance of Publius Octavius, ² and Marcus Clodius Postumus, Epistratage of Thebaide, and Tryphon, who served as Strategos, the inhabitants of the metropolis and the nome (have dedicated) this propylon to Isis, the very great goddess⁴ ³ and to the gods who share her temple, the year 31 of Cesar (= Augustus), in the month of Thoth, on the Augustan (day)⁵”.

Document 2: Three short Greek inscriptions carved on three limestone sphinxes.

The first one of these Greek short texts is carved on a limestone statue of a recumbent lion found in the *sabakh* in 1910, behind the great temple of Dendera⁶. According to Etienne Bernand, this statue was moved first to the Cairo Museum before being sent to the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (no. 21806)⁷ (Fig. 2).

¹ Gustave Lefebvre, “Égypte gréco-romaine III,” *ASAE* 13 (1914): 106, note 1; Bernand, *Les Portes du Désert*, 117; According to S. Cauville, *Le Temple de Dendera, La porte d’Isis*, (Le Caire: IFAO, 1999), XI, “l’inscription grecque, autrefois visible sur la corniche, est détruite depuis presque un siècle”.

² We sincerely thank both Sylvie Cauville and the photographer Ossama El-Damnhouri, who provided us the photo.

³ Letronne, ‘Inscription du propylon d’Isis à Tentyris, gravée dans la XXXI^e année du règne d’Auguste’, 157.

⁴ S. Cauville, “Dieux et prêtres à Dendera au I^{er} siècle avant Jésus-Christ”, *BIFAO* 91 (1992): 94, *In the official pantheon, both Hathor the great and Isis bear the epithet wr.t, "the great", a banal epithet a priori, which nevertheless suffices to account for the hierarchical superiority of the two goddesses compared to the secondary forms. The demotic seems to have preferred the expression inherited from the New Kingdom t3 nṯr.t ʿ3.t, "the great goddess", an expression which had meaning for the editors, and which is not encountered anywhere in the temple. Greek followed Demotic and translated the expression t3 nṯr.t ʿ3.t with θεὰ μεγίστη. In the minor temples with the more "popular" wording, a divinity called "the great goddess" was also created purely and simply.*

⁵ For the exact translation of the date ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΑ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΘΩΥΘ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΙ = “year 31 of Cesar, in the month of Thoth, on Augustus day”, see Lefebvre, “Égypte gréco-romaine III,” 87-108.

⁶ For this statue, see Lefebvre, “Égypte gréco-romaine III,” 106 (no. 26); Friedrich Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten I*, Strasburg, 1915, 5804; Bernand, *Les Portes du Désert*, 121-122 (26), pl. 22.1; Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 382 (18).

⁷ Etienne Bernand, “À Propos des ‘Portes du Désert’,” *Revue des Études Grecques* 98 (1985): 392 (no. 26); Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 382 (n. 18).

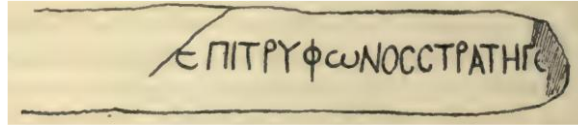


Fig. 2. The Greek text inscribed on the Alexandria sphinx
?] ΕΠΙ ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟ[Υ]

After: Gustave Lefebvre, *ASAE* 13, 106 (no. 26)

As for the second and the third Greek short texts, they are an identical copy of the first one. They are also engraved on the bases of two headless sphinxes which can be seen *in situ*, flanking the outer face of the Gate of Isis at Dendera¹ (**Fig. 3**)

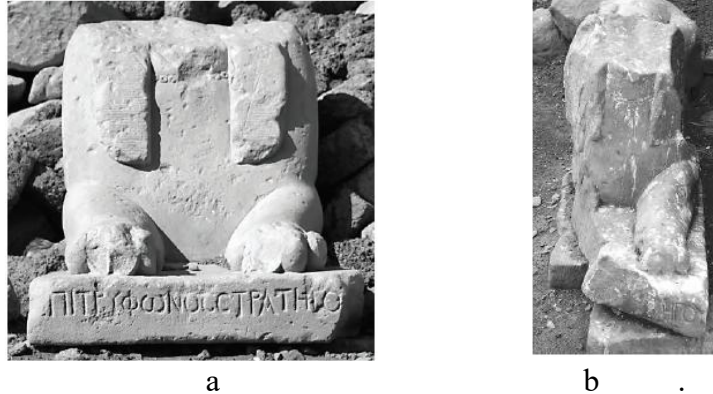


Fig. 3. The two headless sphinxes bearing the name of Tryphon that can be seen *in situ*, flanking the outer face of the Gate of Isis at Dendera

[After: Aleksandra Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera (*SEG* LVIII 1823)”, pls. 30(b), 31(a)]

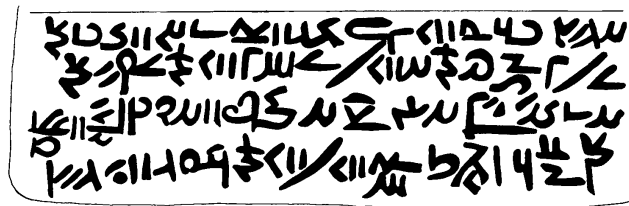
Document 3: Demotic stele in the GEM (inv. 9799, SR. 8, 45.11) (Pl. 5)²

This round-topped sandstone stele (35 X 27, thickness 5.5 cm) (Pl. 5) was unearthed in the vicinity of the temple of Dendera. Scenes and text in sunk relief adorn the stele, which is divided into a lunette and two registers. The lunette is surmounted by a sunk relief motif representing a winged sun disk with two hanging cobras . Below, a depiction of the two signs  separates the lunette from the first register containing a dedication scene. Starting from the right-hand side, the scene illustrates the king (Augustus) wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt. He is offering two *nw*-vases to four divinities standing before him: two goddesses, Isis and Hathor, and the falcon-god Horus between them. The two goddesses were depicted wearing a headdress of cow horns and a sun disk; they held the *w3s*-scepter in their left hands. The falcon-god Horus is wearing the double crown and holding the *was*-scepter in his left hand. The fourth

¹ Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera,” 382 (n. 18), pl. 30 (b), 31(a).

² For this stele, which bore the temporary number (TR 11/5/18/1) in Cairo Museum before transferring to the GEM, cf. Adel Farid, “Zwei demotischen Stelen [I. - Eine demotische Stele des Strategen [Tryphon] aus Dendera]”, *BIFAO* 87 (1987): 186-193, pl. 35; Adel Farid, *Die Demotischen Inschriften Der Strategen: Textband & Tafelband*, (San Antonio, Texas: Van Siclen Books, 1993), 52-53 (XXI), fig. 29, pl. 19. We express our gratitude to El-Tayb Abass, the former supervisor of the Grand Egyptian Museum, for his generosity in supplying the photograph of the monument, which will be included with appropriate attribution.

deity is the child-god *Hr-sm3-t3.wj* who is wearing the *nemes* headdress surmounted by a sun disc encircled by a uraeus³ and a sidelock behind his ear. The lower register is occupied by four lines of carved demotic text; it reads:

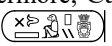


After Adel Farid, *BIFAO* 87, 187.

¹ *p3 pr-Hr¹ ntj smn² m-b3h Wršj-nfr³ iir-hr⁴* | ² *Trwphn p3 Srtjws n-dr(.t)* ⁵
³ *P3-bjk s3 P3-šrj-n-Is.t p3 mr-šn⁶ jrm n3 rmt.w swn.t⁷*

¹ For *p3 pr-hr*, see Farid, *BIFAO* 87, 187-189, n. (a).

² See Farid, *BIFAO* 87, 189 (b).

³ Farid, *BIFAO* 87, 189 (c), sees in *Wršj-nfr* an epithet for the god Min which was found twice in the temple of Esna where a scene depicts the king before the god Khnum, the good watcher, and the associated text reads:  *dd mdw jn p3 Wrš-nfr n psd*. We see also in the second scene, the king before a ram-headed god and the accompanying legend reads:  *dd mdw jn p(3) Wrš-nfr nw sw 6 Hr-p3-hrd*, Serge Sauneron, *ESNA VI: Le Temple d'Esna*, (Le Caire: IFAO, 1975), 97 (n. 508. 9), 118 (n. 515. 11). Furthermore, Cauville, *BIFAO* 91, 91 n. (16), has stated that this deity's name is comparable to the name  *wrš nfr p3 Bs* engraved on a statue of the god Bes (CG 38705) which was found in Dendera, cf. Georges Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, T. I, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire N° 38001-39384* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1999): 181, pl. 39; Michel Malaise, "Bes et les croyances solaires." In S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1990), vol. 2, 688. As for the assimilation of Bes with Min, see H. Altenmüller, "Bes", *LÄ* I, (1975), col. 720-724, (n. 39).

⁴ *CDD* i, 23. According to Adel Farid, "Eine demotische Stele im Übersee-Museum Bremen," *MDAIK* 55 (1999): 11, the word "*iir-hr*" (=for) in this context indicates that the stele was built by the above-mentioned cult organization on behalf of Tryphon, the strategist. Moreover, for *iir-hr* (or *n-iir-hr*)= "for" which was rendered ὑπέρ, cf. Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Neue Denkmäler des Parthenios, des Verwalters der Isis von Koptos," *ZÄS* 51(1913): 83-84; Adel Farid, "Die Denkmäler des Parthenios des Verwalters der Isis von Koptos," *MDAIK* 44(1988): 32 (Kommentar 1).

⁵ For *n-dr.t*= 'by', cf. Wolja Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*. (Kopenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954): 643-644, 646; *CDD* d, 63-64.

⁶ For the title *mr-šn* (*Wb* IV, 496 (13), 497 (1)= "lesonis; supervisor/administrator of a temple or cult association" (lit., "overseer of inspection), see Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 166, 512; Farid, *BIFAO* 87, 190-191 (j). According to Farid, *MDAIK* 55, 11, the term *mr-šn* refers to the title of the high priest of a cult association. He has been documented since the 21st/22nd Dynasty, and became a royal official during the Ptolemaic period, until then he experienced a devaluation of his rank under the Romans. For a complete discussion of  or  *jm.j-r3-šn* in hieroglyphs, see A. Gardiner, "A Didactic Passage Re-Examined," *JEA* 45 (1959):14-15. For this expression in general, see: K. Th. Zauzish, "Lesonis", *LÄ* III, col. 1008-1009; Adel Farid, *Fünf demotische Stelen aus Berlin, Chicago, Durham, und Oxford, mit zwei demotischen Türinschriften aus Paris und einer Bibliographie der demotischen Inschriften* (Berlin: AchetVerlag, 1995), 270-273.

⁷This is in fact a problematic demotic term, where scholars differed in its reading. The readings varied between *knb.t*, *hn.t*, and *swn.t*. See E.Jelínková-Reymond, "Some notes on the reading of the group 

|⁴ *n w^c sp¹ h3.t-sp 34 Gjsrs ibt 3 šmw ...*

|¹ The House of Faces which was built before (in front of) *Wršj-nfr* for (*iir-hr*) |² Tryphon, the Strategos by |³ Pa-Bik², son of Pa-shery-en-Isis³, the lesonis, and all the members (*lit.* people) of the cult association |⁴ in one time, in the regnal-year 34 of Caesar, the third month of Shemu,

Document 4: A dedication stele in Bremen Übersee-Museum (no number)

(PL.6)⁴

Found in Dendera *h3d-nt⁵*, this round-topped sandstone stele (28 X 23.2 X thick. 7.5 cm) is broken into two parts. The lunette is surmounted by a sunk relief motif representing a winged sun disk with two hanging cobras . Below, there is a depiction of the sky-sign , which separates the lunette from the first register showing a dedication scene. Starting from the right-hand side, the kneeling king (Augustus) is

Guild,” *MDAIK* 16 (1958) (Festschrift Junker): 152-53; Françoise De Cénival, *Les Associations Religieuses en Égypte d'Après les Documents Démotiques*, *BdE* 46/1, (Le Caire : IFAO, 1972), 12-14; Françoise De Cénival, “À propos du mot désignant en démotique ‘l’association’, *RdE* 57 (2006): 233-234. For the different forms of *swn.t* in demotic, see: *CDDs*, p. 87. On the other hand, according to Fr. De Cénival, *RdE* 57, 233-234, the associations’ mission was to administer the property of the temple, or at least to contribute in any way to its operation, to settle internal disputes arising between members before the cases were brought before the courts. But, in the first place, their main task was to organize the festivals, and the appearances of the god. Finally, about the establishment of the cult association and the duties of the members, see A. E. R. Boak, “The Organization of the Guilds in Greco-Roman Egypt,” *Transaction and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 38 (1937): 212-220; Wolja Erichsen, *Aegyptiske Kultforeninger i Ptolemaeertiden*. Studier Fra Sprog- Og Oldtidsforskning, Udg. Af Det Filologisk-Historiske Samfund (Copenhagen: P. Branner, 1949); Françoise De Cénival, *Les Associations Religieuses en Égypte*, 153-159, 177 ff.; M. Muszynski, “Les associations religieuses en Égypte d’après les sources hiéroglyphiques, démotiques et grecques”, *OLP* 8 (1977): 145-174; Pascal Vernus, « s.v. Kultgenossenschaft », *LÄ* III, 6 (1979) col. 848-850. Finally, according to Cassandre Hartenstein, “À propos des interactions entre associations et temples à l’époque gréco-romaine.”, in (éds.) Mario Capasso, Paola Davoli, Natascia Pellè, *Proceedings of the 29th International Congress of Papyrology, 28th July-3rd August (2019)*, (Lecce: Centro di Studi Papirologici dell’Università del Salento, 2021) Tomo I, 509, The archaeological data from Karanis, Tebtynis and Narmouthis confirm that the associations may have had their own “building” within the temple: the premises of the associations have been identified within the enclosure or along the dromos thanks to texts discovered in the context. Moreover, all the texts use the same form, which locates the association in the topography in this form: ‘name of the association + *ntj smn n h3th n* + name of a deity’. It can thus be concluded that the term *swn.t* should not be exclusively translated as “association.” Rather, it may refer to the building located within the temple from which the association carries out its activities, with the precise interpretation depending on the context. This is supported by the fact that when referring to a location, the combination *swn.t* + *ntj smn n h3th n* + name of a deity is utilized, whereas the phrase *rmṯ n swn.t* + name of a deity is employed when discussing the members of the association.

¹ For the expression *n w^c sp*, cf. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 81; *CDDs*, p. 173. Furthermore, it is to be noted that the formula *jrm n3 rmṯ.w swn.t n w^c sp* was repeated several times on the demotic documents came from Dendera, see Farid, *BIFAO* 87, 191 (k).

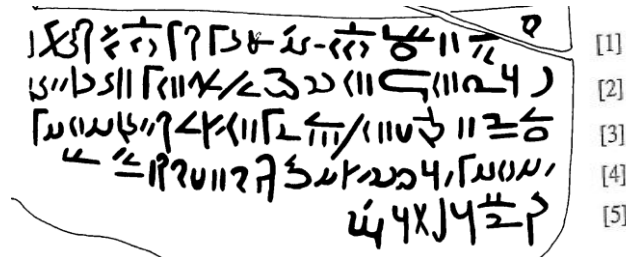
² For this proper name that was not attested in Ranke, *PN*, see Erich Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch*. Band I, (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1980), 182; Farid, *BIFAO* 87, 189 (h).

³ Ranke, *PN* I, p. 118 (7); Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch* I, 228-229.

⁴ Farid, *MDAIK* 55, 7-12, pl. 2; Seven P. Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and Other Short Texts in the Demotic Script Found on Various Objects Gathered from Many Publications*, *StudDem* 5 (Leuven: Peters, 2001), 162-163 (170); Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 382.

⁵ Farid, *MDAIK* 55, 7. For this location, see *infra*.

wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. He is offering two *nw*-vases to three animal divinities: a cobra, wearing a headdress of cow horns and a sun disk in between; a falcon with the sun disk on his head; and an Ibis-bird whose head is surmounted by a headdress of crescent and moon. Behind the ibis-bird, a figure of a winged sun disk and a hanged cobra. The kneeling king and the three divinities are resting on the land-sign. The lower register is occupied by five lines of demotic text; it reads (←):



After: Adel Farid, *MDAIK* 55, 1999, 8.

¹ *T3 swnt t3.t n Hr-sm3-t3.wj ntr t3 nb h3dj-ntr*¹

² *ntj smn m-b3h S3mwtrgs iir-hr*

³ *Trpni p3 Strykws (n) dr(.t) P3-hm*⁴

¹ It seems that we have here a mention of one of the sacred locations in the vicinity of Dendera. This location was named *j3.t hd*, or *h3d*, and was mentioned in numerous texts from the Greco-Roman period, mainly in the temples of Dendera, and Edfu. According to H. Gauthier, *DG* IV, 164-165; P. Montet, *La Géographie de l'Égypte Ancienne*, Tome II, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1961), 89-90, these words were applied to the sacred wood of the Tentyrite nome and was in the extension near the city of Dendera. A. Mariette had placed the place in question south of the city of Dendera and had seen that it is the necropolis of the city. However, some texts expressly tell us that the place was located to the east of Iouat. H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, (Wien: Adolf Holzhausen, k. und k. Höf- und Universitäts-Buchdrucker, 1917), 36, he did not hesitate to transport the location in question to the right bank of the Nile, far enough from Dendera, and he recognized there a place specially consecrated to the child-god of the triad of the Tentyrite nome, Harsomtut. It seems, in fact, that the temple of this god was, if not identical to the place *Khdi* or *Khuti*, at least not very far from it. As for S. Cauville, *Dendera, La Porte d'Horus*, Commentaire – Traduction, (Le Caire: IFAO, 2021), 10, “*Lieu du Pétale de lotus désigne le Domaine d'Harsomtut, situé sur la rive orientale; à l'aube des temps, le premier serpent y surgit du premier lotus. Le dieu, seul « maître de Khadi », est aussi ancien qu'Hathor dans le nome. Son temple se situait au bord du Nil dans la zone actuellement cultivée; la nécropole, dans le désert, conserve encore des vestiges de l'Ancien Empire. Harsomtut possédait par ailleurs sa propre chapelle dans le temple d'Hathor; il y était honoré comme nb h3di*”.

² According to Farid, *MDAIK* 55, 10-11, the demotic word *S3mwtrgs* seems to be the rendering of a corresponding word from Greek, namely Samothrax of which the origin of the name cannot be clearly determined. According to Diodorus, it either means 'Holy Island' or is derived from Thracian immigrants from Samos (a Greek island in the eastern Aegean Sea). The mention of Samothrax here, however, probably refers to its deities and not to the place itself, since the word is preceded by *m-b3h* and followed by a determinative of the gods at the end. Furthermore, the existence of the combination *m-b3h* + *S3mwtrgs* on this demotic stele from Dendera indicates that a cult of the Greek deities of Samothrax took place in Dendera. This cult was certainly founded at the request of the strategist Tryphon, mentioned on the stele, and the Greeks who lived in Dendera.

³ The demotic writing of Tryphon has been read by Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, 162 (170, line 3) as *trpni*. Farid, *MDAIK* 55, 7, read it as *trpn*.

⁴ For the name of Pachom, see Adel Farid, “Eine Statue des Strategen Pakhom-Pa-Schu, des Sohnes des Pakhom-Remet-Behedet”, *MDAIK* 45(1989): 155-156, 161. Citing G. Daressy, “Inscriptions

|⁴ s3 P3-^chm s3 P3-n3¹ p3 mr-šn jrm n3 rmṭ.w (n) [swn.t]

|⁵ (n) w^c sp ḥ3.t-sp 32 jbd-4 [pr.t] [...]

|¹ The great cult association of Harsomteus, the great god, the lord of Chady-netjer

|² which was established before Samothrax, for

|³ Tryphon, the Strategos by Pachom

|⁴ son of Pachom, son of Panas, the lesonis, and all the members of the cult association.

|⁵ (in) one time, in the regnal-year 32, the fourth month of [Peret, day....]

Document 5: A votive stele in the Shimonoseki City Art Museum (C-010-141) (PL.7)²

The current monument was acquired by the museum in 19913; consequently, its provenance and the date of its discovery are unknown. Conversely, the artistic style and textual content of the current sandstone round-topped stele may confirm that it was unearthed in the vicinity of the temple of Hathor at Dendera. The surface of the stele is divided into a lunette and two registers. On top of the lunette is a sunk relief decoration that depicts a winged sun disk with two suspended cobras . A sky-sign  is illustrated below to separate the lunette from the first register, which is occupied by an offering scene. On the left side of the scene, a king wearing the ḥprš-crown  is seen in a semi-kneeling position. He is presenting a platter surmounted by three unidentified items (vases?) to three divinities confronting him. A cobra goddess wearing the red-crown, the falcon-Horus whose head is adorned with , and an anthropomorphic male divinity dressed in a loincloth with a bull's tail, strolling and holding the w3s-scepter in his right hand⁴. The bottom register contains five incised lines of demotic text:

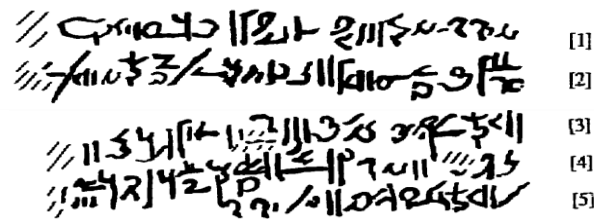
tentyrites”, *ASAE* 17 (1917): 89; Cauville, *BIFAO* 91, 77 and K.-Th. Zauzich, “Fünf Mumientäfelchen”, *Enchoria* 17 (1990): 131, they read the name:  or  P3-^csm-p3-ḥf or P3-^chm-p3 ḥf Paakhempahef (Ranke, *PN*, I, 103(17)). It is advisable however to read this name as:  or  P3 ^csm (Ranke, *PN*, I, 103(15)).

¹ Farid, *MDAIK* 45, 9. Noting that the term sA is absent in the facsimile of Adel Farid, Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, 163, line 4, suggests reading it s3 P3-^chm-n-P3-n3 “son of Paakhem-en-Pana”. Considering the date mentioned on the current stele, which is almost the same attested on the next stele (**Document 5**), we incline to accept the reading of Adel Farid. Due to the date referenced on the current stele, which closely aligns with that of the subsequent stele (**Document 5**), and the similarity between both of the two monuments, we are inclined to endorse Adel Farid's reading.

² Michel Chauveau, « Une stèle au nom du stratège Tryphon », *JEAN* 4 (1993): 1-10; Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, 163-164 (171).

³ Chauveau, *JEAN* 4, 1.

⁴ Chauveau, *JEAN* 4, 2, says that the serpent goddess is unlikely to be Hathor because she wears a red crown, linking her with the Buto goddess Quadjet. Regardless, it is possible that the latter is one of the numerous avatars of Dendera's mistress, which appears to be the only explanation for her place at the



After: Seven P. Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and Other Short Texts*, 163-164.

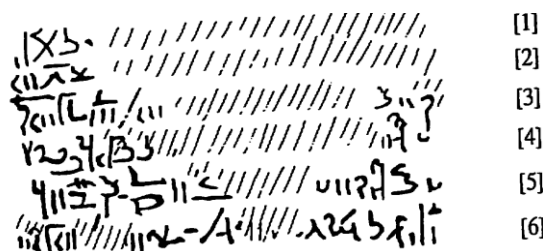
¹ P3 [iwiw]¹ n P3-Hy² nb-Bhd.t ntj smn m-b3h ² S3wmtrks³ iir-hr Trpn p3 sr-t[k]-
³ -s (n)-dr(t) hr-my-Db3 s3 P3-mr-jh⁴ [p3] ⁴ mr-šn jrm n3 rmt.w (n) s-n.t w^c sp
 h3.t-sp 32 (n) Gys-⁵ rs jbd 4 pr.t sw 8

¹ The of the Student (Horus), the lord of Behdet (Edfu) which was established before

² Samothrax, for Tryphon, the strat[eg]-³ os by Harmatabo son of Pelaiha, the ⁴ lesonis, and all the members of the cult association, in one time, in the regnal-year 32 of Cae-⁵ sar, the fourth month of Peret. Day 8.

Document 6: A votive stele in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (E 15997) (Pl. 8)⁵

According to its content, this round-topped sandstone stele (28.5 X 23 cm) came from the neighborhood of the temple of Dendera. The lunette is surmounted by a sunk relief motif representing a winged sun disk with two hanging cobras . Below, the sky-sign  is depicted to separate the lunette from the first register occupied with a dedication scene. Starting from the right-hand side, the king (Augustus) is wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt. He is offering a *nw*-vase to three animal divinities: a cobra, cow and vulture stand on a low pedestal. Although the scene is faint, it seems that the three divinities were crowned by headdresses of cow horns and a sun disk. The lower register is occupied by six very faded lines of demotic text; it reads:



After, Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and Other Short Texts*, 163-164 (172).

head of this celestial procession. Finally, the anthropomorphic divinity is unquestionably Harsomteus, who is typically the last member of the Tentyrite triads.

¹ For this is the restoration of the lacuna, cf. Chauveau, *JEAN* 4, 3, note1, who sees it as an aberrant spelling of *ˁ.wj* ‘house’.

² “L’Eelevé de Behdet” = Horus of Edfu, cf. Chauveau, *JEAN* 4, 3, n.1; Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, 163 (171).

³ For this location, see supra-Document 4, note 33.

⁴ Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, p. 163-164 (171), propose *hij*.

⁵ Farid, *Die demotischen Inschriften der Strategen*, 53–55, fig. 30, pl. 20; Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, 164–165, (no. 172); Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 382.

|¹ [.....] *h3dj* |² [.....] *nšī*
|³ (*n*) *ḏr(.t)* [*Trwphn p3*] *Strjkwš* |⁴ *p3 sn(gns)* ... *P3-ḥm s3 P3-n3*
|⁵ *p3 mr-šn jrm* [*n3 rmt.w n*] *swn.t n w^c sp* |⁶ *h3.t-sp 34 ibd-3 pr[.t]* (*sw*) *10 (?) n*
Gj[sr]s

|¹ [.....] Chaday |² [.....] corn |³ by [Tryphon, the] Strategos, |⁴ the Syn[genes] (and also) Pachom, son of Panas |⁵ the lesonis and [all the members] of the cult association. in one time, |⁶ in the regnal-year 34¹, the third month of Peret, day 10 (?)² of Car[sar].

The Documents of Ptolemaios, and his Father Panas.

As for the other two dignitaries, Panas and his son Ptolemaios, they were mentioned in several monuments originating from Dendera.

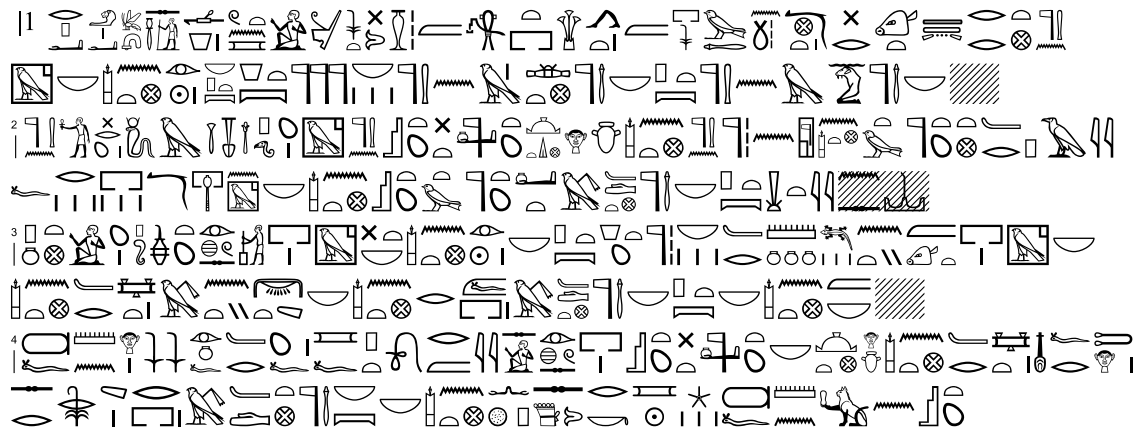
Document 7: Incomplete statue of *P3-n-njw.t* (Panas) in Cairo Museum statue (CG 690, JE 27837)(Pl.9) ³

This is a standing statue of a man represented in Greek style (H. 1.56 m without the head, which is missing). He is wearing a garment that consists of a tunic with short sleeves and, over it, a piece of fabric with serrated edges thrown over the left shoulder and returning in front under the right arm. The man maintains this drapery with the left hand; the right arm hangs down. The tunic comes down to the ankle; the edges of the top drapery are decorated with fringe. Four columns of hieroglyphic inscription curved on the back pillar of the statue; they read (†):

¹ According to Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, 165, the date is “year 33”.

² This the restoration of the day, see Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, 165.

³ For this black granite statue that was found at Dendera in 1888, see Georges Daressy, “Statues de Basse époque au musée de Gizèh”, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*: pour servir de bulletin à la Mission Française du Caire *RecTrav* 15 (1893): 159-160 (8); L. Borchardt, *Statuen Und Statuetten Von Königen Und Privatleuten*, Teil 3, *Catalogue, général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire N°1-1294* (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1930), 34-35, pl. 127(690); Cauville, *BIFAO* 91, 83. This text was partially retranslated into French in G. Gorre, “Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides d'après les sources privées”, *StudHell* 45, (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 132-34. It is to be mentioned that A. Aleksandra Warda said that this statue was included in her unpublished theses entitled “Egyptian draped male figures, inscriptions and context: 1st century BC–1st century AD”, that was presented in the University of Oxford, Faculty of Oriental Studies, 2012, see Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 382.



¹ Jry p^c.t h³.tj-^c sd³.wtj bj.tj smr w^c.tj n mr.y n nswt wr ḥs.yw m stp-s³ h³.wtj m pr-
nswt wr ³ m^s^c jm.j-r³ niw.t wr hntj T³-(n)-t³-rr.t¹ ḥm-ntr n Hw.t-Hr nb(.t) Jwn.t jr.t R^c
nb.t p.t hr(.jt) ntr.w nb.w ḥm-ntr n Hr-Msn ntr ³ nb p.t ḥm-ntr n Hr Šf.yt ntr ³ nb ... ²
ḥm-ntr n Jhy-wr² s³ Hw.t-Hr Hr-sm³-t³.wj P³ hrd s³ Hw.t-Hr ḥm-ntr n Is.t wr.t mw.t-ntr
j³.t hr.j-ib³ Jwn.t ḥm-ntr n ntr.w n ḥw.t-ntr n Jwnt.t wr.t ntr.t niw.t hr p³y³f r.w-pr.w
jm.j-r³ pr-ḥd n Hw.t-Hr nb.t Jwn.t Is.t wr.t mw.t-ntr Hr-Bḥd.tj ntr ³ nb p.t Snj(ns) ³
P³-n-niw.t s³ P³-šrj-(n)-B³st.t⁴ jr(w) ḥwsi pr Hw.t-Hr wr(.t) nb.t Jwn.t jr.t R^c nb(.t) p.t
hr(.jt) ntr.w nb.w hr mn.w ^cs³.w ntj m ḥnw.t pr Hw.t-Hr nb(.t) Jwn.t hr w³.t Bik ntj Nbw.t
nb Jwn.t r ^ck pr Hr-Bḥd.tj⁵ ntr ³ nb p.t nb Jwn.t hr m nb ⁴ rn^cf mn hr nn ir(w).n^cf hr
s³ḥf mr.y^cf Ptwrmys jr(w) ḥwsi pr Is.t wr.t mw.t-ntr nb(.t) T³w.t hr.j-jb Jwn.t hr w³.t
nfr.t hr^cs r rs.j r pr Hr-Bḥd.tj ntr ³ nb pt nb Jwn.t n sp dr rk ntr.w rn^cf mn ḥft-n Is.t

“¹ The nobleman, the count, the royal chancellor, the beloved unique friend of the king, the great of the praised ones of the palace, the first (admitted one) into the royal residence, the great chief of the Army (= ‘the Strategos⁶’), the governor of the city, the great one in Ta-(en)-reret (Dendera), the prophet of Hathor, the lady of Iunet, the eye of Re, the lady of Heaven, the greatest of all the gods, the prophet of Hor-Mesen⁷, the

¹ This is in fact one of the variants of the name of the capital of the VIth nome of Upper Egypt. For these variants, cf. H. Gauthier, *DG*, VI, 23, 26; Montet, *La Géographie de l’Égypte Ancienne* II, 87.

² Daressy, *RecTrav* 15, 160, has misread the name of the god as Hr-wr.

³ Daressy, *RecTrav* 15, 159 has miscopied the group  as , cf. Borchardt, *Statuen Und Statuetten Von Königen Und Privatleuten* 3, 35.

⁴ For the reading of the group  P³-šrj-(n)-B³st.t [Ranke, *PN*, I, p. 118(15)], see. H. de Meulenaere, “Notes d’onomastique tardive”, *RdE* 11(1957): 79-80; H. De Meulenaere, “Les stratèges indigènes du nome Tentyrite à la fin de l’époque ptolémaïque et au début de l’occupation romaine”, *RSO* 34 (1959): 7.

⁵ This sentence was copied by Borchardt, *Statuen Und Statuetten Von Königen Und Privatleuten* 3, 35 as: . As for Daressy, *RecTrav* 15, 160, he copied it as: .

⁶ De Meulenaere, *RSO* 34, 7.

⁷ Msn is the northern counterpart of Edfu and lent its name to the axial chapel of the temple of Horus, which commemorates the deity's victory in the Delta; the theological symbiosis between the two towns is noteworthy. The innovative and unique use of Hn-nḥn in the toponym Mesen (as opposed to Msn-Šm^c)

great god, the lord of Heaven, the prophet of Hor-Shefy¹, the great god, the lord of ... |² the prophet of the great Ihy, son of Hathor; Harsomteus-Pa-Khered, son of Hathor, the prophet of Isis, the great divine mother, the lady of Iat² who is in Iunet, the prophet of all gods in the temple of Iunet, the city of the great goddess and of its sanctuaries, the overseer of the treasury of Hathor, the lady of Iunet, and (prophet of) Isis, the great divine mother, and (prophet of) Hor-Behdety, the great god, the lord of Heaven, the Syngenes³ |³ Pa-en-niwet, son of Pa-shery-en-Bastet, who built the temple of the great Hathor, the lady of Iunet, the eye of Re, the lady of Heaven, the greatest of all the gods, and many monuments which are in the domain of Hathor, the lady of Iunet, (and) the way of the Falcon- who is of- Golden⁴, the lord of Iunet to enter the temple of Hor-Behdety⁵, the great god, the lord of Heaven, the lord of Iunet, as the lord of

⁴ May his name be remaining because of all what he has done, as well as (that of) his son, his beloved, Ptolemaios, who built the temple of the great Isis, the divine mother, Lady of Iat, who is residing in Iwnet, and beautiful way with it, towards the South, to (go to) the temple of Hor-Behdety, the great god, the lord of Heaven, the lord of Iunet, (that) hadn't been (done) since the time of the gods. May his name be sustainable in front of (in the presence of) Isis..."

elucidates the true identity of the holy figure depicted: Horus of Mesen in Edfu, cf. Cauville, *La Porte d'Horus*, 36, 42, 100-101. For *Hr msn* cf. *LGG*, V, 263.

¹ For *Hr-Šf.yt*, as a designation of *Hr-Bhd.tj*, cf. *LGG* VII, 69.

² The great goddess Isis, the divine mother, was generally called the  *nb(t) J3.t* ["Lady of the mound" = "Lady of Dendera"]. It is known that this goddess was born on a mound (). The term expressing "birth" is written with the word "give/place" () , the mound () allows the child to be placed on a terrestrial eminence. Thus, it became the name of Isis' own domain, the mound of the birth; cf. S. Cauville & M. Ibrahim Ali, *Dendera, Itinéraire du Visiteur* (Paris: Peteers, 2015), 230.

³ Restored after W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 51, 70 (11); "Demotische Miszellen (mit 12 Schriftbildern)", *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 129; "Der Stratege Pamenches (mit einem Anhang über die bisher aus ägyptischen Texten bekannt gewordenen Strategen)," *ZÄS* 57 (1922): 89 (n. 4). For this term, cf. De Meulenaere, *RSO* 34, 7.

⁴ Cf. *LGG*, II, 765ff. This deity was mentioned on the gate of Horus at Dendera as the son of Isis, see Cauville, *La Porte d'Horus*, 24-26, 42, 50, 144, 181, 265.

⁵ Citing this part of the text, Montet, *La Géographie de l'Égypte Ancienne* II, 36-37, says : « *Encore maintenant un canal détache du Nil un peu en aval d'Edfou et coule presque parallèlement au Nil, partageant en deux parties égales la vaste plaine d'Edfou. Ce canal correspond en somme à l'ancien Khenou qui, dans un texte d'Edfou, est partagé en deux parties : le Khenou au nord d'Edfou, qui est l'eau sacrée du Siège depuis le temple d'Horus jusqu'à aujourd'hui, et le canal de Khenou sud. La route d'Horus d'or à Dendera, au sortir du temple d'Horus de Behedet, suivait vraisemblablement le canal du Rameur* ».

However, we believe that the text in question talks about the architectural works executed by Pa-en-niwet (Panas) in the VIth nome of Upper Egypt, which contains five divine domains, cf. Cauville, *La Porte d'Horus*, 9 ff. This sentence has nothing to do with either the city of Edfu nor any canals in its vicinity. This part of the text speaks about a processional way that leads to the temple of Horus of Edfu, which lies at about 373 m. to the east of the domain of Hathor at Dendera, see Cauville, *La Porte d'Horus*, 21. For more detail, see *infra* "The General Commentary".

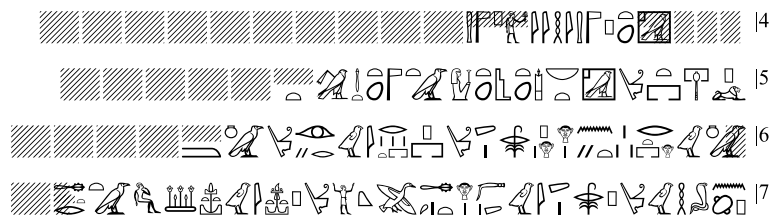
Document 8: Bilingual (three scripts) limestone votive stele (JE 44666, CG 50044) (Pl.10-11(A,B,C))¹

This limestone stele (78 X 62.5 cm, thickness 14 cm) was found in 1913 by the *sabakhin* who worked in Dendera. Therefore, the precise location of the find is unknown, but it was assumed that its provenance would be one of the mounds of rubble that rose in front of the north face of the outer enclosure of the great temple. The monument, incomplete at the top, bears a triple script: hieroglyphic (**Pl.11-A**), demotic, and Greek. Of the first text, only the last four incomplete lines remain, while the second, which consists of seven lines of demotic inscription (**Pl.11-B**), is intact. Apart from a few signs, this text preserves the entire dedication and allows us to reconstitute the first hieroglyphic text, as they are the reproduction of each other.

The third text, which is in Greek (**Pl.11-C**), has lost half of its seventh and last line. In its primitive state, the stele was probably arched at the top. It is impossible to decide whether, according to custom, a bas-relief representing the dedicant and the gods invoked by him in the preceding texts consists of eighteen lines of sunken inscriptions in the part of the stele.

a) At the top, the last four lines of the hieroglyphic text read (←):

[3, |2, |1



⁴ Hw.t-Hr p(3) hm-ntr Thy p(3) hm-ntr

⁵ p(3) nb pr-hd n Hw.t-Hr nb.t Iwn.t Is.t T3-ntr.t 3.t Hr

⁶ n3 n wrh.w n.tj hr p3-hr rs.j n p(3)-pr.w jw jr.j n n3 .. m

⁷ Nphw n p(3) rs.j jw mh.tj hr-h.t² p3 k3(j)³ n p(3) jmn.tj jw j3b.tjt š3^c t3 h3t⁴ (?)

“¹ ² ³ ⁴ the prophet of Hathor, the prophet of Ihy, the prophet of ⁵ the lord of the treasury of Hathor, the lady of Iunet,

¹ M. Noël Aimé-Giron, “Une Stèle Trilingue Du Stratège Ptolémée Fils De Panas”, *ASAE* 26 (1926):148-156, 148-156; W. Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Denkmäler*. Vol. III: *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri*. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* N° 50023-50165 (Berlin : Reichsdruckerei, 1932), 14-16, pl. 11; Bernand, *Les Portes du Désert*, no. 24; Alan K. Bowman and Dominic Rathbone, “Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 82 (1992): 107.

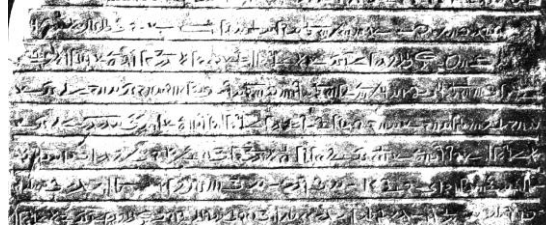
² *Wb* III, p. 357.11, 12.

³ *Wb* V, 6.4-9.

⁴ According to what remains, the word  renders the demotic *h3t*, see Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 26, 151, note 1. The closest hieroglyphic term to this word is  *h3rt* (*Wb*. III, p. 232. 17; D. Meeks, “Les emprunts Égyptiens aux langues sémitiques durant le Nouvel Empire et la Troisième Période Intermédiaire. Les aléas du comparatisme,” *BiOr* 54, (1997): 46.

(and) of Isis, the great goddess, (and) of Horus |⁶ (dedicated) the bare (unused)¹ parts of land which are on the south side of the temples so that they may be used (*lit. made*) for the (services) |⁷ of Nephu², from south to north beside the *kôm* (high land), from west to east until (š3ʕ)³ the [cunal]”

The next script is a demotic text curved in seven lines; it reads (←):



|¹ [h3.t-sp 18] 3bd 3 pr.t sw 4 n Gsjrs p3 ntr p3 srj (n) p3 ntr m-b3h Is.t T3 rmtj.t nb.t p.t (?)

|² [ntj (?) hr (?)] p3 tn n hfth Hw.t-Hr nb.t Jwn.t jr.t R^c nb.t p.t hn.wt ntr.w nb.t (n) t.t (?)⁴

|³ [P]tlwmjs s3 Pn-n3 p3 srtjkws p3 swjns (sic.) p3 sn n Pr-^c p3 hm-ntr Hr p3 hm-ntr Hw.t-Hr

|⁴ p3 hm-ntr Thj p3 hm-ntr Is.t p3 hm-ntr n3 ntr.w n hw.t-ntr (n) Jwn.t-t3-ntr.t p3 jm.j-r3 p3 pr-hd n Hw.t-Hr

|⁵ nb.t Jwn.t Is.t t3-ntr.t ^c3.t Hr-Bhd.tj ntr ^c3 nb p.t š3^c dt n3 wrh.w nt.j hr p3 hr n

|⁶ rs.j n p3 r3-pr jwzw jr n n3 šms.w n p3 m3^c n P3-š3j hw n p3 rs.j p3 mht.j

|⁷ n hr ht p3 k3 n p3 jmn.tj n p3 j3b.tj š3^c t3 hl3t⁵ ntj hfth Hw.t-Hr nb.t Jwn.t

¹ For the term *wrh.w* =((unused) plot of land, cf. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 94; Maria Carmela Betrò, “Ricerche Su Un Tipo Di Terreno Nei Documenti Demotici, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 1, (1978): 85-94; AnLex 78.1040; *CDD w*, 121.

² The deity’s name  *Nphw*, was interpreted by Spiegelberg, *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* III, 15, as “Agathodaimon (p3 š3j). Originating from the idea of the household god, the Agathos Daimon, or “Good Spirit,” was a complex deity of ancient Mediterranean religion who was typically portrayed as a serpent. Both Greek and Roman religions revered the Good Spirit, which was represented as a snake on Roman altars and lararia and was considered a lucky charm by the Greeks. His most advanced form, however, flourished in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, where the Agathos Daimon rose above the level of a household god and became associated with the Egyptian creator gods Shai and Kematef, who were similarly portrayed as serpents in the iconography that is still in existence. By the time, Shai solidified into a specific God, culminating in the Agathodaimon of Roman Egypt., see João Pedro Feliciano, The Agathos Daimon in Greco- Egyptian religion, The Hermetic Tablet, *Journal of Western ritual magic*, (Durham, NC 2016), 171-192. For the god Shai, see *infra*.

³ For the phonetic value of  as ^c, see François Daumas, *Valeurs Phonétiques des Signes Hiéroglyphiques d'époque Gréco-Romaine* (France: Université Paul Valéry (Montpellier III). Institut d'égyptologie, 1988), 16. 34, 1.

⁴ This a restitution of Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 26 ,150-151 (D). According to him the shape of the *t.t* signs is unusual in demotic. He added that if the reading is correct, the sign should be compared to the hieratic forms of . The expression ‘in front’, of a divinity, “by the hand of N.” is rendered in the bilinguals by (ἀνέθηκεν).

⁵ For the demotic term *hl3t* “canal”, see *CDD h*, 79.

¹ “[Year I8]¹, 4th month of the winter season, 4th day, of Caesar, the god, the son of the god, before Isis-Thermouthis² Lady of ...

² [- who is on?] the dyke of the dromos of Hathor, the lady of Iunet, the eye of Ra, the lady of Heaven, the lady of all the gods, The divine mother [?],

³ Ptolemaios son of Panas, the Strategos, the Syngenes, the brother of Pharaoh, the prophet of Horus, the prophet of Hathor,

⁴ the prophet of Ihy, the prophet of Isis, the prophet of the gods of the temple of Iunt, the overseer of the treasury of Hathor,

⁵ the lady of Iunt, Isis the great goddess (and) Hor-Behdety, the great god, the lord of Heaven for ever, (dedicated) the bare pieces of land which are on the

⁶ south side of the temple (so that) they may be used for the services of the place (*m3ʿ*) of Pashai³, the width (goes) from south to north,

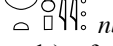
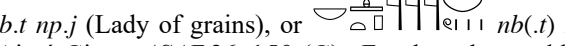
⁷ and the length from west to east until the canal which is in front of the (temple) of Hathor, the lady of Iunt”.

b) The last part of the inscription on the present stele is a Greek text of seven lines, they read (→):

¹ Ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σοραστοῦ

² Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου Ἰσιδι θεᾷ μεγίστη ἐπικαλουμένη

¹ The restoration of the date is assured, as it has been preserved in the Greek text.

² The term ‘Thermouthis’ is usually qualified in hieroglyphs as  *nb.t snw.t* (Lady of the granary),  *nb.t np.j* (Lady of grains), or  *nb.(t) htp ntr.w* (Lady of the offerings of all the gods), cf. Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 26, 150 (C). For the cobra-goddess Isis-Thermouthis, cf.

Massimiliano Franci, “Isis-Thermouthis and the anguiform deities in Egypt: a cultural and semantic evolution”, *JIIA* 2, (2016): 35-40 https://www.academia.edu/73196576/Isis_Thermouthis_and_the_angui_form_deities_in_Egypt_a_cultural_and_semantic_evolution, see also next footnote.

³ For *m3ʿ n P3-šy* “place of Pshai”, see *CDD*8, p. 16. This God, called Shai or Pshai (with the Egyptian definite article *p3* added) represented the old Egyptian notion of fate, as well as more specifically free will and predestination, cf. J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, *OLA* 2 (Louvain: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 1975), 123; Feliciano, *The Agathos Daimon in Greco-Egyptian religion*, 172. On the other hand, according to Geraldine Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology: A Guide to the Gods, Goddesses, and Traditions of Ancient Egypt*, (USA: Oxford University Press, 2004), 194, Shai (Greek, Psais) was the deification of the concept of fate in Egyptian mythology. As the god of fate, it was said that he determined the span of each man's life, he was sometimes identified as the husband of Renenutet, the goddess of grain, grapes, nourishment and the harvest. Through this goddess, in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, Joseph Lebovitch, *Gods of Agriculture and Welfare in Ancient Egypt*, *JNES* 12, no. 2, (1953): 73–113, figs 2; Pinch, *A Guide to the Gods, Goddesses*, 100. Moreover, In the Greco-Roman period, her name is Thermouthis, the companion of Agathos Daimon, with many of the same functions: as a protector, both personal and of a local space; she also brings good fortune. The assimilation of Thermouthis to Isis has not actually merge before the Greco-Roman era). Jan Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971), ch. 5.6, 105–09; Pinch, *A Guide to the Gods, Goddesses*, 101. Therefore, Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 26, 156, was right in his observation about the relationship between Isis and Shai: « Une dernière remarque semble s'imposer : ce n'est peut-être pas fortuitement que le temple de Thermouthis voisinait avec celui de Psais. On connaît les rapports étroits qui liaient les deux divinités, toutes deux à l'origine de caractère agraire, devenues plus tard les divinités de la fortune humaine qui présidaient à la naissance et réapparaissaient à l'heure du jugement de l'âme (II. On peut se demander si, à Dendérah, les chapelles de Thermouthis et de Psais n'étaient pas le complément nécessaire de jardins de rapport consacrés à Hathor et à Horus et même, si, plus particulièrement, Thermouthis ne veillait pas sur ceux de la déesse, comme Psais sur ceux du dieu ». For the deity Shai, see Feliciano, *The Agathos Daimon in Greco-Egyptian religion*, 171-192.

¹³ [Θε]ρμοῦθιος τῇ ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι καταντίον τοῦ δρόμου τῆς
¹⁴ Ἀφροδίτης Πτολεμαῖος Πανᾶτος ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν
¹⁵ προσόδων τοῦ Τεντυρίτου τοὺς ἀπὸ νότου τοῦ ἱεροῦ
¹⁶ Ψιλοὺς τόπους ἀπὸ δὲ ἀπηλιώτου τοῦ Σωτηρίου μεχρὶ
¹⁷ |τῆς διώρυγος ιη Καίσαρος Φαρμουῦθι δ

“¹On behalf of emperor Caesar, son of a god, Augustus,
² Zeus Eleutherios, to Isis the greatest goddess also called
³Thermouthis, the one by the dyke opposite the avenue of
⁴Aphrodite, Ptolemaios son of Panas, the Strategos and
⁵ in charge of the revenues of the Tentyrite, (dedicated) the unused plots of land
which are on the south of the temple
⁶ from the west of the chapel of the Savoir (Σωτηρίου)¹ up to
⁷ [the canal] Year 18 of Caesar, Pharmouthi 4”.

Document 9: Basalt cubit Rod of Panas in Cairo Museum (JE 45931, CG 50050) (Pl.12)²

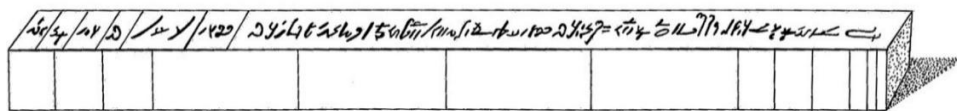


Fig. 4. Basalt Cubit Rod

(After W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* III, pl.14; S. Cauville, *La Porte d'Horus*, 145.)

According to Spiegelberg, this cubit was consecrated in the temple of Hathor of Dendera by a strategist called Panas and his agent. It measures 53 X 4 cm; thickness: 4 cm, and it bears a line of demotic inscription that reads:

m-b3h Hw.t-Hr nb.t Twn.t t3 ntr.t ʿ3.t (n) P3-n3 s3 P3-šrj-(n) B3st.t p3 srtjws hnʿ P3-dj-Hr-sm3-t3.wj s3 P3-n3 s3 Lbrn p3jzf rt

“Before Hathor, the lady of Iunet, the great goddess, for Panas, son of Pa-shery-en-Bastet, the strategist and Pa-di-Her-sema-tawy³, son of Panas, son of Lebren⁴ his agent⁵”.

¹ See *CDD* §, 16.

² Found on 26 October 1916 in the *Sabakh* of Dendera, cf. Georges Legrain, « Trois règles graduées provenant de Dendérah », *ASAE* 16 (1916): 149-152; Spiegelberg, *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* III, 27-28, pl. 14; Cauville, *La Porte d'Horus*, 83.

³ This name is attested in *RPN*.

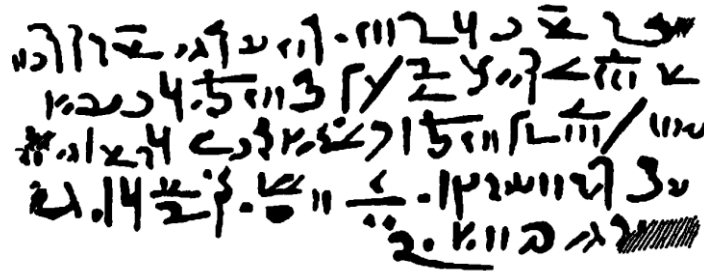
⁴ According to Legrain, *ASAE* 16, 150, the hieroglyphic transcription of this proper name would give .

⁵ For *rt* = “agent”, cf. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 256-257; *CDD* r, 76-77.

Document 10: Association Stele of Stockholm (DS MME 70)¹(Pl.13)

This round-topped sandstone stele (39 X 27, thickness 6.5 cm) is conserved in Mittelmeer museum in Stockholm under the inventory number DS MME 70: 2. Being bought from an antique dealer in Luxor, its original provenance is therefore completely unknown. However, due to its artistic style, which is remarkably similar to some other steles mentioned in this article, we might say that it came from the vicinity of the temple of Dendera.

The lunette is surmounted by a winged sun disk, which is scarcely indicated even by a slightly strengthened line. Two hanging cobras encircle the disk , characterizing the crowns of Nekhbet and Wadjet. Below is a representation of the sky-sign , which separates the lunette from the first register, which represents the king (Augustus) wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. He is offering two small chapels to three divinities standing before him: the falcon-god Horus and the two goddesses Isis and Hathor. The falcon-god Horus is wearing the double crown and holding the *was*-scepter in his left hand. The two goddesses were depicted wearing a headdress of cow horns and a sun disk; they held the *w3d*-scepter in their left hands. As she was standing directly in front of the king, Isis was perhaps meant to be the main divinity of the scene. The king and the divinities are standing on the earth-sign , which separates this register from the lower one. Five lines of demotic text are inscribed in the lower part of the monument; the text reads:



After S. V. Wangstedt, « Ein demotischer Denkstein aus Denderah », *Grammata demotika, Festschrift für Erich Luddeckens zum 15 Juni 1983*, Würzburg, (1984), 271.

¹ [ʿt3 ʿb.t] (?)² n ʿIs.t n.tj smn n h3.t p3 hw.t n ʿIs.t t3-ntr.t

² ʿ3.t n-t.t Ptlwmis s3 P3-n3

³ p3 Srtikws hnʿ . . . p3 hm (s3) P3-t3-ʿIs.t -ʿ3.t

⁴ p3 mr-šn jrm n3 rmt.w n swn.t n wʿ sp h3.t-sp 11 (?)

⁵ 3bd 4 pr.t sw 9

“¹ The Chapelle of Isis which was erected (established) in front of the Temple of Isis,

² the great goddess, by Ptolemaios son of Panas,

³ the Strategies and, the younger (son of) Pa-ta-Isis-ʿAt,

⁴ the supervisor ’administrator and all the members of the cult association (*swn.t*), in one time in the regnal-year 11(?)³,

¹ S. V. Wangstedt, «Ein demotischer Denkstein aus Denderah», *Grammata demotika, Festschrift für Erich Luddeckens zum 15 Juni 1983*, ed. Heinz-Josef Thissen - Karl-Theodor Zauzich (Gisela Zaurich: Würzburg, 1984), 271-273, pl. 37.

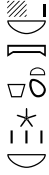
² Cauville, *BIFAO* 91, 90, note 15, prefer to read it as p3 ʿ(wy) ‘le lieu de réunion’.

³ For this date, see Wangstedt, *Ein demotischer Denkstein aus Denderah*, 272-3, Zeile 4; Cauville, *BIFAO* 91, 80, note 12.

5 the 4th month of Peret, day 9”

Document 11: A dedication stele in Cairo Museum (CG 3I092) (Pl.14)¹

The present round-topped stele (76 X 51 cm) is broken into two parts. With a missing portion of the right side of the lunette, the remaining part of the lunette is surmounted by a winged sun disk with two cobras ; beneath the inscription reads:  *nb msn.t ntr 3 nb p.t* “The lord of Mesent, the great god, the lord of the sky”. The lower part of the stele is divided into two registers. In the first register there is several figures of deities; their faces are oriented towards the left side. According to with the next stele (CG 31093), we may assume that these deities are preceded by the god child Ihy to receive the offerings from the king who was depicted in the missing part of the monument. As for the divinities in question, from left to right, they were labeled as follows:

			
<i>... nb.t p.t hnw.t-ntr.w nb</i>	<i>Is.t wr.t mw.t-ntr</i>	<i>Wsir -wn-nfr m3^c-hrw</i>	<i>Hr s3 Is.t s3 Is.t</i>
The lady of heaven, the mistress of all gods	The great Isis, the divine mother	Osiris, Wennefer, justified	Horus, son of Isis, son of Isis

The lower register contains eleven lines of engraved demotic text:

- ¹ *Rnp.t 18 3pd 1 pr.t sw 1 n G3aisrs 3Autugrtru p3 [ntr p3 šrj] p3 ntr 3 m-b3h*
² *Hwt-Hr nb.t Iwn.t t3 ntr.t 3.t n pr d.t n Jwn.t t3 ntr.t (NITENTWPE: NITENTWPI)*
³ *n (n)tr.t Ptlwmis s3 P3-n3 p3 Srtikws p3 sngns p3 sn n [Pr-3]*
⁴ *p3 hm-ntr Hw.t-Hr p3 hm-ntr Hr p3 hm-ntr Jhy p3 hm-ntr Is.t p3 hm-ntr n n3 ntr.w n [hw.t]-ntr*
⁵ *Jwn.t-t3-ntr.t p3 jm.j-r3 pr-hd n Hw.t-Hr nb.t Jwn.t Is.t t3 ntr.t*
⁶ *3.t Hr-Bhd.tj ntr 3 nb p.t n p3 rwd n G3isrs [3Aw]*
⁷ *twgrtrw p3 šrj p3 ntr 3 nt hnw Jwn.t-t3-ntr.t*
⁸ *hr n3i wpw.t jr3f m-b3h Hw.t-Hr nb.t Jwn.t*
⁹ *Is.t n Pr-d.t jr m p3 wbw³ r jr3f n hft-hr [n]*
¹⁰ *t3 ntr.t 3.t n rsj rn3f mn r nh3 d.t*
¹¹ *jr m n3(j)3f hrd.w*

¹ Spiegel berg, *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* I, 23, pl. 4 ; Cauville, *BIFAO* 91, 83; S. Cauville, *Dendara. Le temple d'Isis*. Vol. I : Textes. (Le Caire: IFAO, 2007), XV.

² For *wp.t* = “work, job, craft, product”, see *Wb.* I, 303-4; *AnLex* 1, 1980, 87, 77.0905; *AnLex* 2, 1981, 93, 78.0944; *AnLex* 3 1982, 66-67, 79.0656.

³ According to M. Noël Aimé-Giron, « Nouvelle Dédicace Démotique de Ptolémée, le Stratège », *ASAE* 22 (1922): 111, the group transcribed *mr(?) bw* by Spiegelberg, *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* I, 23 (l.9), does not seem susceptible to this reading. M. Noël Aimé-Giron preferred to read it *wbw* and bring this word closer to the word  *wb3* (*Wb.* I, p.291 (10-14) which was found in demotic in the Rhind papyrus (Motzer, n° 80). In this case, the *wbw* would mean the "esplanade" located in front of the temple and from where the avenue started, see Cauville, *Le temple d'Isis*, XV.

“¹Year 18, the first month of Peret, day 1 of Caesar was the autocrat of the god, the son of the great god, before ²Hathor, the lady of Iunet, the great goddess of Per-djet of Iunet- ³Ta-Netjret Ptolemaios, son of Panas, the strategist, the Syngenes the brother of Pharaoh, ⁴the prophet of Hathor, the prophet of Hor, the prophet of Ihy, the prophet of Isis, the prophet of the gods of the temple of ⁵Iunet-Ta-Netjeret, the overseer of the treasury of Hathor of Iunet, Isis, the great⁶ goddess, (and) Hor-Behdety, the great god, the lord of heaven, the steward of CaesarAu ⁷tokrator, the son of the great god of the interior of Iunet-Ta-netjret, ⁸with these works which he made before Hathor, the lady of Iunet ⁹(and) Isis of Per-djet¹ together with the esplanade which he made in front of ¹⁰(temple of Isis) the great goddess in the south. May his name be remaining forever and ever ¹¹together with (those of) his children”.

Document 12: A dedication Sandstone stele (CG 31093) (Pl.15)²

This round-topped stele (76 X 56 cm) is similar to the last one (Document 11) with some little differences. Apart from a round depression in the middle, the lower right corner of the monument is missing. The lunette is surmounted with winged sun disk, with two hanging cobras , and flanked by the legends:



The upper register under the lunette is occupied by six curved figures. From right to left, they are:

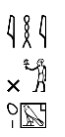
- 1- The king wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and a short garment. He is offering to the five figures of the divinities standing in front of him. Before his head, there are two empty cartouches and an erased legend:



¹ The place, which was called  *Pr-d.t*, is in fact an official administrative domain of Isis, Cauville, *Le temple d'Isis*, XVI. For a list of mentions of the *pr-d.t*, see A. Farid, “Sieben Metallgefäße”, *RdE* 45, 1994, p. 127-129. Moreover, Cauville, *BIFAO* 91, 94, sees that it cannot be the name of the funerary domain over which the wife of Osiris would reign. In addition, describing a small building with columns whose capitals were in the shape of a sistrum, an anonymous son of Ptolemaios says he “built the wall of the *pr-dt*”. Therefore, taking into consideration that the demotic documents expressly mention the *pr-dt* as a temple of the goddess Isis, we might say that we have here a designation of an independent domain of this goddess within the large enclosure. at the end of the space bounded by it (to the south therefore), Isis had her temple with her own door – inaugurated by Tryphon in the year 1 of our era - it's well and its brick wall which isolated it from the Historic domain. On the statue of Korax preserved in Philadelphia, one notes, next to the priesthood of Isis, this precision “as well as the places and the goddesses who are in the place of childbirth”; *st-msht* was the name of the chapel of Isis in the temple of Hathor before applying more generally to the place of childbirth represented by the temple of Isis built under Augustus. Wouldn't we then have given a new name to this domain which was not exclusively dedicated to the wife of Osiris before the Roman conquest 23?

² Spiegelberg, *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* I, 24-25, pl. 4; Cauville, *Le temple d'Isis*, 83.

2- The five divinities, identified with their names inscribed above his head, are:

				
<i>Ihy wr(?) s3 hw.t-hr</i>	<i>Hw.t-Hr wr.t nb.t Jwn.t jr.t R^c nb.t p.t hn.wt ntr.w</i>	<i>Is.t wr.t mw.t-ntr</i>	<i>Hr-Bhd.tj ntr-^c3 nb p.t</i>	<i>Hr-sm3-t3.wj nb h3dj.t</i>
The great Ihy, son of Hathor	The great Hathor, the lady of Iunet, the eye of Ra, the mistress of the gods	The great Isis, the divine mother	Hor Behdety, The lord of Heaven	Harsomteus, the lord of Khadyt ¹

Ten lines of demotic inscription were curved in the lower register:

¹ *Rnp.t 18 3pd 1 pr,t sw 1 [n G3aisrs 3Aw]twgrtrw p3 ntr p3 šrj p3 ntr*

² *3 m-b3h Hwt-Hr [nb.t Iwn.t t3] ntr.t 3.t n Pr-d.t n*

³ *Jwn.t-t3-ntr.t [n (n)tr.t Ptlwm]is s3 P3-n3 p3 Srtikws*

⁴ *[p3 sng]ns p3 sn n Pr-^c3 [p3 hm-ntr] Hw.t-Hr p3 hm-ntr Hr p3 hm-ntr Jhy*

⁵ *[p3 hm-ntr Is.t p3] hm-ntr n n3 ntr.w n hw.t-ntr jwn.t t3 ntr.t p3 jm.j-r3 pr-hd*

⁶ *[n Hw.t-Hr nb.t] Jwn.t Is.t t3 ntr.t 3.t Hr-Bhd.tj ntr 3 nb p.t*

⁷ *[rt] n G3isrs 3Awtwgrtrw nt hnw*

⁸ *[Jwn.t-t3-ntr.]t hr n3i wpw.t jrɛf m-b3h Hw.t-Hr*

⁹ *[nb.t jwn.t Is.t n pr] d.t jr m p3 wbw r jrɛf n hfth [n]*

¹⁰ *[t3 ntr.t 3.t n rsj] rnɛf mn r nhh d.t*

“¹ Year 18, the first month of Peret, day 1 of [Caesar was the au]tocrat of the god, the son of ² the great god, before Hathor, [the lady of Iunet, the great goddess] of Per-djet of ³ Iunet- Ta-Netjret Ptolemaios, son of Panas, the strategist, ⁴ [Synge]nes the brother of Pharaoh, [the prophet] of Hathor, the prophet of Hor, the prophet of Ihy, ⁵ [the prophet of Isis, the] prophet of the gods of the temple of Iunet-Ta-Netjeret, the overseer of the treasury of ⁶ [Hathor, the lady]of Iunet, Isis, the great goddess, (and) Hor-Behdety, the great god, the lord of heaven, ⁷ the agent² of Caesar Autokrator, the son of the great god of the interior of ⁸ [Iunet-Ta-netjre]t, with these works which he made before Hathor, ⁹ [the lady of Iunet (and) Isis of [Per-]djet together with the esplanade which he made in front of (the temple of) ¹⁰ [the great goddess of the South]. May his name be remaining forever and ever”.

Document 13: A Dedication lintel in Cairo Museum (JE 51256, CG 50045) (Pl.16)³

This object is a sandstone block, potentially utilized as a lintel or architrave beam, measuring 126 cm in length, 31 cm in width, and 16 cm in height. It was discovered by M. Baraize in April 1921, approximately 26 meters from the southeast corner of the

¹ *h3d.jt* or *j3.t h3d* is ‘the sacred orchard’ that was related to the cult of Horus-sema-tawy, Montet, *La Géographie de l’Egypte Ancienne* II, 89.

² For *rwd* = ‘agent’, see Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 256-257.

³ Spiegelberg *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* III, 17-18, pl. 11; Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 22, 108-111; Cauville, *Le temple d’Isis*, 83.

Temple of Hathor at Dendera. The top and bottom surfaces have been smoothed, while the back and both narrow sides remain rough-hewn. A prominent red line is visible above the seven lines of demotic inscription, which is also painted in red. The text is as follows:

¹ *h3.t-sp 21.t tpj 3h.t sw 1 (n) Gjsrs 3wtwgrtrw p3 ntr p3 šrj (n) p3 ntr 3 m-b3h Hw.t-Hr nb.t Tw.n.t*

² *Is.t t3 ntr.t 3.t n pr-d.t n Jwn.t-t3-ntr.t n dr.t Ptrwmis s3 P3-n3 p3 Srtikws*

³ *p3 snjns q3 sn n Pr-3 p3 hm-ntr Hw.t-Hr p3 hm-ntr Hr p3 hm-ntr Jhy p3 hm-ntr Is.t p3 hm-ntr n n3 ntr.w n hw.t-ntr Jwn.t-t3-ntr.t*

⁴ *p3 jm.j-r3 pr-hd n Hw.t-Hr nb.t Jwn.t Is.t t3 ntr.t 3.t Hr-Bhd.tj ntr 3 nb p.t p3 rd*

⁵ *n Gjsrs 3wtwgrtrw ntj hnw Jwn.t-t3-ntr.t 3rk (?)¹ n3 wpw.t²*

⁶ *nt jw-jr3f m-b3h Hw.t-Hr nb.t Jwn.t Is.t n Pr-d.t jrm p3 hft³ nt jw-jr3f m-b3h Is.t*

⁷ *t3 ntr.t 3.t rn3f mn n hft³ Is.t t3 ntr.t 3.t š3^c nh d.t jrm n3(j)3f hrd.w*

“¹ Year 21, the 1st month of the Akhet, the 1st day of Caesar Emperor, the god, the son of the great god, before Hathor, the lady of Iunet, ² (and) Isis, the great goddess of Per-djet of Iunet-ta-netjret by Ptolemaios the son of Panas, the strategist, ³ the Syngenes, the king's brother, the prophet of Hathor, the prophet of Horus, the prophet of Ihy, the prophet of Isis, the prophet of the gods of the temple of Iunet-ta-netjert, ⁴ the overseer of the treasury of Hathor, the lady of Iunet, Isis, the great goddess, Hor-Behedty, the great god, the lord of heaven, the steward ⁵ of Caesar Autocrat, who is in Iunet-ta-netjret, the achievements (?) of the works ⁶ he made before Hathor, the lady of Iunet, and Isis of Per-djet, together with the dromos (*hft*), which he made before Isis, ⁷ the great goddess. May his name be remaining before Isis, the great goddess, until the eternity and ever, together with (those of) his children”.

Document 14: A dedication stele in Cairo Museum (temp.10/50/5/ I) (Pl.17)⁴

This round-topped sandstone stele (46 X 32 X 7.5) was purchased in Qena from a private individual; its original provenance is therefore unknown⁵. It is decorated with engraved figures and text. The lunette, which illustrates a winged sun disk and two hanging cobras , is separated from the upper register by the sky-sign . The upper register is occupied by an offering scene. From right to left, a king, wearing the white

¹ Concerning this part of the text, which was transcribed by Spiegelberg, *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* III, 17, as (n) *rn t3 jp.t*, Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 22, 110, sees the word *3rk (?)* [in hieroglyphs ] which he translated by ‘achèvements’ is written by means of a ligature. He finally added that in such cases demotic usually uses *mnk*.

² For the term *wpw.t*, see *CDD w*, 67.

³ The term *hft* is perhaps a demotic equivalent, or abbreviated form, for the hieroglyphic compound preposition *hft-hr* (*WB* III, 275. 13-16) used to be translated as a preposition: “before, in front of”, see *CDD h*, 77; Cauville, *BIFAO* 91, 90-91; Hartenstein, « À propos des interactions entre associations et temples à l’époque gréco-romaine. », 510. It may, however, be interpreted here as a noun = “dromos” (*CDD h*, p. 78), particularly for two reasons. 1° the word is written in this text with the determinative , which was considered by Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 22, 110 as “*Un mauvais calembour*”; 2° the word is preceded here by the definite article *p3*.

⁴ E. Bresciani, « Due stele demotiche del Musco del Cairo », *Studi Classici e Orientali* 9, (1960):121-126; Cauville, *BIFAO* 91, 83.

⁵ Bresciani, *Due stele demotiche del Musco del Cairo*, 121. However, due to its artistic style, the context of the inscription, and the presence of the name strategos of Dendera Ptolemaios shows that the monument should have come from Dendera.

crown of Upper Egypt, is represented in a ritual gesture of offering the two *nw*-jars, in front of Hathor and Isis, followed by the god Harsomteus. The two goddesses were depicted wearing a headdress of cow horns and a sun disk; they held the *w3d*-scepter in their left hands. Harsomteus is illustrated wearing the white crown and holding the *w3s*-scepter. The lower register is occupied by a demotic curved text of six lines:

|1 *t3 swm.t 3.t n Hr-sm3-t3.wj ntr 3 nb h3dj-ntr*

|2 *ntj smn n hfth n Wsir-wn-nfr p3 ntr 3*

|3 *(n)tr.t Ptwmjs s3 P3-n3*

|4 *p3 srtgws hn^c Tj[m-htp] Hr-msn*

|5 *p3 mr-šn jrm n3 rmt.w n swm.t n w^c-sp*

|6 *hfth (n) mtre h3.t-sp 21.t ibt 4 3h.t (sw) 12*

|¹ The great cult association of Harsomteus, the great god, the lord of Chady-netjer

|² which was established before Osiris-wen-nefer¹, the great god

|³ by the hand of Ptolemaios, son of Panas

|⁴ the strategos, with Im[hotep] (son of) Hor-mesen

|⁵ the lesonis, together with the members of the cult association, in one time

|⁶ (In) the middle fo(re)court². Year 21, the 4th month of Akhet (the 12th of the month of Khoiak), day 12

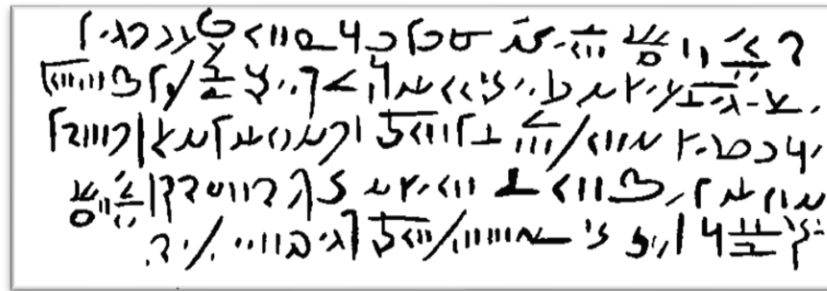
¹ According to Bresciani, *Due stele demotiche del Musco del Cairo*, 124, The temple of Osiris Wen-nefer is therefore the Osirian temple built in Dendera on the terrace of the temple of Hathor and formed by two separate complexes, one to the north and one to the south, each including two chapels preceded by an open-air courtyard. The terrace itself was probably considered as the "atrium" of the Osirian temple. At 1.6 we find the specification *hfth mtr* "central atrium", which cannot be identified with a specific court or part of the terrace.

² *CDD h*, 80.

Document 15: A stele of great cult association in Cairo Museum (JE 44305) (Pl.18)¹

A round-topped sandstone stele (36 X 28cm, thickness 7 cm). As it was found in 1910 by the *sabbskhin* in the vicinity of the temple of Dendera, the exact find spot has never been determined.

Similar to many steles of this type (Document 4, 6), the lunette is topped with a winged sun disk, which is only faintly suggested by a subtly deepened line. This disk is flanked by two hanging cobras, identifiable by the crowns of Nekhbet and Wadjet . The main register illustrates an offering scene of a kneeling king, crowned with the *hprs*-crown and wearing the *šnd.wt*-kilt, presenting the two *nw*-jars for three deities. The deities are the cobra-goddess Hathor, adorned with the Hathoric crown; the falcon-god Horus, with a sun disk atop his head; and the vulture-goddess Nekhbet, wearing the *3tf*-crown. Below is an illustration of the sky-sign , which divides the upper register from the lower section of the monument, including five lines of demotic inscription:



After W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 50 (1912): 37.

¹ *t3 knb.t 3.t n Hr-sm3-t3.wj ntj smn hfth*

² *n Is.t n Pr-d.t hr(?) hr J3b.t ... (n) t.t Ptlwmis*

³ *s3 P3-n3 p3 Srtikws hn^c p3 tt P3-šrj-(n)-Jhy*

⁴ *(.....)s3 Msks p3 mr-šn jrm n3 rmt knb.t*

⁵ *(n) w^c sp rnp.t (h3.t-sp) 24(?) Girs 3bd (?) tpj pr.t sw 14*

“¹ The great cult association of the (god) Harsamtus, established before (the temple)

² of Isis of the Per-Djet built (again) on the east side by Ptolemaios,

³ the son of Panas, the strategist and the Pa-shery-(n)Ihy

⁴, the son of Mosckos, the supervisor, and the members of the cult association.

⁵ in one time. In the year 24 of Caesar, the first month of Peret, day 14”.

Document 16: A dedication stele in Cairo Museum (CG 31130) transferred to Suez Museum (Pl.19)²

This round-topped sandstone stele (37 X 26.5 cm) is likely a dedication monument. The lunette is surmounted by a winged sun disk with two hanging cobras . The upper register depicts an offering scene in which the king, adorned with the double

¹ W. Spiegelberg, *Denkstein einer Kultgenossenschaft in Dendera aus der Zeit des Augustus*, *ZÄS* 50 (1912): 36-39, pl. II. 1; Cauville, *Le temple d'Isis*, 83.

² W. Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Denkmäler*. vol. I: *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire N° 30601-31166 (Leipzig: Z. Drugulen, 1904), 51, pl. 13; Cauville, *Le temple d'Isis*, 83.

crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and dressed in a short garment, stands on the right side of the register. He is presenting offerings to the three deities: Hathor, Horus, and Amun. The lower section contains six lines of demotic inscription:

- ¹ *t3 knb.t (?) ʕ3.t Hw.t-Hr r smn n(?) hftḥ n*
² *Hr-Bhd.tj ntr ʕ3 nb p.t m-tr.t¹ Ptlwmis*
³ *s3 P3-n3 Srtikws (sic.) p3 hm-ntr Hr p3 hm ntr*
⁴ *Hw.t-Hr hn^c p3 ʕhm P3-šrj-Is.t s3 P3-šrj-Wsjr*
⁵ *šnj (sic.) p3 sš tmj jrm n3 rmt n knb.t (n) w^c sp*
⁶ *3bd 3 (?) šmw sw 18*

"¹ The great cult association (?) of Hathor, which is established in front (of the forecourt)

² (of the temple) of Horus-Behdet, the great god, the lord of heaven, by Ptolemaios

³ son of Panas, the strategist, the prophet of Horus, the prophet of

⁴ Hathor and the deceased² Pa-shery-(en)-Isis, son of Pa-shery-(en)-Osiris.

⁵ The village (the conjurer?), the scribe, with the members of the cult association (?), in one time,

⁶ 3rd month (?) of Shemu, day 18.

Document 17: Dedication stele in Cairo Museum (CG 31083)³ (Pl.20)

This round-topped sandstone monument (38 X 26 cm) might be a deed of foundation. It is very weathered, and its inscription is barely legible. Though the lunette is decorated with a winged sun disk with two hanging cobras . Beneath, the first register represents, on the right-hand side, a king wearing the double crown and a short garment. He is making offerings to Hathor, Horus (?), and an unidentified deity. In the lower register, seven lines of demotic text can be recognized only with the help of the two steles, CG 31092 and CG 31093.

- ¹ *m-b3ḥ Hr-Bhd.tj ntr ʕ3 nb p.t*
² *m tr.t Ptlwmis [s3 P3-n3 p3 Srti]*
³ *[kws] p3 Sngns p3 sn n Pr-ʕ3 [p3 hm-ntr Hw.t-Hr]*
⁴ *p3 hm-ntr Hr p3-hm-ntr Thj p3 hm-ntr Is.t [p3 hm-ntr n n3 ntr.(w)]*
⁵ *nb(?) n (?) Jwn.t-t3-ntr.t p3 nt (?) jwz^w [dd n^zf ??]*
⁶ *hn^c p3 hm-ntr Wsjr p3*
⁷ *Hr-wd3*

"¹ Before Hor=Behdety, the great god, the lord of Heaven ² by Ptolemaios [the son of Panas, the strate³gists] the syngens, the king's brother [the prophet, the Hathor], the prophet of ⁴ Horus, the prophet of the Ihy, the prophet of all (?) ⁵ gods of Lunet-ta-ntjeret, ⁶ ⁷"

Text II

Dedication text of Aphrogenia

The second one of these two texts is five lines of Greek inscription carved on a huge sandstone block (35.33X20. 96X18.00 cm.) (Pl.21).

¹ For m-tr.t (=m-Dr.t), cf. *CDD*, 251.

² It seems that we have an abbreviation of the epithet of the deceased Wsjr pA axm NN, cf. Erichsen. *Demotisches Glossar*, 70.

³ Spiegelberg, *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* I, 10, pl. 1; Cauville, *Le temple d'Isis*, 83.

- ¹ [Ἀν]τινοέον ἱλάνον Ἀπολλωνί ἀρήνα ἀνέθηκε
² κούρη ἐυπλόκαμος Ποσιδωνίου Ἀφρογένειαν
³ ὑπὲρ (Σωτηρίας καὶ Διαμονῆς τῶν κυρίων
⁴ ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου
⁵ Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος

- ¹ "[In honor of] the gracious Antinoüs, the alter (or offering) was dedicated to Apollo
² The curly hair young girl, daughter of Poseidon, Aphrogenia
³ For the safety and constancy of our lords,
⁴ the emperors Lucius Septimius
⁵ Severus Pius Pertinax

General Commentary

Upon initial observation, these two monuments may seem unrelated; however, a more thorough examination uncovers that both contain dedication inscriptions attributed to either an official or a private individual. When an official, such as a former strategos, addresses the dedication text to his successor¹, as shown in (Text I) the act not only honors the new strategist's power and prestige but also shows a flawless transition between two key leaders. Positioned conspicuously, the monument displaying the text increased the successor's fame and prestige among the local community inside the temple area², while also serving as a form of propaganda to validate his authority. These public dedications benefit both the dedicator and the beneficiary by highlighting the seasoned strategist's community commitment and launching significant projects. Emerging strategists build their reputation, leave a lasting legacy, and reflect on their contributions to governance, so cementing their influence in local history³.

The second text in this article (Text II) is one of the individual's dedication inscriptions located within a temple enclosure from the Greco-Roman period in Egypt, intended to express adoration, religious devotion, or loyalty to the reigning monarch. This inscription, depicting a typical dedicatory text used in the Roman Empire, is offered by the dedicator as both a tribute to the deified individual and a supplication or statement of thanks for the welfare and stability of the Roman emperors.

Text I: Commentary

The governance structure in Egypt during the late Ptolemaic and early Roman eras was introduced into the country's administrative system by Alexander the Great. A distinctive feature of this system was that the strategos (governor) of every nome of the state held military and religious offices. This role of the strategos, founded by Alexander, was later formalized by the subsequent Ptolemaic kings and continued to exist during the Roman era. The strategoi were originally assigned the role of supervising the Greek military settlers in the area. They subsequently broadened their

¹ As previously noted, the quantity of fragmentarily preserved statue bases discovered in Dendera over the past century is considerable; see J. Maspero, *Rec. Trav* 37, 93–96; Bernand, *Les Portes du Désert*, 133–36 (no. 32), 143–46 (nos. 35–38), 149 (no. 44), pls. 25, 28–29; Wagner & Boutros, *BIFAO* 93, 403–6; and Abdalla, *GM* 145, 21; Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 380, note 4.

² Statues inscribed with dedication texts would have been placed in a highly visible manner, either within a shrine or niche, or intimately integrated amid other pedestals and architectural elements; cf. Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 380.

³ According to Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 387, the architectural surroundings of the temple of Isis and its dromos, pivotal to Ptolemaios' humanitarian activities, became the primary site for the erection of conventional statues of local rulers in the early years of the Roman era. This practice demonstrated the governors' helpful contributions to the Denderite districts.

responsibilities to encompass administrative tasks, collaborating with the nomarchs, who governed the nome, and the *oikonomos*, who oversaw financial matters. By the era of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, the strategos had transformed into the chief of the province administration. As their military duties diminished, a new role emerged, enabling the strategos to acquire multiple priestly titles¹.

The names of the strategoi of Egypt, which were recorded in demotic inscriptions, were initially compiled by W. Spiegelberg². Subsequently, H. Henne³ published a list of these strategists. Following Spiegelberg's work, H. Bengtson⁴ conducted an analysis of the strategy. In 1959, H. De Meulenaere published an article addressing this topic⁵. In this context, the data that can be resultant from the previously referenced documents mentioning Panas, his son Ptolemaios, and Tryphon is particularly intriguing, as they shed light on their professional journeys and occasionally their familial affiliations.

1- The strategos Panas

The oldest one among the three *strategoi* recorded in our studied epigraphical monuments is Panas, whose name is the Greek pronunciation of the Egyptian proper name  *p3-n-njw.t* (Document 7, line 3 & shortened to  *p3-n3* in Document 9). As he was the son of a certain individual and bore, moreover, the Egyptian name  or  *P3-srj-(n) B3st.t* Pa-shery-(en)-Bastet (Documents 7, line 3 & Document 9)⁶, it is difficult to know whether they were of Egyptian or Greek origin.

a) His titulary & pontificate

Panas occupied the office of strategos (*stjrkw*s) of the Tentyrite nome and gave himself obsolete court titles and a string of local prophethoods, holding office through the Roman rule⁷. It should be noted that he was entitled a strategos in all his monuments that bore his name, but in one instance only he is designated 'syngenes'⁸. As stated in (Document 7, line 1-2), in addition to the title 'strategus' (= the great chief of the Army), he held the titles of "the nobleman", "the count", "the royal chancellor", "the

¹ For more information about the subject, see Bowman, "Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt", 107-127.

² Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 57,88-92.

³ Henri Henne, Liste des Stratèges des nomes égyptiens à l'époque gréco-romaine, *MIFAO* 56 (Le Caire : IFAO, 1935).

⁴ Hermann Bengtson, Die Strategie der hellenistischen Zeit, III, *MBP* 36.(München: Beck, 1952).

⁵ H. De Meulenaere, "Les Stratèges indigènes du nome tentyrite à la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque et au début de l'occupation romaine ", *RSO* 34 (1959): 1-25.

⁶ Apart from these two documents, Pa-shery-(en)-Bastet was attested on a foot from a silver incense stand [British Museum 59/51/A], a silver goblet [British Museum 59751/B], and a silver bottle [Musée de Louvre 11663]; see Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, 44-45 (no. 55), 40-41 (no. 49), 37-38 (no. 43); Warda, "Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera", 383.

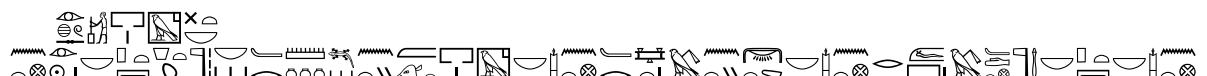
⁷ Bowman, "Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt", 107.

⁸ [British Museum 59751/B], Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, 40-41 (no. 49); Warda, "Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera", 383.

beloved unique friend of the king”, “the great of the praised ones of the palace”, “the foremost (admitted one) into the royal residence”, “the governor of the city”, the great one in Ta-(en)-reret (Dendera). Moreover, Panas held several priestly titles: “the prophet of Hathor”, “the prophet of Hor-Mesen”, “the prophet of Hor-Shefy”, “the prophet of Ihy-wer”, “the prophet of Isis”, “the prophet of all gods in the temple of Iunet”, “the overseer of the treasury of Hathor”, “the (prophet of) Isis”, “the (prophet of) Hor-Behdet”. Due to the absence of an exact date of Panas’s strategos¹, we may say that he occupied the office of Strategos of the Tentyrite nome some time before his son Ptolemaios, whose most punctual engravings date to the year 11 of Augustus (13 BC)².

b) The Beneficent Activities of Panas

Reference of Panas’s activity in the realm of Hathor at Dendera was recorded on his statue which was dedicated by his son Ptolemaios (Document 7), where we read line 3:


 jr.(w) hwsī pr Hw.t-Hr wr.(t) nb.t Jwn.t jr.t R^c nb.(t) p.t hr.(jt) ntr.w nb.w hr mn.w
 ʿš3.w nty m hnw.t pr Hw.t-Hr nb.(t) Jwn.t hr w3.t Bjk ntj Nbw.t nb Jwn.t r ʿk pr Hr-
 Bhd.tj ntr ʿ3 nb p.t nb Jwn.t hr m nb “who built the temple of the great Hathor, the
 lady of Iunet, the eye of Re, the lady of Heaven, the greatest of all the gods, and
 many monuments which are in the domain of Hathor, , the lady of Iunet, and the
 way of the Falcon- who is of- Golden , the lord of Iunet to enter the temple of Hor-
 Behdety, the great god, the lord of Heaven, the lord of Iunet”.

In this document, Ptolemaios sought to credit his father, Panas, with the construction of the Hathor temple and the dromos leading to the dominion of Horus-Behdety. Although the established date of construction of the Hathor Temple is July 16, 54 BC,³ the discovery of his cubit-rod within the region of the temple (Document

¹ The Cairo Museum stele (TM 10/50/5/ I), which was considered as one of the monuments attributed to Panas, is in fact a problematic issue. It bears the date *sh h3.t-sp 20.t ntj jr h3.t-sp 9.t 3bd 3 smw (sw) 2* “written (in) year 20, which is in year 9, the 3rd month of Shemu, day 2”, cf. *supra* (Document 14, line 4). However, according to Bresciani, *Due stele demotiche del Musco del Cairo*, 120-121 n. (d), “the ‘year 20 which is the year 9’ can only correspond to the year 161-160 B. C., 20 year of Ptolemy Philomètor 9 of Ptolemy Euergete II. This double dating creates a difficulty. In fact, Ptolemy Euergete II was associated, as king of Egypt, with his brother Philomètor in 170-169, and from this date his reign years were completed when, after 145 BC. C., Euergete II returned to reign alone in Egypt. But in 160 B. C. the younger Ptolemy, after various conflicts, which lasted a few years, with his brother, reigned in Cyrene, detached from Egypt, to marry him a separate kingdom, until 163-162. Unexpectedly, therefore, we find Euergete II associated with Philomètor in this year on a stele dedicated by a senior government official. We must think of a stoner error”

² For this date, see Wangstedt, *Ein demotischer Denkstein aus Denderah*, 271-273, Zeile 4. According to Cauville, *BIFAO* 91, 80, note 12, she says, “We know that Panas passed on his functions to his son Ptolemy: the highest date attested for the latter is April 4, 14 BC (or even April 4, 19), the lowest, January 9, 6 BC. 3. It is not excluded that the year 11 of Augustus (i.e., April 4, 19) can also be read on the Stockholm DS MME 70 stele; the second date is that provided by the Cairo JE 44305 association stele. However, according to Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 383, note 31, “The earliest inscriptions related to Ptolemaios date to year 18 of Augustus (13 BC) and the latest to the year 24 of this ruler (6 BC)”.

³S. Cauville, « Les inscriptions dédicatoires du temple d’Hathor à Dendera [2 planches doubles et 2 planches]. » *BIFAO* 90 (1990): 83–114; H. Amer et B. Morardet, « Les dates de la construction du temple majeur d’Hathor à Dendérah à l’époque gréco-romaine », *ASAE* 69 (1983): 255-258.

9) permits us to accept that this content insinuates a veritable engagement of the strategos Panas in the construction program of the temple of Hathor. Moreover, one of the scenes decorating the western exterior wall of the Hathor temple provides vital information for the history of the site. The scene represents the ceremony of

“stretching of the cord” [, then the text celebrates the perfection of the monument, achieved through divine intervention, and mentions an important fact; this text reads¹:



“The temple of Gold, daughter of Re, was completed in the ninth year [20 BC] of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Autokrator, the son of Re, Lord of crowns, Caesar, eternally living, beloved of Ptah and Isis, thirty-four years after the Gold of the gods entered his temple in the first year, the nineteenth phamenoth [March 15, 29 BC] of this king”.

Accordingly, it is evident that Panas was holding the responsibility when the ceremony occurred in the regnal year 9 of Caesar, as well as during the decoration of the exterior façade of the naos, which took place within the reign of Augustus², and established the way of the Falcon- who is of- Golden leading to the temple of Horus (for this way and the other one erected by Ptolemaios, see *infra*).

2- The strategos Ptolemaios

a) His pontificate

As the strategos of the Tentyrite nome, Panas was succeeded by his son, who bore a Greek name, Ptolemaios. The dossier of Ptolemaios contains a significant amount of epigraphical information that substantiates his titulary as well as the construction program he implemented within the domain of Hathor. In addition to certain Egyptian texts, this compilation also includes an epigraphic record in Greek³.

Until a new date is discovered, the above-studied documents indicate that our strategos occupied his office as early as year 11, the 4th month of Peret, day 9 of Augustus (20 BC) (Document 10), while his last confirmed attestation was in year 24, the first month of Peret, day 14 (6 BC) of the same ruler (Document 15). It is worth noting, moreover, the Cairo Museum stele CG 31130 (Document 16, line 6) attests to the date “3bd 3 (?) šmw sw 18 “3rd month (?) of Shemu, day 18”. Due to the lack of the regnal year on this monument, it is difficult to ascertain whether this date falls within

¹ Dendera XII, 186. The digit ‘Nine’ is written with the radiant sun () = “Ennead”, which is also read “illuminate”, as if the benevolence of the first of the Caesars illuminated the priests. Thirty-four is rendered by three “archs” (∩) for ten and four ewers () for four; the vases also represent the four ritual purifications; see Cauville & Ibrahim, *Dendera*, 235.

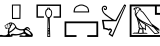
² According to S. Cauville, *Le temple de Dendera. Guide archéologique*, BdE 12, IFAO, le Caire, 1990, 5, “The front façade of the naos - that is, the back wall of the pronaos - bears the names of Augustus (30 BC-14 AD)”

³ Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 383, note 30.

the interval of the year 11 and the year 24 of Augustus's reign, or perhaps immediately preceding or succeeding this period.

b) His titulary

Expressing his close relation to Caesar, Ptolemaios was referred to in the demotic and Greek inscriptions as “the steward of Caesar Autokrator” (Documents 11, 13), “the brother of Pharaoh” (Documents 12, 13, 17), and “the agent of Caesar Autokrator” (Document 12).

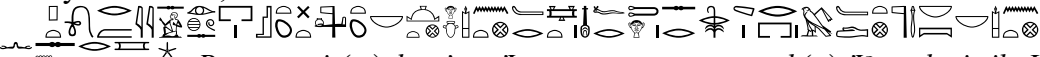
On the other hand, as the nome's strategos during the Roman era, Ptolemaios' position was enlarged from administrative to religious obligations. As a result, in addition to strategos, he retained the courtly name *syngenes*. The documents also monitored his authoritative obligations, to which he was entitled:  p(3) nb pr-hd n Hw.t-Hr nb.t Twn.t Is.t T3-ntr.t 3.t Hr “The lord of the treasury of Hathor, the lady of Iunet, (and) of Isis, the great goddess, (and) of Horus” (Document 8, a.5), καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων τοῦ Τεντυρίτου “who is in charge of the revenues of the Tentyrite” (Documents 8, b. 5), p3 jm.j-r3 pr-hd n Hw.t-Hr nb.t Jwn.t Is.t t3 ntr.t 3.t Hr-Bhd.tj ntr 3 nb p.t “The overseer of the treasury of Hathor of Iunet, Isis, the great goddess, (and) Hor-Behdety, the great god, the lord of heaven” (Document 11, 12, lines 5-6, Document 13, lines 4-5).

Regarding the priestly epithets he bore after his father, the documents attribute to Ptolemaios several titles of local priesthoods, including those of the prophet of Hathor, Horus, Ihy, Isis, and all the gods in the temple of Dendera¹.

c) The beneficent activities of Ptolemaios

The extensive documentation of Ptolemaios's construction endeavors was a direct result of his position within the local priesthood and his role as the supervisor of financial matters concerning the Denderite temples.

1- The incomplete Cairo Museum statue (**Document 7**), which was dedicated by Ptolemaios to his father Panas, provides insight into certain construction projects carried out by the former, as we read:

 Ptwrmys jr(w) hwsj pr Is.t wr.t mw.t-ntr nb.(t) T3w.t hr.jt-jb Jwn.t hr w3.t nfr.t hrzs r rs.j r pr Hr-Bhd.tj ntr 3 nb pt nb Jwn.t n sp dr rk ntr.w “Ptolemaios, who built the temple of the great Isis, the divine mother, Lady of Iat, who is residing in Iwnet, and a beautiful way with it towards the South to (go to) the temple of Hor-Behdety, the great god, the lord of Heaven, the lord of Iunet, (that) hadn't been (done) since the time of the gods”.

This document initially speaks about the construction of a temple dedicated to the goddess Isis, which occurred under the reign of Augustus², and subsequently describes a picturesque pathway that extends southward towards the temple of Hor-Behdety. It is important to note that the statue referenced does not have a specific date, and the name of Ptolemaios is not associated with any titles in this context. This observation suggests that the text may have been composed prior to Ptolemaios's assumption of any official role; however, it is likely that he was involved in the activities within the nome prior to

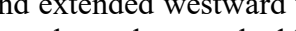
¹ Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 383.

² Cauville & Ibrahim, *Dendera*, 238.

the regnal year 11¹. This hypothesis is further supported by evidence indicating that as early as the same year, specifically on the ninth day of the fourth month of Peret under Augustus, Ptolemaios had assumed the position of strategos and initiated his construction endeavors by establishing a chapel for Isis (Document 10) in front of the already completed Temple of the great goddess Isis. It should be noted that the structure of the goddess Isis mentioned here may be the one depicted in the stele from the eleventh year of Augustus's reign (Document 10). Furthermore, it is conceivable that the words allude to the *pr dt* itself, which was built inside the large enclosure, particularly at the southernmost point of the area².

The text explicitly is about the construction of a dromos leading to the Temple of Horus in the south, confirming that this is occurring for the first time and has not been previously undertaken (*w3.t nfr.t hrꜣs r rs.j r pr Hr-Bḥd.tj nṯr ʕ3 nb p.t nb Jwn.t n sp dr rk ntr.w*).

This statement may conflict with previous assertions regarding Panas's establishment of an alternative dromos under a different designation; however, it also leads to the temple of Horus:

 w3.t Bjk ntj Nbwt nb Jwn.t r ꜥkr Hr-Bhd.tj ntr ʕ3 nb p.t nb Jwn.t

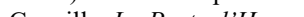
“[he built] the way of the Falcon- who is of- Golden , the lord of Iunet to enter the temple of Hor-Behdety, the great god, the lord of Heaven, the lord of Iunet”. Consequently, we have two distinct dromoi leading to the same destination, the temple of Horus; however, the precise place where they begin remains ambiguous. It may be inferred, therefore, that Ptolemaios, subsequent to the construction of the temple of Isis, likely instituted the inaugural dromos that started from this temple and extended westward to culminate at the temple of Hor-Behdety³. It is certainly related to the path unearthed by Mr. Baraize in 1923, which leads from the temple of Isis to that of Horus of Edfu (Fig.5)⁴. The second dromos was built before the first one by Panas and continued for 700 meters to connect the domain of Hathor with that of Horus⁵.

¹ The construction of the forecourt of the temple of Isis had begun on December 27, 13 BC (1st Tybi, year 18), and was completed on August 30, 10 BC (1st Thoth, year 21), Cauville, *La Porte d'Isis*, XV. This day marked the New Year and the feast of Re across the nation, cf. Cauville, *La Porte d'Hathor*, 6.

² According to Cauville, *La Porte d'Hathor*, 94, n. 22, “This unique temple is neither cleaned nor photographed. I did not find the name of *pr-gt* in the tables that I read on the spot. On the other hand, *pr-gt* may belong exclusively to secular vocabulary”.

³ Cauville, *La Porte d'Hathor*, 2, fig. in p.3. S. Cauville believes that this alley was designed to lead to the domain of Osiris ; she says, “*Une autre allée, due elle aussi à Panas, reliait les domaines d'Osiris et d'Isis. Or la porte d'Isis, qui ouvre pourtant sur le domaine de la déesse, ne se trouve pas dans l'axe du temple (déterminé, les textes nous l'apprennent, le 16 juillet 54 av. J.-C.). Il ne s'agit pas d'une anomalie ou d'une erreur : la porte est dans l'axe, il y a tout lieu de le croire, du domaine d'Osiris*”, (cf. Cauville, *La Porte d'Horus*, 120).

⁴ This dromos was mentioned by Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 26, 154.

⁵ De Meulenaere, *RSO* 34, 3 et 12. According to Cauville, *La Porte d'Hathor*, 2, this path of the Golden Falcon leading to the domain of Horus split at the height of the Gate of Horus, one of its branches – towards the south – becoming the Way of Osiris taken by the god's devotees. The other branch, which led the priests to the necropolis, added the later author, is mentioned in the vertical text of the west portasure of the gate of Horus, where we read:  rdj=tw nꜥt Hw.t-Ḥr w3.t nfr.t hr sp3.t-jgr.t hr jr.t krs.t Wsir m niw.tsf “One open for you, Hathor, the beautiful path to the necropolis (*lit.* the territory-of-silence) in order to perform the burial ritual of Osiris in his city”, Cauville, *La Porte d’Horus*, 26 (26, 1); Cauville, *La Porte d’Horus, Commentaire*, 210, 211. In elucidating the inscriptions on the gate of Horus, Cauville asserted that the mention to the Osirian necropolis

2- The bilingual limestone votive stele (JE 44666, CG 50044), dated to the regnal year 18, the fourth month of Peret, and the fourth day of Caesar's reign (Document 8), contains the following statement inscribed in three scripts.

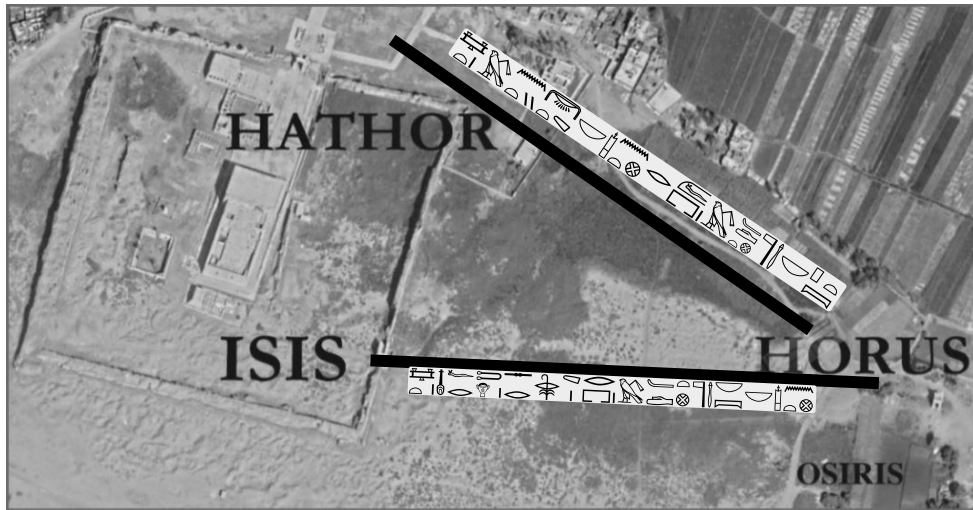


Fig. 5. The two dromi built by Panas and his son Ptolemaios

The hieroglyphic script (Pl.11-A)



16 *n3 n wrh.w ntj hr p3-hr rs.j n p(3)-pr.w jw jr.j n n3 .. m* 17 *nphw n p(3) rs.j jw mh.tj hr h.t p3 k3 n p(3) jmn.tj jw j3b.tjt š(°) hl3t (?)*

16 (dedicated) the bare (unused) parts of land which are on the south side of the temples so that they may be used (*lit. made*) for the (services) 17 of Nephu. The width (goes) from the south to the north on the side, and the length from west to east until the [canal] ...”.

i) The demotic script (Pl.11-B)

n3 wrh.w ntj hr p3 hr n 16 *rs.j n p3 r3-pr jwzw jr n n3 šms.w n p3 m3° n P3-šj hw n p3 rs.j p3 mh.tj* 17 *n hr ht p3 k3 n p3 jmn.tj n p3 j3b.tjt š3° t3 w3.t ntj hftḥ Hw.t-Hr nb.t Twn.t* “(dedicated) the bare pieces of land which are on the 16 south side of the temple (so that) they may be used for the services of the place of Shai, the width (goes) from south to north, 17 and the length from west to east up to the canal in front of the avenue of Hathor, the lady of Iunt”.

ii) The Greek version (Pl.11-C)

τοὺς ἀπὸ νότου τοῦ ἱεροῦ 16 Ψιλοὺς τόπους ἀπὸ δὲ ἀπηλιώτου τοῦ Σωτηρίου μεχρὶ 17 τῆς διώρυγος “(dedicated) the unused plots of land which are on the south of the temple 16 from the west of the Soterion up to the canal”.

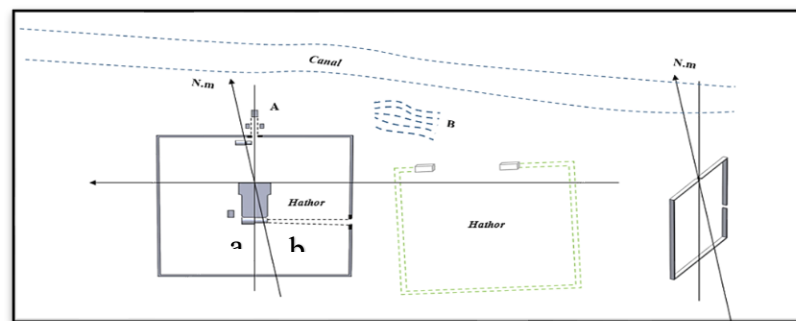
represents the most remarkable aspect of these texts, as they recount the mysteries of Osiris during the 24th and 25th days of the month of Khoiak. During the burial ceremony, the procession proceeded to the sacred lake, which is readily identifiable approximately 700 meters to the south; cf. S. Cauville, “Dendara. Le domaine d’Horus et la nécropole d’Osiris,” *GM* 259, (2019): 46.

The three scripts certainly refer to the vacant lands located outside the grand enclosure of the temple of Hathor, specifically along its southern side, which lies between the enclosure of the temple of Hathor and that of the temple of Horus of Edfu (Fig. 6)¹. In any case, these texts only talk about the dedication of bare pieces of land and do not mention any facilities that were constructed within those areas.

3-In the same regnal year of Caesar's reign (Year 18, the first month of Peret, day 1), Ptolemaios initiated construction projects dedicated to Hathor, the mistress of Iunet, and Isis of *Per-djet*. He had begun the esplanade (*wb3*) and the dromos (*hft*) in front of the temple of the great goddess Isis located in the south² (Document 11, 12). These undertakings continued into the 21st year, the 1st month of Akhet, and the 1st day (Document 13). In the same year (Year 21, the 4th month of Akhet (the 12th of the month of Khoiak), day 12), Ptolemaios carried out some activities in the middle forecourt of Osiris-wen-nefer (Document 14). Finally, the beneficent activities of Ptolemaios were ultimately completed in the 24th year, on the 14th day of the first month of Peret, under the same ruler (Document 15).

(3) The strategos Tryphon

Tryphon was perhaps an Alexandrian citizen appointed to Upper Egypt to act as the strategos of the Tentyrite nome³. According to our documents, it appeared that he always bore the title “strategos” (Text I, Documents: 1-6) and sometimes the title “Syngenes” (Document 6, line 4). Therefore, he was recognized among his Tentyrite counterparts referenced in various Greek and demotic inscriptions from the site. Unlike his predecessors Panas and Ptolemy, Tryphon has never held any religious title in any epigraphical texts from Dendera. He had the distinction of having his name inscribed on the propylon of the temple of Isis (Document 1) and on many individual monuments, including human sculptures, sphinxes, and votive steles (Documents 2-6, 8).



B: The vacant lands. **a-b:** The dromos unearthed by Mr. Baraize in 1923
Fig. 6. After M. Noël Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 26, 154

¹ For the location of the problematic piece of land, see Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 26, 148-156; Bernand, *Les Portes du Désert*, 116.

² According to Cauville, *La porte d'Hathor*, 6; Cauville, *Le temple d'Isis*, XVI, the forecourt of the temple of Isis was completed on August 30, 10 BC (1st Thoth, year 21), the day of the New Year and the feast of Re throughout the country.

³ Bowman, “Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt”, 107. On the other hand, according to Aleksandra Warda, “Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera”, 383, n. 24, “The name Tryphon appears particularly frequently in texts originating from Alexandria, which is sometimes understood as an indication of the Alexandrian origin of the official”.

a) His pontificate

The earliest known attestation of Tryphon's name is the inauguration Greek text engraved on the propylon of Isis, which took place in the 31st year, the month of Thot, the day of August, (of Cesar), which corresponds to September 23 in the year 1 A. D¹; while his last known mention of his name was found on a demotic stele in the Cairo Museum (Document 3), which is dated from the regnal year 34 of Caesar, the third month of Shemu. It is therefore evident that Tryphon succeeded Ptolemaios in the office of strategos from years 1 to 5 of our era.

b) The beneficent activities of Tryphon

1- The dedicatory Greek text engraved on the propylon of the Isis² (Text I, Document 1) proves that Tryphon was already in charge of the office of the strategos of the Tentyrite nome in year 1 of our era (ἔτους λά Καίσαρος, Θωὺθ Θ = 23 September, year 1 A.D.)³.

Following in the footsteps of the above-mentioned builders, Tryphon wanted to begin his career with the inauguration of this architectural work, which took place in a grand ceremony on this special day because it coincided with the birthday of Caesar (born in Rome on September 23, 63 BC)⁴.

2- Triphone's name was connected to the great cult association (*T3 swn.t ʿ3.t*) of Harsomteus, the great god, the lord of Chady, in the 32nd year of Caesar (Documents 4, 5).

3- Furthermore, his name appeared on a Demotic stele in the Cairo Museum [GEM (inv. 9799, SR. 8/45.11)] (Document 3). The text inscribed on this monument evidences the building of the House of Faces (*p3 pr-Ḥr*) before (in front of) *Wršj-nfr*, in the regnal year 34 of Caesar, the third month of Shemu.

4- It seems Tryphon was not satisfied with these two works; therefore, he engraved his name on the sphinx statues that were perhaps flanking the dromos built by Ptolemaios (Document 2).

5- One of the important issues of the article concerns the missing statue. As it is shown from the article entitled "Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera (SEG LVIII 1823), Aleksandra Warda confirmed that Ptolemaios, son of Panas chose to honor Tryphon with the missing statue.

The above-well-studded documents demonstrate past questions that Tryphon held the office of the strategos of the Tentyrite nome after Ptolemaios. However, the Greek text says: Τρύφωνα τὸν στρατηγὸν Πτολεμαῖος Πανάτος ἀνέθηκεν (= "Ptolemaios son of Panas dedicated (this) to Tryphon the strategos"). As the verb ἀνέθηκεν means "dedicated" or "set up as an offering," typically used in the context of dedicating a

¹ Bernand, *Les Portes du Désert*, 117; Warda, "Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera", 387; Cauville, *La porte d'Isis*, XI.

² This monumental propylon, 13.11m. high (24 cubits 1/3 1/4 according to the texts themselves), see Cauville & Ibrahim, *Dendera*, 253. The work of the decoration was continued and completed by Tiberius (east facade 4th reg.), Claudius (ceiling), and Nero (west facade 4th reg.), cf. Cauville, *la Porte d'Hathor*, 6.

³ Bernand, *Les Portes du Désert*, 117; Warda, "Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera", 387; Cauville, *la porte d'Isis*, XI.

⁴ Bowman, "Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt", 108; Cauville & Ibrahim, *Dendera*, 253.

monument or gift to a deity or person, Thus, the phrase clearly indicates that a person named Ptolemaios, son of Panas dedicated (this statue) to the strategos Tryphon¹. Would it be conceivable that Ptolemaios was the dedicator of our problematic missing statue to honor Tryphon who succeeded him in the office?

During the Greco-Roman period, it was common to consecrate and dedicate statues to honor individuals who held important positions, such as strategos. This type of dedication was often done in a public setting to show respect, gratitude, or support for the person being honored. Statues dedicated to strategos were erected to celebrate their contributions or to reinforce their legitimacy. The bases of these statues usually bore an inscription (epigram or dedication) in Greek or Demotic, which included the name of the person being honored (the new strategos) and the official title of the recipient, e.g., "Former Strategist". Dedications also included the identity of the former strategos who made the dedication, the reason for the dedication (a feat, a public service, a special occasion), and sometimes praise for a deed done for the people or the gods.² The act of offering a statue as a gift or offering from the former strategist to the new had a variety of social, political, and symbolic meanings that reflected the dynamics of power and recognition in Greco-Roman Egypt.

Thus, although the inscription on the pedestal emphasizes Tryphon's image, it is unclear whether he was still alive when the monument was dedicated to him. It also refers to Ptolemaios, son of Panas, who ultimately underscored his enormous symbolic authority over the Tentyrite nome by placing a statue of the reigning strategos in an area so closely linked to his own family history³.

c) The genealogy of Tryphon

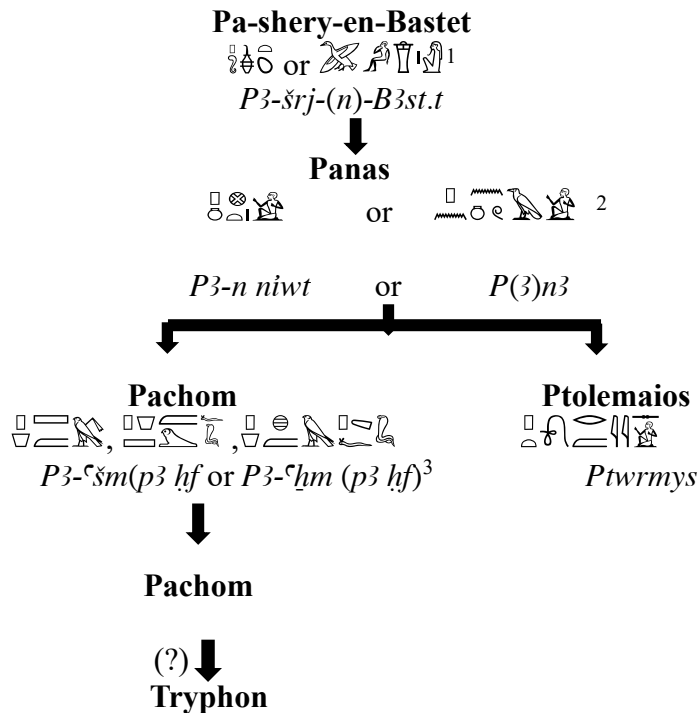
The strategos Tryphon's genealogy could be investigated and rebuilt using epigraphic texts that provided his name as well as those of his ancestors and predecessors. This genealogy was created using the existing Greek and Demotic epigraphic material provided above. By studying the aforementioned Tentyrite nome inscriptions, we want to understand more about how lineage influenced their rise to prominence and contributions to the societal fabric of the era. This article presents epigraphical evidence indicating that Ptolemaios was the son of Panas, and Pa-shery-en Bastet was his

¹ Speaking of this phrase, Warda, "Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera", 384, "*The grammatical structure with the name of the honorand in the accusative and that of the donor in the nominative followed by the dedicatory ἀνέθηκεν is a canonical formula used in inscriptions on honorific statues throughout the Hellenistic world. It is often followed by a listing in the dative of divine recipients of the statue, not written here but nevertheless implied, and in the most elaborate texts also by an explanation for the reason for the dedication. This type of formula was popular in inscriptions on statues set up in Dendera in the Roman period and is also attested in the text on the first-century pedestal of Tullius Ptolemaios and the inscription on the above-mentioned late second-century base exhibited at the entrance to the Roman mammisi. It also recurs on bases discovered by Baraize in front of the propylon of the temple of Hathor and datable to the second and third centuries AD. Thus, the inscription studied here is currently the earliest attestation of the use of the formula in Dendera. Of particular interest is also the fact that in the example analysed in this article, the formula was used to dedicate a traditional Egyptian back pillar statue*".

² J. Ma, "Hellenistic Honorific Statues and their Inscriptions," in Z. Newby and R. Leader-Newby (eds.), *Art and Inscriptions in the Ancient World*, Cambridge, 2007, 208–15; and in more detail: Ma, *Statues and Cities*, 24–30, with up-to-date bibliography; Warda, "Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera", 385.

³ Warda, "Statue of Strategos Tryphon from Dendera", 387.

grandfather (Document 7, lines 3-4). Conversely, as stated in (Document 4, lines 3, 4), Pachom was the offspring of Pachom. The text of Document 6, line 4, fails to clarify the familial relationship between Pachom and Tryphon, whose name appears in line 3 of the same document. It can be assumed that Tryphon was a son of the later Pachom, who was the son of Pachom, son of Panas (Documents 4, 6). Finally, it may be said that Tryphon was a grandson of Panas, son of Pa-shery-en-Bastet.



Text II: Commentary

The second Greek inscription is engraved on one of the blocks collected near Hathor's temple. At first look, it appears that this stone was not the base of a statue, but rather a remnant of an ancient edifice that had been erected in the vicinity of the temple, demolished, and then reused to write the dedication text.

As previously stated, this is one of the Greco-Roman era individual dedication inscriptions discovered within the Hathor temple enclosure. The current text is meant to convey respect, religious devotion, and loyalty to the sovereign king.

Line 1: If our translation is accurate, this line indicates that the monument on which the dedicatory text was engraved is an altar constructed in honor of Antinoüs, the deified youth associated with Emperor Hadrian⁴, intended for dedication to the god Apollo.

¹ Cf. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 57, 91 (10).

² For this writing, see Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 57, 91 (10).

³ Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 57, 89, 91 (3, 7).

⁴ Antinoüs, a young Greek from Bithynia, is celebrated for his close association with Roman Emperor Hadrian. After Antinous's enigmatic drowning in the Nile River in 130 CE, Hadrian's intense sorrow prompted him to deify Antinous, a practice that was notably atypical, as formal deification was generally reserved for emperors and their close relatives. Hadrian founded the city of Antinoöpolis on the location of Antinous's demise, which subsequently became the epicenter of his worship. This religion achieved considerable prominence, particularly in the Eastern parts of the Roman Empire, with several temples and

Line 2: This line may allude to a young girl, potentially the dedicator, characterized poetically as possessing “curly hair,” as a symbol of beauty, linking her ancestry to Poseidonios, and she is possibly named “Aphrogenia”.

Line 3: This is a depiction of a common formula in inscriptions showing loyalty and invoking loyalty to the reigning monarch.

Lines 4-5: The writer of the dedicatory text not only specified the name of the reigning Emperor, Septimius Severus (AD 193-211), but also emphasized the piety and connection to his predecessor, Pertinax.

As for Pertinax,¹ he served as emperor of numerous regions, including Syria and Britain, but due to the brief nature of his rule and the slowness of communication across the empire, his recognition in distant provinces like Egypt may have been delayed or minimal. There are no known coins of Pertinax minted in Alexandria, the capital of Roman Egypt, which suggests that either news of his rule didn't reach Egypt in time or that local authorities chose not to acknowledge him formally. Likewise, inscriptions or papyri from Egypt mentioning Pertinax are virtually nonexistent, reinforcing the idea that his rule had little to no administrative impact there. Consequently, to the best of our knowledge, except for our inscription, there is no substantial evidence of Pertinax being referenced in any other Egyptian monuments.

Finally, our inscription can be ascribed to the onset of Severus' rule, potentially in the year 195 AD, as indicated by its sophisticated titulary, which incorporates the name Pertinax.

statues constructed in his honor. Antinous was frequently represented in the form of many deities, signifying his integration into diverse cultural and theological frameworks. The extensive reverence for Antinous underscores the interaction between personal affiliations and political strategies in ancient Rome, along with the malleability of cultural and religious identities throughout that period; see Caroline Vout, “Antinous, Archaeology and History,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 95, (2005): 80–96.

¹ Publius Helvius Pertinax (born: August 1, 126 A.D.; died: March 28, 193 A.D.) was a Roman emperor who reigned briefly in 193 A.D. He was the inaugural emperor of the chaotic "Year of the Five Emperors" [reign: January 1– March 28, 193 A.D. (about 87 days)], cf. Simon Elliott, *Pertinax: The Son of a Slave Who Became Roman Emperor* (London: Greenhill Books, 2020), 115. After the assassination of Commodus on December 31, 192 A.D., Pertinax was declared emperor by the Senate. His brief tenure was characterized by attempts to enact financial reforms and reestablish military discipline. Nonetheless, his actions were met with disfavor by the Praetorian Guard, culminating in his assassination by a group of soldiers on March 28, 193 A. D. Following his demise, his successor, Septimius Severus, commemorated Pertinax by deifying him and adopting his name as a sign of reverence. For the short reign of Pertinax, see: Alföldy, Géza. “P. Helvius Pertinax und M. Valerius Maximianus,” *Situla* 14/5 (1974): 199–215; Hubert Devijver, "Les militiae equestres de P. Helvius Pertinax", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 75 (1988): 207–214; Pasek Steve, *Coniuratio ad principem occidendum faciendumque. Der erfolgreiche Staatsstreich gegen Commodus und die Regentschaft des Helvius Pertinax (192/193 n. Chr.)* (München: AVM, 2013).

Plates

Pl.1



(A)



(B)

The Open court of the Temple of Dendera and the corpus of a site museum
(Photographed by S. Cauville CNRS)



(A)

The Base of the Statue of Tryphon
(Photographed by Gaël Pollin de l'IFAO)



(B)

The Base of the Statue of Tryphon (Detail)
(Photographed by Gaël Pollin de l'IFAO)

Pl.3



(A)



(B)

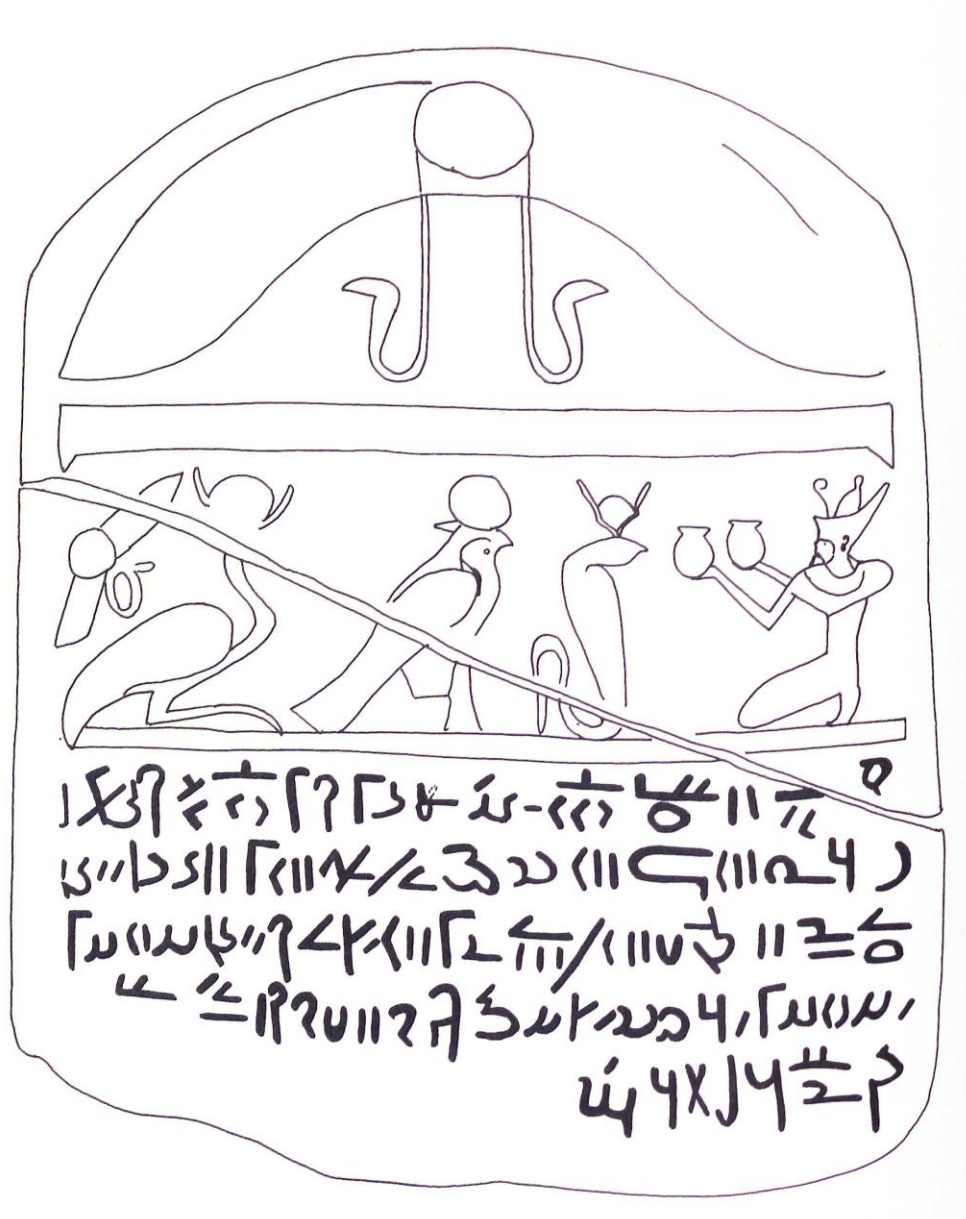
**The upper narrow band of the cornice of propylon (of the gate of Isis)
(Photographed by Ossama El-Damnhouri)**



The upper narrow band of the cornice of propylon (of the gate of Isis)



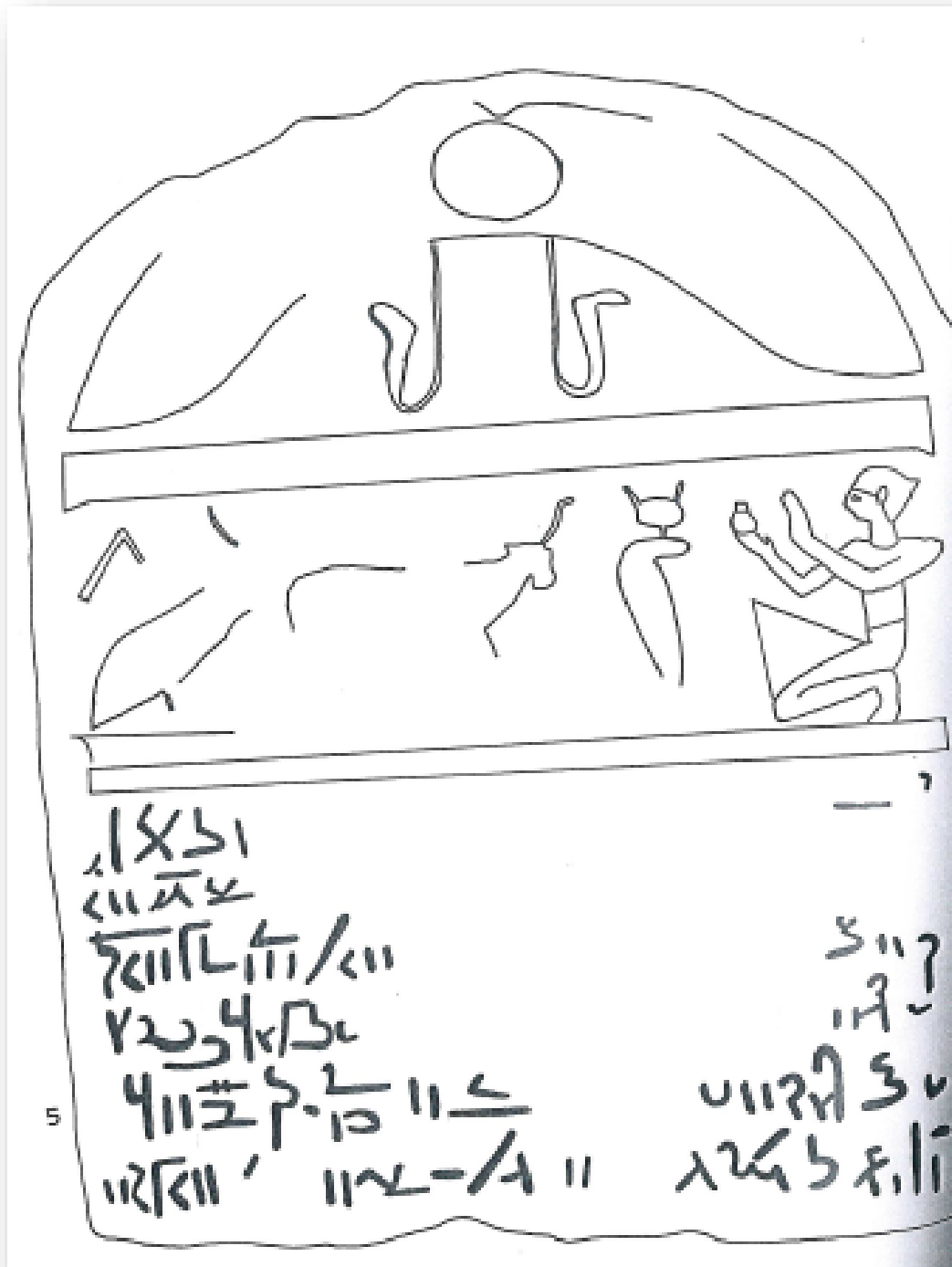
Demotic stele in the GEM (inv. 9799, SR. 8, 45.11)



A dedication stele in Bremen Übersee-Museum,
facsimile after Adel Farid, "Eine demotische Stele im Übersee-Museum
Bremen", *MDAIK* 55 (1999): 8, Abb.1



*A votive stele in the Shimonoseki City Art Museum (C-010-141),
after Michel Chauveau, « Une stèle au nom du stratège Tryphon », *JEAN*
4 (1993), 1.*



A votive stele in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (E 15997), after Adel Farid, *Die Demotischen Inschriften Der Strategen: Textband & Tafelband*, (San Antonio, Texas: Van Siclen Books, 1993), 54, Abdd. 30.



**Incomplete statue of *P3-n-njw.t* (Panas) in Cairo Museum statue
(CG 690, JE 27837)**



Bilingual (three scripts) limestone votive stele (JE 44666, CG 50044)



A. Hieroglyphic script



B. Demotic script



C. Greek script

**Bilingual (three scripts) limestone votive stele
(JE 44666, CG 50044)**



Basalt cubit Rod of Panas in Cairo Museum (JE 45931, CG 50050)



*Association Stele of Stockholm (DS MME 70), after S. V. Wangstedt,
« Ein demotischer Denkstein aus Denderah», *Grammata demotika*,
Festschrift für Erich Luddeckens zum 15 Juni 1983, Würzburg, (1984):pl. 37*

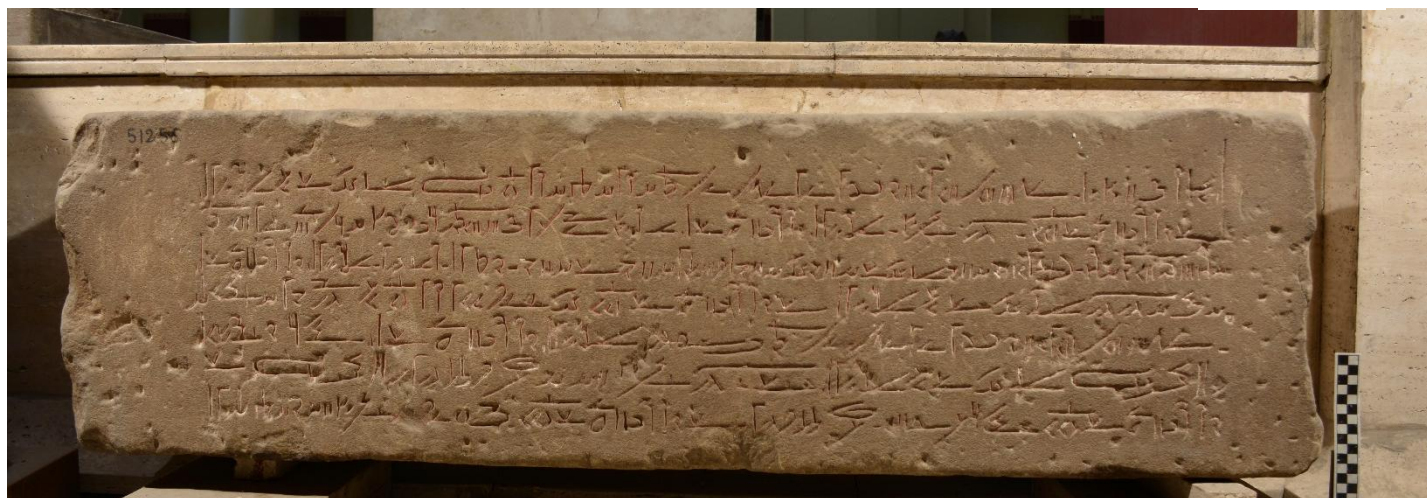


A dedication stele in Cairo Museum (CG 31092)



A dedication Sandstone stele (CG 31093)

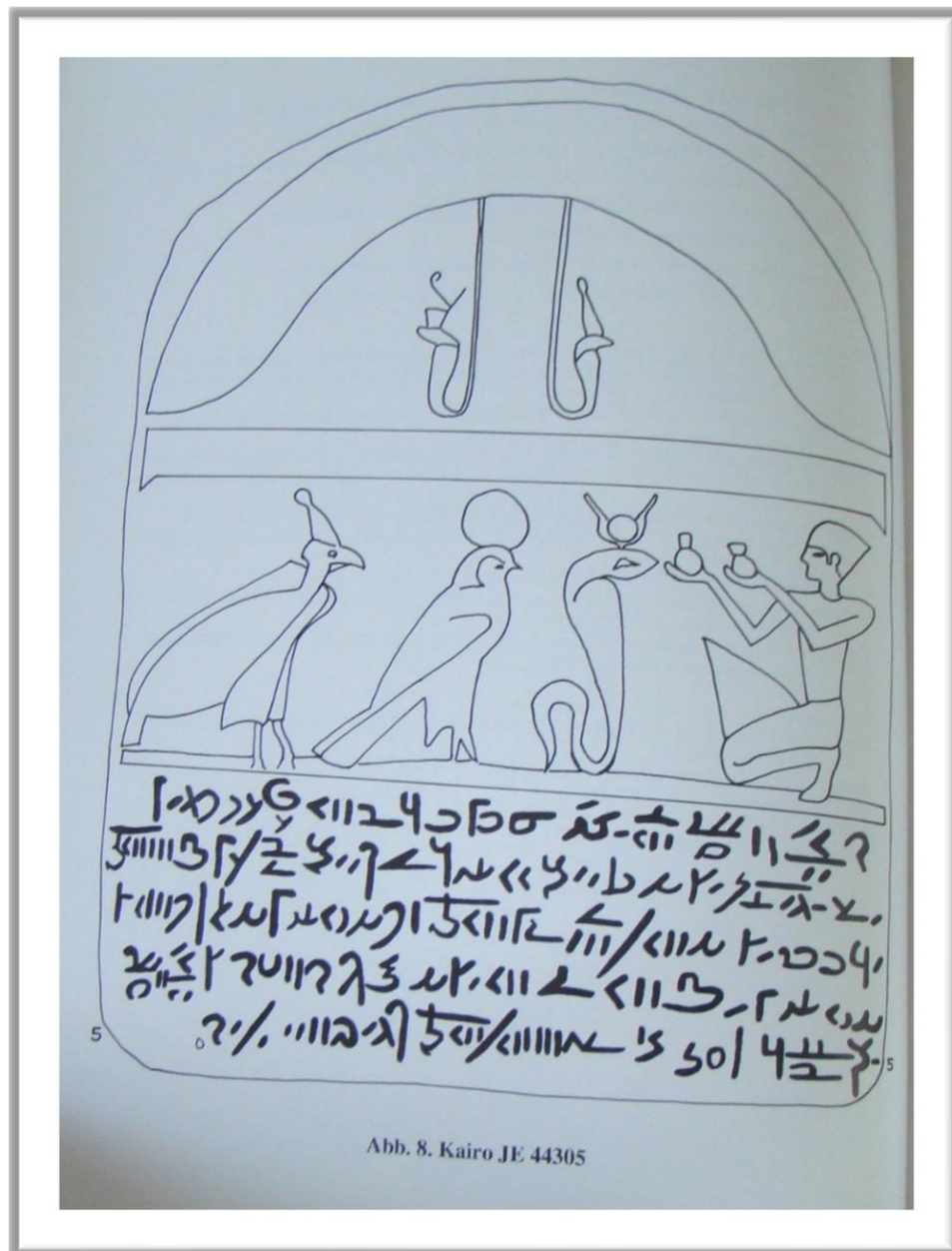
Pl.16



A Dedication lintel in Cairo Museum (JE 51256, CG 50045)



A dedication stele in Cairo Museum (temp.10/50/5/ 1)



A stela of great cult association in Cairo Museum (JE 44305)
after Adel Farid, *Die Demotischen Inschriften Der Strategen:*
Textband & Tafelband, (San Antonio, Texas: Van Siclen Books, 1993),
18, Abdd.8



A dedication stele in Cairo Museum (CG 31130) transferred to Suez Museum



A Dedication stele in Cairo Museum (CG 31083)



**The Block of Antinoopolis
(Photographed by Gaël Pollin de l'IFAO)**

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