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CONTENTS

TELL EL-AMARNA, 2012–13	Barry Kemp	1
THEBAN HARBOURS AND WATERSCAPES SURVEY, 2013.	A. Graham, K. D. Strutt, V. L. Emery, S. Jones, and D. S. Barker	35
THE SACRED FALCON NECROPOLIS OF DJEDHOR(?) AT QUESNA: RECENT INVESTIGATIONS FROM 2006–2012	Joanne Rowland, Salima Ikram, G. J. Tassie, and Lisa Yeomans	53
GLASS OF AMENHOTEP II FROM TOMB KV55 IN THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS	Paul T. Nicholson and Caroline Jackson	85
A BROTHER FOR THUTMOSE III (CAIRO MUSEUM BN 104).	Dina Metawi	101
THE DEAN OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PHOTOGRAPHERS: HARRY BURTON	Ronald T. Ridley	117
THE EGYPTIAN ROYAL TITULARY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, I: HORUS, TWO LADIES, GOLDEN HORUS, AND THRONE NAMES	Francisco Bosch-Puche	131
THE <i>PASTOPHORION</i> : ‘PRIESTS’ HOUSES’ IN LEGAL TEXTS FROM PTOLEMAIC PATHYRIS AND ELSEWHERE IN EGYPT	Siân E. Thomas	155
COMPOSITIONS IN EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND	Chris Elliott	171
LOCAL VESSELS AND IMPORTED COPIES MANUFACTURED IN SANDY FABRICS AT TELL EL-GHABA, NORTH SINAI	Silvia Lupo and Maria Beatriz Cremonte	191
MISSING <i>KOMS</i> AND ABANDONED CHANNELS: THE POTENTIAL OF REGIONAL SURVEY IN THE WESTERN NILE DELTA LANDSCAPE.	Joshua Trampier, Willem Toonen, Aude Simony, and Jennifer Starbird	217
SOME REMARKS ON A NEGATED EARLIER EGYPTIAN NOMINAL SENTENCE AND RELATED CONSTRUCTIONS	Sami Uljas	241
SOME LITERARY ASPECTS OF THE KAMOSE INSCRIPTIONS	Roland Enmarch	253

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

A ROMAN PERIOD CHILD'S MUMMY IN THE SAFFRON WALDEN MUSEUM . . .	Christina Riggs	265
A BLOCK OF RAMESSES II REUSED AS A THRESHOLD IN THE WAKALA OF QAWSUN (CAIRO)	David Lorand	270
A COPTIC EPISTOLARY EXERCISE FROM WADI SARGA	Jennifer Cromwell	272
A MIDDLE KINGDOM FUNERARY STELA OF A WOMAN AT AL-SALAM SCHOOL MUSEUM, ASSIUT	Abdalla Abdel-Raziq	275
A STABLE OF THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD AT TELL EL-RETABA	Łukasz Jarmużek	281
NEW TITLES OF THE GREAT CHANCELLOR BAY	Alexander Safronov	290
THE ORACULAR AMULETIC DECREES: A QUESTION OF LENGTH	T. G. Wilfong	295
A NEGLECTED FUNERARY TEXT	James P. Allen	300
ON THE VALIDITY OF SEXING DATA FROM EARLY EXCAVATIONS: EXAMPLES FROM QAU .	Tatjana Beuthe	308

REVIEWS

ANNE BOUD'HORS and CHANTAL HEURTEL, <i>Les ostraca coptes de la TT29:</i> <i>Autour du moine Frangé</i>	Reviewed by Jennifer Cromwell	313
ANDREAS DORN, <i>Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige: Ein Beitrag zur altägyptischen Sozial- geschichte aufgrund von neuem Quellen- material aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie (ca. 1150 v. Chr.)</i>	Christopher Eyre	317
JEAN-CLAUDE GOYON, <i>Le recueil de prophylaxie contre les agressions des animaux venimeux du Musée de Brooklyn: Papyrus Wilbour 47.218.138</i>	Pierre Meyrat	319
FREDRIK HAGEN, <i>New Kingdom Ostraka from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge</i> . . .	Matthias Müller	321
HORST BEINLICH (ED.), <i>‘Die Männer hinter dem König’: 6. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie</i>	Anthony Spalinger	324

BRAM CALCOEN, <i>TT176: The Tomb Chapel of Userhat</i>	Nigel Strudwick	325
IAN S. MOYER, <i>Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism</i>	Gaëlle Tallet	327
DAVID ASTON ET AL. (EDS), <i>Under the Potter's Tree: Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented to Janine Bourriau on the Occasion of her 70th Birthday</i>	Roberta Tomber	329
H. S. SMITH ET AL., <i>The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara: The Mother of Apis Inscriptions</i>	S. P. Vleeming	332
ANDREAS H. PRIES, <i>Die Stundenwachen im Osiriskult: Eine Studie zur Tradition und späten Rezeption von Ritualen im Alten Ägypten</i>	Mareike Wagner	334
KAREN EXELL, <i>Soldiers, Sailors, and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stelae</i>	Eric Wells	338
ANGELIKA LOHWASSER, <i>The Kushite Cemetery of Sanam: A Non-royal Burial Ground of the Nubian Capital, c.800-600 BC</i>	Derek A. Welsby	341

THE EGYPTIAN ROYAL TITULARY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, I: HORUS, TWO LADIES, GOLDEN HORUS, AND THRONE NAMES*

By FRANCISCO BOSCH-PUCHE

This is the first of a two-part study of the pharaonic titulary of Alexander the Great. Analysing all available contemporaneous documentation, including onomastic data newly published, the king's names are presented, with particular attention to variants. The parallels and symbolic meaning of each name are discussed, as are the legitimating strategies that lay behind their selection. The present paper deals with the first four names of the royal protocol.

FROM autumn 332 to spring 331 BC Alexander the Great sojourned briefly in Egypt, taking control of the country in only a few months, thus bringing the Second Persian Dominion to an end. He founded Alexandria, and famously visited Amun's oracle in the Libyan desert, which enabled him to set out for the definitive conquest of the Persian Empire not only as Egyptian king, but also as 'son of Zeus-Ammon'. Egyptian documentation shows that Alexander was in charge of the government of Egypt, at least in a nominal sense, until his death in Babylon in June of 323 BC. As with every pharaoh, he was recognised as the legitimate king and interpolated in the traditional theocracy, as clearly shown by the fact that he is thus identified in the royal titulary bestowed on him.

Building on the onomastic repertoires established by Henri Gauthier¹ and Jürgen von Beckerath,² the protocol of Alexander has previously been analysed in a number of works.³ The more recent study by Anke I. Blöbaum is, however, the

* This paper was written with the support of the Comissionat per a Universitats i Recerca of the Departament d'Innovació, Universitats i Empresa of the Generalitat de Catalunya. It is based on part of my doctoral thesis entitled *Alexandre el Gran a Egipte: Documentació, protocol onomàstic i legitimació* (PhD thesis, Universitat de Barcelona; Barcelona, 2009), and was completed during a post-doctoral research stay at the Oriental Institute (University of Oxford) funded by a fellowship from the Catalan government (2010–12). I would like to express my gratitude to Maria Cannata for correcting my English and for her remarks. I am also indebted to John Baines and Josep Cervelló Autuori for reading through this manuscript and providing most helpful suggestions and valuable comments. All quotations from other authors are rendered in English.

¹ H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte: Recueil de titres et protocoles royaux, noms propres de rois, reines, princes, princesses et parents de rois, suivi d'un index alphabétique*, IV: *De la XXVe dynastie à la fin des Ptolémées* (MIFAO 20; Cairo, 1916), 199–203.

² J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (2nd edn revised and enlarged; MÄS 49; Mainz, 1999), 232–3, no. 1 (hereafter *Handbuch*²).

³ Primarily by S. M. Burstein, 'Pharaoh Alexander: A Scholarly Myth', *AncSoc* 22 (1991), 139–45; G. Hölbl, 'Königliche Legitimität und historische Umstände im Spiegel der pharaonischen Titulaturen der griechisch-römischen Zeit: Einige Interpretationen und Diskussionsvorschläge', in S. Curto et al. (eds), *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia, Atti* (Turin, 1992), I, 273–8, esp. 273–4 (hereafter Hölbl, 'Königliche Legitimität'); id., *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches: Politik, Ideologie und religiöse Kultur von Alexander dem Grossen bis zur römischen Eroberung* (Darmstadt, 1994), 71–2; id., 'Zur Legitimation der Ptolemäer als Pharaonen', in R. Gundlach

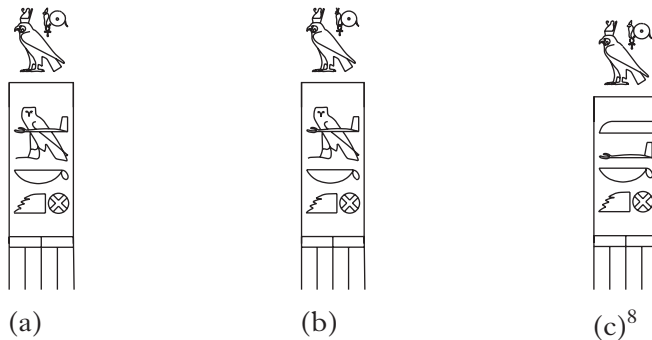
most detailed on variants to date,⁴ as well as the first to take into account the pedestal from Bahariya, which provides the only known attestation of a complete titulary for Alexander.⁵ Following the rediscovery and publication of the Bahariya document and the consequent definitive reading of its names,⁶ previous analyses require revision, and their implications for ideology and royal legitimation need to be rethought.

This is the main aim of the present article, which will also provide a new compendium of the Egyptian names of Alexander, with all variants, as given in all surviving documentation contemporaneous with his reign. Apart from one hieratic example, all attestations are hieroglyphic.⁷ All are transcribed here from left to right, although their original arrangement in either lines or columns has been maintained. The bibliographical references in which these attestations can be found will be collected in a final appendix.

Horus name [H]

The available documentation provides four different Horus names for Alexander:

I.



and C. Raedler (eds), *Selbstverständnis und Realität: Akten des Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Mainz, 15.–17.6.1995* (ÄAT 36.1; Wiesbaden, 1997), 21–34, esp. 23–4 (hereafter Hölbl, ‘Zur Legitimation der Ptolemäer’); B. Menu, ‘Le tombeau de Pétoisiris (4): Le souverain de l’Égypte’, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 247–62, esp. 257–8; J. Kahl, ‘Zu den Namen spätzeitlicher Usurpatoren, Fremdherrscher, Gegen- und Lokalkönige’, *ZÄS* 129 (2002), 31–42; and J. d. C. Sales, *Ideologia e propaganda real no Egito ptolomaico (305–30 a.C.)* (Lisbon, 2005), 139–43, 173–9; see also H. de Meulenaere, ‘Le protocole royal de Philippe Arrhidée’, *CRIPPEL* 13 (1991), 53–8, esp. 53 n. 2, 54–7; G. Capriotti Vittozzi, ‘Note sull’immagine di Alessandro Magno in Egitto’, in S. Russo (ed.), *Atti del V Convegno Nazionale di Egittologia e Papirologia. Firenze, 10–12 dicembre 1999* (Florence, 2000), 27–53, esp. 30–1; and E. Winter, ‘Alexander der Grosse als Pharao in ägyptischen Tempeln (Kat. 112–113)’, in H. Beck, P. C. Bol, and M. Bückling (eds), *Ägypten Griechenland Rom: Abwehr und Berührung. Städtisches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, 26. November 2005–26. Februar 2006* (Frankfurt, 2005), 204–15, esp. 206–7, 210–11.

⁴ A. I. Blöbaum, ‘„Denn ich bin ein König, der die Maat liebt“: Herrscherlegitimation im spätzeitlichen Ägypten. Eine vergleichende Untersuchung der Phraseologie in den offiziellen Königsinschriften vom Beginn der 25. Dynastie bis zum Ende der makedonischen Herrschaft (AegMonast 4; Aachen, 2006), 419–23 (hereafter Blöbaum, *DibeK*).

⁵ In all the above-mentioned works the protocol is always described as ‘incomplete’ or ‘abbreviated’, with the exception of that by Winter, in Beck, Bol, and Bückling (eds), *Ägypten Griechenland Rom*, 207, in which the presence of a complete titulary on the object from Bahariya is noted, although he does not provide a reading of the whole inscription, unlike Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 423.

⁶ F. Bosch-Puche, ‘L’«autel» du temple d’Alexandre le Grand à Bahariya retrouvé’, *BIFAO* 108 (2008), 29–44.

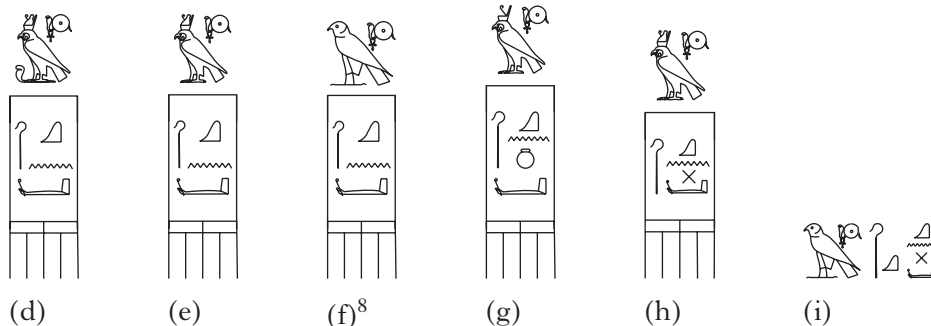
⁷ In order to provide a complete compendium of the Egyptian titulary of Alexander, I am currently working with Jan Moje on a complementary article devoted to all of the contemporaneous Demotic attestations of the king’s name. Later references to the Macedonian sovereign, which practically span the whole of the Ptolemaic Period, are not included in either article. They mainly appear in the mention of the city of Alexandria (*p3 sbty n Irks(in)drs*), in the indication of Alexander IV’s filiation in the dating formulae of the papyrological documentation from his reign (*Pr-3 Irks(i)ndrs s3 n Irks(i)ndrs (p3 ntr)*), and in the titularies of the eponymous priests of Alexandria (*wb n Irksindrs*), in all cases with abundant variants. For some examples, see Gauthier, *Livre des rois* IV, 202–3 (nos xiv and xvi–xviii), 207–9 (nos i–ii and iv–v).

⁸ The sun-disc with uraeus behind the falcon wears the white crown in (a) and (c) and the red one in (b).

Hrw mk Kmt

Horus ‘the one who protects/the protector of Egypt’

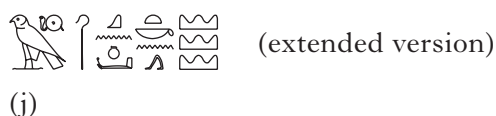
II.1.



*Hrw hq3 qn*⁹

Horus ‘the brave¹⁰ ruler’

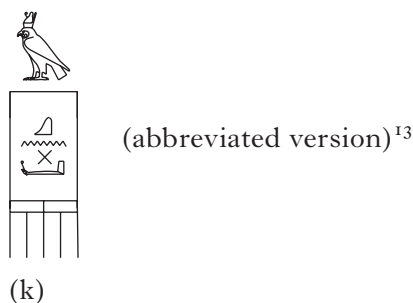
II.2.



*Hrw hq3 qn*¹¹ *tkn h3swt*

Horus ‘the brave ruler, the one who tramples on/attacks¹² foreign countries’

II.3.



Hrw qn

Horus ‘the brave’

⁹ For its different spellings, see *Wb.* V, 41. The presence of the phonetic complement of *qn* in (i) invalidates the alternative reading *hq3 nht* suggested by W. Helck, ‘Alexander. „Der Grosse“’, in *LÄ* I, 132 and Menu, *BIFAO* 98, 258. The reading *hqmw*, ‘the one who offers’, of Burstein, *AncSoc* 22, 143 is wrong.

¹⁰ Other translations as ‘powerful’ and ‘strong’ are possible; see *Wb.* V, 42.4 and 7.

¹¹ Again erroneously Burstein, *AncSoc* 22, 143: *hqmw*, ‘the ruler’.

¹² Lit. ‘the one who approaches with hostility’; see *Wb.* V, 334.7. Sales, *Ideologia*, 141 omits to translate the participle, whereas Hölbl, ‘Königliche Legitimität’, 273, id., *Ptolemäerreiches*, 71, and id., ‘Zur Legitimation der Ptolemäer’, 24, renders the verb ‘to drive out’.

¹³ I prefer to consider H.II.1–3 as different versions of a unique name rather than as three independent names, since all of them are formed from—or at least contain—the same element (*qn*), and are documented together in the same sites; contra Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 419, H2 and H5 = II, H3 = III, H7 = V.

III.



(l)

Hrw ḥq3 ḥq3w nzw t3 (r) ḏr=f

Horus 'the ruler of the rulers of the entire land'

IV.



(m)

Hrw tms-ꜥ

Horus 'the strong-armed'

Sources

(a) Northern façade of the Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, outer column of text on left flank of door.

(b) Northern façade of the Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, outer column of text on right flank of door.

(c) Entrance door to the room of Amenhotep III containing the Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, inner face of lintel (L E 82)¹⁴ (2 symmetrical examples).¹⁵

(d) Entrance door to antechamber of the Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, inner face of western jamb.

¹⁴ For the identification of scenes and other decorations in Theban monuments, I follow H. H. Nelson, *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations* (OIP 56; Chicago, 1941).

¹⁵ The Barque Shrine at Luxor temple contains three more empty *serekhs*. Probably their content (presumably also H.I, since this form is exclusive to the monument) was originally painted; see M. Abd el-Raziq, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexanders des Grossen im Tempel von Luxor* (AVDAIK 16; Mainz, 1984), 19 n. 15, 55 n. 34. One of them appears on the outer face of the eastern wall of the shrine (scene L E 181), whereas the other two head the columns of text on the inner face of the jambs of the southern door.

- (e) Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, western wall (scene K F 369) and northern wall (scene K F 384).
- (f) Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, southern wall (scene K F 375).
- (g) Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, eastern wall (scene K F 377).
- (h) Portico of the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna, outer face of central architrave over entrance door (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wilkinson dep. a. 16 folio 71), today destroyed (4 examples, symmetrical 2-to-2).¹⁶
- (i) Portico of the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna, lower face of central architrave over entrance door (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wilkinson dep. a. 16 folio 71), today destroyed (2 symmetrical examples).
- (j) Façade of the Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, top of entablature (2 symmetrical examples).
- (k) Block no. 218/IV from Hermopolis Magna, probably belonging to the temple of Thoth (2 symmetrical examples).¹⁷
- (l) Pedestal from the temple of Alexander at Bahariya (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Basement no. 66 – 18/7/1977).
- (m) Clepsydra fragment in the Hermitage Museum (inv. no. 2507a).¹⁸

Multiple Horus names for the same king, reflecting to some extent the diversity of royal manifestations,¹⁹ are quite common throughout Egyptian history, particularly from the New Kingdom.²⁰ The designations used for Alexander are also documented for other previous kings. They are stereotyped and relatively frequently used formulae that are

¹⁶ Wilkinson only reproduces three of them, which is probably just a copying error.

¹⁷ The assignation of this variant to Alexander is not completely certain. It is the sole extant attestation and the block on which it appears also bears five occurrences of the Throne name (see T.I.2.1.00 and ss below) with a specific spelling also documented for Ptolemy I (*Handbuch*², 235–6, no. 1, T3). Even if that would turn the latter into a possible candidate, it seems more likely that we are dealing here with a shortened version of H.II.1 rather than an abbreviation of Ptolemy's Throne name *wr phty nsu qn* (ibid., 235–6, no. 1, H), especially because Alexander is much better documented at this site. The block is also ascribed to Alexander in G. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929–1939: Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition in Hermopolis, Ober-Ägypten* (Hildesheim, 1959), 111 (chap. iv, § 24b), 300 (chap. xv, § 18); Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 361 (Ar-A3-032), 419 H7 = V, 421 T15–16. However, it is attributed to Ptolemy I in K. Bittel and A. Hermann, 'Grabungsbericht Hermopolis 1933', *MDAIK* 5 (1934), 37 (fig. 17a–b), 38. More cautiously, both possibilities are considered by S. Snape and D. Bailey, *British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt: The Great Portico at Hermopolis Magna. Present State and Past Prospects* (BMOP 63; London, 1988), 3; Winter, in Beck, Bol, and Bückling (eds), *Ägypten Griechenland Rom*, 210 (fig. 3), 211; M. Chauveau and C. Thiers, 'L'Égypte en transition: Des Perses aux Macédoniens', in P. Briant and F. Joannès (eds), *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques (vers 350–300 av. J.-C.)* (Persika 9; Paris, 2006), 391 (A3).

¹⁸ Not in Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 419 H. For the attribution of this object—and of the names it displays—to Alexander the Great, see G. Lodomez, 'Les fragments de clepsydra de la dynastie des Argéades (332–304 av. J.-C.)', *CdE* 82 (2007), 63–5 (e), esp. 64.

¹⁹ As is obviously the case with each of the five names forming the titulary; see M.-A. Bonhême, *Les noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire* (BdE 98; Cairo, 1987), 19; M.-A. Bonhême and A. Forgeau, *Pharaon: Les secrets du pouvoir* (Paris, 1988), 38.

²⁰ Available examples from the first millennium BC are quite scarce. Burstein, *AncSoc* 22, 143, states that this practice is 'limited to rulers who are known not to have been crowned' and lists, besides Alexander, Herihor (end of the Twentieth Dynasty), Piye (Twenty-fifth Dynasty), and Philip Arrhidaeus. However, Herihor only has a single Horus name with variants: M.-A. Bonhême, 'Hérihor fut-il effectivement roi?', *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 274–8 (§5); id., *Noms royaux*, 27–31; id., *Le Livre des Rois de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire, I: XXIIe dynastie* (BdE 99; Cairo, 1987); *Handbuch*², 176–7, no. 10bis, H1–5). To Burstein's list should be added other rulers, for some of whom a coronation could have taken place, such as the High Priest of Amun Pinudjem (Twenty-first Dynasty) (Bonhême, *Noms royaux*, 40–7; *Handbuch*², 182–3, a, H1–4), Shebitku (Twenty-fifth Dynasty) (*Handbuch*², 208–9, no. 5, H1–5; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 371, H1–6 = I–III), Nephertites I (Twenty-ninth Dynasty) (Blöbaum,

endowed with an important symbolic load, since they ‘exalt the *shm*-function (‘strength, power’) of the king’,²¹ by means of which ‘the Pharaoh repels the enemies, the chaos, the misery, the lying, and the injustice (*isft*)’.²² All these names refer generically to the power of the king (H.II–IV)²³ guaranteeing the protection of the country (H.I),²⁴ three forms of which also explicitly proclaim the rule (*hq3*) of the king (H.II.1–2 and H.III),²⁵ while one might also allude to a specific historical event: the expulsion of the Persians and the conquest of their vast empire (H.II.2).²⁶

Of the different versions, H.II stands out, being documented both at Karnak (H.II.1–2) and in Hermopolis Magna (H.II.1 and H.II.3). All the remaining ones seem to be confined to a specific monument (H.I), or to a particular site (H.III–IV).

mk Kmt is quite common in the Two Ladies names of Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty kings, especially from the reign of Ramesses II onward.²⁷ It also appears appended to one variant of the Horus name of the last ruler of the Thirtieth Dynasty, Nectanebo II,²⁸ and later it reappears in the Two Ladies name borne by the Roman emperors Trajan and Caracalla in the temple of Esna,²⁹ and heading one of the Two Ladies Names of Antoninus Pius(?) in Madamud.³⁰

There are no exact parallels for H.II.1, although the Horus name of Ptolemy I contains *nsu qn*, ‘the brave king’.³¹ The element *tkn h3swt* in H.II.2 occurs only once elsewhere, in the Two Ladies name of Nectanebo II.³² In the third place, the abbreviated form *qn*

DibeK, 398, H and H2 = I–II), and Hakoris (Twenty-ninth Dynasty) (Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 400, H1–10 = I–IV). For Piye’s Horus names, see *Handbuch*², 206–7, no. 3, H1–3; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 366, H1–4 = I–IV. For those of Philip Arrhidæus, see *Handbuch*², 232–3, no. 2, H1 (erroneous reading) and H2; de Meulenaere, *CRIPEL* 13, 53–4 (i); Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 424, H1–3 = I–II.

²¹ Menu, *BIFAO* 98, 258.

²² B. Menu, ‘Alexandre le Grand, *hq3 n Kmt*’, *BIFAO* 99 (1999), 355.

²³ For their significance, see Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 81–3, 88–9. Also N.-C. Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne, de la XIXe dynastie à la conquête d’Alexandre* (MAIBL 6; Paris, 1986), 494–7, 677, 707–9 (hereafter Grimal, *Termes*).

²⁴ Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 120–1. Also Grimal, *Termes*, 322–7.

²⁵ Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 48–52, 74. Also Grimal, *Termes*, 564–5, 572–82. The *hq3*-function (‘government’) is the other fundamental duty of every Egyptian king, by means of which ‘he guides the country and brings peace, prosperity, wealth, justice, and equity (*msʿt*) to it’; see Menu, *BIFAO* 99, 355. Also Menu, *BIFAO* 98, 250–1.

²⁶ In this sense, see for example Hölbl, ‘Königliche Legitimität’, 273; id., *Ptolemäerreiches*, 71; id., ‘Zur Legitimation der Ptolemäer’, 23–4.

²⁷ Hölbl, ‘Königliche Legitimität’, 273; id., *Ptolemäerreiches*, 71. For example it is documented for Sety I (*Handbuch*², 150–1, no. 2, N6), Ramesses II (ibid., 151–2, no. 3, N1–2 and N4), Sety II <also in his Horus name> (ibid., 158–61, no. 6, H6 and N3–4), Ramesses IV (ibid., 166–7, no. 3, N), and Ramesses VII (ibid., 170–1, no. 6, N1–2). Grimal, *Termes*, 322–7 gives a fuller list.

²⁸ Hölbl, ‘Königliche Legitimität’, 273; id., *Ptolemäerreiches*, 71; id., ‘Zur Legitimation der Ptolemäer’, 23–4. See *Handbuch*², 228–9, no. 3, H3–4 (the reading *mk B3qt* is wrong); Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 411, H3–4 and H6–9 = II.

²⁹ J.-C. Grenier, ‘Le protocole pharaonique des Empereurs romains (Analyse formelle et signification historique)’, *RdE* 38 (1987), 85–8 <‘decorative pseudo-protocol’>; id., *Les titulatures des empereurs romains dans les documents en langue égyptienne* (PapBrux 22; Brussels, 1989), 95–6.

³⁰ É. Drioton, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1925): Les inscriptions* (FIFAIO 3/2; Cairo, 1926), 8 (no. 1.c); C. Thiers, ‘Un protocole pharaonique d’Antonin le Pieux? (*Médamoud*, inscr. n° 1, C-D)’, *RdE* 51 (2000), 267 (no. 1).

³¹ *Handbuch*², 234–5, no. 1, H.

³² Hölbl, ‘Königliche Legitimität’, 273; id., *Ptolemäerreiches*, 71; id., ‘Zur Legitimation der Ptolemäer’, 23–4. See *Handbuch*², 228–9, no. 3, N3; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 412, N3 and N7–11 = II. However, there exist numerous variants of this epithet, formed from different verbal adjectives with analogous meaning, such as *wʿf h3swt*, ‘the one who defeats/subjugates the foreign countries’, that accompany the element *mk Kmt* in some Two Ladies names of Ramesses II (*Handbuch*², 152–3, no. 3, N1–2) and Sety II (ibid., 160–1, no. 6, N3–4), also in the Two Ladies name shared by Trajan and Caracalla in Esna (Grenier, *RdE* 38, 85–8 <‘decorative pseudo-protocol’>; id., *Titulatures*, 95–6), and in one of the Two Ladies names of Antoninus Pius(?) in Madamud (Drioton, *Médamoud* (1925), 8 (no. 1.c); Thiers, *RdE* 51, 267 (no. 1)). For more examples linked to the already mentioned and other

is the more commonly used, constituting the Golden Horus name of Psammetichus I (Twenty-sixth Dynasty),³³ the Two Ladies name of Akoris (Twenty-ninth Dynasty),³⁴ and one of the two Golden Horus names of the founder of the last native dynasty, Nectanebo I.³⁵ It also occurs as part of more extensive phraseologies in the names of both previous and later kings, for example heading one of the Golden Horus names of Ramesses III (Twentieth Dynasty),³⁶ the Two Ladies name of Ptolemy III,³⁷ and one of the Two Ladies names of Domitian on the obelisk at Piazza Navona in Rome.³⁸

The clearest and chronologically closest parallel to H.III is the Golden Horus name of Alexander IV: *ḥqꜣ m tꜣ (r) ḏr=f*, ‘the ruler in the entire land’.³⁹ The element *ḥqꜣ ḥqꜣw* is quite unusual in royal titularies, the only precedent occurring in one of the Horus names of Amenhotep III (Eighteenth Dynasty) following *kꜣ nḥt*, ‘strong bull’.⁴⁰ It recurs in the Roman Period, as an epithet in the canonical Horus name applied to the emperors from Augustus onward,⁴¹ and also as the heading of some variants of their Throne names, all of them geographically circumscribed to the sanctuaries of Dendara.⁴² Although it is tempting to link this designation to the imperial vocation of the Macedonian sovereign,⁴³ this appellative was deeply rooted in the Egyptian tradition, being used from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward by several kings, including Ramesses II and Nectanebo I. It should not be considered as the Egyptian translation of the title ‘King of Kings’ of the Achaemenid sovereigns, rendered as *pꜣ wr n nꜣ wrw* in hieroglyphs and as βασιλεὺς βασιλέων in Greek, as G. Hölbl points out.⁴⁴

Ramesside kings, see Grimal, *Termes*, 324–5.

³³ *Handbuch*², 214–15, no. 1, G1–4; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 379, G1–6.

³⁴ *Handbuch*², 224–5, no. 3, N1–2; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 401, N1–4.

³⁵ Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 406, N11–12 = II.

³⁶ *Handbuch*², 166–7, no. 2, G4.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 236–7, no. 3. N. L. Ohanian, ‘Alessandro e l’Egitto: Aspetti religiosi nell’ideologia politica’, *Aegyptus* 85 (2005), 240–1 suggests that the epithet ἀνίκητος—claimed by Alexander in the spring of 324 BC for his self-deification—may correspond to the Greek rendering of the term *qn* from his Pharaonic titulary, which she translates as ‘victorious/undefeated’. This seems tenuous since the Egyptian equivalent of the epithet would be *nḥt*; see *Wb.* II, 315.6; J. M. Galán, *Victory and Border: Terminology Related to Egyptian Imperialism in the XVIIIth Dynasty* (HÄB 40; Hildesheim, 1995), 41–69, esp. 42–9.

³⁸ Grenier, *Titulatures*, 94.

³⁹ *Handbuch*², 232–3, no. 3, G; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 426, G and G2 (concerning the reading, see n. 157).

⁴⁰ *Handbuch*², 140–1, no. 9, H5.

⁴¹ For this form and its abbreviated variants, see Grenier, *RdE* 38, 92–102; *id.*, *Titulatures*, 96–7. Besides Augustus, this epithet is also documented for Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius; see Grenier, *RdE* 38, 82–7, with n. 44; *id.*, *Titulatures*, 87–96; H. Willems, F. Coppens, and M. de Meyer, *The Temple of Shanhūr, I: The Sanctuary, the Wabet, and the Gates of the Central Hall and the Great Vestibule (1–98)* (OLA 124; Leuven, 2003), 115 (61), pls 95, 97 (Caligula).

⁴² Specifically in connection with Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, and Trajan; see J.-C. Grenier, ‘Traditions pharaoniques et réalités impériales: Le nom de couronnement du pharaon à l’époque romaine’, in L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci (eds), *Egitto e storia antica dall’ellenismo all’età araba: Bilancio di un confronto* (Bologna, 1989), 405–9, 415–16; *id.*, *Titulatures*, 9–56, 100 (index).

⁴³ For example, in the opinion of Capriotti Vittozzi, in S. Russo (ed.), *Atti del V Convegno Nazionale di Egitologia e Papirologia*, 31 this Horus name ‘expresses well the concept of universality of his reign’. Similarly, Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 50 sees here an allusion to his great empire, which will reappear in some names of the other members of the Macedonian Dynasty, specifically in the Two Ladies name of Philip Arrhidaeus (*ḥqꜣ ḥꜣswt*, ‘the ruler of foreign countries’; see *Handbuch*², 232–3, no. 2, N; de Meulenaere, *CRIPEL* 13, 54 (ii); Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 424, N) and in the Golden Horus Name of Alexander IV, mentioned above. See also Hölbl, ‘Königliche Legitimität’, I, 273–5; *id.*, *Ptolemäerreiches*, 71.

⁴⁴ G. Hölbl, ‘Zum Titel *ḥqꜣ ḥqꜣw* des römischen Kaisers’, *GM* 127 (1992), 49–52; contra J.-C. Grenier, ‘Le prophète et l’Autokratôr’, *RdE* 37 (1986), 81–9; *id.*, *RdE* 38, 99; *id.*, *Titulatures*, 16. Grenier surmises that the Greek title βασιλεὺς βασιλέων granted to Caesarion in 34 BC was incorporated in its Egyptian form (the expression here examined) into the protocol of Octavian in order to establish a tie between the two ‘dynasties’. However, as

Nbty msi wr phty it dww t3w h3swt

Two Ladies ‘the lion, great of might, the one who takes possession of mountains, lands, and deserts’

Source

(a) Pedestal from the temple of Alexander at Bahariya (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Basement no. 66 – 18/7/1977).

These three epithets stress the warlike character of Alexander the Great, and develop the ideas expressed in his Horus names. The lion frequently represents pharaoh throughout Egyptian history,⁵⁰ especially from the New Kingdom onward, as a metaphor of his virile and combative nature.⁵¹ The second epithet highlights the king’s physical strength,⁵² while universal dominion is referred to again with the third element.⁵³ All three—a reflection of the ideal pharaoh as fighter—fit with Alexander’s historical image as a great conqueror. The third epithet might allude to his successful military campaigns.

Ramesses II (Nineteenth Dynasty)⁵⁴ and Ramesses III (Twentieth Dynasty)⁵⁵ are the only other kings actually referred to as ‘lions’ in their titularies.⁵⁶ The epithet *wr phty* first occurs in royal protocols in the Eighteenth Dynasty,⁵⁷ mainly linked to the Horus name until the Twentieth Dynasty, although it is infrequent.⁵⁸ It then almost disappears until the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods,⁵⁹ when it recurs in the three first names—Horus, Two Ladies, and Golden Horus names—of the titularies of the Ptolemies⁶⁰ and in the canonical Horus name of the emperors.⁶¹ The last element of

⁵⁰ *Wb.* II, 11.18. Also *Wb.* II, 315.14.

⁵¹ Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 11; Grimal, *Termes*, 403–8, 683–5; Bonhême and Forgeau, *Pharaon*, 204–5, 210–13.

⁵² Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 78–81. Also Grimal, *Termes*, 83–4, 89, 409–12, 703–4.

⁵³ Cf. Grimal, *Termes*, 687–8; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 58–9.

⁵⁴ *Handbuch*², 154–5, no. 3, N7.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 164–5, no. 2, H2.

⁵⁶ Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 10–11, notes that epithets containing the term ‘lion’ were popular under Amenhotep III (Eighteenth Dynasty). He also draws attention to the use of GSL E23 to write *nb*, ‘lord’ in the Ptolemaic Period: cf. *Wb.* II, 227; F. Daumas, *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d’époque gréco-romaine*, I (OM 4/1, Montpellier, 1988), 230–1 (nos 343 and 355); D. Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische: Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstücken*, I (Hützel, 2008), 201 (no. 54). Nevertheless, the reading *nb wr phty*, ‘lord, great of might’, is unlikely since it lacks parallels. Although the epithet *nb phty*, ‘lord of might’, is quite common from the New Kingdom onward (see *Wb.* I, 540.5; Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 11; Grimal, *Termes*, 704; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 80), it is rarely included in onomastic protocols: occurring only in Ahmose’s Throne name (Eighteenth Dynasty) (*Handbuch*², 132–3, no. 1, T1–4), Psusennes I’s Two Ladies name (Twenty-first Dynasty) (Bonhême, *Noms royaux*, 64–6; *Handbuch*², 178–9, no. 3, N), and Psammetichus II’s Birth name (Twenty-sixth Dynasty) (*ibid.*, 216–17, no. 3, E2; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 385, E2 = II).

⁵⁷ Specifically for Amenhotep II: *Handbuch*², 138–9, no. 7, H1.

⁵⁸ Nineteenth Dynasty: Ramesses II (*ibid.*, 152–3, no. 3, H9), Sety II (*ibid.*, 158–9, no. 6, H1–2), and Siptah (*ibid.*, 162–3, no. 7, H5–6); Twentieth Dynasty: Sethnakhte (*ibid.*, 164–5, no. 1, H), Ramesses III (*ibid.*, 164–7, no. 2, H5 and H16), and Ramesses XI (*ibid.*, 174–5, no. 10, G). Variants of this epithet, formed with different but analogous adjectives, are frequently documented both in titularies and royal phraseologies.

⁵⁹ In the intervening period it only occurs in one of the Golden Horus names of Osorkon II (Twenty-second Dynasty); see Bonhême, *Noms royaux*, 157–8; *Handbuch*², 186–7, no. 5, G1–2.

⁶⁰ Ptolemy I (*Handbuch*², 234–5, no. 1, H), Ptolemy II (*ibid.*, 234–5, no. 2, N), Ptolemy III (*ibid.*, 234–7, no. 3, H3 and G), Berenike II (Gauthier, *Livre des rois* IV, 261 no. lx.1), Ptolemy IV (*Handbuch*², 236–7, no. 4, N), Ptolemy V (*ibid.*, 236–7, no. 5, N), Cleopatra I (*ibid.*, 238–9, no. 5a, H; Sales, *Ideologia*, 151 <as a Two Ladies name disguised within the Horus one>), Ptolemy VI (*Handbuch*², 238–9, no. 6, G), Ptolemy VIII (*ibid.*, 240–1, no. 8, G), Ptolemy IX (*ibid.*, 240–3, no. 9, N2–3), Ptolemy XII (*ibid.*, 244–5, no. 12, N1–2), and Cleopatra VII (D. Kurth, ‘Anhang: Liste der Namen der makedonischen und ptolemäischen Könige’, in *LÄ* IV (1982), 1195). On the importance of this epithet as a ‘distinctive mark’ in the Two Ladies names and in some Golden Horus names of the Ptolemies (its inclusion in the Horus name is exceptional), see Sales, *Ideologia*, 151–2, 158, 162–3.

⁶¹ Documented for Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, and Hadrian; see Grenier, *RdE* 38, 82–7; *id.*, *Titulatures*, 87–96. It also occurs as a Two Ladies name for Augustus at Dendara

- (b) ...[*hq3 w3d-*]wr šnw nb (n) i(t)n (?)
 '...[the ruler of the] Great-[Green] (= the sea) and of all that the sun
 encircles (?)'

Sources

(a) Pedestal from the temple of Alexander at Bahariya (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Basement no. 66 – 18/7/1977).

(b) Rear wall of the temple of Alexander at Bahariya, central column of text (today almost completely destroyed, uncertain reading).⁶⁵

These epithets reinforce the concepts expressed in Alexander's Horus names. The first one, which parallels the first two elements of Alexander's Two Ladies name, is another recurrent metaphor of the king as warrior;⁶⁶ the second again references the protection of Egypt;⁶⁷ and the third one restates universal domination (possibly alluding to Alexander's vast empire).⁶⁸ Its mention of the sea may evoke the accomplishment of one of Alexander's goals in conquering Egypt: the subjugation of all eastern Mediterranean lands, and their harbours in particular, as a prior and crucial step to the establishment of a Greco-Macedonian thalassocracy.⁶⁹

k3 nht is a ubiquitous component of Horus names of Eighteenth to Twenty-second Dynasty kings.⁷⁰ Its use subsequently declines, only occurring in some forms of the Horus names of Piye⁷¹ and Shebitku (Twenty-fifth Dynasty).⁷² After Alexander it reappears only sporadically in the protocols of Philip Arrhidaeus⁷³ and some Ptolemies,⁷⁴ and also as alternative forms of the Horus name of some Roman emperors.⁷⁵ While epithets

136 (268) (Claudius). It also appears in a Golden Horus name of Antoninus Pius(?) in Madamud; see Drioton, *Médamoud* (1925), 8 (no. 1.c); Thiers, *RdE* 51, 267 (no. 1), 268.

⁶⁴ Or 'of the orbit of the sun'; see *Wb.* IV, 493.4–5.

⁶⁵ The suggested transcription is hypothetical, with the reconstruction of the text based on plates in A. Fakhry, 'Bahria and Farafra Oases. Second Preliminary Report on the New Discoveries', *ASAE* 39 (1939), pl. cxix.a; id., 'A Temple of Alexander the Great at Bahria Oasis', *ASAE* 40 (1941), pl. cxiii.2. Fakhry's copy of the inscription (id., *ASAE* 40, 826; id., *The Egyptian Deserts: Bahria Oasis*, II (Cairo, 1950), 45) has been corrected here. If the presence of this name on the vertical inscription dividing the two registers of symmetrical scenes (with just the lower one remaining) could be confirmed, it would imply that possibly also the Horus and Two Ladies names of the king were originally carved on its upper portion, presumably with the same forms as on the pedestal uncovered at the site.

⁶⁶ Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 39. Also *Wb.* II, 315.13; *Wb.* V, 95.5–6 and 8; Bonhême and Forgeau, *Pharaon*, 204–5; Galán, *Victory and Border*, 42–4; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 85–7.

⁶⁷ Grimal, *Termes*, 328–9; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 120.

⁶⁸ Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 50, 74.

⁶⁹ I am indebted to J. M. Serrano Delgado for this idea. One of the Two Ladies names of Ptolemy IX (*Handbuch*², 242–3, no. 9, N3) contains the only other reference to the sea currently attested in royal titularies: *šhm w3d-wr*, 'the one who has the power over the sea', interpreted by Sales, *Ideologia*, 157, as alluding to the king's rule over Cyprus. On the purpose of the occupation of Egypt, see J. Seibert, *Alexander der Grosse* (Erträge der Forschung 10; Darmstadt, 1972), 109–11; Hölbl, *Ptolemäerreiches*, 9; N. G. L. Hammond, *The Genius of Alexander the Great* (London, 1997), 97, 100; W. Huss, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit, 332–30 v. Chr.* (Munich, 2001), 61–2; Sales, *Ideologia*, 174.

⁷⁰ Bonhême, *BIFAO* 79, 278; id., *Noms royaux*, 30–1, 239, 258–61 (until Takelot III, not included); Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 420. It is first documented for Thutmose I; see *Handbuch*², 132–3, no. 3, H1–4.

⁷¹ *Handbuch*², 206–7, no. 3, H3; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 366, H3–4 = III–IV.

⁷² *Handbuch*², 208–9, no. 5, H5; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 371, H5 = III.

⁷³ *Handbuch*², 232–3, no. 2, H2; de Meulenaere, *CRIPPEL* 13, 53–4 (i); Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 424, H2 = II.

⁷⁴ Cleopatra III (Gauthier, *Livre des rois* IV, 333 (no. lxxxiii.f); P. Derchain, *Elkab*, I: *Les monuments religieux à l'entrée de l'ouady Hellal* (Brussels, 1971), 49, 6–7*, pl. 14); Ptolemy IX (*Handbuch*², 240–1, no. 9, H2); Ptolemy X (ibid., 242–3, no. 10, N); Ptolemy XII (ibid., 244–5, no. 12, H); and Ptolemy XV (ibid., 246–7, no. 13c, H4). For all of them, see also Sales, *Ideologia*, 147.

⁷⁵ Specifically Augustus (F. Herklotz, *Prinzepts und Pharao: Der Kult des Augustus in Ägypten* (Oikumene 4; Frankfurt, 2007), 135; Cauville, *Le temple de Dendara* XII, 84, 206, pls 58, 130); Tiberius (Grenier, *RdE* 38, 83,

related to war and victory are common in the Golden Horus name, ‘strong bull’ is exclusive to the Horus name throughout Egyptian history.⁷⁶ For this reason, in my opinion, the Golden Horus name of Alexander could have been originally conceived as another version or as an adaptation of his Horus name.

The second epithet is previously only documented as the Golden Horus name of Teos (Thirtieth Dynasty),⁷⁷ and in the variant *ḥwī tswy*, ‘the one who protects the Two Lands’ as part of the Throne name of several Thirteenth Dynasty kings (in one case, however, as the Horus name),⁷⁸ as well as the Golden Horus name of Taharqa (Twenty-fifth dynasty).⁷⁹

The third element is unparalleled in royal titularies, although it is fairly frequently used—as two independent epithets—to describe some of the major Egyptian gods, such as Osiris.⁸⁰ Its inclusion here may assert these divine qualities for Alexander.

The parallels for this name reveal the reappearance of onomastic elements already attested for the last native dynasty and serve to establish a clear analogy with another royal house of foreign origins: the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

Throne Name/King of Upper and Lower Egypt Name [T]

According to S. M. Burstein, quoting M.-A. Bonhême, ‘possession of an “authentic coronation name or *praenomen*” was decisive in antiquity for validating the royal status of a ruler as illustrated by the fact that the *praenomen* is often used alone in inscriptions to identify a king’.⁸¹ This frequency of use results in numerous variant writings.

A compilation of all the different spellings of Alexander’s Throne name that I have been able to document is presented below. A distinction is made between the forms attested in the Theban area—Thebes (T.I.1.1–2) and Armant (T.I.1.1.3)—and those in the rest of the country (T.I.2.1–2) because the differences between them are significant. Nevertheless, within each group, the divergences are slight, mostly consisting of repositioning of signs inside the cartouche, or using differing variants of the same hieroglyphic sign. This mainly affects the logograms of the two deities that head the name, and concerns the presence or absence of Amun’s dorsal ribbon, the existence or not of the uraeus in the sun-disc heading Re’s figure, and variation in the sceptres or other elements held by both gods.⁸²

91 <‘pseudo-protocol of circumstance’>; id., *Titulatures*, 88); Caligula (*Handbuch*², 252–3, no. 3, H; Cauville, *Dendara XIV*, 18–19); Claudius (Grenier, *RdE* 38, 84; id., *Titulatures*, 91 <*nḥt* is left out>; *Handbuch*², 254–5, no. 4, H1–2; Cauville, *Dendara XIV*, 78–9); Nero (Cauville, *Dendara XIV*, 138–9, 212–3); Domitian (Grenier, *Titulatures*, 93), and Antoninus Pius(?) (Drioton, *Médamoud (1925)*, 8 (no. 1.c); Thiers, *RdE* 51, 267 (no. 1)).

⁷⁶ The common use of bellicose epithets in the Golden Horus name is noted by Bonhême and Forgeau, *Pharaon*, 316. The only other instance of *k3 nḥt* outside the Horus name is Ptolemy X’s Two Ladies name: *Handbuch*², 242–3, no. 10, N; Sales, *Ideologia*, 147. In this case it does not head the designation, but is included as one more epithet.

⁷⁷ Accompanied by the epithet *wf ḥswt*, ‘the one who conquers the foreign countries’; see Grimal, *Termes*, 329; *Handbuch*², 226–7, no. 2, G; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 409, G.

⁷⁸ Wegaf (*Handbuch*², 88–9, no. 1, T1–2); Sekhemre-khutawy/Pentjeni (ibid., 88–9, no. 3, T1–4); Sebekhotep II (ibid., 92–3, no. 16, T1–2); and Sebekhotep III (ibid., 94–5, no. 21, H1–2). Also Grimal, *Termes*, 328.

⁷⁹ Grimal, *Termes*, 329; *Handbuch*², 208–9, no. 6, G1–2; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 375, G1–2 and G5–7 = I–II. See Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 378 n. 31 (with references) against the attribution of this designation to Tantamani (Twenty-fifth Dynasty) (for example in Grimal, *Termes*, 329).

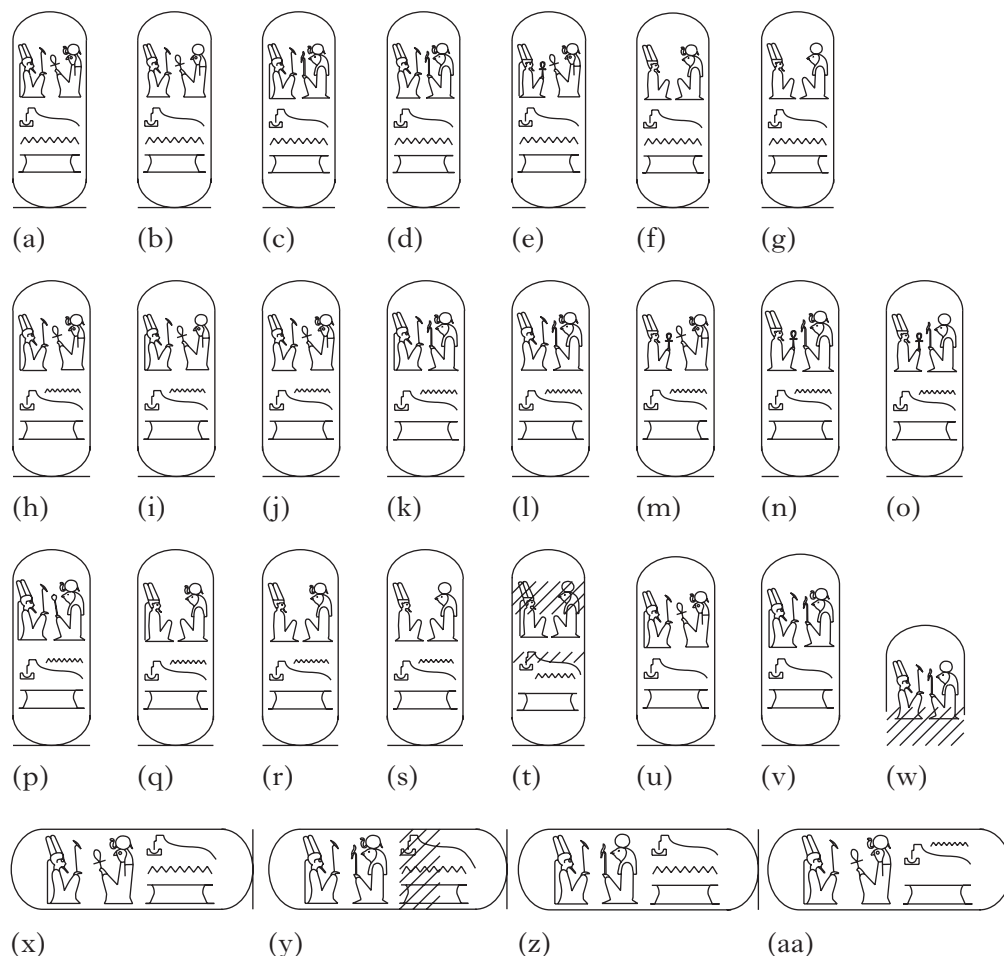
⁸⁰ *LGG VIII*, 145, 156, 171–2. *Hq3 w3d-wr* is also attested for, amongst others, Khonsu (ibid., 575, 577) and Khnum (ibid., 600, 607), whereas *hqs(t) (m) šnw (nb) n itn* is used more often, for example for Isis (ibid., 5, 30), Mut (ibid., 221, 224), Neith (ibid., 266, 271), Hathor (ibid., 353, 391), and Horus Behdety (ibid., 462, 498).

⁸¹ Burstein, *AncSoc* 22, 143. Cf. Bonhême, *Noms royaux*, 1.

⁸² Simpler forms frequently appear in smaller inscriptions, although occasionally by contrast small cartouches

I.1 Theban area

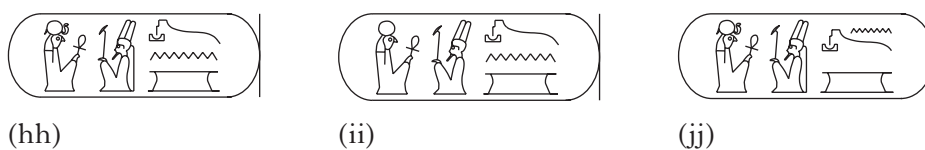
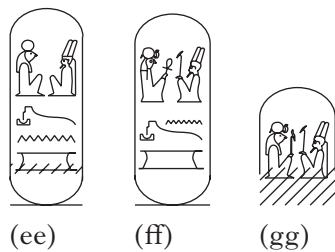
I.1.1.



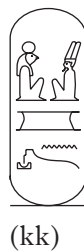
are executed in great detail next to large ones that are fairly schematic. The following are examples in which these details could not be determined, and, therefore, are not taken into account here: Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, western wall (scene K F 369), southern wall (K F 376, partially damaged), eastern wall (scene K F 378), and northern wall (scene K F 387, completely destroyed); pylon gateway of Khonsu temple at Karnak (scenes K M 1m–n and lower register of western side of passageway); block no. 1370 of the chapel of Khonsu-Neferhotep in the enclosure wall of Amun precinct at Karnak; and Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, upper end of left jamb of northern façade door (only the second half of the cartouche remains), left end of lower face of lintel of southern door (L E 203, almost completely destroyed), column of text on eastern side of passageway of this same door (almost completely destroyed), and eastern passageway of entrance door to room of Amenhotep III containing the shrine (only the second half of the cartouche remains). Others are listed in the notes below. Some attestations, however, although partly or completely destroyed, are considered here because their position on the monument and the existing parallels justify the reconstruction of the orthography. There are also cartouches in a reversed orientation with respect to the rest of the inscription or exchanged with the Birth name. Given that all these cases comprise mere copying mistakes, all (properly emended) are also taken into account. There is also a block from Athribis bearing a cartouche with the Throne name *stp-n-R^c mr(y)-Imn* that has been attributed to either Alexander, Philip Arrhidaeus, or Ptolemy I (inv. no. TA 95/75p); see K. Myśliwiec, 'Tell Atrib: Excavations 1995', *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 7 (1996), 54 (fig. 1), 60; id., *Herr beider Länder: Ägypten im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (KAW 69; Mainz, 1998), 214 (fig. 80), 249; id. and M. Bakr Said, 'Polish-Egyptian Excavations at Tell Atrib in 1994–1995', *Études et Travaux* 18 (1999), 191, 192–3 (figs 9b, 10); Chauveau and Thiers, in Briant and Joannès (eds), *La transition*, 390 (A2). Since the specific spelling that the block displays does not have any exact parallel among the attestations of either Alexander or Arrhidaeus outside the Theban area, I prefer to ascribe it to Ptolemy. Moreover, an identical spelling occurs on another block from Benha along with the Birth name 'Ptolemy' (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 43839); see C. Thiers, *Le Pharaon lagide «bâtitteur»: Analyse historique de la construction des temples à l'époque ptolémaïque* (PhD thesis, Université Paul-Valéry–Montpellier III; Montpellier, 1997), 27 (Soter I no. 4), pl. 3.1–2.



I.1.2.

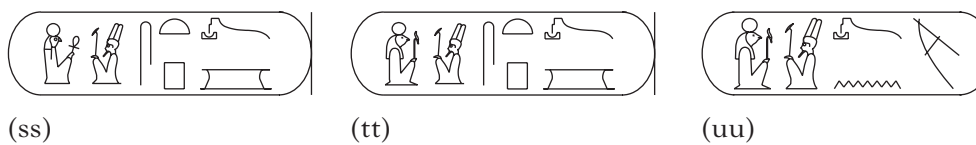
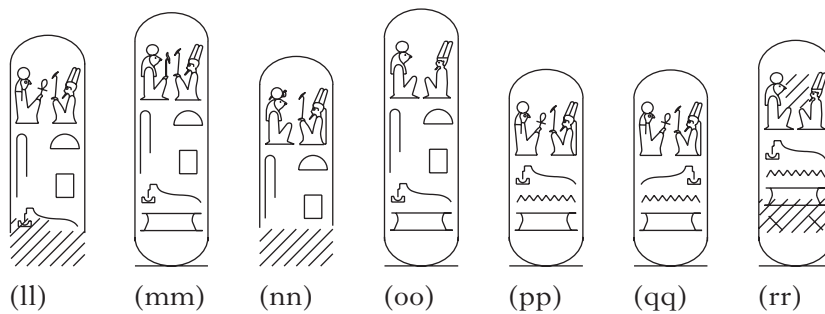


I.1.3.



I.2. Rest of the country

I.2.1.



I.2.2.



(vv)

Sources

(a) Gateway of the Fourth Pylon of the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak, base of southern jamb projection (K C 25k) (3 examples); entrance door to antechamber of the Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, inner face of western jamb; isolated block no. 92CL1710 from Karnak (partially damaged); and Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, outer face of eastern wall (scene L E 188 and column of text between the scenes L E 192–3), central part of uraeus frieze at top of inner face of entrance door to room of Amenhotep III containing shrine, and eastern end of northern stretch of ceiling of this room between the architraves.

(b) Isolated blocks nos 94CL2164 + 94CL1976 (face A) from Karnak;⁸³ Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, falcon frieze heading inner face of eastern wall (L E 204, figure 3).

(c) Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, outer face of eastern wall (scenes L E 176–8, 180–1, 183–4, 186–7, 190, 192, and columns of text between scenes L E 178–9, 180–1, 182–3, 186–7) and falcon frieze heading inner face of western wall (L E 197, figures 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9) (20 examples in total).⁸⁴

(d) Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, outer face of eastern wall (scenes L E 179, 189, 191 and columns of text between scenes L E 176–7, 184–5, 190–1).

(e) Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, inner face of western wall (scene L E 199).

(f) Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, procession of nome gods on base of inner face of eastern wall (L E 208, scenes 7, 9, and 11).

(g) Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, inner face of western wall (scene L E 198 and falcon frieze L E 197, figure 11), inner face of eastern wall (scenes L E 205–7 and falcon frieze L E 204, figs 1, 5, 7, 9, and 11), outer face of eastern wall (scene L E 185 and column of text between the scenes L E 188–9), procession of nome gods on base of inner face of eastern wall (L E 208, scenes 3, 5, 13, 15, and 17 [this last one on left base of northern façade]), inner face of lintel of entrance door to room of Amenhotep III containing shrine (L E 82, scene on left half), and inner face of northern wall of this room (scene L E 83) (19 examples in total).⁸⁵

(h) Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, façade (scene K F 360.sup., reversed orientation), western wall (scenes K F 370 and 389), southern wall (scene K F 373b),⁸⁶ and northern wall (scene K F 386, partially damaged); and Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, procession of nome gods on base of inner face of western wall (L E 201, scene 8), outer face of western wall (scenes L E 151, 153–6, 159, 161–3, 165–8 and columns of text between scenes 152–4, 155–6, 160–2, 163–8), outer column of text on right

⁸³ The sceptre held by Amun is very doubtful.

⁸⁴ In two of the attestations (figures 5 and 7 of 197) the sceptres held by the gods are doubtful, as is the uraeus of Re in two others (scene 177 and again figure 7 of 197).

⁸⁵ Three of which (scenes 185, 198, and scene 17 of 208) are damaged, so it is impossible to determine the details of the logograms of both deities. Re perhaps bears the uraeus on scene 11 of 204.

⁸⁶ The lower register of the southern wall of the monument contains six scenes to which Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. vii gives only two nos (372–3). However, they are individualised here as 372a–d and 373a–b (from right <West> to left <East>). For a drawing of the register, see LD IV, pl. 4a.

flank of northern façade door, outer column of text on both jambs of southern façade door, right flank of southern façade door (scenes L E 173–4), left and right ends of central register on entablature of southern façade (L E 172), and inner face of northern wall of room of Amenhotep III containing shrine (scene L E 130) (37 examples in total).⁸⁷

(i) Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, eastern wall (scene K F 379); and Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, left flank of southern façade door (scenes L E 170–1).

(j) Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, outer face of western wall (scenes L E 158, 160, 164 and columns of text between scenes L E 154–5, 157–60) and column of text on inner face of eastern jamb of southern door (8 examples in total).

(k) Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, western wall (scene K F 371), southern wall (scenes K F 372c, partially damaged, and 374), and eastern wall (scene K F 380).

(l) Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, northern wall (scene K F 381).

(m) Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, outer face of western wall (scene L E 157).

(n) Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, southern wall (scene K F 373a) and northern wall (scene K F 382).⁸⁸

(o) Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, procession of nome gods of the western side (scene 20, actually on right base of northern façade).

(p) Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, northern wall (scene K F 384).

(q) Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, northern wall (scene K F 385); and Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, outer column of text on left flank of northern façade door.

(r) Sanctuary of Alexander in Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, southern wall (scene K F 375) and northern wall (scene K F 381); and Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, processions of nome gods on base of inner face of western wall (L E 201, scenes 4, 6, and 7) and of eastern wall (L E 208, scene 1).

(s) Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, procession of nome gods on base of inner face of western wall (L E 201, scenes 2, 10, 12, 14, 16 [actually on inner face of northern wall], 18 [actually on right base of northern façade]),⁸⁹ outer face of western wall (scene L E 152 and column of text between the scenes L E 151–2), procession of nome gods of the eastern side (scene 19, actually on left base of northern façade), first external column of text on both jambs of northern façade door,⁹⁰ lunette heading northern façade (sphinx on lower left corner and column of text on right border), and inner face of lintel of entrance door to the room of Amenhotep III containing shrine (L E 82, scene on right half) (14 examples in total).⁹¹

(t) Pylon gateway of Khonsu temple at Karnak (scene K M 1a, reversed orientation).

(u) Room of Amenhotep III containing the Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, lower face of northern end of eastern architrave.

⁸⁷ Two of which (columns of text between scenes 153–4 and 155–6) are completely destroyed today. Since this specific writing is the preferred one on this part of the monument, its restitution for both of them seems highly probable to me.

⁸⁸ Erroneously U21 + N5 with reversed orientation in the second attestation.

⁸⁹ The cartouche is not preserved on scene 12, and scenes 16 and 18 are almost completely destroyed. However, considering nearby parallels, the restitution of the writing seems once again very likely to me.

⁹⁰ The cartouche on the left jamb is not conserved but probably exhibited the same writing as its symmetrical counterpart.

⁹¹ Four of which are completely destroyed, whereas three others (scene 152, column of text between the scenes 151–2, and scene 14 of 201) are partially damaged, obscuring the details of the logograms of both deities.

(v) Room of Amenhotep III containing the Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, lower face of northern end of western architrave.

(w) Isolated block no. 09CL0004 from Karnak.⁹²

(x) Gateway of the Fourth Pylon of the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak, symmetrical dedication formula on base of both jambs (K C 25i, partially damaged, and 25m); pylon gateway of Khonsu temple at Karnak (scene K M 10); lintel of the chapel of Khonsu-Neferhotep in the enclosure wall of Amun's precinct at Karnak (block no. 1350); and Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, eastern and western sides of passageway of southern door (7 well-preserved, 6 very damaged, and 5 destroyed examples)⁹³ and right half of lower text register on inner face of lintel of entrance door to room of Amenhotep III containing shrine (23 examples in total).

(y) Pylon gateway of Khonsu temple at Karnak (scene K M 1c).

(z) Pylon gateway of Khonsu temple at Karnak, inner face of left jamb (scene K M 76a).⁹⁴

(aa) Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, left and right halves of lower text register on lintel of southern façade door and right halves of upper and lower text registers on entablature of southern façade (4 examples in total).

(bb) Pylon gateway of Khonsu temple at Karnak, inner face of right jamb (scene K M 75a).

(cc) Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, symmetrical dedication formula on lower part of inner face of walls (2 examples).

(dd) Façade of the Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, top of entablature.

(ee) Pylon gateway of Khonsu temple at Karnak (scene K M 1b).⁹⁵

(ff) Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak, western wall (scene K F 388).

(gg) Isolated blocks nos 09CL0001, 2513, and 09CL0003 (face A) from Karnak.⁹⁶

(hh) Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, dedication formula on inner face of eastern wall over main register of scenes.

(ii) Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, dedication formula on inner face of western wall over main register of scenes and left and right halves of central text register on inner face of lintel of southern door.

(jj) Room of Amenhotep III containing the Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, inner face of northern end of eastern and western architraves.

(kk) Stela from the Bukheum at Armant dated to fourth year of Alexander the Great's reign (British Museum, EA 1697/1719).

(ll) Block no. 201/VII from Hermopolis Magna, probably belonging to the temple of Thoth.⁹⁷

(mm) Portico of the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna, outer face of central architrave over entrance door (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wilkinson dep. a. 16 folio 71),

⁹² Presumably the lower half of the cartouche was originally the same as T.I.1.a–g and T.I.1.2.ee.

⁹³ In the second example (from top) on the eastern side, the logogram of Re does not bear the uraeus (C2).

⁹⁴ Nelson, *Key Plans*, pl. xv gives a single number for the inner face of each jamb (75–6). Since two scenes are preserved on the right (eastern) jamb and four on the left (western) one, they are individualised here as 75a–b and 76a–d (from top to bottom).

⁹⁵ Apart from Amun's dorsal ribbon, the other details of both gods (objects held and Re's uraeus) could not be determined.

⁹⁶ Re does not bear the uraeus on 09CL0001 and only the headdresses of both gods are preserved on 09CL0003 (face A). Presumably the lower halves of the cartouches were originally the same as T.I.1.a–g and T.I.1.2.ee.

⁹⁷ Re perhaps bears the uraeus and the ankh is doubtful.

today destroyed (4 examples, symmetrical 2-to-2);⁹⁸ and the same monument, undetermined location (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wilkinson dep. a. 16 folio 71) (1 example).

(nn) Block from Hermopolis Magna, possibly belonging to the temple of Thoth (G. Daressy, 'Remarques et notes', *RT* 10 (1888), 143–4 (no. x)).

(oo) Block no. 218/IV from Hermopolis Magna, probably belonging to the temple of Thoth.⁹⁹

(pp) Block from the temple of Alexander at Bahariya (Egyptian Museum in Cairo (?)).¹⁰⁰

(qq) Rear wall of the temple of Alexander at Bahariya, central column of text and left scene (today almost completely destroyed; left scene already fragmentary when first discovered).¹⁰¹

(rr) Pedestal from the temple of Alexander at Bahariya (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Basement no. 66 – 18/7/1977).

(ss) Block no. 218/IV from Hermopolis Magna, probably belonging to the temple of Thoth (4 examples, symmetrical 2-to-2).¹⁰²

(tt) Portico of the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna, lower face of central architrave over entrance door (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wilkinson dep. a. 16 folio 71), today destroyed (2 symmetrical examples).¹⁰³

(uu) Clepsydra fragment in the British Museum (EA 933).

(vv) Block in Swiss private collection, probably from the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna (2 examples).

The reading of this name is problematic. The traditional rendering *stp-n-R^c mr(y)-Imn*, 'chosen of Re and beloved of Amun',¹⁰⁴ was dismissed by H. de Meulenaere, who argued that the order must be reversed to read *mr(y)-R^c stp-n-Imn*, 'beloved of Re and chosen of Amun'.¹⁰⁵ This proposal, although adopted in most later studies,¹⁰⁶ does not seem to have gained general acceptance. Some authors, indeed, more cautiously allow for both possibilities.¹⁰⁷

De Meulenaere, in his study of the royal protocol of Philip Arrhidaeus, proposes a reading of that king's Throne name that is different from the traditional one: *mr(y)-R^c stp-n-Imn*, in Thebes, and *mr(y)-k3-R^c stp-n-Imn*, in the rest of the country.¹⁰⁸ He observes that the link between *k3* and *R^c* seems clear, whereas the use of *k3-R^c* with *stp* is more problematic, because *stp* is always followed by a divine name in other royal

⁹⁸ Wilkinson only copies the first example in its entirety, and reproduces schematically the logograms of the two deities in the other three, which presumably would have been identical.

⁹⁹ See n. 17 above.

¹⁰⁰ Since the original document could not be found, for the transcription I follow Fakhry, *ASAE* 40, 827; id., *Bahria Oasis* II, 46.

¹⁰¹ In both cases I also follow the transcription of the inscriptions by Fakhry, *ASAE* 40, 826; id., *Bahria Oasis* II, 45, corrected from the published plates: id., *ASAE* 39, pl. cxix.a; id., *ASAE* 40, pl. cxiii.2; id., *Bahria Oasis* II, 44 (fig. 30), where the adze sign can be seen to be reversed with respect to the other signs. The present state of the originals makes it impossible to confirm the details of the logograms of the two gods as reproduced here.

¹⁰² See n. 17 above.

¹⁰³ On the example on the right only the logograms of both deities have been schematically transcribed by Wilkinson.

¹⁰⁴ Gauthier, *Livre des rois* IV, 199; Helck, in *LÄ* I, 132; Kurth, in *LÄ* IV, 1193; Burstein, *AncSoc* 22, 142; *Handbuch*², 232–3, no. 1, T1–4.

¹⁰⁵ De Meulenaere, *CRIPEL* 13, 54–7 (iv).

¹⁰⁶ E.g. Menu, *BIFAO* 98, 257–8; Kahl, *ZÄS* 129, 35; Sales, *Ideologia*, 140, 174; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 421, T1–18.

¹⁰⁷ Mainly Hölbl, 'Königliche Legitimität', 274; id., *Ptolemäerreiches*, 71; id., 'Zur Legitimation der Ptolemäer', 24. Also Capriotti Vittozzi, in Russo (ed.), *Atti del V Convegno Nazionale di Egittologia e Papirologia*, 30–1.

¹⁰⁸ Instead of *stp-n-R^c mr(y)-Imn* and *stp-k3-n-R^c/stp-n-k3-R^c mr(y)-Imn*, de Meulenaere, *CRIPEL* 13, 54.

titularies.¹⁰⁹ As a comparison, de Meulenaere cites a form of Nectanebo II's Throne name (*snḏm-ib-R^c stp-n-Ḥn-ḥrt*) and that of Ptolemy II (*wsr-k3-R^c mr(y)-Imn*), neither of which poses a problem of reading. From examining the sign layout within all these kings' cartouches, he proposes a reading method for names with two gods and two complementary elements (in Arrhidaeus' case, two passive participles)¹¹⁰ whereby the first element must be linked with the first deity and the second with the second. This order of reading supports de Meulenaere's new reading for Philip Arrhidaeus, whose Throne name is identical in form to that of Alexander the Great in Thebes (without the *k3* element), which is hence presumably to be read identically. The three Macedonian sovereigns would thus have had a *praenomen* constructed using the same pattern: an initial appellation associated with Re (*mr(y)-R^c*, *mr(y)-k3-R^c*, and *ḥ^c-ib-R^c*), to which the epithet *stp-n-Imn* was attached.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, de Meulenaere concedes that 'this rule tolerates infractions, even quite numerous ones, (...) which must be considered as anomalies due to negligence or to causes unknown to us'.¹¹²

Examination of available attestations of the names discussed by de Meulenaere, including examples which he does not take into account, demonstrates irregularities too numerous to be overlooked, and so the reading cannot be considered 'definitively settled', as he proposes.¹¹³ In writings of all these kings' Throne names, some signs are 'anomalously' positioned or reversed within the cartouche; cases where only the gods' logograms are exchanged cannot be ignored, and for Nectanebo II, for example, they represent nearly half of the total.¹¹⁴ In my opinion, such patterns are representative of a trend in orthography, but do not mean that this trend, which is more or less widespread and variable, should be seen as a reading 'rule'.

Incongruities following de Meulenaere's reading method emerge in the available attestations for Alexander the Great. The structure of the name in the cartouche is the same throughout Egypt, except that Amun occupies an initial position in Thebes (T.I.1.1) whereas Re heads the designation in the rest of the country (T.I.2.1). Although variants exist in both cases in which the place of the gods' logograms is swapped (T.I.1.2 and T.I.2.2), they are not quantitatively significant and can be considered exceptions. Similarly, in Philip Arrhidaeus' Throne name Amun appears in first position in Thebes, while Re does so first in the rest of the country. However, in those cases, and contrary to the various forms of Alexander's *praenomen*, the order of the participles in the cartouche

¹⁰⁹ The sole exception would be the Throne name of a Kushite ruler unattested in Egypt; see *Handbuch*², 270–1, no. 17, T.

¹¹⁰ The possibility that they are relative forms cannot be ruled out; see for example J. P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (2nd edn revised; Cambridge, 2010), 364–5 (§24.9). For *mr(y)/mri*, see also Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 227–8, with n. 403. The existence of an example for Alexander with the form *mr[y]* (T.I.2.1.rr) and of some attestations of *stp* lacking the *n* (T.I.1.1.u–v and bb, T.I.2.1.ll–oo and ss–tt, and T.I.2.2.vv) lead me to read them as participles. Similarly de Meulenaere, *CRIPEL* 13, 54; Menu, *BIFAO* 98, 258; *Handbuch*², 232–3, no. 1, T1–4.

¹¹¹ De Meulenaere, *CRIPEL* 13, 55–7.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 56 n. 31, 57: 'occasional exceptions'.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹¹⁴ For attestations of Nectanebo II's name showing some of these irregularities, see Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 414–15, T1 and T3–21 = I; the exceptions are also noticeable in some examples of the other forms of the name, T2 and T22–4 = II, and T25 = III. For attestations of Philip Arrhidaeus, see *ibid.*, 425, T2–5 = I; without exceptions for Thebes, T1 and T6–8 = II. For Alexander IV, see *ibid.*, 427, T1–11. For Ptolemy II, see *Handbuch*², 234–5, no. 2, T1–4; de Meulenaere, *CRIPEL* 13, 56 n. 32 for the exceptions.

also changes, so that the associations between the constituent elements do not vary.¹¹⁵ Following de Meulenaere, this would mean that Alexander had a Throne name which was read differently in Thebes from the rest of the country, or even had two different designations, with two different readings, but formed from the same elements. Lack of parallels from other reigns renders this improbable,¹¹⁶ the more so if exceptions (T.I.1.2 and T.I.2.2) are regarded as alternative spellings that would not affect the reading. Consequently, the evidence suggests that we are dealing with a single name with a single reading. In Thebes the pre-eminent place of Amun within the cartouche is very likely to have a local, religious explanation: in deference towards the god of the city, his name would be written in first place.¹¹⁷

Therefore, establishing the correct reading of Alexander's Throne name from the two possible alternatives is difficult. The key could lie in two Theban variants (T.I.1.1.cc-dd). These are horizontal cartouches in which the participle *mr(y)*, written with the hoe (U6), figures in a reversed orientation at the beginning of the cartouche, before the logogram for Amun, which shares the same orientation. Diachronic analysis of this graphic pattern in royal cartouches shows that, in the vast majority of instances, this element and the following name of deity are linked, constituting an epithet.¹¹⁸ This suggests that the traditional reading *stp-n-R^c mr(y)-Imn* is the correct and definitive one. Thus, a traditional orthography (where for two deities heading a cartouche, the second is linked to the immediately following signs or words, whereas those appearing at the end of the name relate to the first deity, placed with honorific transposition at the beginning of the cartouche, reversed with respect to the rest of the signs)¹¹⁹ would have been chosen in Thebes, whereas the 'predominant trend' (with the first deity linked to the first element, and the second one to the second) would have prevailed in the rest of the country. However, known parallels are scarce and distant in time (Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties), and in one case there is an exception to the pattern.¹²⁰ Thus, to accept the traditional reading would again involve subordinating the reading to a purely graphic feature, and one that occurs in a minority of examples¹²¹ and is not free from exceptions.

¹¹⁵ Something similar could be argued for the attestation of Alexander from Armant (T.I.1.3) in relation to the majority Theban form (T.I.1.1).

¹¹⁶ Kings with more than one Throne name are very few. There are the cases of Siptah (Nineteenth Dynasty) (*Handbuch*², 160-3, no. 7, T1-2 and T3-5), Ramesses IV (Twentieth Dynasty) (*ibid.*, 166-9, no. 3, T1-4 and T5-12), Piye (Twenty-fifth Dynasty) (*ibid.*, 206-7, no. 3, T1-2 and T3; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 367, T1-2 and T4 = I, and T3 = II), Darius I (Twenty-seventh Dynasty) (*Handbuch*², 220-1, no. 2, T1 and T2-3; Serrano Delgado, in Cervelló Autuori and Quevedo Álvarez (eds), *...ir a buscar leña*, 181-2; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 394-5, T1 = I, T2-18 = II-VI, and T19-22 = VII-VIII), and Ptolemy I (*LD Text II*, 164-5; K. P. Kuhlmann, 'Ptolemais: The Demise of a Spurious Queen (Apropos JE 43610)', in H. Guksch and D. Polz (eds), *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens. Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet* (Mainz, 1998), 469-72, pl. 14c). Sometimes a geographical explanation underlies the different designations, but usually historical-religious reasons are implicated. Note, however, that such names are always completely different, and do not share essential components.

¹¹⁷ As similarly argued by de Meulenaere, *CRIPEL* 13, 56 n. 32.

¹¹⁸ All examples are Ramesside: two variants of the Birth Name of Ramesses II (*Handbuch*², 154-7, no. 3, E8 and E16), one variant of the Throne name and another of the Birth name of Merneptah (*ibid.*, 158-9, no. 4, T1 and E2), one variant of the Throne name of Amenmesse (*ibid.*, 158-9, no. 5, T2), one variant of the Birth name of Siptah (*ibid.*, 162-3, no. 7, E3), one variant of the Birth name of Sethnakhte (*ibid.*, 164-5, no. 1, E4), and four of the Birth name of Ramesses IV (*ibid.*, 168-9, no. 3, E2-3 and E5-6). In all, Amun is the god, except for the Birth names of Merneptah and Siptah, where it is Ptah.

¹¹⁹ This pattern exhibits numerous variations and exceptions.

¹²⁰ One variant of the Throne name of Twosret; see *Handbuch*², 162-3, no. 8, T6.

¹²¹ In Alexander's case, the two listed variants are represented by only three attestations, two of which are moreover symmetrical.

An alternative option would be to follow de Meulenaere's initial proposal, namely to accept the reading *mr(y)-k3-R^c stp-n-Imn* for Philip Arrhidaeus' name throughout Egypt, and *mr(y)-R^c stp-n-Imn* for the Theban variant, on the basis of the available onomastic parallels. Since the majority of orthographies of Alexander's Throne name at Thebes are identical with that of Arrhidaeus, this second reading should also be extrapolated to the latter's name. Thus, contrary to what has been suggested above, the use of the 'predominant orthographic tendency' would have prevailed in Thebes, whereas the traditional one would have been preferred in the rest of the country. However, an identical orthography is not necessarily synonymous with an identical reading.

To summarise, the arguments are finely balanced. Although the traditional reading seems more likely to me, I prefer to be cautious and to conclude that the available attestations of Alexander's *praenomen* allow for two possible readings of the name, with insufficient evidence to select one option over the other: *stp-n-R^c mr(y)-Imn*/*mr(y)-R^c stp-n-Imn*.

According to G. Hölbl, the appellatives (all four possibilities) which constitute Alexander's Throne name 'refer to the special circumstances of his legitimation'. These epithets insist on selection by the gods as arguments for the king's presence on the throne. For a new dynasty that cannot be connected genealogically to the preceding one, divine support becomes a necessity.¹²² However, the use of these appellatives is not new, and they all fit in within a long tradition. They are documented frequently from the New Kingdom onward, but would never have constituted a complete *praenomen* by themselves. An examination of J. von Beckerath's repertoire shows that the 'choice of Re' is commonly stated in the Throne names of Eighteenth to Twenty-second Dynasty kings, although from the Twentieth to the Twenty-third Dynasties Amun takes over.¹²³ The epithet 'beloved of Amun' is, undoubtedly, the most profusely mentioned reference in the preceding stages of Egyptian history. It figures in the Birth name—and also in the Throne name—of many Nineteenth to Twenty-fifth Dynasty kings.¹²⁴ Finally, 'beloved of Re' occurs in the Horus and Throne names of several Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty kings, while its use declines from the Twentieth to the Twenty-second Dynasties, when it is restricted to the Horus name.¹²⁵

The choice of gods is also important. Re is most closely related to kingship, while Amun is especially significant in connection with Alexander's visit to Amun's oracle at Siwa (which represents the recognition of his divine filiation by the god and, by extension, the legitimacy of his authority),¹²⁶ and with the architectural works carried out in Amun's honour nationwide, but especially at Thebes,¹²⁷ a testimony of the

¹²² Hölbl, 'Königliche Legitimität', 274; id., *Ptolemäerreiches*, 71–2. See also Kahl, *ZÄS* 129, 35; Sales, *Ideologia*, 174; Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 227–8, 239–41. See however Grimal, *Termes*, 199–204.

¹²³ See also Grimal, *Termes*, 201–2. Later these epithets only reappear occasionally in local variants of some kings' names; for example, Iupet II at Leontopolis (Twenty-third Dynasty) (*Handbuch*², 204–5, e, T1–2 <*stp-n-Imn*, in the Throne name>); Darius I (Twenty-seventh Dynasty) in the temple of Hibis (Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 393, N <*stp-n-R^c*, in the Two Ladies name>); and perhaps Nectanebo II (Thirtieth Dynasty) at Elephantine (Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 414–15, T25 = III <*stp-n-Imn*(?), in the Throne name>).

¹²⁴ Later also in several variants of the Throne name of Darius I (Twenty-seventh Dynasty) in the temple of Hibis, as a fundamental part of the designation, and not as a mere epithet (Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 394–5, T2–18 = II–VI <*mr(y)-Imn-R^c*> and T19–22 = VII–VIII <*mr(y)-Imn*>).

¹²⁵ Based on *Handbuch*². There are some exceptions to these general patterns which are not considered here.

¹²⁶ See comments on the Personal name in part II of this paper, forthcoming.

¹²⁷ Great Temple of Amun at Karnak: restoration of the gateway of the Fourth Pylon, restoration works in the antechamber of the Sixth Pylon, and Sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu; Barque Shrine at Luxor

pre-eminent favour enjoyed by this deity during the Macedonian Period.¹²⁸ This preponderant role of both gods in royal titularies persists through the rest of the Argead Dynasty and into the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period. The first Ptolemies bear these same epithets in their Throne names,¹²⁹ until they are replaced by a reference to the ‘choice of Ptah’ from the reigns of Ptolemy III and Ptolemy IV onward, which becomes a characteristic feature in the titularies of the late Ptolemies and Roman emperors.¹³⁰

Since only one attestation is dated (T.I.1.3), any chronological evolution of the different spellings remains obscure. However, local influences/peculiarities are clear. One such, the presence of Amun in first place in Thebes (T.I.1.1) and of Re in the rest of the country (T.I.2.1), has already been discussed. The Hermopolitan examples (T.I.2.1.11–00, ss–tt and T.I.2.2.vv) exhibit the phonetic spelling of the participle *stp* (+ U21), which appears, moreover, in a direct genitive construction. For Bahariya, two of the four available attestations (T.I.2.1.pp–rr) reverse the orientation of the adze sign (T.I.2.1.qq). Peculiarities in the Theban attestations are also numerous (they represent 90% of the total). On some monuments, there is clearly a preference for specific spellings depending on their location—the Barque Shrine at Luxor Temple (which provides 70% of the attestations) being the most remarkable instance.¹³¹ Finally, the most frequently used, or preferred, spellings are the variants T.I.1.1.a, c, g–h, j, s, and x.

Contemporary examples occur where the Personal name of Alexander has been mistakenly written in the cartouche after the *nswt-bity* title instead of his Throne name (and vice versa, with Throne name after *s3-r* title).¹³² However, three of these attestations are ‘exceptional’, in that this procedure is clearly deliberate and no mere error of the inscription’s author:

temple; the so-called ‘temple of Alexander’ at Bahariya; and commencement of stone extraction in the quarry of el-Masara for the temple of Tukh el-Qaramus.

¹²⁸ In this sense, see for example I. Guérmeur, *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes: Recherches de géographie religieuse* (BEHE SSR 123; Turnhout, 2005), 567–8, 583. Blöbaum, *DibeK*, 240 considers that the importance of Amun in the titularies of the Argeads is one more element of a strategy aimed at establishing links with the New Kingdom. As we will see in the forthcoming part II of this paper, Amun reappears in an alternative version of Alexander’s Birth name (E.I.2).

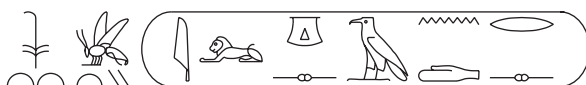
¹²⁹ This suggests a certain ideological continuity throughout the initial Greek period, and also links the Macedonian and Ptolemaic Dynasties, even though they share no blood ties; see Hölbl, ‘Königliche Legitimität’, 274; id., *Ptolemäerreiches*, 72. There are the cases of Ptolemy I (*Handbuch*², 234–5, no. 1, T1–3 <*stp-n-R* *mr(y)-Imn*>; Kuhlmann, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, 469–72 <*stp-n-Imn*>), Ptolemy II (*Handbuch*², 234–5, no. 2, T1–4 <*mr(y)-Imn*>), and Ptolemy III (ibid., 236–7, no. 3, T1–3 <*stp-(n)-R*>). If de Meulenaere’s reading for Alexander’s Throne name were confirmed, the epithet *stp-n-Imn* could be considered a dynastic peculiarity, continuing moreover under Ptolemy I. Although this possibility is highly appealing, the ratification of the traditional reading would not imply a substantial change from an ideological point of view, since it could be concluded that to be the chosen one of either Re or Amun would have shared prominence as a legitimating argument for a broader period of time.

¹³⁰ Hölbl, ‘Königliche Legitimität’, 275–6; id., *Ptolemäerreiches*, 72; Sales, *Ideologia*, 172, 184. On Ptah in Roman protocols, see Grenier, *RdE* 38, 81–104; id., in Criscuolo and Geraci (eds), *Egitto e storia antica*, 403–20; id., *Titulatures*.

¹³¹ For example, spellings with a genitival *n* of smaller size and written over the back part of the adze sign are preferred on the outer face of the western wall (L E 151–68), while this *n* always appears under U21 and normally sized on the outer face of the eastern wall (L E 176–93). The same occurs in the processions of nome gods on the base of the inner faces of these walls (L E 201 and 208), in both cases displaying the same variants used outside (the sole exception being the first scene of the eastern frieze). Spellings with a small *n* are also used in the vertical cartouches on both façades (L E 150 and 170–4), regardless of the orientation of the inscriptions or their location on either the eastern or western half of the monument.

¹³² Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, outer face of eastern wall (scene L E 182) (E instead of T), procession of nome gods on base of inner face of western wall (L E 201, scene 7) (T instead of E), and lower face of northern end of western architrave in room of Amenhotep III containing the shrine (exchanged cartouches; not indicated in Abd el-Raziq, *Die Darstellungen und Texte*, 59). There also are several other examples in which the Birth name

II.1.



(ww)

nswt-bity Irḡsındrs

II.2.



(xx)

*nswt-bity ʔrks(i)ndrīs*¹³³

II.3



(yy)

*nswt-bity nb tʔwy Irḡsındrs**Sources*

(ww) Varille Tablet dated to the second year of Alexander the Great's reign, originally from Thebes (Musée du Louvre, E 32371).

(xx) Graffito at Luxor Temple (L G 105) dated to the fourth year of Philip Arrhidaeus' reign, and which also mentions the first year of Alexander.¹³⁴

(yy) Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, inner face of western wall (scene L E 200).

The first form (T.II.1) is the only hieratic example of Alexander's name contemporary with his reign. Both it and T.II.2 come from dated documents. S. M. Burstein considers them as 'the original form of his *praenomen*', and hence argues that the king's titulary developed following his sojourn in the country; he also sees them as evidence against his possible formal coronation at Memphis.¹³⁵ However, although the example T.II.2 belongs to a formula in which the first year of the king is mentioned, the graffito where it appears was drawn up in the fourth year of Philip Arrhidaeus, at a time when

follows introductory phraseologies more commonly used in connection with the Throne name, e.g. *ntr nfr nb tʔwy nb ir(t) ht*: pylon gateway of Khonsu temple at Karnak, inner face of left jamb (scenes K M 76b-c); and Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, outer face of eastern wall (columns of text between scenes L E 179-80 and 191-2).

¹³³ Or *ʔrksındrs* (graphic transposition).

¹³⁴ And not the third year, contra G. Daressy, 'Notes et remarques', *RT* 14 (1893), 33 (no. liv); M. Abder-Raziq, 'Ein Graffito der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen im Luxortempel', *ASAE* 69 (1983), 211-15, 217. For the correction of the year, see K. Jansen-Winkel, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (ÄAT 45; Wiesbaden, 2001), 180; the author of the present paper has also checked the original personally. G. Gorre, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides d'après les sources privées* (Studia Hellenistica 45; Leuven, 2009), 53-57 (no. 13), considers that the king mentioned is Alexander IV, highly improbably since there is no architectural work in his name in Thebes.

¹³⁵ Burstein, *AncSoc* 22, 143-4.

Alexander's royal protocol had already been well established. Moreover, Arrhidaeus' personal name also appears in conjunction with the title of King of Upper and Lower Egypt in the same document.

The use of a king's Personal name where the Throne name would be expected is well documented for other periods of Egyptian history, particularly the Persian Period, and not only for kings for which a protocol is unknown, but also for those having (an abbreviated) one.¹³⁶ For Alexander the Great, given that both examples figure in dating formulae in non-monumental inscriptions, it is probable that this reflects an extension of current notarial practice;¹³⁷ the usual references to 'the pharaoh Alexander' in Demotic documentation were replaced here with 'the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Alexander'. Consequently, in my opinion, these attestations should not be taken into account in evaluating Burstein's approach.

The third example (T.II.3) deserves separate consideration. Unlike the previous ones, it is a monumental attestation which appears alongside another identical one, although the latter properly occurs as the *nomen* of the king (see E.I.1.g in part II, forthcoming). The singular spelling shared by both cartouches, used to identify a depiction of the king in one of the inner scenes of the Barque Shrine at Luxor temple, leads me to consider them a deliberate act, and not a simple variant writing of the king's Birth name erroneously placed in his first cartouche. The reason for this is, however, hard to determine. It could have been the solution adopted for recording Alexander's name at the beginning of his reign, when his onomastic protocol was still being developed. If this were the case, then this building project must have been one of the first undertaken after the Macedonians' arrival to the country, as, indeed, seems indicated by the already mentioned graffito engraved on one of the outer walls of the temple.¹³⁸ The scene containing this variant would have been the first one completed. Perhaps the priests and artisans involved in the project reproduced a phonetic rendering of the king's Greek name, very close to those used in contemporary Demotic documents,¹³⁹ which would have been used not only for his Personal name, but also for his Throne name. Shortly afterwards, and once the Pharaonic names of the king had been established, this spelling would have been abandoned in monumental inscriptions.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Numerous examples in G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte: Recueil d'inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* (BdE 11; Cairo, 1936).

¹³⁷ Cf. Bonhême, *BIFAO* 79, 272–3.

¹³⁸ Even though the precise date of beginning of the works as indicated in the inscription—'Year 1, 1st Akhet, (day) 1', thus the New Year's Day of the first year of Alexander's reign—seems certainly fictitious, as pointed out by Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften*, 180.

¹³⁹ Noteworthy are the preference for the group *-gs-* in the transcription of the *xi* and the presence of the sign Aa18 at the end (𓆎 in Demotic). This second feature is common in names and Greek words; see J. H., Johnson, *Thus Wrote 'Onchsheshonqy: An Introductory Grammar of Demotic* (2nd edn revised; SAOC 45; Chicago, 2000), 4. Some examples are found in P. Hawara OI 2 (= 25257) <year 1 of Alexander>; see G. R. Hughes and R. Jasnow, *Oriental Institute Hawara Papyri: Demotic and Greek Texts from an Egyptian Family Archive in the Fayum (Fourth to Third Century B.C.)* (OIP 113; Chicago, 1997), 16–18, pls 8–13; P. Louvre N 2439 <year 3>; see E. Revillout, *Chrestomathie démotique* (Paris, 1880), cxli, 290–4, 489–91; id., *Papyrus démotiques du Louvre* (Corpus Papyrorum Ægypti 1; Paris, 1885), 13–15 (no. 4), pl. v; P. Brux. Dem. 2 1 (= E 8252) <year 6>; see M. Depauw, *The Archive of Teos and Thabis from Early Ptolemaic Thebes: P. Brux. Dem. Inv. E. 8252–8256* (MRE 8; Turnhout, 2000), 77–109 (no. 1), pls 6–11; and P. Strasb. Dem. 1 <year 9>; see W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyrus der Strassburger Bibliothek* (Strasbourg, 1902), 18–20, pl. iii; S. R. K. Glanville, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, I: A Theban Archive of the Reign of Ptolemy I, Soter* (London, 1939), xxvii–xxxvi.

¹⁴⁰ However, this remains only a hypothesis, following, to certain extent, Burstein's reasoning. Other explanations are also possible, such as, for example, that it is a mere artistic feature.