



Hꜥpy of the South Versus *Hꜥpy* of the North

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ABSTRACT

The ancient Egyptians personified the annual inundation of the Nile River in the guise of a man with a large belly, long hair, and pendulous breasts, wearing a loincloth and ceremonial false beard. He was often represented carrying stems of papyrus and carrying a tray laden with various offerings. Additionally, among his rare representations which is attested in the temple of Sety I at Abydos is the depiction of the deity with a human body with two goose heads. Moreover, there are two depictions of the personified *hꜥpy*, one having the lotus stems surmounting his head representing *hꜥpy* of the south while the other with papyrus representing *hꜥpy* of the north. They are often depicted together tying the two plants the lotus of the south and the papyrus of the north into a knot with the *sema* hieroglyphic sign, symbolizing the union of Upper and Lower Egypt. However, none of these representations were accompanied by their names. It was only during the Graeco-Roman Period that the depictions of the two gods were accompanied by texts mentioning their names *hꜥpy šmꜥw*, *hꜥpy mhw*, and their epithets. Hence, this article aims at investigating the different aspects of these two deities only when accompanied by textual evidence. The study encompasses their iconography, epithets, and functions and finally, a comparison between them is attempted.

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1. Introduction

The Nile River played a crucial role in the ancient Egyptian beliefs and was an essential component of the Egyptian cycle of life. It was considered by the ancient Egyptians as a source of life and a means of achieving ceremonial purity. The beginning of the New

Year perfectly coincided with the arrival of the Nile's flood, which left behind the fertile black silt that would renew the land and provide its inhabitants with abundant crops.

The ancient Egyptians never worshipped the Nile as a god, despite connecting many of its features with many deities. In this way, they

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attributed to *hꜥpy* the phenomena of flooding in addition to the power of the waters, which revived and fertilized the land. *Hꜥpy* was the most significant of several personifications associated with the Nile, its inundation, and the concept of abundance. The ancient Egyptians depicted *hꜥpy* as an androgynous god with a huge belly and pendulous breasts to symbolize the reproductive and nourishment-related abilities the god possessed.

Spells § 217, 254, and 292d of the Pyramid texts include the earliest references to the god *hꜥpy*.² (Piankoff, 1968, pl. 41-44) Spells 238 and 317 of the Coffin Texts³, as well as the book of the dead, refer to *hꜥpy* as the ‘Lord of Waters’, who brings vegetation and provides the deceased with offerings and water (Hornung, 1993, p. 56, 127, 449). As the ancient Egyptians allocated their country into two parts north and south, they divided up the Nile inundation into the deity of the south *hꜥpy šmꜥw*, and the deity of the north *hꜥpy mꜥhw*. The deity of the north bears upon his head a clump of papyrus plants, while the deity of the south has a cluster of lotus plants. (Kurth, 1974, p. 485-487; Prell, 2009, p. 220) As early as the 6th Dynasty, there were reliefs portraying two fecundity figures, each holding and tying in a knot the long stem of the two plants lotus and papyrus representing the union between Upper and Lower Egypt. This motif was frequently carved at the base of seated statues of the kings. (Dohrmann, 2006, p. 107 ff.)

The two figures were also represented in processions depicted on the lower walls of temples or on stairways. These parades, portrayed in two parallel rows, can be found in temples of all periods but became numerous in the Graeco-Roman Period.⁴ The pairing of the

two deities, designated as *hꜥpy*, was never documented prior to the reign of King Tuthmosis III, however, the names of *hꜥpy* of the south and *hꜥpy* of the north and their epithets were never inscribed along with their representations.⁵ It was only during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods that the two deities were accompanied by texts mentioning their names and titles.

Both deities are to be distinguished from *hꜥpy rsy* and *hꜥpy mꜥhw* who refer to the southern and northern geographical regions of the 4th and 5th Lower Egyptian nomes, respectively. The administrative unit as a whole was known as *hꜥpy*. (Gauthier, 1927, p. 17-18; Wilson, 1997, p. 622) Both geographic designations *hꜥpy rsy* and *hꜥpy mꜥhw* are beyond the scope of the current study.⁶

1.1 objective of the study

The present study examines the two deities *hꜥpy šmꜥw* and *hꜥpy mꜥhw*, whenever they are accompanied by their names in all pictorial sources from their earliest attestations up until the end of the Graeco-Roman Period. Through an intensive survey of the available sources, the study also provides new insights into the epithets of both deities, their iconography, their roles, and finally, a comparison between both deities will be undertaken.

2. Literature review

1. Names and Determinatives

1.1.1 Writing Forms

The word *hꜥpy* exclusively means inundation. The root of the word means ‘appear’, ‘become’ or ‘give life’ and cannot be etymologically divided, it might have been a word of African origin. (Bonneau, 1964, p. 221) The word’s

² Also, PT § 564a; § 1553b.

³ CT IV: 11f., 115 CT III: 318.














⁴ The earliest attestation of these processions dates to the 4th Dynasty’s funerary temple of King Snefrw. Later, similar processions were depicted on the outer walls of the white chapel of Senusert I, the red chapel of Hatshepsut, and the walls of the temple of Luxor. (Razanajao, 2008, p. 96 f.)

⁵ The scene comes from panels flanking an inner niche from the Temple of El-Lessiya constructed by King Tuthmosis III, now exhibited in Museo Egizio in Turin. (Curto, 1970, pl. 9; Baines, 1985, p. 200.)



⁶ For more information on the geographical designations *hꜥpy rsy* and *hꜥpy mꜥhw* cf. (Leitz, 2014, pp. 69-126)


origin may have also derived from the verb meaning ‘to pour out’. (*Wb* III, p. 42(1)-43(14); Wilson, 1997, p. 622)





The name of both deities personifying the northern and southern inundation existed in the ancient Egyptian language in several forms and their writings vary in complexity. The earliest occurrence of their names is attested as *ḥꜥpy šmꜥw* and *ḥꜥpy mḥw* on the eastern façade of the chapel of Philip Arrhidaeus at the temple of Amun Re at Karnak. (PM II², p. 102; Biston-Moulin, 2016, p. 2661; <http://sith.humanum.fr/karnak/2661>. (Accessed 13/03/2021)











It was written  along with the ideogram of the south  (M140) referring to *ḥꜥpy šmꜥw* and that of the north  (M139) designating *ḥꜥpy mḥw*. This writing form which consists of the three ideograms *ḥ* the wick of twisted flax  (V28), *p*  the stool (Q3) and *ꜥ* the forearm  (D36) is the most frequently used writing of *ḥꜥpy* in Ptolemaic and Roman texts. Rarely the same word was written with the sign  (V71). Other writings lack the sound-sign *p*. Further variants include  where the cup sign  (W10) replaced the forearm or  using the bowl sign  (W24). Another common writing from the Late Period regularly used in Ptolemaic and Roman texts includes  with three flesh signs (F51) which derive from *ḥꜥw* ‘limbs’, along with the sign of a liquid dispensing from the lips  (D26) *p* that comes from the verb *pꜥt* ‘to spit out’. (De Wit, 1956, p. 112; Wilson, 1997, p. 622)

In Ptolemaic inscriptions accompanying the processions which decorated the lowermost parts of temple walls the name of *ḥꜥpy* was








occasionally shown as an offering figure written with the signs  (C92) and  (C92A) (Chassinat, 1892, p. 465, 467).

However, the sign  (C92B) is only attested in Roman texts. (De Wit, 1958, p. 188, 206, 209)




These signs portray *ḥꜥpy* kneeling and holding one or two vases in his hands.  (C92B) shows the deity pouring water from the vase. It is noted that these writings accompanied representations of *ḥꜥpy* in the various processions which decorated the lowermost parts of temple walls. In these processions, the deity was usually depicted holding vases as shown in the previously mentioned signs. In Late Ptolemaic texts, writing forms included  or  with the sign *ḥ*, the tusk of an elephant  (F18). (Leitz, Mendel and El-Masry, 2010, p. 37, 50, 507, 516)








As for the writing forms of *ḥꜥpy šmꜥw*, the most frequently used ideograms for the south *šmꜥw* are the sedge sign  (M26), the sedge sign combined with the sign of the forearm  (M27), or occasionally  (M207) all designating the Upper Egyptian territory. His name was also written with a variety of ideograms illustrating the Lotus plant as  (M129),  (M137),  (M138),  (M140),  (M140B), or the white crown as  (S1) and  (S48). These sound signs reflect the meaning of the name of the deity as the personified inundation of the Nile River in Upper Egypt.

The name of *ḥꜥpy mḥw* was written with a wide range of ideograms showing clumps of

papyrus as  (M15) or  (M16)  (M139)  (139A)  (M139B) all of which symbolize Lower Egypt. The signs representing the red crown of Lower Egypt  (M3) and  (M50) were common as well.

I. 1.2 Determinatives

The term *ḥꜥpy* was accompanied in most cases by the determinative of a channel filled with water  (N36) or the three ripples  (N35A) emphasizing the deity's role as the personification of the Nile flood. The sign  (C92B) was rarely used as a determinative which existed only in texts inscribed on the gargoyles of the temple of Hathor at Dendara. (Düminchen, 1884, pl. 29, 2)

Occasionally double determinatives accompanied the name of the god as  (N36) +  tongue of land (N21) or  +  (C92B). As for the determinatives accompanying the names of *ḥꜥpy šmꜥw* and *ḥꜥpy mḥw*, the determinative of a village with crossroads  (O49) was often used. In few instances, the sign  (N21) or the irrigation canal  (N23) were also common.

II. Iconography and Attributes

The first surviving representation of the personification of the southern and northern inundation as *ḥꜥpy šmꜥw* and *ḥꜥpy mḥw* dates to the reign of Philip Arrhidaeus and is located on the façade of his chapel at the temple of Amun Re at Karnak. On each side of the east façade of the building, one deity is portrayed kneeling and carrying a tray surmounted by various goods. They can only be differentiated by headdress and names. (PM II², p. 102;

Biston-Moulin, 2016, p. 2661; <http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/2661> (Accessed 13/03/2021)

The pictorial attestations of *ḥꜥpy šmꜥw* and *ḥꜥpy mḥw* are numerous and offer plenty of remarkable examples. The iconography of both figures sometimes varies according to the scene type in which both deities appear. Hence, it is possible to distinguish between five categories of scene types which include the scenes of *smꜥ tꜥwy* and those on the gargoyles, various types of processions, ritual scenes, and finally, the rare attestations of both deities will be discussed. The research includes an iconographical analysis of the varied postures of both deities through the study of diverse scene types.

II.1 *Smꜥ tꜥwy* Scenes

Two fecundity figures were depicted together tying the two plants the lotus of the south and the papyrus of the north into a knot with the *smꜥ* hieroglyphic sign, symbolizing the union of Upper and Lower Egypt. Since the New Kingdom, specifically the 19th Dynasty, *ḥꜥpy* is often depicted as a pair of figures, each holding and tying together the long stem of two plants the lotus and papyrus representing Upper and Lower Egypt, symbolically binding the two halves of the country around a hieroglyph 'smꜥ' meaning "union". This symbolic representation was often carved at the base of seated statues of the king. Paired *ḥꜥpy* is not introduced into *smꜥ tꜥwy* groups before the nineteenth dynasty and were often mentioned as *šmꜥw* and *tꜥ-mḥw* in the accompanying texts, thus referring to the two parts of the land. (Baines, 1985, p. 202) However, they were never mentioned in inscriptions by their names as *ḥꜥpy šmꜥw* and *ḥꜥpy mḥw*.

A total of ten examples of *smꜥ tꜥwy* scenes with reference to as *ḥꜥpy šmꜥw* and *ḥꜥpy mḥw* are attested from the Ptolemaic period; all come from the temple of Hathor at Dendara. Two scenes decorate the lintel of the inner doorways; the first of which is depicted in chamber xxiv, the first room to the west of the

sanctuary. It portrays two kneeling figures of the two deities binding the *smꜣ* symbol on which stands a small figure of Ihy with Nekhbet and Wadjet holding crowns on either side. (PM VI, 74; Chassinat, 1935, p. 105-6, pl. cciv) (Fig. 1)

The second scene adorns the door lintel of chamber xvii to the east of the sanctuary. It depicts two standing figures of both deities tying the *smꜣ* sign surmounted by Harsomtut as a falcon. Goddess Wadjet and the queen are shown on one side while goddess Nekhbet and the king are seen on the other side. The name of *hꜥpy šmꜥw* is missing in this scene. (PM VI, 74; Chassinat, 1935, p. 105-6, pl. cciv.) (Fig. 2)

The rest of the scenes, which are eight in total, adorn the front faces of eight gargoyles on the exterior walls of the naos at Dendara.⁷ The two figures were shown either standing or kneeling binding the union symbol surmounted either by the falcon representing Horus, the vulture symbolizing Nekhbet, or the ibis representing Thot. (Cauville, Lecler, and Hamed, 2007, p. 312, 314, 318, 322, 325, 328, 332, 336) Both deities may be differentiated by the plants decorating their headdress as well as their names and epithets.

It's possible that the scarcity of *smꜣ-ḥwy* scenes in temple reliefs during the Graeco-Roman Period is due to the king's status being devalued, which causes him to submit his credentials as a priest rather than priests presenting themselves as kings. (Baines, 1985, p. 272)

II.2 Gargoyle Scenes

Numerous representations of southern and northern *hꜥpy* have been attested on the faces of eight lion-headed gargoyles at Edfu and Dendara Temple. The side-faces of four gargoyles at Dendara and eight at Edfu are decorated with a scene of a pair of figures,

portrayed with their typical appearance, standing facing each other. The tray held by each one of them is mounted with various offerings, however, the *wꜣs*-scepter and the *ꜥnh*-sign are missing. (Fig. 3) (Chassinat, 2009, p. 111-118, 263-274, pl. 102, 103, 104; Cauville, 2007, p. 312, 318, 328, 329, 319, 336, 337)

On the side-faces of the bases of the other four gargoyles at Dendara, it's the goddess *šht iꜣrw* who is depicted facing one *hꜥpy* with his counterpart adorning the parallel side of the gargoyle base. In these scenes both *hꜥpy* and *šht iꜣrw* are represented in a kneeling position holding trays filled with numerous offerings. (Fig. 4) Short captions give names and epithets that indicate the fertile aspect of both deities. The representations of both deities on the lion-headed gargoyles might refer to the heavenly Nile. (Cauville, 2007, p. 314, 315, 322, 325, 326, 332; Ventker, 2012, p. 100 ff.)

II.3 Procession Scenes

Hꜥpy šmꜥw and *hꜥpy mḥw* were regularly represented in processions on the so-called 'soubassements' of the Graeco Roman temples. The 'soubassements' is the lowermost level of the temple wall, which is usually separated from the upper registers with scenes by horizontal lines of inscriptions. The 'soubassements' often depict processions including offering bearers presenting various goods and products of the Nile and fields to the main deity or deities of the temple. These processions were initially studied and divided by Jean Yoyotte into four basic types: a. Geographic, b. Hydrologic, c. Economic and d. A combination of male Nile deities (*hꜥpy*) alternating with the female field goddess (*šht*). (Yoyotte, 1994, p. 685-686) Occasionally, more than one type of procession is combined.

A more recent study of the 'soubassements', by Stephan Baumann indicated that it is

⁷ For a detailed study of the gargoyles of the temples of Dendara and Edfu cf. (Ventker, 2012).

difficult to categorize these processions as previously accomplished by Yoyotte. The study further distinguished processions according to their functions in two main categories as follows: a. Geographic and cult-topographic with calendrical or chronological aspect with a religious-cultic content b. Processions providing products to the temple including agricultural and hydrological processions. (Baumann, 2014, p. 1047–57)

These processions are always commanded by the king, who is occasionally accompanied by the queen. They exist often in two symmetrical parallel rows, one of which is the upper Egyptian, and the other is assigned to the lower Egyptian side of the temple. (Rickert, 2011, p. 2 ff.)

Hꜥpy šmꜥw and *hꜥpy mhꜥw* regularly appear in various processions, which are categorized in this research according to their type. This section will be followed by an analysis of both deities' iconography, their position in processions, and the deities following the trail.

a) Geographical or Nome Processions

A geographical procession refers to an iconographic sequence of personifications of provinces identified by toponyms. The figures in the processions are represented bringing different offerings for the cult of the deity or the king worshipped there. These processions are represented in two parallel rows and symbolize the two kingdoms of Egypt. (Bialostocka, 2014, p. 1-2)

This type of procession is attested a total of 40 times, either alone or combined with other types of processions in the ancient Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman era. They usually decorate the lowest level of the exterior walls of the naos and the inner walls of the gate passages. There are mainly two types of geographical processions attested in the temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods; the first of which includes a row of personified localities. In the second type, it is the deity worshipped in the nome, who is represented. (Leitz, 2014, p. 69)

In the first type in which southern and northern *hꜥpy* were depicted, geographical processions were combined with hydrological processions which will be investigated later in this section of the research.

Hꜥpy of the south and *hꜥpy* of the north were represented in two geographical processions of the second type. The earliest example from the reign of Ptolemy VIII is located on the outer face of the pylon of Edfu Temple. (Kurth, 1998, p. 70, 113) The second procession is represented in the central room of the second east Osirian chapel located on the roof of the temple of Hathor at Dendara. (Cauville, 1997, p. 72, 83)

b) Economic Processions

Economic processions are parades in which different offering bearers as representatives of supply and fertility provide the main deities of the temple with various products from everywhere in Egypt. Among the economic processions are those of the New Year Festival in the temple of Hathor at Dendara. The parade consists of the king, queen, deities, and priests followed by *hꜥpy* and goddess *šht* who present offerings to the main deity of the temple during the celebration of the festival. These processions adorn the walls of the west and east staircases of the temple of Hathor at Dendara. (Chassinat and Dumas, 2006, p. 181-194.)

Economic processions, about 30 in number are attested since Amenhotep III and are well documented from the reign of Ptolemy I to that of Antoninus at the Temple of Deir El-Shelwit. (Cauville, 2020, p. 6-7)

Both deities are attested in 11 economic processions in 5 ancient Egyptian temples in the Ptolemaic and Roman era. They were represented in two parallel processions in the temple of Hathor at Dendara, (Chassinat, 2012, p.188, 203, pl. 299) in two processions at Edfu (Chassinat, 1939, p. 184, 186, pl. 48; Chassinat, 2009, p. 465-468, pl. 35 a), twice at

the temple of Isis at Philae⁸, once at the temple of Tod (Drioton, Posener, and Vandier, 1980, p. 10, 44), and once at the Opet temple at Karnak. (De Wit, 1958, p. 220-221)

However, *hꜥpy* of the north is attested alone in a procession at the birth house of Dendara (Daumas, 1959, p. 239, pl. 74) and at the pronaos of Edfu. (Chassinat, 1928, p. 90, 9, pl. 65) On the other hand, Upper Egyptian *hꜥpy* was depicted in three processions on the pylon of the temple of Philae (Junker and Daum, 1958, p. 84, 2) and on the staircase procession at Dendara temple, where a parallel scene with his counterpart *hꜥpy* of the north is missing. (Chassinat, 1952, p. 97, 11; Chassinat and Daumas, 1978, p. 95, 108).

⁸ The name of northern *hꜥpy* is damaged in the parallel procession. (Junker and Daum, 1958, p. 84, 99, pl. 1005; Junker and Winter, 1965, p. 364-371)

Table1: Tracing the attestations of ḥꜥpy of the South and ḥꜥpy of the North in Processions (continued on next page)







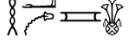












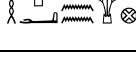
No.	Date	Temple	Publication	Location	Procession Type	Position		Iconography		Writing	
						South	North	South	North	South	North
1.	Ptolemaic	Meda-moud	FIFAO III, 2, 27 No. 39	Inventory Block 1639	Hydrological	Incomplete	damaged	Offering pose 1	damaged		damaged
2.	Ptolemy III	Karnak	Clere, Evergete, pl. 55-57	Gate of Eurgetes: passage: east wall dado	Hydrological	1 of 3	1 of 11	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		
3.	Ptolemy IV	Edfu	Edfou I, 320, 323	Sanctuary: interior north wall dado	Hydrological	1 of 15	1 of 15	Libation pose 4	Libation pose 4		
4.	Ptolemy IV	Edfu	Edfou I, 465, 467	Offering hall: north wall: west & east dado	Economic	1 of 10	1 of 10	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		
5.	Ptolemy VI	Kom Ombo	GUTBUB, KO, 5, 6	Sanctuary façade: central wall: dado	Hydrological	2 of 2	2 of 2	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1	damaged	
6.	Ptolemy VI	Edfu	Edfou II, 242, 249-50	Nile chamber: east wall dado	Hydrological	1 of 17	1 of 16	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		
7.	Ptolemy VI	Kom Ombo	GUTBUB, KO, 122	Chapel: east wall: dado	Hydrological	3 of 3	damaged	Offering pose 1	damaged		damaged
8.	Ptolemy VI	Edfu	Edfou I, 581-2	East staircase: 2 nd entrance: west & east wall	Hydrological	1 of 8	1 of 5	Libation pose 4	Libation pose 4		
9.	Ptolemy VI	Kom Ombo	GUTBUB KO, 285-289	Offering hall: south dado	Hydrological/ Alternating	1 of 2	damaged	Offering pose 2	damaged		damaged
10.	Ptolemy VI	Deir El-Madina	Deir Al-Medina, 125-127	Staircase: east and south side	Hydrological	No parallel scene	6 of 6	No parallel scene	Offering pose 1	No parallel	
11.	Ptolemy VI	Kom Ombo	GUTBUB, KO, 285-289	Offering hall: south & north wall: dado	Hydrological/ Alternating	1 of 2	damaged	Offering pose 1	damaged		damaged
12.	Ptolemy VIII	Kom Ombo	De Morgan, KO, 225-228, 253, 254	Hypostyle hall: north & east wall: dado	Hydrological/ Geographical	11 of 14	7&9& 11 of 14	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		
13.	Ptolemy VIII	Kom Ombo	De Morgan KO, 224-254	Hypostyle hall façade: east dado	Hydrological/ Alternating	1 of 2	1 of 2	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		

Table1: Tracing the attestations of ḥꜥpy of the South and ḥꜥpy of the North in Processions (continued on next page)


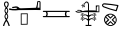











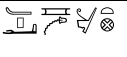


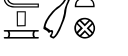



No.	Date	Temple	Publication	Location	Procession Type	Position		Iconography		Writing	
						South	North	South	North	South	North
14.	Ptolemy VIII	Tod	Tôd I, 10, 15	Hypostyle hall: façade: east side: dado	Economic	1 of 4	1 of 2	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		damaged
15.	Ptolemy VIII	Dakkah	Dakke 100, 107 § 222, § 240	Pronaos facade: west side: dado	Hydrological/ Alternating	1 of 2	1 of 2	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		
16.	Ptolemy VIII	Edfu	Edfou III, 90, 9	Pronaos: east wall: dado	Economic	Not present	1 of 22	Not present	Offering pose 1	Not present	
17.	Ptolemy VIII-XII	Edfu	Edfou VIII, 70, 113	Pylon: east and west tower: outer face dado	Geographical/ divinities	1 of 6	1 of 4	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		
18.	Ptolemy IX	Edfu	Edfou IV, 193	Naos: exterior north wall: dado	Hydrological/ geographic	1 of 6	Not present	Offering pose 1	Not present		Not present
19.	Ptolemy IX	Edfu	Edfou mammisi, 184, 186	Birth house court: north & south wall: dado	Economic	1 of 8	1 of 17	Offering pose 3	Offering pose 3		
20.	Ptolemy IX or X	Edfu	E VI, 32-35, 205-208	Enclosure wall: interior east wall: dado	Hydrological	1&2 of 18	1 of 18	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		
21.	Ptolemy XII	Philae Temple	Junker, Philä I, 84, 2	1st Pylon: west tower: south side: dado	Economic	1 of 4	Not present	Offering pose 1	Not present		Not present
22.	Ptolemy XII	Athribis	Athribis II, 507, 516	2 nd Sanctuary: room D: east wall dado	Hydrological	1 of 3	1 of 3	Offering pose 3c	Offering pose 3d		
23.	Ptolemy XII	Athribis	Athribis II, 37, 50	Offering hall: south wall dado	Hydrological	4 at end of 12	10 of 10	Offering pose 2	Offering pose 2		
24.	Ptolemy XII	Armant	Ermant I, 13-21	2 nd crypt: south wall dado	Hydrological	8 of 8	10 of 10	Offering pose 3	Offering pose 3		
25.	Ptolemy XII	Tod	Tôd II, 196-216	2 nd vestibule: west & east wall: dado	Hydrological	1 to 13	1 to 6	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		

Table1: Tracing the attestations of ḥꜥpy of the South and ḥꜥpy of the North in Processions (continued on next page)

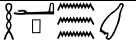




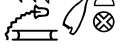


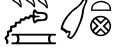
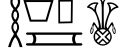











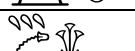
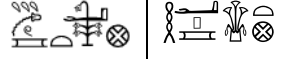
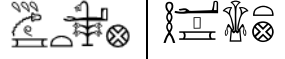
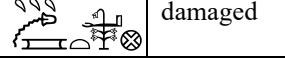


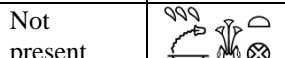
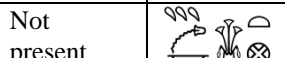
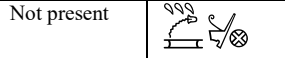
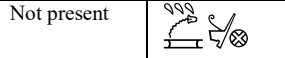
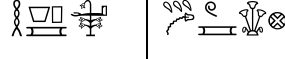
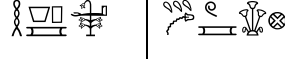
No.	Date	Temple	Publication	Location	Procession Type	Position		Iconography		Writing	
						South	North	South	North	South	North
26.	Ptolemy XII	Kom Ombo	GUTBUB KO, 11	Enclosure wall: gateway: west dado	Hydrological	1 of 6	damaged	Offering pose 1	damaged		damaged
27.	Ptolemy XII	Edfu	Edfou VIII, 50, 59	Pylon: central gate passage: east wall: dado	Hydrological/ Alternating	1 of 13	1 of 13	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		
28.	Ptolemy XII	Edfu	Edfou Mammisi, 215	Birth house: court: staircase: east wall: dado	Hydrological	4 of 13	3 of 13	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		
29.	Ptolemy XIII	Philae	Junker, Philä I, 158, 3, 162, 3	Gate of Nectanebo I: interior west wall: dado	Hydrological	1 of 9	1 of 4	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		
30.	Cleopatra VII	Dendara	Dendara V, 97, 11	2 nd eastern crypt: room C: west wall	Hydrological	1 of 9	Not present	Libation pose 1	Not present		Not present
31.	Cleopatra VII	Dendara	Dendara VII, 114, 123, 126	Room U: north wall: dado	Hydrological	1 of 6	1 of 6	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		
32.	Cleopatra VII	Dendara	Dendara IX, 145, 169	Side-room II: north wall: dado	Hydrological	1 of 8	1 of 8	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		
33.	Cleopatra VII	Dendara	Dendara XI, 163	Magazine F: north wall: dado	Hydrological	1 of 9	Not depicted	Offering pose 1	Not depicted		
34.	Cleopatra VII	Dendara	Dendara IV, 113, 130	chamber of linen: east wall: north dado	Hydrological	1 of 13	1 of 13	Offering pose 3a	Offering pose 3b		
35.	Cleopatra VII	Dendara	Dendara I, 36, 55	Sanctuary: south wall: dado	Hydrological	1 of 13	1 of 13	Libation pose 2	Libation pose 2		
36.	Cleopatra VII	Dendara	D IV, 235, 253	Wabet: south wall: dado	Hydrological	1 of 9	1 of 8	Offering pose 2	Offering pose 2		
37.	Cleopatra VII	Dendara	Dendara IX, 132, 145	Laboratory: north wall: dado	Hydrological	1 of 8	1 of 8	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		

Table1: Tracing the attestations of ḥꜥpy of the South and ḥꜥpy of the North in Processions (continued on next page)

No.	Date	Temple	Publication	Location	Procession Type	Position		Iconography		Writing	
						South	North	South	North	South	North
38.	Cleopatra VII	Dendara	Dendara IV, 188, 203	New year's court XII: east & west wall: dado	Economic	1 of 9	1 of 9	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		
39.	Cleopatra VII	Dendara	Dendara VII, 181-194	East staircase: west side: lower register	Economic	1 & 2 of 13	Not present	- libation pose 4 - libation pose 2	Not present		Not present
40.	Cleopatra VII	Dendara	Dendara VIII, 95, 108	West staircase X: west wall	Economic	1 & 2 of 3 of 13	3 rd after Sekhet & southern Hapy	- Libation pose 2 - Offering pose 1	Libation pose 4		
41.	Cleopatra VII	Dendara	Dendara V, 97, 11	2 nd eastern crypt: room C: west wall	Hydrological/ New year festival	1 of 9	No parallel	Libation pose 1	No parallel		No parallel
42.	Cartouche Empty	Dendara	D X, 72, 83	Roof: 2 nd Eastern Osiris chapel: central room: east wall dado	Geographical/ divinities	2 of 16	2 of 16	Libation pose 4	Libation pose 4		
43.	Augustus	Bigeḥ	Bigeḥ, 6-7	Pylon gateway: dado	Hydrological	1 of ?	damaged	Offering pose 1	damaged		damaged
44.	Augustus	Dandur	Dendûr, 38	Pronaos: south wall: dado	Hydrological	1 of ?	damaged	Offering pose 1	damaged		damaged
45.	Augustus	Dandur	Dendûr, 59	Pronaos: south wall: dado	Hydrological	4 of 4	No parallel	Libation pose 3	No parallel		No parallel
46.	Augustus	Opet Temple	Opet I, 188, 206, 209	Naos: Exterior east wall: dado	Hydrological/ Geographical	1 of 13	Not present	Offering pose 3	Not represented		
47.	Augustus	Mandulis /Kalabsh-ah	Kalabchah, 9-13	Sanctuary: 1st room: west and east wall: dado	Hydrological	Not present	-1&2 of 14 -1,2,3 of 13	Not present	Libation pose 3	Not present	
48.	Augustus	Philae	Junker, Philä II, 364, 371	Birth house: north wall: dado	Economic	1 of 6	1 of 6	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1		

Table1: Tracing the attestations of ḥꜥpy of the South and ḥꜥpy of the North in Processions (continued on next page)

No.	Date	Temple	Publication	Location	Procession Type	Position		Iconography		Writing		
						South	North	South	North	South	North	
49.	Augustus	Opet	Opet I, 200, 221	Naos: Exterior east wall: dado	Economic	1 of 16	1 of 16	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1			
50.	Nero	Dendara	Dendara XIV, 94	Pronaos: east wall: dado	Hydrological/ Alternating	1 & 25 of 26	damaged	Offering pose 1	damaged		damaged	
51.	Vespasian	Esna	Edfou II, 118, no. 54, 161, no. 76	Pronaos façade: dado	Hydrological	1 of 3	1 of 3	Offering pose 2	Offering pose 2			
52.	Trajan	Dendara	Dendara Mammisis, 239	Birth house, staircase: west wall	Economic	Not present	1 of 22	Not present	Offering pose 1	Not present		
53.	Hadrian	Dush	Dils, Dusch, pl. 69	Pronaos: south wall dado	Hydrological/ Alternating	Not present	1 of 4	Not Present	Offering pose 3	Not present		
54.	Roman	Deir El-Shelwit	Deir Chelouit II, 56-60, 62-65	Sanctuary façade: north wall dado	Hydrological /Alternating	1 of 4	1 of 4	Offering pose 1	Offering pose 1			

c) Hydrological Processions

Hydrological processions consist of several personifications of different aspects of the Nile inundation which are usually represented in two rows, each commanded by the king to provide various offerings to the temple and its inhabitants as well as ritually provide fresh water for purification. This type of procession is attested a total of 65 times, either alone or combined with other types in 17 ancient Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman era throughout Egypt and Nubia. (Tattko, 2014, p. 382-437)

Two types of hydrological processions can be further identified; the first of which contains male figures personifying various aspects of the Nile inundation followed by the goddess *shṯ* at the end of each procession. However, the second type consists of alternating male personified aspects of the Nile inundation and female figures of the field goddess *shṯ*. (Yoyotte, 1994, p. 686).

Hꜥpy šmꜥw and *hꜥpy mhꜥw* occur in 41 hydrological processions in 16 ancient Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman era. The iconography of *hꜥpy* in hydrological processions is very similar to other members taking part in the processions. They were represented as androgynous figures with large bellies and pendulous breasts. In appearance nor attributes can *hꜥpy* be easily distinguished from his counterparts in the hydrological processions. The only way to identify them is through the text accompanying the deities.

Iconographical Analysis and Interpretation

The examination of the various types of processions has revealed remarkable details regarding the iconography of both deities, which will be discussed in depth in the section below. The iconographical description is divided into two main poses; the offering and the libation pose as follows:

- **Offering Pose (Fig. 5)**

Pose 1: The most prevalent representation throughout the soubassements-processions

shows the personified androgynous figures in their typical appearance standing or walking. They carry with both hands a tray of marsh plants with two *hs* vases. A *wꜥs*-scepter intersects the vases, and bunches of lotus and papyrus blossoms frequently decorate the libation jars. Long stems of papyrus or lotus blossoms along with the *ꜥnh* sign and *wꜥs*-scepter are held in *hꜥpy*'s hand. Examples of standing offering poses are frequently depicted in all three types of processions on the walls of the temple of Dendara, Edfu, Kom Ombo, Karnak, Dendur, Philae, Bigeh, Tod and Deir El-Shelwit. (Table 1)

Pose 2: Occasionally *hꜥpy* was accompanied in some processions by animals as additional offerings. The animals are those usually slaughtered such as gazelles, cattle, rams, or oryxes. These animals are portrayed at a minuscule scale by *hꜥpy*'s ankles, probably for reasons of decorum and to fit in with the composition of the scene without dwarfing the figures themselves and their offerings. Ptolemaic examples are found only in hydrological processions as in the *Wꜥbt* of Dendara Temple, (Chassinat, 2012, p. 263) on the enclosure walls of Edfu Temple (Chassinat, Cauville and Devauchelle, 2009, p. 205, pl. clviii), and in the offering halls of the temples of Athribis and Kom Ombo. (Gutbub, 1973, p. 289; El- Sayed et al., 2010, p. 37, 50) (Table 1)

Pose 3: *Hꜥpy* was also portrayed in a kneeling offering pose in which he is normally shown carrying a tray with the typical offerings of two *hs* vases, marsh plants, and the *wꜥs*-scepter. Examples of this pose occur in hydrological processions in the second crypt in the temple of Armant, (Thiers and Volokhine, 2005, p. 13-21) and in the naos of the Opet Temple at Karnak. (Yoyotte and De Wit, 1958, p. 188, 206, 209) One instance of the kneeling pose occurs in an economic procession from the birth house of the Temple of Edfu. (Chassinat, 1910, p. 184, 186)

Three exceptional depictions of kneeling figures are noteworthy. The first two (3a; 3b)

are portrayed in a hydrological procession in the second sanctuary of Athribis Temple. It shows southern *ḥꜥpy* kneeling and carrying a tray surmounted by a small male figure carrying four pots, while in the parallel procession his counterpart *ḥꜥpy* of the north carries a tray with a hieroglyphic sign of a hide of an oryx combined with the knotted cloths. The two previous scenes date to the reign of Ptolemy XII. (Leitz, Mendel, and El-Masry, 2010, p. 507-517)

The third example comes from a hydrological procession represented on the walls of the chamber of linen at Dendara Temple and dates back to the reign of Cleopatra VII. The king is at the head of the two symmetrical processions carrying a tray surmounted by a small squatting statue of the goddess Tayt, the deity associated with the production of linen. Kneeling figures of *ḥꜥpy* follow the king and hold a platter with a small kneeling figure of the king carrying a tray of linen and wearing the white crown in the case of southern *ḥꜥpy* while carrying vessels of oil and wearing the red crown for northern *ḥꜥpy*. (Pose 3c; 3d) (Chassinat, 2012, p. 113, 130)

It has been observed that the type of offerings presented by the king and the offering bearers, including the upper and lower Egyptian *ḥꜥpy*, alternate according to the procession's type and the setting of the scene. In the aforementioned scene, the offerings of oil and linen are the products used for the adornment of the statues of gods during various rituals. Hence, the visual and textual material in the procession indicates and echoes the function of the room.

- **Libation Pose (Fig. 6)**

Libation may be considered as a higher register than typical offerings. The libation pose with its variant postures is much rarer than the offering pose. It portrays the figure holding libating jars in various gestures. In fact, there is no single pose that can be certainly defined as a libation, unless there is an accompanying text describing the action. However, in scenes where the libating jars are held up or at a

pouring angle, the description is obvious even if there is no water dispensing from the jars. (Baines, 1985, p. 306)

Pose 1: *Ḥꜥpy* of the south was portrayed standing or walking, holding two vases up, one in either hand in front of him. This pose occurs once in a hydrological procession in the crypt of Dendara Temple, where a parallel scene with his counterpart is missing. (Chassinat, 1952, p. 97, 11)

Pose 2: Another libation pose portrays *ḥꜥpy* holding two vases resting on his shoulder. (Traunecker, 1972, p. 195–236) Two examples of this posture are found in the temple of Hathor at Dendara and date back to the reign of Cleopatra VII. The first case is attested in an economic procession of the New Year Festival on the west staircase of the temple showing two figures of southern *ḥꜥpy*, the first of which is shown holding two jars. (Chassinat and Dumas, 1978, p. 95, pl. dcccxciii) The second example is represented in the mentioned temple's sanctuary in a hydrological procession with both deities depicted in the same gesture. (Chassinat, 1934, p. 36, 55, pl. xlvi) (Table 1 no. 35)

Pose 3: Two Roman examples show a similar pose in which *ḥꜥpy* is holding one vase to the shoulder, while the other vase is held up in front of him. Both scenes come from hydrological processions, the first of which is located in the pronaos of Dandur Temple. (Blackman, 1981, p. 59) It shows four figures of southern *ḥꜥpy* holding a vase in either hand. As for the second case, it is represented in the sanctuary of the temple of Mandulis at Kalabsha, in which only *ḥꜥpy* of the north is present. (Gauthier, 1911, p. 9-13)

Pose 4: The third gesture of the libation pose shows the tray of marsh plants held in one hand, while *ḥꜥpy* performs a libation with a *ḥs* vase held in the other hand. This pose occurs in four Ptolemaic hydrological processions, the earliest of which comes from the sanctuary and the east staircase of Edfu Temple; the two other parades date to the reign of Cleopatra VII

and are located on the east and west staircases of the temple of Dendara. Another Roman geographical procession of divinities from the roof of the eastern Osiris chapel at Dendara portrays both deities with the same gesture.

It is worth noting that all the scenes with various libation poses were located on the walls of staircases, crypts, or in the sanctuary, which is the most characteristic divine location for libation, and hence purification and libation are directly associated with the roles and functions of *ḥꜥpy*.

- ***Position of Southern and Northern Ḥꜥpy in Processions***

The position of both deities in processions refer to the place where they stand among numerous members in various types of parades usually led by the king. In geographic, economic, and hydrological processions *ḥꜥpy* often takes the exposed position directly behind the king and the queen. However, few exceptions occur. In the temple of Kom Ombo, the two personified figures are not shown at the head of the procession. (Table 1) In the hydrological processions in the birth house of Edfu and the offering hall of Athribis temple comes another anomaly. At Edfu, both deities are shown in the third position, while at Athribis *ḥꜥpy* of the north takes the tenth position whereas four figures of *ḥꜥpy* of the south are represented at the end of the procession.

It has been observed that some hydrological processions consisted mainly of several figures of *ḥꜥpy* of the north and *ḥꜥpy* of the south as in the temple of Tod, in which 16 figures of southern *ḥꜥpy* are shown in one row of the procession and 15 of the northern *ḥꜥpy* in the parallel one. Similar processions are found at Dandur Temple with 6 figures of northern *ḥꜥpy*, at Deir El-Madina Temple a procession with 4 figures of southern *ḥꜥpy* as well as Kom Ombo temple with 3 figures of each. (Table 1)

It is worth noting that sometimes one of the deities is present in the procession in the

absence of his counterpart. Either the parallel procession is damaged, or the parade is represented in one row without a parallel one. During this illustration, it's possible that a single deity filled the role of the principal deity *ḥꜥpy* and therefore might have substituted his counterpart.

- ***Deities accompanying Northern and Southern Ḥꜥpy in Processions***

In processions, it is the field goddess *shṯ*, who is frequently the main figure accompanying both southern and northern *ḥꜥpy*. This arrangement of the Nile inundation and the field, especially in the alternating hydrological processions, results from the Egyptians' tendency toward symmetry, whereby every male personification is assigned a female counterpart following the well-known dualism. The pairing of the two deities represents man and woman, as if it were a metaphorical illustration and logical interpretation of a cause-and-effect principle that could be observed every year in Egypt, when the deposit of the fertile mud nourished the fields after the floodwater receded the cultivation areas. (Guglielmi, 1974, p. 206–27) Consequently, processions of this type are usually located at gate passages, the outer temple walls, and the pronaos of the temples. In addition, in all occurrences, both figures are preceded by other personified aspects of Nile inundation. *Shṯ*, the field goddess, is occasionally portrayed at the end of hydrological processions. In the majority of the scenes, this type of procession was usually depicted in a room inside the naos, specifically inside the actual temple proper. According to the ancient Egyptian religious beliefs, the Nile flood originated from the primeval ocean and therefore was considered primeval. (Tattko, 2014, p. 361–440)

II.4 Ritual Scenes

Ḥꜥpy of the south and his counterpart of the north were depicted in two instances in ritual scenes. The chamber of Osiris situated on the roof of the temple of Isis at Philae depicts two

parallel late Ptolemaic ritual scenes of both deities. Both scenes show the king presenting a table of offerings⁹ to the god Khnum and to other deities among whom are southern and northern *ḥꜥpy*. On the lower register of the west wall, the king is represented wearing the Lower Egyptian crown, along with *ḥꜥpy mḥw*, who is portrayed standing, holding one vase as if pouring a liquid out of it. He is preceded by Khnum and followed by Haroeris and Heqet. (**Fig. 7**) (Bénédite, 1893, p. 123, pl. xxxix) The accompanying text reads:

Ḥꜥpy mḥw ḥpr m t3 m Twnw di kbḥw n Wsir.

Ḥꜥpy of the north, who emerges from the earth in Heliopolis, give libation to Osiris. (Bénédite, 1893, p. 123, 13-14)

Ḥꜥpy of the south is represented in a mirror scene on the lower register of the east wall. The figure is shown standing with two arms partially outstretched as if he is carrying either a tray or holding two libation jars up. Unfortunately, neither the tray nor the jars are present in the scene. The king is represented in this scene with the upper Egyptian crown. (**Fig. 8**) (Bénédite, 1893, p. 126, pl. xli, xxxix) The accompanying text reads:

Ḥꜥpy šmꜥw nb Snmwt

Ḥꜥpy of the south, Lord of Biggeh. (Zecchi, 1996, p. 55, doc. 48)

Two more examples of ritual scenes date to the reign of the emperor Augustus (63 BC - 14 AD), one of which is depicted on the south wall of the pronaos at the temple of Dendara. In the third register, *ḥꜥpy mḥw* is represented standing with a platter mounted with papyrus and lotus flowers along with two libation jars. He is preceding the emperor who is incensing and libating to the goddess Isis and the God Harsomtus. (**Fig. 9**) A parallel scene with his counterpart shows *ḥꜥpy šmꜥw* offering to the goddess Hathor. (Lepsius, 1901, p. 69a;

Cauville, 2011, p. 27, 70) The accompanying text reads:

Ḥꜥpy šmꜥw sr nꜥrw

Ḥꜥpy of the south, prince of the gods.

Ḥꜥpy mḥw k3 nb kꜣrtꜣ, it mwt n nꜥrw nbw.

Ḥꜥpy of the north, the bull, lord of the two caverns, father and mother of all gods.

The second occurrence comes from the south wall of sanctuary A in the temple of Isis at Dendara. It portrays the king presenting offerings to the God Re-Horus in presence of *Ḥꜥpy* of the south facing Harsomtus and Isis. *Ḥꜥpy* stands, offering two vases to the goddess Isis. A mirror scene portrays his counterpart along with Ihy and Hathor (Cauville, 2007, p. 82, 109, pl. 89) (**Fig. 10**).

The accompanying text reads:

Ḥꜥpy mḥw bꜥḥ Ḥt-mn¹⁰ m nꜥrw

Ḥꜥpy of the north inundates the world (Egypt) with beauty (offerings).

Ḥꜥpy šmꜥw sdf3 t3wy

Ḥꜥpy of the south who causes to give offerings to the Two Lands.

I. Rare Attestations

An exceptional example comes from the roof of the temple of Isis at Philae. A unique representation of *ḥꜥpy šmꜥw* and *ḥꜥpy mḥw* is attested on the west and east walls of the vestibule. Both scenes show the deities with their usual appearance as androgynous figures with lotus and papyri flowers surmounting the head. They are portrayed with one hand to their breast, from which a stream of water is flowing. Both figures hold out the other hand, in which is placed a frog with a parallel stream of liquid pouring from its mouth. *Ḥꜥpy šmꜥw* is depicted kneeling and pouring a libation onto the ground beneath a figure of the god Sokar

⁹ In the inscription accompanying the scene the king states: 'I give you every land with offerings' to all the divinities including *ḥꜥpy*. (Zecchi, 1996, p. 56, doc. 48)

¹⁰ The term '*Ḥt-mn*' means 'the world' and refers therefore to Egypt and its land. (*Wb* III, p. 353 (8-9); Gauthier, 1927, p. 192; Wilson, 1997, p. 757-758)

who is as well shown making a libation from a *hs* vase. God Osiris is shown between the two-winged goddesses Nephtys and Isis along with small figures of the four sons of Horus in mummy forms framing the four corners of the main scene. (Baines, 1985, p. 119, 120; Prell, 2009, p. 229) (**Fig. 11**)

The accompanying text reads:

Hꜥpy šmꜥw it nꜥrw m Snmwt.

Hꜥpy of the south, father of the gods on the island of Biggeh. (Junker, 1913, p. 61)

In the case of *hꜥpy mhꜥw* water streams flowing out of him fertilize the sacred grove, where the *bꜥ* of Osiris rests. (**Fig. 12**)

The accompanying text reads:

Hꜥpy mhꜥw it nꜥrw

Hꜥpy of the north, father of the gods. (Junker, 1913, p. 61)

According to Junker's interpretation which the researcher agrees with, Osiris is being rejuvenated in this scene by the freshwater flowing from the southern Nile as well as the water pouring from the frog's mouth. The frog is intimately connected to inundation and the corresponding regeneration cycle since it is an animal that was created from the primordial element of water. In addition, *hꜥpy*, as the lord of the water, is associated with the primeval gods and is thus represented along with the frog which is a symbol of revival. Junker further claimed that this scene was parallel to those in which Isis was breastfeeding Horus. (Junker, 1913, p. 61, fig. 21-22)

III. Epithets and Functions

The study of the inscriptions accompanying *hꜥpy* of the south and *hꜥpy* of the north brought to light various information about the epithets, roles, and functions of both deities. The epithets of both deities can be divided into four categories. The first category reflects the divinity of northern and southern *hꜥpy*; the second refers to the sources and locations to which both deities relate; the third group of

epithets indicates their strength and power, while the fourth category echoes their various roles and functions.

1. The first category reflects the divinity of northern and southern *hꜥpy*:

- *nꜥr ʕꜥ*, ‘great god’ (Cauville, 2020, p. 271)
- *it nꜥrw* ‘father of the gods’, *it mwt n nꜥrw nbw*, ‘father and mother of all gods’, *it mwt n nꜥrw rmt* ‘father and mother of all gods and people’ (Blackmann, 1911, p. 38; Junker, 1913, p. 61; Dils, 2000, p. 162; Chassinat, 2009, p. 263; Cauville, 2020, p. 70)
- *sr nꜥrw*, ‘prince of the gods’; *kmꜥ kmꜥ ht nbt*, ‘the creator, who creates all things’; *nb wnnt nbt* ‘the lord of all what exists’. (Cauville, Lecler, and Hamed, 2007, p. 322, 325, 332; Ventker, 2012, p. 81, 84, 96)
- *Hꜥpy šmꜥw hnt nb kꜥw ir ht nbt*, ‘the southern *hꜥpy*, lord of food, who creates everything’ (Cauville, Lecler, and Hamed, 2007, p. 322; Ventker, 2012, p. 96) These epithets were attested for both deities in ritual scenes or on the scenes of the gargoyles of Dendara and Edfu temples.
- *Hkꜥ*, “the ruler” this unique epithet was only attested once on a gargoyle of Dendara temple referring to *hꜥpy šmꜥw*. (Cauville, Lecler, and Hamed, 2007, p. 325; Ventker, 2012, p. 101)

2. The second category is geographic and deals with the sources from which both Nile floods flow, in addition to the toponyms and temples they relate to:

a. Sources and Toponyms

- *Kꜥrrty*: ‘the two holes or caverns’, are the two gaps in the ground or water sources from which the two floods emerge. It is present in the epithets of both deities as *nb kꜥrrty* ‘lord of the two caverns.’ The two caverns are thought to be at Elephantine according to the Book of the Caverns. The Nile was believed to have sprung from the

primeval waters of Nun, through the world of the dead and the heavens, finally flowing into Egypt where it arose from the earth between two mountains which lay between the Islands of Elephantine and the Island of Philae. This term is also connected with Osiris, who was known as *nb krrty*. Here, *krrty* refers to a place at Heliopolis which is sacred to Osiris. (Wb, V, p. 58 (2-4); Gauthier, 1927, p. 176; Hornung, 1973, p. 55-59; Wilson, 1997, p. 1066) Therefore, the two caverns might refer to a northern water source, namely Heliopolis and Elephantine as the southern resource. In accordance with another opinion, the two caverns are thought of as two sources, one of which supplies Egypt with water while the other transfers water into Africa. (Van der Plas, 1986, p. 172 ff)

- *M sty*: ‘from the leg’, what is meant is the leg of Osiris, from which the Egyptians imagined the Nile rises and thus refers to the 1st Upper Egyptian nome, specifically Elephantine. (Ventker, 2012, p. 100)
- *Iwnw*: Heliopolis, a lower Egyptian locality that occurs in two epithets of *hꜥpy mḥw*. *Nb Iwnw* ‘lord of Heliopolis’ and *mi m t3 m Iwnw*, ‘who comes from Heliopolis’; *pr m-m t3 m Iwnw*, ‘which comes from the land of Heliopolis’. These epithets refer to Heliopolis as the source of the northern flood.
- *Snmwt*: is the island of Biggeh in the 1st nome of Upper Egypt. It is attested in two epithets *nb Snmwt* ‘Lord of Biggeh’;¹¹ *m Snmwt* ‘in Biggeh’. Both

epithets are associated with *hꜥpy šmꜥw* and thus refer to the source of the southern flood.

- *3bw*: Elephantine is an island located in the 1st upper Egyptian nome and the dwelling place of the God Khnum who guarded and controlled the water sources of the Nile beneath the island. Elephantine occurs in the epithets *pr m 3bw* ‘coming from Elephantine’; *in.f n.t hr kbh n 3bw*, ‘he brings to you the southern flood with cool water from Elephantine’. (Chassinat and Daumas, 1972, p. 113, 125) Both texts refer to Elephantine as a resource of the southern flood.
- *H3t-sp3wt*:¹² ‘southern beginning (frontier) of Egypt’ is another designation of the southern frontier of Egypt specifically the 1st upper Egyptian province namely Elephantine. It occurs in the epithet *hꜥpy šmꜥw hnty H3t-sp3wt*, ‘the southern flood in Elephantine’. (Chassinat and Daumas, 1972, p. 312; Ventker, 2012, p. 60)
- *H3t-niwwt*:¹³ ‘beginning’ (frontier) of the cities. According to Gauthier the term refers to Elephantine. It is attested in the epithet of *hꜥpy mḥw hnty H3t-niwwt*, ‘northern flood in Elephantine’ on a gargoyle at Dendara Temple. The same locality occurred once in the epithet of *hꜥpy šmꜥw m H3t-niwwt* in the procession represented in the Nile chamber of Edfu Temple, referring to southern *hꜥpy* in Elephantine. (Cauville, Devauchelle and Chassinat, 1987, p. 250). It has been noted that this term was frequently attested among the epithets of northern Hapy.

¹¹ *Snmwt* is the island of Biggeh in the 1st nome of Upper Egypt. (Montet, 1961, p. 19-21)

¹² *H3t-sp3wt* is the southern frontier of Egypt designating Elephantine. (Gauthier, 1927, p. 16; Locher, 1999, p. 35-36; Zaki, 2009, p. 164-165)

¹³ *H3t-niwwt* as a designation for Elephantine. (Gauthier, 1927, p. 15)

Accordingly, it is conceivable that northern Hapy stands for the northern ‘beginning’ frontier of Egypt and at this point *H3t-niwwt* does not mean Elephantine, but perhaps the delta region, or at least Lower Egypt. (Ventker, 2012, p. 61)

- *T3-sty*: may signify both Nubia and the 1st upper Egyptian nome. (Gauthier, 1927, p. 31-32; Locher, 1999, p. 202 ff) It was mentioned in the epithet of *hꜥpy mḥw ii m T3-sty* ‘The northern flood coming from Nubia or 1st nome of Upper Egypt’. (Cauville, Lecler, and Hamed, 2007, p. 340; Ventker, 2012, p. 92)
- *Mhy m mḥt*: is an etiological term for Elephantine as the seat of the sources of the Nile. (Locher, 1999, p. 111) The ‘place of filling’ is quite an appropriate term for Elephantine, where the source of the Nile could first be observed. (Ventker, 2012, p. 92) The epithet was attested on one of the gargoyles at Dendara Temple: *nwi hꜥpy šmꜥw mhy m mḥt* ‘I am the southern flood in Elephantine’. (Cauville, Lecler, and Hamed, 2007, p. 340; Ventker, 2012, p. 93)
- *Ḳbḥw-Stḥ*: ‘water areas of Set’ refers to the south and therefore was attested in the epithet of *hꜥpy šmꜥw* as *ḥnty Ḳbḥw-Stḥ* ‘the southern flood in water areas of Set’. (Gauthier, 1927, p. 171-172; Cauville, Lecler, and Hamed, 2007, p. 319, 321; Chassinat, 2009, p. 263; Ventker, 2012, p. 73, 76, 140)
- *Ḳbḥw-Hr*: ‘water areas of Horus’ a term which refers to a lower Egyptian toponym and thus occurs in the epithet

hꜥpy mḥw ḥnty bḥw-Hr ‘the northern flood in water areas of Horus’. (Gauthier, 1927, p. 171-172; Cauville, Lecler, and Hamed, 2007, p. 319, 321; Chassinat, 2009, p. 263; Ventker, 2012, p. 73, 76, 140)

b. Cult Places/ Temples

Epithets of *hꜥpy šmꜥw* occurring with terms designating Dendara: *ḥnt K3b-t3wy*, ‘in the internal (part) of the Two Lands’; *ḥnt T3-dit*,¹⁴ *ḥnt Hwt-sššt*, ‘in the mansion of the sistrum’. (Cauville, Lecler, and Hamed, 2007, p. 312, 322, 336; Ventker, 2012, p. 60, 81, 88)

Epithets of *hꜥpy mḥw* attested with terms designating Dendara: *ḥnt Hwt-ꜥbw*,¹⁵ ‘in the purification mansion’; *ḥnt T3-rr*; *ḥnt St-Rꜥ*, ‘in the place of Re’, *ḥnt Hwt-mnit*, ‘in the mansion of the Menit collar’; *ḥnt Hwt-Nwt*, ‘in the mansion of Nut’; *ḥnt T3-n-Tm*, ‘in the land of Atum’. (Cauville, Lecler, and Hamed, 2007, p. 312, 322, 332, 336; Ventker, 2012, p. 60, 65, 81, 88, 96)

Epithets of *hꜥpy šmꜥw* occurring with terms designating Edfu: *hꜥpy šmꜥw ḥnt Hwt-Hr*; *ḥnt Bḥdt*; *ḥnt Bḥdt-nt-Rꜥ*.¹⁶ (Chassinat, 2009, p. 117, 118, 286, 287; Ventker, 2012, p. 152, 162)

Epithets of *hꜥpy mḥw* attested with terms designating Edfu: *ḥnt St-wrt*; *ḥnt P-Msn*; *ḥnt Nst-Rꜥ*; *ḥnt Wr-nḥt*. (Chassinat, 2009, p. 107, 117, 130, 286, 287, 332; Ventker, 2012, p. 152, 162, 169)

3. **The third category echoes the deity’s strength and power:** *šm* ‘the mighty’; *kn* ‘the brave’; *kn n rḥyt* ‘the brave (one) of men’ (Cauville, Lecler, and Hamed, 2007, p. 312, 332, 337; Ventker, 2012, p. 81, 88) *k3* ‘the bull’; *W3dd m[pt]* the

¹⁴ The term *T3-dit* refers to Dendara. (Kockelmann, 2002, p. 52, 53, 197)

¹⁵ The term *Hwt-ꜥbw* refers to the city of Dendara, the chapel K or the chamber D of the southern crypt 1: (Kockelmann, 2002, p. 169) (*Hwt-wꜥb*).

¹⁶ *Bḥdt-nt-Rꜥ* is a designation for Edfu. (Gauthier, 1927, p. 29)

Agathodaemon in heaven (only *ḥꜥpy mḥw*).
(Cauville and Lecler, 2011, p. 70)

4. **The fourth category of epithets is related to the roles** which both deities undertake. The following texts accompanying various processions, gargoyle scenes, and ritual scenes indicate various effects and functions of both deities as follows:

a) Providing various offerings to the main deity of the temple

- At the sanctuary of the temple of Hathor at Dendara the text accompanying the procession mentions *ḥꜥpy mḥw*: (Chassinat, 2004, p. 56; Cauville and Lecler, 1998, p. 90)

Sdf3.n.f wdḥw m ḥ3w ḥr df3w ‘he supplies the altars with offerings and provisions’.

- A text accompanying a procession in the treasury room of Dendara Temple mentions that *ḥꜥpy mḥw* follows the king in a procession with gemstones, silver, and gold: (Cauville and Lecler, 2001, p. 256, 270)

Ḥꜥpy mḥw m-ḥt.f ḥr ʕ3wt, ʕrkwr wr.ti r3wy rwd.tw, msdmt snn, r sb3k sbkt

The northern flood is behind him bringing the gemstones, the abundant silver and unchangeable gold, galena, and fluid to highlight (your) eye.

- In the parallel procession *ḥꜥpy šmꜥw* is also behind the king and provides Hathor with fine stones.

In.f n.t iryt-ḥḥ ʕpr.tw m irw.s, sns.n.s bꜥnt nt k3.t ḥꜥpy šmꜥw m-ḥt.f ḥr ʕ3wt špswt r km k3t nt k3 (.t).

He brings (the king) to you (Hathor) the necklace adorned as it should, it unites with the chest of your ka, the southern flood is behind him (the king) bringing the venerable fine stones to complete the work of (your) ka.

- A text accompanying a procession in the chamber of linen at Hathor’s temple in Dendara shows *ḥꜥpy šmꜥw* offering linen to Hathor, while *ḥꜥpy mḥw* provides her with Hekenu oil as reading as follows: (Chassinat, 1935, p. 113, 130; Cauville and Lecler, 2001, p. 200, 222)

In.f n.t ḥꜥpy šmꜥ, ḥꜥꜥ.tw ḥr ḥdt ḥkn.tw m tp-rd.s nb, k3t nt T3yt, sns.n.s r sm.t, nmt.t t3 twt m dt.t

He brings (the king) to you (Hathor) the southern flood, full of joy with the radiant white cloth in all its dresses, work of Tayt, it molds itself on your statue, you throw them on the ground in all integrity.

In.f n.t ḥꜥpy mḥw, ḥkn.tw ḥr ḥknw, ʕpr.tw m ḥ3w nw Pwnt, twt rḥ Ḥknt-m-nfrw.s, ḥnwt nfrt ḥnt Ḥt-mnit.

He brings (the king) to you (Hathor) the northern flood, rejoiced by bringing the Hekenu oil-, provided with spices of Punt, for you are the goddess perfumed from its aromas, the beautiful lady in the Temple of the Menit necklace.

- A text accompanying a procession from chamber ‘U’ from the temple of Hathor in Dendara mentions that *ḥꜥpy šmꜥw* supplies the offering table of Hathor with offerings three times daily as follows:

- *In.f n.t ḥꜥpy šmꜥw ḥr kbḥ n 3bw in.f n.t prt m krrty sdf3.f tt m k3w df3w sp-3 n rꜥ-nb.*

He brings (the king) to you (Hathor) the southern flood with cool waters from Elephantine. He brings to you what emerges from the two caverns to provide your offering table three times daily with food and goods. (Chassinat and Daumas, 1972, p. 113, 125; Tattko, 2014, p. 394)

- A text accompanying a procession on the pylon of the temple of Isis at Philae

states that southern *hꜥpy* offers to the ka of the deity of the temple various goods as:

In.f n.t t3 iw f hnkt htpw df3w hr skr m hr.t nfr ‘He brings to you bread, meat, beer, offerings and food.’ (Junker and Daum, 1958, p. 155-159; Tattko, 2014, p. 432)

- A text accompanying a procession in the temple of Hathor at Dendara states that *hꜥpy mhꜥw* offers primeval water to the deity of the temple as follows:

Siꜥr.f n.t Nwn wr.ti tp [rnpt] mh.f n k3.t hrt-hrw

He (*hꜥpy mhꜥw*) offers to you (Hathor) the primeval water, rising high every year; he flows daily for your ka. (Chassinat, 1987, p. 132, 145; Tattko, 2014, p. 395)

b) Purifying the temple, its deity, and the ancestors from all forms of impurity

- From the sanctuary of the temple of Hathor at Dendara the text accompanying the procession mentions *hꜥpy mhꜥw* as:

Sntr.f Ht-sšst r ḥd ‘he purifies the mansion of the sistrum from impurity (destruction).’ (Chassinat, 1934, p. 56; Cauville, 1998, p. 90)

The parallel procession with *hꜥpy šmꜥw* states the same function:

Ti.f n.t wr.tw r tr.f r swꜥb pr.t r prt

It comes (*hꜥpy šmꜥw*) to you (Hathor) abundant in its time to purify your sanctuary from impurity. (Chassinat, 1934, p. 36; Cauville, 1998, p. 64)

- The text accompanying a procession of *hꜥpy šmꜥw* in the *Wꜥbt* of Dendara Temple declares that the deity purifies the temple, the throne, the clothes, and the ornaments of Hathor:

Ti.f n.t wr.tw r tr.f, nn ḏw nb im.f, swꜥb.f st.t, ḥsmn.f ht-ntr.t, rnp.f hꜥ.t m m3wt, sntr.f nst.t, wꜥb.f nfrw.t, twr.[f] ḥkrw.t m[..]

It (*hꜥpy šmꜥw*) purifies your temple, it rejuvenates your body, it purifies your throne, your clothes, it purifies your ornaments with... (Cauville, 2001, p. 380, 406; Chassinat, 2012, p. 235, 253)

- From the processions on the staircase of the temple of Hathor at Dendara several texts declare the role of *hꜥpy šmꜥw* in purifying the goddess as well as parts of the temple during the festival of the New Year.

Hꜥpy šmꜥw ḥnty T3-rr sntr sm3ty nw nbwt ntrw swꜥb.i nmt.t m mw ipw

Hꜥpy šmꜥw in Dendara who purifies the road of the gold of the gods, purify your step (Hathor) with this water. (Chassinat and Daumas, 1972, p. 185, 8-9)

Hꜥpy šmꜥw ḥnty I3t-dit wꜥb w3t n nbt İwnt twr.i ḥnd.t m ii m ḳrrty

Hꜥpy šmꜥw who purifies the road for the Lady of Dendara, purify your staircase with what comes from the two caverns. (Chassinat and Daumas, 1972, p. 185, 6-7)

Hꜥpy šmꜥw ḥr 3w.f sin r st-Rꜥ swꜥb npr sntr st th r s3t twr w3t.s srf m ꜥ.wy.f m ḥb.s nfr nḥn.s irt-Rꜥ iw.s m33 itn m ḥb.s tpy hrw nfr wp-rnpt

Hꜥpy šmꜥw who arrives to Dendara to purify the staircase and to purify the seat of the drunkenness, to purify her road with the flood water (which) is in his hands in her beautiful feast, when the eye of Ra rises to see the sun disc in her first feast, the beautiful day of the New Year feast. (Chassinat and Daumas, 1972, p. 198, 8-10)

Hꜥpy šmꜥw also plays a role in purifying the ancestors as follows:

*Hꜥpy šmꜥw swꜥb drtyw iwt.i r dryt n wrt
m iwnt ht swꜥb hmt.s m kbh*

Hꜥpy šmꜥw who purifies the ancestors, he has come to the great mansion in Dendara to purify her majesty with cool water. (Chassinat and Daumas, 1972, p. 95, 9-10)

c) Inundating the fields, growing plants, and bringing life

- Texts accompanying the gargoyle scenes at the temple of Hathor at Dendara declare the functions related to the aspects of the flood as follows:

*Dd mdw in hꜥpy, ink hꜥpy šmꜥw hnty
Kbhꜥw-Stꜥh..]tr.f n rnpt nn r mr.f nbnb r
nw.f ii n m3wt r bꜥh tpw*

Words spoken by *hꜥpy*, I am *hꜥpy šmꜥw*, the overseer [of the water areas of Seth coming at] his time of the year, who exhausted (himself) for his beloved ones, who increases in his time, who comes once again to flood the fields¹⁷. (Cauville, Lecler, and Hamed, 2007, p. 320, pl. 192)

*Nwi hꜥpy šmꜥw mhy m Mht iwꜥ iww m
nwy.f thb t3š n T3-mri r ds.s r km3 ꜥnhꜥw
ꜥnhꜥw.*

I am *hꜥpy šmꜥw*, the flood in Elephantine, flooding the island fields with its waters, who moistures the territory of all Egypt, to create life (subsistence) for the living. (Cauville, Lecler and Hamed, 2007, p. 340; Ventker, 2012, p. 93)

*Nwi hꜥpy mhꜥw ii m T3-sty bꜥh hntš m
hnp-k3 stꜥ tpw nw t3 hrndb.f r šd hrw m
hrt.sn bhꜥ 3ht m npr nfrw*

I am *hꜥpy mhꜥw*, who comes from Ta-Sty (1st nome, Nubia), who floods the fields with the floodwaters, and who

fertilizes the fields of the whole land, to feed the people according to their needs, who fertilizes the fields with corn and grain. (Cauville, Lecler and Hamed, 2007, p. 340; Ventker, 2012, p. 92)

*Hꜥpy mhꜥw hh.n.f ꜥnhꜥ n ꜥnhꜥws snw n
tpyw-t3* ‘He (*hꜥpy mhꜥw*) gives life to the living, [he increases or similar] the offering bread for the inhabitants of the earth.’

- Some epithets reflect the deities’ roles in feeding the country and its people as:

Hꜥpy mhꜥw šd t3 hr ndb.f ‘who feeds the whole land.’ (Cauville, Lecler and Hamed, 2007, p. 318; Ventker, 2012, p. 72)

- The text on a gargoyle at Dendara describes *hꜥpy šmꜥw* and *hꜥpy mhꜥw* as follows:

Hꜥpy šmꜥw ir krfw n k3w ꜥnhꜥw ‘who prepares the food for the living kas’. (Cauville, Lecler and Hamed, 2007, p. 320; Ventker, 2012, p. 80)

Hꜥpy mhꜥw ir hfꜥt n šspw ‘who prepares the meals for the statues’. (Cauville, Lecler and Hamed, 2007, p. 325; Ventker, 2012, p. 84)

d) Rejuvenating the deities

- A text accompanying a procession in the temple of Hathor at Dendara states that *hꜥpy šmꜥw* rejuvenates the Ka of Hathor at the beginning of the year and conceals his body to grow the field. The text reads:

*In.f n.t hꜥpy šmꜥw [pr] m krrt hr rnp n
k3.t tp rnpt h3p.f dt.f r srd šht ii.f n.t n
nry*

¹⁷ For similar texts indicating the functions of inundating the fields cf. (Cauville, Lecler, and Hamed, 2007, p. 335, 9-10; Chassinat, 2009, p. 468)

“He (the king) brings you (Hathor) *hꜥpy šmꜥw* [from] the cavern by renewing himself for your ka every year he (*hꜥpy šmꜥw*) conceals his body to fertilize the countryside, he (*hꜥpy šmꜥw*) comes to you annually”. (Chassinat, 1935, p. 188, 6; Cauville and Lecler, 2001, p. 304, 305)

- The text accompanying a procession of *hꜥpy šmꜥw* in the *Wꜥbt* of Dendara describes *hꜥpy* as rejuvenating the body of Hathor:

Ii.f n.t wr.tw r tr.f, nn ḏw nb im.f, swꜥb.f st.t, ḥsmn.f ḥt-nṯr.t

It (*hꜥpy šmꜥw*) purifies your temple, it rejuvenates your body (Hathor). (Chassinat, 1935, p. 235, 253; Cauville and Lecler, 2001, p. 380, 406)

- In the unique ritual scene from the temple of Isis at Philae *hꜥpy mḥw* is shown standing with water streams flowing out of him to fertilize the sacred grove, where the *b3* of Osiris rests. This scene is interpreted as rejuvenating Osiris from the waters of *hꜥpy mḥw*. (Junker, 1913, p. 61, fig. 21-22)

e) Protecting the main deity of the temple

- *Hꜥpy šmꜥw* takes part in a geographic procession of divinities at the Opet Temple at Karnak where he is mentioned protecting the main deity of the temple. (De Wit, 1958, p. 271)

Hnp hꜥpy šmꜥw m-s3.k

‘*Hꜥpy šmꜥw* protects you’.

f) Libating

- A ritual scene in the temple of Isis at Philae mentions *hꜥpy mḥw* offering libation to Osiris:

Hꜥpy mḥw ḥpr m t3 Iwnw di kbḥ n Wsir.

‘*Hꜥpy mḥw* who exists in the land of Heliopolis give libation to Osiris.’ (Bénédite, 1895, p. 123)

- A text accompanying a hydrological procession in the chamber B in the temple of Hathor at Dendara:

In.f n.t hꜥpy mḥw ḥr nmst nt nbw 3t nbt bꜥḥ ḥr mw-rnp r swꜥb pr.t im.sn iw.w wꜥb r ḥrp kbḥ n ḥmt.t

He brings (the king) to you (Hathor) the northern flood with the *nmst* jars from gold and every gemstone overflowing with the freshwater, to purify the temple, being pure to offer a libation to your majesty. (Chassinat, 1987, p. 183; Tattko, 2014, p. 396)

- A text from chamber U from the temple of Hathor at Dendara:

In.f n.t hꜥpy mḥw ḥr mw-rnp pr m-m t3 m Iwnw in.f wḏḥw n k3.t m K3b-t3wy sp-3 n rꜥ-nb

He brings (the king) to you (Hathor) the northern flood with cool water which comes from the land of Heliopolis to offer a libation to your ka in Dendara three times daily. (Chassinat and Daumas, 1972, p. 113, 125; Tattko, 2014, p. 394)

g) Refreshing the heart of Hathor

- On the staircase of the temple of Hathor at Dendara *hꜥpy mḥw* was described as the source of refreshing the heart of the goddess.

Dd mdw in hꜥpy mḥw wn ḥry snbt n mw rnp i r skb ib n nwbt s3t Rꜥ

Words spoken by *hꜥpy mḥw* who carries the *snbt* jars of fresh water to refresh the heart of the golden daughter of Ra. (Chassinat and Daumas, 1972, p. 95, 5-6)

3. Conclusion

The division of the Nile inundation into an Upper and Lower Egyptian personified divine

figure is no more than a manifestation of the persistent geographical and political dualism in the ancient Egyptian beliefs. The earliest evidence of the paired deities designated by names and attributes is represented on the façade of the chapel of Philip Arrhidæus at the temple of Amun Re at Karnak.

Both deities were attested in various settings; *sm3-t3wy* and gargoyles scenes; in processions decorating the lowermost walls of temples and in ritual scenes. However, a comparison of all the textual and pictorial evidence for both deities reveals that, with few variations, both deities share a great deal of similarity in their iconography, epithets, duties, and functions.

The overview of all occurrences of both deities in various scene types indicates that the appearance of both gods does not differ fundamentally from each other. The general appearance of both deities was portrayed as androgynous figures wearing the typical headdress of papyri clumps or lotus buds surmounting a long wig. A false beard is usually attached to the chin and a broad collar of a row of parallel bands decorates the neck. They are depicted with long pendulous breasts and a big protruding belly, wearing a wide belt with a short loincloth covering their genitals. (Baines, 1985, p. 85 ff) They usually carry a tray with two *hs* vases separated by a *w3s* scepter and covered with papyrus and lotus blossoms. The *nh* sign along with long stems of papyrus and lotus blossom suspend down from their hands towards the ground. A variety of food offerings, sometimes surmounting the platter, are listed in the accompanying texts. In some processions, both figures were preceded by animals such as bulls, gazelles or oryxes.

Both deities were portrayed in the typical offering pose as standing, walking, or kneeling in all scene types. However, the pose, where the god was depicted performing a libation with a *hs* vase was restricted to procession, ritual, and rare scenes. The only distinctive factor between *hꜥpy* of the south and his counterpart is the headdress symbolizing the Upper and Lower Egyptian regions as well as

their names and titles. Yet, it was only *hꜥpy* of the south who was portrayed holding two vases up, one in either hand in front of him. (Libation pose no. 1)

In *Sm3-t3wy* and gargoyles scenes, both figures were portrayed facing each other. In scenes of processions and rituals, each figure was portrayed in a separate scene, with his counterpart reflected as a mirror, usually represented on the opposite wall. Attributes and symbols of the south and north such as plants (lotus or papyrus) surmounting the headdress of the deities and the crown worn by the king were portrayed to distinguish the parallel scenes symbolizing either the northern or the southern kingdoms.

Most of the processions were represented in two parallel rows symbolizing the two parts of the country. These were commanded by the king who is occasionally accompanied by the queen. In some processions, only one deity is present, while his counterpart is absent. Sometimes the parallel scenes were damaged or perhaps one deity functioned as a substitute for his counterpart, thus acting as the principal deity '*hꜥpy*'. As the personified inundation and the principal cause of abundance, both deities usually took prominent positions directly behind the king and the queen as a representative of the deities that follow them. This explains their special status as leaders of the divinity's lineage.

As for the deities following *hꜥpy* of the south and his counterpart in various scene types, it is the goddess Nekhbet who follows *hꜥpy* of the south, while his counterpart is accompanied by Wadjet in *sm3-t3wy* scenes. Both Nekhbet and *hꜥpy* of the south symbolize the Upper Egyptian region, while Wadjet and *hꜥpy* of the north represent Lower Egypt. In processions as well as scenes on the gargoyles, it is the field goddess *shꜥt*, who frequently accompanies both southern and northern *hꜥpy*. In the Ptolemaic and Roman era, *hꜥpy* and *shꜥt* are frequently paired in ways that are similar to royal figures; they are also shown as allegories, with *hꜥpy* representing Osiris (the king) and *shꜥt* as Isis

(the queen), in parallel to Osiris as Orion and Isis as Sothis. (Baines, 1985, p. 206)

Neither in epithets nor in functions does *ḥꜥpy* of the south stand out profoundly from his counterpart. According to their epithets, both *ḥꜥpys* were said to have flowed from the two caverns, which might refer to the two caves in Elephantine or the two water sources in the south and north. Northern *ḥꜥpy* was said to originate in Heliopolis, a lower Egyptian locality, referred to as *Iwnw* or *Ḳbḥw-Hr*, whereas his southern counterpart was said to flow from the First Cataract in Upper Egypt, which was known as *3bw*, *snmwt*, *t3-sty*, *ḥ3t-spwt*, and *Ḳbḥw-Stḥ*. Though, some epithets referred to the source of both floods as the First Cataract which is the main source of the Nile River. Both deities were entitled with identical epithets, except for southern *ḥꜥpy*'s title *ḥk3*, 'the ruler' and his northern counterpart's epithet *W3dd m pt*, 'Agathodaemon in the sky'.

The main roles and functions of both deities are nearly identical with few minor variations. They reflect their divinity, benevolence, strength, and aspects of abundance. Both deities are responsible for uniting the two halves of the country as evidenced by the *Sm3-t3wy* scenes. They are responsible for inundating the fields, growing the plants, and bringing life to the country and its inhabitants. Moreover, they accompany the king in ritual scenes of incensing and libating. In addition, they are represented among other deities receiving offerings from the king. They also follow the king in processions in which they provide the main deity of the temple with various offerings and libations and all precious gemstones. Furthermore, they purify the temple, its deity, and the ancestors from all impurities. They play an important role in rejuvenating the deities of the temple. As a participant in the New Year Festival at Dendara Temple, *ḥꜥpy* of the south purifies the staircase during the feast and rejuvenates the *k3* and body of Hathor. *Hꜥpy* of the north, on the other hand, was responsible for refreshing the heart of Hathor and offering the goddess the

'*šnty*' canal. He is depicted in a unique scene with water streams flowing out of his breast to rejuvenate the *b3* of Osiris. Additionally, the role of protecting the temple's deity is restricted to the functions of southern *ḥꜥpy*.

4. List of Abbreviations

LD: Lepsius, Richard, Kurt Sethe, and Walter Wreszinski. *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. 5 vols. Edited by Eduard Naville and Ludwig Borchardt. Collection des classiques égyptologiques. Genève: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1975.

PM: Porter, Bertha and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs and paintings*, 6 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Griffith Institute, 1981.

Wb: Erman, Adolf, and Grapow, Hermann, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 5 vols. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926-1931.

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Figures

Fig. 1

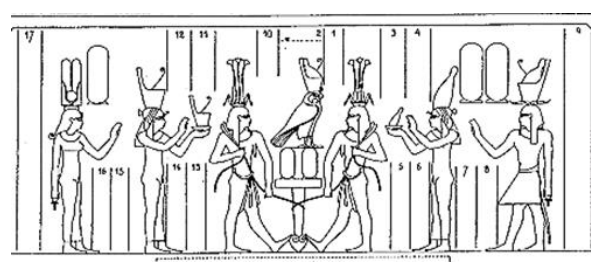
Smꜣ tꜣwy scene with kneeling pair of *hꜥpy*.



Chassinat, *Dendara III*, pl. cciv.

Fig. 2

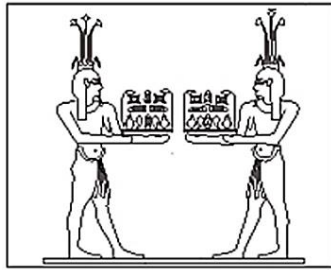
Smꜣ tꜣwy scene with standing pair of *hꜥpy*.



Chassinat, *Dendara II*, pl. cxliv.

Fig. 3

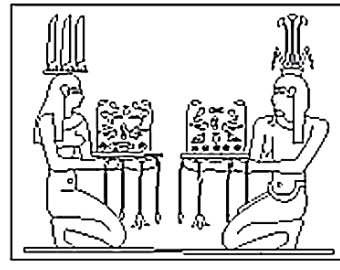
Hꜥpy and Sekhet on the gargoyles of Dendara.



B. Ventker, *Der Starke auf dem Dach*, 36.

Fig. 4

Pairs of *hꜥpy* facing each other on the gargoyles of Dendara.



B. Ventker, *Der Starke auf dem Dach*, 133.

Fig. 5.

Offering Poses of *hꜥpy* of the South and *hꜥpy* of the North

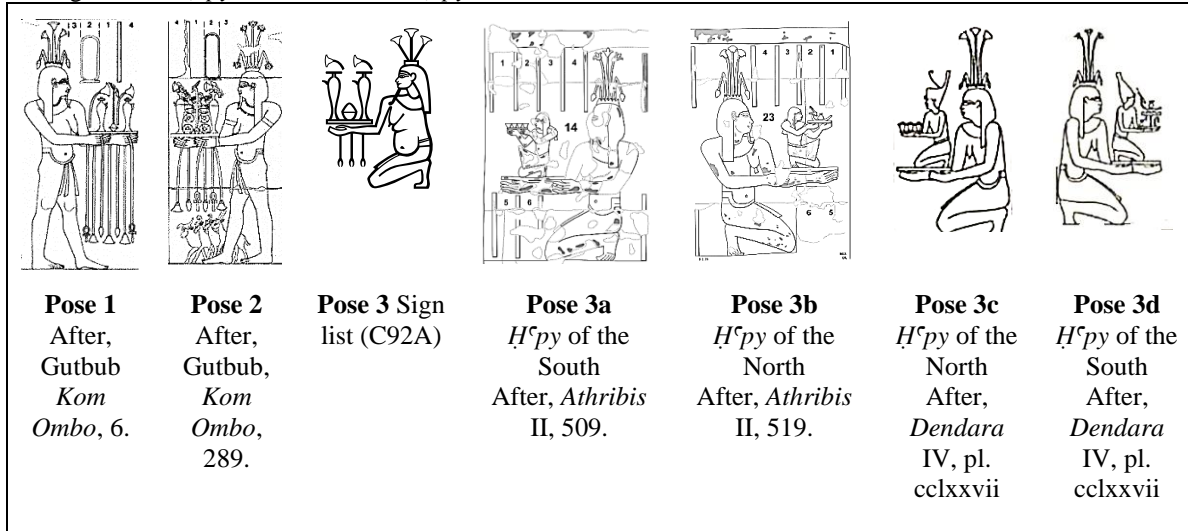


Fig. 6

Libation Poses of *hꜥpy* of the South and *hꜥpy* of the North

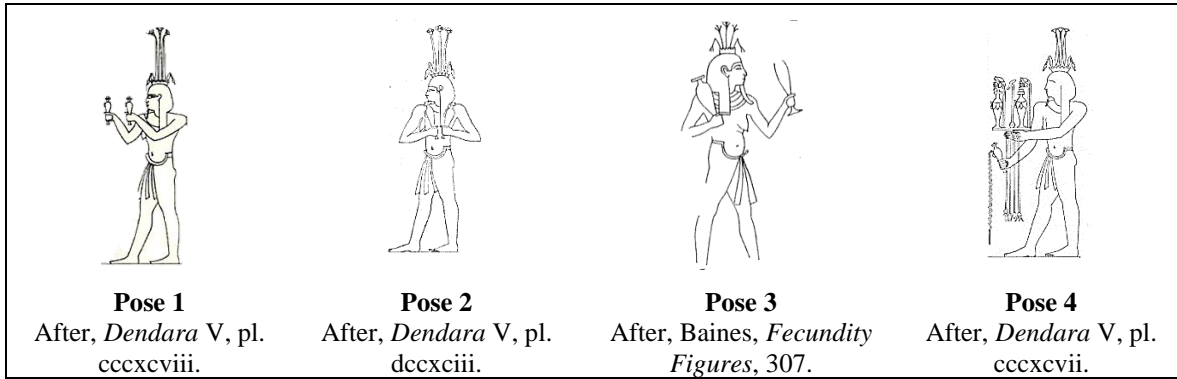
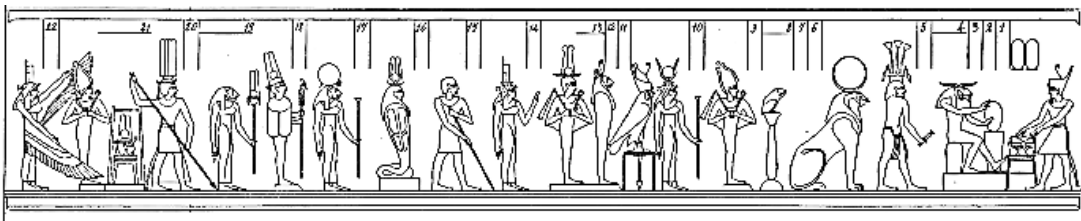


Fig. 7

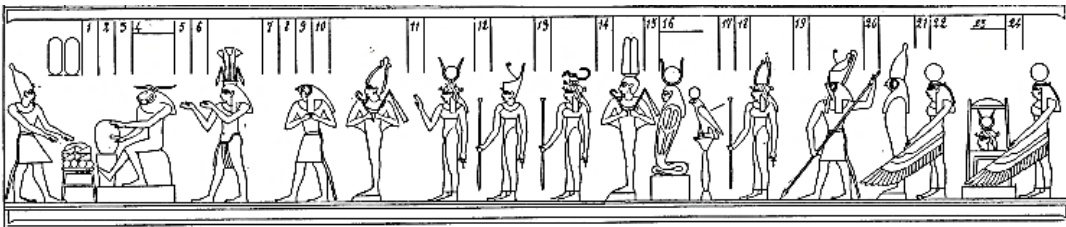
Hꜥpy of the north libating.



G. Bénédite, *Le Temple de Philae II*, pl. xli

Fig. 8

Hꜥpy of the south receiving offerings from the king.



G. Bénédite, *Le Temple de Philae II*, pl. xxxix.

Fig. 9

Hꜥpy of the north offering to deities.



LD, IV, 69a.

Fig. 10

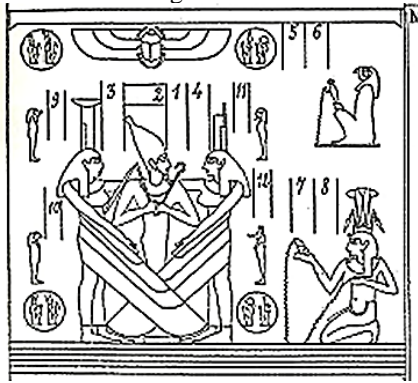
Hꜥpy of the South offering to deities.



Cauville, *Dendara, Le temple d'Isis*, pl. 89.

Fig. 11.

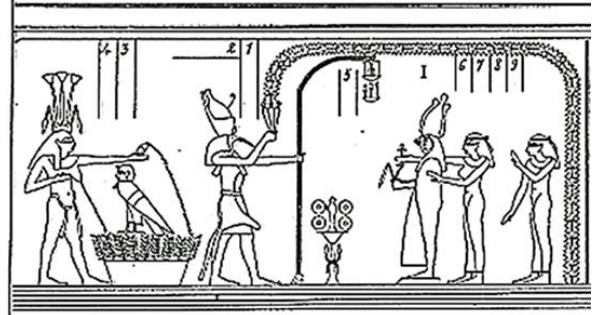
H̄py of the south libating.



G. Bénédite, *Le Temple de Philae II*, pl. 38.

Fig. 12

H̄py of the north libating the ba of Osiris.



G. Bénédite, *Le Temple de Philae II*, pl. 36.