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**The Golden Pendant of Tutankhamun (JE61952)
A new interpretation for the epithet of Werethekau
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A new interpretation for the epithet of Werethekau *

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𐀭𐀮𐀠𐀢𐀣𐀤𐀥𐀦𐀧𐀨𐀩𐀪𐀫𐀬𐀭𐀮𐀯𐀰𐀱𐀲𐀳𐀴𐀵𐀶𐀷𐀸𐀹𐁀𐁁𐁂𐁃𐁄𐁅𐁆𐁇𐁈𐁉𐁊𐁋𐁌𐁍𐁎𐁏𐁐𐁑𐁒𐁓𐁔𐁕𐁖𐁗𐁘𐁙𐁚𐁛𐁜𐁝𐁞𐁟𐁠𐁡𐁢𐁣𐁤𐁥𐁦𐁧𐁨𐁩𐁪𐁫𐁬𐁭𐁮𐁯𐁰𐁱𐁲𐁳𐁴𐁵𐁶𐁷𐁸𐁹𐁺𐁻𐁼𐁽𐁾𐁿𐂀𐂁𐂂𐂃𐂄𐂅𐂆𐂇𐂈𐂉𐂊𐂋𐂌𐂍𐂎𐂏𐂐𐂑𐂒𐂓𐂔𐂕𐂖𐂗𐂘𐂙𐂚𐂛𐂜𐂝𐂞𐂟𐂠𐂡𐂢𐂣𐂤𐂥𐂦𐂧𐂨𐂩𐂪𐂫𐂬𐂭𐂮𐂯𐂰𐂱𐂲𐂳𐂴𐂵𐂶𐂷𐂸𐂹𐂺𐂻𐂼𐂽𐂾𐂿𐃀𐃁𐃂𐃃𐃄𐃅𐃆𐃇𐃈𐃉𐃊𐃋𐃌𐃍𐃎𐃏𐃐𐃑𐃒𐃓𐃔𐃕𐃖𐃗𐃘𐃙𐃚𐃛𐃜𐃝𐃞𐃟𐃠𐃡𐃢𐃣𐃤𐃥𐃦𐃧𐃨𐃩𐃪𐃫𐃬𐃭𐃮𐃯𐃰𐃱𐃲𐃳𐃴𐃵𐃶𐃷𐃸𐃹𐃺𐃻𐃼𐃽𐃾𐃿𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣

The epithet of Werethekau on this frontal base [fig. 2] is a controversial passage. It was previously read “beloved of Werethekau, lady of heaven”.⁵ This epithet is not clearly written, and has been interpreted in different ways: ,⁶ ,⁷ and .⁸ The author has to date

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7, n. 47, pl. 23

found no parallel for “lady of heaven” written in the form  in nineteenth examples of the dynastic period.⁹ Further, the writing of the  in this form does not too have parallels on the golden shrine where this pendant was found.¹⁰ Rather than an egg, the angled stroke in front of the cobra recalls the horizontal  in *nswt bity* at the right end.¹¹ The sandy tract ¹² is considered as a determinative for Werethekau’s name in Hari’s interpretation; from the distinct lower curve, this sign must surely be read ¹³ *nb(t)*, “lady” [fig. 2]. Goebs linked between writing the name of Werethekau by this determinative  and the connotations of food, which is not applicable to this example because it is the sign of the basket .¹⁴

Hari then extends the interpretation to *Wrt-ḥk3w* on this pendant of Tutankhamun, as an example for Ouret-Hekaout / *Wrt-ḥk3wt*, “la Grande-en-grains”,¹⁵ reading the epithet of Werethekau as a determinative for Ouret-Hekaout / *Wrt-ḥk3wt*. This new goddess, according to him, was merged by the Egyptians with *Wrt-ḥk3w*, and is assimilated or identified frequently with the nourishing Renenutet and connected with Nepri, the god of corn and grain.¹⁶ Bosse-Griffiths presents a convincing argument against his point of view:¹⁷

“Hari derives the name of his so-called ‘Ouret-Hekaout’¹⁸ from the word for ‘measure de grains’¹⁹ which he reads *ḥk3t* or *ḥk3wt* but which in fact should be read *ḥk3t*. There is no suggestion that *k* and *ḳ* are here at any time interchangeable”.

This controversial sign () can be read *ḥt*, “palace” [fig. 2],²⁰ but the narrow space did not help the writer to write it in the form  or ; the  determinative is excluded, but there are examples for this epithet without this determinative.²¹ There are set of attestations which support this reading. The golden shrine of Tutankhamun, where the pendant was found, gives a more secure reference of Werethekau “lady of the palace”. Tutankhamun is described on a

⁷ H. BEINLICH, M. SALEH, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutankhamun*, Oxford, 1989, p. 45-46.

⁸ R. HARI, “La grande-en-magie et la stèle du temple de Ptah à Karnak”, *JEA* 62, 1976, p. 100, n. 4.

⁹ A.M.M. OUDA, *op. cit.*, p. 280-282.

¹⁰ M. EATON-KRAUSS *op. cit.*, pls. 8, 10-12, 16, 18.

¹¹ For the writing of the palace, *ḥt*, with *t*, see for example: A. MARIETTE, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville*, Paris, 1880, 450 [1196]; Chr. BARBOTIN, *Les monuments d'éternité de Ramsès II*, Paris, 1999, 20; A.M.M. OUDA, “Warethekau and the Votive Stela of *P3-n-Imn* (Bristol Museum H 514)”, *BMSAES* 22, 2015, fig. 4, 10.

¹² A. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, London, 1957, sign-list N 18.

¹³ *Ibid.*, sign-list V 30; cf. the writing of the sign of *nb* inside the cartouche on the frontal base of the pendant itself.

¹⁴ K. GOEBS, *Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature: Royalty, Rebirth, and Destruction*, Oxford, 2008, p. 300.

¹⁵ R. HARI, *op. cit.*, p. 100, n. 4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 100-101; Hari has the same point of view for a stela at Leiden Museum AP 61 (P.A.A BOESER, *Beschreibung der Ägyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseum der Altertümer in Leiden: die Denkmäler des Neuen Reiches, zweite Abteilung, Pyramiden, Kanopenkästen, Opfertische, Statuen*, V and dritte Abteilung, *Stelen*, VI, Haag, 1913, Tf. 24 [44]; KRI I, 232 [7]); contra to this interpretation: J. BROEKHUIS, *De Godin Renenwetet, Bibliotheca classica Vangorcumiana* 19, Assen, 1971, 39; J. BAINES, *Fecundity figures, Egyptian personification and the iconology of a genre*, Warminster, 1985, p. 172.

¹⁷ K. BOSSE-GRIFFITHS, “Further Remarks on *Wrt-ḥk3w*”, *JEA* 62, 1976, p. 181.

¹⁸ *Wrt-ḥk3wt*, ‘la Grande-en-grains’.

¹⁹ *Wb* III, 174, 15.

²⁰ See the full writing of the hieroglyphic text above.

²¹ P. MUNRO, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, *ÄF* 25, 1973, Tf. 39; a painted limestone stela at the Louvre Museum N 54-42-IM 2785: M. MALININE, G. POSENER, J. VERCOUTTER, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis I*, Paris, 1968, 132, pl. 47 [172].

side of this shrine with “beloved of Werethekau, lady of the palace”.²² Here, the reading of the palace word is clearer. This evidence supports my reading for this epithet on the pendant. The inclusion of this single epithet of Werethekau on the golden shrine and the pendant indicates that this was the principal epithet used to identify her.²³ This shrine with the pendant shows a strong relationship between the king and Werethekau. She is mentioned ten times on the shrine, and once on the pendant.²⁴ These are the first royal sources on which she had this epithet. The presence of Werethekau on the pendant and in the shrine inscriptions reflects the strength of her relation with the royal palace and coronation ceremony.²⁵

Further examples of “beloved of Werethekau, Lady of the Palace” epithet

Ramesses II is styled “beloved of *Wrty-ḥkꜣw*, lady of the palace” on an ivory pen-case (?) of the vizier *Pꜣ-sr* from Abydos at Liverpool Museum 24.9.00.92.²⁶ The name of *Wrty-ḥkꜣw* is written with the determinative of the White and the Red crowns, but the name is followed by her epithet *nbt-ḥ*, “lady of the palace” which used to refer to Werethekau as goddess.

On a bronze statue base found under a wall at Megiddo, Palestine Archaeological Museum 36.1993,²⁷ Ramesses VI is described on the top of the front end as “son of Amun, beloved of Werethekau, lady of the palace”.²⁸

On the base of the non-royal wooden statuette of *Mi* of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Brooklyn Museum 47.120.3,²⁹ *Mi* is: “beloved of Werethekau, mistress of the palace (*ḥnwt-ḥ*)”.³⁰ This is further evidence, which may support my interpretation for the reading of the epithet of Werethekau on the pendant of Tutankhamun.

Conclusion

This paper has sought to demonstrate that the epithet of the king “beloved of Werethekau, lady of heaven” should instead be read as “beloved of Werethekau, lady of the palace”. This epithet was previously misread by various authors,³¹ often due to the epithet being unclearly written by the ancient author. The golden shrine of Tutankhamun, where the pendant described in this article was found, gives a more secure reference of Werethekau “lady of the palace”. Tutankhamun is described on a side of this shrine with “beloved of Werethekau, lady of the palace”. To conclude, by discussing and comparing different examples, the sources present the epithet of Werethekau as a single epithet. The author considers this single epithet “lady of the palace” as a criterion for the identification of the principal epithet of a deity in

²² H. BEINLICH, M. SALEH, *op. cit.*, p. 42; M. EATON-KRAUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 14, pl. 26 [B 1].

²³ A.M.M. OUDA, *Werethekau ‘Great of Magic’ in the Religious Landscape of Ancient Egypt*, p. 258-267, 299.

²⁴ K. BOSSE-GRIFFITHS, *JEA* 59, 1973, p. 101.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100-108.

²⁶ KRI III, 14 [5]; D. RANDALL-MACIVER, A.C. MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901*, London, 1902, p. 77, pl. 40 [12].

²⁷ J.H. BREASTED, “Bronze Base of a Statue of Ramses VI Discovered at Megiddo”, in G. Loud (ed.), *Megiddo II, Seasons of 1935-39, OIP* 62, 1948, p. 135, fig. 375.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 135, fig. 375 [top]; KRI VI, 278 [7].

²⁹ T.G.H. JAMES, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum from Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII*, Brooklyn, 1974, pls. 11, 73.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 73.

³¹ E.g. K. BOSSE-GRIFFITHS, *JEA* 59, 1973, p. 102; M. EATON-KRAUSS, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, Oxford, 1985, p. 7, n. 47.

ancient Egypt.³² The “lady of the palace” on these always follows the phrase of “beloved of Werethekau”, so this may support the new interpretation for the epithet of Werethekau on the pendant of Tutankhamun.



Fig. 1. Werethekau suckles Tutankhamun, JE61952 (Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum Cairo).



Fig. 2. Werethekau “lady of the palace” (?) on Tutankhamun pendant JE 61952 (Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum Cairo).

³² A.M.M. OUDA, *Werethekau ‘Great of Magic’ in the Religious Landscape of Ancient Egypt*, p. 299.

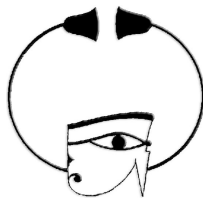
Résumé :

Cet article propose une nouvelle lecture de l'épithète d'Ourethékaou, déesse liée au couronnement, sur un pendentif en or du Toutânkhamon conservé au musée égyptien du Caire (JE 61952), trouvé dans le petit naos doré de Toutânkhamon. L'article tente d'établir la preuve, en comparant avec d'autres attestations de l'épithète, que l'épithète royale « le bien-aimé de Ourethékaou, dame de ciel » devrait plutôt être lu « le bien-aimé d'Ourethékaou, dame du palais ».

Abstract:

This article presents a new reading for the epithet of Werethekau, the goddess of coronation, on the golden pendant of Tutankhamun at Cairo Museum (JE 61952). The epithet of Werethekau was found on a pendant within the small golden shrine of Tutankhamun. This paper will investigate the evidence whether one of the epithet of the king “beloved of Werethekau, lady of heaven” should instead be read as “beloved of Werethekau, lady of the palace” through comparison with other known examples of the epithet.

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