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The Theology of Hathor of Dendera: Aural and Visual Scribal Techniques in the Per-Wer Sanctuary

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The Theology of Hathor of Dendera: Aural and Visual Scribal Techniques in the Per-Wer Sanctuary

By

Barbara Ann Richter

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Near Eastern Studies

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Jacco Dieleman, Co-Chair
Professor Carol A. Redmount, Co-Chair
Professor Niek Veldhuis
Professor Todd M. Hickey

Spring 2012
Abstract

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Professor Jacco Dieleman, Co-Chair
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The Ptolemaic temples are some of the best-preserved examples of Egyptian religious architecture; they represent the culmination of a long line of development, reflected in an increase in the number and polyvalency of hieroglyphic signs and iconographic elements in the wall reliefs. This development widened the scribal playing field for creating expressions that function on multiple aural, visual, and thematic levels.

There have been few scholarly studies of these plays on words, signs, and iconography; despite the intrinsic relationship of texts, reliefs, and architecture in Egyptian monuments, there have been no comprehensive studies of these techniques within a unified architectural space. I was therefore motivated to study these scribal methods within the most important cult chamber of the Temple of Hathor at Dendera, the Per-wer Sanctuary. Building upon the work of Gutbub, Guglielmi, and Derchain, I extended their approaches to the material in several ways: examining these techniques on both micro- and macro-levels, from their smallest details to their broadest thematic connections; foregrounding individual techniques to determine the words and phrases singled out for emphasis; synthesizing their use in the interconnections formed between scenes and texts within the three-dimensional space of the cult chamber.

I found that these scribal techniques support the three main themes of the Per-wer: Hathor as Creator and solar goddess; the Myth of the Distant Goddess; the King as Intermediary between the human and divine worlds. The myth creates the context for the King's interaction with the goddess, allowing his ritual actions to restore cosmic balance and activate the creative process. By communicating across boundaries, the scenes link complementary pairs, creating a network of interrelationships that mirrors the perfection of the divine Creation.

The results of my study suggest that this three-pronged approach could profitably extend to those of other cult chambers at Dendera, and to other Graeco-Roman temples, whose reliefs also contain plays on words, signs, and iconography. By studying these complex techniques of the ancient scribes, we can thereby come closer to understanding how they envisioned the universe and the place of humankind within it.
For Roger
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Chapter 1

The Myth of the Wandering Goddess and the Per-Wer Sanctuary at Dendera

1.0 Introduction

The Ptolemaic temples are some of the best-preserved examples of Egyptian religious architecture; their features represent a continuation and expansion of earlier trends in architecture, writing, and reliefs. The hieroglyphic writing system used in their texts experienced an enormous increase in the number and polyvalency of signs, which the ancient Ptolemaic scribes exploited to create word and sign plays, emphasizing key phrases. Concurrent with this expansion in the writing system was a similar increase in the complexity of temple iconography, especially for composite crowns, headdresses, and ritual objects. The scribes also exploited the polyvalency of the iconographic elements, creating links between those elements and epithets. Such connections could also exist between the crown or element of one scene and an epithet in another; in a few key symmetrical scenes, these interconnections form chiastic relationships, binding the two scenes together. The clustering of these three aural and visual scribal techniques—word plays, sign plays, and iconography plays—in the most important scenes for the function of the Per-wer Sanctuary in the Temple of Hathor at Dendera, shows agency by the scribes and reveals the themes that they wished to emphasize: Hathor as solar goddess and primordial Creator; the Myth of the Wandering Goddess; and the King as Intermediary between the human and divine worlds. These three themes are interconnected, with the myth creating the context by which the King approaches the goddess in order to carry out the crucial rituals that will restore cosmic order and active the continuation of creation. By studying these complex scribal techniques, we can come closer to understanding how the ancient scribes envisioned the universe and the place of humankind within it. We will examine each of these scribal techniques, but first, we will briefly explore the myth that plays such an important role in this chamber.

During the Ptolemaic Era, one of the most important festivals was the Return of the Wandering Goddess. Joyous processions and navigations of divine barques on the sacred lakes, accompanied by singing, dancing, eating, and drinking, commemorate the happy return from the Nubian desert of the daughter of the sun god Ra, his Eye. Evidence of this festival, or the myth from which it derives, appears in at least twenty-two Ptolemaic-era temples, spanning the length of the Nile from Bubastis in the north to Dakka in the south, and leading Junker to collect traces from various temples to put together an “ideal version” of the myth.1 The story is

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1 The earliest traces of the myth appear in the PT, with allusions to the morning star, Sirius, the New Year, and the Inundation (PT 405), as well the identification of the Eye of Ra with the uraeus on the brow of the sun god (PT 689). By the MK, protagonists such as the Eye, Shu, and Tefnut are brought together (CT 76), and the goddess of the myth is equated with the lioness Sekhmet (CT 890). The NK story in the Book of the Heavenly Cow, inscribed on the gilded shrine of Tutankhamen, describes how Ra sent out his daughter Hathor to annihilate his enemies; she transforms into the lioness Sekhmet and almost destroys mankind in the process (see Piankoff, Tut-Ankh-Amon). Pacification rites, including navigations on sacred lakes, thus arose in the NK to appease angry lioness goddesses (see Schott, Festdaten, 94-95). For a more complete discussion of the myth's traces prior to the Ptolemaic Era, see Richter, Wandering Goddess, 157-159; Junker, Auszug, 1911; idem, Onurislegende, 1917; cf. Sethe, Sage vom
particularly important in the main temple of Dendera in Upper Egypt, where it provides the context for the King's interaction with Hathor, who is a daughter of Ra and thus equated with the Wandering Goddess.

In Egyptian thought, the concept of Ma'at—truth, order, justice, and balance—is the foundation of the cosmos, as well as society; the two are inextricably intertwined. If one becomes imbalanced, the other is disastrously affected. The Egyptians thus worried that if Ma'at was not maintained on earth, the natural cycles of the sun and moon might one day cease. Because the celestial bodies were equated with deities (and the sun and moon, in particular, with a goddess having both benevolent and wrathful sides), certain appeasement rituals were essential. These and other ideas became conflated into a myth, explaining what needed to be done.

Although the gods lived in heaven, they also resided on earth in the temple—a microcosm of the universe, where the king, as representative of mankind, could approach them. The temple walls record this encounter, with the intricate relationships between the texts and reliefs reflecting the complexities of the natural world and the important role that humans play in maintaining its balance. The king’s actions, appeasing the goddess and demonstrating that he rules the land in Ma'at, restore cosmic order and assure the creation of light and life on earth.

1.1 The Myth

The Legend of the Wandering Goddess (also called the Distant Goddess, or Sun Eye) takes place when the Creator, the sun god Ra, still lived on earth and governed Egypt. His Eye (the symbol of his all-seeing power, personified as the lioness Tefnut) becomes angry for some reason and wanders south to Nubia. Missing his daughter and needing her protection against his enemies, Ra enlists the aid of her brother Shu, a powerful lion, and the wise Thoth, to help bring her back. Thoth promises her entertainment, offerings, and temples, and presents her with mnw-jars of beer and the wensheb, the symbol of ordered time. Finally persuaded to return, the goddess arrives in a festival procession at Philae, where she purifies herself in the sacred waters of the Abaton, transforming into a beautiful woman whom Ra welcomes into his arms.

With her pacification, the order of the cosmos is also restored. She enters her divine barque and journeys northwards down the Nile, a great festival greeting her at every place she stops. In honor of his daughter’s return, Ra decrees that a festival should be made so that she might see the inundation and all the marvels of Egypt, with great offerings of meats, fragrant substances, and wine.

Within this deceptively simple framework, the myth combines both cosmic and earthly themes. These multiple layers of meaning give us clues to the myth’s importance.

Sonnenaugue, 1912. The only connected version of the myth is the 2nd c. CE Demotic Myth of the Sun Eye, Pap Leiden I 384 rto (see Spiegelberg, Mythus; Smith, Sonnenauge; de Cenival, Mythe), and its 3rd c. CE Greek version (see Pap BM 278, in West, Tefnut, 161-183).

2 Having come into existence through the divine act of creation, humankind and nature were a "Schöpfungseinheit." As a result, "Der Zerfall der staatlichen Ordnung löst die Korrespondenz zwischen Himmel und Erde auf," as noted by Assmann, Ma'at, 220.

3 This recounting of the myth also appears in Richter, Wandering Goddess, 156-157.

4 For a discussion of the various myths connected with the theme of the Distant Goddess, see Richter, Wandering Goddess, 156-161; Schenkel, Kultmythos, 99ff.; Hornung, Himmelskuh, 93.
- Her sojourn in Nubia may be compared to the sun’s apparent shift southwards, from summer to winter. Her return can be seen as its shift northwards from winter to summer. In fact, she returns precisely at the summer solstice—the time when the days were longest.
- Her journey south may also reflect the disappearance of the star Sirius (equated with Isis), and its return, which heralds the New Year and the Inundation.
- The bringing back of the Eye after it had gone away, can be compared to the waxing of the moon and its culmination at the full phase—also the time of our festival.
- The pacification of a lioness goddess in sacred waters (e.g. the isheru lake in Fig. 5.32), relates to the cycle of the inundation, when the lioness goddess Sekhmet, who brought disease and death when the Nile was lowest, needed to be appeased.

Earthly themes include

- The bringing back of the lioness from the south, which relates to the motive of the conquering hero bringing back a subdued animal, as suggested by Junker.
- Finally, the Eye of Ra myth in the Ptolemaic temples may also symbolize the maintenance of power over Egypt and Nubia by the Ptolemies, as suggested by Inconnu-Bocquillon.

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5 Quack, Goddess Rising, 286-287, although observing that this interpretation has become standard among Egyptologists (for a list, see his note 13), argues against the identification of the goddess (the daughter of the sun god) with the sun, because it would require the sun to play two roles. However, Leitz, Astronomie, 7-17; 90, observes that calendars of lucky and unlucky days ("Tagewählerei") contain references to all four points of the annual course of the sun (solstices and equinoxes) as well as allusions to the Myth of the Sun Eye in texts for the days of the summer and winter solstices, as Leitz notes in Tagewählerei, 257-258 (II pr.t 19: winter solstice, referencing the search for the distant Sun Eye) and 408-409 (IV śm-ı 19: summer solstice, referencing the coming of the Horus Eye, which is filled and healed). See also Leitz, Götter, 308-311; Sternberg, Mythische Motive, 228; Spiegelberg, Sonnenauge, 877; Junker, Onurislegende, 165-166; Wells, Astronomy, 146-147, who notes that as early as the predynastic period, the Egyptians keenly observed the annual motion of the sun along the horizon at sunrise, with its northernmost and southernmost turning points, the solstices. At Dendera, Hathor is specifically equated with the Right and Left Divine Eyes (the sun and the moon). Therefore, due to the conflation of several myths and the fondness for a multiplicity of approaches and explanations in Egyptian thought, it is possible that all of the interpretations suggested in the present section would have been considered valid by an ancient Egyptian. See Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, 18, for a discussion of the "juxtaposition of views," which western thought would consider mutually exclusive.

6 Spiegelberg, Mythus, 2; Junker, Onurislegende, 166.

7 Quack, Goddess Rising, 283-294; idem, Rückkehr, 145-146. Wells, Astronomy 146-147, notes that the heliacal rising of Sirius, heralding the inundation, was a regulating factor for Upper Egypt due to its agrarian dependency on the annual flood; the rising of the star Sothis (Sirius) became the principal festival of the last month of the year at the Temple of Satet at Elephantine, the mythical source of the Nile. Spalinger, Calendars, 224, notes that GR period sources place great emphasis on the rising of Sothis for the commencement of the year. Texts at Dendera emphasize the importance of Sirius and the inundation, as we discuss in Sections 4.0.1.3 and 5.2.5.

8 Bleecker, Hathor and Thoth, 120. However, Quack, Goddess Rising, 287, objects to the identification of the Distant Goddess with the moon because that role is carried out by Thoth, who brings her back, although he notes that specific phases of the moon (in an ideal schema) are significant for the return of the goddess. At Dendera, Hathor is equated with the Left Eye of Ra, which is the moon.

9 Leitz, Tagewählerei, 205-206; Gessler-Löhr, Die heilige Seen, 401.

10 Junker, Onurislegende, iii.

11 Inconnu-Bocquillon, Déesses Lointaines, 335.
with Eye of Horus themes being the initial struggle for power over Egypt, and Eye of Ra themes being the maintenance of this power.\textsuperscript{12}

Studies of the myth in the Ptolemaic temples have focused on its origins and development, without regard for the placement of scenes within buildings. However, because of the intrinsic relationship between texts, reliefs, and architecture in Egyptian monuments, I was motivated to study the myth within its architectural setting. I chose one of the best preserved and well-documented temples, the Temple of Dendera (Fig. 1.3) in Upper Egypt (Fig. 1.1), focusing my research on the Per-wer Sanctuary (Fig. 1.2), the main cult chamber of Hathor, the temple’s principal deity.

In order to determine if a scene or text referenced the myth, I developed a list of the following criteria: the main protagonists (Thoth, Shu/Onuris, Hathor, Tefnut, and the Uraeus); locales (Keneset, Bugem, Punt, Land of the Gods, Nubia); offerings given to the goddess (wensheb, \textit{mnw}-jars of beer, wine, menit, sistrum, makeup, the udjat, and fragrant substances, especially from Punt); and rituals or actions: \textit{shtp} (pacification), \textit{in-tw=s} (she is brought back), making an isheru lake, purifying in waters, taking her place on her father’s brow). If at least two factors were contained within a scene or text, I considered it as referencing the myth. Of the 80 text groups in the Per-wer Sanctuary, I found that 31\% (i.e. 25 text groups) referenced two or more myth-related factors.

\textsuperscript{12} See Dunand, Propagande, 287: 301 (cited in Cauville, Fêtes d’Hathor, 38 n. 32), in relation to the influence of the Ptolemies on the temple of Dendera.
Fig. 1.1. Plan of Egypt\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{13} Illustration by the author, after D I, pl. 45, © IFAO.
\textsuperscript{14} Photo by Ian J. Anderson, \texttt{<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Dendera_7_977.png>}, accessed 4-20-12.
\textsuperscript{15} Illustration by David Rager.
• I found that in the temple reliefs, the king and local gods take on the roles of the characters in the myth.
• Actions taking place in the myth are replicated in offering scenes
• The placement in the most sacred part of a temple of the culminating scene of the myth (when the goddess returns to her father) shows how the myth became integrated into the main function of the temple: the restoration and maintenance of cosmic order.

This preliminary research on the myth at Dendera, which was published in the proceedings of the 8th Egyptological Tempeltagung,\(^1\) became the foundation for the present study, in which I delved deeper into the texts and reliefs, which contain such an extraordinary wealth of creative aural and visual techniques. These plays on sound and sight exploit the inherent ambiguity in the pictorial hieroglyphs; working together with the complex iconography of the reliefs, they emphasize important themes and add multiple layers of theological meaning. They also create a network of interrelationships, which mirrors the interconnection between the human and divine worlds and defines the theology of Hathor of Dendera.

In order to understand the meaning behind the texts and reliefs in the Per-wer, I first separated the scribal techniques into three main fields of study: word plays, which exploit thematic ambiguity and the language's potential for aural patterning; sign plays, which exploit visual polyvalency and the hieroglyphs' potential for visual patterning; iconography plays, which link epithets to the vast repertoire of symbolic elements in crowns, regalia, and offerings. For each of these techniques, I dedicate a chapter of the present study; before presenting the results of my research on each topic, I survey the work of previous scholars.\(^2\) The following section will therefore focus only on the study that informs my work concerning the interrelationships between these three techniques.

### 1.2 Methodology

Although earlier scholars recognized the interdependence of texts, reliefs, and architecture in Egyptian monuments,\(^3\) there have been few studies that synthesize these three aspects.\(^4\) Derchain, who coined the phrase, Grammaire du temple, to describe the patterns in temple decoration,\(^5\) was also the first to observe that neighboring or symmetrical scenes can evoke the same myth by means of similar structure, allusion, or the play of substitutions, which he characterizes as calembours.\(^6\) To date, he offers the best presentation of the interconnections between the multitude of systematic decorative practices employed in the Graeco-Roman temples. Using textual, iconographic, and thematic material, Derchain explores the principles of

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\(^{1}\) Richter, Wandering Goddess.

\(^{2}\) The following sections in the present paper cover previous studies by scholars: 2.0.1 (word play); 3.0.1 (sign play); 4.0.1 (iconography-epithet play). These sections are followed by examples of the different scribal methods and their use in the Per-wer.

\(^{3}\) Rochemonteix, Oeuvres diverses, 194. Discussed in 4.0.1.3.

\(^{4}\) Derchain, Poème pariétal; Preys, Complexes, 465-493; idem, Catalogue d'Hathor, 135-141. Preys describes interconnections but does not take the final step in determining the meaning behind the relationships. He mentions word plays only in passing and does not consider sign plays in his discussion. Morenz, Sinn und Spiel, considers sign plays in earlier material, but does not consider their use in temple texts or in their architectural environment.

\(^{5}\) Derchain, Manuel, 31-44.

\(^{6}\) Derchain, Manuel, 34.
symmetry and contiguity at Esna, revealing a tightly constructed network of similarities and contrasts that constitutes a framework of meaning, comparable to the way in which syntax connects words;\(^22\) his work inspired my own study of the Per-\-wer Sanctuary.

However, I decided to take his work one step further, carrying out a deeper analysis of the ways in which word-, sign-, and iconography-plays highlight important concepts and create interconnections between themes. I also wanted to show how the complex interrelationships of these three techniques work together in the three-dimensional environment of an enclosed unit like the Per-\-wer Sanctuary. Because so many of these relationships work on visual levels, a particular challenge was to devise the appropriate means of graphical representation. The result is the many perspective renderings of the Per-\-wer, which I believe are an improvement over bare schematics. It was only by means of a thorough study of these intricate scribal techniques, and the synthesis of their interconnections, that the primary message of the sanctuary became clear: the exposition of the theology of Hathor, as presented through the world-view of the ancient scribes. They saw in this great goddess the Tentyrite equivalent of the Theban solar god Amun-Ra. Like Amun-Ra, her roles of creating and maintaining life, ordered time, and balance in the universe, were not carried out alone, but required that the King, as the representative of humankind, play a pivotal role. The Myth of the Wandering Goddess interweaves the actions of these two players together. By showing that the relationship between the human and divine worlds is reciprocal, with important responsibilities on both sides of the equation, the ancient scribes communicated the idea that the maintenance of Ma'at on earth is essential for the continuation of the cosmos.

For the remainder of this study, I first review the major characteristics of Ptolemaic temples. Then, I illustrate the three main aural and visual techniques that I studied in Dendera’s texts and reliefs: word plays, sign plays, and plays between iconography and epithets. After an introduction to the Per-\-wer, with its layout and unique characteristics, I then show how these techniques create interconnections between scenes, emphasizing the three most important themes in the sanctuary: the Myth of the Wandering Goddess, Hathor as a Primeval Creator, and the King as Intermediary, which together convey the theology of Hathor of Dendera.

### 1.3 Ptolemaic Temples

The temples built by the Ptolemies are some of the best-preserved examples of Egyptian religious architecture. In addition to their outstanding artistic value, they "still convey the unforgettable idea of proximity to ancient times, when ceremonial life still filled their interiors."\(^23\) Temples of the Late and Ptolemaic eras were characterized by two seemingly conflicting intentions: maintaining the traditional, while developing contemporary forms.

Their main features thus continue and expand on earlier trends: For example, the typical façade with screen walls, seen in the Temple of Hathor at Dendera (Fig. 1.7) can trace its origin back to the White Chapel of Senusret I at Karnak in the 12\(^{th}\) Dynasty (Fig. 1.4). The later use of screen walls in the 25\(^{th}\) Dynasty kiosk of the Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak\(^24\) (Fig. 1.5) is a direct precursor of similar constructions of the Graeco-Roman period.

\(^{22}\) Derchain, Poème pârîétat, 121. His schematic diagrams would have more clearly shown the visual correspondences between crowns and persons if the images of individual scenes had been included.

\(^{23}\) Arnold, Temples, 4.

\(^{24}\) See Lauffray, Kiosque de Taharqa, 111-164; idem, Taharqa à Karnak.
Three hundred years before the construction of the Temple of Hathor, during the late 30th Dynasty, Petosiris used a similar façade in his private tomb at Tuna el-Gebel (Fig. 1.6). The screen walls open up the temple to more participation by laymen in cultic activities, flooding the hypostyle hall with light and providing a “cult stage” in front of the temple doors (Fig. 1.7).27

In contrast to most New Kingdom temples (Fig. 1.8), Late Period and Ptolemaic temples contain a circular arrangement of subsidiary rooms and corridors surrounding a single main sanctuary housing the divine statue (Fig. 1.9).
In addition, underground crypts, accessible only by hidden entrances, provided secret storage areas for sacred statues. The earliest known temple crypts date to the 18th Dynasty, but the Ptolemaic period greatly expanded and elaborated this architectural idea. At Dendera, decorated crypts surround the heart of the temple on three sides and three levels (Fig. 1.10). Their texts and reliefs function magically, protecting not only the sacred statues stored within them, but also the sanctuary and other important rooms on the main floor.

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30 Illustration by David Rager, after Bruyère, DeM, pl. 10.
31 D V, pl. 316, © IFAO.
This architectural trend of crypts and cult chambers radiating around the central naos reflects a Late Period desire to isolate and protect the main sanctuary with shells of protection, possibly as a reaction to the Persian invasions, with their looting of temple treasure and costly statues. Surrounding the sanctuary with the shrines of associate gods also allowed these divinities to add their protection to the principal god of the temple.

Two other architectural features distinguish Ptolemaic temples: roof chapels and mammisi. An important ritual was the Union of the Sun Disk (ḥnmt-im) on New Year’s Day, when the statue of the main deity of the temple was taken to the roof and exposed to the life-giving rays of the sun. In order to carry out this ritual, chapels were built on the temple roofs, like this one at Dendera (Fig.1.11). Staircases lead to the roofs of many of the Ptolemaic temples, such as Edfu and Deir el-Medina, but, other than those connected with the Khoiak rituals, the only roof chapel still in existence today is the one at Dendera.

![Fig. 1.11. Kiosk, Roof of Dendera](image1.png) ![Fig. 1.12. Roman Mammisi at Dendera](image2.png)

A separate building, the mammisi, or “birth house,” was considered the birthplace of the divine child of the temple triad (Fig. 1.12). By identifying with the divine child, the ruling king assured his legitimacy, because as the son of divine parents, he would have the right to rule Egypt. At Dendera, the temple triad consisted of Hathor, her consort Horus of Edfu, and the child god Ihy. Her counterpart at Dendera, Isis, was linked with Harsomtus and Harsomtus the Child.

Another difference between Greco-Roman temples and their earlier predecessors is the enormous increase in the number of texts written on every available surface, representing the entire scope of ancient Egyptian religion and scholarship. In addition to the ritual and festival scenes typical of earlier temples, they encompass cosmogonies, hymns, myths, festival rites, geographical lists, and dedication texts. The divine nature of the script and the importance of effective speech in Egyptian culture encouraged the use of word play, which exploits the ambiguity in sound and meaning. Beginning with the Pyramid Texts, it appears in both secular and religious literature, but it was especially popular during the Graeco-Roman Period. During this era, the hieroglyphic writing system also reached its peak, with a ten-fold increase in the number of signs and the values that they could hold. This development greatly expanded the scribe’s playing field for creating expressions that function on multiple phonetic, semantic, and visual levels.

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32 D V, pls. 316 and 320, © IFAO.
33 Osirian roof chapels connected with the rituals in the month of Khoiak exist at Hibis, Edfu, Philae, and Dendera, as noted to me by Prof. Jacco Dieleman, private communication, April 1, 2012.
34 Photo by Su Bayfield, 2009.
Chapter 2
Word Play in the Per-wer

2.0 Introduction

The pun, or “word play,” has a somewhat dishonorable reputation in Western literature. Although Shakespeare (Fig. 2.1) was particularly fond of it (using over 3,000 in his plays), Samuel Johnson (Fig. 2.2) disparagingly called it the lowest form of humor.  

Fig. 2.1. William Shakespeare  
Fig. 2.2. Samuel Johnson

Indeed, we usually think of a pun as a witty, but trivial, turn of phrase, best used in slogans or newspaper headings. However, in the Ancient Near East, and particularly in Ancient Egypt, a

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36 Unattributed informal estimate.  
pun (more properly called paronomasia) had more serious purposes, functioning not just as a simple rhetorical device, but as a formal framework for producing an understanding of the world and transmitting theological knowledge. As early as the Pyramid Texts, plays on words formed multiple layers of meaning, alluding to mythology, explaining etymologies, and creating associations between the seen and unseen worlds.

Word plays occur in both religious and secular literature, but they were especially popular during the Graeco-Roman period. During this time, the hieroglyphic writing system reached its height of complexity, with a ten-fold increase in the number of signs and the values that they could hold. This expansion of the scribal "playing field" facilitated the creation of expressions functioning on multiple phonetic, semantic, and visual levels. Combining a desire to elaborate and systematize Egypt’s religious heritage with a tendency to elaborate and refine, the scribal schools produced masterpieces of textual creativity.

2.0.1 Previous Studies

In the following brief survey, we will look at the progress made in two main areas of research, both of which are relevant to the present topic: the identification and classification of


Paronomasia (Gr. παρώνυμοσία – "play upon words which sound alike, but have different senses," from the verb, παράνωμοσιζω, “to call with a slight change of name," in Liddel and Scott, Lexicon, 1342; Grapow, Sinuhe 117, defines paronomasia as "(syntaktische) Beziehung zwischen zwei stammverwandten Wörtern gleicher oder verwandter Bedeutung." I follow Grapow's definition in my use of the term, "paronomasia."

Loprieno, Puns, 8-9.

Firchow, Stilistik, 220-235, forms a solid foundation for the further study of these figures in Egyptian texts.

Englund, L'horizon, 48, notes that “les Egyptiens avaient l'habitude d'associer des phénomènes appartenant des niveaux ou à des domaines différents et, par ces filières d'association, de créer tout un réseau de correspondance de phénomènes.” (Translation: the Egyptians customarily associated phenomena belonging to different levels or domains, creating a network of correspondences by these series of associations.)

Some scholars follow old estimates of an increase from 700 to 7000 signs during the Ptolemaic Period: Assmann, Kulturelle Gedächtnis, 182; idem., Mind of Egypt, 417-418; Hornung, Hieroglyphen, 422; Zivie, Épigraphie, 174-175; Kurth, Treffpunkt, 285-286. Newer studies, taking into account variations and combinations of the same signs, suggest a revised estimate of around 2000: Cauville, Dend Fonds, 2; Leitz, Quellentexte, 10-11.

Derchain-Urteil, Ägypten, 112; Finnestad, Temples, 198; Wilson, PL, xvi.

Some stylistic features of Ptolemaic Egyptian temple texts, such as density of meaning, exploitation of ambivalence, and technical refinement, recall poetic techniques used by Ptolemaic Alexandrian epigrammatists such as Callimachus, Posidippus, and Theocritus. For a discussion of Alexandrian poetry and style, see Gutzwiller, Hellenistic Literature, 26-49; Stephens, Seeing Double, passim. Opportunities for highly-trained bilingual Ptolemaic Egyptian hierogrammatists to interact with the literate intelligentsia of Alexandria would have occurred during the annual priestly synods that met there from the reign of Ptolemy II to Ptolemy V (ca. 285-180 BCE), as noted by Otto, Priester und Tempel, 72-75. The Alexandrian school of Greek poets of the third and second centuries BCE influenced the "jeweled" style of Late Antique Latin verse and prose, characterized by an attention to sound, variation, and word choice, and which began in the first century CE., exemplified by the works of Catullus. See "Alexandrianism, Latin," in M.C. Howatson and Ian Chilvers' The Concise Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, as well as the excellent discussion in Roberts, Jeweled Style, 8; 38-65. A comparison of Alexandrian poetics with Ptolemaic Egyptian stylistics would be a fruitful avenue for research. Stephens, Seeing Double, shows the interaction between the Greek and Egyptian worlds in Ptolemaic Alexandrian poetry, primarily in terms of mythological allusions and the definition of kingship, but she does not consider that the long tradition of stylistic devices (e.g. word play) in Egyptian hieroglyphic texts may also have influenced Alexandrian poetic techniques.

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various types of word play in Egyptian texts, and the interpretation of their function and meaning.

Hermann Grapow initiated the study of Egyptian stylistic devices with his early investigations of similes and metaphors in the 1920's, based on material collected for the *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. His subsequent broader treatments, spanning a multitude of genres and all stages of the Egyptian language, also highlighted examples of word plays and figures of repetition. Although observing that repetition could have a structuring role in texts, he was ambivalent about the purpose of word play. He suggested that plays on a root and its derivatives, such as *hpr* ("become"), could be "something magical," or a "sound-painting" that we can no longer appreciate, or perhaps even something "without any special meaning." However, he did recognize their potential for further study:

"Es gibt hunderte von Wortspielen dieser und ähnlicher Form, die einmal genau untersucht werden müssen; ich bin überzeugt, daß mehr in ihnen steckt als bloßer Klingklang…"

Although often appearing in Egyptian stories, as shown by Hintze, word plays and figures of repetition occur most frequently in religious literature, as Schott demonstrated in his study of Egyptian myth in 1945. He showed that they function not only as literary devices, but also as a means of connecting cult and myth, which in some cases even influences the creation of the myth itself. He observed that the masterly use of this technique became such a characteristic of divine speech, that "im Wortspiel wird die Welt erschaffen"—an idea realized in the Memphite Theology, in which creation lay in the mouth of the god. Although scholars up to this point had noted the existence of word plays in various Egyptian texts and had attempted to evaluate their meaning, significant advances in our understanding of their use and function did not occur until Sander-Hansen's exhaustive study of

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48 Grapow, Vergleiche, 1920; idem, Bildlichen Ausdrücke, 1924. Each example, though referenced, is given only in German translation, omitting the original hieroglyphs and their transliteration.
49 The material for the Wörterbuch was collected by Grapow, Sethe, Junker, Gardiner, Breasted, and Lange, as noted by Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, x.
51 Hintze, Stil und Sprache, 274, notes that the various means of "Auszdrucksverstärkung," including repetition and paronomasia, occur more frequently in the speech than in the narration of Late Egyptian stories, e.g. in the speech of Isis in "The Contendings of Horus and Seth," in Pap. Chester Beatty I, recto, 6.11 (=LES, 45): she tricks Seth by means of a true pun, in which *hsw.t* means both "cattle" and "office."
52 Schott, Mythe und Mythenbildung, 44; 59-60, suggests that in a reference to the death of Osiris, the editor of the Ramesseum Papyrus deliberately chose "drown" (mH) over "die" (Sm) so that it would create a word play with a previous statement about "Lower Egypt" (mhw).
53 Schott, Mythe und Mythenbildung, 62. In the Memphite Theology, the organs of the creator god Ptah (the heart and tongue) are the tools of speech, with which he brought the world into existence. See Morenz, Wortspiele, 24.
the Pyramid Texts in 1947, which contain a great number of examples.56 His study of the formal characteristics of Egyptian word play in the Pyramid Texts identified various types and analyzed their effects;57 his research showed that they not only added harmonious sound to a text, but also carried special meaning:

"In verschiedener Weise dienen sie dazu, die Hauptpunkte der Erzählung auf Kosten weniger wesentlicher Einzelheiten hervorzuheben um dadurch Sinn und den Zusammenhang des Ganzen mit Absicht deutlicher zu machen,"58

an observation that agrees well with their use in the texts at Dendera. Several years after Sander-Hansen published his work, Firchow carried out a comprehensive philological study of the stylistic devices in the Pyramid Texts.59 Their funerary origin led him to suggest that the purpose of the word plays was to increase the effectiveness of the utterances for transforming the deceased King in the Afterlife.60 His analysis demonstrated that the mythologizing of ritual actions, offerings, and officiants allowed word plays to create new meanings and connections.61 Firchow’s meticulous treatment of figures of repetition, alliteration, paronomasia,62 as well as implicit and explicit word plays, provided a solid foundation for their further study in Egyptian texts.

In the following years, several scholars presented further thoughts, though still on a somewhat preliminary level. In 1957, Siegfried Morenz,63 while noting that word play in Egyptian has need of a monograph, concentrated primarily on broad themes. In discussing the analogous use of word plays in other ancient Near Eastern languages, he observed that aural and visual plays function especially well when a sign and sign-group can indicate the same syllable—a characteristic of logographic writing systems like Egyptian hieroglyphs and Sumerian-Akkadian cuneiform.64 He also noted the identity between "word" and "thing" in Near Eastern thought,65 showing how this connection creates an important role for word plays in myth-making and religious texts, thus echoing Firchow’s sentiments.

56 Sander-Hansen, Wortspiele, 1946-1947, excludes true puns, which play on the multiple meanings of similar-sounding (homophonic) words. His study was a preliminary work for his later Studien zur Grammatik der Pyramidentexte, Analecta Aegyptiaca 6, Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1956.
57 His classifications include word play by alliteration, resemblance of syllables (i.e. close homophones), alteration of consonants, and the utilization of grammatical rules (e.g. gemination, reduplication, s-causative prefix, etc.), and the syntactic tying of two or more words in a sentence. See Sander-Hansen, Wortspiele, 3-13.
58 Sander-Hansen, Wortspiele, 14.
59 Firchow, Stilistik Pyramidentexten, 1953, which includes couplets, several types of parallelism, chiasmus, ellipse and disjunction, tri- and quadri-partite groupings, and the structure of litanies.
60 Firchow, Stilistik Pyramidentexten, 216.
61 As Assmann would later explain, these mythological explanations of objects in the seen world were meant to connect to events in the unseen world of the gods, showing the “power of language to create relationships.” See Assmann, Search for God, 83-87.
62 His definition of paronomasia more closely fits my category of "true puns."
63 Morenz, Wortspiele, 1957.
64 Morenz, Wortspiele, 28-29. The use of word play in other ancient Near Eastern cultures led me to explore their study by scholars in languages such as Hebrew, Sumerian, and even Sanskrit, opening a window to new methodologies and interesting perspectives on their use. See references listed above in n. 40.
65 Morenz, Wortspiele, 24: amātu (Akkadian); אַבָּר, dabar (Hebrew); md.t (Egyptian).
Several decades passed without much apparent interest in the topic, until Fecht published his short article on stylistic "Kunstmittel" in 1970. Although mostly summarizing the work of previous scholars, he brings up this important point:

"Es wäre deshalb sinnlos, viele aus ihrem Kontext gerissene Einzel- 'Beispiele' zu zitieren, deren Wesentliches in der Vereinzelung verlorengeht,"

thus suggesting that stylistic devices are best studied in the context of a complete work. Even Firchow's foundational work, though drawn from a single genre like the Pyramid Texts, had concentrated on individual examples isolated from their thematic and textual milieu. Fecht's observation is relevant not only to literary works, but also to texts inscribed within architectural units in a temple. Oddly, few scholars seemed inclined to take up the challenge.

The 1980's saw some new studies on topics related to stylistic devices, including Watterson on alliteration, Malaise on puns in myth, and Derchain-Urtel on word plays of "place" and "movement," but only Foster's study of word play in The Eloquent Peasant treated its use in a unified text. Dealing with the fundamental questions of life, conduct, success, and justice, this eclectic text employs specific linguistic strategies to highlight important themes; in passages concerned with Ma'at, the basis of Egyptian society, its stylistic patterning of sound, word choice, and verse structuring is particularly striking. Foster's analysis demonstrated that specific rhetorical techniques not only highlight key ideas but also unify the text.

After Foster's study, more than a decade passed before Guglielmi resumed the topic in 1996, further advancing our knowledge of the various types of stylistic figures used in Egyptian texts. Basing her research on the system of rhetorical classification by Lausberg and Plett, she presented a more systematic approach to their study than had previously been carried out, as well as filling a gap by including many devices not treated by Firchow. With the eye and the ear of a linguist, Guglielmi also demonstrated an awareness of the aural links created by sound and pattern, the recurring lexemes not only structuring the text but also providing emphasis for important points, thereby confirming Foster's earlier findings. She also observed the unfortunate inconsistency with which Egyptologists tend to treat style and form, frequently mixing it with textual criticism and commentary on content.

Over the past 90 years, the topic of word play and other stylistic devices in Egyptian texts has thus enjoyed only a small amount of attention; although Firchow laid the foundation for its study, and Foster and Guglielmi demonstrated how these figures can highlight important themes, there have been few studies of a unified text. In most cases, scholars do not give stylistic

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66 Fecht, Stilistische Kunst.
67 Fecht, Stilistische Kunst, 36.
68 In his own studies of Egyptian metrics, Fecht prefers to analyze complete texts, e.g. Fecht, Frömmigkeit, 1965.
69 Watterson, Alliteration in Ptolemaic, 167-169
70 Malaise, Calembours, 97-112.
71 Derchain-Urtel, Ort und Bewegung, 66-61. Interestingly, the studies of both Watterson and Derchain-Urtel concern Ptolemaic texts.
72 Foster, Eloquent Peasant, 61-76.
73 Guglielmi, Rhetorischer Stilmittel, 1996.
74 Lausberg, Handbuch der Rhetorik, 125-165.
75 Guglielmi, Rhetorischer Stilmittel, 465.
76 Some welcome exceptions include Rendsburg, Shipwrecked Sailor, 13-23, and Noegel and Szpakowska, Dream Manual, 193-212. An interesting study by Lepper, Papyrus Westcar, 1125-1136, statistically analyzes the frequency of stylistic devices in texts, in order to clarify the picture of their use in different genres and by different authors.
devices major consideration, merely noting them in passing or listing them without analysis of their function or meaning. Because they played such an important part of the scribal repertoire of poetic techniques, a comprehensive study of word plays and other rhetorical figures in the ancient texts is therefore long overdue.

2.0.2 Methodology

An investigation of word play within a single architectural unit, such as the Per-wer Sanctuary at Dendera, thus presents the opportunity to examine the ways in which these stylistic devices function within a closed unit, how they relate to each other within and between scenes, and how they transmit multiple layers of meaning. Utilizing the publications of Chassinat and Cauville and modifying the classifications of Guglielmi to correspond with the devices observed at Dendera, I proceeded to identify and classify every example of word play in the Per-wer, creating a database organized according to typology. Next, I correlated the ways in which individual examples of word play related to the scenes in which they were found. Of the 80 scenes and text groups in the Per-wer, 69% (i.e. 55) contained paronomasia; in those 55 scenes, I found a total of 179 individual examples. I found that each example of word play related to the offering or the action depicted, or elaborated on a pertinent characteristic of one of the divine or human actors. Furthermore, unless it elaborated on a concept directly related to the scene, paronomasia was usually not employed (even if it could have been easily inserted), suggesting that its use was intentional rather than ad hoc. The categories into which I divided the various types of paronomasia in the Per-wer originate in classical antiquity and do not represent classifications from ancient Egypt itself. Nevertheless, I found that classifying the various phenomena allowed a fuller appreciation of the sophisticated techniques used in the ancient texts.

2.0.3 Importance of Effective Speech

“Beautiful speaking,” in a rhetorically persuasive and clever way, was a highly desired quality in ancient Egypt. This idea originates in the concept of heka, the creative power

77 E.g. Preys, Complexes, passim.
79 Chassinat, D III; Cauville, Dend Trad III.
80 I also adapted definitions from the New Princeton Encyclopedia, 916 and 968, defining the various classes of paronomasia for this study as follows: ploce (same root, same form, same meaning—i.e. simple iteration of a word without shift in grammatical form or meaning); antanaclasis (same root, same form, different meaning); polyptoton (same root, different form, same or different meaning); close homophones (roots almost the same—considered antanaclasis if same form, polyptoton if different form); true pun (same root having two or more lexical or grammatical meanings, both of which work in the context).
81 As Loprieno, Puns, 3, notes, the study of the stylistic devices of an ancient language creates a quandary: the need to identify a stylistic device “emically” (from within the culture’s own practice), while at the same time relying on categories derived “etically” (from the researcher’s own horizon).
82 The myth of the creator god, who used his “authoritative utterance” to bring the cosmos into existence, may have contributed to this attitude, or perhaps the cultural attitude towards the importance of language led to the creation of this myth. In order to “ward off the blow of events,” the gods gave mankind this power of words, personified as the god Heka, as stated in a text from the 10th Dynasty, “Instructions for King Merikare,” cited in Ritner, Mechanics, 20.
contained in words, which the Creator used to bring the cosmos into existence. Extended to mankind as a benefaction, the act of authoritative utterance with its performative power was particularly important in temple ritual. The King (or the priest acting on his behalf), would present offerings and words of praise to the resident deity, who in return would assure his reign, the prosperity of the land, and the renewal of the cosmos. When acting in this capacity, the King identified with the god Thoth, master of eloquent speech and inventor of language itself.

Texts at Dendera emphasize this role and the importance of effective speech. In the entrance to the Per-her sanctuary (Fig. 2.3), Hathor praises the King’s recitation and chanting of the liturgy, calling him ḫḥ ṛḥ, "effective one of speech," spd ḫḥỉsw, “clever one of discourse,” and mnḫ ḫḥ tp.yw ṛḥ, "excellent one of utterances.” In return for his “effective speech,” she promises to protect him daily.

Texts thus originate in words spoken or sung during the performance of a ritual. This oral element is apparent not only from the phrase, ḫḏ mdḥw (“recitation”), beginning each utterance,

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83 The MK "Teaching for Merikare," line 47g, designates the purpose of ḫḥỉ as a ḫḥỉפ-բ-hpry.t, "a weapon to ward off the blow of what happens," cited by Parkinson, Dream and the Knot, 75; Ritner, Mechanics, 20. For translation, see Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature I, 106.
84 See Otto, Gott und Mensch, 96-97, for attestations of this epithet in scenes at Edfu, Dendera, Kom Ombo, and Philae. For thoughts on the rhetoric of efficacy, see Coulon, Rhétorique et stratégies, 137-142.
85 The words of Hathor appear in the “Divine Randzeile,” the column of text behind the goddess, in D III, 50, 14-15, states, “Welcome, wḥ-b-ḥḥ priest, effective of speech (ḫḥ ṛḥ), clever of discourse (spd ḫḥỉsw), excellent of utterances (mnḥ ḫḥ tp.yw ṛḥ). I hear what you say, beautifully and in peace. I protect your body every day.” Concerning the epithet, ḫḥ-렷, see Otto, Gott und Mensch, 76-77; 96-97. Wilson, PL 13, notes that the king carries this epithet in scenes where hymns and words are important, such as in the ḫḏ-ṃnṭ scenes.
86 Throughout the present study, line drawings from Chassinat’s publication of Dendera (including D I, pl. 45; D II, pl. 94; D III, pls. 180, 184, 190, 200, 201, 202, 219; D V, pl. 316, 320; D VIII, pl. 793), many of which are adapted by the author, are © IFAO.
87 Texts accompanying scenes in Graeco-Roman temples are far more detailed than the spare captions and epithets in the scenes of the earlier NK temples. Cf. the amount of text in the NK Ma’at offering scene in Seti I’s temple at
but also in the use of numerous types of paronomasia, playing on both sound and meaning. These multi-leveled expressions have the ability to foreground ideas and impart additional meaning in succinct, dense statements. Not only would its effect have worked upon its human listeners, such as the king or lector priest, or any other attendants, but also upon the divine recipient. Hathor would no doubt have been pleased with this type of effective, multi-layered speech.

Word plays in the Per-wer function primarily as figures of repetition, ranging from the simple to the complex. We will now look at examples from each of the categories of word play that I studied at Dendera, after which we will examine a scene in which the stylistic devices function on multiple levels. In rendering the transliterations and translations of the texts, bold font indicates the presence of one of these stylistic devices.

Abydos, in Calverley and Gardiner, Abydos IV, pl. 10, with that of a similar scene in the Per-wer at Dendera, e.g. 1st register, south wall, D III, pl. 190.

88 Parkinson, Dream and the Knot, 71, notes the use, beginning in the MK, of the term ṭsw, not only to describe "problems," but also for metrical verse; ṭḥ, "untie" denoting the "untying," or "solving" of problems, as well as textual interpretation.

89 Danica Seleskovitch, Interpreting for International Conferences: Problems of Language and Communication, Washington: Pen & Booth, 1978, passim, notes that utterances consist of several layers: at the primary level, we discern words and their lexical meanings; at the secondary level, we are aware of the semantic content of the expression as a whole; at the third level, there is the implied meaning. Separating the layers and seeking out meanings beyond the primary and secondary levels is a particularly useful approach in studying paronomasia and other multi-layered devices.

90 These include repetition, antanaclasis, polyptotons, and true puns.
2.1 Repetition (Ploce) – Same Root, Same Form, Same Meaning

The simplest form of "sound play" used in the Per-her is repetition, known in Greek rhetoric as *ploce*, (Gr. πλοχή, "twining, twisting," "interweaving"; Lat. *iteratio*). Besides creating aural patterning by means of alliteration, it can highlight particular words by the use of similar sounds in unusual places. A striking example occurs in the well-known speech of the distraught lover in Edgar Allen Poe's melodic narrative poem, "The Raven" (Fig. 2.4):

"While I nodded, nearly napping,

suddenly there came a tapping,

As of some one gently **rapping,**

**rapping** at my chamber door."  
- Edgar Allen Poe, "The Raven," 1858

The recurrence of "rapping" aurally mirrors the raven's incessant tapping on the door, its repetition strengthening and fulfilling the pattern begun with the initial rhyming of "napping" and "tapping." As Shapiro notes, "when a line, phrase, or even a sound is repeated, the experience of the first occurrence is continuously maintained in the present in each subsequent recurrence," as shown in the immediacy experienced by the listener in this example.

In the Per-her, repetition accounts for 20.7% (37) of the word play, occurring most frequently in divine and royal epithets, where the semantic context changes slightly in the second iteration. For example, Hathor's title, šps.t, "Noble Lady," often appears repeated within the epithet,

\[ \text{šps.t hnt 'n-šps.t} \]

"The **Noble Lady in the Palace of the Noble Lady**" (D III, 57,5).

In the first instance, šps.t denotes the goddess; in the second, it forms part of a compound substantive indicating her sanctuary. Because the repetition emphasizes the nobility of the goddess and extends that characteristic into the name of her chapel, it is not surprising that this epithet appears most often in text groups framing the Per-her's entrance door (Fig. 2.5), where

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91 πλοχή also has the connotation of complication, e.g. of a plot. See Liddell and Scott, Lexicon, 1422; Brogan, *Ploce*, 916.
92 Poe, *Raven*, 143.
94 Shapiro, *Repetition*, 1036.
95 D III, 55,7 (thickness of jamb); 56,5 (jamb); 57,5 (jamb); 60,1 (east bandeau of base); 71,11 (cloth); 79,10 (Ma'at); 91,6-7 (montants).
it can function as a label of ownership. In this example, the scribe added some visual variation by writing the first $spst$ with the sign of the hippopotamus goddess Taweret, who is often identified with Hathor, and the second, with the more traditional image of the seated noble holding a flail. In this way, the scribe could visually allude to Hathor's apotropaic associations with birth and motherhood, as well as to her role as the wet-nurse who provides sustenance through her milk. We will see more use of visual allusions in the following chapter on Sign Play.

![Fig. 2.5. Entrance of Per-wer, D II, pl. 94, © IFAO; Repetitions of $spst$, "Noble Lady"](image)

When employed in one of the King's epithets, the repetition of an element often sets up an equivalency between the King and his forebear. For example, again on the entrance, on the east side of the door jamb, he is called

"The Purifier(-priest), son of the Purifier(-priest)" (D III, 56,3).

The verb, twr, "to purify," functions here as a perfective active participle used as a noun of agent, translated as "He who purifies," or "Purifier(-priest)." The "purifier" can refer to Horus, who carries out the rituals for his deceased father Osiris, it can also refer to the King as the Living Horus on earth. By placing this epithet at the Per-wer's entrance, it not only highlights the King's possession of the necessary purity to approach the divinity, but also establishes his priestly lineage, and thereby his legitimacy and authority to carry out the rituals. In addition, the repetition of twr brings to mind the phrase, twr twr, "very pure" (lit. "twice pure"), a heightened degree of purity especially appropriate for the King's role as high priest. This epithet appears

96 Gundlach, Thoeris, 495.
97 Hathor's role in providing milk for the sustenance of gods and people is explored further in 5.2.3.
98 Wb V, 255,1-3.
99 As we will see, epithets establishing the King's legitimacy often appear at transition points like doors, as discussed in 5.3.1.
twice in the Per-wer, its second occurrence being in the scene of "Ascending the Steps," in which the King approaches the naos of the goddess.\(^{100}\)

Repetition can also function as a structuring mechanism, developing a parallelism that contributes to the progression and intensification of a thought. In the Per-wer, this use of repetition occurs most often in hymns, such as the following example in the door framing, again on the east side of the entrance (Fig. 2.6):

![Fig. 2.6. Entrance of the Per-wer, D II, pl. 94, © IFAO](image)

The context of this statement is a hymn of welcome to the goddess, requesting that she take up residence in the temple made for her by the King. The repetition of the verb *smn*, "be stable, establish, maintain," emphasizes the stability that she brings to her creation, here described vertically, as well as in the order in which she created it: heaven, earth, and people. Furthermore, the triple repetition of anything in Egyptian thought represents plurality; it may thus allude to stability extending into all realms, a very desirable quality. Despite the lacunae, one can also discern an alternation of tall and horizontal signs, suggesting that there may be emphasis through visual symmetry, as well.\(^{101}\)

Although my analysis of word play in the Per-wer primarily concerns the level of the lexeme (word), it is worth noting how repetition can also structurally divide larger units. The previously mentioned hymn forms a symmetrical pair with another hymn on the west side of the door framing: both hymns contain three repetitions of the epithet, \(tly=n \, hnw.t \, nfr.t\), "Our Beautiful Mistress," whose surprising use of the possessive plural pronoun, \(tly=n\), recalls contemporary usage in Demotic. The repetition of this phrase occurs each time at the end of a stanza. On the west side (which is without lacunae and can thus be better analyzed), this vocative phrase divides the hymn into three parts, each concerned with a domain of Hathor's

\[^{100}\text{D III, 64,7-8, east wall, 1\text{st} register, 1\text{st} Scene of the Per-wer, in which the root, \(t\text{wr}\), enjoys further emphasis, in an example of antanaclasis: } t\text{wr} \, t\text{wr} \, m \, d\, r=f, \text{ "The Purifier, purified in his body" (D III, 64,7). The stylistic trope of antanaclasis is discussed in the following section (2.2).}\]

\[^{101}\text{We will discuss visual symmetry in Section 3.2. My suggested restoration of the lacunae: } \_\_\_\_; \_\_\; \_\_; \_\_\_\_.}\]
responsibility: priests and temple property; the divine world of gods and goddesses; the inundation and the resulting fertile fields on earth. The recurrence of the epithet thus structures the hymn while simultaneously invoking Hathor's attention.

Although simple in concept, repetition can be a powerful rhetorical tool. It generally highlights important qualities of the goddess or the King by repeating key words in their epithets; visual variation in the signs writing the repetitions can bring in additional allusions. In hymns inscribed on the entrance, it not only adds intensity to a statement but can also act as a structuring principle, binding together several thematic units.

2.2 Antanaclasis – Same Root, Same Form, Different Meaning

The next category of word play in the Per-wer is antanaclasis (Gr. ἄντανακλασίς, “reflection”), a stylistic trope formed by repeating the same root, in the same form, each time with a different sense. An example is Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s statement in his first inaugural address (Fig. 2.7),

“The only thing we have to fear is fear itself.”
- Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1933

Fig. 2.7. Franklin D. Roosevelt

In the first instance, “fear” is used as a verb; in the second, it is a substantive. Its repetition acts as an attention-getter; the additional turn in meaning (from verb to noun) emphasizes the message that we have nothing to fear but the paralysis that fear itself can bring. Antanaclasis accounts for in 17% (30) of the 179 examples of paronomasia in the Per-wer, making it one of the lesser-used types in this cult chamber. However, when it does appear, it emphasizes either an offering presented or a characteristic of one of the actors in the scene.

An example appears on the east wall of the Per-wer, in which the King offers incense to Hathor, Horus Behdety, Nekhbet, and Hathor, Lady of the Per-wer (Fig. 2.8). The deities reply,

"We receive the incense in order to cense our statues" (D III, 73,12-13).

102 Photograph of F.D.R taken December 27, 1933, by Elias Goldensky (1868-1943), now in the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, digital ID: cph.3e17121.
103 F.D.R.’s quote continues, “…nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance.” Inaugural Address, March 4, 1933.
The statement is located in the Divine Randzeile, the column of text behind Hathor, Lady of the Per- wer, on the far right (Fig. 2.8).

![Image](https://example.com/image.png)

Fig. 2.8. East Wall, 3rd Register; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

The antanaclasis works with two meanings of *snTr*: first as the substantive, "incense," and then as an infinitive, "to cense," in a pseudo-verbal construction. The repetition of *snTr* in these two syntactical variations thus emphasizes the incense as well as the action of censing. In addition, the verb, *snTr*, can be understood as its homonym, the *s*-causative, "make godly," thus lending the allusion that the incense is also sanctifying their statues. Together with the four-fold alliteration on the consonant *s* (perhaps subtly alluding to the causative nature of the offering), the repetition of *snTr* and its turn of meaning from substantive to verb thus emphasize the offering, the action, and its result.

Another example of antanaclasis emphasizing the offering occurs in the second register of the east wall of the Per-wer, in which the King offers two sistra (naos sistrum and an arched sistrum) to Hathor, seated before him on a throne (Fig. 2.9). In carrying out this ritual act, he is equated with her son, the god of music:

![Image](https://example.com/image.png)

In this example, the antanaclasis works with two meanings of *ihy*: first as the proper name of Hathor's son, and then as the substantive, "music." The turn of meaning between the god's name, and the music that he makes, emphasizes the role of the King as the music-maker who pacifies the heart of the goddess with what she loves. The equation of Ihy with the King also appears

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104 Wb IV, 180, 3-6.
visually. Each repetition of *iHy* employs the sign of a man presenting an arched sistrum, thus mimicking the stance of the child god as well as the action of the King, holding the sistra; the use of the red crown as the preposition, *n*, "for," also alludes to the King. Furthermore, *Ihy's* sistrum with a falcon perched on top\(^{105}\) (Fig. 2.10) is similar to the alabaster sistrum of Teti I, from the 6\(^{th}\) Dynasty (Fig. 2.11). Both sistra recall the image of the Horus falcon atop a serekh containing the name of the King,\(^{106}\) as shown by the 1\(^{st}\) Dynasty limestone stela of Djet (Fig. 2.12). The equation of the King with *Ihy* thus carries a subtle visual reminder that the King is the Living Horus.

\(^{105}\) *Ihy* holds the falcon-topped naos sistrum in the following relief scenes: outer entrance of Per-ner, west side of lintel (D II, pl. 94; sistra); south wall of the Per-ner, 2\(^{nd}\) register, east side (D III, pl. 190; cloth); in the *h.t-w*b (Chassinat's Chamber K), north wall, 3\(^{rd}\) register (D III, pl. 211; natron); in barque sanctuary (Chassinat's Chamber A), south wall, 1\(^{st}\) register (D I, pl. 61; Ma'at offerings). Harsomtus the Child holds the falcon-topped arched sistrum in the *Pr-nw* (Chassinat's Chamber H), west wall, 2\(^{nd}\) register, 1\(^{st}\) scene (D II, pl. 165; funerary offering menu).

\(^{106}\) The serekh is a schematic representation of the palace façade of the King's Residence, containing his name in hieroglyphs.

\(^{107}\) D III, pl. 180; photo detail of falcon-topped sistrum in Cauville, Dend Trad III, pl. 34, © IFAO by A. Lecler, no. 98-2204, and courtesy of Peeters Publishers.

\(^{108}\) Alabaster sistrum of King Teti I from Memphis, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nr. 26.7.1450. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, courtesy of ARTstor Collection. The model sistrum was a votive offering to Hathor; the inscription notes the King's epithet, "beloved of Hathor, Lady of Dendera." See Hayes, Scepter of Egypt I, 125 and fig. 76.

\(^{109}\) Illustration by Caris Reid of the Serekh of King Djet from Abydos, now in the Louvre, E 11007. Djet's name means "cobra."
In addition to highlighting an offering and its desired result, antanaclasis can also call attention to the quality of a divine or human personage. For example, on the west wall of the Per-wer (Fig. 2.13), in which the King offers Hathor the wensheb, the symbol of ordered time, he is described as

\[ twt \ m \ irw=f \ n \ hk3 \ t3.wy \ hr \ twt \ T3y.t \]

"complete in his form as the Ruler of the Two Lands, perfecting Tayet"

(D III, 81.7).

Fig. 2.13. West Wall, 2nd Register, 2nd Scene; pl. 190, © IFAO

The antanaclasis plays on two forms of the verbal root *twt*, meaning "be complete": the first as a stative, "being complete," the second as an infinitive in a pseudo-verbal construction, "perfecting," or "making complete." The turn in meaning between the two forms of *twt* contrasts the King's intransitive state ("be complete") with his transitive action ("making complete"), thus emphasizing the change that he brings about in the state of the goddess. However, the question arises why Tayet, a goddess of weaving, should need to be "completed." A clue lies in the fact that *twt* as a transitive verb can also mean "to collect together, assemble," thus alluding to the filling (or "completing") of the Udjat Eye with all of its necessary parts—an action carried out in the myth by Thoth, with whom the King is equated in this scene.

Although Tayet is primarily a goddess of weaving and clothing, she can also take the form of the uraeus, acting as a guardian of the crown and protectress of the King. This role thus explains the King's epithet, because as the Uraeus, Tayet is therefore equated with the Eye of Horus, which was injured by Seth and needed to be healed and restored. In "perfecting" or "completing" Tayet, the King is thus making the Udjat whole, an action that also restores cosmic order. This action agrees perfectly with his offering of the wensheb, itself the symbol of cosmic order, whose restoration comes about when Hathor, as the uraeus (and Divine Eye), returns to her proper place on the brow of her father, Ra. The use of antanaclasis to emphasize the turn in meaning between the two forms of the verb, *twt*, therefore not only calls attention to the King's

\[ twt \ m \ irw=f \ n \ hk3 \ t3.wy \ hr \ twt \ T3y.t \]

"complete in his form as the Ruler of the Two Lands, perfecting Tayet"

(D III, 81.7).

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110 Wb V, 259.5 – 260.10; PL 1131.
111 The text continues, stating that the King is *hr snb sty hr s3nh S3m.t-rmt sm Tsdn pr wq3.t*, "making the Eye (of light) healthy, making the uraeus (lit., "She who leads mankind") live, for he is like Isden (=Thoth), who provisions the Udjat" (D III, 81.7–8).
112 Tayet as the uraeus of the King appears in a wensheb offering at Edfu, in which the text similarly states that the King is "perfecting," or "assembling," his uraeus, Tayet (E IV, 82.6 – 83.2). See Sambin, Clepsydre, 43; 311.
113 Bonnet, RÄRG, 764.
quality and his action in restoring order, but also enriches the statement by bringing in layers of mythological meaning.

Whereas simple repetition can highlight key words or lend structure to larger thematic units, antanaclasis plays with shifts in meaning, exploring and amplifying chosen themes. In the Per-wer, the scribes employ it primarily to emphasize cause and effect, creating a link between an offering and its result, or between a divine or royal characteristic and an action. Although not appearing as frequently in the Per-wer as the other figures of repetition, antanaclasis and its homophonic puns construct thematic connections in a clever and succinct manner.

2.3 Polyptoton – Same Root, Different Form, Different Meaning

The third category of word play is the polyptoton (Gr. πολύπτωτον, "many (grammatical) cases." It is a stylistic scheme in which words derived from the same root are repeated in different forms, cases, numbers, and genders, bringing powerful emphasis to the subject being discussed. The peanut butter tagline (Fig. 2.14),

"Choosy mothers choose Jif,"

is a polyptoton. The root, “choose,” appears first as an adjective, “choosy,” and then as the verb, “choose.” Polyptotons, accounting for 50% (89) of the word plays, are the most frequently used type in the Per-wer.

An example occurs in a scene on the east wall of the Per-wer's Southern Niche (Fig. 2.15). Standing on the left, the god Shu offers the Udjat Eye to Hathor, saying,

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The root, \textit{wa\textsuccessor{3}}, is an intransitive verb meaning “be healthy, whole, and complete.” It stands out, being repeated twice, first as a substantive (the udjat-eye), and then as the stative (being whole). It refers to the whole, healthy Eye of Horus, having been healed and restored after its injury during the struggle with Seth.\footnote{Otto, Augensagen, 563. Griffiths, Eyes of Horus, 182-193, maintains that the Udjat originally referred to the uninjured Eye of Horus, but that from the NK onward, the term was also used to denote the eye injured by Seth, contra Müller-Winkler, Udjatauge, 825 n. 7, who observes that in the udjat's earliest attestations (e.g., CT VII, 373b; 378c) it already appears in connection with the injury by Seth. Wilson, PL 286, perhaps following Griffiths, denotes the udjat as the uninjured eye of Horus, which Seth did not damage in the struggle.} Additionally, it denotes the right Eye of Ra, the solar form of the goddess Hathor. The polyptoton, with its alliteration on the root, \textit{wa\textsuccessor{3}}, and its syntactical changes, emphasizes the offering of the Udjat Eye and its healthy condition. We will return to this scene later, for more analysis.

Even more striking is a triple polyptoton on the west wall of the Per-wer, appearing in an offering of the \textit{mnw}-jar (Fig. 2.16), in which the King says,

\begin{quote}
\textit{nfr.\textsuccessor{t} nfr.\textsuccessor{wy} nfrw=}
"Beautiful One, how beautiful is your beauty!"
\end{quote}

\footnote{nfr.\textsuccessor{t} can be considered either as a feminine adjective used as a substantive, or as the feminine perfective active participle, "She who is beautiful," or "Beautiful One (f.)." See Allen, Middle Egyptian, 6.4 and 23.3.}
together with the syntactical changes of the root, would arrest the attention of the goddess, which was undoubtedly its intention. Its energetic repetition leads to a focus on the final nfrw, emphasizing Hathor's beauty and goodness. In the myth, the offering of the mnw-jar with its intoxicating beverage helped transform the angry lioness into the beautiful woman; the invocation of the goddess with these epithets at the beginning of the scene thus foreshadows the expected result of the offering.

A relatively rare but interesting polyptoton appears on the south wall of the Per-her, in an offering of cloth (Fig. 2.17). Hathor is described as

![Image of an ancient Egyptian scene](image)

**smnh mnh.t**

"who makes excellent the cloth"

D III, 71,10

Fig. 2.17. South Wall, 2nd Register, East Side; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

The root mnh, "be excellent, effective," appears first as the causative verb, "make excellent," followed by the feminine substantive, mnh.t, "cloth." The purpose of the cloth is to protect and conceal Hathor's body; the offering recalls the cloth bandages used in mummy wrappings for Osiris, thus symbolizing regeneration. As we will see later, the cloth itself also has connections with Hathor's illumination, allowing the offering to allude to the cyclical regeneration of the sun. Because the root, mnh, can also carry the connotation of magical effectiveness, its iteration in these two grammatical inflections thus emphasizes Hathor's power to transform the cloth into an effective substance that protects, conceals, and illuminates her body.

Whereas antanaclasis repeats a root with different meanings, each repetition of a polyptoton exhibits a variation on the root. This form of paronomasia thus takes advantage of the differing functions, energies, and positioning of various word-classes, highlighting the key element in an expression. Wilson notes that polyptotons are particularly effective "because the pun and alliteration serve the same purpose of explaining and emphasizing the meaning of the phrase."

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117 Although it is not certain that mnh.t, "cloth," derives from the same root as mnh, "be excellent," the idea that cloth is something excellent/effective does not seem unreasonable. However, even if the two words have different roots, it does not preclude their use in figures of repetition, which function aurally.

118 Wb II, 85, 30, mnh hkw is "effective magic."

119 There may also be an allusion to Hathor as Tayet, the goddess of weaving, another uraeus goddess who can be identified with Hathor, as we saw in an example of antanaclasis in Section 2.2.

120 Wilson, PL xxvii.
2.4 True Pun – Same or Different Root, Same Sound, Different Meaning (no repetition)

Puns, which play with sound and meaning, derive their power from their ambiguity. Identical or similar sounds can bring together two or more meanings, thus revealing that two things having the same name also share deeper affinities. As noted earlier, Shakespeare was particularly fond of them, as shown in the famous opening line from "Richard III" (Fig. 2.18):

"Now is the winter of our discontent,
Made glorious by this sun of York."
- Shakespeare, "Richard III"\(^{121}\)

The "sun" refers to Richard III, who was the son of the Duke of York. Richard III is notorious for his skill at manipulating words to suit his own purposes; it is therefore appropriate that the play introduces him with a pun.

Texts in the Per-\-wer also exploit the ambiguity of homonyms, creating puns that communicate layers of theological meaning. However, perhaps because they are not as easily constructed as antanaclasis or polyptotons, true puns account for only 8% (14) of the word plays.

Returning to the cloth offering on the south wall, we see a good example of this technique in the text in the Royal Randzeile (Fig. 2.19), describing the King as

\[ hr\; shd\; h^w\; m\; psd \]
"illuminating (her) body with the nine-stranded linen"
(D III, 71,6).

\(^{121}\) Act 1, Scene 1 of "Richard III," first performed in 1594.
The term for "nine-stranded linen" derives from psd, "nine," but its homonym, psd, means "light." The secondary meaning of the statement can thus be "illuminating (her) body with light," not only alluding to Hathor's own radiance as a solar goddess, but also to the fine quality of the linen, called sspt, "bright cloth," and hd.t, "bright white cloth," in the following line (D III, 71,7). Furthermore, hd.t, "Bright One (f.)," is an epithet of Nekhbet, the goddess with whom Hathor is identified as Lady of the Per-wer, and who flies protectively over the King in her form as a vulture. This multi-layered pun thus brings in allusions to Hathor's solar qualities, the quality of the offering, and the connection to the tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt; it also connects well with the idea that the King is clothing the goddess with brightness, which is appropriate to her role as Rayet, the female sun.

Continuing the idea of brightness, we see another effective pun on the east wall of the Southern Niche (Fig. 2.20). In a scene with allusions to the Myth of the Wandering Goddess, the god Shu returns the Udjat Eye to Hathor, while Ra-Horakhty raises his arms in adoration, stating, "I extend my arms around the uraeus in her shrine" (D III, 95,6),

![Image](https://example.com/image.jpg)

the sun god thus embracing his daughter upon her return. The use of hd for "shrine" has an additional allusion by means of its homonym, hd, meaning "be light, bright." Wilson suggests that there may be a connection between the two words, due to the "divine glow given off by images of gods in their shrines." Another writing of hd, "shrine," even employs the sign of two Divine Eyes residing within a structure, (O337), thus visually alluding to the Right and Left Eyes residing within their chapel. Furthermore, the idea of the uraeus in her shrine, mentioned the present text, also brings in the image of brightness surrounding the fiery cobra. By exploiting the aural ambiguity within a single word, the scribe thus created a multiplicity of allusions, all of which connect to aspects of the goddess.

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123 Wb III, 209, 1-8. This writing is attested since the MK. It appears in the expression r-p.t r hd n Gb, "hereditary prince of the shrine of Geb" (Wb III, 209, 5); in a speech of Ma'at from the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes II at Bab el-Abd (Urk VIII, 13m).
124 PL 696.
125 Wb III, 1-8.
Another true pun in the Per-wer further enhances our understanding of Hathor's role as a solar goddess. It appears in a scene from the daily temple ritual, in which the King pulls the door bolt to open her shrine (Fig. 2.21). In the Divine Randzeile behind the goddess, the epithets describe her as

\[ nsw.t\ bi.ty.t\ 3h.t.t\ h^c\ m\ 3h.t \]
"The Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Horizon-Dweller (f.) who appears in the horizon."
(D III, 76,12).

Fig. 2.21. West Wall, 1st Reg., 1st Scene; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

The polyptoton on the root, \( 3h \), with \( 3h.t.t \) as the feminine singular nisbe, \( 3h.ty.t \) (literally, "She who is in the horizon"), plays against the feminine substantive, \( 3h.t \) "horizon." As a solar goddess who rises and sets in the horizon, the epithet suits Hathor quite well. Additionally, \( 3h.t \), also spelled with the sign of the sun in the horizon, also can designate "temple," thus creating a homophonic pun. In the context of the present text, the epithet would then describe the appearance of the goddess as the King pulls the door bolt to open the door and reveal her in the naos. The idea that the temple is the "horizon" appears as a visual trope in the form of the pylon at the entrance to the sacred precinct, which is shaped like a horizon with two mountains. As the liminal space between the human and divine worlds where the deity dwells, the temple can thus be considered the "horizon," thus lending validity to both translations.

Although \( 3h.t \) can mean "horizon" or "temple," its root, \( 3h \), usually spelled with the sign of the crested ibis, either \( G25 \) or \( H2 \), actually means "to be effective."\(^{127}\) The quality of being \( 3h \), which can apply to both gods and people, also extends to magical utterances full of effective power, and thus called \( 3hw \). Although \( 3h.ty.t \) is usually translated as "Horizon-Dweller (f.),"\(^{128}\) one could therefore also interpret it as "She who is effective," and \( 3h.t \) as "the effective place." The idea that she is the "Female Effective One" who dwells in the "Effective Place" agrees perfectly with the conception of Hathor as the Creator Goddess who dwells in the Southern Niche of the Per-wer Sanctuary, the seat of Creation.\(^{129}\)

Playing with sound and meaning, puns exploit the polyvalence of the Egyptian language. In the Per-wer, they can help forge connections between an offering and its recipient, or between an action and its actor. By highlighting and contrasting several techniques in the same expression, the ancient scribe created striking examples of paronomasia that function on multiple levels.

\(^{126}\) Allusions to the temple as the horizon are attested as early as the Ramesside Period. See Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions II, 325,9; 361,5, cited in PL 18.

\(^{127}\) Wb I, 13,7 – 14,25. The root \( 3h \) has many homophones, as we will see in a multi-layered example in 2.7.

\(^{128}\) Wb I, 18, 4-5; NK.

\(^{129}\) The god Heka gives Hathor the power of effective speech, as noted in 5.3.2
2.5 Close Homophones – Different Roots, Close in Sound, Different Meaning

Another type of word play includes paronomasia that works on roots that are different, but sound almost the same (known as “close homophones,” “heterophones,” or imperfect puns). Some people would call them “bad puns.” An example is the statement (Fig. 2.22),

“A shotgun marriage is a matter of wife or death.”

- Anonymous

Fig. 2.22. "Shotgun Wedding" Cake Topper

The words, “wife,” and “life,” sound different, but they are similar enough for one to suggest the other. This type of paronomasia is usually restricted to instances where there is a reason to highlight the different sound. In this case, it emphasizes the result of a forced marriage. At Dendera, there are examples of close homophones in antanaclasis, polyptotons, and true puns. The following section looks at an example from each of these three categories.

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130 "Shotgun Wedding" Cake Topper, displayed at brideorama.com, accessed 1-21-12.
131 In the statistical analysis of word play in the Per-wer, an example of close homophones is considered a sub-category of the larger category in which it occurs: antanaclasis, polyptotons, or true puns; its percentage within that category is indicated.
2.5.1 Antanaclasis ("fear is fear") with Close Homophones (Similar-sounding Roots, Same Form, Different Meaning)

An example of antanaclasis on close homophones occurs in an offering of nms.t-jars of primordial water in the base of the south wall (Fig. 2.23). Ihy, who stands before his mother, Isis, says,

Fig. 2.23. South Wall, Base, West Side; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

mlt m ḫb(=i) ḫr dr [m]nt
"the menit is in (my) left hand, driving away distress"
(D III, 75,6).

The term, mn.t, "distress," or "sadness," is a negative quality that must be driven away from the goddess, so that she will be in a pure state and thus able to return to her sanctuary and resume her place on her father's brow as the uraeus. The similarity in sound of mnt ("menit") to mn.t ("distress") gives magical effectiveness to the menit, intensifying the statement that it drives away the negative qualities of impurity, sadness, and disease inherent in mn.t. Due to its apotropaic qualities, an offering of the menit to the goddess usually causes her to give protection in return.133

2.5.2 Polyptoton ("choosy choose") with Close Homophones (Similar-sounding Roots, Different Form, Different Meaning)

An example of a polyptoton with close homophones occurs in an adoration text spoken by the king for Hathor, located on the east door jamb of the Per-zer's entrance door (Fig. 2.24). He says,

132 The scribe erroneously wrote mn.t as ☺☻ rather than perhaps ☺☺, although the more usual spelling of mn.t at Dendera is ☺☺ (e.g., D I, 39,8; 131,12; 136,7; 154,4). However, mn.t and mnl.t regularly appear together in word play; the expression dr mn.t, "drive away distress," is frequent in menit offerings. For example, the speech of Ihy in an offering of the sistra and menit to Hathor in the Temple of the Sistrum (the h.t mnl.t, Chassinat's Chamber L) includes the expression, dr mn.t m ḫb n nb(t) mnl.t, "driving away the distress from the heart of the lady of the menit" (D III, 131,12). The term, mn.t, can denote both mental and phsyical distress. See Wb II, 67, 6-18.
133 In the menit offering in the 2nd register of the east wall of the Per-zer, Hathor gives protection against the enemies of Osiris and protects her father Ra (D III, 70,3-5).
The two occurrences of root, $k\bar{s}$ ("be high"), first as the causative verb, $sk\bar{s}$ ("make high"), and then as the substantive, $k\bar{s}$ ("height"), create a polyptoton. These two forms of "be high" bracket the word, $k\bar{s}$ ("the soul" or "embodiment of Hathor"), thus emphasizing the height to which the king praises her. The word, $k\bar{s}$, sounds very similar to the root meaning "be high," but it comes from a different root and has a different initial consonant. There is a rhythm to this expression, emphasizing the element, $k\bar{s}$, three times. Additionally, the hieroglyph of a man raising his arms in adoration, on either side of the $k\bar{s}$ of the goddess, creates the visual image that she is surrounded by praise.\(^{134}\)

### 2.5.3 True Pun ("sun/son") with Close Homophone (Similar-sounding Root, Same Form, Different Meaning) (no repetition)

An example of a true pun on a close homophone occurs on the east side of the bandeau of the frieze on the outer entrance of the Per-wer (Fig. 2.25). Functioning as a label of identification and ownership is the following description of the Per-wer:\(^{135}\)

\[^{134}\] Other close homophones in the Per-wer sanctuary include the following: $m-n=t\ mni.t$, "Take for yourself the menit necklace" (D III 52,7); $hmn.t\ nb.t\ hy,\ nb.t\ hnw$, "Mistress and Lady of Exultation, Lady of Jubilation" (D III, 58,11); $dwh.t\ n=m=1\ k\bar{s}=t\ r\ k\bar{s}\ n\ p.t$, "I praise your ka to the height of heaven" (D III, 68,11). There are also close homophones over a colon: $wr.t\ b\tilde{w}\ r\ nfr.w\ nb.w,\ dd.t\ w\ nbw.t\ nb.t\ iwn.t$, "whose power is greater than all the gods, one calls you Lady of Dendera" (D III, 80,4); $sk\bar{s}\ k\bar{s}=s$, "who makes high her ka" (D III, 76,9). It is interesting that the menit offering in the Per-wer contains two examples of close homophones: $m-n=t\ mni.t$, "Take for yourself the menit necklace" (D III, 69,15); $nbw.t\ nb.t\ mni.t$, "Golden One, Lady of the Menit" (D III, 69,16).

\[^{135}\] Note that the hieroglyphs are read from right to left, but that the second and third instances of $Nbw.t$, "Golden One," are written so that the ideogram faces in the opposite direction from the rest of the glyphs. This technique, called "reversal," allows the image of the goddess to face away from the center of the door, as if she is looking outwards from her sanctuary. We will discuss this example of "sign play" in the next chapter, in Section 3.1.2.
This complicated construction contains several interwoven stylistic figures, all of them playing on words associated with gold: *nbi*, "to gild," and the substantive, *nbw*, "gold." There is a triple repetition of Hathor's ubiquitous epithet, *nbw.t*, "Golden One," which also appears in *pr-nbw.t*, "Sanctuary of the Golden One." The addition of *nbw*, "gold," creates a polyptoton; *nbi*, "gild," then adds an imperfect pun. The fivefold repetition of *nb* and the additional turns in meaning between "Golden One," "gold," and "gild," are insistent in their emphasis on the solar nature of the goddess. Not only is she golden, but the sanctuary is also “gilded with gold” (*nbi m nbw*).

The decoration of the chapel thus mimics Hathor's radiance. The net effect is that everything "shines like gold" because *psd.t*, "the Shining Uraeus" shines within it (D II, 3,7).

By employing close homophones in figures of repetition, like antanaclasis and polyptotons, as well as in true puns, the ancient scribes increased the possibilities for creating paronomasia. Although the sounds of the roots are not identical, there is enough similarity for the stylistic figures to function properly; plays on different roots add additional layers of meaning. The combination of repetitive sounds and turns of meaning thus cleverly emphasize important themes and actions, creating statements that are dense with theological meaning.
2.6 Types and Distribution of Word Play in the Per-wer

Having defined the major categories of paronomasia that I studied in the Per-wer, we can now take a brief look at their overall use in the sanctuary (Fig. 2.26).\textsuperscript{136}

![Types of Word Play in the Per-wer](chart.png)

Fig. 2.26. Types of Paronomasia in the Per-wer Sanctuary

Of the 80 scenes and text groups in the Per-wer, 69\% (55) contain word play, for a total of 179 individual examples. Repetition (ploce) occurs in 21\% (37); Antanaclasis makes up 17\% (30), of which 37\% (11) occur on close homophones. Polyptotons make up 50\% (89), of which 9\% (8) are on close homophones. True puns make up 8\% (14), of which 7\% (1) is on close homophones. Polyptotons make up such a large percentage of the word play perhaps because syntactical variations on a root are particularly versatile.

\textsuperscript{136} A more detailed listing of word play in the Per-wer appears in Appendix 1.
As shown in this chart, most scenes in the Per-wer sanctuary with word play contained only a few examples of word play—usually a polyptoton reflecting some aspect of the offering given. There was, however, one scene that contained an astounding ten examples of paronomasia, including eight polyptotons and two examples of antanaclasis. It shows the king making a funerary offering of fresh bread.\textsuperscript{137} The use of word play in funerary offerings has a long history, beginning with the Pyramid Texts, so its frequency in this scene may simply reflect this tradition.

\textsuperscript{137} West wall, 3\textsuperscript{rd} register of Per-wer, in D III, 84,13, pl. 190; Cauville, Dend Trad III, 158-161.
In addition to some scenes having more examples of paronomasia than others, some word roots appear more often as well. Word play can be created more easily on some roots than others, especially if they have a high number of homonyms. Fig. 2.28 shows the frequency of the "top ten" most "popular" roots for forming paronomasia in the Per-wer sanctuary. The root nb/nbw (meaning "lady," and by close homophone, "gold"), with its many uses in Hathor's epithets concerning gold, has the highest number of word plays, appearing in eleven separate examples. The root, 3h, ("shining," or "effective") is a close second; we will see more of this root in an important scene from the Per-wer. The next most common root is sps ("noble"), with ten examples.

We will now examine a scene at Dendera to see how the layers of meanings, carried on aural and visual levels within paronomasia, work together to transmit important theological information.
2.7 Multi-layered Example in the Per-wer

Returning to our udjat offering scene from the Per-wer (Fig. 2.29), which we saw in 2.3, we recall that the text began with the King’s words to Hathor:

\[ m-n=t \text{wd}3.t \text{wd}3.ti \text{m irw=}s \]

"Take to yourself the **Udjat-Eye, whole** in its form." (Dendera III, 94, 14-15)

It continues with

\[ 3h.t \text{3h.ti m 3hw=}s \]

"the **Divine Eye, effective** in its **3hw-power**" (Dendera III, 94,15)

This example is even more striking than our previous ones, because it contains three elements, all of which are syntactical variations on the verbal root, 3h, meaning "effective" or "shining." The first instance is the feminine substantive, the 3h.t, or "Divine Eye," followed by the stative "(being) effective," and ending in an adverbial phrase with the substantive, 3hw ("divine, magical, or creative power").

This scene is particularly important, since it recalls the moment when Hathor, who had wandered south to Nubia as the lioness Tefnut, finally returns to Egypt in the company of Thoth and Shu; she is welcomed home by her father Ra, the sun god. This southern sojourn and northern return mirrors the yearly path of the sun; her arrival in Egypt marks the summer solstice, when the sun reaches its northernmost point. Not only are the main protagonists from the myth present in this scene, but the text states that Horus Behdety, equated with Ra-Horakhty, enfolds the goddess in his arms, as the Eye is returned and protected. Thus, the offering of the udjat to Hathor symbolizes the return of the goddess (as the Udjat) to her rightful place as the Uraeus on the brow of her father Ra, allowing the restoration of cosmic
order. The polyptoton brings this important offering into prominence, but a closer look reveals some additional allusions related to the goddess and her role in Egypt and the cosmos.

In Ptolemaic, the phonogram, 3h, often written with the head of a crested ibis, as noted earlier, can be used to write a number of homonyms, their different meanings sometimes distinguished by the appropriate determinatives (Fig. 2.30). Therefore, the first element in the phrase, 3h.t, can, by allusion, be any of the following:

Fig. 2.30. Homonyms for 3h.t

It can be the "Divine Eye," as we saw, but also, "the Shining One," both of which are epithets of Hathor as the Eye of Ra, who illuminates the land with her light. In our text Hathor is specifically called "The Solar Feminine Disk"; in the symmetrical scene on the west wall, she is called, 3h.t m p.t, "The Shining One in the sky." Her role as the uraeus, another homonym of 3h.t, appears in our text in her epithet, "The uraeus who shines on the forehead of Ra." One of her most well-known manifestations is a cow, also called an 3h.t. She is 3h.t mn3h.t m ntr.w, "the Excellent Cow among the Gods," in an offering scene of milk on the east wall of the Per-wer (D III, 69,12). Additionally, the word 3hw (used at the end of the statement), also has a number of homonyms (Fig. 2.31):

Fig. 2.31. Homonyms for 3hw=s

It means "magical, creative power," as we saw in the primary translation. Hathor transfigures her body by means of 3hw=s ("her magic") in a text in the chapel immediately west of the Per-wer (D III, 5,5); 3hw can also mean "glorifications," or "spells"—the effective words spoken by the king to the goddess. On the interior framing of the door jamb at the entrance to the Per-wer, the king invokes her statue with 3l3s.w 3h.w, "magical formulas" (D III, 57,7). Finally, 3hw can be "elements," referring again to the parts needed to make the Eye of Horus whole and complete.

138 3l3s.w are personified spells or words, regarded as gods of writing. See Cauville, Essai d’Horus, 129.
Thus, our simple phrase, \(3h.t \ 3h.ti \ m \ 3hw=s\), by means of the many homonyms on the elements of the polyptoton, has the ability to allude to the goddess in her different aspects and roles (Fig. 2.32). For example, one could interpret the phrase as "The Uraeus is luminous in her divine power," or "The Cow is effective in her creative power," or even, the "Shining One is luminous in her magical spells."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3h.t)</th>
<th>(3h.ti)</th>
<th>(m \ 3hw=s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Divine Eye</td>
<td>is effective</td>
<td>in its elements (Divine Eye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shining One</td>
<td>is luminous</td>
<td>in her creative power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uraeus</td>
<td></td>
<td>in her magical spells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig.2.32. Multiple Interpretations of Dendera III, 94,15.

These implied meanings behind the king’s speech connect his offering of the udjat with Hathor’s multiple manifestations and with her protective power. His own words thus become \(3hw\) (magical spells) that are \(3h.ti\) (effective). By calling to mind so many of her aspects and characteristics, the King’s words would have pacified and delighted the goddess, causing her to reward and protect him and his people.

2.8 Summary

The tradition of effective speech and the oral element in ritual texts encouraged the use of paronomasia functioning on multiple phonetic and semantic levels. Due to an increase in the number of hieroglyphic signs during the Ptolemaic era, expanded possibilities arose for word play, which could emphasize important concepts, characteristics, and roles. Homonyms and visual puns added allusions, supported by statements elsewhere in the texts, and unless the paronomasia elaborated on a concept directly related to the scene, it was not employed. These observations suggest that paronomasia in the texts was intentionally added by the ancient scribes in order to emphasize important themes and actions, and create statements that carry within them a wealth of theological meaning.
Chapter 3
Sign Play in the Per-wer

3.0 Introduction

Whether in print or on the web, the combination of text and image can be an effective way to convey a message. By changing the shapes of letters, a word can be made to visually embody the idea behind it, as in these three examples of the words, “wave,” “snap” and “mummy” (Fig. 3.1). The manipulation of the letters thus extends the communicative potential of the writing.

Fig. 3.1. Words visually embodying their meaning through graphic means

Being a pictorial writing system, Egyptian hieroglyphs naturally integrate both text and image to convey a message.\(^{140}\) However, in Egyptian thought, the signs were not just symbolic representations, but equal to the objects they depicted, and thus capable of action.

The belief in the efficacy of written images was so strong that from the Old Kingdom onward, a special practice developed for texts in funerary monuments. Images of men and animals considered dangerous would be truncated, nullified with knives, or even cut in half, just so that they would not present a threat to the deceased (Fig. 3.2).

Fig. 3.2. Quail chick, man, crocodile, and viper nullified by various graphic means.

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\(^{140}\) See Baines, Communication, 471-482.

\(^{141}\) Examples from WinGlyph, H39; D77; C13; Lacau, Suppressions, 56. Some animals were considered "dangerous" to the deceased, because they might try to eat the offerings. In Fig. 3.2, the spears piercing the crocodile would cause its incapacitation. See also Teeter, Writing, 156, with a photo depicting the writing of the verb, *dn*, meaning "cut off (the head)," in the 18th Dynasty Theban tomb of Kheruef (TT 192), its determinative being the sign of a snake with a knife cutting off its head, as well as two more knives slicing through its body, thus rendering it harmless to the tomb-owner.
The written name, as the embodiment of a person's existence, was also more than mere identification. Its erasure on a tomb wall or monument would prevent the deceased's enjoyment of the offerings depicted; the systematic destruction of the name could even deny him an Afterlife. The idea of damnatio memoriae also extended to kings and gods. Late in his reign, Thutmose III tried to obliterate the memory of Hatshepsut's rule by removing her name and image from any monument representing her as a female king. Similarly, during his ruthless promotion of the exclusive worship of the Aten, Akhenaten had the name of Amun-Ra erased throughout the Nile Valley—even within the tombs of private individuals—in order to deface any name (or word) that happened to include the element, "Amun." 

The performative power inherent in the writing of a name or the drawing of a hieroglyph was therefore an important consideration, especially in the composition of funerary and religious texts. When an ancient scribe chose to write a word with particular signs, or rearranged them to form visual patterns, he was not manipulating mere symbols, but constructing an effective, magically powerful statement. Furthermore, because temple texts also originated in words spoken or sung during the performance of a ritual, the inscriptions on the walls powerfully worked on both aural and visual levels.

As early as the Pyramid Texts, the scribes employed such visual poetry, or “sign play,” in both religious and secular literature, but it was especially popular during the Ptolemaic and Roman eras. Because the hieroglyphic writing system at this time reached its zenith of complexity, with a ten-fold increase in the number of signs and the values that they could hold, the scribal "playing field" for creating polyvalent expressions increased as well. This textual creativity extended not only to plays on sound and meaning, as we saw in the word plays of the

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142. Wendrich, Archaeology, 206. For a criminal convicted of a serious offense against the State, this idea extended to changing his name to a negative form, e.g. the name of the pantry chef, who took part in the Harem Conspiracy that resulted in the death of Ramesses III, was listed in the official record as Pai-bak-kamen (“that blind servant”), which was probably a corruption of the more positive, Pa-bak-amun (“the servant of Amun”). In this way, the real name of the convicted criminal would be forgotten; he would also be denied the protection of his patron deity. See Redford, Harem,72-73. Erasures of the name of the tomb owner occur in almost every inscription in TT 147; we only know that it belonged to a man named Neferrenpet because one was overlooked. Ockinga, Theban Tomb 147, 121-129; idem, Erasures Revisited, 139-144. Similarly, the name and figures of Hezi, the Vizier of King Teti during the 6th Dynasty, were chiseled out everywhere in his tomb at Saqqara except on the lintel in his chapel. Kanawati suggests that Hezi may have plotted against the king and was thus punished so that his access to the world of the living would be denied. See Silverman, Threat Formula, 1-3, Fig. 2a; Williams, Death on the Nile, 2-25; Kanawati and Abder-Razik, Tomb of Hezi.

143. Depredations of Hatshepsut's monuments took place no earlier than Regnal Year 42 of Thutmose III, at least 20 years after her death; her figure was usually replaced not by that of Thutmose III, but by the name of his father or grandfather, leading Dorman, Hatshepsut, 267-269, to suggest that the king was trying to rewrite the recent history of his dynasty, perhaps to discredit the legitimacy of a rival for the succession to the throne (who may have been related to Hatshepsut through her mother, Queen Ahmose). See also Robins, Art, 129, and fig. 145, showing the removal of Hatshepsut's Horus name, throne name, and given name on the lintel of a statue niche in her funerary temple at Deir el-Bahari, with the names of Thutmose III on the symmetrical inscription remaining intact.

144. This systematic effort to erase the name of Amun-Ra began in earnest during Akhenaten's 9th Regnal Year; many private tombs suffered damage, including TT 54, 56, 75, 82, 90, and 127, as noted by Eaton-Krauss, Erasures, 198. After his death and the restoration of the traditional religion, Akhenaten himself suffered much the same fate, with the demolition of his monuments (ending up as fill in Karnak’s Tenth Pylon) and the omission of his name from the King's List in the Tomb of Seti I at Abydos. See Eaton-Krauss, Erasures, 196. For the mutilation of texts in a broader historical and cultural context, see van Peer, Mutilated Signs, 38-55; Hari, Damnatio Memoriae, 95-102.


146. It was also popular during the NK. Vernus, L'ambivalence, 61-65, discusses scribal exploitation of polyvalent signs, with examples from OK through LP. See also Morenz, Sinn und Spiel.
previous chapter, but also to sign plays, which can add visual emphasis and mythological allusions, forming observable patterns that arrest the reader's attention.

3.0.1 Previous Studies

During the 19th century, many of the scholars who took the first tentative steps towards understanding the ancient Egyptian language did not hold the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman era in high esteem. Even though Ptolemaic Egyptian had played a key role in Champollion's decipherment of the Rosetta Stone,\(^\text{147}\) in comparison to the writing on more ancient monuments, he found it to be "mauvaise" and "barbare," concluding that it must be a type of "l'écriture secrète."\(^\text{148}\) This opinion held sway among subsequent scholars, such as Rougé, who in 1867 remarked that the graphical plays of uncommon signs and new phonetic values were "véritables énigmes," intentionally unintelligible to the ordinary reader.\(^\text{149}\) Brugsch also considered it to be "secret writing," but noted that many of its signs carried values that could be traced to the Ramesside Era.\(^\text{150}\) In 1889, Loret suggested that the Graeco-Roman hieroglyphs became so increasingly complicated that eventually they were indecipherable even for the Egyptians themselves.\(^\text{151}\) This limiting attitude discouraged the search for system within the complexity; it has persisted despite later advances in our knowledge of Ptolemaic writing.\(^\text{152}\)

Although Lepsius corrected and expanded Champollion's system of interpreting the hieroglyphs,\(^\text{153}\) it was only with the publication of a vast quantity of Ptolemaic texts during the latter half of the 19th century that scholars began to have the resources necessary to carry out a more thorough examination of the laws governing the writing, particularly that of Ptolemaic inscriptions.\(^\text{154}\) Exploiting this new source material, Junker initiated the scientific study of the

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\(^{147}\) See Parkinson, Cracking Codes, 12-45.

\(^{148}\) Champollion, Grammaire, 1836, 535.

\(^{149}\) Rougé, Chrestomathie I, 1867, §112, p. 144.

\(^{150}\) Brugsch, Grammaire, 1872, 114-132. The purpose of the playful Ramesside-Era "cryptographic" writings were not for concealment but to gain attention, and perhaps admiration, for their ingenuity, since parallel texts in "plain writing" usually appeared together with them. Darnell, Solar-Isirian Unity, 3-4, states that the "increases in the numbers of signs and values resulted directly from the incorporation into the normal hieroglyphic sign list of sign values derived through principles earlier applied most freely in cryptography." However, certain signs that became cryptographic in the hieroglyphs did not become so in the hieratic; the use of cryptographic signs vs. normal signs depended on genre and decorum, as noted by Prof. Jacco Dieleman, February 26, 2008, private conversation. Thus, if the cryptographic choice was not available in the hieratic and the scribe chose to employ it in the hieroglyphs, there was a conscious decision to do something with it. See also Baines, Decorum, 7-21.

\(^{151}\) Loret, Manuel, 1889, 19.

\(^{152}\) Erman, Religion, 368, referring to Ptolemaic temple inscriptions, states that in place of the ancient hieroglyphs, the priests put a new type of writing, "which was so arbitrary that it was readable only for initiates." Remarkably, this idea persists even today, as shown by Kurth, Treffpunkt, 13-14, who discourages the reading of the inscriptions of Edfu, "Denn ein äußerst eigenwilliges Schriftsystem macht die Texte schwer zugänglich."

\(^{153}\) Parkinson, Cracking Codes, 42, notes that Lepsius established the existence of bi- and tri-consonantal signs, as opposed to a system consisting of a multitude of alphabetic signs. Champollion's *Grammaire égyptienne* was published posthumously in 1836[-1841].

\(^{154}\) These early publications include Dümichen, Tempelinschriften, 1867; idem, Baugeschichte Denderatempsels, 1877; Naville, Mythe d'Horus, 1870; von Bergmann, Inschriften, 1879, de Rougé, Edfou, 1880; Mariette, Dendérah, Vol. 1-5, 1870-1874; Rochemontez, Edfou, Fasc. 1, 1897. The earlier publications were an eclectic mixture of material from diverse sources, assembled according to the interest and whim of the scholar. In 1894, Rochemontez, Oeuvres diverses, 1-38, observed that each temple, being a unified whole representing the cosmos, required its own publication; the layout of his first volume of Edfu encouraged other scholars to integrate texts, reliefs, and architectural plans in their publications (e.g. Bénédict, Philae). Together with the IFAO, Chassinat created a
writing system at Dendera with his 32-paged, hand-written doctoral thesis, defended in 1903. He judged that the writing, especially in the bandeaux, was "decorative," rather than purposely cryptic, noting that parallel texts elsewhere in the temple expressed the same things in "normal" writing. He rightfully asked, "Welchen Zweck hätte es vollends gehabt, in den Crypten, in die kein Unberufen einendringen durfte, Texte, dazu ganz belanglosen Inhaltes, also zu verschleiern?" He noted the abundance of signs carrying alphabetic values, derived metaphorically; he observed that graphic peculiarities, rather than being "sinnlose Spielerei," were an expressive medium for visually conveying additional meaning.

A few years later, Junker followed up these preliminary observations with a comprehensive investigation of the texts at Dendera, resulting in the only grammar of Ptolemaic writing until Kurth's publication in 2008.

The next great leap in our understanding of the Ptolemaic writing system came several decades later in the work of Fairman, who made a systematic study of the phonetic values of
signs in the texts at Edfu. By careful analysis of their means of derivation, he showed that the writing system, rather than being "willkürlich," has a logical foundation, employing the same procedures that had always governed the use and selection of hieroglyphic signs. Fairman stressed that the major difference between Ptolemaic Egyptian writing and the writing of earlier stages of the language was its greater number of signs and its archaistic tendencies, which revived processes no longer used in classical Egyptian. The result was a system that foregrounded three characteristics reflecting the earliest stages of hieroglyphic writing: its origin in pictures (leading to the increased use of ideograms); its consonantal nature; the use of rebus or puns to form signs and their values. Fairman's classifications and explanations of phonetic derivations, accompanied by numerous examples, were the first step in providing the necessary philological tools for deciphering unusual signs and understanding the principles behind their creation.

Almost a decade later, Gutbub explored Junker's earlier suggestion that groupings of signs can add meaning beyond phonetic information, presenting an important study of graphical plays in the texts of Edfu and Dendera, which he labeled "jeux de signes." He showed that just as word play can bring together similar-sounding words, sign play can also unite the signs used to write the words. Although a frequent phenomenon of Ptolemaic temple texts, this technique had not yet been investigated. Gutbub's analysis of sets of signs, grouped typologically, revealed a wealth of visual strategies employed by the scribes. Some of these devices are well known, such as the strings of ideograms in the decorative bandeaux of the temple walls. Others, such as the "attraction" to a sign influencing the choice of a phonogram or determinative in nearby word, are more obscure. Many of these techniques involve types of visual repetition, recalling the alliterative aspect of word play, discussed in the previous chapter. All of these factors led Gutbub to stress that sign play is a true stylistic process that is comparable to figurative expressions and thus cannot be neglected in the interpretation of a text.

Fairman, Alphabetic Signs, 1943; idem, Ptolemaic Signs, 1945. As noted in idem, Alphabetic Signs, 194-195, Fairman limited his examples to E III-VII due to the poor accuracy of the first two volumes and the scribal "corruptions" of E VIII. Cauville and Devauchelle published a corrected edition of E I-II in 1984-1990; Kurth published E VII and VIII in 2004 and 1998, respectively.

Erman, Religion, 368, notes that although the walls of the Ptolemaic temples were filled with inscriptions containing sacred knowledge, the priests did not fear that these great secrets would be read by laymen, "denn sie hatten an die Stelle der alten Hieroglyphen eine neue Art gesetzt, die sich so willkürlich handhaben liess, dass sie nur für Eingeweihte lesbar war."

Many of these signs and values first appear in the NK, when such principles had been freely applied to create "cryptographic" texts, as noted by Darnell, Solar-Osirian Unity, 4. These came into the "repertoire" of values from which a temple scribe could choose when writing a particular phrase, the polyvalency of the values facilitating the creation of aural and visual puns. Drioton, Acrophonique, 339-340, who specialized in Egyptian cryptography of various eras, maintains that the values in Ptolemaic writing are fossilized cryptography from earlier eras, which was incorporated into normal writing. Sauneron, L'écriture ptolemaïque, 55, disagrees, citing the fact that Ptolemaic writing continued to develop and diversify itself throughout its five centuries of use, with various schools in each temple having individual peculiarities in the choices of signs and their values. Fairman, Ptolemaic Signs, 55, sees the development of Ptolemaic as a logical continuation of a manner of writing that became increasingly common in the Late Period, rather than a prefabricated type of writing with loans from more ancient lists of cryptographic values. This evaluation agrees with that of Sauneron.

Attraction is discussed in 3.5.

Gutbub, Jeux de signes, 1953.

Gutbub, Jeux de signes, 99-100.
Since Gutbub, the most important contribution to our understanding of Graeco-Roman orthography has been Sauneron's study of the litanies at Esna, published posthumously in 1982.\textsuperscript{170} He agreed with Fairman that the writing was the renewal and enrichment of an ancient graphical system, whose increase in the numbers of signs and their polyvalency encouraged the creation of orthographic puns; he demonstrated this tendency by a list of divine names in which the spellings correlate with ideas expressed in the epithets.\textsuperscript{171} He noted some interesting features at Esna, such as the "perturbation" of signs,\textsuperscript{172} the existence of "parasite" signs,\textsuperscript{173} and the use of group writing, recalling a similar technique in Demotic.\textsuperscript{174} He also showed that Esna's writing exhibits an increase in the use of alphabetic signs, compound signs, and the insertion of one sign within another, similar to Dendera's texts. In the context of the present study, Sauneron's research was informative in showing the individuality of scribal practices from temple to temple (Esna's texts displaying some visual techniques not present at Dendera), as well as the continuing development of the system.\textsuperscript{175}

Since Sauneron's publication, only a handful of scholars have continued the exploration of visual techniques in Ptolemaic writing. The most useful for the present study has been Kurth's much-needed update and expansion of Fairman's derivation principles for assigning sign values.\textsuperscript{176} Other studies include those of Felber,\textsuperscript{177} Derchain-Urtel,\textsuperscript{178} Cauville,\textsuperscript{179} Morenz,\textsuperscript{180} and Preys.\textsuperscript{181} Except for Sauneron's study of the litanies at Esna,\textsuperscript{182} the usual practice is to select individual examples in order to illustrate a particular technique, thus separating them from their context. In the case of temple texts, which function in relation to their architectural placement on a wall, the scene in which they are found, and the scene's symmetrical partner, this lack of context can obscure much of the function and meaning of the expression. These factors motivated me to make a comprehensive analysis of sign play in a unified architectural unit such

\begin{itemize}
  \item Sauneron, L'écriture figurative.
  \item Sauneron, L'écriture figurative, list of epithets: 59-79; discussion: 56-58.
  \item Placement in a different order than usual for the signs spelling a word. See Sauneron, L'écriture figurative, 87-88.
  \item Inclusion of phonetic complements of bi- and tri-literals, which are not part of the writing of the word. See Sauneron, L'écriture figurative, 89-90.
  \item Inclusion of the phonetic complement and determinative of a word, whose cryptographic value is only a simple alphabetic or bi-literal value. In Demotic, some words are reproduced by means of a ligature that may include unnecessary phonetic complements or determinatives. See Sauneron, L'écriture figurative, 96-98; Pestman, Jeux de déterminatifs, 1973; Zauzich, Schreibungen, 1987.
  \item Esna's texts were composed around 100 years after Dendera's.
  \item Kurth, Lautwerte, 1983; plus its supplement, idem, Lautwerte Nachtrag, 1988. Kurth updates Fairman's list by including the acrophonic principle, a concept that was the focus of an acrimonious debate between Fairman and Drioton during the 1940's. Drioton insisted that Ptolemaic signs acquired their values by means of the acrophonic principle (by which the sign retains the first consonant only, whether strong or weak); Fairman dismissed Drioton's claim, insisting that only the consonantal principle (by which the semi-vowels ñ, ñ, ñ, and final r and t fall away, leaving only the strong consonant) was involved. Sauneron's work with Esna's texts proved that both principles exist. For the debate, see Fairman, Ptolemaic Signs, 51-54; 133-137; Drioton, Procédé acrophonique, 319-349. Kurth, Lautwerte, 307, also discusses the purpose behind the development of the complex Ptolemaic writing, suggesting that the scribes wanted the signs to carry meaning, in addition to the phonetic and syntactic information.
  \item Derchain-Urtel, Schriftspiel, 1974, and idem, Schrift und Spiel, 1978, concerning sign plays at Esna; idem, Epigraphische Untersuchungen, 1999, which compares the hieroglyphs on GR stelae from Akhmim.
  \item Cauville, Exigence décorative, 2002.
  \item Morenz, Sinn und Spiel, 2008, and idem, Visuelle Poesie, concentrate mostly on pre-Ptolemaic cryptographic inscriptions.
  \item Preys, Jeu de signes, 2009.
  \item Sauneron, L'écriture figurative, 56-79.
\end{itemize}
as the Per-wer Sanctuary, in order to gain a fuller understanding of the function and purpose of this visual scribal technique in the Ptolemaic temple texts.

3.0.2 Methodology

For the study of sign play in the Per-wer, I employed a methodology similar to the one used in the analysis of word play. Utilizing the texts and photographs in the publications by Chassinat\(^{183}\) and Cauville,\(^{184}\) and selecting the classifications of Gutbub\(^{185}\) that corresponded with devices observed at Dendera, I proceeded to identify and classify every example of sign play in the Per-wer, creating a database organized according to typology. Next, I correlated the ways in which individual examples of sign play related to the scenes in which they were found. Of the 80 scenes and text groups in the Per-wer, 76\% (i.e. 61 scenes) contained sign play. In those 61 scenes, I found 254 individual examples, each of which either emphasized a key phrase related to the offering, or elaborated on a pertinent characteristic of one of the divine or human actors. Furthermore, unless it elaborated on a concept directly related to the scene, sign play was usually not employed (even if it could have been easily inserted), suggesting that its use was intentional rather than \textit{ad hoc}. The categories into which I divided the various types of sign play do not represent classifications from ancient Egypt itself. Nevertheless, as with the word plays, I found that classifying the various visual phenomena allowed a fuller appreciation of the sophisticated scribal techniques used in the ancient texts. We will now look at some representative examples from the most interesting and frequently-used categories of sign plays that I studied at Dendera.\(^{186}\)

3.1 Visual Emphasis by Ideograms

As noted earlier, one of the characteristics of Ptolemaic writing is the enormous increase in the number of ideograms (signs signifying the object depicted). It is therefore not surprising that 62\% (157) of the sign plays in the Per-wer are formed with ideograms.\(^{187}\) More than half of the examples in this category occur in the bandeaux of the frieze and the base, above and below the ritual scenes (Fig. 3.3), as well as in cryptographic texts in the Southern Niche.

\(^{183}\) Chassinat, D III.
\(^{184}\) Cauville, Dend Trad III.
\(^{185}\) Gutbub, Jeux de signes.
\(^{186}\) Examples of sign play are designated in the transliterations and translations by blue font.
\(^{187}\) This number includes rebus/visual puns (115) and reversals (42); there is, however, some overlap between these two subcategories, because many of the examples of rebus/visual puns also appear as reversals, especially in the bandeaux.
Fig. 3.3. Decoration of a typical wall in the Per-wer, highlighting the bandeaux above and below the ritual scenes in the middle; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

3.1.1 Rebus and Visual Puns

The signs in the bandeaux, like those in the example below (Fig. 3.4), are about twice as large as those in the inscriptions accompanying the ritual scenes. Therefore, they make a substantial visual impression in the context of the overall wall decoration. Many of the ideograms, newly created during the Ptolemaic Period, signify various manifestations or epithets of the gods, at the root of which often lies some type of pun or rebus—the writing of a word with a picture of something having the same sound. Ideograms in this way account for 29% (115) of the 157 examples in our category of visual emphasis by ideograms.

Fig. 3.4. Portion of the Bandeau of the Frieze, North Wall, Per-wer Sanctuary; D III, pl. 184, © IFAO

For example, in the bandeau of the frieze in the Southern Niche (Fig. 3.5) are Hathor’s name and two of her most common epithets at Dendera:
The first sign, a seated woman with Hathor’s horns-and-disk headdress, is a direct representation of the goddess, so it reads as "Hathor." The second sign, the cow-headed cobra, is a visual pun on two of her forms: as a cow, or as the uraeus on the brow of the sun god. The composite of these two forms playfully represents nb.t Twn.t, "Lady of Dendera." Finally, the last sign, a seated figure of Ra holding the udjat eye, is a composite ideogram for Ir.t-Ra, "Eye of Ra," Hathor’s role as the daughter of the sun god. The three signs form a kind of hieroglyphic shorthand, succinctly conveying aspects of the goddess on both visual and aural levels. Long lines of such ideograms form epithet strings of the major deities at Dendera. The figures stand out from the rest of the text, calling attention to the importance of the gods, while maximizing the visual effect. Such strings of ideograms in the Late Period and Graeco-Roman temples led to the mistaken idea—beginning with the ancient Greeks and lasting more or less until their final decipherment by Champollion in the 19th century—that hieroglyphs were purely symbolic and metaphorical. An interesting example with another one of Hathor's frequent epithets, hnw.t ntr.w nb.w, "Mistress of all the gods" (D III, 61,4), appears in the bandeau of the frieze on the south wall of the Per-wer (Fig. 3.6).

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188 Fairman, Ptolemaic Signs, 100. See also Junker, Textentlehnung, 127-128.
189 Iversen, Hieroglyphs, 136-147.
190 Iversen, Hieroglyphs, 43-44.
The seated woman holding a papyrus scepter wears \(\Box\) (W10), a \(hn.t\)-cup, on her head, thus allowing the sign to represent \(hnw.t\), "mistress," by rebus.\(^{192}\) The cow with the star between its horns is a composite ideogram, the cow carrying the phonetic value, \(nb\), and the star as the ideogram for \(ntr\), "god." By placing the star between the horns of the cow, the scribe not only alludes to Hathor's celestial qualities, but also to the Predynastic slate palette that prefigures the goddess Hathor of the historical period (Fig. 3.7). The writing of this epithet with the simpler, more straightforward signs of classical Egyptian does occur in the Per-wer,\(^{193}\) but not in the bandeaux, where there is a preference for the multi-layered decorative writing using strings of ideograms.\(^{194}\)

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\(^{191}\) Illustration by Rachel Domn of Predynastic slate palette from Gerzeh tomb 59, now in the Cairo Museum 34173. See Petrie, Palettes, pl. B5; Midant-Reynes, Prehistory, 193; fig. 10c.

\(^{192}\) Fairman, Alphabetic Signs, 213 and 290.

\(^{193}\) The writing of \(hnw.t\), "mistress," with the \(h\)-twisted-wick, \(hn.t\)-cup, and \(t\)-loaf first appears in the MK; with the \(hn.t\)-cup alone as its ideogram, in the LP; with the seated woman wearing the \(hn.t\)-cup on her head, in the GR. See Wb III, 107.

\(^{194}\) The writing of \(ntr.w\ \ nb.w\) with the simpler signs of classical Egyptian, \(\Box\Box\Box\), appears in two scenes in the Per-wer: 1\(^{st}\) register, east side, north wall (D III, 63,17); 1\(^{st}\) register, 1\(^{st}\) scene, east wall (D III, 65,1). Written with the same signs, but with the repetition of three \(ntr\)-signs or three \(nb\)-baskets for the archaic plural: 2\(^{nd}\) register, 3\(^{rd}\) scene, east wall (D III, 70,16); 2\(^{nd}\) register, east side, south wall (D III, 71,9); 2\(^{nd}\) register, 3\(^{rd}\) scene, west wall (D III, 78,9); \(nb.w\) with three \(nb\)-baskets: east side of the base of the south wall (D III, 62,12). In these scenes, the scribal focus is on the action or offering of the King, or the characteristics of the King or goddess related to the offering or action.
3.1.2 Reversals

One of the simplest, and oldest, visual techniques involving ideograms is the reversal, in which the direction of a sign or group of signs is changed from the usual direction in which it is read.\textsuperscript{195} This type of visual technique occurs in 27\% (42) of the 157 examples in the category of visual emphasis by ideograms. Fischer observes that reversals, which appear as early as the Early Dynastic Period, are "an ever-potential and recurrently exploited aspect" of the hieroglyphic script, reflecting the complementary relationship between texts and ideographic representations.\textsuperscript{196} In the Per-wer, the most frequent type of reversal is what Fischer calls the "concordant reversal," in which the signs writing the name of a divinity, or a subject or object of an offering or action, are reversed from the normal direction of reading.\textsuperscript{197} Although these reversals are linked to the direction of an action, this direction is sometimes only implied.

Reversals are most evident on the east and west sides of the Per-wer in the two continuous lines of text in the bandeaux, which are united at the center of the south wall by a single ankh-sign serving as the first word of each text (Fig. 3.8). From this center point, the two lines proceed in opposite directions around the walls of the sanctuary. The bandeaux give a summary of the chapel's function, welcoming the goddess to her sanctuary; the signs of her name and epithets are reversed from the general direction of the rest of the inscription, causing them to face out and away from the Southern Niche. The reasoning behind this orientation is that for the deity, the shrine in the sanctuary is the threshold between heaven and earth.\textsuperscript{198} When the King, acting as doorkeeper, opens the doors of the naos, he admits the goddess, who comes from the divine realm, crosses the threshold, and enters her earthly abode.\textsuperscript{199} The hieroglyphs of Hathor's name, which embody the goddess, similarly enter the sanctuary from the central point of the niche and are thus depicted facing away from it in the inscriptions.

\textsuperscript{195} Signs representing persons or animals face the beginning of the inscription in which they occur; the normal rule is to read "into" the signs. The signs in the bandeaux of the south wall therefore generally face towards the central niche, because the symmetrical inscriptions in which they appear are read beginning at this central point. See Fischer, Hieroglyphen, 1192-1993; idem, Reversals, §§89-12-13; GG, §16.
\textsuperscript{196} Fischer, Reversals, 134-135.
\textsuperscript{197} Fischer, Reversals, 63-111.
\textsuperscript{198} The text in the scene of pulling open the door bolt of the naos, in the 1\textsuperscript{st} register of the west wall of the Per-wer, refers to the doors of the naos as "\textit{nw nnt}, "the door-leaves of heaven" (D III, 76,8).
\textsuperscript{199} Doors in ancient Egypt are usually constructed with horizontal battens on the inner sides. However, on the surviving examples of naos doors, these horizontal battens on the doors face into the temple rather than into the shrine's interior. Therefore, instead of being the "front door," the doors of the naos are the "back door" of the temple, through which the deity enters to come into his or her house on earth. See Robins, Cult Statues, 7-8; Fischer, Doors, 98.
Fig. 3.8. Layout of the Bandeau of the Frieze, East and West Sides. (A similar layout exists for the Bandeau of the Base. See 7.2). Hieroglyphs face the same direction as the arrows.

Fig. 3.9. South Wall, Per-wer Sanctuary; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

"nh ntr nfr s3 H.t-hr iw5 mnH n Bhd.tv
"The Good God lives, son of Hathor, excellent heir of Behdety" (D III, 61,3).
(Read from right to left)
Reversals of Hathor's name also occur in the epithets of the King, as shown in an example on the east side of the bandeau of the frieze on the south wall (Fig. 3.9). The ideogram of her name, (O10), a falcon within a temple enclosure, visually representing H.t-hr, "House of Horus," faces away from the central naos, unlike the rest of the signs of the King's epithets, which face towards it. This visual confrontation between Hathor's ideogram and the signs pertaining to the King's epithets thus replicates on a micro-level the respective orientations of the goddess and the King as he approaches her divine image in her shrine.

Another type of "concordant reversal" occurs in the phrase, dw3 ntr, "adoring the god," the title of each of the two symmetrical adoration scenes on the outer entrance of the Per-wer, in which the King and the Ogdoad of Hermopolis pay homage to Hathor, seated on a throne (Fig. 3.10).

The reversal of the ntr-flag, the ideogram for "god," forms a miniature tableau in which the man faces the divine flag, his arms raised in praise of the deity that it represents. The star (functioning as the ideogram for dw3, "adore") subtly recalls the celestial nature of his object of worship. The arrangement thus forms a visual representation of the action that it conveys linguistically; in the present context, it replicates the actions of the King, as well as those of each member of the Ogdoad, as they raise their hands in adoration before the goddess. Interestingly, although there are three other adoration scenes in the Per-wer with this same phrase in their

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200 The sign of the baboon, his arms raised in adoration, is a playful Ptolemaic writing of nfr. See Wb II, 253.
201 The sign of the Horus-falcon (Hr) within a temple enclosure (h.t) is the most frequent spelling of Hathor's name; it is also a rebus, since H.t-hr literally means, "House (or Temple) of Horus."
202 In the phrase s3 H.t-hr, "son of Hathor," there is honorific transposition of the name of the goddess, so in the reversed unit of s3 H.t-hr, the sign for H.t-hr is placed before i, which writes s3, "son."
203 ntr appears before the infinitive, dw3, "adoring," due to honorific transposition. See GG §57.
titles, the two examples in the Ogdoad scene are the only ones in which the ntr-flag is reversed. Due to the importance of these scenes, which we will discuss further in 5.2.1, the scribe may have wished to emphasize the adoration of the goddess by this visual play of signs.

### 3.2 Visual Emphasis by Arrangement of Signs

Besides ideograms, the arrangement of signs can also create emphasis and add layers of meaning to texts. Such arrangements include the symmetrical grouping of the signs in two or more words, and the alternation of similarly-shaped signs, the latter called "graphical opposition" by Gutbub. Although this category makes up only 11% (28) of the 254 sign plays in the Per-\-wer, it is a visually striking technique. The patterning effect, which allows the group of words to stand out from the rest of the text in a line or column, is like the hieroglyphic equivalent of a bold font.

#### 3.2.1 Symmetrical Arrangement of Signs in Two or More Words

The symmetrical grouping of signs occurs in 29% (8) of the 28 examples of visual emphasis by the arrangement of signs. An example of this symmetrical grouping of signs occurs on the west wall of the Per-\-wer, in a scene from the daily temple rite in which the king approaches the naos containing Hathor’s statue and opens its doors. In the Royal Randzeile, the column of text behind the king (Fig. 3.11), he is equated with Thoth.

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204 The two symmetrical scenes in the 2nd register of the north wall (D III, 68,11; 80,4); the 3rd scene of the 1st register of the west wall (D III, 77,11).

205 The reversal of the ntr-sign in dwi-ntr came into vogue in the NK, probably evolving in the context of adoration scenes. See Fischer, Reversals, 13; §33a. The use of concordant reversals is far more frequent at Edfu (e.g. E IV, 18), where it often presents a mini-tableaux of signs in which one figure presents an offering or performs an act while facing the other figure, thus visually expressing the meaning of the text. See Gutbub, Jeux de signes, 70.

206 Gutbub, Jeux de signes, 73. When possible, the signs in a single word are also often grouped symmetrically. The three most striking examples in the Per-\-wer are $\text{nhwy}$, "door leaves" (D III, 57,7); $\text{wp}, \text{wby}$, "udjat-eyes" (D III, 84,2; 86,4; 97,13); $\text{hp}$, "extreme limits" (D III, 48,14); $\text{hn}$, "span of time" (D III, 62,6); $\text{p}$, "shine, illuminate" (D III, 46,10). The symmetrical writing of $\text{nhwy}$ and $\text{wp}$ are standard at Dendera, but $\text{hp}$ is a hapax legomenon, usually appearing with different signs. Although $\text{p}$ occurs four times in the Per-\-wer, it is written symmetrically only once (D III, 46,10), perhaps to emphasize Hathor’s shining quality in that particular sentence. Because the symmetrical arrangement of signs in a word is such a common technique (with many other potential examples), it is not included in the table or statistics of sign plays in this study.
Iunet being the name of Dendera as the southern, feminine counterpart of Heliopolis. The arrangement of the signs in these words creates “a picture within a picture,” visually representing the naos itself, with the signs of the door framing the two faces within. As the doors are opened, the “two faces” are revealed. In fact, the title of the scene, wn hr, literally means “to open (or reveal) the face” (D III, 77, 2). Grdseloff\textsuperscript{207} suggests that this Ptolemaic writing of Iunet probably arose from a rebus on the idea of Hathor as a sistrum with two faces (Fig. 3.12), which is actually the central image in the Southern Niche (Fig. 3.13). Thus, our visually symmetrical phrase not only emphasizes the main act of the scene—the unbolting of the doors of the naos—but also alludes to Hathor’s manifestation as a sistrum, the image in the Southern Niche, the holiest part of the sanctuary.

Another example of the symmetrical arrangement of signs, this time involving three words, occurs in the same scene, again in the Royal Randzeile, just below the previous example (Fig. 3.14). The text continues the description of the King,

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\textsuperscript{207} Fairman, Alphabetic Signs, 252 and n. 2.  
\textsuperscript{208} Egyptian Late Period Saite (Dynasty 26, ca. 664-525 BCE) ritual rattle, made of glassy faience; RISDM No. 1995.050. Photography by Erik Gould, courtesy of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI. See also Friedman, Gifts of the Nile, Nr. 91; 215-217.
At the top, the grouping of \textit{wp}-horns and the \textit{p}-stool\textsuperscript{209} recalls Hathor's horns-and-disk headdress. It floats above three door-signs—the lower two forming the shape of a shrine with double doors—thus labeling it as hers. The whole arrangement stands above the signs writing \textit{nn.t=s}, "her heaven," bringing to mind the idea that Hathor's shrine is in heaven, the world of the divine. The balanced arrangement of signs is therefore not only visually striking, but also presents a multi-layered schematic of the naos, whose doors the King opens as part of the daily ritual.

As a final example of this technique, we turn to a noteworthy example of symmetry with six elements, located in the 1\textsuperscript{st} register of the east wall (Fig. 3.15). The King sees Hathor, while Ma'at approaches the goddess and pays homage to her. The text notes that the King performs the daily ritual for the goddess as the heir of \textit{m-t'A.wy}, "He who knows the Two Lands" (D III, 66,12), the All-knowing Thoth.

\textit{cq m htp pr m hntsš}  
"who enters in peace, who exits in joy"  
(D III, 66,13)

In Chassinat's publication, the signs are in a line, although the second sign of the snake exiting a shelter is incorrect and should be reversed. However, the actual arrangement is in a column; both shelters face towards the right, clearly revealing the contrasting directions of the snakes. The playful Ptolemaic writing of \textit{cq} and \textit{pr}, "enter" and "exit," with the entering and exiting serpents thus alternates between left and right. There is also symmetry around the central

\textit{wp \textit{f3.wy nn.t=s}}  
who opens the door-leaves of her heaven  
(D III, 77,5).

\footnote{\textsuperscript{209} The \textit{p}-stool functions as the phonetic complement of \textit{wp}.}
htp-sign, framed above and below by the opposition present in the pairs consisting of the snake/shelter and the horizontal-\( m \), which itself is the mirror image of the shelter's shape. The horizontal shape of each sign lends visual unity to the expression while foregrounding the subtle differences in each animal's direction of movement. It is interesting that the final sign, the horse head, faces the same direction as the snake exiting the shelter, thus visually implying a connection between leaving the shrine and being in a state of \( hnt\( \,^s \), "joy." The ancient scribe thus exploited the parallelism to create a multi-layered visual expression emphasizing the King's movement into and out of the sanctuary. He enters in peace, performing the rituals that will please and pacify the goddess; in return, she bestows blessings upon the King and his people. As he leaves her presence, he is thus filled with joy—a gift from Hathor, who is herself \( nb.t \ hnt\( \,^s \), "Lady of Joy."\(^{210}\)

3.2.2 Graphical Opposition

In addition to symmetry, visual emphasis can also be created by the alternation of similarly-shaped signs or sign-groups, the technique of "graphical opposition." This technique appears in 71% (20) of the 28 examples of visual emphasis by arrangement of signs. When used in phrases without repeated words spelled the same way, this arrangement of signs suggests that the scribes made a deliberate choice to employ it. An example occurs in the 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) register of the east wall, in an offering of two sistra by the king to Hathor (Fig. 3.16). Her son, the child god Ihy, also “makes music” for her with his sistrum. Referring to the king, the text states,

\[
\text{sSS.t m wnmy} = i \quad \text{shm m i3by} = i
\]

"the sSS.t- sistrum is in my right (hand), the shm-sistrum is in my (left) hand" (D III, 70,7),

![Fig. 3.16. 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) Scene, 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) Register, East Wall; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO](image)

a precise description of the king in the scene, who shakes the sistra to "pacify the heart" of the goddess with "what she loves." The ancient scribe exploited the parallelism in the phrasing to create graphical opposition by means of repeated groups with similarly shaped signs, consisting of two sets of sign-pairs: one with the sistrum and tall \( m \)-sign; the other with the signs for right or left, plus the seated man (the ideogram for the possessive pronoun, "my"). Therefore, the graphical opposition of the mostly figurative, similarly-shaped signs, arrests the gaze of the

\(^{210}\) As \( nb.t \ hnt\( \,^s \), "Lady of Joy": Hathor (D II, 70,11; 186,15); Isis (D II, 88,16; 226,3).
viewer and emphasizes the description of the king’s action in the scene. Furthermore, because the signs for "right" and "left" can also mean "west" and "east," there is also the implication that the sound of the sistra, and therefore the pacification of the goddess, extends to those cardinal directions as well (west, where the sun sets and the realm of the dead; east, where it rises and the realm of the living). Thus, his actions would affect both the human and divine worlds, both of which are the domains of the goddess Hathor.

3.3 Emphasis by Visual Alliteration

The stylistic technique of alliteration, in which a consonant or consonant-cluster is repeated, plays an important role in word play, as we saw in the previous chapter. Because hieroglyphic writing is a visual script, it can create visual alliteration by the repetition of a sign. Just as aural alliteration can emphasize key words and phrases, highlight a pun, or simply create a pleasant pattern of sound, visual alliteration can also call attention to a particular word or phrase and create a visual pattern. In the Per-her, visual alliteration makes up 26% (60) of the 254 sign plays. In the following sections, we will look at examples from each of the three types of visual alliteration that I found in the Per-her: repetition of the same sign; repetition of signs having the same shape (e.g. horizontal signs; tall signs); repetition of the same sign-type (e.g. animals, musical instruments, man rejoicing, etc.). These repetitions suggest a deliberate choice by the scribe when the following two factors are present: the words could have been easily written without the repetitions of the signs; the resulting visual play carries a mythological or thematic allusion that makes sense in the context of the expression.

3.3.1 Repetition of Same Sign

An effective technique of visual emphasis is the repetition of the same sign in two different words. This type of repetition occurs in 43% (26) of the 60 examples of visual alliteration. A good example occurs in a wine-offering scene in the lintel of the north wall of the Per-her (Fig. 3.17).

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211 The correspondence of the two cardinal directions, west and east, to “right” and “left,” is understandable if one imagines oneself on a boat on the Nile, looking upstream. Then, west would be on the right, and east on the left.
214 These 60 examples include 26 examples of repetition of the same sign; 6 examples of repetition of similar-shaped signs; 28 examples of repetition of signs of similar type.
215 In my survey of sign plays, I did not count the repetition of a sign as sign play if it occurs merely due to the repetition of the same word, because I was looking for examples that show a deliberate choice by the scribe to create visual repetition where it would otherwise not occur.
In the title of the scene, $hnk ~ irp ~ n ~ mw.t=f$, "Offering wine to his mother," the sign of the arm holding the $nw$-jar, $\text{(hand holding jar)}$ (D39), is repeated twice: first as the ideogram for $hnk$, "offer," and then in the Ptolemaic spelling of the word $mw.t$, "mother."$^{216}$ The more traditional writing of $mw.t$ with the vulture sign is still frequently used at Dendera, so the scribe made a deliberate choice to spell it here with the arm holding the jar. This "visual alliteration" of the repeated sign arrests the attention of the viewer, especially since it also creates a clever visual pun. In addition, the repetition of this particular sign also emphasizes the act of offering a bowl of liquid, thus perfectly fitting the context of the scene, in which the king offers jugs of wine to his mother—in this case, Isis.

### 3.3.2 Repetition of Signs of Similar Shape

Another type of repetition creates a striking visual affect by the patterning of similarly-shaped signs (Fig. 3.18), appearing in 10% (6) of the 60 examples of visual alliteration. An example appears in the sistra offering on the east wall (seen earlier in the example of graphical opposition), in which the King describes his actions in praise of the goddess, stating,

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$^{216}$ Note that the repetition of the arm with the $nw$-jar often appears in the title of an offering scene beginning with the verb $hnk$, "offering," because $hnk$ can be written with this sign; at Dendera, Hathor-Isis is often called the mother of the King. Other examples in the Per-woer with this repetition include an offering of cloth in the 2nd register, east side of the south wall: $hnk ~ mnk.t ~ n ~ mw.t=f ~ wsr.t$, "Offering cloth to his mother, the Powerful One" (D III, 71,3); an offering of the udjat in the 2nd register, west wall of the Southern Niche: $hnk=i ~ wdt.t ~ n ~ mw.t=f ~ wsr.t$, "I offer the udjat to his mother, the Powerful One" (D III, 97,13).
The phrase, \textit{m-\textit{phr} t\textit{\textbeta}.\textit{wy}}, "(all) around the Two Lands," is written entirely with horizontal signs. The decision to use these signs was a deliberate choice by the scribe, because he could have easily chosen to write the preposition, \textit{m}, with the owl, \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{owl.png} (G17), or \textit{phr}, "go around," more traditionally as \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{lion_dagger.png} (D III, 108,1; 124,12; 158,16), or even with \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{scarab.png} (E277) (D VII, 3,5; 26,9),\textsuperscript{217} the composite sign of a lion and a sheath-covered dagger. There are also many other ways in Ptolemaic to write \textit{t\textbeta}.\textit{wy}, "the Two Lands": \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{divinity.png} (S48 and S50) (D III, 54,3); \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{divinity.png} (M13 and M127) (D III, 49,4; 79,6); \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{divinity.png} (L1 and N21, repeated) (D VI, 168,7).\textsuperscript{218} Thus, the scribe's decision to write \textit{m-\textit{phr} t\textit{\textbeta}.\textit{wy}} entirely with horizontal signs allowed the creation of an undulating pattern suggestive of a maze, going around and around, back and forth—a visual alliteration representing the King's progress throughout all of Egypt, giving praise to Hathor everywhere in his realm.

\section*{3.3.3 Repetition of Signs of Similar Type}

The third type of visual alliteration in the Per-\textit{wer} involves the repetition of signs of similar type, such as birds, mammals, leg-signs, men praising, crowns, or musical instruments. This type of repetition occurs in 47\% (28) of the 60 examples of visual alliteration. Like the other types of visual alliteration, repetition of sign-type is visually arresting, drawing the reader's attention to the phrase.

An interesting example appears in the Southern Niche, where each door jamb of its entrance has five lines of text with various epithets of the King's titulary (Fig. 3.19). On the third line of the west jamb is the following epithet:

\textit{sw3\delta= i k3=t m-\textit{phr} t\textit{\textbeta}.\textit{wy}}

"I praise your Ka (all) around the Two Lands" (D III, 70,9),

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{fig3.18.png}
\caption{3rd Scene, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Reg., East Wall; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{217} Fairman, Ptolemaic Signs, 129.
\textsuperscript{218} Wb V, 212,6 – 216,7, places the earliest writing of \textit{t\textbeta}.\textit{wy} with two scarab beetles in the 21\textsuperscript{st} Dynasty, during the reign of Pinedjem I at Medinet Habu. See Lepsius, Denkmäler III, 25 e-g; Text III, 164.
The door jambs have limited space; the strings of epithets use primarily ideograms. The term for the uraeus, $mHny.t$, consistently uses the ideogram of a cobra encircled by its tail, but for Hathor's name, the scribe had a variety of signs from which to choose: a falcon in the temple enclosure, (O10) the seated goddess wearing the horns and disk and holding a papyrus scepter, (C9A), Hathor seated on a throne, (C154), or a uraeus wearing the horns and disk, (I62). He also could have chosen other signs to serve as the ideogram for Ra. The fact that he chose to use the cobra sign with the horns and disk for Hathor, and the sun disk with the uraeus suggests that he wanted to create visual alliteration with signs containing a cobra: (I62); (I71); (N6). Together, these three signs in the King's epithet make a powerful visual statement that Hathor is the uraeus on the brow of the sun god, thus emphasizing this particular manifestation of the goddess.

Another striking example of visual alliteration includes the use of birds and mammals to write the ubiquitous phrase, $nTr.w nb.w$, "all the gods." It appears on the east side of the door

\[mry \, H.t-hr \, mHny.t \, n(t) \, R^c\]
beloved of Hathor, uraeus of Ra (D III, 88,10).

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219 Wb II, 129.3-6; PL 455. The term, $mHny.t$, as uraeus is attested since the NK.
220 D III, 33,14; 45,13; 51,12.
221 D III, 82,1; 95,16; 98,7.
222 D III, 59,11, which can write $nb.t-Iwn.t$, "Lady of Dendera" (D III, 92,7; discussed in 3.1.1) can also write $H.t-hr.$ "Hathor" (D X, 163,9).
223 D III, 51,7; 52,7; 88,3.
jamb of the Per-wer's entrance (Fig. 3.20), in a long string of epithets known as Hathor's "great titulary," which begins, $H.t-hr\ wr.t\ nb.t\ Twn.t\ Tr.t-R^c\ nb.t\ p.t$, ending with

$hnw.t\ ntr.w\ nb.w$
"Mistress of all the Gods"
(D III, 56,8)

As we noted in the section on concordant reversals (3.1.2), the ideograms in her titulary, including those of the gods, face outward, away from the sanctuary. The archaic practice of writing a sign in triplicate to designate the plural is extended here by writing three different birds on standards, each of which write $ntr$, "god" in Ptolemaic, and all three together, the plural, $ntr.w$. A similar practice is again modified by writing three different types of signs: the cow, sphinx, and $nb$-basket, all of which are ideograms for $nb$, "all," to write the plural, $nb.w$. In addition, each of these ideograms carries theological meaning that adds allusions to the epithet of the goddess. The first bird is a falcon, designating Horus; the second is an ibis, representative of Thoth; the third is the benu-bird, which perched on the mound of creation as it rose out of the primeval waters. The cow with horns is, of course, Hathor; the sphinx represents Ra-Horakhty, or perhaps the King in the god's guise. The basket, the oldest representation for the phonogram $nb$, could perhaps allude to offerings, or with the addition of a lozenge painted in the middle, even to the $hb$-basket used to write the word for festivals. This example of visual variety by repetition of sign-type (birds; mammals) thus allows the allusion to a multitude of divine manifestations resident in the temple. As part of Hathor's epithets, they, too, cast their gaze outward, towards the world of humans.
3.4 Sign Play between Parallel Texts

Sign plays occur not only within a phrase of an inscription, but also *between* phrases in symmetrical scenes, or *within* complementary phrases of a single scene. Returning to the outer entrance, where we just saw an example of visual alliteration in Hathor's epithets on the east door jamb (3.3.3), we notice that the parallel phrase of these same epithets on the west jamb reveals a different choice of signs for the same words (Fig. 3.21).

Fig. 3.21. Outer Entrance of Per-wer (e. jamb on left; w. jamb on right); D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

Instead of choosing three different signs for each of the plurals of *ntr*, "god," and *nb*, "all," the scribe chose to write the epithets on the west jamb following the more "usual" archaic practice, repeating the same sign three times to write the plural. However, he still chose not to employ the traditional signs for *ntr*, [R8], or *nb*, [V30], instead choosing the falcon on a standard for the former, thus alluding to Horus, and the cow with horns for the latter, alluding to Hathor. By this simple choice, the scribe thus emphasized the presence of the goddess and her divine consort, as well as setting up visual variety in the parallel phrasing of the door jambs of the outer entrance. Both strings of epithets also face outward, away from the central naos in the rear of the chapel, reflecting the direction of movement by the goddess in entering her chapel.

224 Although noted in Appendix 2 (in examples of this form of sign play occurring between parallel texts), it is not counted as a separate category for statistical purposes. Instead, the two texts that together make up the parallel texts are counted separately, according to the types of sign plays that they contain.
For an example of this technique in complementary phrases within a scene, we turn to the episode of the daily temple ritual in which the King opens the naos of the goddess, where we observed the technique of visual symmetry and saw earlier that the placement of the door signs in the expression, \( wp \ Throw \ 1 \ 1 \) ("who opens the door leaves of heaven," creates a miniature representation of the naos itself (3.2.1). This statement appears on the viewer's right in the Royal Randzeile, as indicated by the red arrow in Fig. 3.21.

![Fig. 3.22. 1st Register, West Wall; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO](image)

In approximately the same place in the Divine Randzeile behind Hathor, on the viewer's left, the text states, \( wp \ Throw \ 1 \ 1 \ = \ 1 \ nb \) ("her rays illuminate the (whole) earth.") The alignment of both statements, almost exactly parallel with each other in their respective Randzeile, and the use of many of the same (or similar-shaped) signs, creates a visual equivalency between the two expressions (Fig. 3.22). This equivalency suggests that the action of the King brings about the action of the goddess: i.e. his \( wp \) ("opening") causes her \( wp \) ("illuminating"). By opening the doors of the naos, the King lets in Hathor's divine light, which illuminates the earth; the determinative of \( wp \), the sun disk surrounded by dots of light, recalls the glistening of "gold dust," as light rays reflect off particles of dust in the air.\(^{225}\)

Comparing the writing of the two phrases (Fig. 3.23), we see that the glittering disk of the sun stands in the place of the naos doors, because they have now been opened by the King, thus revealing her radiance.

![Fig. 3.23. Visual Equivalency of wp and wp](image)

\(^{225}\) This imagery recalls the festival of "spreading the gold dust," attested during the Ptolemaic Period at the Temple of Mut at Karnak. During a procession through the fields, priests would sprinkle gold dust mixed with green \( thn.t \)-powder, in order to guarantee a prosperous harvest. See 5.2.4 and Goyon, Répandre l'or, 85-100.
3.5 Visual Emphasis by Attraction

A more subtle type of repetition is the technique called “attraction.” I find it the most fascinating of all the types of sign play, because it often goes undetected, with scholars simply noting an unusual spelling as a scribal error. However, Gutbub recognized that the spelling of a word can be deformed in order to create this type of visual alliteration. I believe that the key to determining whether it is a scribal error, or a deliberate change in the spelling, lies in whether its use adds meaning that is relevant to the context. Attraction occurs in 6% (15) of the 254 examples of sign play in the Per-wer.

An interesting example occurs on the east side of the lintel on the north wall of the Per-wer. In the Divine Randzeile (Fig. 3.24), Hathor is characterized as

![Image](link)

Fig. 3.24. East Side of Lintel, North Wall of Per-wer; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

The context of the scene is the King's presentation of a mnw-jar of an intoxicating beverage to the goddess, recalling the episode in the myth of the Distant Goddess in which Thoth presents her with a similar drink. The usual writing of the expression, 3w.t-ib, "joy," lit., "widens of heart," is [image], with the ideogram, (F34), for ib, "heart." In the present text, the wine-jar, (W59) is used in its place. Chassinat marks it as an error, with "sic" above the sign. However, the choice of this sign may actually be deliberate, due to attraction with the previous word, th, "drunkenness," determined with the wine-jar. Considering the following statement, wHm.tw nwH n Hm.t=s, "one repeats drunkenness for her Incarnation," the use of the wine-jar as.

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226 e.g. Chassinat, D III, 58,8; Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 134, notes an error with an asterisk next to kfβ.t (D III, 66,6).
227 Gutbub, Jeux de signes, 62-65. It is interesting that Mesopotamian scribes employed a similar technique when creating sophisticated graphical puns in the polyvalent writing system of cuneiform. In his study of a childbirth incantation, Veldhuis, Cow of Sîn, 6;18-19, observes that the interplay of signs and sound can take priority over grammatical accuracy; "even an impossible word or a mistake is, as such, a sign and a bearer of meaning." Therefore, rather than correcting a text by comparison with other versions (to which the ancient scribe would not have had access), Veldhuis prefers to read a questionable passage unaltered, searching for an interpretation that the user of the text would have understood (e.g. a double entendre, sound play, etc.). This approach is also applicable to the texts in the the Per-wer.
228 D III, 58,8.
an ideogram makes sense. It implies that one's heart (i.e. mind) is completely taken over by the effect of the drink. The visual alliteration of the repeated wine jars also calls attention to the passage, particularly since they alternate with the horizontal signs (the pool, the nb-basket, the 3w.t-sign, and the book roll), thus creating graphical opposition. Drunkenness is thus equated with joy in the revelry that would have taken place during the festivities celebrating the return of the Wandering Goddess.

Another excellent example of attraction appears in a scene of "seeing the god," located in the 1st register of the east wall of the Per-wer (Fig. 3.25). The king, having opened the naos, is now face-to-face with the goddess. At the moment of this theophany, the king states that he has perceived her awe-inspiring presence, saying, *sb3k.n=i kf3(.t) n(.t) k3=s*, “I have brightened the dignity of her ka”—the embodiment of the goddess (D III, 66,6-7).

Cauville\(^{229}\) notes the spelling of the word *kf3.t*, “dignity,” with the determinative of the painted eye, as an error (Fig. 3.26). In fact, it is usually written with a ram’s head, a sign used in similar words of honor, like *sfy.t*, meaning “prestige.” However, the previous word, the verb, *sb3k*, “brighten, make clean,” can be written with the painted eye, although it is a less common spelling. The choice to write it with the eye is significant for several reasons.

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\(^{229}\) Dend Trad III, p. 134.
First, by writing \textit{sb\textasciitilde{k}} with the painted eye, an allusion is made to another word written with an eye-sign, the word \textit{b\textasciitilde{k}.t}, meaning “Egypt” (Fig. 3.27). Thus, the “brightening” of Hathor’s ka can be equated with the “brightening” of Egypt itself, i.e. keeping it in good condition—the duty of a good ruler that would certainly please the goddess.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>\textbf{Words Related by Allusion}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{b\textasciitilde{k}.t} Egypt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 3.27. Words related to \textit{sb\textasciitilde{k}} and \textit{kf\textasciitilde{t}} by allusion.

In choosing to write the word \textit{kf\textasciitilde{t}} with the painted eye, the scribe was employing the technique of “attraction” to the spelling of the previous word \textit{sb\textasciitilde{k}}, thus creating visual alliteration that foregrounds this phrase. Also, by employing the \textit{painted eye} sign for both \textit{sb\textasciitilde{k}} and \textit{kf\textasciitilde{t}} the scribe makes an additional allusion to Hathor herself, who is often called, \textit{\textasciitilde{n}.t}, “the beautiful one,” which is most often written with the same sign of the painted eye (Fig. 3.27).

Furthermore, the use of an eye sign in both words is particularly appropriate in this scene, because the main context is the “seeing” of the god. All of these allusions suggest that the use of the painted eye in the word \textit{kf\textasciitilde{t}} was not a scribal error, as scholars have thought, but a deliberate use of sign play to emphasize visually this important phrase and add multiple layers of meaning to the expression.

\section*{3.6 Types and Distribution of Sign Play in the Per-\textit{wer}}

Having defined the major categories of sign play that I studied in the Per-\textit{wer}, we can now take a brief look at their overall use in the sanctuary (Fig. 3.28). As noted earlier, the ideograms (formed with puns, rebus, or by direct representation) make up 57\% (115) of the 254 examples of sign play. Symmetry, and the related technique of opposition, both of which rely on the graphical arrangement of signs, together account for 11\% (28) of the sign plays, whereas repetition of signs, and attraction—the latter actually a subset of repetition—make up 26\% (60) and 6\% (15), respectively. The large percentage of sign play employing repetition is probably due to the fact that in Ptolemaic Egyptian, the scribes enjoyed such an extensive repertoire of signs and spellings from which to choose. Creating visual repetition was therefore simply a matter of choosing the right signs with which to spell a series of words—though not an easy task, with so many signs from which to choose.
Fig. 3.28. Types of Sign Play in the Per-wer Sanctuary

Fig. 3.29. Frequency of Sign Play within a Single Scene.
As shown in the chart in Fig. 3.29, most of the scenes and text groups in the Per-wer had from 1 to 8 examples of sign play—usually some playful ideograms or the repetition of a sign in several adjacent words. Six texts, however, had from 9 to 12 examples. Considering the reputation of the bandeaux for having so many sign plays with ideograms, one would think that they should contain the most examples. A closer look at these six texts gives a more nuanced view.

The table in Fig. 3.30, listing these “Top Six” texts with the most sign plays, shows that the two bandeaux of the frieze (on the east and west sides of the Per-wer) are, indeed, included. However, all of the other texts are located either on the south wall or in the Southern Niche.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Scene</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Sign Plays</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ma’at Offering</td>
<td>S. Niche, of Per-wer, 2nd Register, west side</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma’at Offering</td>
<td>S. Niche of Per-wer, 2nd Register, east side</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandeau of Frieze</td>
<td>Per-wer, East side</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cryptographic</td>
<td>S. Niche of Per-wer, Base of South Wall</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inundation Water</td>
<td>Per-wer, South Wall, base</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cryptographic</td>
<td>S. Niche of Per-cher, Frieze of South Wall</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 3.30. Scenes with the most examples of sign play in the Per-cher Sanctuary

### 3.7 Multi-layered Example of Sign Play in the Southern Niche

A look at the south wall of the Per-cher (Fig. 3.31) shows that in the base, below the entrance to the Southern Niche, there are two symmetrical scenes of the king offering inundation water: to Hathor on the left, and Isis on the right. The scene with Isis has ten sign plays, mostly ideograms relating to the inundation and the source of the Nile. The location of these scenes in the base of the wall visually emphasizes the idea that the inundation, a gift from the gods, is the foundation and source of all life and fertility; the sign plays visually emphasize the offering and its source.

Higher up, on the rear wall of the Southern Niche, are two scenes of the king offering Ma’at to Hathor. Because Ma’at is the foundation of order and harmony in the universe, established at Creation, its offering is the most essential, legitimizing the rule of the king and showing his willingness to govern according to divine law. Together with the cryptographic column between them, these two scenes contain 24 sign plays, most of which are epithets of Hathor. Two additional texts with cryptographic ideograms appear in the frieze at the top, and the base at the bottom of the south wall of the Southern Niche. The question is, why were so many sign plays used in these texts? I believe that the use of cryptic ideograms in the Southern Niche emphasizes the hidden, mysterious aspect of the goddess in this most sacred part of the sanctuary.
Also, just as cryptography in New Kingdom royal tombs is associated with the crossing of cosmic boundaries, according to Darnell,\textsuperscript{230} its use in the southern niche suggests the liminal, boundary-crossing aspect of this space, which is the point of contact between the human and divine spheres—much like a false door in a tomb. In fact, the cryptographic inscription on the base equates the Per-wer Sanctuary with the horizon—the boundary between day and night, and the entrance to the Duat and the unseen world of the gods. This hidden protected space is, however, accessible to the King, the representative of mankind. He knows the sacred language and can please the goddess with his speech and the plays on sight and sound. In return, she assures his reign, the prosperity and well-being of his people, and the stability of the cosmos.

\begin{footnote}
\textsuperscript{230} Darnell, Solar-Osirian Unity, 479-480.
\end{footnote}
3.8 Summary

The importance and effectiveness of the image and the divine nature of the hieroglyphic script thus encouraged the use of sign play functioning on multiple visual and thematic levels. Due to an increase in the number of signs during the Ptolemaic era, expanded possibilities arose for sign play, which could emphasize important concepts, characteristics, and roles, and lend additional meaning perceptible only to the eye. Unless it elaborated on a concept directly related to the scene, sign play was usually not employed; its most concentrated use appears in the chamber's important, boundary-crossing area, between the human and divine worlds (Fig. 3.32 – 3.34). This thematic and spatial use of sign play in the Per-wer is therefore evidence of active agency on the part of the ancient scribes.

Fig. 3.32. South Wall of Per-ber with Southern Niche Reached by Ladder

Fig. 3.33. Rear Wall of Southern Niche

D III, pl. 202, © IFAO

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231 Photo by Su Bayfield, 2009.
Fig. 3.34. 1st Register, Rear South Wall of Southern Niche

Photo by Vicky Jensen, 2010.
Chapter 4
Plays on Iconography and Epithets

4.0 Introduction

As we have seen in the previous two chapters, the expansion in the number and polyvalency of hieroglyphic signs facilitated the creation of word and sign plays, which the ancient scribes employed to emphasize important theological ideas. Concurrently with this growth in the writing system was an increase in the complexity of the iconography, especially in terms of crowns and headdresses in the relief scenes. These complex creations reflect a trend first begun in the New Kingdom by Amenhotep III, who added multiple disks and uraeii to his crowns in order to emphasize his connection with the sun god. In the Ptolemaic Era, there are dozens of permutations of composite crowns, with complex arrangements of added elements.

A brief look at 2nd register of the east wall of the Per-wer gives an idea of the visual complexity of these constructions, with various arrangements of individual elements (Fig. 4.1).

Fig. 4.1. East Wall, 2nd Register, Per-wer Sanctuary; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

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233 Kozloff and Bryan, Dazzling Sun, 76-77.
In the middle scene of this relief, Hathor wears her well-known horns-and-disk headdress, but the other crowns in the three scenes may be unfamiliar. In the far left scene, she instead wears the so-called Hepty-crown: a double crown with two ostrich feathers and a small horns-and-disk headdress, all atop a pair of ram’s horns. In the far right scene, she wears the “Crown of Geb”: an Atef crown with solar disks and ram’s horns perched atop the red crown of Lower Egypt. Accompanying Hathor in the same scene, the King wears the “Anedjty” or “Tjeny” crown, consisting of two ostrich feathers, a sun disk and uraei atop a pair of ram’s horns. In the far left scene, he wears a white crown framed by two ostrich feathers, resting upon a pair of ram's horns with uraeii topped by sun disks on the tips of both horns; in the middle scene, the King wears an Atef crown of rushes, a pair of ram's horns, and two small solar disks. In the present chapter, we will discuss each of these complex constructions, explaining the symbolism of the individual elements and the connection of each crown with the epithets in the accompanying texts. In addition, we will see how the ancient scribes exploited this complex vocabulary of iconography, creating plays between crowns and their related epithets to form links between scenes.

4.0.1 Previous Studies

The study of iconography in the Ptolemaic temples, with its multiplicity of composite crowns and cult objects, has suffered from a reputation of being impossibly complex, with no apparent system or logic behind its use. This estimation permeates the attitude of Egyptologists over the past 130 years: in 1882, Rochemonteix declared, "La multitude des représentations ainsi accumulées sur les murs de Dendérah et d'Edfou effraye l'imagination"; in 1952, Bonnet cautioned, "Sie aufzuzählen, würde zu weit führen und zudem nicht fördern, da uns ihre Symbolik und damit die Voraussetzungen, unter denen die einzelnen Kronen jeweilig verwendet werden, verborgen sind"; and as recently as 2002, Derchain-Urtel could state, "Es ist fraglos nicht möglich, das gesamte Kronenmaterial aus den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit mit einem Schlage zu dem Zwecke seiner Präzisierung zu sichten und zu erklären. Schliesslich sollten die Kranzformen der hellenistischen Perioden in ihrer Vielfalt behandelt werden." Scholars interested in iconography therefore tended to focus their efforts on the more common regalia from the New Kingdom or earlier; for those brave enough to tackle the Ptolemaic material, most followed Derchain-Urtel's recommendation to limit their studies to individual objects, with the hope of "etwas Licht in die verwirrende Fülle dieses ikonographischen Materials zu bringen." The following section surveys the progress that scholars have made in our understanding of Graeco-Roman iconography, divided into three main topics: crowns and headdresses; cult objects and gestures; interrelationships between iconography and texts. For each topic, I briefly discuss the historical development of the research, with a focus on works that either contribute major insight to our understanding, or are particularly relevant for the present study.

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234 Discussed in 4.1.1.
235 Discussed in 4.1.5.1.
236 Discussed in 4.1.3.1.
237 Discussed in 4.1.6.2.
238 Both crowns, which are variations of the Atef, are discussed in 4.1.2.
239 Rochemonteix, Oeuvres diverses, 202, originally published in RevTrav 3, 1881, 72-86.
241 Derchain-Urtel, Nebenformen, 1.
242 Derchain-Urtel, Nebenformen, 1.
4.0.1.1 Crowns and Headdresses

In the 1880's, Rochemonteix initiated the study of Graeco-Roman iconography in his treatment of the small Ptolemaic temple of Opet at Karnak. Despite his above-mentioned statement concerning the "unimaginable" complexity of the representations in the reliefs, he observed an underlying system amidst the apparent chaos: a fixed number of elements arranged in various combinations forming composite crowns, which symbolically represent the attributes and titles of the wearer.\(^{243}\) Although his line drawings of 116 individual examples attested an abundance of complex variations,\(^{244}\) he limited his discussion to the simpler, more common crowns and their elements.\(^{245}\) His ideas—that the architectural features of the temple are an image of the world,\(^{246}\) and that symmetrical scenes, joined by logical links, work together to convey a religious thought—are still valid today.\(^{247}\)

Works on crowns from subsequent decades either lacked analysis\(^{248}\) or were narrowly focused treatments of an individual ornament, primarily royal.\(^{249}\) Abubakr's important study in 1937 was an exception, remaining the only synthesis of royal crown iconography until Collier's in 1996.\(^{250}\) By examining monuments, inscriptions, and material in the Berlin Museum up through the New Kingdom, Abubakr was able to form ideas about the origin and development of royal crowns and their composite forms. Although some of his conclusions bear revision,\(^{251}\) and his limited focus excludes many of the crowns in the Per-wer, his observations of three of the more complex variations\(^{252}\) offered insights that were useful for the present study.

It was not until the last two decades of the twentieth century that a flurry of activity arose in the study of crowns. Although an interest in the more common forms still remained,\(^{253}\) many more scholars took the opportunity to explore the meaning behind the more unusual crowns of

\(^{243}\) Rochemonteix, Oeuvres diverses, 213-214.
\(^{244}\) Rochemonteix, Oeuvres diverses, pl. 2 (48 crowns of male divinities); pl. 3 (48 crowns of female divinities); pl. 4 (20 crowns of the King). Some of these crowns also appear in the Per-wer Sanctuary.
\(^{245}\) Rochemonteix, Oeuvres diverses, 217-224: Atef, ostrich feathers, falcon feathers, ram's horns, uraeus, double crown, horns and disk.
\(^{246}\) Rochemonteix, Oeuvres diverses, 182-185, esp. 183, cites Maspero, who showed in his course at the Collège de France that the temple is "s'étendait à l'Univers entier."
\(^{247}\) Rochemonteix, Oeuvres diverses, 194, notes the logical links between scenes in the same register.
\(^{248}\) Prinz, Symbolik, 46-52; pls. 8 and 9, with an illustrated list of twenty-four crowns that gives only their wearers and references to Lepsius' Denkmäler. He does, however, include a short discussion of solar and lunar symbolism in crowns and its connection to the Right and Left Divine Eyes. Osing, Ritualszenen, 1981, attempts to show vertical relationships between ritual scenes on the northern enclosure wall of the mortuary temple of Seti I at Gurna, based solely on the gods appearing within them. Lacking any discussion of their context, his mere listing of these gods is meaningless. Derchain, BiOr 36 (1979), 170, criticizes his findings, stating that vertical relationships are "extrêmement difficile à établir, même en partant des temples gréco-romains."
\(^{249}\) Studies focus on the double crown (Pierret, Pschent, 1906; Steindorf, Doppelkrone, 1932); the red crown (Wainwright, Red Crown, 1923); and most of all, on the blue khepresh crown (Bissing, Kriegshelm, 1904; Borchardt, Kriegshelm, 1905; Müller, Kriegshelm, 1908; idem, Nachtrag, 1955; Steindorf, Blaue Königskrone, 1917; Élie-Lefebvre, Couronne bleue, 1979; Davies, Blue Crown, 1982). An exception is Hommel, Couronne de plumes, 1900, a short piece discussing the feather crowns of Bes and Anuket.
\(^{250}\) Abubakr, Kronen, 1937.
\(^{251}\) Collier, Crowns, 8, suggests that some of his conclusions require reconsideration, especially those concerning the Osiris crown and the double crown.
\(^{252}\) The Anedjty-crown, the falcon-feather crown, and the Atef crown.
the Late and Ptolemaic periods. Among the more notable works are investigations of the double-feather crowns, Hathor's crown of gold, the crown of Arsinoe, and the Anedjty and Hepty crowns, the latter two studies by Derchain-Urtel. All of these works were helpful in determining the significance of the crowns in the Per-wer, but Derchain-Urtel's treatment of the Hepty crown was particularly relevant, because both Horus Behdety and Hathor wear it in the Per-wer. Her comprehensive methodology was also a model to follow. She began her investigation by first determining the precise placement of scenes in which either Hathor or Horus wears the crown, after which she examined the textual descriptions of the crown at Edfu, paying particular attention to the naming of individual elements and their associations. By connecting these themes with information gleaned from additional texts at Edfu and earlier papyri, she was then able to draw some conclusions about the crown's symbolism. Tying these ideas together with the context and placements of the scenes in which the crown appears, she then made some convincing conclusions about its purpose and meaning. Her methodology thus improved upon Abubakr's due to her investigation of a wider range of textual connections and the synthesis of the themes within the context of the ritual scenes. Because it provides a comprehensive way to study the relationship between the iconography, texts, and scenes, I followed this model in my own methodology in the Per-wer.

Unlike most other scholars who focused their research on a single type of crown, Preys chose to analyze all of the crowns of Hathor engraved in the 2nd and 3rd registers of the lateral walls of the barque sanctuary at Dendera. Drawing upon his previous study of several cult chambers at Dendera, he classified each type according to the associations found in the accompanying epithets and in other texts at Dendera and Edfu. His analysis showed that each crown carried a specific theological message, thus creating a summary of Hathor's qualities through the multiplicity of her crowns. Due to the broad nature of his study, he was unable to analyze in depth each scene in which a crown appears; although he demonstrates textual and thematic links, his conclusions are therefore not always convincing. Although he overlooks a number of important allusions, this oversight may be due to space limitations in such a short article—the topic really deserves a monograph. Therefore, although useful for pointing out many correspondences and themes, his work best serves as a springboard from which to carry out further study.

After a slow start at the beginning of the twentieth century, the investigation of crowns and headdresses has thus made significant progress, particularly in our understanding of the more complex creations of the Ptolemaic Period. Applying Derchain-Urtel's methodology on a broader base, such as an enclosed unit like the Per-wer, I examined the multiplicity of crowns and their components, not only for Hathor, but also for the King and all of the other characters depicted.

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254 Vassilika, Philae, 1989, includes a discussion of crowns and headdresses in her study of the iconography at the Temple of Isis at Philae; idem, Edfu, 937-957, compares crowns in the pronaos at Edfu with those of Philae.
255 Mysliwiec, Couronnes, 1985, which examines the NK predecessors of these crowns in the Ptolemaic period; Budde, Doppelfederkrone, 2002.
256 El-Kordy, Couronne d'or, 1986.
257 Dils, Couronne d'Arsoinoë, 1998; see now Nilsson, Arsinoë II, 2010, who provides a thorough study of this crown.
259 For example, the double crown signifies the Two Lands and coronation; the tall falcon feathers, light; the ostrich feathers, the two Divine Eyes.
260 BERLIN 3055; BROOKLYN MUSEUM 47.218.50.
262 Preys, Complexes, 2002.
By taking into consideration the composition of the crowns, their connections with epithets, and the thematic links to other texts, I was able to gain new insights into their function and meaning, as well as the reasons for their placement in particular scenes in the Per-wer.

4.0.1.2 Cult Objects, Clothing, and Gestures

Like crowns and headdresses, the many cult objects appearing in the ritual scenes in the Per-wer also carry theological meaning, which has been explored extensively by scholars over the past century. In terms of the objects appearing in the Per-wer, investigations thus exist for the offerings from the daily temple rite (incense, cloth, and jars of inundation water), for objects recalling the gifts made by Thoth to the Distant Goddess (menit, sistrum, wensheb, udjat, mirror, crown of electrum, milk, wine, and the mnw-jar), and symbols of power and protection (w3s-scepter, w3d.ty-scepters, and the h3db-symbol). I have integrated the function and meaning of cult objects, clothing, jewelry, and gestures into the analysis of the scenes in which they appear, rather than dedicating a separate descriptive section in this chapter to each item.

For the most part, the attire of the King, Queen, and deities in the Per-wer follows the usual conventions for Ptolemaic temple scenes, with females wearing a narrow sheath, and males, a short kilt. Deviations from this norm signal the need for further investigation, because the scribe will often make a deliberate change in order to create allusions that will connect with texts or other iconographic elements. Although the study of Egyptian costume has a long history, beginning in 1900 with Gayet, and more recent studies have appeared, the best

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263 See Blackman, Incense and Libations, 1912; Beinlich, Räucherarm, 1978; Žabkar, Hymn to Incense, 1992.
268 See Sambin, Clepsydre, 1988; idem, L'offrande de clepsydre, 1989.
269 See Darnell, Apotropaic Goddess, 1997.
271 See El-Kordy, Couronne d'or, 1986.
272 See Daumas, Mammisi, 175-206; Leclant, Lait, 1951.
275 Held by Hathor in the mirror-offering scene on the west side of the 3rd register of the south wall of the Per-wer, and in the Ma'at-offering scene on the east side of the 2nd register of the south wall of the Southern Niche. Preys, Sceptre-ous, 2002, discusses these scenes.
276 PL 208-209.
277 Briefly discussed in Daumas, Objets sacrés, 1970, 74; Preys, Objets, sacrés, 2008, 305-309. See now Budde, Götterkind, 376-406.
279 Notable exceptions to the norm include the King's festival attire in the 1st register of the north wall (presentation of the w3d.ty by Nekhbet and Wadjet), discussed in 5.3.1; Hathor's panther skin worn over her dress in the 3rd register of the north wall (mnsw.t-jar of primordial water) and the 3rd register of the south wall (mirror offering).
280 Gayet, Costume, 1900.
resource for costumes appearing in the Ptolemaic temple reliefs is Vassiliki's inventory of Philae's iconography, mentioned earlier. To the best of my knowledge, there are no studies specifically treating the costumes worn in the scenes at Dendera.

Besides crowns, cult objects, and costumes, the hand stance of a king or divinity in the presentation of an offering or a blessing also conveys visual information relevant to a scene's theological message. Studies on gestures include examples from Old Kingdom reliefs, musical performance, mourning, and jubilation. Brunner-Traut provides an excellent summary of the different types of gestures, but I found the more comprehensive work by Dominicus to be the most useful for my research at Dendera, especially in determining the meaning behind two of the gestures in the Per-wer. Although she focuses on mostly Old and Middle Kingdom reliefs, her work remains relevant for the ritual scenes in the Per-wer because the scribes at Dendera reproduced gestures in their traditional forms. Her methodology of researching the context, texts, and determinatives of each gesture, as well as comparing expressions describing praise and speech, works well with the data; her systematic grouping of the gestures into categories, providing detailed drawings with their subtle variations, creates a convenient reference work. Dominicus found that many of the gestures were polyvalent, with specific meanings revealed only by the captions in a relief—an aspect of iconography that fits well with the multiple meanings of sound and sight also inherent in the hieroglyphic script.

In general, we now have good resources for analyzing the crowns, cult objects, costumes, and gestures in the ritual scenes of the Per-wer, thanks to the hard work of scholars over the past century. When such sources are not sufficient, as in the case of some of the more unusual crowns or cult objects, I was usually able to draw some conclusions about their symbolism and meaning by investigating other occurrences at Dendera and Edfu and examining related texts, thus following Derchain-Urtel's methodology, as noted earlier. With this information secured, I was then able to look for connections between iconographic details and the accompanying texts.

### 4.0.1.3 Interplay between Iconography and Texts

Just as the scribes exploited the hieroglyphic writing system to create plays of sound and sight, they also manipulated the iconography of the reliefs, forming plays between scenes to create patterns and connections. Early on, Rochemonteix recognized the existence of "logical links" between "symbolic scenes" of the same register, which together represent the development of a religious concept. Derchain elucidated it further by observing that neighboring or symmetrical scenes can evoke the same myth by means of similar structure, allusion, or the play

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282 Müller, Gebärden, 1937; Garnot, L'Hommage, 1954;
284 Werbrouck, Pleureuses, 1974.
288 Hathor's hand-stance on the south side of the 3rd register of the east wall and the east side of the 3rd register of the south wall; the King's gesture in the funerary offering of the 3rd register of the east wall.
289 Dominicus, Gesten, 1.
290 Rochemonteix, Oeuvres diverses, 1894, 194: "Les tableaux symboliques, dans un même registre, ont entre eux un lien logique, et représentent dans leur ensemble le développement d'une pensée religieuse."
of substitutions, which he called *calembours*. Osing was more specific, singling out interplays between specific elements of iconography that create chiasmus and alternation between crowns and clothing at Karnak.

Even though scholars may have been aware of the existence of such iconography plays, the focus on a single iconographic object (which, as noted earlier, had become the norm for studies of crowns and cult objects) hampered further progress in this area. Most scholars treating interplays in general tended to concentrate on either iconography or texts, without considering that they both work together. For example, even though Vassilika mentions in the introduction to her study of Philae that the placement of scenes and texts are equally important, she chose to focus primarily on iconography, with little or no engagement with the accompanying texts. As a result, although she is able to show the mutual relationships between crowns, skirts, and offerings, her discussions of the various temple rooms lack thematic synthesis and evaluation of purpose. Likewise, although Derchain-Urtel presents a clever interplay between royal and divine epithets in ritual scenes, she does not consider that the crowns or offerings depicted may also play a significant role.

On the contrary, Derchain and Preys include both iconographic and textual material in evaluating ritual scenes. Their research has thus made significant contributions to our understanding of the interrelationships that exist between epithets and iconography; it became a foundation for my study of the ritual scenes in the Per-wer.

**4.0.2 Methodology**

Building upon the work of previous scholars, I examined the crowns, scepters, clothing, and cult objects appearing in the relief scenes in the Per-wer Sanctuary, creating a database organized according to typology. Next, I correlated the ways in which each element related to the epithets and offerings of the scenes in which they appear. I found that these relationships divide into three types: (1) "normal" connections, in which the iconographic elements carried by a character relate to the identity and role of that character in the scene; (2) connections *within* a scene, in which an iconographic element of one character relates to the iconography or epithet of another character in the same scene; (3), connections *between* scenes, in which the epithet of a character in one scene relates to a crown, attribute, or offering in the symmetrical scene. When this last type of connection works in both directions between the

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291 Derchain, Manuel, 1962, 34.
292 Derchain-Urtel, Gott oder Mensch, 25-41, which investigates two common formula from late temples that introduce royal or divine epithets in offering scenes: *sw mi* X (He is *like* X) and *sw m* X (He *is* X). She found that a King was usually designated as *mi* (like) a god, whereas the latter *m* of equivalency was used to identify two gods with each other. Thus, a King was never truly equal to a god.
293 As noted by Vassilika, Philae, 7.
294 Vassilika, Philae, 6.
295 As noted in 4.0.1.1 and 4.0.1.2, 4.0.1.3, particularly the work of Derchain, Derchain-Urtel, and Preys. Several crowns in the Per-wer, which are not discussed individually in the following sections, are treated in the scenes in which they appear: the falcon-crown of Hathor in 3rd register of the east wall (5.2.6); the large disk with ostrich feathers of the King in the 3rd register of the south wall (5.1.4).
symmetrical scenes,\textsuperscript{299} it forms a chiastic relationship between the iconography and epithets of the two scenes, binding them tightly together. The added layers of theological meaning carried by the visual attributes in these complementary scenes work together with the aural and visual aspects of the accompanying texts, creating a rich tapestry of sound and sight. These complicated interrelationships appear in key scenes within the Per-\textit{wer}, helping to carry out its function and purpose.\textsuperscript{300}

\section*{4.1 Crowns and Headdresses in the Per-\textit{wer}}

This section takes a closer look at individual crowns worn by divine and royal figures\textsuperscript{301} in the relief scenes of the Per-\textit{wer}, grouped according to one of the following elements that serves as a base for additional components: sun disk, Atef, red crown, white crown, double crown, and double feathers.\textsuperscript{302} The discussion of each type of crown begins with its description, history, and the symbolism of its components, followed by examples from the Per-\textit{wer} that show how it relates to the role of the wearer and the context of the scene in which it appears. Although the following study is limited to the crowns and headdresses observed in the Per-\textit{wer} Sanctuary at Dendera, observations about the patterns of use suggest an underlying systematic behind the choices of the priestly scribes.\textsuperscript{303}

\subsection*{4.1.1 Variations of the Horns and Disk Headdress}

Hathor's traditional cow horns and solar disk is the third most frequently worn crown or headdress in the Per-\textit{wer},\textsuperscript{304} accounting for 12\% (17) of the 142 individual crowns depicted, and appearing in 38\% (17) of the Per-\textit{wer}'s 45 ritual scenes. The bovine element recalls her primary manifestation as a cow goddess, whose worship extends back to prehistoric times. Forerunners of her iconography\textsuperscript{305} include a Predynastic slate palette depicting a cow with stars on the tips of its horns (Fig. 4.2), as well as a 1\textsuperscript{st} Dynasty stone vessel with a cow-eared female wearing horns.\textsuperscript{306}

\begin{thebibliography}{10}
\bibitem{299} I.e. the epithet of one character in a scene relates to an iconographic element in the symmetrical scene; the epithet of a character in the symmetrical scene relates to an iconographic element in the first scene.
\bibitem{300} We will examine the three pairs of symmetrical scenes having chiastic relationships between epithets and iconography in \textit{4.3}.
\bibitem{301} Including Hathor, Isis, Horus Behdety, Ra-Horakhty, Thoth, Shu, Ihy, Harsomtus, Nekhbet, Wadjet, the King, and the Queen.
\bibitem{302} The double feathers and sun disk also serve as additional components in other crowns. I classify them as a "base" when they appear as the largest element in a crown, e.g. the double feathers in the Anedjty crown, or the sun disk in Hathor's horns-and-disk headdress.
\bibitem{303} Comparative studies of iconography in other chambers at Dendera, Edfu, and the later Graeco-Roman temples would be necessary in order to determine if the scribal techniques observed in the Per-\textit{wer} extend to other chambers and temples, and if there was a progression and elaboration of these techniques over time.
\bibitem{304} The double crown appears the most frequently, with 28 examples; the simple cloth headdress (for statistical purposes, defined as the cap, short wig, bag wig, or nemes, worn by Ihy or the King), 23 examples.
\bibitem{305} Other forerunners include the cow-eared female heads wearing horns on the upper part of the Predynastic Narmer Palette, which may belong to Bat, the goddess of the 7\textsuperscript{th} Upper Egyptian nome (Sheshesh, or Sistrum Nome). Already in the PT (§1096b), Hathor is called "Bat with her two faces"; by the 12\textsuperscript{th} Dynasty, she had completely assimilated Bat's iconography. See Pinch, Votive Offerings, 134; Fischer, Bat, 12-14.
\bibitem{306} Arkell, Hathor Bowl, 5, and pl. 8-9, cited in Daumas, Hathor, 1024; 1030 n. 1.
\end{thebibliography}
She first appears in her iconic form with the horns-and-disk headdress in the 4th Dynasty, as shown in the statue group of Menkaure from Giza (Fig. 4.3). The elements of her headdress recall the myth in which the celestial cow carries the sun god to heaven; the cow horns and solar disk thus combine both her bovine and solar manifestations.

Although most often appearing in the Per-wer in its most simple, classic form, variations of her headdress can also occur with the addition of small elements (Fig. 4.4), such as a pendant uraeus or the throne sign in the name of Isis. A smaller version of the horns and disk can also serve as the female emblem in other composite crowns.

307 In the Book of the Celestial Cow, first attested on the outer gilded shrine of Tutankhamen. In the myth, after the punishment of the rebels of mankind by the sun god's Eye (Hathor as Sekhmet), Ra withdraws to the sky on the back of the celestial cow. See Hornung, Books of Afterlife, 149. Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, 31, notes a later myth telling of Mh.t wr.t, a cow goddess personifying the Great Flood, who rose out of the primeval waters to perform acts of creation, including the birth of the sun god, whom she placed between her horns. The texts at Esna elaborate this theme: “When she [Neith in the form of the Akhet-cow] had saved her son Ra from the hands of his children, she placed him between her horns and she swam on the water while carrying him.” See Sauneron, Esna V, p. 277, lines 77, 15-16; Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, 31, 33, and 58.

308 As Atenet, the female sun disk, or Rayt, the female sun.

309 Illustration by Rachel Dommi of Predynastic slate palette, Cairo Museum Inv. No. 34173.

310 Triad from Menkaure's funerary temple at Giza, 4th Dynasty, now in the Cairo Museum, Nr. 46499, photo © SCALA, Florence/Art Resource, N.Y., courtesy ARTstor Collection. The nome goddess of Diospolis Parva on the viewer's right wears the archaic symbol of Bat on her head, consisting of a woman's face, cow ears, and cow horns. By the New Kingdom, Hathor had assimilated Bat and taken on her iconography. See Fischer, Bat, 7-23.

311 In 64% (9) of the 14 representations with the horns and disk in the Per-wer.

312 On the 1st register, 1st scene of the west wall in the Per-wer. It is probably an abbreviated representation of the uraeus encircling the solar disk, as in depictions of the solar disk adorning the head of the sun god Ra.

313 Isis appears twice with the additional throne sign of her name on the horns and disk: on the west side of the lintel of the north wall; on the west side of the base of the south wall. She appears once wearing the horns and disk without the throne, in a scene in which the emphasis is on the offering and not her individual characteristics, as in the 1st register of the north wall, where the emphasis is on the geographical symmetry of the offerings by Nekhbet and Wadjet of the two wid.ty (uraeus scepters) to the King. Hathor and Isis, appearing on the east and west, respectively, are secondary characters in the scenes, not actively involved in the offering; both wear identical horns-and-disk headdresses.
In the Per-wer, Hathor appears with the simple horns and disk most often in the 1st register: in the daily temple rite on the east and west walls, and in the symmetrical scenes with Nekhbet and Wadjet on the north wall. The episodes of the rite emphasize the King's actions in approaching the naos, opening its doors, and revealing the goddess within. Hathor's divine energy then streams out, illuminating the sanctuary and the world. With such a strong emphasis on her solar qualities in these scenes, conveyed both aurally and visually by word and sign plays in the texts, Hathor's depiction with the horns and solar disk is quite appropriate. The addition of the uraeus to her crown in the episode of "pulling the (door) bolt" adds an allusion to her fearsome aspect as the uraeus on the brow of the King's crown, expressed in the accompanying text.

The throne sign, signifying that the horns and disk belongs to Isis, appears in two scenes in the Per-wer; in each, she plays an important role. The first is an offering of primordial water on the west side of the south wall's base, in which she is equated with Sothis, the star heralding the inundation; she "pours out" the flood from the cavern of Hapy, the personification of the Nile. The second is the offering of mnw-jars of beer on the west side of the north wall's lintel, in which Isis carries her full titulary and an epithet designating her as 'Iwny.t, "She of Iunet," the feminine form of Iuny, a manifestation of Osiris at Edfu. The King's offering of the intoxicating beverage pacifies the Distant Goddess so that she will return and restore cosmic order. It is therefore important that Isis also take part in this pacification, because she is the

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314 Examples include the Arsinoe crown (4.1.3.2), the Hepty-crown (4.1.5.1), the female version of the Falcon-feather crown (4.1.6.1), and as a large-scale addition to the double crown (on the west side of the lintel of the Per-wer's entrance on the Mysterious Corridor.
315 Numbers in parenthesis indicate the total number of scenes in which a particular variation appears in the Per-wer.
316 See 5.3.1.
317 In the 1st scene of the 1st register of the west wall, Hathor's speech to the King states, $dl=i s nd.t=k p h r m t t.w y m r w= k m-h t h r w$, "I cause that dread of you goes around in the Two Lands, the dread of you among people" (D III, 76,11-12).
318 D III, 74,12-13, discussed in 5.2.3.
319 $s.t w r . t m n w . t-n t r n b . t B t . t-d i h r(y . t)-l b T w n . t$, "Isis the Great, Mother of the god, Lady of Iatdi, who resides in Iunet" (D III, 59,4). See also 5.1.2.
representative of the Left Eye of Ra (the moon), which also must return to its proper place. On the contrary, when the scribe omits the throne sign on Isis' horns-and-disk headdress, he indicates the suppression of her individual characteristics. For example, in the 1st register of the north wall, in the symmetrical offerings of the two uraeus scepters to the King, the emphasis is on the geographical symmetry between Nekhbet and Wadjet. Being secondary characters in the scenes, both Hathor and Isis thus stand behind the two tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively. Because they are not actively involved in the offering, the individual characteristics of Hathor and Isis are not stressed; both wear identical horns and disk headdresses. Thus, the scribes did not randomly place the throne sign on the horns and disk of Isis in the Per-wer, but rather used it selectively to signal an important role for the throne goddess in the context of the scene.

In the ritual scenes of the 2nd register, where the emphasis is on the King's offering of Hathor's sacred objects, her wearing of the horns and disk signals iconography play. As a "neutral" headdress, it serves merely as an indicator, pointing out that the true crown actually lies in the symmetrical scene. There are two sets of iconography-epithet plays in the 2nd register of the east and west walls, both of which feature Hathor wearing the horns and disk in one of the symmetrical scenes. We will take a closer look at these scenes in 4.3.

In the 3rd register, interplays with the horns and disk are more subtle, sometimes occurring within the same scene. Isis, seated over the Isheru lake in the 3rd register of the west wall (Fig. 4.5), wears the horns and disk headdress. Although the throne sign is omitted, the seshed band with the entwined uraeus, tied around her head, is a characteristic element of her royal crown, and thus subtly identifies her as Isis. Seated two places behind her is the goddess Mut, whose traditional epithet is "Lady of the Isheru," referring to her Isheru lake at the Temple of Mut at Karnak; she wears her characteristic double crown. The depiction of Isis with the horns and disk thus signals a link to Mut, who wears the proper crown for the role that Isis plays.

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320 Osiris, to which Isis' epithet of Iunyt in this scene alludes, also has associations with the moon, thus adding another layer of meaning.
321 The entwined-uraeus seshed band also alludes to her rising of Isis-Sothis, which heralds the coming of the inundation. See discussion in 4.1.5.2.
322 See Fig. 5.32.
323 Under Hatshepsut, Mut's iconography changed, linking her not only with Hathor and Amun, as mother, matron, and divine mistress, but also with the double crown of Atum, the masculine symbol of kinship. Mut thus combined in one goddess the ideas of power, kingship, and the feminine principle. See Richter, Hatshepsut, 36.
Another interesting example, showing how the interplay of iconography can unite two symmetrical scenes, is in the 3rd register of the south wall (Fig. 4.6). The two mirror offerings emphasize light, their shape recalling the disks of the sun and the moon.

The King's offering, supplemented by the additional disks in his crown, thus visually represents the return of the two Divine Eyes. The visual symmetry of the scene is striking; the King's stance, dress, and accoutrements are identical in both. On the contrary, Hathor's representations have subtle differences, thus signaling the presence of important allusions. Her wearing of the horns and disk in the west scene agrees well with the solar theme; her accompanying epithet, itn.t, "Atenet" (Female Solar Disk), not only supports this imagery visually, but is itself another word for "mirror."³²⁵ However, in the east scene, she wears a modius instead of the horns and disk, which at first glance seems to have little connection to the theme. However, a closer inspection reveals that it consists of a series of uraei, thus visually representing her epithet, nb.t ḫr.wt, "Lady of the Uraei" (D III, 74,2 and 85,14-15),³²⁶ which appears in both scenes and thus helps link the scenes together. Because the modius and the epithet recall Hathor's role as the uraeus on the sun god's brow, they support the solar emphasis of the scenes; Hathor's plain wig in both scenes also helps join the two symmetrical images. Her two headdresses in the

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³²⁴ Enlarged detail from Mariette, D II, pl. 67.
³²⁵ See Husson, Miroir, 38; Bénédicte, Miroirs, iv; PL 121.
³²⁶ The modius in the symmetrical scene on the west side of the 2nd register (upon which Hathor's horns and disk stands) is a simple low platform without any uraei. See D III, pl. 199.
symmetrical scenes are thus complementary, each recalling an aspect of her solar nature: as the shining uraeus on the brow of the sun god, and as the solar disk in the sky.

In the Southern Niche, there are two important scenes in which characters from the Myth of the Wandering Goddess return the Udjat-Eye to Hathor (Fig. 4.7). In both scenes, Hathor wears the horns and disk, but over a vulture headdress on the east, and a tripartite wig on the west. The scribe may have chosen to alternate wigs in order to avoid rigid symmetry.\(^{327}\)

![Fig. 4.7. Udjat Offering Scenes on the Lateral Walls of the Southern Niche, © IFAO](image)

Each of the symmetrical scenes has two prominent disks: the solar disks of Hathor and Horus Behdety (as Ra) on the east wall; Hathor's solar disk and Ihy's lunar disk (and crescent) on the west wall. Because the theme is the return of the two Divine Eyes to their proper places, the dual disks in each scene visually represent the idea of two Eyes being returned; Hathor's wearing of the horns and disk in both scenes thus contributes to this emphasis.\(^{328}\)

Hathor's signature horns-and-disk headdress thus carries dual functions in the Per-wer: emphasizing her solar qualities and serving as a marker for iconography play. In the daily temple rite, the headdress recalls her radiant, illuminating presence; in offerings of the mirror or udjat, it alludes to the return of the Eyes. Variations in details, like the addition of the uraeus or the throne sign for Isis, point to additional layers of meaning that are important for the context of the scene. In key scenes, where the horns and disk signals the presence of iconography play with the symmetrical partner, the resulting allusions enrich the theological message of the two complementary scenes.

### 4.1.2 Variations of the Atef Crown

The Atef (\(\hat{\text{t}}\text{f}\)) crown in its simplest version consists of two ostrich feathers flanking a middle element—either the white crown or a similarly-shaped bundle of plant stems.\(^{329}\) The

\(^{327}\) Hornung, Symmetrie, 131.

\(^{328}\) These scenes and their iconography plays are discussed in more detail in 4.4.3.

\(^{329}\) Vassilika, Philae, 88, prefers to call it the "Rush Crown," in order to distinguish it from other constructions using it as an additional element, e.g. the Crown of Geb, discussed below in 4.1.2.1. The middle element of the Atef crown resembles the headdress worn by Muu dancers. See Junker, Tanz der Mww, 23-39. When designating the middle element of this crown, I follow Vassilika in calling it the "rush crown." However, I add the indication of the number of ostrich feathers in the figure above to note their presence in the configuration.
Atef makes up 5% (7 out of a total of 142) of the crowns in the Per-wer, appearing in 16% (7) of the 45 ritual scenes in the Per-wer, with four different variations in form and elements (Fig. 4.8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rush crown, 2 ostrich feathers, 4 disks, 2 uraei, ram's horns</th>
<th>Rush crown framed by 2 ostrich feathers, 2 uraei with disks, ram's horns with central disk; vulture headdress and tripartite wig</th>
<th>Rush crown framed by 2 ostrich feather, 2 uraei with disks, ram's horns with central disk; short wig, seshed band</th>
<th>White crown framed by 2 ostrich feathers, 2 uraei with disks, ram's horns; nemes headdress</th>
<th>Rush crown framed by 2 ostrich feathers, and topped with disk, ram's horns with disk; fits closely to head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worn by Thoth (2)</td>
<td>Worn by Hathor (1)</td>
<td>Worn by King (1)</td>
<td>Worn by King (1)</td>
<td>Worn by King (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 4.8. Variations of the Atef in the Per-wer Sanctuary

Attested since the 4th Dynasty, it belongs to the cosmic ruler Ra, who may wear it himself or bestow it upon other gods who act as his deputies, such as Osiris, Herishef, or Thoth. As the pre-eminent crown of Osiris, it is a visible emblem of his legitimate rule and authority; it represents his rule over earth as well as the Netherworld. The Atef therefore connects the wearer with the authority of Ra, mediated through Thoth, as well as with Osiris and the funerary cult. A text on the east wall of Dendera's Wabet describes the power behind this crown:

330 The text accompanying an Atef offering, in the 1st register of the east wall of the Wabet at Dendera, states, hp.t pw n Nbt-dr, it n s hnnm=f im=f sd{id} hft.w n smd.t=t, "It is the (Atef) crown of the Lord to the Limit (=Ra). Take possession of it. You are united with it. Enemies tremble due to (their) fear of you" (D IV, 240,11; pl. 307). Note that hp.t, "crown" is determined with the sign of the Atef:

Cf. Wb 3, 69,16.

331 Ra appears in the Atef crown at the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, Calverley and Gardiner, Abydos, pl. 24.

332 Osiris says to Horus: "May you see me in my great Atef crowns, which Re has given me, which Atum [has established for] me." See CT 313; Goeb, Crowns, 62; Faulkner, CT I, 233; de Buck, CT IV, 87. The bestowal of this crown by Ra confers the rule of Osiris at Herakleopolis, where the crown was said to be located, as noted by Goeb, Crowns, 64. Other references to the bestowal of this crown upon Osiris include the following: Ra gives Osiris the Atef, but its heat caused him much suffering in his head (BoD 137); the Atef of Ra is on the brow of Osiris, who is "Lord of the Two Banks" (BoD 183, 77).

333 In BoD 175 the Atef crown is given to Osiris in his form as Herishef, the unified Ra-Osiris at Herakleopolis. In CT 420 (de Buck V, 257i), Herishef is crowned with the šw.ty of Sopdu and the 3tфw of Ra. See Hornung, Totenbuch, 104-106; 369.

334 Goeb, Crowns, 374.

335 In BoD 175, Osiris possesses this crown as a sign of his earthly rulership. See Goeb, Nemes, 172 n. 141.

336 The deceased, taking over this symbol as part of his own insignia, identifies with the god of the dawn (ḥd-tl) at the prow of the solar barque. See Goeb, Crowns, 81.
"Take the Atef crown (that permits) making your prestige powerful. It is the Atef Crown of the Lord to the Limit. Take it. You are united with it (i.e. you wear it). Enemies tremble in fear of you" (D IV, 240,9-11).

From the New Kingdom onward, the Atef regularly takes on additional elements, such as ram or bull horns, sun disks, and uraei.337

A careful examination of the scenes in which the Atef appears shows a connection between the wearer and the context; the crown also usually carries an additional layer of meaning supporting the theological message. For example, on the west side of the lintel in the outer entrance, Thoth wears the Atef crown supplemented by two uraeii, four sun disks, and a pair of ram's horns (Fig. 4.9). He shakes the two types of sistra338 before Hathor, seated on a throne; his speech identifies him as \textit{ib n Rā sḥtp nb[t] Twn.t}, "the heart of Ra who pacifies the Lady of Iunet" (D III, 52,9). These epithets, his wearing of the Atef, and his playing of the sistra, all recall his role as the deputy of Ra, sent to pacify the Distant Goddess so that she would return to Egypt.

Fig. 4.9. West Side of Lintel, Entrance of Per-wer; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

Similarly, on the west wall of the Southern Niche, Thoth again wears the Atef in an offering of the udjat to Hathor (Fig. 4.10). The text describes him as \textit{nb Hmnw sḥtp nṯr.w m mdw=f}, "Lord of Hermopolis, who pacifies the gods with his words" (D II, 97,15), thus alluding to his powers of persuasion in convincing the Wandering Goddess to come home.

Fig. 4.10. 2nd Register, West Wall of Southern Niche; D III, pl. 202, © IFAO

\footnote{337 The addition of sun disks and uraeii to "solarize" regalia gained momentum under Amenhotep III, who characterized himself as "The Dazzling Sun Disk." See Kozloff and Bryan, Dazzling Sun, 134-135.}

\footnote{338 The arched sistra (\textit{sḥm}) (Fig. 5.15) and the naos, or \textit{ḥn}, sistra (\textit{sš.t}) (Fig. 5.14). See also Fig. 4.20.}
Interestingly, both of Thoth's appearances in the Per-wer occur on the west—the side of the Per-wer reserved for Isis, who is identified with the Left Eye (the moon). Thoth's role as Lord of Time also gives him a strong connection with the moon and its phases. \(^{339}\) Therefore, his presence in the two scenes show two stages of the return of the Distant Goddess: her pacification through his playing of the sistra on the outer entrance; her return as the Left Divine Eye, due to his persuasive words, in the Southern Niche. We will continue our discussion of this important scene later. \(^{340}\)

Besides signifying a role as Ra's deputy, the Atef can also suggest an association with the funerary cult and Osiris, who often wears this crown. Even when not explicitly stated in the text, the presence of the Atef on a figure carries allusions that can help explain the meaning of a scene. For example, in an adoration scene on the outer entrance of the Per-wer, in which the Ogdoad and the King worship Hathor (Fig. 4.11), she wears a tall Atef crown, elaborated with the same elements worn in the crown of Thoth that we just saw.

![Fig. 4.11. West Side of Outer Entrance, Below Bandeau of Frieze; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO](image)

A clue to the connection with Thoth, as well as with the funerary cult, appears in the Coffin Texts, in which the deceased (most likely equated with Thoth) states, \(ink \, k\dot{3} \, hr \, ^{o}b.\, wy \, nb \, 3tfw\), "I am high beneath the horns of the Lord of the Atef." \(^{341}\) Hathor's wearing of the Atef thus provides a visual connection to her dual roles: as deceased primordial creator goddess, who receives the adoration of her progeny; as the daughter who carries out the funerary cult of the ancestral gods. \(^{342}\) This funerary theme continues on the east wall of the Per-wer, in which the King also honors the deceased ancestral gods, by offering them incense. \(^{343}\)

The Atef makes other interesting allusions in a scene in the 2nd register of the east wall (Fig. 4.12). While offering milk to Hathor as Isis, the King again wears the Atef crown, but this time, the central portion is clearly the White Crown of Upper Egypt. \(^{344}\) Although the white crown can substitute for the bundle of reeds, as noted earlier, it only appears once in the Per-wer,
in the present scene. Why would the scribe choose this particular form? The answer may lie in
the associations of the crown with the context of the offering.

Fig. 4.12. 1st Scene, 2nd Register, East Wall; D III, pl 180, © IFAO

One of the names of the white crown is *hd.t*, meaning "white" or "bright one";\(^{345}\) *hd.t* is also a
designation for milk, thus connecting the white-crown element with the offering. Furthermore, in
this scene the King is equated with Anubis, *ity n wšb.wt*, "Sovereign of the Milk Cows" (D III,
69,9), an epithet alluding to Isis, whose epithet, *wšb.t*, means "mourner." The King's Atef crown,
strongly recalling Osiris, for whom Isis mourns, thus visually connects to the offering as well as
its recipient.

In addition to Thoth and Osiris, Horus can also wear the Atef—a tradition going back at
least as early as the New Kingdom.\(^{346}\) The King takes on the role of Horus when wearing
the crown in a menit offering in the 2nd register of the Per-wer's east wall (Fig. 4.66). The text
describes him as *hr hd hm.ty*, "destroying the Coward" (D III, 69,18), a euphemism for Seth,
whose testicles are equated with the beads of the menit necklace that the King offers to Hathor.
The power that the Atef gives the wearer for vanquishing enemies is clear from an Atef offering
in the Wabet:

\[
\text{hp.t pw n Nb-dr, it n=s hnm=t im=f sdb3d3 hfy.yw n sn.d=t=t}
\]

"It is the (Atef) crown of the Lord to the Limit (=Ra). Take possession of it. You are united with
it. Enemies tremble in fear of you" (D IV, 240,11; pl. 307).\(^{347}\)

The Atef's connection to Osiris also agrees well with the idea of Horus as the avenger of his
father, a role played by the King in this scene. Furthermore, Hathor carries the epithet, *ndty.t hr
sn=s*, "Protectress for her brother," another allusion to Osiris. The Atef worn by the King in this
scene thus works on multiple levels, tying together strands of the Contendings of Horus and

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\(^{345}\) Abubakr, Kronen, 28-29.

\(^{346}\) Abubakr, Kronen, 20-21, cites a passage from BoD 183, which may originate in the MK; the NK temple of
Ramesses III at Medinet Habu contains a text referring to the King as *tw.t hry 3tf mi Hr-3h.ty Hr wr mrmw.t mi tt=f R*
"an image under (=wearing) the Atef-crown, like Horakhty, Horus, Great one of love like his father Ra." See Lacau,
Textes religieux, 222a.

\(^{347}\) Note that *hp.t*, "crown" is determined with the sign of the Atef: \(\text{\begin{tikzpicture}[baseline=-0.5ex]
\node at (0,0) {\text{\textcopyright}};
\node at (0.5,0) {hp.t};
\end{tikzpicture}}\). Cf. Wb 3, 69,16.
Seth, as the King vanquishes the enemy of Osiris and presents Hathor with the trophy of his success.

Although the King wears an identical Atef crown in the symmetrical scene on the west wall (Fig. 4.66), he is equated there with Thoth, agreeing well with his offering of the wensheb, the symbol of ordered time. Just as we saw on the west wall of the Southern Niche, there is again an allusion to the Left Eye of Ra, with the accompanying text describing Hathor as hr ḫmn ḫḥt ḫr šḥd ḫdb.w, "uniting with the Left Eye, brightening the Banks" (D III, 81,12), a reference to moonlight illuminating the two banks of the Nile. Thus, the King, wearing the crown of Thoth, again fulfills the task of Ra's deputy, returning the Left Eye to its proper place and thereby restoring the ordered time that his offering symbolizes. Also, just as Hathor's horns-and-disk headdress can signal an iconography play in the symmetrical scene, which we saw earlier, the wearing of the identical crown by the same character in two symmetrical scenes can also signal the existence of an iconography play between the other figures in the scenes. This situation occurs with the menit and wensheb offering scenes; we will return to them for a closer look in 4.3.2.

The Atef crown thus carries out versatile roles in the Per-wer. It adorns the god Thoth in his role as Ra's deputy, pacifying or cajoling the Distant Goddess to return, especially in her form as the moon, his symbol. With its strong funerary and Osirian connotations, the crown naturally appears in scenes concerning the deceased ancestral gods; visual plays on the name of its white-crown component allow it to allude to milk offerings. Finally, when the same figure wears it in two symmetrical scenes, it can also point to iconography plays among the other crowns and objects. Its many connotations and multiple variations thus give it a breadth of use that enriches the scenes in which it appears.

### 4.1.3 Variations Built on the Red Crown

In the Per-wer, the Lower Egyptian red crown, worn alone, appears opposite the Upper Egyptian white crown in scenes of geographical symmetry. The red crown carries associations with Wadjet, the tutelary goddess of Lower Egypt, and with Geb and Atum. It can also serve as the foundation for more complex creations. We will now look at the two variations appearing in the Per-wer: the Crown of Geb, worn by either the King or Hathor; the Arsinoe Crown, worn by the Queen.

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348 For the Contendings of Horus and Seth, see Blackman, Myth of Horus, 1943; Griffiths, Horus and Seth, 1960; Fairman, Triumph of Horus, 1974.
349 Interestingly, milk offerings were also an important part of the ritual at the traditional burial place of Osiris in the Abaton, on the island of Biggeh across from Philae. See Griffiths, Iside et Osiride, 367; Junker, Abaton, 56-57; Diodorus Siculus, I, 22.3-6.
350 The individual crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt are worn by the King in the following scenes in the Per-wer: two symmetrical offerings of the wḏ.t to the King by Nekhbet and Wadjet in the 1st register of the north wall; two symmetrical offerings of Ma'at in the 1st register of the south wall; two symmetrical offerings of Ma'at in the 2nd register of the south wall of the Southern Niche.
4.1.3.1 Crown of Geb (Red Crown, Atef)

The so-called Crown of Geb consists of the Atef (a complex bundle of reeds, ram’s horns, and disks), placed atop the red crown of Lower Egypt. Of the 142 individual crowns appearing in the Per-wer, 4% (5) of them are the Crown of Geb; the crown appears in 11% (5) of the 45 ritual scenes in the Per-wer. When worn by the King, the red crown fits closely to the head; when worn by Hathor, it stands atop her wig or headdress (Fig. 4.13).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Worn by King (3)</th>
<th>Worn by Hathor (1)</th>
<th>Worn by Hathor (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Red crown, Atef crown (rush crown framed with 2 ostrich feathers and topped with disk, 2 uraei with disks, ram's horns with disk)</td>
<td>Red crown, Atef crown (rush crown framed with 2 ostrich feathers and topped with disk, 2 uraei with disks, ram's horns with disk); tripartite wig</td>
<td>Red crown, Atef crown (rush crown framed with 2 ostrich feathers and topped with disk, ram's horns with disk); vulture headdress and tripartite wig</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 4.13. Variations of the Crown of Geb in the Per-wer Sanctuary

Geb, the personification of the earth, is responsible for all of its products, including plants, minerals, and the inundation, which springs from deep within it. He is also the ancestor and father of the gods, and the first terrestrial ruler. Although in earlier depictions he usually has a goose (the phonogram of his name) as a headdress, in the Ptolemaic temple reliefs he wears his eponymous crown. The Atef- and red-crown components represent his authority over Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively, and this composite crown became so closely associated with him that it can serve as the determinative of his name in Ptolemaic Egyptian.

351 Three times by the King: in each of the symmetrical lintel scenes of the north wall (offerings of mnw-jars of beer and a jar of wine); in the 3rd register of the west wall (funerary offering); twice by Hathor: 3rd register of the north wall (hd.t-jar of primordial water); 2nd register of the east wall (sistra offering).
352 Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 129.
353 Two exceptions are LD IV, 59; E VI, 293-4 and E XIV, pl. 600. Depictions before the Ptolemaic Era of Geb wearing this crown include a stela of Ramesses II (see Yoyotte, Tanis, 47-62) and a relief in the Temple of Hibis (Davies, Hibis, pl. 5, VII), cited in Bedier, Geb, 171.
354 Abubakr, Kronen, 17, and Vassilika, Philae, 88, suggest that the Atef, with its central element of the white crown (or a similarly-shaped bundle of reeds) represents Upper Egypt; the composite crown with the Atef on the red crown thus represents both Upper and Lower Egypt. The Atef-element may also allude to his roles as judge of the dead and as an intermediary to whom offerings were made for the benefit of the deceased. See Te Velde, Geb, 428. Yoytte, Tanis, 58-62, suggests that Geb, as one of the oldest of the Lower Egyptian gods, red crown around the Atef and gave it to his son Osiris. See Bedier, Geb, 171.
355 On the east wall of Chamber C, Crypt West 1: D VI, 85.8, cited by Bedier, Geb, 160. During this period, Geb's name can also be written without the composite crown on the seated god.
In the Per-her, Hathor wears the Crown of Geb in two scenes, both related (either directly or by iconography play) to products of the earth. In the 3rd register of the north wall, she sits on a throne placed over 16 jars of water, representing the height in cubits of a perfect inundation; the King presents her with a nms.t-jar of primordial water (Fig. 4.14).

As the daughter of Geb, Hathor is the guarantor of the inundation and the bounty of the earth that it brings. Thus, she rightfully wears the Crown of Geb in this scene. A similar connection with the fruits of the earth occurs in the 2nd register of the east wall, where she again wears the Crown of Geb in a sistra offering scene (Fig. 4.14). However, in this case, her crown links neither to theme of the sistra scene, nor to any of its epithets, but rather to the offering of the mnw-jar of beer (a product of the earth) in the symmetrical scene on the west wall, in which she carries the epithet, "Lady of bread, who makes beer" (D III, 82,11). It is interesting that Hathor's crown in the nms.t-jar offering scene has two uraeii, while her crown in the sistra offering has none. I believe that the reason lies in the fact that the two uraeii, or w3d.ty, represent the Two Lands; when designing the nms.t-jar offering scene, the scribe may have wanted to place additional emphasis on the benefaction of the inundation for both Upper and Lower Egypt, whereas he found this emphasis unnecessary in the sistra offering (or its linked partner, the mnw-jar offering), because the emphasis there is on Hathor's pacification.

The King's appearance with the Crown of Geb in the Per-her is more straightforward than Hathor's. He wears it in two symmetrical offering scenes on the lintel of the north wall, in offerings of mnw-jars of beer (Fig. 4.16) and a jar of wine (Fig. 4.17), carrying the epithets, "Lord of Imet and Senu" (D III, 59,1), which connect him with the wine-producing regions of the Delta.

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356 See more discussion of this scene in 5.2.3.
357 We explore the iconography and epithet plays between these two scenes in 4.4.1, with further discussion in 5.1.2.
358 As noted earlier, Nekhbet and Wadjet, the tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively, offer the w3d.ty-scepters to the King in two symmetrical scenes in the 1st register of the north wall.
In the 3rd register of the west wall, he also wears the Crown of Geb while presenting a funerary repast to the deceased ancestral gods (Fig. 4.18); in return, Isis offers him "the field producing for you its products, the storehouse flooded with good things" (D III, 84, 15).

In all three examples, King's crown perfectly fits the context of the offerings: wine, beer, meat, and bread—all products of Geb's domain, the earth. In addition, the Atef-element of the crown, with its own strong Osirian and funerary connotations, connects well with the idea of maintaining the funerary cult of the ancestors.  

The Crown of Geb thus imbues the wearer with the powers of Geb over the earth and its products; its use in the Per-wer highlights this theme. When worn by Hathor, the crown indicates that she is the guarantor of the inundation and fabricator of bread and beer; when worn by the King, it shows that he is in charge of the production of the wine and beer needed to pacify the Distant Goddess, as well as the products necessary to maintain the cults of the human and divine ancestors. Hathor's use of the crown in the 2nd register, where the emphasis is on the offering of her sacred objects, involves iconography and epithet play. The King's use in the lintel and in the 3rd register underlines his responsibility for the offerings he presents to Hathor and the ancestral deities. In all of these examples, the crown gives the wearer the power of Geb to carry out the necessary actions in the respective scenes.

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359 This scene is explored in more detail in 5.5.3.
4.1.3.2 Crown of Arsinoe (Red Crown, Falcon Feathers, Horns and Disk)

A variant of the Crown of Geb is the distinctive creation made for the deified Arsinoe II (Fig. 4.19), sister and wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Its components include the red crown, two falcon feathers, a small horns-and-disk emblem atop a pair of ram's horns, a modius of uraeii, and a second pair of ram's horns at the base (Fig. 4.20). In the Per-heru, this unique crown appears makes up only 1% (2) of the 142 individual crowns, appearing in only 4% (2) of the 45 ritual scenes (Fig. 4.22). Besides Arsinoe II, Cleopatra III and VII also wore the crown; its unique iconography has encouraged several scholarly studies and inspired some lively debate. Although designed in the Ptolemaic Period, the crown has New Kingdom antecedents, beginning with Seti I and including Ramesses II and III. The earth god Geb is one of the few gods to wear it; when worn by a god or king, the crown lacks the feminine horns and disk.

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360 Dils, Couronne d'Arsinoé, 1307, labels the straight feathers on the Arsinoe crown as ostrich, rather than falcon, contra Vassilikia, Ptolemaic Phalae, 87, 94. I follow Vassilikia in considering the ones curled at the top and splaying slightly at the base to be ostrich feathers, whereas the straight-but-tapered ones are falcon feathers.

361 This variation of the Crown of Geb also appears in the staircase at Dendera (D VIII, pl. 793).


363 Two points of discussion are whether the crown was an emblem of Arsinoe II’s deification, and if her deification took place during her lifetime or after her death. Bennett, Arsinoe II, 2012, gives the date of her incorporation into the dynastic cult of the Θεοί Ἀδελφοί as Ptolemy II’s regnal year 13 or 14 (=273/2 or 272/1), which is several years before her death in the month of Pachons in regal year 15, as reported in the Mendes Stela (CGC 22181). The date of her death, “the most involved in Ptolemaic chronology,” according to Bennett, loc. cit., has estimates ranging from 268-270 B.C.E. See idem, Arsinoe II. Buraselis, Sibling Marriage, 297, suggests that the reason for Ptolemy II’s characterization of himself and his sister-wife as “brother-sister gods” was to raise themselves to the level of divinities, thereby equating their marriage with that of Isis and Osiris and thus making it more acceptable. Nilsson, Arsinoë, 477, argues that Arsinoe II was co-ruler with her husband, and that her crown, given to her during her lifetime, marks her as the political equal of her husband. However, Nilsson bases her conclusions only on iconographical evidence from Ptolemaic temples, without sufficiently employing other sources such as stelae and papyri; some of her suggestions (e.g. if Arsinoe II is playing a sistrum before a god, as an “active benefactor,” she must be alive to do so) are not convincing. Deceased personages (e.g. Pepi I on the lateral walls of the Per-heru) do present offerings to divinities at Dendera. In any event, the establishment of Arsinoe's posthumous cult on the Mendes Stela in regnal year 15 does not preclude her earlier use of the distinctive crown, because the decree does not indicate the creation of a crown, as in the Canopus Decree for Berenice, the deceased daughter of Ptolemy III Euergetes II. Until new evidence arises that specifies the exact time at which Arsinoe II’s crown first appears, I consider the matter to be still unsettled.

364 For Seti I’s depiction on the exterior north wall at Gurna, see Osing, Gurna, pl. 4. Ramesses II wears it at Karnak, Temple of Ptah, interior north framing of door (=Urk VIII, 139-140, no. 201); Ramesses III wears it in on the south door jamb of the Migdol at Medinet Habu (MH VIII, pl. 619).

365 From the NK onward, Geb occasionally wears a variation of what becomes the Arsinoe Crown, with the red crown and double falcon feathers, but without ram’s horns or a solar disk, as shown on pillar B in room A of the tomb of Ramesses III (PM I/2, p. 525), cited by Dils, Couronne d’Arsinoé, 1314.

366 E.g., at Hibis, Edfu, Dendera, Kom Ombo, the small Temple of Opet at Karnak, Deir el Chelouit, the Roman Mamisi at Dendera, and Esna. See Dils, Couronne d’Arsinoé, 1327-1330 for a list of Kings wearing the "crown of Arsinoe." As noted by Nilsson, Arsinoê, 284 n. 557, the earlier predecessor to the Arsinoê crown probably needs its own designation, rather than subsuming into the category of Arsinoê's female version, as in Dils' list. Nilsson calls it the "Ramesside Crown," thus avoiding the designation, "male variant of the crown of Arsinoê," despite the fact that kings other than Ramesses II and III wear it.
As a variant of the Crown of Geb, and one worn occasionally by the god himself, Arsinoe II's composite creation thus links her with the founding father of Egypt's divine dynasty. This connection agrees well with Ptolemy II's systematic promotion of her identification with Isis, the daughter of Geb; it may allude to the great agricultural projects undertaken during his reign in the Fayum, whose local god Sobek could be identified with Geb. Arsinoe's deification, which formed part of Ptolemy II's establishment of the Dynastic Cult, also involved setting up her statues in temples throughout Egypt, with a priesthood appointed to maintain their offering cult. Due to her identification with the beloved goddess Isis, Arsinoe II's worship was particularly popular among women.

Individual components of her crown carry important symbolic meaning. The ram's horns, which often function merely as a structural support for additional components, may allude to...
Banebdjedet, the ram god of Mendes, for whom Arsinoe II served as a high priestess. Because he was connected to the solar cult (based on an assimilation with Amun, Ra, and Horus), his horns can also symbolize fertility and eternal rejuvenation. Furthermore, the ram itself symbolizes power, respect, and kingship; the sign of a ram's head is the ideogram for šfy.t, "dignity." The two feathers, equated with the two Divine Eyes, symbolize luminosity; they endow the wearer with a divine cosmic nature. Interestingly, the tall feathers were also an essential part of the characteristic crown of the God's Wives of Amun—high priestesses who assumed royal iconography and titularies, many of which were taken over by Arsinoe II in her own titulary. The small horns-and-disk component, serving as a female emblem, connects with Hathor in her bovine and solar aspects. Together, these multiple components convey fertility and rejuvenation, power and authority, and divine luminosity—all qualities appropriate for the deified queen.

Fig. 4.22. Variations of the Arsinoe Crown in the Per-wer

On the lintel of the outer entrance of the Per-wer, the Queen wears the crown in two symmetrical sistra offerings (Fig. 4.23). Standing behind the King, she shakes the menit in one hand and raises her other in adoration before Hathor. Although the configuration of the Arsinoe

375 Lit., "the Ba of the Lord of Djedet," the city of Mendes. See Wb I, 414.9.
376 Arsinoe II's nsw.t-bt.y.t name was (Banebdjedet), attested in a stela from Mendes, Zagazig 228 (=Herriet Rznah Museum Nr. H 854), engraved during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. See Nilsson, Arsinoë II, 78, 243.
377 As suggested by Nilsson, Arsinoë, 444.
378 Wb IV, 457.3 – 459.7; PL 1004; Brunner-Traut, Horn, 9. Discussed as part of an example of sign play in 3.5.
379 Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, 193-194; BoD 17.
380 Goebs, Cosmic Aspects, 459-460. Tall feather crowns are treated in more detail in Section 4.1.5.
381 Ayad, God's Wife, 1-2. Arsinoe II also carried the title, "God's Wife," as indicated on a statue base; she took on the epithets of earlier God's Wives, such as those of Akhnnesneribe and Amenirdis I. See Nilsson, Arsinoë II, 409-411 and 497.
382 Derchain-Urtel, hptj-Krone, 64, also considers the small horns-and-disk emblem on the Hepty-crown (discussed in 4.1.2.2) as the crown's "female" component.
383 Nilsson, Arsinoë, 400-404, suggests that Arsinoe II was proclaimed Female King in her lifetime, the crown reflecting her three main cultural positions: Female King of Lower Egypt, high priestess, and Thea Philadelphus.
Crown is the same in both scenes, her wig arrangement varies: on the west side, a vulture headdress; on the east, a plain wig with an entwined uraeus around a seshed band.\textsuperscript{384} The vulture and the uraeus of the two headdresses allude to Nekhbet and Wadjet, the tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively, thus providing protection in both depictions and connecting the wearer to each of the Two Lands.

![Queen](image1)

![Hathor](image2)

**Fig. 4.23. Lintel on Outer Entrance of Per-wer Sanctuary, © IFAO**

Her epithets in both scenes also emphasize rule over both regions: \textit{hk3.t ( )| nb(.t) t3.wy ( )|}, "Female Ruler ( )| Lady of the Two Lands ( )|," the cartouches in each case being empty (D III, 51,16; 52,13). However, because the Per-wer was decorated during the reign of Cleopatra VII, these anonymous images represent the famous queen.\textsuperscript{385} An interesting aspect of the scene on the east side is the similarity of the Queen's crown to the one of Hathor. Although built around the double crown rather than the red crown, Hathor's so-called Hepty-crown nevertheless has the same falcon feathers and horns-and-disk emblem on ram's horns (Fig. 4.21); Arsinoe II's crown may therefore have been its inspiration.\textsuperscript{386} We will examine Hathor's crown in more detail in \textbf{4.1.5}, but here it is sufficient to note that it symbolizes kingship and the dignity of the goddess as a female king.\textsuperscript{387}

The complex crown designed for Arsinoe II thus visually represents her roles as queen and goddess, supporting qualities that Ptolemy II wished to emphasize as part of his overall plan to legitimize the rule of the royal couple. The components of the crown link her to fertility, rejuvenation, and divinity, while emphasizing that she was a powerful ruler in her own right. These connotations were not overlooked by the later Cleopatra VII, who recognized their value and reused the crown for her own iconography in the Per-wer at Dendera.

\textsuperscript{384} Vassilika, Philae, 95, also observed this convention at Philae. Nilsson, Arsinoë II, 234-235, notes that the tripartite wig does not have any exclusive regional connotations, being used by both Upper and Lower Egyptian deities. On the other hand, the vulture cap is associated with Upper Egypt and the goddess Nekhbet, who can also represent an aspect of Hathor, and represents divine protection for its wearer.

\textsuperscript{385} Noted by Dils, Couronne d'Arsinoé, 1310. See also Quaegebeur, Cléopâtre VII et Dendara, 49-72. At Dendera, she wears this crown in four other scenes at Dendera: D II, 40-41, pl. 98; D III, 131-132, pl. 218; D VIII, 116, pl. 767; D VIII, 96, pl. 793 (which we saw earlier in Fig. 4.13). There does not seem to be any geographical connotation with this crown because the Queen wears it on both east and west sides.

\textsuperscript{386} As suggested by Nilsson, Arsinoë, 512.

\textsuperscript{387} The theme of kingship for Hathor is also evident in the Ma'at offering on the east side of the 1st register, south wall, in which she wears the Hepty-crown and carries the same epithet as Arsinoe: \textit{nsw.yt bi ty.t}, "Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt" (D III, 63,3).
4.1.4 Variation Built on White Crown: "Lady of the Per-wer" (White Crown, Ostrich Feathers)

The white crown, like its red-crown counterpart, also appears in scenes of geographical symmetry in the Per-wer. Symbolizing Upper Egypt, the crown thus carries associations with the region's tutelary goddess, Nekhbet. In the Per-wer it has only one composite form, framed by two ostrich feathers. Although this form makes up only 2% (3) of the 142 crowns and appears in only 7% (3) of the 45 ritual scenes, it is an important indicator of Hathor's role in the Per-wer.

In the 3rd register of the east and west walls of the Per-wer, Hathor, denoted as nb.t pr-wr, "Lady of the Per-wer" (D III, 73,9; 85,7), wears this crown in both symmetrical scenes, each time seated before a representation of the Per-wer, the archaic shrine of Upper Egypt (Fig. 4.24 and 4.25). Nekhbet, seated before her, wears the same crown.

Fig. 4.24. 3rd Register, East Wall; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

Fig. 4.25. 3rd Register, West Wall; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

388 The individual crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt are worn by the King in the following scenes in the Per-wer: two symmetrical offerings of the w3d.ty to the King by Nekhbet and Wadjet in the 1st register of the north wall; two symmetrical offerings of Ma'at in the 2nd register of the south wall; two symmetrical offerings of Ma'at in the 2nd register of the south wall of the Southern Niche.

389 Hathor, wearing the usual horns and disk on a vulture headdress, also carries this title in an offering of the mnw-jar and band of electrum, in the 3rd scene of the 2nd register of the west wall (D III, 81,17); wearing the hpty-crown (See 4.1.5.1) in a Ma'at offering in the east scene of the 1st register of the south wall (D III, 68,2). Hathor also carries this title in texts not accompanying relief scenes, e.g., the east door jamb of the outer entrance of the Per-wer (D III, 56,10).
As the tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt and the mythical mother of the King, Nekhbet is the original "Lady of the Per-wer," having associations with this crown going back to the Pyramid Texts.\(^{390}\) In her form as a vulture, she wears it in two symmetrical scenes on the Upper Cornice of the outer entrance, framing the King’s cartouche with the help of her Lower Egyptian counterpart, Wadjet (Fig. 4.26).

![Fig. 4.26. Nekhbet wearing Similar Crown on Upper Cornice of the Per-wer's Outer Entrance](D II, pl. 94, © IFAO)

Although Nekhbet and Hathor both wear the crown in the incense offering scene in the 3\(^{rd}\) register of the east wall (Fig. 4.24), there are subtle differences: Nekhbet's crown fits closely to her head, reaching down to the nape of her neck, whereas Hathor's is perched atop her long tripartite wig in both symmetrical scenes (Fig. 4.27). Nekhbet's crown thus mimics the one that she wears as a vulture on the cornice; Hathor's suggests that its symbolism is supplementary to her own characteristics.

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<tr>
<td>Nekhbet (1)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hathor (2)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>White crown framed</td>
<td>White crown framed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by 2 ostrich</td>
<td>by 2 ostrich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feathers; fits</td>
<td>feathers; sits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>closely to head</td>
<td>atop tripartite</td>
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<td></td>
<td>wig</td>
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Fig. 4.27. Variations of White Crown and Ostrich Feathers in the Per-wer

Hathor's reciprocal gift for the King's incense offering is the Upper Egyptian crown (D III, 73,1), thus giving him rule over the southern areas of Egypt, from which his offering originates. His offering, as well as her reciprocal gift, thus correspond to the crown that she wears, due to the crown's associations with Nekhbet and her cult center at El-Kab in the south, and the regions generally south of Egypt, from which aromatic substances originate. For this reason, Hathor wears the same crown elsewhere at Dendera in offerings of incense, myrrh, and perfume,\(^{391}\) all of

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\(^{390}\) PT 470 of Pepi I (§910a-b): \(\text{r}\_\text{ḥ} (\text{P}.) \text{n \text{m}w.}\_\text{t}=\text{f n \text{ḥm} (\text{P}.)} \text{p} \text{n \text{m}w.}\_\text{t}=\text{f } \text{ḥd}.\_\text{t sšp}.\_\text{t wšt hry.}\_\text{t-ib } \text{Nḥb nb}.\_\text{t pr-wr}, \) "This Pepi knows his mother. This Pepi is not ignorant of his mother, the Bright One, the Thick One who resides in Nekheb, Lady of the Per-wer." Cf Allen, PT, p. 125 (line 321 of Pepi I); Faulkner, PT, p. 159 (§910).

\(^{391}\) Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 121-123, notes the following attestations of this crown elsewhere at Dendera: Barque Sanctuary (Chassinat's Chamber A), D I, 45,9-18 (offering of \(\text{mæl}\)-perfume); Chamber of Appearance (Chassinat's Chamber Z), D IX, 51,2 – 52,2 (myrrh); Per-Neser (Chassinat's Chamber M), D III, 179,17 – 180,11; 189,2-13
which are substances offered to her by Thoth in the Myth of the Wandering Goddess. By offering her products from the south, Thoth demonstrates to the Distant Goddess that if she returns to Egypt, she will not lack any of the things she had enjoyed during her sojourn in Nubia.

In the reciprocal scene on the west wall (Fig. 4.25), in which the King presents a funerary offering to the deceased ancestor gods, the allusion to the south is more subtle. Among the products that he presents are ṣps.w nb.w, "exotic provisions" (D III, 84,12), the products of foreign lands. Hathor, speaking for all of the ancestor gods, states, ṣsp=n ṣps.w=k , "We receive your exotic provisions" (D III, 85,8). The polyptoton by metathesis between ṣsp, "receive," and ṣps.w, "exotic provisions," emphasizes the gods' acceptance of the foreign goods; Hathor's white crown with its double ostrich feathers thus connects to these offerings, as well.

As Lady of the Per-wer, the archaic shrine of Upper Egypt, Hathor takes on the crown of the tutelary goddess of this region as her own, although wearing it in a slightly different fashion to mark its borrowed nature. Because of its allusions to the south and the exotic products that the Distant Goddess would have enjoyed during her sojourn, the crown is especially appropriate for Hathor to wear when receiving offerings of incense and other foreign products. The twofold importance of these products—in maintaining the ancestor cult and in recalling the myth of the Sun Eye's return—connects well with Hathor's iconography in these scenes, as well as making the Per-wer Sanctuary an ideal place to present the theme of her pacification and return.

### 4.1.5 Variations Built on Double Crown

The double crown, or pꜣ sḫm.ty (lit., "the Two Powerful Ones") is the symbol of the union of Upper and Lower Egypt. In its most simple, classic form, it appears in the Per-wer on the heads of gods, goddesses, and the King; it has more variations than any other crown in the Per-wer. The simple form of the double crown makes up 20% (28), and the composite forms based on it count for 8% (11) of the 142 crowns, for a total of 28% (39) of the crowns in the Per-wer. The versatility of symbolism and meaning carried by the different variations may explain why the ancient scribes employed so many of its versions in the ritual scenes; the wearing of different versions by multiple characters within the same scene can create subtle links between them.

(censings); Kiosk, D VIII, 60.7; 60.10. However, on the lintel of interior door of Throne of Ra (Chassinat's Chamber N; D IV, 4.13 – 6.8), in a scene of a ritual run with a jar of inundation water. Kurth, Pepi I, 22, notes that Isis wears this crown in Crypt South 1, Chamber E, north wall (D V, 158,7 – 160,8, pl. 443).

392 Wb IV, 453,1-8.

393 D IV, 240,3-5, which gives a description of the double crown: "Offering the Double Crown: Take the white crown united with the red crown. Your head is equipped with your beautiful crowns, you [illuminate] with the white crown, you shine with the red crown, the Ennead shines in seeing you" (D IV, 240,3-5).

394 Its variations can be divided into two main categories, according to the added elements in common: the Hepty-crown (with falcon feathers and ram's horn) and crowns having two ostrich feathers.

395 Eight scenes have more than one character wearing some form of the double crown: e. side, lintel, outer entrance (sistra): 4 (King, Ihy, Hathor, Horus Behdety); w. side, lintel, outer entrance (sistra): 4 (Horus Behdety, Hathor, Ihy, King); e. side, 1st reg., south wall (Ma'at): 3 (Ihy, Hathor, Horus Behdety); e. side, base, south wall (primordial water): 2 (Ihy, Horus Behdety); 1st scene, 2nd register, west wall (ḥbd): 2 (Horus and Hathor as Isis); w. side, 1st reg., south wall (Ma'at): 2 (Isis and Ihy); w. side, 2nd reg., south wall of Southern Niche: 2 (Isis and Ihy).
4.1.5.1 Hepty-Crowns – Royal Crowns of Horus and Hathor

One of the most interesting composites built upon the base of the double crown is the so-called Hepty-crown. Its basic form consists of the double crown, two falcon feathers, and a pair of ram's horns. It accounts for 4% (6) of the 142 crowns in the Per-\(\text{wer}, appearing in 22\% (5) of the 45 ritual scenes. Worn by both Hathor and Horus Behdety, it has three variants (Fig. 4.27), including an optional ostrich feather placed behind the red crown (for either Horus or Hathor), and a small horns-and-disk emblem for Hathor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Double crown with ostrich feather at back, 2 falcon feathers, ram's horns at base; divine tripartite wig</th>
<th>Double crown, 2 falcon feathers, small horns and disk on ram's horns at base; vulture headdress and tripartite wig</th>
<th>Double crown with ostrich feather at back, 2 falcon feathers, small horns and disk on ram's horns at base; vulture headdress and tripartite wig</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Horus Behdety (1)</td>
<td>Hathor (4)</td>
<td>Hathor (1)</td>
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Fig. 4.27. Variations of the Hepty-Crown

For the crown's ancient name and a description of its components (in Hathor's female version), we turn to a text on the east wall of the Wabet at Dendera:

"Offering the \(h\text{p}.\text{t}\): Take for yourself the white crown united with the red crown, the sun disk joined behind it, the two feathers upon them, the curl in the middle of them, the horns of the disk inside them" (D IV, 240,12 – 241,3).

The offering of the crown confirms the King's legitimacy to rule; Hathor receives the crown and returns it to the King as a reciprocal gift, thus showing that he is the rightful ruler of the Two Lands. The term, \(h\text{p}.\text{t}\), written with the signs of the sunshade sign and the double crown,

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396 Studies of the Hepty-crown include those of Derchain-Urtel, \textit{hptj-Krone}, 1994; Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 2003, 126-127; Nilsson, Arsinoë II, 2010, 288-289, and 503-509, which discusses the historical background for the creation of the Hepty-crown, which Nilsson calls, "The Later Hathoric Crown." Cauville translates \(h\text{p}.\text{t}\) as "couronne de fête." The general term for crown, \(h\text{p}.\text{t}\) (Wb III, 69,16, GR; PL 639-640), represents the extent of the King's rule; it is thus related to \(h\text{p}.\text{ty}\), the extreme limits of the earth to which the rays of the sun and moon reach (PL 639). See discussion in 5.2.1.

397 Both Horus and Hathor wear versions of the crown in one scene: the Ma'at offering on the east side of the 1\(^{st}\) register of the Per-\(\text{wer}'s south wall.

398 The texts call this additional ostrich feather the \(nfr.\text{t}\) (using an ostrich-feather ideogram), "the beautiful feather," in a description of the Hepty-crown in D VII, 201,4, cited by Derchain-Urtel, \textit{hptj-Krone}, 29.

399 D IV, pl. 307, 1\(^{st}\) register of east wall of the Wabet (Chassinat's Chamber S). Another offering of the Hepty-crown also occurs in the 3\(^{rd}\) scene, 1\(^{st}\) register, south wall, of the 1\(^{st}\) Chamber East (Chassinat's Chamber D), D II, 85,7 – 86,6, pl. 114.

400 Wilson, PL 640.
(S36), is a general term for crown. It is related to *hp.ty*, meaning "extreme limits," also spelled with the sunshade, the two disks alluding to the course of the sun and the moon. This term for "crown" thus represents the extent of the King's rule on earth.

The history of the Hepty-crown is particularly interesting. During the reign of Ptolemy IV, a time of political instability in Upper Egypt, the male and female variants of the Hepty-crown appeared simultaneously for Horus and Hathor in the decoration of the naos of the Temple of Edfu. In her study of the Crown of Arsinoe, Nilsson explains the probable political motivation behind the creation of the crowns, suggesting that by taking on the iconography of Arsinoe II's crowns, Horus and Hathor symbolically assimilated the ruling Ptolemaic dynasty, thereby becoming representatives of the dynastic rule. The substitution of Arsinoe II's red crown by the double crown also underlined the rule over a *united* Upper and Lower Egypt—something that Ptolemy IV would have wanted to stress, considering the unrest in the South. This new iconography, intrinsically linking Horus and Hathor to the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies, allowed Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III to strengthen their own legitimacy by identifying with the divine co-regents. Despite this clever visual propaganda, the rebellion in the South held sway for some two decades; further work on the Temple of Edfu did not resume until reign of Ptolemy VI.

The legacy of Arsinoe II in these crowns is apparent in selected scenes from the Per-wer. On the east side of the 1st register of the south wall, the King offers Ma'at to Hathor and Horus, who both wear a form of the Hepty-crown (Fig. 4.28). Arsinoe II took on the epithet of "Female King" from the earlier God's Wives that she emulated; in this scene, Hathor carries the title, *nswy.t-bi.ty.t*, "Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt" (D III, 68,6). As if to counteract any disorder brewing during the reign of the Ptolemaic King, Horus Behdety states, *di=i n=k m3.t *hn.t m3 n hpr grg m rnp.wt=k, "I give you Ma'at united with the land, without falsehood coming into being during your years (of rule)" (D III, 68,5). The visual image of Horus and Hathor wearing almost identical crowns underlines their co-regency, an idea emphasized earlier during the reign of Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II.

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401 Wb III, 69,16, GR. Wilson, PL 639-640, suggests that *hp.t* is a general word describing the crowns of Egypt's kingship, rather than referring to a particular crown.
402 Discussed in 5.2.1.
403 Suggested by Wilson, PL. 639.
404 The naos is the rear core of the temple (not to be confused with the other meaning of "naos," the small shrine of the god in a sanctuary) and includes the central barque sanctuary and the subsidiary chapels opening onto the corridor surrounding it. This holiest part of the temple is always the first part to be built. In front of it is the hypostyle hall ("pronaos"), followed by the peristyle court and the entrance pylon. See discussion of Ptolemaic temple architecture in Section 1.4. Kurth, Treffpunkt, 26-27, notes that the decoration of rear part of the temple (the area behind the pronaos) took place from Regnal Years 10 to 16 of Ptolemy IV (212 – 207/206 BCE).
405 Nilsson, Arsinoë, 503, 508.
406 The revolt successfully installed native rule for 20 years in Upper Egypt, but during this time, work on the Temple of Edfu halted, not resuming until 176 BCE, during the reign of Ptolemy VI. See Kurth, Treffpunkt, 26-27.
With this background in mind, the relationships between characters wearing various forms of the double crown in the Per-wer take on new meaning. On the east side of the lintel of the Per-wer's outer entrance (Fig. 4.29), at the viewer's far left, we see the Queen wearing the Crown of Arsinoe and shaking the menit; as noted earlier, this figure represents Cleopatra VII, her crown thus linking with her illustrious deified ancestor, Arsinoe II.

Before her stands the King, representing Caesarion, her son by Julius Caesar. Wearing the double crown adorned with a seshed band of uraeii, he shakes the sistrum, offering Hathor a stalk of papyrus. In an unusual depiction, Hathor's son Ihy appears as a full-sized adult, wearing a double crown fitted closely to his head, without his usual sidelock of youth. His representation, strikingly similar to the King's, thus creates a visual link between the two figures. Because the King identifies with Ihy, the ancient designer's depiction of the child god as an adult creates a performative statement, perhaps meant to secure Caesarian's future adulthood. Turning towards Horus Behdety at the far right, we see that he also wears the double crown, thus creating yet another visual link to both Ihy and the King, and thus strengthening Caesarian's identification with the divine co-regent, Horus Behdety. Keeping the historical reality in mind, we can thus read the tableau of royal and divine figures on the lintel of the Per-wer's entrance on multiple levels. On the cultic level, the figures pacify Hathor with the shaking of sistra and menit, so that the Distant Goddess can return and restore cosmic order. On the iconographic level, the similarity in crowns links the Queen and the King to Hathor and Horus, connecting the terrestrial

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Fig. 4.28. East Side of 1st Register, South Wall; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

Fig. 4.29  East Side of Lintel, Outer Entrance of Per-wer; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

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407 The papyrus (wḏ) forms a visual pun on his epithet, wḏ n Sḥm.t, "Offspring of Sekhmet," discussed in Section 5.1.2.
rulers with their divine counterparts, who are also co-regents of the Two Lands. On the historical level, Cleopatra, following in Arsinoe II's iconographic footsteps, proclaims her lineage to her distant ancestor, who also ruled Egypt as a strong "Female King"; Caesarian, her young son, visually proclaims his identity not only as the adult son of the divine ruling couple, but also as Horus Behdeti himself, the legitimate divine ruler of Egypt.

According to Egyptian belief, these performative visual statements engraved in stone should have come into being. Cleopatra should have continued to rule as Female King, and Caesarian should have reached adulthood as the Living Horus. However, having left the cartouches in the relief blank, without the names of either Cleopatra and Caesarian inside them, the heka was left incomplete. An ancient Egyptian might have explained the eventual demise of the royal mother and son by noting that the magic in the relief could not take effect on anonymous figures.

The Hepty-crown intrinsically identifies with Hathor as Female Ruler, leading scholars to call it her "Royal Crown."408 Her use of the crown in the Per-wer focuses particularly on the south wall409 where it occurs in offering scenes of cloth and unguent410 (originally connected with the maintenance of the Osirian cult), and in offerings of Ma'at. Especially in the scenes of Ma'at, the visual symbolism subtly communicates the connection between Ptolemaic rule and stability in the realm. Even the symbolism in the crown's two tall feathers, representing the Divine Eyes (sun and moon), guarantees duration and stability without interruption—something that Cleopatra VII was also eager to emphasize, one hundred and fifty years after the priestly scribes first created this complex crown during the reign of her ancestor, Ptolemy IV.

4.1.5.2 Royal Crown of Isis (Double Crown, Ostrich Feathers, Seshed Band)

The Isiac counterpart to Hathor's Hepty-crown also employs the double crown as its base, but with different supplementary elements: two ostrich feathers and a seshed band with the entwined tail of the uraeus, tied around the base of the red crown. When worn by Isis, the crown consistently carries these elements, varying only in the headdress worn beneath (Fig. 4.30). Although the second example in Fig. 4.30 appears to have an omitted uraeus-seshed band, a closer inspection of the actual relief (Fig. 4.31) proves that it is only an error in the line drawing.411 The third example in Fig. 4.30 is a combination of the royal crowns of both Hathor and Isis, worn by Hathor as Isis in an offering of milk.412 Including the Hathor-Isis crown noted above, the crown of Isis accounts for a mere 2% (3) of the 142 crowns in the Per-wer, appearing

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408 Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 126.
409 Four of the five scenes with Hathor wearing the Hepty-crown occur on the south wall of the Per-wer: e. side of 1st register (Ma'at); e. side of 2nd register (cloth); w. side of 2nd register (unguent); or the south wall of the Southern Niche: e. side, 2nd register (Ma'at).
410 The daily temple ritual contained both solar and Osirian elements; the offering of cloth and unguent recalls the funerary rituals performed upon an Osirian mummy for the purpose of revivification. In the context of the temple ritual, it would thus revivify the cult image. See Davies, Ritual at Abydos, 89; Blackman, Incense and Libations, 73.
412 See discussion in Section 4.1.2. The Isis-element appears due to the King's epithet, ity n wšb.wt, "Sovereign of the Milk Cows" (D III, 69,9), which alludes to her epithet of wšb.t, "mourner." Hathor as Isis wears the Royal Crown of Isis, with the addition of Hathor's small horns-and-disk on ram's horns (an element of Hathor's Hepty-crown).
in 7% (3) of the 45 ritual scenes in the Per-wer. Two of these examples occur in symmetrical offerings of Ma'at, with the opposing scene featuring Hathor wearing her royal Hepty crown.  

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<td>Double crown, 1 ostrich feather behind red crown, 1 ostrich feather on white crown, seshed band with entwined uraeus; vulture headdress and tripartite wig</td>
<td>Double crown, 1 ostrich feather behind red crown, 1 ostrich feather on white crown, <em>seshed band with entwined uraeus</em> (not in drawing, but in photo below); tripartite wig.</td>
<td>Double crown, 1 ostrich feather behind red crown, 1 ostrich feather on white crown, small horns and disk on ram's horns; vulture headdress and tripartite wig</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isis (1)</td>
<td>Isis (1)</td>
<td>Hathor as Isis (1)</td>
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Fig. 4.30. Variations of the Royal Crown of Isis

![Image](image1.jpg)

Fig. 4.31. West Side, 2nd Reg., S. Wall, Southern Niche; D III, pl. 202, © IFAO

A cult statue found in the sebakh within Dendera's temple enclosure gives an idea of the crown's appearance in the round (Fig. 4.32); although the ostrich feathers appear to be missing, holes in the crown indicate that real feathers (or separate feather elements) would have been inserted. Unlike the Royal Crown of Isis in the ritual scenes of the Per-wer, the statue's seshed band with the entwined uraeus appears on the statue's wig instead of the red crown.  

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413 Symmetrical Ma'at scenes opposite Hathor's Hepty-crown: Mysterious Corridor, 1st register, south wall, directly west of Per-wer entrance (D II, pl. 94).  
414 Photo on left by Erik Gustafson, 2009, taken in the Southern Niche of the Per-wer Sanctuary, shows the seshed band with the entwined uraeus on the red crown.  
415 Discovered in 1918 in a "votive ritual hoard" consisting of statuettes of hawk figures, the child god Ihy, Hathor-Isis, mirrors, sistra, incense burners, altars, bracelets, and collar necklaces, near the sacred lake of the Temple of Dendera. See Abdalla, Sebbakh Dendera, 22 and 25.  
416 However, it is not clear from the photograph if there is also a seshed band with entwined uraeus on the red crown of the statue.
Scholars designate the crown of Isis in various ways, calling it "la couronne hp.t," "la couronne de fête d'Isis," and "la couronne de fête de la déesse en tant que reine." The term, hp.t, from the texts at Dendera, is the same general term used to describe the royal crowns of Horus and Hathor, discussed earlier in 4.1.5.1. For the present purposes, I have chosen to call this crown the "Royal Crown of Isis," in order to distinguish it from the "Hepty" crowns of Horus and Hathor, which have different elements in common. However, because the three crowns have close associations to kingship, I designate all of them as "Royal Crowns."

Fig. 4.32. Cult Statue of Isis from the Temple of Hathor at Dendera

For clues to the meaning behind the crown's iconography, we turn to a text accompanying the King's offering of this crown to Isis in the "Temple of Birth" at Dendera.  

\[
ir.t \; hp.t \; gld \; mdw \; m-n=t \; sšd \; mdḫ.n=f \; ḫ3.t=t \; hr.t-tp \; hmn.t \; m \; wp.t=t \\
\; n.t \; stnw\; sns=sn \; m \; ḫ3.t=t \; šw.ty \; dmd \; r=gs=sn
\]

"Wearing the (royal) crown. Words to say: Take for yourself the seshed band. It has encircled your forehead. The uraeus is united (ḥmn) with your head. The red crown and the white crown—they join together (sns) on your forehead, the two feathers united (dmd) beside them" (D II, 112,12 – 113,2).

Immediately noticeable are the text's three different verbs employed for "unite" (ḥmn, sns, dmd), thus emphasizing the metaphorical union of the crown's components with the wearer, who

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417 Preys, Complexes, 57 n. 558.
418 Gutbub, Hathor, 344.
419 Cairo Museum JE 46382; Photo by A. Lecler, © IFAO, in Cauville, Statues cultuelles, pls. 18, 19. Except for its material (silver instead of gold) and some minor details (44 cm. vs. 45 cm.; lowered arm rather than raised), this statue is identical with the depiction of Isis on the west side of the 2nd register on the south wall of the Southern Niche, in the Temple of the Sistrum (Chassinat's Chamber I), D III, pl. 179. Other similar depictions include D III, pl. 211; D V, pls. 418 and 443.
420 1st scene, 2nd register, north wall of the ḫ.t-mšhn.t ("Temple of Birth," Chassinat's Chamber E), D II, 112,12 – 113,11, pl. 117.
421 Following Wilson, PL 640, who translates ir.t hp.t as "wearing the crown."
is imbued with their qualities. The term, *hp.t*, "(royal) crown," also forms a pun with Isis' epithet, *ity.t m hp.ty*, "Female Sovereign in the Extreme Limits," (D II, 113.8), thus emphasizing the extensive realm of her divine kingship. The *mdh*, "encircling" of the brow describes the physical joining of the two crowns (and thus the Two Lands) by the seshed band.

An allusion to the crown's feathers exists in the description of Isis as *nb.t m $\text{m}^5.t$ m*h*t m h$^3.t = s h^c.t i m M^5.t m r^e nb*, "Lady of Ma'at, the uraeus on her forehead, appearing with Ma'at every day" (D II, 113.10-11). By repeating "Ma'at" twice, the text recalls the two ostrich feathers, which also symbolize the two Divine Eyes; the uraeus between them alludes to the role of Hathor-Sekhmet in maintaining Ma'at. This statement, together with the entwining of the uraeus around the seshed band, visually conveys the message that the uraeus, in helping to maintain Ma'at, also keeps the Two Lands united. We therefore see a number of ideas embedded in the iconography of the Royal Crown of Isis: the realm of her divine rule, the union of the Two Lands, the maintenance of Ma'at by the uraeus, and the union of the crown's qualities with the wearer. Having received the offering of the Royal Crown, Isis returns it to the King as a reciprocal gift. In the process, she thus transfers to him all of the qualities that it represents, conferring upon him the legitimacy to rule Egypt.

In the Per-wer, the offering of Ma'at by the King on the west side of the south wall features Isis wearing her Royal Crown; an examination of the accompanying text reveals even more allusions underlying the iconography. In the Divine Randzeile, Isis is called

![Fig. 4.33. West Side, 1st Register, S. Wall, D III, pl. 190, © IFAO](image)

The text literally surrounds the crown of Isis, being placed in columns 11-13 in the scene (See top left-hand corner of Fig. 4.33). Another inscription in the Per-wer, on the west side of the door jamb, further explains the meaning:

\[
p^5p^6.n \text{ sy mw.t = s r } \text{ t3 m B.t-di m hrw grh nhn m ss=f }
\]
\[
w^6.t \text{ pw...Spd.t m p.t hk3.t n(}t\text{) h3b=f = wd mdw m sn n itn}
\]

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422 Wb III, 69.16.
423 Wb III, 11-12, as a designation for the world. Wilson, PL, 639, defines it as "the extreme limits of the earth to which the rays of sun and moon penetrate." See earlier discussion concerning the Hepty-crown (4.1.5.1).
424 Wilson, PL 935, notes that the ritual of tying the seshed band on the King during the Sed Festival is a physical symbol of the unification of the Two Lands and his rule over them. See Edfu XIV, pl. 594, depicting the King wearing the Sed Festival cloak and double crown encircled by the seshed band, while Thoth inscribes a long kingship for him, with many jubilees. See also Bruyère, Deir-el-Medineh, 181 and n. 1, for more discussion of the significance of the seshed band; Goyon, Confirmation, 87-88 and fig. 3; Moret. Culte, 189 and n. 1.
"Her mother bore her on earth in Iatdi the Day of the night of the infant in his nest. She is the Unique Uraeus…Sothis in the Sky, the Female ruler of the stars, who decrees words in the circuit of the sun disk" (D III, 55,5-6).

Leitz\textsuperscript{425} explains that the reference to the "Day of the Night of the Child in his Nest," plays on the double meaning of the word \textit{msi}, which can mean "be born," as well as "heliacal rising." The dawn ("the day of the night"), occurring 40 minutes before sunrise and thus technically still the 5th Epagomenal Day, is therefore the heliacal rising of the star Sirius (with which Isis is equated) just before New Year's Day. This moment is thus the \textit{msi}, or "birth" of Isis.\textsuperscript{426} References to her birth on this day occur mostly on the south and west walls of the main Temple of Hathor and the small Temple of Isis at Dendera; the small temple itself stands at the southwest corner of the main temple.\textsuperscript{427} Furthermore, the ancient architects aligned the axis of the small temple precisely to the point of the horizon where Sirius would rise just before New Year's, when the \textit{msw.t R²}, "birth of Ra," takes place at dawn, as the new-born sun god, the falcon, comes forth from his nest and rises at dawn.\textsuperscript{428}

The rising of Sirius also connects to the Royal Crown of Isis through its seshed-band component in "The Ritual of Presenting the Seshed Band," which takes place precisely on the "Day of the Night of the Child in his Nest."\textsuperscript{429} Such seshed bands, presented for New Year’s, include inscriptions for "A beautiful year—a million and a hundred-thousand times."\textsuperscript{430} El-Kordy\textsuperscript{431} suggests that the verb \textit{sSd} is an active participle of the \textit{s}-causative of \textit{Sd}, "to pull out, take out," thus alluding to the "pulling out," or "the causing to come" of the flood from its source in the mythical cavern at Elephantine—an event that takes place at the rising of Isis-Sothis, the time of the ritual. He therefore sees the seshed as an "aide" to help bring forth the Nile.\textsuperscript{432} The coming of the flood would, in turn, naturally fulfill the wishes for a prosperous New Year.

The seshed band also carries connotations of protection, birth and renewal. Tied around the head and knotted in the back, with the ends hanging down as streamers, it forms the shape of an archaic ankh sign.\textsuperscript{433} Together with the magical properties of the knot, the seshed band thus guarantees protection and life. In birth scenes, the mother, wise-women, and protective

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\textsuperscript{425} Leitz, Nacht des Kindes, 136-157.
\textsuperscript{426} This "birth" is not to be confused with the birth of Isis, the daughter of Nut and Geb, on the 4th Epagomenal Day. Multiple texts at Dendera, including three in the Per-wer, refer to the "birth" (i.e. heliacal rising) of Isis on the "day of the child in his nest": D III, 55,5-6, west side, thickness of door jamb; D III, 79,9-11, west side of 1st register, south wall (Ma’at); D III, 98,11-13, west side of 2nd register, south wall (Ma’at); Isis wears her Royal Crown in the both of these offerings of Ma’at.
\textsuperscript{427} Leitz, Nacht des Kindes, 138.
\textsuperscript{428} Leitz, Nacht des Kindes, 138, suggests that the two Divine Eyes in this context are the morning sun (Left Eye) and the star Sirius (Right Eye), the intensity of the sun's rising that overshadows Sirius being the union of the Left and the Right Eyes. This idea, however, does not follow the textual tradition of equating Isis with the Left Eye (moon) and Hathor as the Right Eye (sun).
\textsuperscript{429} Leitz, Nacht des Kindes, 156.
\textsuperscript{430} Leitz, Nacht des Kindes, 156.
\textsuperscript{431} El-Kordy, Bandeau, 125-133.
\textsuperscript{432} El-Kordy, Bandeau, 131.
\textsuperscript{433} Wilson, PL 935.
goddesses often wear seshed bands around their heads;\textsuperscript{434} this connection extends to the protective role of Isis as the mother of Horus. The ritual of "Bringing the Seshed Band" at dawn, just before the birth of Ra on New Year's Day, would therefore guarantee that the newly born sun will rise successfully.

The multiple allusions carried in the iconography of the entwined-uraeus seshed band thus relate to the many mythological roles of Isis: she guarantees protection and life, birth and renewal; she rises as Sirius and heralds the inundation; she helps bind together the Two Lands, by identifying with the Eye of Ra. All of these associations make the addition of the seshed band an appropriate and effective element of her royal crown;\textsuperscript{435} its rich symbolism led to its becoming one of her identifying markers.

A final question remains: the reason behind the different configurations in the Royal Crowns of Horus, Hathor, and Isis. The key element seems to be the type of supplementary double feathers: falcon feathers for the royal couple; ostrich feathers for Isis (Fig. 4.34).

\begin{center}
\includegraphics{royal_crowns.png}
\end{center}

Fig. 4.34. Comparison of the Royal Crowns of Horus, Hathor, and Isis

I believe that the answer lies in the role that each divinity plays in the mythology. The falcon feathers relate to Horus as the Living King; Horus and Hathor are the living divine couple who actively rule the earth and the universe. The ostrich feathers (symbolizing Ma'at) relate to Osiris, who judges the dead;\textsuperscript{436} Osiris and Isis rule over the Netherworld. Being deceased, Osiris cannot rule over the Two Lands as a living King; therefore, he no longer wears the double crown. Isis, on the other hand, who actively plays a part in both worlds, may wear it. Therefore, in terms of the kingship, the falcon feathers in their crowns equate Horus and Hathor with the living royal couple ruling over Egypt; the ostrich feathers equate Isis (and Osiris) with the royal predecessors—the deceased parents of the living king.

\textsuperscript{434} In the Mammisi of Armant (LD, Part IV, pls. 59c and 60a); in the birth-giving of Amenhotep III by Mutemwia at Luxor, in which the two assisting goddesses, Serqet and Neith, wear seshed bands (Brunner, Geburt des Gottkönigs, pl. 4, Scene IV L; Ayad, God's Wife, 7).

\textsuperscript{435} The association with the inundation also explains why Isis wears the uraeus-entwined seshed when sitting over the isheru lake in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} register of the west wall.

\textsuperscript{436} The heart of the deceased is weighed against the feather of Ma'at in the Judgment.
4.1.5.3 "Hathor the Menit" (Double Crown, Ostrich Feathers)

Hathor can take the form of the menit necklace, considered an incarnation of the goddess, but when she appears as a woman in the context of its offering, she often wears a double crown flanked by two ostrich feathers (Fig. 4.36). This crown accounts for only 1% (1) of the 142 crowns in the Per-wer, appearing in only 2% (1) of the 45 ritual scenes.

In the Temple of the Menit, where she appears three times wearing this crown, the accompanying texts label her as t3 mni.t, "The Menit." In the Per-wer, Hathor wears this crown only once, in a wensheb offering, where it functions as part of an iconography-and-epithet play, discussed below in Section 4.4.1.

When identifying with Isis or Nephthys, Hathor employs the menit's apotropaic powers to protect Osiris from his enemies. This connection to Isis may explain the similarities of the crown of Hathor the Menit to the Royal Crown of Isis, which also consists of a double crown framed by two ostrich feathers. However, although allusions to Isis exist, the crown clearly belongs to Hathor; the uraeus-entwined seshet band of Isis is therefore lacking. Unlike the crown worn as Lady of the Per-wer, borrowed from Nekhbet and placed on top of Hathor's head, the crown that she wears as The Menit fits closely to her head. This manner of wearing suggests that the qualities carried by the crown are intrinsic to Hathor—a fact demonstrated by her incarnation within the instrument itself. Her use of "The Menit" crown thus gives her an alternative depiction when the context requires that she represent her sacred instrument. These

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437 Gosline, Menit, 37-46.
438 Preys discusses this form of Hathor in his Catalogue d'Hathor, 134.
439 An early attestation of this power appears in Urk IV, 287,8, during the reign of Hatshepsut. Barguet, Contrepoids, 107, notes that the menit also expresses fertility because it represents the testicles of Seth that were cut off. Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 134, attributes the protective power to the identification of the menit's beads with the testicles of Seth; Barguet, Contrepoids, 104-105, compares the circular area at the end of the counterpoise (the "rosette") to a lotus or a pubic triangle, thus also representing fertility and rebirth. See 5.1.2.
440 In the 3rd scene of the 3rd register of the east wall of the Barque Sanctuary, Hathor, receiving an offering of the menit by the King, is described as nb.ty.t rhyt hnt Iwn.t t 5ps.t wsr.t t'h3 hr sn=s ir nht=f r sby.w=f; "Mistress of Humankind in Iunet, the Noble and Powerful Lady who fights for her brother, who makes his protection against his enemies" (D I, 51,10). See also Colin, Objets sacres, 287.
441 See 4.1.5.2.
options are most clearly presented in the relief in the Temple of Menit (Fig. 4.36), where she appears in both forms: as the necklace, and as its human incarnation.

4.1.5.4 "Hathor the Navigator" (Double Crown, Ostrich Feathers, Horns)

The unusual composite crown worn by Hathor in the Per-wer consists of the double crown, two ostrich feathers framing the white crown, and a pair of antelope horns at the base of the red crown (Fig. 4.37). Like the previous crown, this crown accounts for only 1% (1) of the 142 crowns, appearing in only 2% (1) of the ritual scenes in the Per-wer. The crown is also quite rare at Dendera, appearing in a total of only three scenes: in the Southern Niche of the Per-wer, the Barque Sanctuary, and the Chamber of Appearances.\textsuperscript{442} The accompanying epithets in these scenes led Preys to name the form of Hathor wearing this crown as "la Navigatrice,"\textsuperscript{443} which I follow here. A closer look at these epithets and the associated offerings of their scenes helps to clarify its meaning.

![Double crown, 2 ostrich feathers, antelope horns; tripartite wig](image)

Hathor (1)

Fig. 4.37. "Hathor the Navigator"

\textsuperscript{442} This is the only appearance of this crown in the Per-wer. Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 125, notes that it also appears in D I, 50.6-7, pl. 51; D IX, 74.9 – 75.2. Some scholars identify the horns as "cow horns."

\textsuperscript{443} Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 125.

\textsuperscript{444} Photo by Duncan Sprott, 2008.
In the Southern Niche of the Per-wer, Hathor bears the epithets, $H.t$-$hr$ $nb.t$ $Twn.t$ $imy(.t)$ $wi\dot{\ddot{\jmath}}=s$, "Hathor, Lady of Iunet, who is in her barque" (D III, 94,1), as well as $nbw$ $\ddot{c}.t$ $nbt$, "Gold. Every fine stone" (D III, 94,1), thus indicating that the image is a statue. The second example in which Hathor wears the crown at Dendera is on the east wall of the Barque Sanctuary, in an offering of four $nms.t$-jars of primordial water by the King. In this scene, Hathor carries an epithet with a similar barque reference: $hr(y.t)$-$ib$ $wi\dot{\ddot{\jmath}}=s$, "who resides in her barque" (D I, 50,6). In addition, she is characterized as $s\ddot{A}.t$ $Ir$-$tA$ $qmA$ $m$ $Haw=f$ $Hr=f$ $m$ $HA.t$, "the daughter of Ir-ta, who created his body, who came into being with him at the beginning" (D I, 50,5-6). Ir-ta is a primordial serpent, a creator god who emerged from the primeval waters of the Nun (see 5.2.2). The King's offering of primordial water, brimming with potential life, thus rejuvenates her statue. In return, she uses it to purify the King's body from anything evil. In the third example at Dendera, Hathor wears the "Navigator" crown in an incense and sistrum offering in the Chamber of Appearance, where she is again called $s\ddot{A}.t$ $Ir$-$tA$ $qmA$ $m$ $Haw=f$, "daughter of Ir-ta, who created his body" (D IX, 74,16-17). However, following her epithet, $hr(y.t)$-$ib$ $wi\dot{\ddot{\jmath}}=s$, "who resides in her barque," she now carries one with an Isiac flavor: $nb.ty(.t)$ $rhy.t$, "Mistress of Humankind" (D IX, 74,16).

The allusions carried in the epithets of these three scenes show a strong connection to the inundation and purification. The offering of the four $nms.t$-jars of water recalls an episode from the Pyramid Texts, in which the deceased King Pepi I is purified with inundation water by Satet, Lady of Elephantine (Fig. 4.39). Satet, whose name has connections with the root $sti$, "shoot," or "pour out," defends the southern border with her bow and arrow, as well as $sti$, "pouring out" the inundation from its origin in Elephantine. This mythical source is the $sti$, or "leg" of Osiris, which is thus a homonym of her name. As the guardian of the southern border, Satet wears the white crown of Upper Egypt; the addition of antelope horns suggests that she was at one time worshipped in the form of an antelope. Because she is connected with the arrival of the inundation, Satet naturally became identified with Sothis, who heralds the flood by the heliacal rising of the star Sirius, and therefore also with Isis, who protects Osiris. By this chain of allusions and connections, the antelope horns on Hathor's crown in the Southern Niche thus link her with Satet and the coming of the inundation. Satet's own connections to Isis and Sothis also help to explain the addition of Hathor's Isiac epithet of $nb.ty(.t)$ $rhy.t$, "Mistress of Humankind," in the Chamber of Appearance. The strong ties to the inundation and the primeval creator Ir-ta suggest that the Navigator is a primordial form of Hathor, who is thus responsible for creating and maintaining the inundation. Her characteristic epithet, and this form of Hathor,
also have connections to our myth, because \textit{imy}(t) \textit{wi3} = s, "who is in her barque," can additionally allude to Hathor's navigations on the sacred lake during the festival of the Return of the Wandering Goddess in the month of Tybi. These festivities commemorated the purification and transformation of the angry lioness into a beautiful woman, as she bathed in the sacred waters of the Abaton upon her return from Nubia.\textsuperscript{455}

The crown of Hathor the Navigator thus connects to the inundation, purification, and navigations on the sacred lake, its unusual iconography also linking to Satet and the source of the Nile at Elephantine. Although the scene in the Southern Niche in which Hathor wears this crown contains little text, by virtue of its connections to the inundation, it links to several other important scenes in the Per-wer Sanctuary: the symmetrical offerings of primordial water at the base of the south wall; the offering of a \textit{nms.t}-jar of primordial water on the east side of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} register of the north wall; the depiction of Isis surrounded by her "isheru lake" in the third register of the west wall. These scenes further illustrate Hathor's roles as primordial goddess and creator of the inundation, as well as the Distant Goddess who must be pacified in order to return to Egypt and restore cosmic order.\textsuperscript{456}

\section*{4.1.6 Double-feather Crowns}

As the attribute of a powerful or divine bird, the feather has symbolized cosmic and earthly power since prehistoric times.\textsuperscript{457} Pairs of tall feathers, either falcon or ostrich, adorn several types of Egyptian crowns, worn by divinities, the King, or the Queen. Such feather crowns make up a relatively large proportion of the various crowns depicted in the Per-wer, accounting for 8\% (11) of the 142 crowns, and appearing in 22\% (10) of the 45 ritual scenes. The general scholarly consensus is that depictions of tall, straight feathers represent falcon tail-feathers; those curled at the top, ostrich feathers.\textsuperscript{458} Texts generally apply the term \textit{Sw.ty}, "double feathers," to both types, distinguishing them only by the appropriate determinative, \begin{tikzpicture} [scale=0.5] \draw (-0.5,0) -- (-0.5,-1); \draw (-1,0) -- (-1,-1); \draw (-1.5,0) -- (-1.5,-1); \end{tikzpicture} (S9) or \begin{tikzpicture} [scale=0.5] \draw (-0.5,0) -- (-0.5,-1); \draw (-1,0) -- (-1,-1); \draw (-1.5,0) -- (-1.5,-1); \draw (-2,0) -- (-2,-1); \end{tikzpicture} (S78B).\textsuperscript{459} We will now take a look at the variations of these crowns in the Per-wer, beginning with those having falcon feathers.

\textsuperscript{455} See 5.1.3.
\textsuperscript{456} We will discuss these scenes in more detail in Section 5.2.3.
\textsuperscript{457} Grumach-Shirun, Federkrone, 142.
\textsuperscript{458} Scholars following this interpretation include Abubakr, Kronen, 1937, 43; Vassilika, Philae, 1989, 87; Derchain-Urtel, Krone und Nebenformen, 3; idem, Nilsson, Arsinoë, 2010, 255. By contrast, Dils, Couronne d'Arsinoë, 1300-1301, insists that the straight feathers in the Arsinoe crown and in the traditional Queen's (or "female") crown were ostrich feathers. Nilsson, Arsinoë, 259 n. 474, discusses the issue at length.
\textsuperscript{459} Abubakr, Kronen, 43, suggests that in the Ptolemaic Period, the texts use \textit{Sw.ty} for falcon feathers and \textit{mAa.t} for ostrich feathers. However, the texts at Edfu and Dendera seem to follow the older tradition, with \textit{Sw.ty} for both types but distinguished by the determinative.
4.1.6.1 Variations of the Double Falcon-feather Crown

In the Per-wer, there are six variations of the double falcon-feather crown (Fig. 4.40); except for the unusual crown worn by Hathor, all of the examples have an additional solar disk. The components in these variants are familiar from crowns that we examined earlier; in general, these elements carry the same meanings as before: the disk connecting with the solar cult, the ram's horns symbolizing fertility and rejuvenation, the two feathers representing the Divine Eyes; the small horns-and-disk, Hathor's bovine and solar manifestations. The crowns with double falcon feathers account for 6% (8) of the 142 total number of crowns in the Per-wer, appearing in 16% (7) of the 45 ritual scenes. The crowns divide themselves into two groups: those worn originally by the King, Horus, and other falcon gods; those worn by the Queen. The history behind their use helps explain the choice of crown for a particular figure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2 tall falcon feathers, disk; divine tripartite wig</th>
<th>2 tall falcon feathers, 2 uraeii with disks on ram's horns; vulture headdress and tripartite wig</th>
<th>2 tall falcon feathers, sun disk, 2 uraeii with sun disks on ram's horns; squared cap</th>
<th>2 tall falcon feathers, horns and disk; long wig with seshed band</th>
<th>2 falcon feathers (foreshortened by artist to fit scene), horns and disk; tripartite wig</th>
<th>2 tall falcon feathers, disk; long wig with seshed band</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harsomtus (3)</td>
<td>Hathor (1)</td>
<td>King (1)</td>
<td>Queen (1)</td>
<td>Queen (1)</td>
<td>Queen (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 4.40. Variations of the Double Falcon-Feather Crown

The earliest depiction of a double falcon-feather crown is a 4th Dynasty inscription from the Sinai, depicting Sneferu smiting an enemy (Fig. 4.41). He wears an unusual composite headdress made of falcon feathers, cow horns, and ram's horns. The falcon feathers naturally connect to Horus, representing authority and power over the enemy; the ram's horns, to success in battle and the hunt.\(^\text{460}\) The high feathers give honor and respect to the wearer; scholars suggest that the feathers also represent Lower Egypt, due to the connection of Horus with Heliopolis.\(^\text{461}\) As noted earlier, the double feathers can also represent the two Divine Eyes, through which the falcon god (either Horus or Ra) can observe the world. By the 6th Dynasty, Horus of

\(^{460}\) Vassilika, Philae, 86, 94.

\(^{461}\) Abubakr, 42-43, and figs. 14-15, states that Horus originated at Heliopolis, which later became sacred to Ra; he cites an 11th Dynasty Upper Egyptian white crown with two attached falcon-feathers, which he interprets as a Lower Egyptian element, so that composite represents the Two Lands. Grumach-Shirun, Federkronen, 143, and Vassilika, Philae, 87, concur with Abubakr.
Hierakonpolis in Upper Egypt also wears the tall feathers, as shown in a cult statue whose feathers display the strongly stylized veining so typical of Amun’s later crown (Fig. 4.42).

At Dendera, the tall falcon-feather crown with a sun disk is the characteristic headdress of Harsomtus;\textsuperscript{462} he wears it as his Royal Crown, especially when appearing with his consort, Isis. In the Per-wer, the royal pair appear together three times wearing their royal crowns, in scenes whose symmetrical partners feature their counterparts, Horus and Hathor.\textsuperscript{463}

Fig. 4.41. Sneferu Smiting Enemy\textsuperscript{464}  
Fig. 4.42. Horus Falcon\textsuperscript{465}

The characterization of Harsomtus at Dendera is primarily as a primeval creator, who first comes into being as a serpent emerging from a lotus that has risen out of the Nun. Harsomtus thus identifies with Ra, who takes part in a similar myth;\textsuperscript{466} by adding the sun disk to his crown, he underlines this solar connection. Harsomtus is also Lord of Khadi, the necropolis across from Dendera, where he maintains the funerary cult for the deceased ancestor gods.

We see this characterization clearly in the text that accompanies his image on the west side of the base of the Per-wer's south wall (Fig. 4.43). The King stands before Isis, offering two tall \textit{hs}-vases of flood water. Harsomtus, standing behind her, wears his characteristic crown. His

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\textsuperscript{462} Vassilika, Philae, 90, suggests that the sun disk links a crown with kingship; when worn by a god, it represents "divine dominion."

\textsuperscript{463} As we noted earlier, the main deity (Hathor) of a temple is generally given priority on the proper right side of the axis; the secondary deity (Isis), the proper left side. In the Per-wer, Hathor thus appears on the east side of the axis; Isis on the west. When Hathor appears on the west side of the axis, she often carries Isisic-flavored epithets. The three scenes in the Per-wer in which Harsomtus wears the falcon-feather crown with the sun disk are as follows: On the west side of the base of the south wall (primordial water); on the west side of the 1\textsuperscript{st} register of the south wall (Ma'at); in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} register of the west wall (funerary offering).

\textsuperscript{464} Image from Gardiner and Peet, Inscriptions of Sinai, pl. 2, fig. 5, showing a rock tablet from Wadi Maghara (lit., "Valley of the Caves" in Arabic) in South Sinai, where Djoser established a turquoise mining center in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Dynasty, known as \textit{hnty.w mfk\textit{t}, "Terraces of Turquoise." MK rock inscriptions from the site refer to Hathor, to whom turquoise was sacred. See Mumford, Wadi Maghara, 875-876.

\textsuperscript{465} A cult center of Horus existed at Hierakonpolis since the Predynastic Period. This illustration by Caris Reid of the gold portion of a 6\textsuperscript{th} Dynasty cult statue, discovered in 1897 by J.E. Quibell in the "Main Deposit" cache at Hierkonpolis, in the Cairo Museum, now sits on a falcon body restored by Chris Eckmann. See \textit{Archaeology's Interactive Dig}, Jan.-Aug., 2006, at <http://www.archaeology.org/interative/hierakonpolis/field/tombs06.html>, accessed 3-2-12.

\textsuperscript{466} Discussed in 5.3.1.
epithets emphasize his primeval connections, especially with the Nun, the source of the inundation water offered by the King:

\[ sA-tA \text{ wr } pr \ m \ nhb \ nTr \ nTry \ [hpr] \ hnt \ [sA-tA]\# \ pr \ m \ nwn \]

"The Great Snake\(^{467}\), who came forth from the lotus, the Divine God [who came into being] in the beginning, [the snake] who came forth from the Nun" (D III, 75,1-2).

Word and sign plays in the epithets emphasize important theological ideas. The sign play on \( sA-tA \text{ wr } pr \ m \ nhb \), "the Great Snake who came forth from the lotus," visually highlights his origin as the primeval snake; the word play on \( nTr \ nTry \), "Divine God," with a polyptoton on the root, \( nTr \), stresses the divinity of the serpent. Among his epithets, Harsomtus also carries \( nb \ H\ddot{o}d\ddot{i} \), "Lord of Khadi" (D III, 75,1), thus showing that he is not only a primordial god, but also the descendent who carries out the funerary cult for the deceased ancestor gods in the necropolis.\(^{468}\)

Interestingly, in this scene the crown of the Queen, who represents Cleopatra VII,\(^{469}\) mimics the one worn by Harsomtus (but with a slightly smaller sun disk), thus setting up a visual equivalency between them and subtly suggesting her divine origin. The Queen's tall falcon feathers, representing the dignity of her kinship, agree with her epithets, \( hk\ddot{3}.t \ nb(t) \ t\ddot{3}.wy \), "Female Ruler, Lady of the Two Lands" (D III, 75,10), the latter being the female counterpart of the King's well-known, \( nb \ t\ddot{3}.wy \), "Lord of the Two Lands." The epithets recall the similarly powerful female titles carried by Arsinoe II, who emulated the epithets of the Saite-period God's Wives of Amun.\(^{470}\) Unlike Arsinoe, the Queen not only carries epithets similar to the God's Wives, but also wears a crown similar to the one worn by these powerful women, who reigned as pharaohs in the theocratic "God's State of Amun" at Thebes. The inspiration for this crown may thus go back to the New Kingdom, to the crown worn by Amun himself.

Amun's characteristic headgear consists of tall falcon feathers rising from a square cap (reminiscent of the Lower Egyptian red crown), bound with a seshed band trailing behind (Fig. 4.44); the addition of an optional sun disk can reflect his syncretism with the sun god, as Amun-

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\(^{467}\) The epithet, \( sA-tA \), literally means "son of the earth."

\(^{468}\) We will explore this idea further in 5.2.6.

\(^{469}\) The Queen is not labeled as Cleopatra VII in the accompanying text, but the reliefs of the Per-wer Sanctuary were engraved during her reign, as noted earlier.

\(^{470}\) See 4.1.3.2.
Ra. Like the crown of Horus at Hierakonpolis (Fig. 4.42), Amun's feathers acquired a highly stylized appearance. Without these characteristic "cells," they reappear in the headresses worn by God's Wives of Amun in the New Kingdom. Ahmose I, the founder of the 18th Dynasty, established this sacerdotal office for his Great Royal Wife, Ahmose-Nefertari (Fig. 4.45). Her distinctive crown includes a sun disk and tall falcon feathers rising from a low modius on a vulture headdress, alluding to Mut, the consort of Amun.

Nefertari, the Great Wife of Ramesses II and also a God's Wife of Amun, wears a similar crown (Fig. 4.46); except for the vulture headdress, both crowns bear a striking resemblance to the Queen's crown in the Per-wer, which we saw in the inundation offering at the base of the south wall (Fig. 4.43).

Similarly, the crown typically worn by the powerful God's Wives of Amun during the Saite Period (Fig. 4.47) may have inspired the priestly scribe who designed Hathor's crown in the Ogdoad adoration scene on the Per-wer's entrance (Fig. 4.48). Its stark feathers, rising at a
slightly oblique angle from the modius placed over the vulture headdress, are identical with those on Hathor's crown. However, Hathor's crown includes an additional set of uraeii with sun disks, placed on a pair of ram's horns. The uraeii represent her role as the Right and Left Eyes of Ra; the ram's horns, her divine power and authority. The top of the feathers are so high that they literally "pierce the sky," intersecting the horizontal sky-sign at the top of the scene; the tall feathers thus represent Hathor's rule over heaven, signifying that she is the highest divinity in the scene.  

A third variation of the falcon feathers on a Queen's crown in the Per-wer appears on the east side of the base of the south wall, in the symmetrical partner of the inundation offering scene that we examined earlier (Fig. 4.43). Bryan suggests that the crown may associate the Queen with Hathor, the daughter of the sun god, thus making her the appropriate consort for the King, who was himself the son of Ra.

Fig. 4.47. Amenirdis
Fig. 4.48. Hathor in Per-wer
Fig. 4.49 Queen Tiye
Fig. 4.50. Queen in Per-wer

Unlike the previous female variants with the falcon feathers, this crown also includes cow horns framing a solar disk, thus creating a Hathoric horns-and-disk emblem (Fig. 4.50). An early predecessor of this crown appears in the 18th Dynasty, in a sculpture of Queen Tiye, the mother of Akhenaten (Fig. 4.49). The crown became emblematic for queens from the New Kingdom onward, leading scholars to label it "the female crown." In the Per-wer, the Queen's image with this crown appears on the east side of the base of the south wall—the side reserved for Hathor; her wearing of the horns and disk thus connects her with the goddess, who also appears in the scene.

The final variation of the tall falcon-feather crown appears in the 3rd register of the north wall (Fig. 4.51), where the King offers the Udjat to Hathor. He wears the double feathers, a sun disk, and two uraeii with sun disks, all atop a pair of ram's horns that sits on a squared cap. The

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476 This crown, and the scene in which it appears, is discussed further in Section 5.2.1.
477 In Kozloff and Bryan, Dazzling Sun, 171. See also Robins, Royal Family, 10-14.
479 Illustration by Rachel Domm of the head of Queen Tiye, now in the Egyptian Museum, Berlin, Nr. 21834.
480 See discussion in Malaise, Coiffure hathorique, 215-236.
reason for adding the sun disk and uraeii is undoubtedly the connection with the udjat offering, equated with the healthy Divine Eye (the Udjat). The uraeii represent the two Divine Eyes: the Left Eye (moon) and Right Eye (sun) of Ra; Derchain-Urtel also suggests that they represent the two halves of Egypt, which the King protects with his rule. In return for his offering, Hathor offers the King $ir.ty=k(y) ~ hr ~ m33 ~ d.t$, "your eyes, (with the ability) to see $d.t$-eternity" (D III, 84,4), thus giving him divine sight. The ram's horns allude to his power to dispel evil and disorder, thus allowing his offering to be free of all impurity, or, as the text states: $d.f.d=s ~ r^d.ti ~ n(n) ~ dw$, "its pupil being intact, without evil" (D III, 83,14). In return, Hathor guarantees the King that evil will not enter the presence of his eyes (D III, 84,4).

The multiplicity of meanings carried by the variations in the double falcon-feather crown allow it to connect the wearer with concepts essential to the wearer's role in the scene. In the Per-wer, four different figures wear one of its variations: Harsomtus, Hathor, the King, and the Queen. For Harsomtus, the double feathers and solar disk constitute his characteristic crown, the height of its feathers representing his primacy as a primordial god, and the sun disk, his connections to Ra, with whom he shares mythological origins. On a slightly smaller scale, the Queen's crown mimics the one of Harsomtus, representing her dignity as a female sovereign and recalling the powerful God's Wives of Amun of an earlier era. The God's Wives' crown may also have been the inspiration for Hathor's tall falcon-feather crown in the Per-wer's entrance, the tops of its feathers piercing the sky-sign at the top of the scene, thus visually representing her rule over heaven. In another variation of the Queen's crown, an additional horns-and-disk emblem connects her with Hathor, the daughter of Ra, emphasizing her divinity. When worn by the King in an udjat offering, the tall feathers are the two Divine Eyes, and the ram's horns, his power to eradicate disorder. The crown's associations thus reflect his role in returning the Sun Eye to its proper place, restoring cosmic order. Each of the elements in these various configurations adds nuances of meaning to the scene, enriching the connections between the crown and the wearer, and between the actor and the offering.

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481 Derchain-Urtel, Krone und Nebenformen, 3.
4.1.6.2 Anedjty Crown (Ostrich Feathers, Sun disk, Ram's Horns)

The final crown in this survey is a composite that is very similar to the double falcon-feather crown that we just discussed, except that it uses ostrich instead of falcon feathers. Besides the ostrich feathers, it also includes a solar disk framed by two uraei with sun disks, all of which sits atop a pair of ram's horns. In the Per-ker, the King is the only figure to appear with this crown; he wears it atop a short wig tied with a seshed band. The crown accounts for only 1% (2) of the 142 crowns in the Per-ker, appearing in only 4% (2) of its 45 ritual scenes (Fig. 4.52); these two scenes form a symmetrical pair on the east and west walls.

The King's double ostrich-feather crown can also be described as tni, from the verb tni, "to distinguish, raise up," alluding to its feathers raised high on the head. However, its designation as the Anedjty crown traces its origins to a local god attested in the Delta since the Old Kingdom.482

His name, adt, is a nisbe: "He of Anedjt," the Ninth Nome of Lower Egypt, which is also known as Dhw and by its later Greek name, Βουσιρίτης, or Βοσιρής.483 His iconography includes two ostrich feathers fixed to the head with a seshed band484 and a peasant's crook and flail in his hands, as shown by his ideograms from the Pyramid Texts of the 6th Dynasty.

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482 I follow Vassilika, Philae, 91, in transcribing his name as "Anedjty." Other spellings include "Anedtj," in Abubakr, Kronen, 7; "Anedji," in Nilsson, Arsinoë, 259, and Otto, Anedjii, 269-270; "Andjety," in Griffiths, Iside et Osiride, 269; "'Andjeti," in Gardiner, Onomastica I, 179*; "Andjëty," in Favard-Meeks, Behbeit el-Hagar, 452. 483 Montet, Géographie I, 100; Gauthier, DG, 198; Brugsch, DG, 250; Wb I, 207, 10 and 12. Βουσιρίτης derives from pr-wsir (Coptic, νούσιρ). "House of Osiris," and was used from the time of Herodotus onward, as noted by Gardiner, Onomastica II, 177*-.179*. See also Herodotus, II, 59, 61; Griffiths, Iside et Osiride, 369.
484 Anedjty also appears with a stylized version of the feathers, in the 5th Dynasty mastaba of Ptahhotep, in Davies, Ptahhetep, pl. 4, no. 22, which Griffith interprets as a bicornate uterus of a heifer, as a symbol of birth. See discussion and further references in Gardiner, Onomastica II, 179*.
Dynasty (Fig. 4.53). In these texts, the deceased king is equated with various gods, including "Anedjty, the chief of his nomes" (PT §182), and "Anedjty who is foremost of the eastern nomes" (PT §220c). These factors have led some scholars to suggest that Anedjty may have originally been a deified shepherd chieftain.

Osiris, already characterized in the Old Kingdom as "Lord of Busiris," seems to have taken over Anedjty's crook-and-flail, as well as his two ostrich feathers, adding the latter to his own crown to form the Atef. By the 19th Dynasty, in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, we see the syncretized Osiris-Anedjty, wearing a stylized version of Anedjty's ancient double-plumed headdress (Fig. 4.54). In the same chapel, the deceased Seti I wears a composite crown built around Anedjty's ostrich feathers (Fig. 4.55), with the same elements as the one worn by the King in the Per-wer (Fig. 4.52).

The god Anedjty thus has funerary associations, due to his connections with Osiris, but well into the Graeco-Roman Period he remains an independent deity. The scenes in the Per-wer in which the King wears the Anedjty crown also have a different context: the pacification of the Distant Goddess, who must return to Egypt and restore cosmic order. In searching for the meaning behind the Anedjty crown in the Per-wer, we turn to an intriguing observation by Griffiths, who suggests that the living King may have originally taken over the insignia of

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485 Sethe, PT, p. 127: Spell 224 (=§200c) of Merenre and Pepi II; p. 449: Spell 650 (=§1833d) of Pepi II. See also Sethe, PT, p. 329, Spell 364 (=§614a) of Merenre for another example of the ideogram, varying slightly from the others, and a parallel text writing the name phonetically. Vassilika, Philae, 91 n. 20, notes that the goddess of Buto appears crowns Niuserre (5th Dynasty) with this crown. See also Barguet, Straußenfeder, 78.
486 Both quotes are from the PT of Pepi II Neferkare: Sethe, PT, p. 103: Spell 219 (=§182a); p. 127: Spell 224 (=§220c). See also Gardiner, Onomastica II, 176*-180*.
487 For example, Otto, Anedjti, 270.
488 Mariette, Mastabas, 149, 214, and 230, cited by Gardiner, Onomastica II, p. 178*; Griffiths, Osiris, 131 n. 175, in 5th and 6th Dynasty stelae from Giza.
489 Abubakr, Kronen, 7, suggests that since the two ostrich feathers originate in the crown of Anedjty from the Delta, they form the Lower Egyptian component of the Atef crown, the Upper Egyptian element being Osiris' white crown.
492 Favard-Meeks, Behbeit el-Hagara, 454-456, discusses Anedjty's funerary associations in the reliefs of the Ptolemaic Temple of Isis at Behbeit el-Hagara in the Delta.
Anedjty; after the dead King became Osiris, they became attributes of the god of the dead. 493 Although it may not be possible to prove this assertion, the important point is that Anedjty originally represented kingship, as signified by the crook and the flail in his early ideograms. In designing the scenes of the Per-wer with this crown, the scribes seem to have reached back to Anedjty's ancient roots; the texts and images at Dendera support this interpretation.

In the 3rd scene of the 2nd register of the east wall (Fig. 4.56), the King, wearing the Anedjty crown, offers two sistra to Hathor. The text in the Royal Randzeile describes him as

\[ hr\ ns.t=f\ m\ pr-wr\ m\ ity\ wr\ h\k3\ t3.wy...hr\ shtpr\ ib=s\ m\ mr=s\ sw\ mi\ Thy\ ir\ Ihy\ n\ hnw.t=f \]

"upon his throne in the Per-wer as the Great Sovereign who rules the Two Lands...pacifying her heart with what she loves, for he is like Ihy, who makes music for his mistress"

(D III, 70,12-13).

The text characterizes the King as the ruler of the Two Lands, and equates him with Ihy, Hathor's son. Therefore, not only does he rule Egypt, but he is also the divine heir; he possesses the full legitimacy to carry out the ritual of pacification for the Distant Goddess.

The connection to Ihy is an important element in the scene, emphasized both aurally and visually. The antanaclasis on \( iHy \), first as the proper noun, Ihy, and then as the verb, \( iHy \), "to make music," highlights the child god and his actions, which mimic those of the King. Ihy's double crown, which he wears in place of his more usual close-fitting cap, also emphasizes the King's rule over the Two Lands; the falcon on top of his sistrum in the scene on the east wall recalls the Horus falcon perched on the King's serekh. 494

In the symmetrical scene, in which the King again wears the Anedjty crown, he offers a \( mnw \)-jar of beer and a band of electrum (Fig. 4.57). The text in the Royal Randzeile again emphasizes his kingship, stating that he is

493 Griffiths, Osiris, 138.
494 The serekh is a schematic representation of the palace façade of the King's Residence, containing his name in hieroglyphs. See discussion in Section 2.2.
The text characterizes the King as the head of Egypt, but this time he acts as Horus, driving away impurity and evil from the Female Sun Disk, so that the Udjat, the Healthy Eye, can return to its proper place.

Other texts at Dendera also emphasize the connection between Anedjty and the kingship. For example, on the west exterior wall of the barque sanctuary, in a procession of the nome gods of Lower Egypt bearing offerings for Isis, each accompanying text describes Isis in a different way. Only in the text for the Nome of Anedjty is she characterized as "who places her son on the throne of his father" (D I, 125,12); the name of Anedjty and the Nome of Anedjt are both written with ideograms featuring the figure of the god wearing the double plumes and holding the crook and the flail: and , respectively, just like the signs that we saw earlier in the Pyramid Texts (Fig. 4.53). The Anedjty crown thus also alludes to the King's role as heir and royal successor to Osiris.

Another reason for the scribal choice of the Anedjty crown for the King may relate to the symbolism of the two ostrich feathers. As symbols of Ma'at, as well as the two Divine Eyes, their use in the King's crown in the two symmetrical offering scenes in the Per-wer is entirely appropriate. By pacifying the goddess, he enables the return of the two Divine Eyes, which in turn allows the restoration of Ma'at. Furthermore, the King's wearing of the same crown in both scenes signals the existence of an iconography play between the other figures, thus linking the two scenes. We will explore this interconnection further in 4.4.1, as well as their important role in the larger theme of Hathor's pacification, in 5.1.2.

The Anedjty crown, whose double ostrich feathers originate in the crown of a local god of the Delta, represents kingship. Osiris takes over its iconography for use in funerary contexts, but in the Per-wer, the earlier associations with the living king are still valid. The King wears it in contexts in which he must act as Ihy or Horus, pacifying the goddess or driving away evil. The symbolism carried by the crown's two ostrich feathers, representing Ma'at and the two Divine Eyes, is always subtly present, carrying the visual message that the King's action, taken as the legitimate heir of Osiris, facilitates the return of the Eyes and the restoration of order.

### 4.2 Types and Distribution of Crowns in the Per-wer

Having examined the most important composite crowns in the Per-wer, we will now take a look at their use within the Per-wer. We begin with the general use of crowns, considering all types of crowns and headdresses, including the more simple, classic types (e.g. red crown, white crown, blue crown, and double crown) in the statistics, as well as the simple wigs and head

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495 Some examples: 8th nome: "who sees Seth reversed before her son"; 10th nome: "who opens her arms in order to protect her lord"; 11th nome: "who inflicts punishment on him in the place of interment" (D I, 125.9 – 126.6).

496 Similar to the secondary function of the horns-and-disk headdress, which can also serve as the marker for an iconography-epithet play between other elements in the scene, which we discussed earlier (4.1.1).
cloths worn without crowns." After examining the frequency and use of the most frequently observed types of crowns, we will then look at the correlation between crown and wearer. These sections provide an opportunity to make some comments about crowns not previously discussed. There are many examples in which connections exist between the iconographic element of one character and the iconography or element of another character within the same scene; these are discussed throughout the examples given in the present chapter and in Chapter 5. However, there are only three pairs of iconography-epithet plays in the Per-wer that form chiastic relationships between symmetrical scenes; these are treated separately in 4.3.

4.2.1 Frequency of Crowns in the Per-wer

The graph in Fig. 4.58 shows the "top ten" most frequently observed crowns, tallied from a total of 142 individual crowns. The most frequently depicted crown is the simple double crown, with 28 examples. This frequency attests an underlying emphasis within the Per-wer on the union of the Two Lands, governed by either royal or divine rulers. It appears most often on Horus Behdety (5), Hathor (5), and the King (4), who wear in their roles as rulers of Egypt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Crown or Headdress</th>
<th>Number of Crowns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Double Crown</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple Headdress</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horns and Disk</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Ostrich Feather</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Crown</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falcon Feathers</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aler Crown</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hept Crown</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gob Crown</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Crown</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 4.58. Frequency of Crowns and Headdresses in the Per-wer

497 The simple wigs and head cloths are subsumed under the category called "simple headdress," which includes the close-fitting cap worn by Ihy, and the short wig, bag wig, and nemes worn by the King. An individual element, like one ostrich feather, is only considered a "crown" if it is the only component worn on an individual's head, such as the single ostrich feather adorning the head of Shu or Ma'at.
498 The second type of interrelationship between iconography and epithets, as discussed in Section 4.0.2.
499 Subsequent "numbers of examples" are denoted as roman numerals placed in parenthesis.
The next most prevalent category of head covering is the "simple headdress" (23), which includes the simple wigs and headdresses worn without a crown by Ihy or the King. The reason for its high number in the Per-wer is twofold. Ihy, the divine son of Hathor with whom the King identifies, appears in a majority of the scenes (26 of the 45 ritual scenes); he wears a simple cloth cap with his sidelock in over half of them. Secondly, the King wears a simple head covering when carrying out most of the rituals of the daily temple rite, signifying his role as high priest.

Hathor's ubiquitous horns-and-disk headdress (14), the third most frequently observed crown, not only represents her solar and bovine qualities, but can also serve as a marker for iconography play between two symmetrical scenes. Isis frequently wears it with the addition of the throne sign of her name, but she can also wear it without this sign, especially when the context of the scene requires that her individual characteristics be suppressed.500

The single ostrich feather is worn by Ma'at (10) and Shu (1); its relatively high frequency attests the importance of the goddess, and the concept that she embodies, in the foundation of the theological conceptions conveyed by the texts and reliefs in the Per-wer. She wears her characteristic feather both as a full-sized goddess and as a small figure, which the King offers to Hathor or Isis,501 representing the justice and order that he maintains in his kingdom. In the case of Shu, the ostrich feather that he wears signifies his name, rather than the concept of Ma'at.

The fifth most frequently used crown in the Per-wer is the blue crown (9), which the King wears in a variety of ritual scenes: adoration (3), water offerings (2) and double-crown offerings (2). It also appears on the heads of two kneeling king-figures in a scene featuring statues (2). Despite its reputation as a "war helmet," it was in reality a symbol of the King's coronation;502 its name, hprš, from the root hpr, "to become," may allude to the transformation that the King undergoes at coronation, when he is invested with the Kingly Ka. As such, it is appropriate that the King wears it in so many ritual scenes in the Per-wer, where it substitutes for other crowns of coronation (e.g. the red crown, white crown, and double crown).

The next four most frequently appearing crowns are composites: the double falcon-feather crown (8); the Atef (7), Hepty (6), and Geb-crowns (5). The double falcon-feather crown plays an important part in the iconography of the Per-wer, connecting to ideas of dignity and kingship, as well as to divinity. These factors make variations of this crown suitable as a headdress for Harsomtus, Hathor, the King, and the Queen. Although Thoth wears the Atef as Ra's deputy,503 it most often appears in funerary contexts. The King wears it when making offerings to the deceased ancestor gods; Hathor wears it in an adoration scene with the Ogdoad,504 where it alludes to her role as the divine daughter who maintains their funerary cult.505 Hathor and Horus both wear the Hepty as their Royal Crowns, primarily in offerings of

500 For example, in the scenes in which Nekhbet and Wadjet present the wld.ty-scepters to the King, in the 1st register of the north wall of the Per-wer. See 4.1.1.
501 Note that in the presentation of Ma'at, the King is no longer just high priest, but rather the sovereign King, whose legitimacy gives him the authority to present this special offering to the gods. Therefore, when he presents Ma'at in an offering scene, he wears one of the royal crowns instead of a simple head covering. The offerings of Ma'at in the Per-wer and its Southern Niche all occur as symmetrical offerings, with a geographical emphasis. Therefore, the King wears the white crown in the scene on the east side of the axis, and the red crown on the west side of the axis. Offerings of Ma'at in the Per-wer always occur on the south wall, which, being the rear wall of the sanctuary, has priority of place.
502 Steindorff, Blaue Königskrone, 60; Davies, Blue Crown, 69-76.
503 In the sistra offering on the west side of the Per-wer's lintel on the outer entrance; in the offering of the udjat to Hathor in the 2nd register of the west wall of the Southern Niche.
504 In two symmetrical scenes on the outer entrance of the Per-wer, beneath the bandeau of the frieze.
505 In the 3rd registers of the east and west walls of the Per-wer.
Ma'at by the King, on the south walls of the Per-wer or the Southern Niche. The King and Hathor both wear the Geb-crown in contexts related to products of the earth, including the inundation.

The higher frequencies of the simpler crowns and the lower frequencies of the composite types may have a simple explanation. The simpler crowns, carrying theological significance, are capable of making connections within or between scenes, just like the composite crowns. However, because of their ubiquity, the simpler crowns also can "fade into the background," signaling the existence of iconography plays between other characters and allowing the more visually complex, composite crowns to stand out. Because of the multiplicity of elements held within these more complicated constructions, the composite crowns can carry many more allusions than the simpler crowns, thus facilitating the construction of iconography and epithet plays. It is thus not surprising that the number of simpler crowns is greatest, because by their sheer numbers, they focus attention on the more unusual, composite creations, which carry the interplays that weave together the most important scenes.

4.2.2 Correlation between Type of Crown and Wearer

An analysis of the frequency and use of crowns in the Per-wer sheds light on the processes the scribes used to chose which crown to use in a particular scene. The following discussion applies to the charts below, which show the types of crowns worn by the major characters in the Per-wer. Correlating crowns to wearer was particularly helpful in my research on iconography-epithet plays, which are sometimes signaled by the appearance of an uncharacteristic crown or headress on a figure. Further investigation then reveals whether the play links together two symmetrical scenes or adds important allusions.

As the intermediary between the human and divine worlds, the King (Fig. 4.59) wears the greatest variety of crowns in the Per-wer. In the ritual scenes he regularly identifies with various gods, allowing his actions to take on mythological significance; the variety of crowns reflects these multiple roles. However, because he also plays the role of high priest in so many scenes of the daily temple rite, including adoration scenes, in which he wears either the simple headdress or blue crown (in adoration scenes), these two types of crowns account for 54% of his headgear.

As the primary recipient of offerings, and a goddess bearing multiple aspects and manifestations, Hathor (Fig. 4.60) also wears a great variety of crowns, although her

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506 In symmetrical scenes in 1st register of the south wall of the Per-wer; in the symmetrical scenes in the 2nd register of the south wall of the Southern Niche.
507 Hathor wears the Crown of Geb in two scenes: an offering of a nms.t-jar of primordial water, on the east side of the 3rd register of the east wall; her wearing of this crown in a sistra offering scene in the 2nd register of the east wall, which forms part of an iconography play with its symmetrical scene, an offering of a mnw-jar of beer. The King wears the Crown of Geb in three scenes: in the two symmetrical lintel scenes of the north wall, which are offerings of wine or beer; in the funerary offering of bread, beer, and "all good things" in the 3rd register of the west wall.
508 Just as the sign plays stand out visually in the texts.
509 This characteristic of composite crowns recalls the multiplicity of values held by Ptolemaic hieroglyphs, which facilitates the construction of aural and visual plays.
510 E.g., in the 2nd register of the east wall of the Southern Niche, Horus Behdety wears the sun disk of Ra-Horakhty as part of an iconography-epithet play with Harsomtus in the symmetrical scene on the west wall, discussed in Section 4.4.3. In the east side of the 3rd register of the south wall of the Per-wer, Hathor wears a modius of uraei, which visually illustrates her epithet in the symmetrical scene, on the west side of the 3rd register.
characteristic horns and disk appears 38% of the time. The emphasis on her divine rule is the reason that she frequently wears the Hepty and double crown, which make up 30% of her various crowns.

Horus Behdety (Fig. 4.61) wears the double crown in 71% of his depictions, emphasizing his role as Osiris’ legitimate heir, with whom the King identifies. This identification strengthens the King’s own legitimacy as sovereign, thus giving him the authority to carry out the important daily temple ritual and the appeasement of the goddess. When Horus and Hathor appear together in symmetrical Ma’at offerings, they both wear their royal crowns, emphasizing their rule over the cosmos and the importance of Ma’at in its maintenance. As part of an iconography-epithet play between the east and west walls of the Southern Niche, Horus Behdety also wears the sun disk.  

As Hathor’s counterpart in the Per-wer, Isis (Fig. 4.62) wears the horns and disk in 66% of her depictions, divided equally between those with or without her throne sign. The rest of her images bear her Royal Crown; these occur in the offerings of Ma’at on the south walls of the Per-wer and its Southern Niche. As the counterparts to Horus Behdety and Hathor, Isis and Harsomtus appear in the Ma’at scenes on the south wall, again indicating their roles as rulers of the cosmos, whose stability is assured by the King’s offering.

Ihy, the divine son of Hathor with whom the King identifies (Fig. 4.63), is quite ubiquitous in the Per-wer. Except for a few examples of iconography play, his headgear divides itself almost equally between his usual close-fitting cap or the double crown. However, the scribal choice between one or the other seems to have been quite deliberate. Ihy’s wearing of the double crown signals that a scene is particularly important in establishing cosmic stability, as in scenes of purifying and pacifying the Distant Goddess, returning the Eye, or offering Ma’at.

511 For example, in the 1st register of the south wall of the Per-wer.
512 In symmetrical offerings of the udjat, in the 2nd register of the east and west walls of the Southern Niche. See discussion in Section 4.4.3.
513 In the 1st register of the south wall of the Per-wer; the 2nd register of the south wall of the Southern Niche.
514 Ihy appears in 26 of the 45 ritual scenes.
515 Ihy wears the moon disk of Thoth, who stands behind him, while offering the udjat to Hathor, in the 2nd register of the west wall in the Southern Niche (4.1.1 and 4.4.3); he wears the adult version of the double crown (without his sidelock) in the sistrum offering on the west side of the lintel of the outer entrance of the Per-wer (see 4.1.5.1).
516 He thus wears the double crown in the following scenes: the two symmetrical offerings of sistra in the lintel of the outer entrance; the two symmetrical offerings of (primordial or inundation) water at the base of the south wall; the two symmetrical offerings of sistra and mnrw-jar in the 2nd register of the east and west wall; the two symmetrical offerings of Ma’at, in the 1st register of the south wall, and in the 2nd register of the south wall of the Southern Niche.
Fig. 4.59. King's Crowns in the Per-wer

Fig. 4.60. Hathor's Crowns in the Per-wer
4.61. Horus Behdety's Crowns in the Per-wer

4.62. Isis' Crowns in the Per-wer
4.3 Interplay between Iconography and Epithets

Interplays between iconography and epithets exist in many forms within the Per-wer. Some of them create visual puns between epithets and offerings, regalia, or crowns within a single scene. Other scenes show two characters wearing the same type of crown, thus forging a link between them. These connections add multiple layers of meaning to the scene, enriching the message that the scribe wished to convey. In other cases, the iconography of one scene connects with the text of another, linking the two. This situation can occur between any two scenes, many of which are non-symmetrical, sometimes lying adjacent or diagonal to one another. The link in these cases is usually one-sided, i.e. the second scene has no other relationship to the first. However, in some pairs of symmetrical scenes, there is a more complex connection. In these scenes, the iconography of one scene connects with the text of another, but then, the iconography of the second scene, in turn, connects with the text of the first scene, thus creating a chiastic relationship that tightly binds the two scenes together. I observed that in these rare cases, the scenes in question have a particularly important role in the Per-wer. There are three such pairs in the Per-wer, all of which play a crucial role in the pacification and return of the Wandering Goddess. The first two are on the lateral walls of the Per-wer; the third is in the...
Southern Niche. We will now examine the iconography and epithets of these three pairs of scenes, showing how their interrelationships create complementary pairs, transmit theological meaning, and help to restore the stability of the cosmos.

4.3.1. Iconography Play between Sistra and \textit{mnw}-jar

We return again to the two symmetrical scenes in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} register of the Per-\textit{wer}, in which the King offers two sistra to Hathor on east wall, and a \textit{mnw}-jar of beer and a band of electrum on the west wall.

Although the King wears the Anedjty crown\textsuperscript{519} in both scenes, Hathor wears her signature horns-and-disk in the \textit{mnw}-jar scene, but the crown of Geb in the sistra scene. Why were different crowns chosen for her? The answer may lie in the symbolism connected to each crown. The crown of Geb, the earth god, is often worn in scenes in which the goddess is responsible for the products of the earth or the inundation. Thus, Hathor's appearance with it in the scene on the east wall relates to the beer (and its associated drunkenness) that she offers to the King in return for his offering of the sistra on the west wall: $di=i\ n=k\ th\ whm=k\ th\ ph\beta\ iib\ mn\ ir(t)\ 3b$, "I give you beer, you repeat drunkenness and joy without stopping" (D III, 70,15).

Because the symmetrical scene on the west wall is itself an offering of an intoxicating beverage (the \textit{mnw}-jar of beer), its texts also contain references to drunkenness, as well as to beer, such as Hathor’s epithet, $mhn.yt\ wr.t\ hnt\ s.t-thn.t$, "The Great Uraeus in the Place of Drunkenness (=Dendera)" (D III, 82,8). Besides the drunkenness that connects with her gift to the king in the sistra scene, her epithet, $nb.t\ t\ ir\ h(n)k.t$, "Lady of bread who makes beer" (D III, 82,11)\textsuperscript{520} clearly connects with her wearing of the Crown of Geb in the same scene.\textsuperscript{521}

\textsuperscript{519} Discussed in 4.1.6.2.
\textsuperscript{520} A one-cubit-high, gold statue of Hathor, identified by the same epithet ("Hathor, Lady of the Two Lands, Lady of bread who makes beer"), appears on the wall of the Chapel of Purification (Chassinat's Chamber K; D III, 118,7). In a scene in the 1\textsuperscript{st} register of its south wall, Hathor also receives the offering of the \textit{mnw}-beverage and carries this epithet (D III, 111,10; pl. 204). See also Cauville, Fêtes d'Hathor, 55.
\textsuperscript{521} Noted by Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 127-129.
In a chiastic relationship, Hathor’s Crown of Geb in the sistra-offering scene thus connects with her epithet, “Lady of Bread who makes beer,” in the symmetrical mnw-jar offering, and the mnw-jar itself connects with Hathor’s statement, “I give you beer, you repeat drunkenness” in the sistra-scene. The interplay between text and iconography allows the two symmetrical scenes to form a unit, each scene supporting the other.

### 4.3.2. Iconography Play between Menit and Wensheb

Another set of symmetrical scenes in the 2nd register of the east and west walls of the Perwer works in a similar manner. In the scene on the east wall, the king offers the menit to Hathor; on the west wall, he offers the wensheb, the symbol of ordered time. Although the King wears the rush crown (a type of Atef crown) in both scenes, Hathor wears a different crown in each scene. In the menit offering, she wears her signature horns-and-disk; in the wensheb offering, she wears the double crown framed by ostrich feathers, the typical crown for "Hathor the Menit."
This crown would thus be more appropriate for her to wear in the menit-offering scene, where she is specifically called t3-mnt.t, "The Menit" (D III, 70,3). However, in the offering of the wensheb on the west wall, the text makes a direct reference to the god Seth, stating, whi sp=f n wnn=f, "He who fails at his time (=Seth), (he) does not exist" (D III, 81,5). The reference to the opponent of Horus thus connects directly to the menit, its beads being equated with Seth's testicles, which were cut off during an episode of the Contendings of Horus and Seth. It also connects to the description of the King in the menit offering, stating that he is upon his throne in strength, "destroying the Coward, slaughtering the Watchful One, and slaying the Angry One" (D III, 69,18 – 70,1). In the same scene, Hathor is also characterized as nd.ty.t hr sn=s ir nh(t)=f r hty.w=f, "the Female Protector for her brother, who makes his protection against his enemies" (D III, 70,3-4).

In a chiastic relationship similar to the one we observed in the previous example, Hathor's epithet, t3-mnt.t, in the menit scene on the east wall connects to her crown in the wensheb scene on the west wall; the statement concerning Seth in the wensheb scene connects to the menit itself on the east wall.

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522 The menit's associations with fertility and protection made it an important apotropaic object for the deceased Osiris, symbolizing the vindication over his enemy as well as rebirth.
The iconography plays between the two sets of symmetrical scenes on the Per-wer's east and west walls highlight key themes of the myth. The naos-sistrum and the menit are incarnations of the goddess Hathor; when shaken, their sound, and the intoxicating drink of the mnw-jar, pacify the angry lioness goddess. Together with the wensheb, the symbol of ordered time, they represent the offerings given to the Distant Goddess by Thoth in order to convince her to return to Egypt. The final step in her return to Egypt and the restoration of ordered time comes next, in two symmetrical scenes in the Southern Niche, also linked by iconography and epithet plays.

4.3.3. Iconography Play in the Return of the Udjat in Southern Niche

On the east and west walls of the Southern Niche, characters from the Myth of the Wandering Goddess appear in two important symmetrical scenes. In the scene in the 2nd register of the east wall, the god Shu offers the Udjat Eye to Hathor (Fig. 4.68). We remember Shu from the myth, where he took on the form of a lion and helped bring home the Distant Goddess. Here, he wears a single ostrich feather, denoting his role as an air god. Behind Hathor stands Horus Behdety, who in this scene takes on the role of Ra-Horakhty, his arms raised in adoration before the goddess. Although he wears the double crown in almost every other scene in the Per-wer in...
which he appears,\textsuperscript{523} he now exchanges it for the sun disk of Ra. His statement, \textit{dwn.n=i f.wy=i h3 hr.t-tp m hq=s}, "I have extended my arms around the Uraeus in her shrine" (D III, 95,6), recalls the scene in the myth in which Hathor's father Ra embraces her upon her return home.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig4_68}
\caption{Udjat-Offering Scenes in the Southern Niche, © IFAO}
\end{figure}

In the symmetrical scene on the west wall of the Southern Niche we see more connections to the myth, as well as additional iconography plays. Although still depicted as a child, Hathor's son Ihy now appears in an adult-sized representation.\textsuperscript{524} Unlike his usual depiction with a close-fitting cap or double crown, Ihy now wears the lunar crescent and disk, a crown more properly belonging to Thoth, the lunar god standing behind him. In fact, Thoth wears the same crown on the west thickness of the door jamb in the Southern Niche (Fig. 4.69).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig4_69}
\caption{Comparison of Lunar Disk worn by Ihy and Thoth in Southern Niche}
\end{figure}

On the west wall of the Southern Niche, Thoth instead wears the Atef crown, which Ra can bestow upon his deputy. We recall that in the myth, Ra charged him with bringing home his daughter, his Eye. Ihy, wearing the lunar crown, is the one who now offers the Udjat Eye to Hathor; it is appropriate that he now carries the epithet, \textit{nb wd3.ty}, "Lord of the Two Udjat-Eyes" (D III, 97,13). We also recall that Isis, who is connected with the left Eye of Ra (the moon) is often prominent on the west side of the room. To continue the allusion to Isis, even when Hathor appears in her place, Hathor often carries an epithet referring to Isis. Here, she carries the epithet, \textit{nb.ty.t rhy.t}, "Mistress of Humankind," a designation of Isis.

\textsuperscript{523} Horus Behdet appears once wearing the Hepty crown, in the Ma'at offering on the east side of the 1st register of the south wall of the Per-wer.

\textsuperscript{524} This adult-sized depiction mirrors his representations in the symmetrical lintel scenes of the north wall of the Southern Niche, although in these scenes, he wears the double crown, which connects with the King's offering of the same crown.
A further allusion to Isis in this scene is the presence of Harsomtus, her consort at Dendera. In all of his other depictions in the Per-wer, he wears the tall falcon-feather crown, but here he wears the double crown, usually assigned to Horus Behdety. Why did the scribe decide to depict him with this crown? I believe that the reason for this change is due to an iconography-play, in which the Myth of the Distant Goddess takes precedence over all other considerations. We saw Horus Behdety in the symmetrical scene, wearing the sun disk of Ra. Although this headdress is appropriate for Horus in this scene, since he is equated with (Ra-)Horakhty, it also connects to the epithet of Harsomtus, $R^e \text{ ds}=f \ hnt \ pr-R^e$, "Ra himself in the Sanctuary of Ra," in the symmetrical scene on the west wall (D III, 98,1). Likewise, the label, $Hr \ Bhd.ty$, "Horus Behdety" (D III, 95,5), which accompanies Horus in the east scene, links to the double crown worn by Harsomtus in the west scene. The elimination of the tall feather crown from his iconography thus allows the identity of Harsomtus, who does not have a role in the myth, to be more fully subsumed into that of Ra, who welcomes home the Distant Goddess. The interplay between crowns and epithets by Horus Behdety and Harsomtus connects the two scenes and highlights the important allusions to the myth (Fig. 4.70).

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$Hr \ Bhd.ty$
"Horus Behdety"
(D III, 95,5)
E. Wall, 2nd reg, S. Niche

$R^e \text{ ds}=f \ hnt \ pr-R^e$
"Ra himself in the Sanctuary of Ra"
(D III, 98,1)
W. Wall, 2nd reg, S. Niche

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Fig. 4.70. Iconography-Epithet Plays in the Udjat Offering Scenes in the Southern Niche

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525 As the chief god of Egypt, the wearing of the double crown by Horus designates him as ruler of the Two Lands. The crown's two components also allude to the Upper Egyptian Horus Behdety as well as to the Lower Egyptian Horus of Mesen. See Vassilika, Edfu, 941.
The emphasis on the myth and the return of the two Divine Eyes is now complete. The disks in the crowns of Hathor and Ihy on the east wall, together with the offering of the Udjat Eye by Shu, emphasize the return of the Right Eye, the sun. In the text, Horus (as Ra), embraces the goddess on her return (D III, 95,6). The crescent disk in the crown of Ihy on the west wall, along with the allusions to Isis (in Hathor’s epithet and the presence of Harsomtus) and the presence of the lunar god Thoth, emphasize the return of the Left Eye, the moon. The text states that Harsomtus (the consort of Isis, the moon, but here acting as the sun god Ra) places his arms around the returning goddess, welcoming her home.

The iconography and epithet plays on the east and west walls of the Per-wer thus occur in four scenes that are particularly important for the pacification of the Distant Goddess. The shaking of the menit and sistra, and the intoxicating beverage of the mnw-jar, help calm her anger. The offering of the wensheb foreshadows the restoration of ordered time, which will come about with her return. The preparation for her homecoming having been set, the two symmetrical scenes on the east and west walls of the Southern Niche now show the actual return, reuniting the main characters of the myth: Hathor, Shu, Ra, and Thoth. Hathor on the east wall receives the Udjat Eye representing the sun; on the west wall, the Udjat representing the moon. Because the goddess is the incarnation of both celestial bodies, the presentation of the two Udjat Eyes symbolizes her homecoming to Egypt. The return of the sun and the moon to their proper places thus allows the restoration of cosmic stability and ordered time.

4.4 Summary

The increase in the complexity of crowns, headdresses, and other iconographic elements in the Ptolemaic relief scenes expanded the scribal playing field for creating interrelationships between texts and reliefs. Some of the crowns have ancient origins; others were created to fulfill political and religious strategies. By layering components onto the base of a simpler crown, the scribes created complex structures capable of carrying additional mythological meaning. They further enhanced this meaning by forming links with epithets carried by the wearer, thus visually presenting in the headdress the role of the wearer within the scene. These interconnections could exist between the characters of two scenes; the scribes devised various ways to signal the existence of these "iconography plays." By cleverly switching a crown with that of a character in a symmetrical scene, they formed a link, binding the two scenes together. Although such complementary pairs are uncommon, they carry particular significance when they appear in the Per-wer, helping to bring back the Distant Goddess from her wanderings so that she can restore ordered time and cosmic stability, and continue the creation of the world.

526 For example, the Anedjty crown originating in the OK. See 4.1.6.2.
527 For example, the Arsinoe crown created during the reign of Ptolemy II. See 4.1.3.2.
Chapter 5
The Per-wer Sanctuary

5.0 Introduction

Located at the rear of the temple’s main axis, behind the barque sanctuary, is the Per-wer Sanctuary (Fig. 5.1). As the most important focal point of the temple, it was the traditional place of residence for the temple’s main deity; a niche, arranged high in the thickness of its south wall, contained a 2-meter-high gold statue of Hathor, the largest in the temple.

Fig. 5.1. Plan of the Temple of Hathor

Fig. 5.2. Hathor Image on Rear Wall

Fig. 5.3. Hathor Image on Rear Wall

528 The Temple of the Sistrum, the chapel located directly east of the Per-nu chapel, is the only other chapel to contain a niche, with one small niche on its north wall and a larger one on its south wall. However, neither the chapel nor the niches are located on the main axis of the temple, there is no sacred image directly behind either of the niches, and the texts do not contain cryptographic inscriptions, as in the niche of the Per-wer. Preys, Complexes, 143-255, discusses the texts and reliefs of this chapel, but without regard for the large number of word and sign plays contained within its texts, which are worthy of study.

Directly behind this niche was a large, gold-plated head of Hathor\(^{532}\) carved onto the outer rear wall, which served as a hearing ear shrine for the populace (Fig. 5.2 and 5.3).\(^{533}\) The name of the sanctuary, Per-wer (lit., "Great Sanctuary"), recalls the archaic Upper Egyptian shrine of the goddess Nekhbet—the place of the king’s coronation, thus signaling the importance of the room in emphasizing the king’s legitimacy.\(^{534}\)

Approaching the Per-wer from the Mysterious Corridor,\(^{535}\) one immediately notices that the decoration of its grand entrance dwarfs those of the chapels on either side and is even more elaborate than the entrance to the central barque sanctuary.\(^{536}\) In addition to its location and unique architectural features, the texts of the Per-wer also attest the high quality of its materials and workmanship.\(^{537}\) Along with those of the other chapels of the naos, its texts were all composed during, or shortly after, the reign of Cleopatra VII,\(^{538}\) giving them a unity that is apparent in their compositional style and their use of word and sign plays. This situation contrasts, for example, with the Osirian chapels on the roof, whose texts are drawn from many sources and time-periods.\(^{539}\) These unique architectural and textual factors led me to choose the Per-wer as the focus for my study of the Myth of the Wandering Goddess, which I expanded to include the aural and visual techniques of the ancient scribes.

### 5.0.1 Organization of Wall Reliefs in the Per-wer

Before analyzing some individual scenes from the Per-wer, we will first take a brief look at the organization of the wall reliefs (Fig. 5.4). At the top, the decoration of the frieze gives information about the principal personages of the room. For example, in chapels consecrated to

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530 Illustration by the author, after D I, pl. 45, © IFAO.
531 Photo by Su Bayfield, 2009.
532 The image of Hathor as the top of a sistrum not only adorns the rear wall of the temple, but also the rear (south) wall of the niche and the south walls of the two lower crypts hidden in the crypts beneath it, which provided protection for Hathor’s sacred images above.
533 A place of popular piety for the laity, who were not allowed entrance into the innermost chambers of the temples.
534 Cauville, Inscriptions dédicatoires, 89, suggests that Dendera's Per-wer carries notions of Upper Egypt, as well as of royalty, "qui s'appliquent parfaitement à Hathor, reine du pays méridional." Chapels on either side of the Per-wer bear the names of the two archaic shrines of Lower Egypt: Per-neser ("Sanctuary of the Flame") and Per-nu ("Sanctuary of the nw-jar").
535 The ancient name of the Mysterious Corridor is \(\text{sm(m)y.t}\) (Wb IV, 472, 5-6). Cauville, Inscriptions dédicatoires, p. 101, suggests that the egg carries the value of \(\delta\) and the snake, \(m\).
536 Unlike the other cult chambers, whose doors consisted of a single leaf, the Per-wer had double doors (Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 8). Although no longer in existence, they are attested textually: the text in the inner column of text on the east side of the door frame clearly refers to double doors by its dual substantive: \(\text{rw.ty hrm=s}\), "the entrance doors of her chapel" (D III, 46,10).
537 Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 9, also notes that the relief carving in the Per-wer is the highest quality of the temple.
538 Cauville, Guide archéologique, 3-5, notes that the construction of the main Temple of Hathor began on July 16, 54 BCE, under Ptolemy XII Auletes (88-51 BCE), but his name is inscribed only in the subterranean crypts. The elements above the crypts, though anonymous, evidently date to the period between his death and the co-regency of Cleopatra VII and her son Caesarion, of which the first attestation is 42 BCE. The relief of Cleopatra VII and Caesarion on the south rear wall of the temple probably dates from the last years of her reign, which ended in 29 BCE with her death.
539 Cauville, Chapelles osiriennes, 273-276.
Hathor, the frieze is decorated with heads of the goddess. Bandeaux (or stringcourses) of the frieze and the base contain mostly foundation texts, describing the construction by the King; the goddess, pleased with the work, agrees to join each day with her images engraved on the walls. The horizontal registers of the wall are “read” from bottom to top, with the lowest registers (the base and 1st register) containing ordinary cultic actions done on earth, including the daily temple rite. The upper registers refer to the celestial aspects of the deity.

Fig. 5.4. Horizontal Decoration of a Typical Wall at Dendera; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

Fig. 5.5. 1st Reg. on East, South, and West Walls of Per-wer, after D III, pls. 180;190, © IFAO

Horizontal relationships thus exist between the scenes of a room. Along the 1st register of the east, south, and west walls of the Per-wer, the king performs the daily temple rite, its

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540 See the following excursus, 5.0.1.1, for a more detailed description of the frieze in the Per-wer.
successive rituals alternating between the east and west walls (Fig. 5.5). Approaching the naos to greet the goddess, he wears mostly the simple bag wig, indicative of his role as high priest on earth.\textsuperscript{541} The daily temple rite serves as the foundation of the relationship between the Divine and mankind, whose intermediary and representative is the King.

![Diagram](image)

**Fig. 5.6.**\textsuperscript{2nd} Reg. on East, South, and West Walls of Per-fer, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

The second register is the “air” – the space between heaven and earth where the falcon flies (Fig. 5.6); and in fact, the Horus falcon or Nekhbet vulture fly protectively over the king’s head in six of the ten scenes in this register.\textsuperscript{542} Having entered into the presence of the goddess in the lower register (characterized in the texts as “opening the doors of heaven”\textsuperscript{543}), the King in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} register presents Hathor with her ten sacred objects. Among those, the menit, wensheb, \textit{mnw}-vase, and wine jars correspond to offerings made by Thoth to the Distant Goddess of our myth. Unlike his headdresses in the daily temple rite, the king’s crowns here are mostly complex, composite ones, imbuing him with the divine characteristics of the gods he represents when presenting the offerings.

\textsuperscript{541} Abubakr, Kronen, 67-68, makes a similar observation about the head covering worn by the King in depictions of the daily temple rite at the Temple of Seti I at Abydos.

\textsuperscript{542} See Binkowski, Geier und Falke, 83-89.

\textsuperscript{543} D III, 77,4; 77,5.
The third register is the celestial realm of the gods (Fig. 5.7). Scenes in the main room of the Per-wer focus on the veneration of ancestral, primeval gods, and Hathor’s responsibility for light and the inundation.

The scenes are organized in symmetrical pairs:
- Offerings of purification (incense and water)
- Offerings of same nature for the same goddess (menit and sistra)
- Offerings for complementary deities (Hathor and Isis)
- Offerings for deities representing complementary geographical locations (Upper and Lower Egypt; Nekhbet and Wadjet)
These relationships can exist around a central axis, as in the entrance or niche, or between two opposing walls (Fig. 5.8). Symmetrical pairs are linked linguistically and iconographically, complementing each other. As we saw in the example of iconography play, epithets in one scene can link to the crown worn by an actor in the symmetrical scene, and vice-versa. Word plays and puns can function between the two scenes, and parallel expressions in each scene are often written with homonyms or with visual variation in the choice of signs.

Vertical relationships can also exist between scenes, but the links are often more subtle. There are even relationships between scenes connected to each other horizontally or diagonally on adjacent walls (for example, in three scenes referencing milk and Hathor’s bovine manifestation). These interplays of epithets and iconography, supported by layers of meaning in the word- and sign-plays, work harmoniously in three dimensions.
5.0.2 Excursus: Decoration of the Frieze in the Per-wer

A decorative frieze of two alternating elements (the Hathor-headed sistra and royal cartouches) adorns the top of each interior wall above the bandeau of the frieze (Fig. 5.9).

Fig. 5.9. Alternating Hathor-headed sistra and cartouches on the frieze; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

The Hathor-heads support $\text{bhn}$, a pylon-like structure framed by two tendrils, whose central doorway contains a cobra, thus indicating that Hathor's form as the uraeus resides within it. The cartouches are surmounted by the $\text{sw.ty}$, the double ostrich feathers (alluding to the two Eyes of Ra, the sun and the moon), and a sun disk: $\text{S76}$. Framing each of these two alternating elements are two rearing cobras: the one on the viewer's left wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt, the one on the right, red crown of Lower Egypt; pendant ankhs dangle from the lower curve of each cobra. The Hathor-heads, as well as the cartouches, stand upon gold signs, whose central element contains a lozenge, recalling a $\text{hb}$ purification basin. These alternating elements are arranged so that on any individual wall, a cartouche appears in the middle. Within the Per-wer's square chamber, each wall thus contains four Hathor-headed sistra and five cartouches, for a total of 16 Hathor-heads and 20 cartouches on the four walls.

This complex, repetitive border is not, however, merely decorative. As noted by Brunner, the iconography of a frieze in a Ptolemaic temple reflects the function of the room or hall in which it appears. In this frieze, the repetition of sistra, cobras, and gold signs links to manifestations and epithets of Hathor: her image as a sistrum, appearing as the central motif in the southern niche, as well as on the outer rear wall directly behind it; her ophidian form, as the protective Eye of Ra on the brow of the sun god; her ubiquitous epithet as the Golden One, referring to her radiance as the female sun. The protective pairs of cobras wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the cartouches crowned with the double feathers and disk, allude to the kingship of the Two Lands as well as the role of the archaic Per-wer shrine as the place of the king's coronation. The ankhs carried by the cobra emphasize that life is in the power of the goddess, infusing her image as well as that of the king's cartouche.

544 WinGlyph Y21&O39u1.
545 The "number of completion" in Egyptian thought. Dunand and Zivie-Coche, Gods and Men, 34.
546 Brunner, Luxor, 83, first recognized this relationship, which is supported by the later brief study in Kurth, Friese, 198.
5.1 The Myth of the Wandering Goddess in the Per-wer Sanctuary

Every scene in the Per-wer Sanctuary at Dendera thus contains multiple, interlacing themes connecting with other scenes. These relationships are expressed through the links created not only by means of architectural placement (e.g. symmetrical scenes around a door or on opposing walls), but also through plays on aural and visual elements: words, epithets, hieroglyphic signs, and iconography. In order to gain a better understanding of the ways in which these interconnections function, we will follow several main themes throughout the Per-wer. The first theme concerns Hathor's role as the Wandering Goddess: her pacification and purification, her return as the Divine Eye, and the subsequent re-establishment of Ma'at. The second theme, which underlies the first, is her universal role as Primordial Creator and Ancestral Goddess. The third theme is the King's role as intermediary between the human and divine worlds, with an emphasis on his legitimacy, his performative speech, and his maintenance of the funerary cults for the divine and royal ancestors. These three themes are tightly interwoven, because the King's authority to approach the Divine is a prerequisite for his performance of the rituals necessary for Hathor's pacification and return. These acts, in turn, reestablish Ma'at and cosmic order, because Hathor is not only the two Eyes of Ra, but also the Creator of light and all life on earth.

5.1.1 Chronocrators on Outer Entrance

Already in the entrance to the Per-wer, the texts and reliefs show that the Myth of the Wandering Goddess plays an important part in its theology. The first indication is in the frieze at the very top of the door framing, where chronocrator gods—two for each day of the year—sit facing away from a central Hathor-headed sistrum. They extend all around the Mysterious Corridor, encompassing every day of the first six months of the year.

The designers arranged the layout of the chronocrators so that the month of Tybi would be divided in half by the central sistrum (Fig. 5.10): the first half on the east side; the last half on the west. Hathor's great festival commemorating the return of the Wandering Goddess lasted from the 19th of Tybi until the 4th of Mechir, but a hint of the myth behind the festival is already apparent in the names of chronocrators for earlier days of the month.

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547 Scenes and text referring to the myth are highlighted in the wall drawings in pink.
548 Placed atop the hieroglyphic sign for gold, this emblem alludes to Hathor's frequent epithet at Dendera, Nbw.t (Golden One). On either side of the sistrum stand the w3d.ty (Two Uraei), wearing the white and red crowns, thus representing the tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nekhbet and Wadjet, respectively.
549 This row of divinities extends along both walls of the Mysterious Corridor (Chassinat's Chamber C), the horseshoe-shaped hallway surrounding the central barque sanctuary on its east, south, and west sides. These six months include the months of Thoth, Paophi, and Athyr of the season of Akhet (Inundation); the months of Khoiak, Tybi and Mechir of the season of Peret (Emergence). See diagram in Cauville, Dend Trad II, p. 4.
550 Because all sixty gods for the month of Tybi do not fit the width of the south wall, those for the first and last two days of Tybi were placed on the south ends of the east and west walls, respectively.
551 The first four days of Mechir, on the west wall, are added to the diagram. The festival, which was the longest one of the year, is attested since the NK; it enjoyed particular patronage after the death of Berenike, the young daughter of Ptolemy Euergetes III, which occurred during the month of Tybi 238 BCE. For a description of the festival, see Cauville, Fêtes d'Hathor, 28-29; Preys, Complexes, 563-565; Preys, Maîtresse des seize, 259-268; Richter, Wandering Goddess, 168-169; 174-175.
For example, the god for the 6th of Tybi, Mry.t-it-s, "Beloved of her father," is an epithet of Hathor referring to her father Ra, who missed his beloved daughter when she wandered off to Nubia; the chronocrator for the 13th of Tybi, located over the Per-wer entrance, is Nb-mr.t, "Lord of Ma'at," a frequent epithet of the god Thoth, whose persuasive words convinced the Wandering Goddess to return to Egypt. The divinity presiding over following day is Tefnut, the lioness-form of Hathor in the myth; on the 17th, the chronocrator is Onuris, the god who

552 The writing of this name, whose second sign is incorrect (as noted by Chassinat, D II, 31, no. 8), was corrected by means of the following parallel texts of chronocrators: (D VII, 64, no. 2); (E XV, 47, no. 6); and (KO 702 =Gutgub, KO 303,23), as well as similar phrases in D VIII, 114,15 and D IX, 29,12.

553 The distinctive four-feathered crown (which can belong to either Shu or Onuris) appears in the relief, although the accompanying text with the name is destroyed. Grumach-Shirun, Fede, 143, suggests that the crown may go back to hunting magic; cf. Bonnet, RÄRG, 545, for Onuris as hunter and fighter. The same crown is worn by the gods listed for Tybi 22 (D II, 61 no. 13) and Tybi 29 (D II, 60, no. 63), with the name in both cases clearly written as In-hr.t (Onuris), suggesting that the chronocrator for Tybi 17 over the Per-wer Entrance is also Onuris.

Additionally, Leitz, LGG I, 373-4, lists the chronocrator for I pr.t 17 (=Tybi 17) as In-hr.t. This crown can, however, also belong to the god Shu; the chronocrator for the 17th of Tybi in the bandeau of the base, west outer
helped bring the goddess home, and whose name, *In-hr*t, literally means "He who brings back the Distant One." Onuris also reappears as a chronocrator for the 22nd and 29th days of Tybi, both of which fall within the festival.

Two additional chronocrators, located on the south wall to the west of the Per-wer's entrance, also fall within the time-frame of the festival. However, scholars do not agree on the name of the first one, who presides over the 26th of Tybi (D II, 61, no. 6). The signs writing the name are which both Leitz and Cauville transliterate as *Hns(t)-Sjt*. However, Leitz reads "She who traverses Asia," whereas Cauville, "She who traverses Nubia." This goddess is succeeded on the following day by *Pd.t-nmt.t*, "She who is wide of stride" (D II, 61, no. 4). Leaving aside for the moment the disputed toponym, we can see that the theme of traveling is nevertheless clear; both chronocrators preside over days occurring during the festival, suggesting that their "movement" alludes to the Sun Eye's journey.

However, the most significant is the chronocrator for the 19th of Tybi, the first day of the Festival of the Wandering Goddess, who is called *Shn-[m.-c=]-s*, "Reunion/uniting is with her," or perhaps, "She who is reunited," alluding to Hathor-Tefnut, who returns to her father precisely on that day. In addition to the chronocrators in the frieze, the columns of text on either side of the entrance door (below, highlighted in pink) also relate to the myth, describing the jubilation greeting the goddess upon her return. Thoth opens the ways for her,  and both heaven and earth rejoice. The text in the west column states,
The polyptoton, with its variation on the root shn, "embrace, unite, install," first as a perfective sdm=f, "embraces," and then as a stative, "installed," calls attention to the union of the Distant Goddess with her father Ra, and her subsequent joyful installation in her sanctuary. This statement perfectly agrees with the name of the chronocrator we just saw for the 19th of Tybi, shn m-\(\text{\textasciitilde}}=s\), "Reunion is with her," the first day of the festival commemorating the return of the goddess (Fig. 5.12).

By placing the chronocrators for the month of Tybi over the entrance to the Per-wer, the ancient designers emphasized the importance of Hathor's great festival in this month for the theology of that sanctuary. Nine of the gods in the frieze allude to the myth, their names referencing important personages, characteristics, or actions of the legend; four of those appear over the center of the entrance: two each on either side of the central sistrum. The name of one of these four gods, presiding over the first day of Hathor's festival in Tybi, characterizes the climax

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562 Word plays are denoted by bold font; sign plays by blue font. Examples in which words function simultaneously in both word and sign play are thus rendered in bold blue font.
563 At Edfu, Hathor also shn, "unites" with the head of the All-Lord (E III, 146,10).
564 Leitz, Chronokratensteinliste Edfu, 153, notes that the assigning of chronocrators at Edfu to particular dates is not "willkurlich," and "jede Zuordnung wohlbruehnet war." This appraisal also holds true for the chronocrators in the Mysterious Corridor at Dendera. In Leitz's study of the exterior walls of the barque sanctuary at Dendera (idem., Aussenwand, 335), he notes that chronocrators in the frieze have connections to the scenes below, events in the festival calendar, and texts around the entrance and within the room over which they stand. However, to the best of my knowledge, the connection between the chronocrators over the Per-wer's entrance with Hathor's great festival in Tybi, and its allusions to the Myth of the Sun Eye, have not received scholarly notice.
of the story—the reunion of the goddess with her father, the sun god, marking the restoration of cosmic order.

5.1.1.1 Excursus – Discussion of the toponyms

Disagreement exists among scholars concerning the transliteration and translation of these two toponyms, which appear in the calendar texts of Dendera and Edfu, as well as in the name of the chronocrator for the 26th of Tybi, located on the south wall of Dendera's Mysterious Corridor. The confusion seems to stem from the fact that in the Late and Ptolemaic Periods, the same sign represents different toponyms, and different signs represent the same sounds. For example, the shoulder knot, \( \text{S22} \), carries the phonetic values of \( s, st, st, \) and \( S\text{mt},t \) and \( S\text{ty},t \) (the goddesses, Shesmetet and Satet, respectively), leading to its use as a phonogram in the writing of \( \text{S}t \), and its variation, \( \text{S}t, \) both of which can write "Asia," and "Sehel" (Gr. \( \Sigma\text{η}\text{Tt} \)), the cataract island near Elephantine. Some scholars also translate both writings as "Nubia." Further ambiguity arises with the advent of a new sign in the LP, \( \text{T58} \), a shield or animal skin with an arrow, which can also carry the values of \( st, st, \) and \( sty, \) allowing it to substitute for \( \text{S22} \) in the spelling of the previously cited toponyms.

The calendar texts at Edfu and Dendera contain parallel phrasing in a passage describing the ritual carried out on first day of Hathor's great festival, on the 19th of Tybi. Noting the mythical basis for the ritual act of turning her statue so that she faces the north, texts state that the goddess, having come from Bugem, and in order that she might see the Nile (or "inundation") of Egypt with all its marvels, turns her back to the named toponym; each text spells this toponym with a different sign. For example, \( \text{ir}=s \text{ s} \text{r} \text{NN} \), "so that she turns (lit. places) her back to \( \text{S22} \), employs the shoulder knot; \( \text{rdi}=s \text{ s} \text{r} \text{NN} \), "so that she might turn (lit. place) her back to \( \text{T58} \), uses the shield.

Because of the multiple values that these two signs can hold, scholars even today do not agree on the transliteration and translation of the toponyms in these two passages. Should the toponyms in both passages be translated the same? Is the toponym in question Asia, Nubia, or the island of Sehel? We will now take a brief look at how previous scholars have interpreted these passages.

566 GG, p. 506; Wb IV, 348, 3-5.
567 In Cauville's Dend Trad II, there is confusion concerning her transliteration of the chronocrator for the 26th of Tybi. In the running translation of the text (p. 98) the transliteration given is \( \text{Hns-S\text{mt}} \), "Celle qui parcourt la Nubie," but in the Index (p. 614), the same chronocrator is \( \text{Hn\text{st}},\text{Stt} \), which agrees better with her translation. The former entry may therefore be a typographical error.
568 Wb IV, 333,2-3.
569 Kurth, EP I, 394, no. 45.
570 Cauville, Dend Fonds, 211.
571 E V, 351, 8 (= Col. 11).
572 D XII, 185, 1-2.
Hermann Junker, in his early study of the Distant Goddess myth,\(^{573}\) discusses the toponym \(\dot{S}t.t\), noting that it can denote either Nubia, Asia, or Sehel. In his subsequent work, Die Onurislegende,\(^{574}\) he notes that the signs \(\text{F29}\), \(\text{T58}\), and \(\text{S22}\) can be interchanged in the three toponyms, just as in the substantive, \(stw.t\), "rays."\(^{575}\) Using examples from Dendera,\(^{576}\) he localizes \(\dot{S}t.t\), together with \(Kns.t\) and \(Pwn.t\), in the southeastern area of Egypt—all places that figure in the texts at Edfu, Dendera, and Philae, and which refer to the myth of the Distant Goddess. Later scholars, with a few exceptions,\(^{577}\) mostly follow Junker: Alliot,\(^{578}\) who translates \(\dot{S}t.t\) in the Edfu calendar as "La Nubie ou le Soudan oriental"; Germond,\(^{579}\) who quotes Alliot's translation; Preys,\(^{580}\) who references both calendars, stating, "Celle-ci, venant de Bougem tourna définitivement le dos à la Nubie," adding, "ce qui explique pourquoi pendant le rituel on place la déesse face au nord—pour voir les merveilles de Ta-meri."

Two scholars with contrary views are Grimm,\(^{581}\) who connects the toponym in the aforementioned Edfu text to the cataract island of Sehêl, and Leitz,\(^{582}\) who argues that the goddess of the Edfu and Dendera calendar texts on I \(prt\) 19 turns her back on \(\dot{S}t.t\), "Asien," and not \(Sty\), "Nubien." His reasoning is based on his calculation that the festival would have fallen in the middle of November, when the direction in which the Sun Eye was traveling would be the opposite of a "homecoming" towards Egypt (i.e. the direction of the sun's elliptical would be towards the south; following its southernmost position at the winter solstice in December, it would then turn northwards, i.e. in the direction of Egypt). He maintains, however, that this translation applies only to the calendar texts, noting that Junker’s reading\(^{583}\) of \(Sty\), "Nubien," is valid for most of the other passages.

I do not find Leitz's argument compelling for translating the term \(\dot{S}t.t\) as "Asia" in the calendar texts and as "Nubia" elsewhere. The sojourn of the goddess takes place in the southern regions in the myth; nowhere does it say that Hathor-Tefnut wanders north to Asia. It thus does not seem logical that the calendar texts, which base this important festival's ritual indications upon its mythological underpinning, would change the location of her sojourn to its opposite cardinal direction. The mythological context of Hathor's festival, as well as the specific ritual indication to turn Hathor's face away from \(\dot{S}t.t\), so that she can see the wonders of Egypt, both argue for a southern or southeastern location. Additionally, the chronocrators (as we have seen above, and which Leitz has suggested\(^ {584}\)) play an important role in the frieze above the Per-wer entrance, connecting with themes important for the purpose of the room over which they stand. All of these factors therefore support the translation for the name of the goddess presiding over the 26\(^{th}\) of Tybi, as "She who traverses Nubia."\(^{585}\)

\(^{573}\) Junker, Auszug, 24-27.
\(^{574}\) Junker, Onuris, 72.
\(^{575}\) As also noted in Wb IV, 331, 2-18.
\(^{576}\) Mariette, D I, pl. 23 (= D IX, 81,10 – 82,10).
\(^{577}\) Sethe, Sonnenauge, 8.
\(^{578}\) Alliot, Culte, 227 and n. 29.
\(^{579}\) Germond, Sekhmet, 227.
\(^{580}\) Preys, Complexes, 564.
\(^{581}\) Grimm, Festkalender, 191 and n. o; 390.
\(^{582}\) Leitz, Tagewählerei, 213 n. 35.
\(^{583}\) Junker, Onuris, 71-73.
\(^{584}\) See n. 564.
\(^{585}\) Following Cauville, Dend Trad II, p. 64.
5.1.2 Pacification of the Goddess

Allusions to the myth continue in the decoration of the outer entrance. Two symmetrical scenes in the lintel show the pacification of the goddess by the shaking of the sistrum, one of her sacred instruments (Fig. 5.13). Among the personages in the scenes are Hathor, Ra-Horakhty, and Thoth—all characters in the myth.

The king in the east scene bears the epithet, w3d n Shm.t, "offspring of Sekhmet" (D III, 51,4), which forms a visual pun with his offering of a papyrus stalk, also called a w3d. The assimilation of the King with the son of the dangerous lioness goddess gains him protection from her fury.586 The epithet is thus appropriate in sistra-offering scenes,587 whose purpose is to

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586 Goyon, Conjuration, 80; Germond, Sekhmet, 159-160, notes that Sekhmet's protection of the sun god (as his Eye) also extends to his successor, the king, suggesting that the reason may lie in the LP assimilation of Isis and Wadjet, perhaps due to the proximity of Buto, the traditional cult center of Wadjet to Khemmis, where Isis hid her son Horus
appease the goddess. Additionally, both "Sekhmet" and the \textit{shm}-sistrum are based on the same root, \textit{shm}, meaning "power." In fact, in the parallel text of the symmetrical scene on the west side, the king's epithet is \textit{s'kh shm n mw.t=f}, "who raises the \textit{shm} for his mother" (D III, 52,11-12), thus describing his offering of the sistrum image to Hathor. Therefore, a word play on the root \textit{shm} exists between the two scenes, in the epithets of the king. Interestingly, the naos-sistrum \textsuperscript{588} held cupped in his hand by the king in the right scene is unlike that of any other sistrum offered in the Per-wer Sanctuary, because it does not have a handle like a usual sistrum. Also, the naos-sistrum in Ptolemaic is generally specified as the \textit{sSS.t} (Fig. 5.14), rather than the \textit{shm}, the name reserved for the arched sistrum (Fig. 5.15). \textsuperscript{589} Thus, the image he is offering is truly the \textit{shm}, the incarnation of the goddess, and not just a normal sistrum. \textsuperscript{590}

![Naos Sistrum](fig1.jpg)  ![Arched Sistrum](fig2.jpg)

\textsuperscript{591}Type \textit{sSS.t}-sistrum

\textsuperscript{592}Type \textit{shm}-sistrum

\textsuperscript{587}The epithet, \textit{w\ddot{id} n Shm.t}, appears in the following sistrum-offering scenes: D III, 70,8 (Per-wer, east wall, 2\textsuperscript{nd} reg, 3\textsuperscript{rd} scene); V, 42,1 (Crypt East 1, Chamber G, east wall); V, 57,5 (Crypt East 2, Chamber A, east wall).

\textsuperscript{588}The top of this type of sistrum is sometimes referred to as the \textit{bhm}. See Excursus \textbf{5.0.2}.

\textsuperscript{589}Reynders, Sistrum, 1013-1026, discusses the use of the terms, \textit{sSS.t} and \textit{shm}, suggesting that the onomatopoeic \textit{sSS.t} refers to both the naos and the arched sistrum, although the term \textit{shm} probably also denotes the arched form. She proposes that the term \textit{shm}, "divine incarnation" refers to sistra in general, because whatever the type, the sistrum is a representation of Hathor's divine appearance. However, texts in the Per-wer consistently connect \textit{sSS.t} with the naos-sistrum and \textit{shm} with the arched sistrum, e.g. D III, 70, 7-8, discussed below in the present section.

\textsuperscript{590}The supplementary double ostrich feathers and uraei on the King's double crown mimics elements of Thoth's Atef, crown, which he wears as the deputy appointed by the sun god to return the Distant Goddess. The King's crown thus alludes to his role in helping to return the Sun Eye to her rightful place in the Southern Niche, on the brow of her father, Ra.

\textsuperscript{591}Faience naos-type sistrum, Late Period, Dynasty 26, OIM 10718. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. See also Teeter and Johnson, Life of Meresamun, p. 30, fig. 23.
The king’s unusual offering actually replicates the sacred sistrum image of Hathor in the Southern Niche—the focal point of the Per-wer (Fig. 5.16).

Fig. 5.16. Connection between King's Offering of Sistrum on Outer Entrance and Hathor's Sistrum Image on the Rear Wall of the S. Niche, after D II, pl. 94; III, pl. 202, © IFAO

Additionally, if one were to imagine that the walls are transparent (as often suggested by scholars, such as Gutbub, Cauville, and Derchain), the two symmetrical sistra scenes on the lintel of the outer entrance, which we just saw, line up directly with the sacred image of Hathor as a sistrum, in the center of the south wall of the Southern Niche. We will return to this image later.

The king’s offering of this image on the outer entrance of the Per-wer thus foreshadows his actions within the sanctuary, where he is shown presenting offerings that will pacify the Distant Goddess and convince her to return to Egypt. In essence, he is returning the Eye (in her form as a sistrum) to its holiest place within the Southern Niche. We will see more of this important theme.

On the lintel of the north wall, we see two symmetrical scenes recalling Thoth’s offering of wine and beer in order to pacify the Distant Goddess (Fig. 5.17). In the scene on the right, the king presents Hathor with a mnw-jar of beer. Her epithet, nb.t th (D III, 58,8), can be translated as either “Lady of Beer,” or “Lady of Drunkenness,” the ambiguity of the word is probably deliberate. The “drunkenness” refers to Hathor’s Festival of Drunkenness in the month of Thoth—a navigation ritual for pacifying angry lioness-goddesses, thus linking to our myth. On the left, the king offers two jars of wine to Isis, who often appears as Hathor’s counterpart at Dendera, distinguished here by the throne sign of her name on her horns-and-disk headdress.

In both scenes, the king wears the composite Crown of Geb, imbuing him with the earth god’s power to create and produce food and nourishment. This crown agrees well with the king’s epithet, “Lord of Imet” and Senu, two wine-producing areas of the Delta, and thus with his offerings of wine.
Behind the king in each scene, one of two Meret goddesses plays the harp, the music soothing the heart of the Wandering Goddess. Decorating the top of each harp is a Hathor-headed figural wearing a small horns-and-disk headdress with double falcon feathers, thus alluding to the two Divine Eyes. As a songstress, the goddess Meret has associations with Hathor, who restores order through music; each of the Meret goddesses carries an epithet meaning “Mistress of the Throat,” written with two different Egyptian words for “throat”: and . Meret also became identified with Ma’at, who was considered the throat of

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603 Wb II, 107,2-6. As early as the OK, Meret is a songstress presiding over music and singing, particularly during funerary rituals.
604 For a discussion of the development in Egypt of the harp, or , see Sachs, Musical Instruments, 92-95. A fine example of a carved and painted model harp, made of wood, bone, and faience and having figural ends (the head of a falcon; the head of a king wearing the double crown), from the NK tomb of Ani at Thebes (EA 24564), appears in Anderson, Egyptian Antiquities, p. 82, fig. 145.
605 Budde, Doppelfederkrone, 61. The Right Eye represents the sun; the Left Eye, the moon.
606 Wilson, PL 445.
607 D III, 58,4; 58,14.
608 : Wb I, 229,14.
609 : Wb III, 181,4-16.
the god through which he obtains air and food—the sustenance of life. Furthermore, because the words mr.t (singer), mr.t (another word for throat), and Ms.t (Ma’at) probably had similar pronunciation at this time, they form an effective pun. Wilson notes that they seem to be interchangeable and are more powerful because one word incorporates the aspects of the other two. The two lintel scenes with the Meret goddesses directly face the Southern Niche within the opposing south wall, their names linking linguistically with the two winged images of Ma’at standing protectively on either side of the sacred sistrum (Fig. 5.18).

![Fig. 5.18. Meret Goddesses on Lintel Link with Ma'at Images in Southern Niche, after D III, pls. 180 and 190, © IFAO](image)

Also, if we then look across diagonally from the two lintel scenes, towards the 1st register of the south wall, we see another connection as well (Fig. 5.19).

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610 In this role, Hathor is actually Ma'at-Tefnut, the daughter of Atum who provides him with air and life, as noted by Klotz, Kneph, 160-161, citing Bickel, Cosmogonie, 172-173. For more discussion on Ma'at and Meret as the throat of the sun god, see Guglielmi, Göttin Mr.t, 105-148.

611 Wilson, PL 445.
Not only do these two symmetrical scenes show the king offering Ma’at to the goddess (Hathor on the left; Isis on the right) (Fig. 5.20), but the King’s words in the scene on the left clearly reproduce our pun. Speaking to Hathor, he says,
"Ma'at is your (f.) name, it is Ma'at that one calls your (f.s.) Incarnation, it is the throat" (D III, 67,7).

We know that mr.t means “the throat” in this text (and not the songstress) because of the flesh determinative. It is usually written , with the head and neck of a long-necked animal. However, by employing the sign of the Meret-goddess as the phonogram of her name, the ancient scribe can also allude to the divine songstress, thus adding another layer of meaning to the word play.

The play on the close homophones of M3.t and mr.t, and the turn of meaning (the offering, the name of the goddess, and “throat”), emphasize the equivalencies of the concepts. A solid link is also made with the wine offerings in the north lintel, where we saw the Meret goddesses playing the harp. The offering of wine and the soothing music would pacify the Distant Goddess, thus leading to a restoration of Ma’at, symbolized by the king’s offerings in these scenes.

In these two symmetrical scenes—the culmination of the daily temple ritual carried out on earth—the King dons the white crown of Upper Egypt on the left and the red crown of Lower Egypt on the right, not only reflecting the geographical symmetry on either side of the axis, but also underlining his right and duty as King to maintain Ma’at throughout the Two Lands. His kingship is further emphasized by the Hepty crowns worn by Hathor and Horus of Edfu, which we saw earlier as symbols of kingship, as well as symbols of the light of the sun and the moon (the right and left divine Eyes).

The importance of Ma’at as the “foundation of Ra’s heaven,” is also shown in the placement of these scenes directly under the entrance to the Southern Niche (Fig. 5.21), where they serve as the base for the four goddesses holding up the sky.612

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612 D III, 86,17; 87,2. The name of each goddess consists of a cardinal direction plus a synonym for "She who carries," as follows: East: TiB.t.t H.y.t.; South: Rsy(t) H3.y.t.; West: Imn.t.t F+y.t.; North: Mh.t.t Tw+y.t.
We will return to the important role played by Ma'at, but first we will continue looking at some more offerings that help bring about the pacification of the goddess—a prerequisite for reestablishing cosmic order. This appeasement extends to the lateral walls of the Per-wer, in four symmetrical scenes in the 2nd register (Fig. 5.22). The offerings in these scenes have a pleasing, calming effect on the goddess, thus thematically linking with the intoxicating beverages offered on the lintel of the north wall.

Peering out from her seat in the southern niche, Hathor would thus see pacifying offerings on the three walls before her. We begin with the two symmetrical scenes on the far south sides of the east and west walls: in the scene on the east wall, the king offers two sistra (Fig. 5.23); on the west, he again offers the mnw-jar, this time accompanied by a circlet of electrum[^613] (Fig. 5.24).

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[^613]: Electrum is a mixture of gold and silver. See Nicholson and Shaw, Materials, 162.
In the sistra offering scene, Hathor wears the crown of Geb; in the mnw-jar offering, her usual horns and disk. As we discussed earlier,\(^{614}\) there is "iconography play" at work, with Hathor's Geb crown, which alludes to her power over products of the earth, linking with her epithet of "Lady of Bread who Makes Beer," in the mnw-jar scene.\(^ {615}\) By contrast, the King wears the Anedjty crown in both scenes,\(^{616}\) its iconography alluding to his role as heir and royal successor to Osiris, as we saw earlier.\(^{617}\) This characterization is appropriate, since in both scenes he takes on the role of Horus. In the sistra offering on the east wall, he begins by indicating his offerings:

\[ s\$$ s.t \ m \ wnmy=i \ s\$$ m \ i\$$by=i \]

"The \( s\$$-sistrum is in my right hand, \( s\$$-sistrum is my left hand"

(D III, 70,7-8).

The graphical opposition of the tall, similarly-shaped signs highlights the phrase, calling attention to the ideograms of the two types of sistra, \( s\$$, (Y8) and \( s\$$ (Y18), and the respective hands in which each is held: \( wnmy \) (right), and \( i\$$by (left). He follows this description by stating,

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\(^{614}\) See 4.4.1.

\(^{615}\) As noted by Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 134.

\(^{616}\) The Anedjty crown consists of two tall ostrich feathers, a sun disk, and a pair of ram's horns. See 4.1.6.2.

\(^{617}\) See 4.1.6.2.
an epithet that we saw in the lintel scene on the outer entrance, in which the term, \textit{w$\delta d$}, "offspring," makes a visual pun with the King's offering of a stalk of \textit{w$\delta d$}, or "papyrus."\footnote{For discussion of this epithet, see Section \textbf{5.1.2}.} The polyptoton on the root \textit{shm}, "power," appears first as the masculine substantive, \textit{shm}, designating the arched sistra in the previous statement, and then as the name of the lioness goddess, \textit{Shm.t}. The repetition of the root thus plays across the border between the two statements, juxtaposing the two ideas: \textit{shm}, the power inherent in the shaking of the sistra, which not only incarnates but also pacifies the goddess; \textit{Shm.t}, the incarnation of this power as the lioness in whom Hathor transforms to become "the Powerful One," so that she can destroy the enemies of Ra.\footnote{This episode appears in the Destruction of Mankind, part of a longer text, The Book of the Heavenly Cow, inscribed in five NK royal tombs (Tutankhamen, Seti I, Ramesses II, Ramesses III, and Ramesses VI). See Piankoff, Tut-Ankh-Amon, 27-29. The story is related to the Myth of the Wandering Goddess in its characterization of Hathor as the Eye of Ra who can transform into a vengeful lioness. Derchain, Temps et l'Espace, 48-56, interprets the Myth of Horus, located on the interior enclosure wall of the Temple of Edfu, as a structural parallel to the Myth of the Destruction of Mankind.} This double meaning of \textit{shm} is even more apparent later in the scene, where an aurally striking set of parallel epithets calls the goddess

\begin{center}
\textit{hnw.t hmw nb t s$\delta \delta.t$} \\
\textit{hnw.t shm nb(t) hs.t}
\end{center}

"Mistress of Women, Lady of the \textit{s$\delta \delta.t$-sistrum}, Mistress of the \textit{shm-sistra}, Lady of Music"

\begin{center}
(D III, 70,16).
\end{center}

The four sistra in close proximity to each other, combined with the image of the man playing the harp, visually emphasize the theme of music and Hathor's power over it; the rhyme and rhythm of the couplet complement it aurally. The elements of each statement form several connections with each other. The natural connections between women and music,\footnote{Women provide music for the temple in the form of singing and playing the sistra, harp, and frame drum. See Manniche, Music and Musicians, 57-83; Lexová, Dances, 40-45; Brunner-Traut, Tanz, 22, 48.} and between the two types of sistra, form a chiastic relationship. We can also see a parallel connection between the domain of music and its realization by playing the \textit{s$\delta \delta.t$-sistrum}; the connection of the domain of women and their playing of the \textit{shm-sistra}. Even more striking is that \textit{shm.w} also creates a true
pun, because its homonym, meaning "power," can allude to Hathor's powerful presence. Thus, she is also "Mistress of Sekhem," i.e. "Mistress of Power." A further allusion to power exists in the mnw-jar scene, where she is called,

\[b\text{3} \text{ t r s\text{hm}.w h\text{3}h.t b\text{3}.w sp\text{d}.t h\text{k}3\text{w}}\]

"Female Ba, more (immanent) than the (divine) powers, Speedy One of (Divine) Power, Effective One of Magic"

(D III, 81,16),

thus again making a connection between the two symmetrical scenes. In this case, the s\text{hm}.w are the deceased ancestor gods, discussed in the section on Hathor as Primeval Goddess. However, Hathor's own power is unmistakable in the epithets, \[h\text{3}h.t b\text{3}.w sp\text{d}.t h\text{k}3\text{w}, \] "Speedy One of Divine Power, Effective One of Magic.\]^621 The polyptoton on the root b\text{3}, "manifestation, being present," first as the feminine singular substantive, b\text{3}.t, "Female Ba," and then as the plural substantive, b\text{3}.w, "(divine) Power," emphasizes Hathor's immanent presence\(^622\) in terms of being present and being powerful. The visual imagery of the winged, walking canine and the three ba-birds to write b\text{3}h.t b\text{3}.w reinforces the concept of speed, the wings of the canine perhaps added by attraction to the signs of the ba-birds.\(^623\) Thus, Hathor's s\text{hm} is present, it is swift, and it is powerful—qualities that agree with Hathor's manifestation in her lioness form as Sekhmet, the restorer of Ma'at. Another allusion to this role appears in the Divine Randzeile, where Hathor is described as

\[nb(.t) s\text{ssh}.t h\text{nw}.t s\text{hm}.w h\text{r} dr \text{sp}.t h\text{r} rw(.t) n\text{sn} h\text{r} ss[\text{wn}] h\text{trs} t h\text{3}w h\text{r}=s\]

"Lady of the ssh.t sistrum, mistress of the s\text{hm}-sistrum, driving away anger, dispelling rage, destroying evil before her face" (D III, 70,17-18).

The string of pseudo-verbal \(h\text{r} + \text{infinitive constructions} (h\text{r} dr, "driving away," h\text{r} rw(.t), "dispelling," and h\text{r} sswn, "destroying") emphasizes "action in progress"; the five-fold repetition of h\text{r} (as the preposition, and as the first syllable in h\text{rs}.t) adds an aural urgency to the statement. The action described is the ongoing effort by Hathor in her Ma'at-restoring manifestation to destroy all things that impinge upon happiness and order—a purification also necessary for her own joyous festival of return to take place.

\[^{621}\] Translating in a slightly less literal fashion, these two epithets could also be rendered as, "whose divine power is speedy, and whose magic is effective." See Wb IV, 109,17: "tüchtig im Reden, von Zaubersprüchen, u.a."; PL 833: sp\text{d}-hkk, "effective of magic."

\[^{622}\] Sauneron, Remarques, 49-51; Preys, Complexes, 186; 194; 247; cf. Borghouts, Divine Intervention, 49-51.

\[^{623}\] See Section 3.5 on Attraction.
The symmetrical offering scene on the west wall also emphasizes the destruction of disorder, thus linking the two scenes. The King, who presents the goddess with the intoxicating mnw-jar and the circlet of electrum, states that he is

\[ \text{hr } l(t) . wy \text{ hr } w^b \text{ d}^b . w \text{ hr } bw . t \text{ snm } n \text{ Tr}.t-R^c \]

"washing the hands, purifying the fingers, hating the sadness of the Eye of Ra" (D III, 82,4-5).

Again, we have a string of pseudo-verbal constructions, but this time, by contrast, they actively soothe and pacify: hr l(t), "washing," hr w^b, "purifying," hr bw . t snm, "hating the sadness." The root snm, "sadness, grief," may derive from the root nm, "shout," as in the "wail of grief."\(^{624}\)

Frandsen\(^ {625}\) suggests that snm may thus be the emotional misery and pollution associated with bereavement and death—elements that must be removed or cleansed because they are incompatible with Hathor's festivals of joy, and rejoicing in general. Having actively driven away anger, dispelled rage, and destroyed evil, Hathor as Sekhmet (who almost destroyed mankind in her fury) must now be pacified.\(^ {626}\) The imagery of washing and purifying also recalls the ablutions made by priests before entering service in the temple, agreeing well with the role of the King as high priest, who must assure that absolute purity surrounds the goddess in her temple.

These duties combine in the Royal Randzeile where the King again has the role of Horus, heir of Osiris, who drives away disorder: sw mi Hr dr st3 n itn . t rwi sdb . w, "He is like Horus, who drives away impurity from the Female Sun Disk, who dispels evil" (D III, 82,5). This "driving away of impurity" from the goddess, together with the previous statement about washing and purifying, recalls the scene in the Myth in which the Distant Goddess purifies herself in the sacred waters of the Abaton, thus bringing about her transformation into a beautiful woman.\(^ {627}\) The reference to itn . t, the Female Sun Disk, reminds us that the Distant Goddess is also the Right Eye of Ra, who must return to her proper place for cosmic order to be restored. The role of the King in both scenes, hinted at by his wearing of the Anedjty crown,\(^ {628}\) thus actively brings about the pacification of the goddess and restoration of Ma'at.

The theme of pacification continues in another pair of symmetrical scenes in the 2\(^{nd}\) registers of the east and west walls. In the scene on the east wall, the King offers Hathor the menit necklace, one of her sacred symbols (Fig. 5.25); on the west wall, he offers the wensheb, the symbol of ordered time (Fig. 5.26).

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624 Wb IV, 165,4-9; Wilson, PL 864.
625 Frandsen, Fear of Death, 131-133, notes that snm is related to st3; both carry the same determinative as several words meaning "mourning."
626 The anger of the Distant Goddess must also be assuaged in order for her to return.
627 Purification of the Distant Goddess is discussed further in Section 5.1.3.
628 Which can be worn by Horus, the heir and successor of Osiris, who avenges his father. See 4.1.6.2.
In both scenes, the King wears an Atef crown formed from stalks of rushes gathered together, tied at the top, and surmounted by a small solar disk, which is then supplemented with a pair of ram's horns with an additional small solar disk. The Atef crown belongs to the cosmic ruler Ra, who may wear it himself or bestow it on other gods who act as his deputys, such as Osiris or Thoth, it may be handed down to the heir, Horus, who wears it particularly when performing funerary rituals or avenging his father. In the two symmetrical scenes the King takes on similar roles. In the menit offering scene, he is equated with Horus, who avenge the death of his father,

"Destroying the Coward (=Seth), slaughtering the Watchful One (=Seth), slaying the Angry One (=Seth)" (D III 69,18 – 70,1).

The insistent repetition of the *h*-phonemes (*h*, *h*, and *h*) emphasizes the same sounds in Seth's negative epithets: *Hm.ty* (Coward); *Nhs* (Watchful One); *Hr.ty* (Angry One). The use of epithets in place of the god's actual name is appropriate in a sanctuary context, in which anything impure, in either text or image, must be avoided. The reference to Seth agrees with the identification of the menit with his testicles, usually present in offerings of the necklace to Isis.

629 Ra wears the Atef crown at the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, in Calverley and Gardiner, Abydos, pl. 24.
630 Osiris says to Horus: "May you see me in my great Atef crowns, which Ra has given me, which Atum [has established for] me" (CT 313; Goeb, Crowns, 62; Faulkner, CT, 233; de Buck, CT IV, 87). The bestowal of this crown by Ra confers the rule of Osiris at Herakleopolis, where the crown was said to be located. See Goeb, Crowns, 64. Other references to the bestowal of this crown upon Osiris include the following: Ra gives Osiris the Atef, but its heat caused him much suffering in his head (BoD 137); the Atef of Ra is on the brow of Osiris, who is "Lord of the Two Banks" (BoD 183, 77).
631 Goeb, Crowns, 374.
632 Literally, "Effeminate One."
633 Referring to Seth's "lying in wait" for Horus.
634 Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 134, identifies Seth's testicles with the beads of the menit. In the Myth of Horus and Seth, Horus cuts off the Seth's testicles. For an extensive analysis of the story, see Broze, Horus et Seth, 1996. Scenes at Dendera equating Seth's testicles with the menit offering include the following: D I, 51,6 (to Hathor in
Hathor’s epithet, ḫnty.t ḫr sn=s, “Female protector for her brother (=Osiris)” (D III, 70.3-4), also connects her to Isis in the present scene; this protection extends to her father Ra,635 reflecting the apotropaic aspects of the necklace itself. The Isiac connection in the menit offering also creates “iconography play” by linking to the crown worn by the goddess in the symmetrical scene of the wensheb offering. This particular crown, consisting of a double crown framed with two ostrich feathers, has similarities with the royal crown of Isis;636 it is worn by Hathor in her aspect as the Menit.637 The offering of the menit to Hathor thus represents the triumph of Horus over disorder (in the form of Seth), as well as her own pacification, as the text in the Royal Randzeile makes clear: sw mi ḫr ḫnk ḫm.t=s m ḫḥ.t=s sḥtp ḫb=s r* nb, “He is like Horus, who presents her Incarnation with her offering, who pacifies her heart every day” (D III, 70.1).

Turning now to the wensheb offering, in which the king again wears the Atef crown (Fig. 5.26), we see that the text in the Divine Randzeile appropriately equates him with Thoth, the deputy of Ra,638 stating,

\[
\text{sw mi Isdn *pr wd3.t s3h ḫh.t m dbh.w=s}
\]

"He is like Isden (=Thoth), who provisions the Udjat, who makes shine the Shining Eye with its parts"

(D II, 81.8).

The polyptoton on the root ḫh, "to shine, be effective," emphasizes the King’s action due to the use of the s-causative form of the verb as the perfective active participle, "who makes shine, makes effective," followed by the feminine active participle used as the substantive, ḫḥ.t, the "Shining/Effective (Eye)." The entire phrase shows that by the King’s restoration of the Eye's missing parts, he makes it "Shining," and "Effective."639

635 Preys, Catalogue d’Hathor, 133-135, fig. 3/6, notes that Isis appears in her function of protecting Osiris in the Temple of the Menit at Dendera.
636 In the Divine Randzeile, Hathor is ḫr ḫw li=s, "protecting her father" (D III, 70.5).
637 The royal crown of Isis consists of a double crown framed by two ostrich feathers, with the addition of a uraeus seshed band; it is usually placed higher on her head, e.g. in the 2nd register, west side of the south wall in the Pherer’s Southern Niche. See discussion of this crown in Section 4.1.5.2.
638 Altenmüller, Synkretismus, 241, suggests that Thoth as ḫsdn (or ḫsds) is a syncretization with Anubis, in the role of the judge at the weighing of the heart of the deceased. The epithet occurs as early as the CT (e.g. de Buck, CT III, 61b); Anubis commands Thoth to be in the "form" of Ra during the night (Faulkner, CT 347 = de Buck, CT IV, 380a) as the "nightly sun," i.e. the moon. See Goebs, Crowns, 126; Altenmüller, Synkretismus, 238.
639 Otto, Augensagen, 562-567, defines two threads in the myth of the Sun Eye: the concept of the sun and moon as Divine Eyes, which must be healed (thus linking them also to the Contendings of Horus and Seth); the Eye goddess who must be returned to her father, the sun god. Stadler, Weiser, 243, notes that Thoth's responsibility to heal and bring back the Eye thus binds together these two threads. See also Altenmüller, Synkretismus, 238, who similarly observes that the role of Thoth (with whom the King is identified in this scene), as protector, healer, and bringer of the Moon Eye, becomes conflated with the myth in which he brings back the Distant Goddess.
The idea that both Eyes (the sun and the moon) must be returned to their proper places for Ma’at to be restored, appears in the Divine Randzeile. As a result of the King's offering,

\[ hnm.n= s\ i3b.t \ m \ tp \ n \ it=s \]

"She has united with the uraeus on her father's brow" (D III, 81,10-11).

Probably not by accident, the word, \[ i3b.t (uraeus) \], can also mean “Left Eye,” thus referring to the Eye of Horus—the moon, which is equated with Isis. This idea is more explicitly stated in the Divine Randzeile, where Hathor is characterized as

\[ hr \ hnm \ i3b.t \ hr \ shdj \ idb.w \]

"Uniting with the Left Eye, brightening the Banks" (D III, 81,11-12).

Hathor's return as the Left Eye, the moon, thus brightens the banks of the Nile at night, her gentle light illuminating the landscape. Derchain-Urtel eloquently conveys the idea of cosmic stability with the restoration of the sun and the moon in their proper places, as well as noting the imagery carried by the King's Anedjty crown in the two symmetrical scenes we examined earlier:

"…'das link Mondauge in der Nacht' (westl.) und das 'rechte Sonnenauge am Tag' (östl.) umreißen die Ewigkeit im stetigen Wechsel der Bewegungen, die doch letzten Endes Dauer und Stabilität ohne Unterbrechung garantieren, an welchem das Königtum, materialisiert durch die Krönungsfedern \[ sw.ty \] als Kraft des Lichtes selbst, teilhat."

Obviously, if the moon and the sun are returned to their proper places, ordered time (represented by the wensheb) would be restored, as well. The concept of eternity, especially as expressed by the cyclical changes of the sun and moon, reappears in other texts in the Per-wer, as we will see.

### 5.1.3 Purification of the Goddess

The final step in the pacification of the Distant Goddess is her purification in the sacred waters of the Abaton. There, she transforms herself from a lioness into a beautiful woman, whom Ra welcomes into his arms. Several scenes in the Per-wer allude to this purification, including the two symmetrical scenes in the base of the south wall, in which the King offers the goddess jars of primordial water (Fig. 5.27). On the east side, the Royal Randzeile states, \[ shtp=f \ ib=t \]

\[ 640 \] Derchain-Urtel, \[ hppj-Krone, 51 (my translation): "The left moon-Eye in the night (west) and the right sun-Eye in the day (east) transcribe eternity in the constant change of their movements, which in the end guarantees duration and stability without interruption, and in which the kingship, materialized through the \[ sw.ty \] coronation feathers as the power of light itself, participates."

\[ 641 \] We will examine these scenes in more detail in Section 5.5.3. Although allusions to the purification of the goddess appear in these scenes, the emphasis of their linguistic techniques more properly places them in the context of Hathor as a primeval/solar goddess.
"m mw-rnp," "it pacifies your heart with the water of rejuvenation" (D III, 63,7); on the west side, the Divine Randzeile states, \textit{htp hr=t m pr m nwn}, "your (f.s.) face is pacified with what comes forth from the Nun" (D III, 75,10-11). While the King presents his offerings, in both scenes Ihy shakes the sistra and menit, driving away anger and evil from the goddess.\footnote{D III, 75, 5-6: \textit{sSS.t=i m wnm=ty i sn=i n=t n sn mnl.t m lb=yl} hr dr [\textit{mn.t}],* "The \textit{sSS.t}-sistrum is in my right hand. I make rage pass away from you. The \textit{menit-necklace} is in (my) left hand, driving away evil." The close homophones of \textit{mnlt/mn.t} emphasize the power of the menit (\textit{mn.t}) to drive away evil (\textit{mn.t}).}

As we will see in our discussion of Hathor as primordial goddess (\textbf{5.5.3}), the two scenes at the base of the south wall also connect with the offering of the \textit{nms.t}-jar of primordial water in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} register of the north wall (Fig. 5.28). In this scene, Hathor, nursing her child Ihy, sits on a throne over sixteen vases of inundation water, alluding to a perfect inundation, sixteen cubits in height (Fig. 5.29).\footnote{See Preys, Maîtresse des seize, 263. Similar scenes of Hathor seated over sixteen vases, appear in two other places at Dendera: on the north wall of Chamber D of Crypt South 1, D V, pl. 438; on the south wall of the Per Nu, D II, pl. 142.} Again, the texts mention Hathor's purification by the water. The title of the scene states, \textit{htp=t hr pr(t) m nwn}, "You are pacified with what comes forth from the Nun" (D III, 71,17); in the Divine Randzeile, Hathor says, \textit{swb=i Haw=i [m] mw-rnp}, "I purify my body [with] the water of youth" (D III, 72,8).
The King's utterance in the Royal Randzeile is particularly interesting. The first half is filled with visual plays; the second half, with aural plays.

"I bring you the vessel filled with inundation water in order to refresh your heart with the (cool) libation water" (D III, 72,5).
The first half of the expression describes the offering, emphasized by the choice and arrangement of the signs. Tall signs alternate with short signs, creating graphical opposition; almost every sign is connected in some way with water or vessels: \( \text{\textdollar} \) (W 25), the walking \( \text{nw} \)-jar, the ideogram for the verb \( \text{ini} \), "bring"; \( \text{\textdollar} \) (W24), the \( \text{nw} \)-jar, the ideogram for the preposition, \( n \), "to"; \( \text{\textdollar} \) (W70), the \( \text{nms.t} \)-jar, serving as a determinative for \( \text{hd.t} \), "vessel"; \( \text{\textdollar} \) (D26B), the spewing mouth, the phonogram for \( p \), in \( \text{h\textasciitilde py} \) (inundation water); \( \text{\textdollar} \) (N36), the pool of water, the determinative for \( \text{h\textasciitilde py} \). Although either sign would allude to water or vessels, by choosing \( \text{\textdollar} \) (W24) the \( \text{nw} \)-jar, rather than the water sign \( \text{\textdollar} \) (N35), the scribe was able to maintain the opposition between short and tall signs. The second half of the expression continues some of the visual play with the repetition of the \( \text{hs} \)-jar, in \( \text{skbh} \), "to refresh" and \( \text{kbhw} \), "libation water"; it also emphasizes the purificatory and refreshing qualities of the water with the polyptoton on the root \( \text{kbh} \), "to cool," first in the s-causative verb, \( \text{skbh} \), "to make cool, refresh," and then in the plural substantive, \( \text{kbh.w} \), "cool water" or "water libation." The offering of cool water, especially when designated as water of the Nun (primeval waters), is purifying and refreshing, restoring life to the recipient. The Distant Goddess would thus be rejuvenated, purified, and pacified, and thus in a proper state to return to her sanctuary in the temple.

Fig. 5.30. Theme of Purification with Sacred Water, after D III, pls. 180; 190. © IFAO

644 The king’s role in life-restoring incense and libation offerings, especially in the context of funerary offerings to deceased ancestor gods, shows that he is the legitimate heir and ruler of Egypt. See Wilson, PL 1054; Blackman, Incense and Libations, 69-75. The King’s iconography in this scene also connects with his offering: the double crown emphasizes his legitimacy, giving him the authority to present the rejuvenating offering to Hathor; the ostrich feathers represent Ma‘at, alluding to his restoration of Ma‘at by pacifying the goddess; the ram’s horns allude to Khnum, Lord of Elephantine, the mythical source of the Nile and the inundation.
This idea connects to the image of Isis seated over a basin in the shape of an isheru lake, in the 3rd register of the west wall (Fig. 5.30 and 5.31). As we noted earlier in the interpretation of the myth, the pacification of a lioness in sacred waters relates to the cycle of inundation. At the time when the Nile was lowest, the goddess Sekhmet would bring disease and death. Therefore, navigations took place on the sacred lakes at this time of the year in order to repel the anger of lioness goddesses.\textsuperscript{645}

![Mut, "Lady of the Isheru" Isis seated over Isheru](image)

Fig. 5.31. 3rd Register, West Wall; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

An iconography play is in action in this particular scene. Although Isis sits over the isheru lake in the relief, the goddess Mut, who sits behind and can also take the form of a lioness, carries the title, \textit{nb(.t) lšrw}, "Lady of the Isheru" (D III, 85,3), referring to her horseshoe-shaped isheru lake at the temple of Mut at Karnak (Fig. 5.32).

![Isheru Lake, Temple of Mut, Karnak](image)

Fig. 5.32. Isheru Lake, Temple of Mut, Karnak\textsuperscript{646}

A clue to the significance of the depiction of Isis on the isheru in this scene lies in the text of a similar depiction of her in Crypt South 1, Chamber D, in which the text states, \textit{3s.t wr.t} …

\textsuperscript{645} Richter, Wandering Goddess, 172-174. See also discussion of \textit{īd.t-\textit{rnp.t}}, "pestilence of the year," in Flessa, Schütze, 22-31; Leitz, Tagewählerei, 134-135; 213-214.

\textsuperscript{646} Photo courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum Mut Expedition.
The texts poetically describe the ritual navigation as a meeting of the goddess (Hathor as Isis) with her father Nun, the personification of the primordial water: 'it=s nwn ṣ.wy=f(y) m phr=s, "her father Nun, his arms embracing her."' Furthermore, the text of Mut in the scene on the west wall of the Per-wer characterizes her as bꜣḥ pr nbw.t m ṣḥw.t, "who floods the sanctuary of the Golden One with joy." The sign of the benu-bird perched over a primeval mound, rising out of the waters, writes the word bꜣḥ. The visual imagery of the sanctuary being "flooded," thus alludes to the inundation; it agrees well with the depiction of Isis seated over the isheru lake. By means of aural and visual plays, the image of Isis seated over the isheru lake thus symbolizes the return of the Distant Goddess in the purifying waters of the Nun, as well as the inundation that returning goddess brings with her arrival.

5.1.4 Returning the Udjat

Returning to the north wall, we see another interesting scene related to the myth and the return of the Sun Eye (Fig. 5.33). In the west scene of the third register, Iḥy pacifies Hathor’s ka—the embodiment of the goddess—with the sistrum and menit-necklace, because she is Ṭr.t-Rꜣ ḫnw.t nfr wt ṣḥ ḫḥn.t n(t) Rꜣ m nfrw, "the Eye of Ra, the Mistress of Goddesses, who adorns the brow of Ra with beauty" (D III, 83,16-17), thus equating her with the right Eye of Ra, the Sun Eye, and uraeus on Ra’s brow. The King, who again wears the Anedjty crown, this time atop a square cap, offers Hathor the Udjat—the whole, healthy Eye.
In an offering of the Udjat, one expects to find references to eyes, but this particular scene is extraordinary, with six different terms for "Eye" in a single statement by the King. A closer look at these different designations can shed light on the multifaceted qualities of the Eye. We begin in the Royal Randzeile, where the King addresses Hathor as

\[
\text{nb.t wd3.ty nfr.t n.t dfd-n-wd3.t}
\]

"Lady of the Udjat-Eyes, the (Divine) Eye, of the Pupil of the Udjat Eye " (D III, 84.2).

The visual emphasis on eyes is immediately apparent, with the four-fold repetition of the eye-sign, (D10A). It appears as two symmetrically opposed ideograms in the dual substantive, wd3.ty, "the two Udjat Eyes," as the determinative for nfr.t, "(divine) Eye," and as an ideogram in the sun god's epithet, dfd-n-wd3.t, "Pupil of the Udjat Eye." Aural emphasis appears in the polyptoton on the root wd3, "be healthy, be whole," first as the dual, wd3.ty, and then as the feminine singular substantive, wd3.t, as part of the compound phrase, dfd-n-wd3.t. The term, wd3.t, with its aural and visual repetition, calls attention to the health (and thus the health-giving) aspect of the right Eye of Ra, the solar form of the goddess Hathor; it also alludes to the episode of the Horus myth in which the god's Eye was healed of its injury in the struggle with Seth. The term nfr.t, in turn, highlights the Eye's divine nature. The intertwining of sound and sight in this multi-layered expression effectively emphasizes the health and wholeness of the sacred Eye, an aspect of the sun god Ra. Hathor would certainly be pleased with such effective speech by the King.  

He continues his address by describing his offering:

\[
in=i n=t 3h.t 3h.ti m d.t=s
\]

"I bring you the Shining/Effective-eye, shining/effective in its body"  
(D III, 84.2),

Here, emphasis is on the root 3h, "be shining/effective," a quality often ascribed to Hathor as the Sun Eye, which we saw earlier in the polyptoton in the wensheb offering. It first appears as the feminine substantive, 3h.t, "Shining/effective Eye," and then as the stative, "(in a state of being) shining/effective." The syntactical changes of the root 3h emphasize Eye's luminous quality; the expression, m d.t=s, which can also be interpreted as "in its entirety," alludes to the completeness of its state of being. Thus, the expression conveys the idea that the Eye effectively and completely shines its luminous rays upon the earth. However, the Eye is also

\[
\text{tn.ti m tp-rd=s nb}
\]

“distinguished in all its ritual” (D III, 84.2),

---

650 This important aspect of the King’s speech when communicating with the goddess is discussed further in Section 5.3.2.
651 Discussed in 5.1.2.
652 Meeks, An Lex, 78.4852, suggests that m-d.t=f is an adverbial phrase meaning "totally, entirely."
The stative, *tn.ti*, from *tni*, "to distinguish, raise up," is often written in Ptolemaic with the ideogram of the double ostrich feather crown on the ram's horns. In the present text, the description of the Udjat as *tn.ti*, "distinguished," and its writing with the crown-sign, thus creates both an aural and a visual pun on the Anedjty crown worn by the king in this scene, also called *tni* because its feathers are raised up high on the head. The crown itself has associations with the divine Eye, its two feathers being equated with the right and left Eyes of Ra. This multi-layered expression thus emphasizes the importance of the king’s rituals carried out for the goddess—specifically, those concerning the return of the Eyes. Finally, the King states why the goddess is imbued with all of the aforementioned qualities:

\[
tw=tw\text{wnmy}(t)\ n(t)\ Psd-m-nbw\ 'nh.t\ n.t\ Tm\nw
\]

"for you are the Right Eye of He Who Shines Like Gold, the Living Eye of Atum."

(D III, 84,2-3)

The seated figure of the sun god as the determinative in *PsD-m-nbw*, "He who shines like gold," shows that the epithet belongs to Ra. It is the male counterpart of Hathor's frequent designation, *Wbn.t-m-nbw*, "She who shines like gold," thus equating the two solar deities. In addition to being the Right Eye of Ra, Hathor is also the Living Eye of Atum, the evening form of the sun god. The designation of the Eye as *'nh.t*, derived from the root *'nh*, "to live," emphasizes her life-giving quality.

The long string of epithets in the King's speech, with its clever use of aural and visual plays, thus presents the Eye in its broad range of attributes. Being *wdj3*, "healthy," the Udjat can give health; being *'nh*, "living," the Living Eye can give life. In addition, the Eye is *dh*, "shining," and "effective"; its sacred rituals by the king also make it *tni*, "distinguished." The luminous daughter of Ra-Atum thus represents all of these qualities, spreading light, life, and health upon everyone and everything on earth.

In return for the King's offering, Hathor gives him protection and the ability to see forever:

\[
di=ti\ n=k\ ir.ty=ky(\gamma)\ hr\ m33\ d.t\ n\ ii\ dw\ m'=k3=sn
\]

"I give you your eyes (with the ability of) seeing d.t-eternity. Evil will not come into their presence" (D III, 84,4),

a benefaction mirrored in its parallel expression in the Divine Randzeile:

---

653 Wb I, 557.3, GR: "der in Gold (golden) strahlt," an epithet of the sun god Ra. Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 440, translates as "Celui qui replendit comme l'or." This epithet also appears in an episode of the Daily Temple Ritual, in the scene of "revealing the face," in the 1st register of the Per-wer's west wall (D III, 77.8).

654 Hathor bears this epithet multiple times in the Per-wer: D III, 56.5; 66.6; 71.11; 78.9; 97.15.

655 Kurth, EP II, 788-790, notes that, just as in Middle Egyptian, the construction *nn sdm=f* (in Ptolemaic, interchangeably with *n sdm=f*) often has future meaning (cf. GG §105; 457), leading to the translation, "evil will not come into their presence." In the context of the present text, translating *n sdm=f* as future also makes more sense than as a negated narrative past, *n sdm=f* (used in Middle Egyptian to negate the narrative *sdm.n=f*).
The mention of the two complementary aspects of eternity, \( n hh \) and \( d \cdot t \), is particularly significant, because together they represent the idea of "temporal stability without end." Hathor commands both aspects, shown by her epithet, \( i t \cdot n \cdot t \ n hh \ h r \ d \cdot t \), "Female Sovereign of \( n hh \)-eternity and \( d \cdot t \)-eternity" (D II, 68,5), thus allowing her to offer them to the king. The concept of \( n hh \) is equated with Ra and the morning sun; \( d \cdot t \), with Osiris and the evening sun. In fact, there is such a strong identification between the two gods with these aspects of time, that the ideogram for Ra can represent \( n hh \), and the ideogram for Osiris, \( d \cdot t \). Assmann clarifies these eternal aspects of duration and change, which play such an important part in the Egyptian concept of time. He notes that in contrast to humans, the gods exist outside earthly temporality, but are nevertheless subject to change; rather than being "always in existence," they are "always becoming." The gods thus live, age, die, and are reborn, in a constant, eternal metamorphosis. This cyclical aspect of divine existence also contains within it the idea of the reversibility of time—an aspect contrasting quite dramatically with human time, whose "irreversible" phases lead inexorably towards a single, finite goal. As Assmann explains,

"Das Geheimnis dieser Reversibilität der Zeit, in der das Ende mit dem Anfang koinzidiert und die Zeitlinie der Existenz eine Kreisbahn beschreibt, liegt in der Fähigkeit, vorübergehend aus der Zeit herauszutreten in die vorweltlich-ausserzeitliche Sphäre des Nun, der die Welt umgibt."

This ability to "step out" of time is exemplified by the sun god, who usually carries the epithet, \( n b \ n hh \), "King of \( n hh \)-eternity" (D VI, 93,11), his Netherworldly counterpart, Osiris, bearing the epithet, \( h k^3 \ n \ d \cdot t \), "Ruler of \( d \cdot t \)-eternity" (D VI, 42,8). Assmann explains that the eternity of the sun god does not lie outside of time, but rather is time. Eternity stands "in the god's face" (i.e. the god in his totality), manifesting itself in the consciousness of the god as a "simultaneous present" of every point in time. Thus, the joining of the ba of Ra with the body of Osiris in the Netherworld, during the 5th and 6th Hours of the Amduat, not only rejuvenates the sun god, but
also joins together \( nhh \) and \( d.t \), the "before" and the "after." His rising as the newborn sun at dawn thus represents the eternal repetition of Zep Tepi, the first moment of Creation.

Hathor not only embodies time, but also commands and transcends it.\(^{664}\) Her reciprocal gift to the King is therefore a powerful offering: sight in both directions of time, the past and the future, giving him the ability to "see" like a god, with all points of time in his consciousness blending together into a simultaneous present.\(^{665}\) As the terrestrial incarnation of the god Horus, the King thus partakes of some of the divine aspects of the god, who also carries the epithet, \( ity n nhh \ mk3d.t \), "Ruler of \( nhh \) and \( d.t \)."\(^{666}\)

The udjat offering scene in the 3rd register of the north wall faces two mirror offering scenes located in the third register of the south wall, on either side of the entrance to the Southern Niche (Fig. 5.34); the three scenes are linked thematically.

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\(^{664}\) Assmann, Ewigkeit, 50, describing the role of Amun.

\(^{665}\) At Edfu, Horus gives the king a similar offering: \( ptr \ nhh \ m \ hrw \ dg3 \ n \ d.t \ m \ grh \), "seeing \( nhh \) in the day, perceiving \( d.t \) at night" (E IV, 137.13-14), cited in Wilson, PL 536.

\(^{666}\) E IV, 110.18, which writes \( nhh \) as 𓊶, a depiction of the sun disk between the two horizons that alludes to the infinite repetition of the solar cycle.
In both scenes, the king kneels before Hathor, who is seated within the Per-wer (Fig. 5.35). His distinctive crown consists of a large disk framed by two Ma’at feathers, which are symbolic of the right and left Eyes of Ra. In his hand, he offers the goddess a mirror with a Hathor-headed handle. The double Ma’at feathers, as well as the two large disks in his iconography (in the offering and in the crown) thus allude to the two Eyes of Ra.

As one would expect in a scene emphasizing Divine Eyes, there is an abundance of visual imagery and allusions in the accompanying texts. In the scene on the east side, the King addresses Hathor as

\[
\text{sšp(t) stw; t mi } it(=) s
\]

"Luminous One (f.) of Rays\(^{667}\) like her father" (D III, 74,2).

The streaming rays \(\text{N8A}\) in the ideogram for \(\text{stw}(t)\), "rays," combined with the sign of the hand, \(\text{D46D}\) in \(\text{sšp}(t)\), "Luminous One (f.)," recalls Amarna-period art, in which the rays of the Aten, depicted as ending in hands, embrace the royal family with light, warmth, and blessings;\(^{668}\) in both mirror offering scenes Hathor is called \(\text{Itn.t}\), the "Female Aten" (D III, 74,1; 85,14). Interestingly, the mirror is also described in both scenes as being fashioned by the god Henu,\(^{669}\) "created by his own hands" (D III, 74,1; 85,14).

\(^{667}\) Or, less literally, "whose rays are luminous."

\(^{668}\) An example is the scene on a limestone slab from the royal tomb at Amarna, showing the king, queen, and daughters offering flowers to the Aten, in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, RT 10.11.26.4, in Robins, Art, fig. 172; cf. figs. 173, 276, 180, 181, 182.

\(^{669}\) Henu is the craftsman aspect of Sokar, which is comparable to Ptah, and also a personification of Sokar himself. (Wilson, PL 160; 652). As early as the PT (§620b-c), Henu can be represented ideographically by Sokar’s \(\text{hnw}\)-barque,” (WinGlyph P61B) (Leitz, LGG, 159-160), as in this scene, with or without phonetic complements, and with or without an additional seated-god determinative. References to Henu in Ptolemaic temples frequently occur in the context of offering the mirror(s), which he is said to create (D III, 17,7; 74,1; 151,14; 192,13); he fulfills this function at Kom Ombo (KO 492), as noted by Husson, Miroir, 206. The king is also called the child (D III, 142, 1-2) or son (D III, 142,2) of Henu, or engendered by Henu (D III 192,16).
In the east scene, words referring to "throne" also employ the hand-sign: in the east scene, Hathor is seated on a gold $bhdw$, "throne" (D III, 74,6); in the west scene, the king is the "good ruler upon the $lnT\!t$, "throne dais" (D III, 74,6). Furthermore, at the final moment when the goddess accepts the king's offering of the mirror, she states,

$$\ddot{ss}p.n=i \text{ "I have received" } *nh\ wn\ tp\ =k\ hnm\ stw.t=\ f\ h\ w=[i]^*$$  
"I have received the mirror that was on your hand, its light united with (i.e. reflects) my body" (D III, 74,6-7),

670 Wb I, 470,3-5; PL 325-326.  
671 Wb V, 384,14 – 385,9. Kuhlmann, Thron, 76 n. 4, suggests that it is a loan word, with the original word perhaps meaning "mound," or something similar. Wilson, PL 1168, notes that its form as a throne dais with a single staircase may represent the primeval mound.  
672 The sign (W13) is a scribal error (noted by Chassinat, D III, 74,6) and should be replaced with (W24).
with the verb ała, "receive," again employing the hand-sign. There may even be a subtle reference to the repetition of this motif in her statement that she has received the mirror that was on his hand. The sign of the hand-sign, (D46D), thus makes a connection between Hathor's luminosity as the Female Aten, the handicraft of the god Henu, royalty, and the giving and receiving of reciprocal offerings.

Further allusions exist with several other words in Hathor's statement. The homonym for mirror, Ỉnḥ, "mirror," is "life"; it has direct bearing on the expression, ḥnm stw.t=f ḥsw=[l]. In the context of the mirror offering, ḥnm means, "reflect," since the light of the mirror "reflects" the image of Hathor's body. However, the expression also has the unmistakable allusion to the ritual of the Union with the Sun Disk on New Year's Day, when Hathor's statue is exposed to the light of the sun so that life and energy are infused into her Ba. This moment can also be seen as a reunion of the Distant Goddess (as the Solar Eye) with her father Ra.

The confirmation that the King is in fact offering both Eyes is apparent in Hathor's reciprocal offering, as seen in her statement on the east side:

\[ \text{I give you your two Effective Eyes, effective in their place} \quad (D \text{ III, 74,7}), \]

The polyptoton on the root ḥ, "be effective, be shining" again emphasizes the shining effectiveness of the Two Eyes, when they are installed in their proper place. Her parallel statement on the west side also emphasizes the dual return:

\[ \text{"I give you the two (Healthy) Eyes fast in their place"} \quad (D \text{ III, 86,4}). \]

There is even a little sign-play in the text, with the writing of the wḏ ty with the two symmetrical eyes—quite appropriate, since the scene deals with eyes and sight!

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673 The 2nd f. s. suffix pronoun = ṫ, seems to be an error, which should be replaced by =i, "my," as suggested by Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 144-145.
The theme of returning the Eye reaches its climax in the two symmetrical scenes on the east and west walls of the Southern Niche (Fig. 5.36). The scene on the left shows Shu offering the Udjat to Hathor, who is called, "Ir.t Ræ...nh.t n.t lt:m psd hnm wp.t n.t t=s, “the Eye of Ra...the Uraeus who shines on the head of her father” (D III, 95,2-3). Horus of Edfu (identified with Ra-Horakhty) stands behind her, saying, "dw.n=i ś,wy=i ḥ i hr.t-tp m ḥ d=s, “I have extended my arms around the Uraeus in her naos” (D III, 95,6). In the symmetrical scene in the same register of the west wall, Hathor’s son Ihy offers the Udjat to her while Thoth raises his arms in praise. Harsomtus (equated with Ra-Horakhty) says, "Ṛ ds=f hnt pr-Ṛ di=i ś,wy=i ḥ i Ṛ y.t hnw.t ṭ,wy, “Ra himself in the Sanctuary of Ra—I place my arms around the Female Sun (itn.t), the Mistress of the Two Lands” (D III, 98,1-2). Thus, the main protagonists from the myth are present:
Hathor, Shu, and Thoth; in both scenes, Ra enfolds his daughter in his arms, as the Eye is returned and protected.

Both scenes are filled with word plays and sign plays, all of them emphasizing the importance of the offering and the various aspects of the Eye: the $\text{wdj.t}$ (healthy Eye); the $\text{3h.t}$ (shining/effective Eye); the $\text{ntr.t}$ (the divine Eye). Interestingly, there are more word and sign plays, and the text is longer and more elaborate, in the scene on the left, the proper right side of the sanctuary, suggesting a subtle priority of the Right Eye (Hathor) over the Left (her subsidiary aspect of Isis).

Therefore, not only is the offering of the udjat depicted on both sides of the rear image, but the two scenes above this image are both offerings of Ma’at (Fig. 5.37). The Ma’at scene on the left shows the offering made to Hathor; on the right, it is made to Isis. Thus, cosmic order (i.e. Ma’at) is finally restored because the Right Eye (the sun) and the Left Eye (the moon), have been returned to their proper places.

Fig. 5.37. Ma'at Surrounds Hathor's Central Image on Four Sides; D III, pls. 190; 202, © IFAO

Furthermore, if we recall that symmetrical scenes with the King offering Ma’at also appear in the 1st register, beneath the niche on the south wall, then Ma’at, and therefore “order” in both heaven and earth, surrounds the central image of Hathor on all four sides: above and below, in the form of the offering scenes, and on either side, by the two winged images of Ma’at personified as a goddess. With the return of the Eye to Hathor’s place upon her Father’s brow, she is able to protect Ra from his enemies in all directions.

Even more interesting is that in the hidden crypt, located directly below the Southern Niche, two more scenes of the King offering Ma’at flank another image of Hathor as a sistrum...
(Fig. 5.38), who tells him, \( di = iwsh \, m\theta \, t \, m \, t \, m \, r\kappa = k \), “I cause that Ma’at shall spread over the earth during your time (i.e. reign)” (D VI, 38,5). Ma’at thus protects Hathor’s sacred image not only on all sides, but in three dimensions. This architectural arrangement of texts, reliefs, and architecture underscores the importance that the maintenance of Ma’at on earth, represented by the King’s offering, plays in the stability of the cosmos.

![Diagram of Hathor Sistrum on South Wall](Image)

**Fig. 5.38. Protection in 1st Floor Crypt**

After Cauville, D V-VI, fig. 10, courtesy of Peeters Publishers

Furthermore, a text in this same scene, located directly behind the place where supplicants to Hathor would have stood before her great sacred image on the rear wall, states that the goddess \( sdm \, sprw^* \, mw \, hhw \), “hears the supplications of the multitude” (D V, 33,11), thus underlining the function of her Hearing Ear shrine and her relationship with the people on earth.\(^{674}\)

The importance of the myth at Dendera is shown in the assimilation of its symbolism into the two other great festivals of the temple. The Festival of the Beautiful Reunion of Hathor and Horus of Edfu is characterized as the festival of “She is brought back,” when the Eye of Ra returns from Punt. Her visit to Horus, who is equated with Ra, is thus seen as a return of the uraeus to her father’s brow. The New Year’s Festival, mentioned earlier, when the statue of Hathor was carried to the roof for exposure to the sun’s life-giving rays, was also seen as a reunion of the goddess with her father, the sun god Ra.

The myth, with its cosmic and earthly themes, worked its way into other festivals at Dendera, but its great importance in the theology of Hathor is shown by its presence in the holiest part of the temple, where Shu and Thoth participate in the return of the Eye to Ra so that

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\(^{674}\) In the 2nd register, west side, of the north wall of the Per-wer, facing directly opposite the Southern Niche and (by transparency of walls) the image of Hathor on the outer wall, one of Hathor’s epithets is \( ndb \, nis \, n \, hr-\nb \), “who hears the prayers of everyone (lit. every face)” (D III, 80,10).
Hathor can resume her place on his brow, thus bringing about a restoration of Ma’at to the country and to the cosmos.

### 5.1.5 Summary

References to the Myth of the Wandering Goddess appear throughout the decoration of the entrance, the sanctuary proper, and the Southern Niche of the Per-wer, Hathor's most important cult chamber in the temple. Aural and visual plays in the texts and iconography highlight important themes of the myth, creating interconnections that work harmoniously between the scenes. By placing the chronocrators for the month of Tybi directly over the Per-wer's entrance, the ancient scribes signaled the importance of the navigation festival at that time, which recalls Hathor's return as the Distant Goddess; columns on either side of the entrance celebrate her festive homecoming by gods and humans alike. Overhead on the lintel, the playing of sistra pacifies her ka; the king's offering of her image as a shm-sistrum, her incarnation, foreshadows her return to her sacred image within the chamber's niche.

Inside the Per-wer on the lintel over the entrance, the King offers wine and mnw-jars of beer while the Meret goddesses soothe her with music. Linguistic connections between the Meret singers and the offering of Ma'at convey the idea that Hathor's pacification and return results in a restoration of Ma'at. Aural and visual techniques of emphasis, as well as interplays of iconography and epithets, characterize the symmetrical offering scenes on the lateral walls. Replicating offerings from the myth, the King presents wine and sistra, and the menit and wensheb. Mention Eye's need of purification from all disorder, as well as allusions to the two Divine Eyes, suggest that both must be purified and returned for Ma'at to be restored. These pacifying offerings on either side of the chapel then lead to the King's purifying offering of primordial water at the chapel's rear, in the base of the south wall. There, the water recalls not only Hathor's purification in the waters of the Abaton and her subsequent transformation into a beautiful woman, but also the coming of the inundation, which she brings with her return. This idea is reinforced by the image of Hathor seated over sixteen jars of inundation water on the north wall, its number recalling the height in cubits of a perfect rise in the Nile. Similarly, Isis seated over the isheru on the west wall recalls the navigations on sacred lakes that pacify leonine goddesses, like Hathor-Tefnut of the myth.

The theme of the return of the Eye takes on more urgent emphasis in the decoration approaching the Southern Niche. Beginning on the north wall, the King's offering of the Udjat invokes a reciprocal offering of sight in both directions of time, giving the King the power to see like a god. This offering links with the King's offerings of mirrors on the two sides of the south wall, replicating the return of the Right and Left Eyes of Ra, the sun and the moon. Finally, on the east and west sides of the niche, Thoth and Shu help return the Udjat, and Ra embraces her in his arms. With the sun and the moon again in their proper places, ordered time is restored.

The interrelationship between the offerings and the needs of the country and the people, such as the bringing of the inundation and the resulting fertility of the land, expresses the connection between the human and divine worlds; the King plays a crucial role as the intermediary in actualizing this link. By maintaining Ma'at on earth and performing the proper
rituals for the goddess, he receives reciprocal offerings that guarantee the longevity of his reign, the fertility of the land, and the stability of the cosmos.\textsuperscript{675}

5.1.6 Distribution of Scenes in the Per-wer Relating to the Myth

Including the outer entrance, 42\% (19) of the 47 scenes with figural representations in the Per-wer have textual references to the characters, offerings, or actions taking place in the myth. This percentage is the lowest of the three themes in the Per-wer, showing that the myth plays a role behind those of the King as intermediary, and Hathor as Creator and solar goddess. However, the myth naturally interweaves with the theme of Hathor as solar goddess; two important scenes in which both themes intersect are in the Southern Niche, the theological heart of the temple. In most cases, references to the myth occur in symmetrical pairs; they concern offerings given in order to purify, pacify, or please the Distant Goddess. Among all 80 text groups, which include texts without accompanying scenes, references to the myth occur as follows: outer entrance, 7; Per-wer proper, 15; Southern Niche, 3, for a total of 25 text groups, or 31\%. There is overlap between themes, but generally, the remainder of the text groups focus on Hathor as Primeval Creator and Solar Goddess, and the Legitimacy of the King. These themes are discussed below, in Sections 5.2 and 5.3.

\textsuperscript{675} Further discussion of the King's role appears in the third part of this chapter, in Section 5.3.
Fig. 5.39. Outer Entrance, after D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

Fig. 5.40. Scenes in Per-wer, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

Fig. 4.41. Scenes in Southern Niche, after D III, pls. 201; 202, © IFAO
5.2 Hathor as Creator

We have seen how the texts and iconography highlight important themes of the myth, creating harmonious interconnections between the scenes. However, Hathor is not only the Distant Goddess who must be returned to her father Ra in order to restore cosmic order. She is also a primordial creator, responsible for land, water, and light—essential elements for life on earth. Beginning again in the outer entrance of the Per-wer, we will follow this theme into the sanctuary proper, showing how the ancient scribes manipulated the aural and visual devices to emphasis important concepts. We will then look at the reason for hiding her image, as well as her role as the divine descendent who maintains the funerary cult of the deceased ancestor gods. We will also consider how these roles add significance to her return as the Distant Goddess, creating some particularly interesting symbolism within the architectural arrangement of the Per-wer.

5.2.1 Ruler of Heaven and Earth

Hathor's characterization as a primordial creator, and thus the first and "highest" of the gods, already appears in the outer entrance of the Per-wer. In the uppermost reaches of the decoration, just below the row of chronocrator gods and the bandeau of the frieze, there are two symmetrical scenes containing the four pairs of elemental deities of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, followed by the king (Fig. 5.42). Hands raised in adoration, they face the enthroned goddess, her son Ihy standing before her. The characteristics of these frog-headed males and snake-headed females define the pre-creation state: Nun and Naunet (primeval waters); Heh and Hauhet (infinite space); Kek and Kauket (infinite darkness); Amun and Amaunet (hiddenness). Their depiction as reptiles and amphibians, appearing frequently in Ptolemaic temples, not only reflects their watery origins, but also their place in the liminal primeval state between chaos and ordered creation.\(^\text{679}\)

\(^{676}\) D II, pl. 94; scene on east side: D III, 49,11 – 49,11; scene on west side: D III, 49,14 – 50,15.
\(^{677}\) LÄ I, 56-7: The earliest attestation of the Ogdoad appears in CT 76 from the MK, although ḫmnw, "Eight(-town)," the name of Hermopolis since the OK, indirectly attests the existence of the Ogdoad in the OK. See photo by Beato from the Temple of Philae, in Lepsius' Denkmäler IV, pl. 66c.
\(^{678}\) The worship of Hathor by the Ogdoad recalls similar images of their worship of the new-born solar child, who first illuminated the earth for them. Klotz (Kneph, 251) describes creation accounts specifying that an egg and semen placed in the Nun by the Ogdoad (either as mating bulls and cows, or male and female frogs) gave rise to a lotus blossom containing Ra as a luminous child, an iconic image in the Late Period. See Klotz, Adoration of the Ram, 69-73. More imagery related to the birth of light, in terms of Hathor's relationship to Opet, is discussed below.
\(^{679}\) Amun and Amaunet (hiddenness), or Nia and Niaut (emptiness), are later replacements for the earlier Tenem and Tenemet (infinite hiddenness). See Altenmüller, Achtheit, 56.
\(^{680}\) Klotz, Kneph, 243.
In this lofty space on the wall, occupying a fourth register in the Mysterious Corridor that is even higher than the frieze at the tops of the walls in the Per-wer and its niche (Fig. 5.43), we are thus in the realm of the primordial gods and the unformed pre-creation state. Only the chronocrators, protectors of each day of the year and personifying time itself, are above, subtly alluding that their endless cycle of repetition governs everything below. 

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681 Zivie-Coche, L’Ogdoade, 180, observes that the upper register is consecrated to the primordial deities and those of the world beyond.
682 The baseline of these symmetrical scenes is at the same height as the ceiling of the Per-wer and its southern niche. See Zignani, Temple d’Hathor, pl. 20; idem, Enseignement, fig. 3.28.
683 Interestingly, in the Great Hymn to Amun, inscribed in the Temple of Hibis during the reign of Darius I, the Right and Left Eyes of the Creator (equated with the sun and the moon) each stand for “Time.” The reason for this equivalency may lie in the use of both celestial bodies for the marking of time. Hathor's equation with both Divine Eyes thus connects her with ordered time, as shown by the offering of the wensheb, the symbol of ordered time. See also Goyon, Edifice of Taharqa, 40-42 and pl. 27; Assmann, Hymnen und Gebete, Hymn Nr. 128, pp. 297-304; compare with a Demotic parallel text published by Smith, Egyptian Hymn, 115-149; cf. now Lorton, Hymn at Hibis, 159-217.
Hathor's unusual headdress in the east scene contributes to this sense of height, as well as carrying important theological significance. The double falcon feathers of her crown stretch high above two ram's horns, each supporting a uraeus wearing a sun disk. The uraeii indicate her solar nature, while the tall feathers symbolize the loftiness and grandeur of her power, as well as signifying that she is the highest divinity in the scene.\(^6\) Ideally, the crown is so tall that it reaches into heaven, "puncturing" the sky; in this scene, Hathor's tall feathers literally "cut into" the sky-sign overhead, thus symbolizing her rule over heaven. Nun pays homage to the goddess, stating,

\[
sw\tilde{3} n=i \ k3=tr \ k3 \ n \ p.t
\]

"I have praised your \textbf{Ka} to the \textbf{height} of heaven" (D III, 48,15-16),

thus linking to the image of Hathor's tall crown (and her associated exalted status), rising into the

\(^6\) Budde, Doppelfederkrone, 63-64.
sky. The height to which the god praises Hathor is also emphasized, aurally by the antanaclasis of the close homophones, *k3* (soul) and *k3* (height), and visually in the arrangement of the signs themselves, the men's arms raised in praise literally surrounding the *k3* of Hathor in the center with their adoration.

The Ogdoad's adoration of Hathor recalls their worship of the newborn sun, a frequent motif during the Late Period. According to this cosmogony, the Ogdoad cause a fertilized egg to enter the waters of the Nun, resulting in a lotus that contains Ra as a solar child. As the lotus opens and Ra shines forth at his rising, the Ogdoad worship their "heir" because he illuminates the earth for them. After the sun god's birth, the Ogdoad then proclaim him King of Egypt. In the scene on the west side of the Per-wer's entrance, Kauket similarly praises Hathor as the sun:

\[
\text{inD Hr=t R}^\text{y}.t \text{ hnw.t n.(t) r}^\text{w}
\]

"Hail to you, Female Sun, Mistress of Suns" (D III, 49,16-17).

The polyptoton on the root *r*, "sun," first as the feminine singular substantive, *R}^\text{y}.t, "Female Sun," and then as the plural substantive, *r}^\text{w}, "suns," emphasizes not only that Hathor is the sun, but also that she is mistress of all other solar deities. Furthermore, because Kauket represents darkness, it is appropriate that she praises Hathor as the "Female Sun," the bringer of light. Seen in the context of the Ogdoad's worship of the sun at sunrise, the text, iconography, and imagery of the adoration scene on the Per-wer entrance allude to Hathor as the rising sun at its first illumination of the earth, the cosmogony from Hermopolis having been adapted to fit the theology of Dendera.

Interestingly, Nun himself can also appear wearing the double-feather crown, although with ostrich feathers rather than those of the falcon. The figure of a seated god wearing two ostrich feathers and ram's horns, (C18F), appears as the determinative of his name in the east scene on the base of the South Wall of Per-wer (D III, 63,3), a scene linking to our present Ogdoad scenes, as we will see below. Other depictions of Nun with the two feathers appear on the east wall of Crypt East 4 (D V, 118,8; pl. 409), where he is depicted as a wooden statue wearing the double ostrich-feather crown and sun disk (without ram's horns), and, similarly, on the east wall of Chamber B, Crypt East 1 (D V, 9,1; pl. 329). Preys (Hathor fille de Noun, 202) notes similar depictions of Nun in the Temple of Hibis (See Davies, Hibis, pl. 2, 7th register). The primordial creator god Tatenen can wear a similar crown, which also appears in his ideogram, (C18C). Nun's depiction in this crown may thus signal a link with Tatenen and emphasize Nun's primordial aspects.

Klotz, Kneph, 252; idem, Adoration of the Ram, 69-73. Mendel, Kosmogonischen Inschriften, 84.

Ptolemaic cosmogonic texts describe the Ogdoad as the "fathers and mothers who came into being at the beginning, who gave birth to Ra" (Medinet Habu, PM II2, p. 469 [45b] = Dümichen, Inschriften II, pl. 36 a (b)).

Mendel, Kosmogonischen Inschriften, 83-84 (Tafel 7, cols. 44-47), cited in Klotz, Kneph, 251.

Clère, Porte, pl. 67 (= Urk VIII, 90c), cited in Klotz, Kneph, 252.

The imagery of the Ogdoad's adoration of Hathor continues on the thicknesses of the door of the Southern Niche, as we will see in Section 5.3.2.
Hathor's tall crown also carries solar connotations. It appears in only two places in Dendera's main temple, the second being an udjat offering scene on the south wall of the Throne of Ra. The accompanying text in that scene specifies Hathor's roles, describing her as "wnmy.t n.t R' psd m dw³ h³y hr-nb m h₃dw.f=s", "the Right Eye of Ra who shines in the morning, who brightens every face with her rays" (D IV, 15,5); the Atenet, the female solar disk who shines in the horizon, "hr h₃mn i₃b.t hr sh₃dl idb.w hr s₃p t₃ wn m kkw", "uniting with the Left Eye, brightening the banks, and illuminating the land that was in darkness" (D IV, 15,5-6). Hathor is thus the sun during the day and the moon at night. The text in another cult chamber equates the offering of a similar crown with the restoration of the two Divine Eyes: "wnmy.t mH.ti i₃b.t ip.ti", "the Right Eye is filled, the Left Eye is completed" (D II, 76,1-2). Hathor's double feather crown thus agrees well with these characterizations, because its two feathers (as well as the two uraeii) can be equated with the Right and Left Eyes of the solar god.

A subtle allusion to these two Divine Eyes also occurs in our Ogdoad scene in the speech of Naunet, in which she addresses Hathor: 

\[
dw³.n=i \text{ hr}=t \text{ m hp.ty } \text{ m } h₃y \text{ nfr:w mr=t}
\]

"I have adored your face at the extreme limits with the beautiful spells that you love" (D III, 48,14).

Wilson (PL 639) suggests that origin of the term \( \text{hp.ty} \), written with the sunshade and two disks, may be the "dual course" (i.e. the paths of the sun and the moon), and thus the extreme limits to which these two heavenly bodies can penetrate with their light. A text at Edfu supports this interpretation, stating that the \( \text{wd³.ty} \), the two Udjat Eyes, can see as far as the \( \text{hp.ty} \) (E III, 195,6). Thus, not only does Naunet continue the idea of praising Hathor to the limits of the universe, but she also alludes to the two Eyes of Ra and their almost unlimited sight; the two disks in the writing of \( \text{hp.ty} \) add a visual component as well. These ideas connect well with our previous observations on the Eye symbolism of the feathers of Hathor's tall crown, suggesting that the sight of the two Divine Eyes penetrates both heaven and earth. An explicit expression of

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691 Hathor wears similar crowns with the tall falcon feathers at Dendera, but aside from the two examples mentioned, they do not have the same configuration with ram's horns and uraeii. In the Hall of Appearance (Chassinat's Chamber Z), Hathor carries the epithet, \( \text{h₃w.t s₃w.ty} \), "Mistress of the double-plume crown" (D IX, 26,17; pl. 827).

692 The southwest rear chamber (Chassinat's Chamber N); D IV, pl. 250, as noted by Preys, Complexes, 380.

693 D IV, pl. 109, in an offering by the King to Harsomtus in the chamber called, \( W₃r.t-h₃pr-h₃.l.t \), "The Leg Created from the Corpse." This crown has falcon feathers, but it includes a sun disk and lacks the ram's horns and uraeii of Hathor's crown in the Ogdoad adoration scene on the outer entrance of the Per-zer. Another offering of the double-feather crown (with ostrich-, rather than falcon-feathers, plus a sun disk) appears in the 1st register of the east wall of the Wabet (D IV, pl. 307), with the accompanying text emphasizing the shining quality of the one who wears it.

694 The two feathers had been associated with the right and left Divine Eyes since the New Kingdom (Budde, Doppelfederkrone, 101).

695 Chassinat (D III, 48,14) writes "sic" next to \( \text{hp.ty} \); Cauville (Dend Trad III, p. 108) is uncertain in her transliteration as \( \text{hp.ty} \). Wb III, 69,11-15, shows that \( \text{hp.ty} \), "die Erde in ihrer ganzen Ausdehnung," can be spelled with the sunshade, although the examples given do not contain the two disks. However, the spelling in our text represents perfectly Wilson's suggestion (PL 639) that the word may have originated in the idea of the dual courses of the sun and moon. See discussion of \( \text{hp.ty} \) in Hermann Kees, "Kulttopographische und mythologische Beiträge," ZÄS 77 (1941): 24-27.
her extensive dominion appears in the text of the symmetrical Ogdoad scene on the west side of the entrance, where Hathor's titles include ʿḥḥ. t m p.t ḫkḥḥ. t m tḥ, "Female Great One in Heaven and Female Ruler on Earth" (D III, 50,12). The feathers on Hathor's crown, "piercing the sky," thus visually communicate her rule over heaven; their symbolism, connecting her with the two Divine Eyes, alludes to her rule over earth, which she accomplishes by seeing everything that goes on in the world through the "eyes" of the sun and the moon.

5.2.2 Primordial Creator of Heaven and Earth

The reason that Hathor can claim sovereignty over heaven and the earth is because she is the creator of everything in existence. Assmann clearly explains this relationship between the creator and the world:


This description precisely defines Hathor's relationship to her creation. The texts at Dendera describe her as a primordial goddess, having come into being at the beginning of creation. Her worship by the primeval snake- and frog-headed Ogdoad, as well as the height of her tall crown, suggest this primacy, but for more explicit statements, we must look inside the Per-wer sanctuary itself. If we imagine the transparency of the walls, we can discern several links between the Ogdoad scenes on the entrance and the two scenes at the base of the South Wall, in terms of Hathor's role as primordial goddess and her connection with Nun, the god of the primeval waters (Fig. 5.44).

696 Eloquently expressed by Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 239: "En tant que créatrice de tout ce qui existe, elle réclame également la souveraineté sur tout ce qu'elle a crée."
697 Assmann, Verkünden und Verklären, 330. These concepts appear in the Cairo Hymn to Amun, possibly dating to the late MK; they also appear in Assmann, Hymnen und Gebete, Nr. 87.
In these two symmetrical scenes, the King, followed by the Queen,\textsuperscript{698} offers jars filled with primordial water: *nms.t*-jars to Hathor on the east side,\textsuperscript{699} and *hs*-jars to Isis on the west.

\textsuperscript{698} Because the Per-wer Sanctuary was decorated during her reign, the queen depicted here would have been Cleopatra VII; the King is her son Caesarion by Julius Caesar.

\textsuperscript{699} Although the text accompanying the scene on the east side of the south wall specifies that the king is offering *nms.t*-jars, \textit{in=f n=t nms ty lm† tl m nwn}, "He brings you two *nms.t*-jars filled with primordial water" (D III, 63,7),
Behind Hathor stands her consort, Horus of Edfu; behind Isis, her consort, Harsomtus. Hanging from the tall jars are the stems of plants ending in 𓊋-signs alternating with buds and blooms, thus visually showing that life emerges from the water. This theme of emerging life is also emphasized in the accompanying text, with multiple repetitions of the verb, hpr, "come into being," which we will encounter frequently in the texts of the following discussion.

Emerging from the primordial water is not only life, but also Hathor herself, who is described in the Divine Randzeile of the east scene on the base as

\[
\text{sA.t Ir-t} \text{ hnt h.t-sss.t hpr hnt hr it=s Nwn}
\]

"Daughter of Irta in the Temple of the Sistrum (=Dendera),
who came into being at the beginning\(^{700}\) with\(^{701}\) her father Nun" (D III, 63,3).

Hathor’s designation as the daughter of both Irta and Nun may seem surprising, since she is usually described as the daughter of Ra.\(^{702}\) However, in addition to being evidence of Egyptian polyvalent thinking,\(^{703}\) these epithets merely specify her multiple roles as a creator goddess.\(^{704}\) Irta, a primordial creator god whose name means, "Earth-maker" or "He who created the earth," emerges from the primeval waters of the Nun in the form of a snake, as shown by the determinative of his name: 𓊆𓊊𓊂china.\(^{705}\) The concept of a shining, primeval uraeus (like Hathor) coming into being simultaneously with Irta appears frequently in other Graeco-Roman

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the vessels look more like \(\text{𓊂W14} \text{hs-jars than \(\text{𓊂W70} \text{nms.t-jars. The latter is depicted more traditionally in the offering scene of the nms.t-jar in the 3rd register, east side, of the north wall of the Per-wer.}\)

\(^{700}\) PL 737; Wb III, 304,6-9, esp. 8: "im Anfang entstanden." The adverb, hnt, literally means "(temporally) before, earlier, formerly"; the set phrase, hpr hnt, "come into being before (i.e. at the beginning)," occurs frequently at Dendera in relation to the creation of a god, e.g. D III, 62,13; 63,3; 95,17 (Hathor); 20,1 (Thoth); 75,1 (Harsomtus); 102,7 (Ihy).

\(^{701}\) Following Cauville, D X Index, 387, reading as the preposition hr. Cf. PL 652-653.

\(^{702}\) Hathor is sl.t tp.yt n.t it=s Ra, "first daughter (i.e. eldest) of her father Ra," on the north wall, 2nd register, w. side, of the Per-wer (D III, 80,9-10).

\(^{703}\) Described by Frankfurt, Ancient Egyptian Religion, 4, as "multiplicity of approaches," in which ancient, mythopoetic thought could recognize certain limited insights as being simultaneously valid, each in its own context.

\(^{704}\) As noted by Wilson (PL 90) in relation to Hathor's epithet as "daughter of Irta." Preys, Hathor fille de Noun, 207, sees the two epithets ("daughter of Nun" and "daughter of Irta") as complementary.

\(^{705}\) At Thebes, Irta is the son of Kemafet, the first primordial chthonian snake, as well as a form of Amun (Zivie-Coché, L'Ogdoad, 205). Because Irta appears frequently in epithets of Ptah, he may have originated in Memphis, as noted by Klotz, Kneph, 164, and Sandman Holmberg, Ptah, 185-186. See also Reymond, Children of Tanen I, 117 n.11. At Edfu, Ptah-Tatenen-Irta is called km.t pśw.ty.w, "he who created the primeval ones" (E II, 37,9); he is also considered to be self-created, as shown by a text from the Gate of Euergetes at Karnak in which he is called pśw.ty-tl.wy hpr ds=f, "the Primeval One of the Two Lands, who made himself" (Clère, Porte, pl. 21; Urk VIII, 79h). Klotz, Kneph, 171-172, suggests that at Thebes, the two cosmogonic stages (i.e. creation of the earth, and creation of the first generation of primeval deities) were performed by two different forms of Amun: Amun of Karnak as Irta-Tatenen, an active solar god who created the earth and began existence; Amun of Luxor as Amenemope-Tatenen, the primeval creator god who fashioned the Ogdoad in Luxor Temple. After emerging from the Nun, the primeval serpents of Mut and Irta (created by Kemafet) remained closely associated with one another in their neighboring temples at Karnak.
temples. Klotz notes that Irta's emergence from the Nun is a singularly significant cosmic event, representing "the first divine entry into the physical world," and an essential act for the subsequent creation of the cosmos. As the daughter (or "Eye") of a chthonic god, Hathor thus possesses creative power related to the earth and its products. A text in the 2nd register of the east wall of the Southern Niche confirms this ability, describing her as

\[33^e_t \text{t} \text{m [hpr]}=s\]

"The Female Creator who created the earth (or "land") when she came into being" (D III, 95,3).

The epithet, \(33^e_t\), which can be translated as "She who begins," "Female Creator," or "Primordial Goddess," derives from the third-weak verb, \(33^e\), meaning "begin, initiate, create (in the beginning)." The polyptoton on the root, \(33^e\), first as a feminine active participle used as the substantive, \(33^e_t\) ("Female Creator"), followed by the feminine active participle used in a participial phrase, \(33^e\) \(t\) ("who created the land"), emphasizes Hathor's ability to make land, which agrees well with her epithet as the daughter of the primeval Irta, the "earth maker."

For further clarification of Hathor's role as daughter of Irta and creator of land, we turn to texts describing the goddess Mut, an Eye goddess who encircles the sun disk as the uraeus, and who is thus equated with Hathor. In the form of a primeval snake, Mut carries epithets similar to those of Hathor: \(hpr(t) m \text{ h3.t}, \"who came into being at the beginning,\" \(bs(t) m \text{ Nwn} \text{ hnt} \text{ Irt-t3}, \"who burst forth from Nun together with Irta," and \(33^e(t) hpr m \text{ Nwn}, \"who began creation\"

706 Texts alluding to the Divine Eye of Irta emitting light when he emerges from the primeval Nun include the Gate of Euergetes at Karnak, the Propylon of Amun-Ra-Montu at Karnak-North, and the temples of Esna, Kom Ombo, and Edfu. See Klotz, Kneph, 165-169, for further references. The role of the Divine Eye as the first emitter of light is an important aspect of Hathor as a creator goddess, which is discussed below.

707 Klotz, Kneph, 165; 169. The creator of Irta is Kematef (\(km \text{ A.t=f}, \"He who completes his moment\"), his name referring to the initial moment of creation by Atum, the Heliopolitan creator. Having come into being by himself, Kematef creates the demiurge Irta and the primeval uraeus, Mut; he then remains in the Nun while his successor Irita, his body (\(D.t\)), manifests in the physical realm (Klotz, Kneph, 182). Irta (alluding to Tatenen of the Memphite tradition), or Atum (possibly referring to Kematef), then creates the Ogdoad (E IV, 140,14). See Klotz, Kneph, 244-245, for more discussion and further references.

708 Note that the verb \(irt\), "to do, make, create," is represented by the ideogram of an eye. The role of a Divine Eye thus implies the power to carry out action.

709 A similar allusion to this capacity exists in her role as the daughter of Geb, as we saw earlier in Section 5.1.2, though this title more properly belongs to Isis, who is the daughter of Geb and Nut. In the text of the west montant of the interior door framing of the southern niche of the Mansion of the Sistrum (\(h.t-shm\), Chassinat's Chamber I; D III, pl. 178) Isis is \(s.t\) \(tpy.t\) \(n.t\) \(t=f=s\) \(Gb\), "first daughter (i.e. eldest) of her father Geb" (D III, 38,4). However, because Isis is an aspect of Hathor at Dendera, Hathor can take on her epithets and characteristics, as needed.

710 Lit., "in her coming-into-being."

711 Wb IV, 406,4 – 407,6; PL 987-988.

712 Mut, the Theban consort of Amun, not only bears many epithets in common with Hathor (e.g. Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of All the Gods, e.g., D III, 85,3-4), but also takes on the leonine aspects of Sekhmet, Tefnut, and Bast (references in Klotz, Kneph, 232), all of whom can be equated with Hathor, as well as the role of the Wandering Goddess of the Sun Eye. See Inconnu-Bocquillon, Déesse Lointaine, 325-237. We will see more of Mut, Lady of the Isheru, in the section on Hathor as an ancestral goddess (5.2.6).

713 Òpet I, 116; Esna II, 16; Deir Chelouit III, 143,11, as noted in Klotz, 237 n. 1099.

714 E V, 154,4, noted in Klotz, Kneph, 237.
in Nun.\textsuperscript{715} Hathor herself carries the epithet, \textit{wr.t n.t p\textbar w.ty tpy}, "the uraeus of the first primordial god."\textsuperscript{716} Furthermore, Mut and Irta emerged from the Nun as the first creations of Kematef, making them the first generation of primeval beings.\textsuperscript{717} Graeco-Roman texts from the temples of Kom Ombo and Esna vividly describe the process used by this primeval uraeus to create the earth, by \textit{nbh} ("melting") the waters of the Nun with her fiery Divine Eye,\textsuperscript{718} and \textit{kfn} ("baking") the earth "with the fire of her eyes and the breath of flame which came forth from her mouth."\textsuperscript{719} The latter verb can also mean "to turn a liquid into a solid."\textsuperscript{720} As the uraeus, Hathor certainly has this power, as attested by a text in the outer entrance of the Chamber of Purification at Dendera, directly to the west of the Per-wer's entrance, where she is \textit{fr.t f3.t nby.t}, "the uraeus whose fire is great" (D III, 99,16). We will see more imagery of Hathor's ability to create fire and light in Section 5.2.4, Primordial Creator of Light.

5.2.3 Primordial Creator of the Inundation

As the daughter of Nun, the personification of the primordial waters, Hathor also has power over the inundation and its life-giving, rejuvenating qualities. Returning to the scene at the base of the south wall, the text in the Royal Randzeile emphasizes these qualities both textually and visually, describing the king's offering of the \textit{nms.t}-jars as

\begin{center}
\textit{nms.ty h\textbar n.t m nwn shtp=f ib=t m mw-rnp}
\end{center}

"The two nemset-jars filled with \textbf{primordial water—}it pacifies your heart with \textbf{the water of rejuvenation}" (D III, 63,7).

The repetition of the two child signs, in the writing of \textit{nwn} ("Nun," or "primordial water") and \textit{mw-rnp} ("water of rejuvenation"), underlines the water's capacity for rejuvenation of the land, bringing forth plant and animal life. We saw earlier that the waters of the Nun pacify and cool the anger of the Wandering Goddess; as the daughter of Nun, Hathor can guarantee its waters to the King, which she promises in the form of the inundation:

\begin{center}
di=i n=k H\textbar py hr hw(t) r nw=f
\end{center}

"I give you Hapy,\textsuperscript{721} rushing at his time" (D III, 62,13-14).\textsuperscript{722}

\textsuperscript{715} E II, 76,8-9, noted in Klotz, Kneph, 237.
\textsuperscript{716} Outer entrance of Per-wer, west side of door frame, outer column, Text B (D III, 46,7).
\textsuperscript{717} Klotz, Kneph, 233-236.
\textsuperscript{718} De Morgan, Kom Ombo III, 958, Divine Randzeile, describing Sobek, cited by Klotz, Kneph, 167-168.
\textsuperscript{719} Esna III, 252,26 (=Sauneron, Esna V, 110), in a text referring to Neith, cited by Klotz, Kneph, 168 and n. 715.
\textsuperscript{720} As noted by Klotz, Kneph, 168 n. 715. For a discussion of the verb \textit{kfn}, "to cook," see Sauneron, Germe, 22-23 and n. 8.
\textsuperscript{721} The god Hapy is the personification of the Nile; he appears as a man with a pendent breast (shaped differently from that of goddesses), from which Nile water flows, as depicted in Junker, Abaton, 51, figs. 21 and 22. See also Kurth, Nilgott, 488, n. 28 and 30. The text on the exterior of the naos at Edfu states that Hapy is \textit{lt mw.t n ntr.w rmt}
Hathor's designation as the daughter of both Irta and Nun thus indicates her responsibility for the products of the earth as well as the inundation that allows their production in the well-watered fields.

In the symmetrical scene on the west side of the base, the speech of Isis brings additional imagery, equating her with Sirius (Sothis), the star whose annual reappearance heralds the inundation:

\[ \text{Spd.t sty hapy m tph.t=f} \]

"Sothis, who pours out Hapy from his cavern" (D III, 74,12-13).

The writing contains several sign-plays, calling attention to the phrase and adding multiple layers of meaning. The repetition of the signs (D53) sty (pour out), and (Z22) TpH.t, both depicting liquid spewing forth, emphasizes the coming forth of the flood water from its mythical source in the two caverns at Elephantine;273 the phallus sign in particular alludes to fertility, an important result of Egypt's annual inundation. Secondly, the writing of tph.t (cavern) with the thorn sign, (Z22), shows an attraction to the spelling of the previous word Spd.t (Sothis). The latter is almost always written with the thorn, (M44), the ideogram for spd ("sharp") and thus the phonogram for spd, used to write Spd.t. However, tph.t is usually written with the tusk of an elephant, (F18), which carries the phonetic value of h.274 The use of the thorn-sign in both words thus draws a visual connection between the goddess as Spd.t and the inundation, which originates in the tph.t, Hapy's cavern.275 Therefore, statements in the symmetrical scenes emphasize the responsibility of both Hathor and Isis for the inundation and what exists on earth: Isis as Sirius (Sothis) pours out Hapy in his cavern, "in order to flood the Two Lands with what exists" (D III, 75-3-4); Hathor, as primordial creator, not only creates the earth, but also "all things came into being after she came into being" (D III, 62,13).

The themes of the inundation and the earth's subsequent fertility form a link from the two symmetrical scenes low in the base of the south wall to another scene, high in the third register of the north wall (Fig. 5.45).

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722 In the speech of Hathor, east side of the base of the South Wall of the Per-wer.
723 In the "Sanctuary of the Flame," the cult chamber west of the Per-wer (Chassinat's Chamber M), Hathor's epithet, nb.t kr.ty, "Lady of the Caverns" (D III, 168,5), refers to these two gaps in the earth from which the inundation water breaks through at Elephantine.
724 The elephant tusk, ibH, "tooth," can serve as the phonogram for bh or h, via the consonantal principle (Fairman, Alphabetic Signs, p. 235, no. 236). The thorn sign may be mimicking the shape of (N21v3), the tongue of land, which itself can substitute for (F18), the tusk of an elephant, in the writing of the word tph.t.
725 The text accompanying the nms.t-vase offering in the 3rd register of the north wall of the Per-wer indicates that the source of primordial water of the inundation is the leg of Osiris, with aural and visual puns on the word sty, "leg." An analysis of this scene appears later in this section.
Here we see the King, offering a *nms.t-*jar of primordial water, standing before the goddess Hathor, seated on a throne while nursing her child (Fig. 5.46). Below the throne stand sixteen vases of inundation water, recalling the sixteen cubits of a perfect inundation, as we saw earlier.\textsuperscript{726}

\textsuperscript{726} \textbf{In 5.1.3.} See also Preys, Maîtresse des seize, 263. Similar scenes of Hathor seated over sixteen vases appear in two other places at Dendera: on the north wall of Chamber D of Crypt South I (D V, pl. 438); on the south wall of the Per Nu (D II, pl. 142).
The accompanying text describing the king’s offering is filled with additional imagery embedded within aural and visual puns.

**"I greet you with what emerges\(^{727}\) from the leg, your heart rejoices over\(^{728}\) what appears\(^{729}\) from the leg"** (D III, 71,18).

Immediately noticeable is the visual emphasis on legs, with four signs containing one or more legs: \(\text{\textsuperscript{K18A}}\); \(\text{\textsuperscript{D56}}\); \(\text{\textsuperscript{F98}}\); and another \(\text{\textsuperscript{D56}}\). The source of this emphasis is the imagery in which the mythical source of the inundation is equated with what comes forth from the leg as a relic of Osiris, believed to be kept at Elephantine. A closer look at the words using these signs shows that the scribe deliberately chose them to emphasize the mythological theme. The verb \(bs\) ("emerge") is usually written with \(\text{\small} \text{\textsuperscript{F039}}\), the sign of a fish with walking-legs, reflecting the idea of motion. This ideogram is especially appropriate in the present context, because it carries with it the idea of fish in motion, swimming in the waters of the emerging inundation. The "leg" of Osiris, called both \(\text{\textsuperscript{sty}}\) and \(\text{\textsuperscript{wfr.t}}\) in our text, naturally employs the leg-sign as a determinative. Interestingly, the word chosen to write "rejoice" is \(xntS\), which can be represented by \(\text{\textsuperscript{F039}}\), the forepart of a horse whose forelegs are clearly visible. There are other ways of writing "emerge" or "come forth" that do not employ a leg-sign;\(^{730}\) "rejoice" has any number of synonyms that also do not use leg-signs.\(^{731}\) Therefore, the presence in this text of so many words employing leg-signs suggests that the scribe deliberately chose them in order to emphasize visually the leg of Osiris, as well as the motion of the flood waters emerging from it.

In addition to the visual imagery, the text also contains several aural plays, which also add layers of meaning. The substantive \(sty\) ("leg") puns with the close homophone of the verb \(st\) ("pour out water"), emphasizing that it is the leg that pours out the inundation. In addition, the southern nome where the inundation has its mythical source is \(t\text{-}st\), "Land of the Bow," or "Land of the \(st\)-mineral,"\(^{732}\) thus adding geographical information. Because of the leg-symbolism associated with the annual flood, the words \(st\) ("leg") and \(wfr.t\) ("leg") can represent the flood in Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively;\(^{733}\) the presence of both words in our text thus alludes to the inundation covering the entirety of Egypt's Two Lands.

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727 \(bs(.t)\) is the feminine singular perfective active participle of the 3rd weak verb, \(bsi\), "emerge."

728 \(hnts ib m\), "delight in, over." (CDME 195).

729 \(wbn(.t)\) is the f.s. perfective active participle of the tri-literal verb \(wbn\), "appear," "rise."

730 For example, with a snake coming out of a shelter for \(pr\): \(\text{\textsuperscript{D24A}}\).

731 For example, \(wfn\): \(\text{\textsuperscript{DIII, 60,1}}\); \(mfk\): \(\text{\textsuperscript{DIII, 54,15}}\); \(nhm\): \(\text{\textsuperscript{DIII, 45,14}}\); \(hn\): \(\text{\textsuperscript{DIII, 54,16}}\); \(hnr\): \(\text{\textsuperscript{DIII, 74,3}}\).

732 Beinlich, Osirisreliquien, 209-213.

733 Beinlich, Osirisreliquien, 210 and n. 29.
Allusions to the life-giving, rejuvenating qualities of the flood waters appear in Hathor’s speech in the Divine Randzeile:

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swb=i hsw=i [m] mw-rnp di=i ii n=k h°py r tr=f n rnp.t tp-rnp.t n(n) 3b
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"I purify my body [with] the water of youth, I cause that the inundation shall come to you in its season of the year, at the beginning of the year, without ceasing" (D III, 72,8).

The reference to mw-rnp, "water of youth," creates an aural and visual link to the nms.t-jar offering in the base of the South Wall, which we saw earlier. In addition, a triple polyptoton with the repetition of the root rnp, which can mean "youth" as well as "year," creates layers of meaning. The root appears in the first clause, as part of the compound substantive, mw-rnp ("water of youth"); in the succeeding clause, it appears in the substantive, rnp.t ("year"), followed by another compound, tp-rnp.t ("beginning of the year"). The turn of meaning between "youth" and "year" in the repetition of rnp emphasizes the rejuvenating qualities of the inundation when it arrives at its appointed time. Its allusion to "youth" is also appropriate in the present context of "year," because the inundation arrives during the first month of the Egyptian year, when the year is "young."

As we noted earlier, the offerings of water in the scenes on the north and south walls of the Per-wer recall the episode of the Wandering Goddess myth in which the angry lioness, having arrived at Philae, purifies herself in the nearby waters of the Abaton, a location not far from Elephantine, the mythical source of the Nile. The rejuvenating waters cool her anger, transforming her into a beautiful woman. In the scene on the north wall, the waters of the Nun purify and rejuvenate the goddess; on the south wall, they also pacify her.

In addition to the texts, with their aural and visual layers of meaning, the iconography within the water offering on the north wall is also significant. Hathor wears the Crown of Geb, which we encountered previously in the sistra-offering scene on the east wall.

The Crown of Geb thus relates to the fabrication of beer, requiring the products of the earth. Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 129, describes the particular form of Hathor wearing the Crown of Geb connects by means of an iconography play with the symmetrical scene on the west wall, an offering of the mnw-jar of beer.

The Crown of Geb thus relates to the fabrication of beer, requiring the products of the earth. We will look at Hathor’s aspect as ancestral goddess in Section 5.2.6. Navigation rituals play an important part of celebrations relating to the myth of the Distant Goddess, such as the festival of drunkenness and the festival in the month of Tybi.

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734 The vulture sign (G14) is the phonogram for nr (GG, p. 469), perhaps due to the fear (nr.t) caused by the bird (PL 526). Fairman, Ptolemaic Signs, 107, notes that with the addition of a small disk, it can write nri, "year," thus leading to its use for the synonym, rnp.t. Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanea, 380, citing Papyrus Lansing, 2.6, notes the Coptic mft, "time"; he interprets mft in the sense of "return of the year." Context can help in deciding whether to read the vulture and disk as nri or rnp.t, as complementary pairs (nri/1pn.1) in parallel phrasing, or in a polyptoton with variations on the root rnp, as in the present example. See Blackman and Fairman, Myth of Horus, 23-25, for more discussion.

735 D III, 72.8: "I purify my body [with] the water of youth."

736 D III, 63.7: "it pacifies your heart with the water of rejuvenation."

737 We recall that in the sistra scene on the east wall (Section 5.1.2), Hathor's wearing of the Crown of Geb connects by means of an iconography play with the symmetrical scene on the west wall, an offering of the mnw-jar of beer.

738 Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 129, describes the particular form of Hathor wearing the Crown of Geb in the Per-Nu as guaranteeing the inundation, which results in the means to purify and maintain the cult of the ancestor gods, as well as providing Egypt with water so that navigation rituals can be carried out. We will look at Hathor's aspect as ancestral goddess in Section 5.2.6. Navigation rituals play an important part of celebrations relating to the myth of the Distant Goddess, such as the festival of drunkenness and the festival in the month of Tybi.
lacking the double falcon feathers, it is otherwise similar to the *hp. ty*-crown of Horus, which we also saw earlier, symbolizing kingship and the dignity of the royal office.\(^{739}\) A text from Edfu describes Horus wearing the crown as "son of Isis, ruler of the Two Halves (=Egypt) on his throne, King of Upper Egypt, King of Lower Egypt, with high feathers and sharp horns."\(^{740}\) Additional clues to its meaning appear in the epithets with which Hathor addresses the King:

![Image of Hieroglyphs]

"Welcome in peace, heir of Ra, divine seed of Atum!" (D III, 72,8)

Atum, the god who created the Heliopolitan Ennead, is also the evening form of the sun god Ra; the two often syncretize as Ra-Atum.\(^{741}\) The King's epithets thus show his divine parentage and trace his lineage directly from the Creator. It is probably not a coincidence that *mw*-ntry ("divine seed"), both aurally and visually recalls *mw*-rnp ("water of youth"), encountered earlier. The element *mw-* ("water"), written with triple undulating-wave signs and contained in both words, continues the focus on water; the idea of fertility (alluded by "youth," and "seed") fits well with the theme of the inundation.

An additional sign of a child appears in the relief picture itself, in the form of the son nursed by the goddess. The accompanying text, focusing on the offering of the inundation water, has no references to this action. However, the nursing of a child not only has connections with the *nms.t*-jar offering, but it also contains multiple layers of meaning. To shed more light on its significance, we turn to two other scenes, each linked by the common thread of milk—an offering often presented to Hathor due to her manifestation as a nurturing cow.\(^{742}\)

We begin with the milk-offering scene in the 2\(^{nd}\) register of the east wall, located diagonally from the *nms.t*-jar offering just examined (Fig. 5.47). The king, wearing a white crown with ostrich feathers, ram's horns, and uraei, offers two jugs and a situla of milk to Hathor, wearing the Hepty-crown and seated on a throne. The king clarifies the importance of his offering, saying,

\(^{739}\) The King's crown is also similar to the Royal Crown of Isis, but with the addition of ram's horns.

\(^{740}\) E II, 71,17, referenced in Derchain-Urtel, *hptj*-Krone, 32.

\(^{741}\) The Right Eye of Ra (Hathor, as the sun) thus has its counterpart in the Left Eye of Atum (Isis, as the moon).

\(^{742}\) Cow-goddesses, including Hathor, are mentioned as early as the PT (PT 466a; 707a; 734b; 1375a; 2098a); since the OK, royal funerary temples show a goddess nursing the king. On a relief fragment from the MK funerary temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, the King drinks directly from Hathor, in Irmgard Woldering, *Sammlung Hannover*, fig. 27 (Kestner-Museum Inv. Nr. 1935.200.82). Depictions of the king being nursed by a goddess also appear in the mammisi of the Late and GR periods. Kingship can be passed down by the nursing crown-goddesses (Leclant, Lait, 126), as well as through the milk of Isis (PT 370a – 372e), who is first depicted nursing in a relief with Seti I (Calverley-Gardiner, Abydos IV, pls. 16 and 20). Frankfort discusses the underlying conceptions of the "mother cow," and its basis in the economic dependence on cattle in early Egyptian society, in Frankfort, King, 162-180. Contexts include birth, coronation, and rebirth after death. See Leclant, Suckling of Pharaoh, 138-145; Brunner, Geburt des Gottkönigs, 131; Seipel, Säugen, 339-342.

\(^{743}\) The situla, a milk jug with a handle, can be offered in addition to milk jugs without handles. See drawing in Junker, Abaton, 10, fig. 2. As a possible precursor to the milk libation, see Gayet, Louxor, pl. 49.

\(^{744}\) In the present scene, Hathor's *hp. ty*-crown, representing kingship and her role as female ruler, more properly connects to the symmetrical scene with the offering of the *h/ldb*-symbol of power, in a play of iconography. However, it also may have a connection to the king's *hp. ty*-crown (also without the two falcon feathers) in the east
"Offering milk: it is milk \(^{745}\) that I have presented before you, your inundation is in them" (D III, 69,5-6).

The title of the offering scene thus begins with the more common term for cow’s milk, \( \text{ir} \ \text{t}.t \), followed by its Ptolemaic synonym, \( \text{anx} \ \text{wAs} \), a play on its inherent components of "life" and "power." Whereas for children milk serves as nourishment, for adult gods and kings it imparts rejuvenation. By offering it to the deity, the king could thus expect a reciprocal gift of strength, rejuvenation, and power over his enemies. \(^{746}\) The statement that "the inundation" is in the milk implies that the flood waters also contains \( \text{anx} \) and \( \text{wAs} \)—qualities graphically represented in the \( \text{anx} \) and \( \text{wAs} \) symbols of the stems hanging from the offering jars of primordial water, which we saw in the symmetrical scenes at the base of the south wall. \(^{747}\) The writing of \( \text{baH} \), "inundation," \(^{748}\) adds further layers of meaning, recalling the primeval benu-bird perched upon the mound of creation rising up from the field flooded with the waters of the Nun. \(^{749}\) Even the final phrase continues the imagery, whereby the boat-sign, \( \text{hkn} \), used to write the preposition, \( \text{im} \), \(^{750}\) makes a visual allusion to the rising water level caused by the flood, allowing navigation of the river. In fact, the boat sign in the text column stands over the water sign of the plural suffix pronoun, thus continuing the visual pun. \(^{751}\)

Multiple allusions also appear in the text of the Royal Randzeile, describing the King as

\[ \text{hk3 mnmn.t hr hnk hdw} \]

"Ruler of the Herd, offering white milk" (D III, 69,8).

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\(^{745}\) Taking \( \text{nn} \) to be the copula in a nominal sentence. See Kurth, EP II, §89d and n. 1, who gives a similar example from Edfu, \( \text{mnw nn iri hm=f} \), "dies sind die Monumente, die Seine Majestät geschaffen hat" (E VII, 11,8).

\(^{746}\) Wb I, 197,7 and 204,1. See also Guglielmi, Milchopfer, 127-128.

\(^{747}\) In purification scenes of the King, deities pour water over his head, which become streams of ankhs and \( \text{wAs} \)-symbols. For example, Seti I is purified with ankhs and \( \text{wAs} \)-scepters by Seth and Horus on the lintel of Seti I from Heliopolis (formerly Brussels E 407), in Brand, Seti I, pl. 72; on the inner cartonnage of the early 22\(^{nd}\) Dynasty coffin of the Chantress of Amun and Lady of the House, Tjentmutengebtiu, she is depicted being purified with ankhs and \( \text{wAs} \)-scepters by Horus and Thoth, BM 22939, Andrews, Egyptian Mummies, fig. 10.

\(^{748}\) Wb I, 448,1-8.

\(^{749}\) As a verb, \( \text{b} \ \text{h} \) appears in the \( \text{hs} \)-jar offering of primordial water seen previously at the west side of the base of the south wall. Sopdet "pours out Hapy from his cavern in order to flood (\( \text{b} \ \text{h} \)) the Two Lands with what exists" (D III, 75,3-4).

\(^{750}\) The preposition \( \text{inw} \) is derived from \( \text{imw} \), "boat," by the consonantal principle. See Fairman, Alphabetic Signs, p. 240, no. 263.

\(^{751}\) The IFAO photo by A. Lecler, no. 98-2202, in Cauville, Dend Trad III, pl. 32, clearly shows the arrangement of the signs in this text in a column.
The counterpoise serves as the phonogram for the sound \textit{mn}, having dropped the weak consonants \textit{i} and \textit{t}, by means of the consonantal principle, from the word \textit{mnit}. Because the menit was one of Hathor's ritual instruments, the spelling of "herd" with the menit-sign not only alludes to Hathor herself in her bovine manifestation, and also to her herd of sacred \textit{3h.t}-cows, who produce divine milk.\footnote{Wb I, 17,3-5; PL 16.} Plays on the root \textit{hd} ("white") create additional allusions, with the designation of the milk as \textit{hdw} suggesting not only its white color but also its connection with \textit{hd.t}, the white crown of Upper Egypt worn by the king in the scene.

Hathor's responsibility for giving life through her milk is apparent in two more statements, the first from the speech of Hathor, which equates her with Isis:

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{3s.t wr.t mw.t n.t bik \textit{hwn.t nfr.t bnr.t bnrw} \textit{sd ntr.w m hdw=s}
"Isis the great, mother of the falcon, beautiful young girl,\footnote{The feminine substantive, \textit{hwn.t}, "young girl," is an epithet of goddesses such as Hathor and Isis. It can also be written with the ideogram for a cat: \textbf{\textit{hwn.t}} (D III, 69,13), which can denote Tefnut as a young lioness (Wb III, 54,2), thus alluding to the Myth of the Wandering Goddess. Additionally, it appears in the expression, \textit{hwn.t m wds.t}, "the young girl in the Eye," designating the pupil (Wb III, 53,22), especially in the ritual of the "Pupil of the Horus Eye." The term, "Pupil of the Eye," \textit{dfr-d-wds.t}, appears as an epithet of Hathor in an udjat offering scene in the Per-\textit{wer}, in the 3rd register, north wall (D III, 84,2). See Borghouts, Evil Eye, 141 n. 11, cited by Kurth EP I, 212 n. 150.} sweet one of (sweet) milk, who nourishes the gods with her white milk" (D III, 69,11-12).}
\end{verbatim}

The polyptoton on the root \textit{bnr} ("sweet"), with its turn of meaning from the feminine substantive, \textit{bnr.t}, "sweet one," to the masculine substantive, \textit{bnrw}, "sweet milk," calls attention to the benevolent nature of the goddess and the sweetness of the life-giving sustenance that she creates and gives to the gods. The second statement appears in the Divine Randzeile:

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{3h.t mnh.t m ntr.w hr \textit{sd.t t\textit{i} pn hr s\textit{nh} hr.w hr s\textit{rnp nn=s m bnrw=s}}
"The excellent cow among the gods, nourishing this land, making the people (lit. "faces") live, rejuvenating her child with her sweet milk" (D III, 69,12-13).}
\end{verbatim}

The expression contains both aural and visual emphasis on life and rejuvenation. The two successive \textit{s}-causative verbs, \textit{s\textit{nh}} ("make live") and \textit{s\textit{rnp}} ("rejuvenate") foreground her life-giving actions; the repetition of the child-sign in the verb, \textit{s\textit{rnp}}, and in the substantive, \textit{nn=s}, "her child," underlines the rejuvenating aspect of the milk\footnote{As we saw earlier in the offering of primordial water on the base of the south wall, a similar visual emphasis on the rejuvenating powers of the Nun occurs in the use of child-signs to write \textit{mwn}, "primordial water," and \textit{mw-rnp}, "water of rejuvenation" (D III, 63,7).} and emphasize the active role Hathor plays in bestowing life and renewal. Both statements bring us back to the depiction of the nursing goddess in the \textit{nms.t}-offering on the north wall (Fig. 5.46). With the identification of Hathor with Isis, who nurses her child Horus ("the falcon"), the equivalence between the King (the "living Horus") and the child becomes more explicit. His legitimacy thus assured, the King draws life, power, and sustenance from the divine milk.
More importantly, because the divine milk can also be equated with the inundation, which Hathor also causes to flow forth, her image as a nursing mother shows she not only rejuvenates and sustains her son (i.e. the King), but also, by extension, provides nourishment for both the human and divine worlds.

An additional link connecting the three scenes appears in the second register of the north wall, directly below the scene of Hathor nursing her child. The king, standing before the enthroned Hathor, raises his hands in adoration (Fig. 5.47). In words similar to those of the god

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755 Junker, Abaton, 10-11, notes that milk can play the same role as water in rituals: as offerings that the gods can drink; for purification and sanctification.
Nun, which we saw in the Ogdoad scene on the outer entrance, he praises the goddess to the height of heaven. This time, however, his praise also extends to the breadth of the earth:

\[ \text{dwA.n=i} \text{ kA}=t \text{ r qA} \text{ n{t} p.t sn(.n)=i n=t tA \text{ r wsx n tA}} \]

"I have praised your Ka to the height of heaven, I have kissed the earth for you to (the extent of) the breadth of the earth." (D III, 68,11-12)

The antanaclasis on the close homophones of kA (the "embodiment" of Hathor) and k\(\ddot{A}\) ("height"), together with the repetition of the substantive, t\(\ddot{A}\) ("earth") in the verbal expression sn-t\(\ddot{A}\) ("kiss the earth," i.e. "ground"), as well as in ws\(\ddot{h}\) n t\(\ddot{A}\) ("breadth of the earth"), emphasizes the height and the breadth of the king's praise. As we will see, after examining the texts in the rest of the scene, this statement can allude to more than just Hathor's rulership over heaven and earth.

Standing before the King is a small shrine containing a child, symbolizing the mammisi, one of Hathor's ten sacred objects: \(\text{mammisi}\), the divine child's place of birth. The connection of the birth house with the goddess appears in the King's speech, who addresses her as

\[ \text{\textit{spS.t wsr.t hnt h.t-nmi.t}} \]

"Powerful and Noble Lady in the Temple of the Bier" (D III, 68,14),

the h.t-nmi.t, "Temple of the Bier," being a synonym for the mammisi. The nmi.t, meaning "bier" or "bed," consists of a bed with a lion head, feet and tail. The term appears frequently in the Osirian texts at Dendera; the image of the bed thus contains the dual concepts of birth and rebirth.\(^{756}\) These allusions fit well with the idea of the nursing goddess, because her milk not only can provide sustenance for her child, but also can rejuvenate the dead, as shown by the ritual of milk offerings to Osiris, carried out at the Abaton.\(^{757}\)

However, the most important statement for our understanding of Hathor's role in relation to the divine child, nursing, and the inundation, appears in the following speech of Hathor:

\[ \text{\textit{Ss\ddot{s}.t Ss\ddot{s}(.t) p\ddot{r}p\ddot{r} n(n) k.t hr hw=s \ddot{s}d nn=s m hdw=s}} \]

\(^{756}\) Wb. II, 266,2-5; LP; GR; the verb (nm, "sleep") and later noun (nmi.t, "bed, bier") may originate from an earlier term, mnm.t (Wb II, 80,13-14). Compare with pr-msy.t, "Sanctuary of the Bier," another name of "mammisi," which appears in a menit offering in the 4\(^{th}\) register of the south wall of the Offering Hall (D VII, 92,1).

Wilson (PL 517) notes that the term, nmi.t, very common in Osirian texts at Dendera, can also denote the "sleep of death."

\(^{757}\) Just as the milk of his mother Isis constantly renews the young god Horus (equated with the King), it can also rejuvenate Osiris, who must never age and must also be constantly renewed. Daily rituals of renewal with milk offerings thus took place at the Abaton (See Junker, Abaton, 9-15, esp. 14-15), as well as annual rituals that took place during the Mysteries of Osiris in the month of Khoiak. See Chassinat, Khoiak, passim.
"Female Creator, who was the first to be born, without another except for her, who nourishes her child with her white milk" (D III, 69,1-2).

The antanaclasis on the root 𓊍𓊍, "initiate; create," which we saw earlier in the offering of primordial water, again emphasizes Hathor's primacy as creator goddess. In that scene, the statement emphasized Hathor's creation of the land. Here, the imagery of nursing her child with her milk can also be understood as emphasizing her creation of the inundation. In fact, a subtle allusion to the inundation appears in the writing of nn, "child": 𓊍𓊍, recalling the writing of the primeval waters of the Nun, 𓊍𓊍, which we encountered earlier, and which can be transliterated as either nwn or nnw. Bringing together the ideas expressed in the previous milk-offering scene, these statements show that as the creator of the inundation, Hathor provides the 𓊍𓊍-WsS, "life and power," to sustain and rejuvenate the living King, while hr šd ntr.w, "nourishing the gods," and hr snh hr.w, "making everyone live." In addition, we can now understand the king's praise of the goddess "to the height of heaven" and "to the breadth of the earth," which, as we saw earlier, not only alludes to her rule over both gods and men, but also to her sustenance of the divine and the human worlds.

5.2.4 Primordial Creator of Light

The previous text referring to the rejuvenating powers of Hathor's milk also contains a subtle allusion to another aspect of her creative powers. Although in the present context, the verb, 𓊍𓊌𓊍 pḫp, means "be born," by substituting the sign of the birthing mother with the sign of sun rays as the determinative, it becomes 𓊏𓊍𓊍 pḫp, "shine." Aurally, the phrase, 𓊍𓊍 pḫp, could thus also be understood as "Female Creator, who was the first to shine." The verb pḫp ("shine") frequently refers to the shine of gold, recalling Hathor's well-known epithet as nbw.t, "The Golden One (f.)." Wilson observes that pḫp ("bear; be born") and pḫp ("shine") are probably the same words, "for the shining of the sun is also its birth and the shine of gold implies life and birth."

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758 D II, 63,7, in the offering of primordial water on the east side of the base of the south wall of the Per-wer.
759 D III, 69,5.
760 D III, 69,12.
762 As we saw in the Ogdoad scene on the outer entrance.
763 As we saw in the milk-offering scene.
764 For example, in the statement in the bandeau of the frieze on the Per-wer's outer entrance: pr-wr n ḫpy.t pḫp m šš.wy, "the Per-wer is for the Uraeus, shining like gold" (D II, 3,6-7); in the description of the Per-wer's decoration, in the inner column of the east side of the door frame on the outer entrance: pḫp m nbw, wh.t.t m ḫrwy, "shining with gold, decorated with color" (D III, 46,10).
765 PL 346-7.
766 The birth imagery of light also appears in the GR temple of Opet at Thebes in the characterization of the goddess Opet-Nut, who gives birth to Osiris as a replica of the sun. Opet, the Theban form of the sky goddess Nut, derives her role from the latter's birth-giving of the solar disk at dawn, e.g. pḫp.(t) šww m-hnw pr ḫptw.t wr.t, "who gave birth to light within the Temple of Opet the Great" (Clère, Porte, pl. 30; Urk. VIII, 74c, cited in Klotz, Kneph, 265). Opet
We see more explicit expressions of this idea interwoven throughout other texts of the Per-wer, beginning with a statement engraved on the outer entrance, in the outer column (Text B) of the door frame's west side:

$$Ps.d.t \, s^n\bar{n}h^{767} \, rhy.t$$

"The Shining One (f.) makes people live" (D III, 46,6).

The sun-rays sign, now appearing as the determinative in $Ps.d.t$, "Shining One (f.)," adds visual imagery to Hathor's epithet. As we saw in the milk-offering scene, where successive $s$-causative verbs emphasized Hathor's active role in causing people to live due to her milk (= inundation), we now see this role attributed to her "shining" aspect as well. Once again imagining the transparency of the walls, we can follow this theme into the Per-wer itself, where it links to the offering of primordial water at the base of the south wall—a scene whose thematic importance within the Per-wer is becoming increasingly apparent (Fig. 5.48).

Fig. 5.48. Theme of Primordial Creator of Light, after D II, pl. 94; D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

and Hathor were closely associated, as shown by the Hathoric horns-and-disk worn by Opet (Clère, Porte, pls. 30 and 42), as well as her Hathoric epithets, such as $ir.t-R', \, nb.t \, p.t, \, hnw.t \, ntr.w \, nb.w$, "Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of All the Gods" (Opet I, 33, Sud; 77; 165; 168C) and $nb.t \, f.r.wt$, "Lady of Uraei" (Opet I, 63). See Klotz, Kneph, 265-266.

767 Restored by Chassinat (D III, 46,6 n. 12), following Dümichen and Mariette.
There, in the Divine Randzeile, the text states,

\[ hpr \text{ wnn.t m wbn}\{r\}=s \]

"what exists comes into being when she rises/shines" (D III, 63,3-4),

thus specifying the role in creation played by Hathor in her solar aspect, familiar to us as the Right Eye of Ra. She is the catalyst that sets the whole process in motion, light from the sun being the key element for creating everything that exists.

Indications of the sun's life-giving role appear in other scenes within the Per-wer, thus forming additional links with the statement in the base of the south wall. Three of these scenes form part of the daily temple rite performed by the King in his role as high priest (Fig. 5.49).

Fig. 5.49. Theme of Primordial Creator of Light and Life, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO
On the east wall (Fig. 5.50), the adoration scene explicitly states the result of Hathor's life-giving rays:

\[ R^3y.t \text{ } s\text{t.t } R^2Itn.t \text{ } m \text{ } sn \text{ } n \text{ } Itn \text{ } \ldots \text{ } nh \text{ } hr-nb \text{ } n \text{ } m33=s \]

"Rayt, daughter of Ra, the Atenet in the circuit of the Aten...everyone lives in seeing her." (D III, 67.2-3)

Polyptotons on the roots, \( r^c \), "sun," and \( itn \), "sun disk," juxtapose the feminine forms, \( R^3y.t \), "Rayt (Female Sun)," and \( Itn.t \), "Atenet (Female Solar Disk)," with the male forms, \( R^c \), "Ra," and \( itn \), "Aten." Again, everyone lives due to seeing the (female) sun. However, this time the expression used is \( hr-nb \), literally, "every face," adding the imagery of people turning their faces towards the light of the solar disk.

A text on the opposing west wall (Fig. 5.50) reiterates this dependence upon the sun, in the scene of "Revealing the Face." The king opens the door of the naos, revealing Hathor's sacred statue, an action which allows her streaming, radiant light to fill the chamber. The accompanying texts emphasize this visual encounter with the divine radiance by means of an extraordinary number of visual plays on light in the hieroglyphs. The Divine Randzeile continues the idea that her illumination gives life:

\[ wpS \text{ } m3w.t=s \text{ } ndb \text{ } nh \text{ } ntr.w \text{ } rmt \text{ } n \text{ } m33=s \]

"her rays illuminate the (whole) earth, gods and people live in seeing her." (D III, 77.9)

The first instance of visual imagery in this statement exists in the verb, \( wpS \), meaning "strew or sprinkle light," and thus "illuminate." The determinative appears to be a sun disk surrounded by a ring of dots, which may represent particles of light reflected by tiny particles of dust.\(^{768}\) The imagery of illumination continues with the sun rays determinative in the following

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\(^{768}\) Wilson, PL 227, suggests that this sign (N55) represents a ring of incense scattered around a disk, which could thus also represent a "hazy cloud of incense smoke or incense burning brightly," citing its use with \( bsn \)-incense in
The writing of $n\overline{d}b$, "the (whole) earth," with the flesh determinative, (F51B), adds the implication of living beings. Furthermore, the statement shows that the life-giving quality of Hathor's streaming rays now extends to the divine as well as the human sphere.

A very beautiful allusion to this golden light, sprinkled over the land, appears in the offering of Ma'at in the 1st register of the south wall (Fig. 5.50), where Hathor is characterized as the female sun disk,

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Itn.t m\text{nH} t\text{3} m nkr nbw
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"the Atenet who fills the earth with gold dust" (D III, 68,3).

The gold dust is, of course, the light of the sun seen sparkling through the air, as alluded in the determinative of the verb $wp\check{s}$, "to sprinkle light," in the previous text. This imagery recalls the ancient ritual of "spreading the gold dust," attested in the calendar texts of the Ptolemaic gate in the Mut Temple precinct at Karnak. Dedicated to Mut and Hathor as guarantors of the annual agricultural cycle, the rite took place on the first day of the month of Epiphi, near the end of the agricultural year, just before the harvest. In a procession that wound its way into the fields, priests would sprinkle a mixture of green $\text{fhn.t}$-powder and gold dust, rendering the fields green and glittering.

Indirectly, Hathor's counterpart, Isis, also participates in the creation of light. The text in the symmetrical scene on the west side of south wall's base (Fig. 5.44) indicates that the goddess was born on "the night of the child in his nest," the well-known description of the fifth epagomenal day just before New Year's. The texts specify that her birth took place at Iatdi, the small temple of Isis at the (geographic) southwest corner of Hathor's main temple at Dendera. Accompanying her birth, which is equated with the rising of the star Sirius, is the first morning light of the sun: $wbn \text{R}^* m p.t m \text{fH}h\text{H} d\text{r} p=r=s m \text{h.t m } T\text{i-rr}$, "Ra rises in the sky at dawn, after she has come forth from the womb at Tarer" (D II, 105,12). Leitz observes that the verb $msi$ (to be born) can also mean "to rise heliacally," thus alluding to the rising of Sirius (equated with Isis) at the time of the inundation. Additionally, because the young sun god can be considered the falcon in his nest, the birth of Isis can also be equated with the rising of the sun on New Year's Day. Basing his interpretation of the text on the northern doorpost of the Temple of the Birth, Leitz sees Sothis as the Right Eye, and the morning sun as the Left Eye, with the union of the ritual of $wp\check{s}-bsn$ (E II, 32,17). Nevertheless, its imagery also agrees with the idea of sunlight shining through particles of dust.

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769 See Goyon, Répandre l'or, 85-100. At Esna, the verb $wp\check{s}$ also appears in connection with the imagery of this festival: $wn.n=s p.t m \text{fhn.t} wps.n=s t\text{3} m \text{fhn.t}$, "when she opened the sky with a sparkle of light and strewed the ground with sparkling green powder." See Goyon, Répandre l'or, 96; Esna III, no. 236,19, p. 102.
770 An additional allusion to Hathor's "filling the land with gold dust" occurs in the east thickness of the door jamb of the outer entrance: $wr.t n.t p.t sHd t\text{3} w\text{y} m s\text{t.wr=s} t\text{in.t mH t3 m nkr nbw}$, "Great One of heaven, who brightens the Two Lands with her rays, the Atenet who fills the land with gold dust" (D III, 54,16-17).
771 Leitz, Nacht des Kindes, 138.
772 We explore this topic further in Section 4.1.5.2.
773 The $h.t$-$m\text{shn.t}$, the 2nd Chamber East (Chassinat's Chamber E) in the main temple of Dendera; D II, 99,2 – 99,3; Leitz, Nacht des Kindes, 140.
of the two divine Eyes taking place when the sun's brilliance overshadows the lesser brightness of the more distant star at dawn.

Hathor's primacy as ruler of heaven and earth derives from her role as the source of all life. Not only are all of her creations dependent upon her for sustenance, they are also interconnected with each other. Coming into existence at the beginning, Hathor created land in her form as a primeval serpent. In her form as Hathor-Isis, she heralds the inundation, which is equated with the divine milk with which she sustains both the human and divine worlds. As the female sun, she provides light for the world, filling the earth with her golden rays and causing life to spring forth from the warmth of her touch.

### 5.2.5 Hidden of Image

Hathor's manifestation as the sun disk is highly visible, but in order to have contact with humans (mediated by the King), her invisible divine spirit must have a place of residence on earth. The bandeau of the base on the west wall of the Per-wer clearly states the King's accomplishment in providing this secure place:

\[ \text{'rk.n=f pr-wr n šps.t m 'twn.t m kš.t nfr.t n.t d.t r ḫwt šsp.w n hm.t=s} \]

"He has completed the Per-wer of the Noble Lady in Iunet (Dendera) as a beautiful work of eternity in order to protect the images of her Incarnation within it." (D III, 60,5-6)

Pleased with the excellent work of her sanctuary,

\[ \text{hd=s m bik.t tln.t msh'} hn=s ḫr bs=s ḫnt hm=s} \]

"She flies as the female falcon, the bright one (f.), she alights on her image in her sanctuary" (D III, 61,6-7).

The sign (G204A), employed in the text as the ideogram for bik.t, "female falcon," is a direct representation of Hathor's ba-bird, her divine spirit that descends from heaven to install itself in her sacred statue, protected within the Per-wer sanctuary of her temple. Interestingly,

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Hathor as a female falcon appears in Crypt East 1, Chamber C, East Wall, D V, pl. 336, where the text identifies it as \( H.t-hr nb.t 'twn.t t r.t-R' ḫry.t-ib pr=s bik.t nṛy.t m mkt k3r \), "Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, who resides in her sanctuary, the divine falcon in the protection of the shrine." Specifications of material and dimensions indicate that it is a statue: \( šn m nbw, ḫt mṛḥ k3 mḥ 1, šsp 3, dbr' 1, "sun disk in gold, plated wood, 1 cubit, 3 palms, 1 finger" \) (76.9 cm) (D V, 15,10-11). Similar falcon statues of Hathor (but wearing a menit necklace) appear in Crypt South 1, Chamber A, North Wall (D V, pl. 418) and in Crypt South 1, Chamber B, North Wall, (D V, pl. 424); the statues are designated as \( H.t-hr wr.t nb.t 'twn.t t tr.t R' nb.t p.t ḫnw.t nṛy.w nbw nb.t mnr.t ḫnw.t šš.t \), "Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of All the Gods, Lady of the Menit, Mistress of the šš.t-sistrum" (D V, 124,5-6), and \( H.t-hr nb.t 'twn.t t t-mnr.t \), "Hathor, Lady of Dendera, the Menit" (D V,133,5), respectively.

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The ba of the deity installs itself not only in the cult statue, but also in the images engraved on the walls. Assmann traces the origin of the concept of the "indwelling" of the divine spirit in an image to beliefs about the dead, in which the ba of the deceased would descend from heaven and alight on the mummy, stressing that "the statue is not the image of the deity's body, but the body itself. It does not represent his form, but rather gives him form." Assmann, Search for God, 43; 46.
her epithet *thn.t*, "bright one," also alludes to the shining green powder, also called *thn.t*, spread over the fields during the ancient ritual of "spreading the gold dust," mentioned earlier.\(^{776}\)

Already in the texts engraved on the Per-wer's outer entrance, there is an emphasis on the importance of keeping this image hidden, as shown in the west framing column, where she is called

\[ nb.t \, (r) \, dr \, imn.t \, sšt3 \]

"Lady (to) the Limit, hidden of image" (D III, 46,5).

The epithet, *nb.t r dr*, is the feminine counterpart of *nb r dr*, literally, "Lord to the Limit." The "limit" is the extent of the universe; the male version of the epithet belongs to the sun god Ra.\(^{777}\) Often translated as "Master of the Universe," or "All-Lord," Hathor's title thus indicates that she is the Female Ruler of the Universe, as well as its Creator.\(^{778}\) The sign for *imn.t*, "hidden," represented as a man hiding behind a wall, his arms raised in adoration, calls to mind the worship of Hathor's Incarnation, which is securely hidden behind the south wall of the Per-wer Sanctuary.

The Ogdoad, whom we met earlier in the symmetrical adoration scenes on the outer entrance, reappear adoring the goddess on the thicknesses of the door jambs of the Southern Niche. Following them into the niche, we see a subtle allusion to the importance of keeping Hathor's image hidden (Fig. 5.51).

\(^{776}\) See Section 5.2.4 and note 769.
\(^{777}\) The feminine version of this epithet is attested since the MK and was applied to Hathor since GR. The title can also designate the Eye of Horus and is the name of one of the seven heavenly cows. See Wb II, 230,15 – 231,2; 232 – 233,1-5; V, 591.
\(^{778}\) Wb II, 232 – 233,1-5: "Allherrin." It was applied to Hathor since the GR and can also designate the Eye of Horus as well as one of the seven heavenly cows. See also Wb II, 230,15 – 231,2; V, 591. Hathor's epithets of Rayt (the female Ra) and Atenet (the female sun disk) support her conception as the sun god's female counterpart.
In each of four narrow registers on the jambs, pairs of standing figures face towards Hathor's sacred image in the niche, their hands raised in adoration. In the upper two registers are the male and female pairs of the Ogdoad: Heh/Hauhet\(^{779}\) (infinite space) and Amun/Amaunet (hiddenness) on the east jamb; Nia/Niaut\(^{780}\) (emptiness) and Kek/Kauket (darkness) on the west jamb. We recall that the gods included on the outer entrance were Naunet/Nun (primeval waters) on the east side; Kauket/Kek and Niaut/Nia on the west side. Therefore, the distribution of gods on the east and west sides of the façade is the same as on the east and west jambs of the niche,\(^{781}\) with one important difference: Nun/Naunet are now missing, having been replaced by Amun/Amaunet. The Nun, being the source from which all creation springs, is more properly placed at the base of the south wall, where it appears in the two symmetrical offering scenes of primeval water, which we examined earlier. By including Amun/Amaunet in its place on the door jambs of the niche, the ancient scribes thus indicated the importance of infinite hiddenness for the female Creator residing within.

\(^{779}\) Sethe, Amun, §§126-137.

\(^{780}\) Sethe, Amun, §§133-137.

\(^{781}\) The distribution is the same except for the fact that the females stand ahead of their male counterparts on the façade, whereas in the niche they stand behind.
Having entered into the Southern Niche, and passing by the Ogdoad on the door jambs, we notice that the text on the east montants of the north wall also emphasizes the hidden quality of this space (Fig. 5.52), stating,

\[ n \text{ r.h. tw } \text{ \$sm=s } \text{ \$t3.(t) irw thn.(t) } \text{ s\$t3} \]

"One does not know her statue, secret one (f.) of form, hidden one (f.) of secret representation."  
(D III, 90,10 – 91,1)

This multi-layered expression contains both aural and visual puns. Beginning with the root \( \text{\$t3} \), an intransitive verb meaning, "be secret, hidden," we see that it stands out, being repeated twice within Hathor's two epithets: \( \text{\$t3.(t) irw thn.(t) } \text{ s\$t3} \), "secret one of form, hidden one of image." It occurs first as a participle, "secret one (f.)" or "She who is secret," and then as a substantive, "image" or "form." The polyptoton, with its alliteration on the root, \( \text{\$t3} \), and its syntactical changes, emphasizes the two words while also linking them in meaning, showing that the divine image is also hidden.

In addition to the emphasis in sound, there is also visual imagery that adds meaning to the expression. As we noted earlier for the ideogram of \( \text{imn.t} \) (hidden one), the seated man with his arms raised in adoration, can allude to the worship of Hathor's hidden image behind the south wall, in the Southern Niche. In the present text, the sign serves as the ideogram for \( \text{thn.(t)} \), meaning "hidden one." The verb \( \text{thn} \), "be hidden, conceal," is related to \( \text{thn} \), "obelisk," the monumental representation of the primeval mound, as well as an obelisk-shaped casket used for relics, similar to a portable shrine. Because a shrine conceals sacred objects from profane eyes, \( \text{thn} \) thus emphasizes the idea of concealment from those not authorized to look. In addition, the root, \( \text{thn} \), can function as the verb, "be bright," describing sun rays.

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782 As noted in the chapters on word plays and sign plays, bold font indicates word play; blue font indicates sign play; bold blue font indicates the intersection in a text of both word and sign play.
783 Wb IV, 551,3 – 553,5. Wilson (PL 1035) notes that the abbreviated form of \( \text{\$t3} \) appears frequently at Edfu, as if the scribes consciously desired to bring the ideas of \( \text{\$t3} \), "secret" and \( \text{\$t3} \), "form" closer together, in order "to heighten the air of mystery in the images of the gods."
784 In addition to the alliteration of \( \text{s} \), including the previous word, \( \text{\$sm=s} \) ("her statue").
785 PL 1035. This emphasis on the hidden quality of the divine image works whether we transliterate \( \text{\$t3} \) as \( \text{s\$t3} \) or \( \text{\$t3} \), both of which create a polyptoton with \( \text{\$t3.(t)} \). Cauville (D X, Index, 528–529; 564) distinguishes the possible transliterations by grammatical function, rendering \( \text{\$t3} \) as \( \text{s\$t3} \) when it functions as a noun (secret representation; mystery), transitive verb (hide) or \( s \)-causative verb (make secret); as \( \text{\$t3} \) when it functions as a noun (mystery), transitive verb (hide), intransitive verb (be secret), or adjective (secret). Therefore, I am following Cauville by translating the present example (secret representation) as \( \text{s\$t3} \).
786 Wb V, 327,8-18; GR, which transliterates it as \( \text{thn} \).
787 Wb V, 326,15-24; Martin, Obelisk, 542.
788 Wb V, 326,15-22. The relationship between \( \text{thn} \) (hide) and \( \text{thn} \) (obelisk) is noted by Wilson (PL 1150-1151).
789 The interchange between \( \text{thn} \) and \( \text{thn} \) in GR is evident by the spelling of \( \text{thn} \) with the tall-\( t \): \( \wedge \) (Wb V, 391; since Dyn 18); playfully, with the \( tl \)-sign in GR:

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and as the noun, "bright one," personifying one of the characteristics of the sun god. Since Dynasty 21, thny also refers to the Eye of Ra. Appropriately, thn.t, "She who is bright," or "Bright One (f.)," is also an epithet of Hathor.

Therefore, this simple expression, describing the hidden, secret nature of Hathor's statue, also alludes to the niche as the primeval mound, her role as the Eye of Ra, and her shining quality as a solar goddess. Furthermore, the root thn can also mean "be joyful"—a perfect description of Hathor, as the pacified, returning goddess, nb.t thn, "Lady of Joy."

Hathor, as well as the associate gods of the temple, possessed multiple statues. When the statues were participating in ritual appearances, the bas of the gods did not inhabit their

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791 Wb V, 393,12; GR.
792 Wb V, 393,24. Attested since PT; frequently used in GR as a transitive verb meaning, "illuminate."
793 Wb V, 394,1-2; GR. In the Per-wer, thn.t hr, "Bright One (f.) of Face," meaning "happy," mostly applies to Hathor (D III, 63,13; 68,2; 70,18;81,11), but also to Isis (D III, 79,14): The Bright One (f.):
794 According to Cauville, Dieux et prêtres,70-71, the pantheon of Dendera includes the following eleven divinities: Hathor no. 1 (Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of All the Gods); Hathor no. 2 (Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra, Chief of the Great Seat); Hathor no. 3 (Hathor, Lady of Dendera, the Uraeus of Ra); Hathor no. 4 (Hathor, Lady of Dendera, the Menit); Horus (Horus of Edfu, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, Dappled of Plumage, who goes forth from the horizon); Ihy (Ihy the Great, Son of Hathor); Harsomtus no. 1 (Harsomtus, the Great God, who resides in Dendera); Harsomtus no. 2 (Harsomtus the Great God, Lord of Khadi); Harsomtus no. 3 (Harsomtus, the Child, son of Hathor); Isis (Isis the Great, Mother of God, Lady of Iatdi, she who
"bodies"; their statues (having become "corpses") rested in the underground crypts, equated with the Duat, or Netherworld. Each cult chamber on the main floor of the temple links by name to a specific underground crypt in which the cult statues belonging to corresponding chamber above were preserved. The one exception is the Per-wer Sanctuary, which has no associated underground crypt. In fact, a text in the most secluded part of the Per-wer, the east side of the 2nd register of the rear wall of the Southern Niche (Fig. 5.53), clearly states where Hathor's d.t, or "body," perpetually resides:

\[
d.t=t \, pw \, dd.tw \, m \, hd=t \, \{m\} \, n \, hr=s \, r=t \, r' \, nb
\]

"It is your body (that is) installed\textsuperscript{797} in your shrine. It is not far from you every day" (D III, 95,11).

Hathor's d.t, or "body," thus perpetually resides in the Southern Niche, suggesting that the reason behind the omission of a corresponding crypt for the Per-wer is that the Southern Niche is the repository for Hathor's 4-cubit-high gold statue, making a crypt for it redundant.\textsuperscript{799} Arranged in the thickness of the wall, in a similar arrangement to Dendera's wall crypts, the Southern Niche thus exists in the liminal space of the Duat, just like a crypt. Furthermore, because Hathor is the main deity of the temple and a creator goddess in her own right, her "body" must be constantly present and accessible to her, so that she can reside in it and continually carry out the process of creation from within her earthly residence. The idea that the temple's principal naos is the primeval mound of creation\textsuperscript{800} thus takes on greater significance. At Dendera, it is indeed the place from which all creation begins. The niche must therefore be protected, not only because it is the earthly residence of the goddess, but also because the delicate process of creation, carried out within its dark, liminal space, requires absolute purity.\textsuperscript{801}
Interestingly, the texts of bandeaux of the base and the frieze in the Per-wer suggest that Hathor unites with two different images in the southern niche. Each bandeau contains two expressions related to Hathor's images: on one side, a reference to her cult image; on the other, to her image engraved on the wall. The expressions on each side of the bandeau of the frieze stand in a chiastic relationship with those on bandeau of the base, linked by reference either to her cult statue or her wall image (Fig. 5.54 and 5.55).
Fig. 5.54. Chiastic Relationship between Bandeaux of the Frieze and Base

Fig. 5.55. Words Meaning "Image" in the Bandeaux

Whereas the expressions designating her image as $bs$ or $ti.t$ specify that it is "in her sanctuary," those designating it as $s$ or $sSt=ti.t$ indicate that it is "on the wall" or "engraved on the wall." More importantly, although there are many images of Hathor engraved on the walls of the Per-wer and in the niche, the statement, "on the wall," in each of these two expressions render it in the singular, as $sSt=ti.t$. $^{802}$ "wall": $sSm$, $sSt=ti.t$; $^{802}$ Although

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$^{802}$ The writing of $sSt=ti.t$ with the curl and oblique lines may be due to an earlier incorrect transcription of the $t$-loaf. See Faulkner, CDME, 208; PL 289.
scholars have "amended" the translation, rendering sA.t as plural. I believe that the choice to use the singular was deliberate, suggesting that the scribe was referring to Hathor's sacred emblem, as the top of a naos-sistrum, engraved in the center of the niche's rear wall. This emblem, the manifestation of her "sekhem," or physical power, as we saw earlier in the section on the myth in the Per-wer (5.1.2), stands directly behind the similar image carved deeply into the outer rear wall of the temple and plated in solid gold, a focus of popular piety.

5.2.6 Ancestral Goddess

Hathor's statue must be kept hidden not only from profane eyes, but also from "the ancestors," or "the ones who came before." Texts within the Per-wer are quite explicit about this necessity, as shown in the bandeau of the base on the east wall, where it states that the King constructed the sanctuary for Hathor, "in order to conceal her body from the ancestors" (D III, 59,12).

The verb, sStA, is the causative of StA, "to be secret, hidden, mysterious; it thus means, "make secret," "hide," or "conceal." A secret image, such as the cult statue of a deity, is also called a sStA, as we just saw in the previous example.

Inside the Southern Niche, there is a similar statement on the east wall, where the bandeau of the frieze describes Hathor as "Primordial Goddess, secret one of form, hidden one (f.) of manifestation from the ancestors" (D III, 92.5-6).

The determinative for thn.t ("hidden one") is a man hiding behind a wall, thus visually representing the idea of concealment. Derived from the verb thn, "be hidden, conceal," it can also refer to the hiding of corpses of the dead, such as the body of Osiris. Because the root thn can also designate an obelisk-shaped casket similar to a portable shrine, as we saw, the use of the word thn.t here not only visually represents the meaning of "hidden," but again alludes to the

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803 Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 128-129 (D III, 62,56), using sAwt ("walls"): "elle s'installe sur son image (placée) sur les parois"; idem, Dend Trad III, pp. 126-127 (D III, 60,2), again using sAwt: "elle se pose sur sa représentation gravée sur les parois."
804 As suggested to me by Prof. Jacco Dieleman, private conversation, October 12, 2011.
805 StA: Wb IV, 551,3 – 553,5; PL 1034. sStA: Wb IV, 296-297; PL 933.
806 Wb IV, 299,14 -16; GR: PL 934.
807 This expression contains an emphasis on secrecy with the antanaclasis on StA.t/StA(.t), "secret one/secret of representation"; emphasis on concealment by the sign play and homonyms of thn.t, similar to the phrase on the north wall of the Southern Niche (D III, 90,10 – 91,1), which we examined earlier.
808 E I, 173,10; PL 1151. We saw a similar use of this word in a text examined in the section on Hidden of Image, 5.2.5.
shrine in which Hathor’s secret statue resides. The question that remains to be asked is why Hathor’s image must be concealed from the “ancestors.” To help solve this puzzle, we step outside the Per-wer once again, for another look at the Ogdoad adoration scene on the outer entrance.

Having completed their work of creation, these personifications of the primordial elements died and were buried in a mound, receiving a funerary cult according to the model of deceased humans. A number of sites possessed such mounds, most notably at Edfu, Esna, and Medinet Habu, to which Amun of Luxor traveled every ten days for rejuvenation during the "decade festival." Although deceased and buried in the mound, these primordial gods still played a role in the continuation of life. We recall that, having inseminated the primordial lotus, the Ogdoad caused light to shine forth, with the sun god emerging from the blossom in the form of a child. Thus, the Ogdoad is intrinsically connected to Creation, as well as to the funerary cult of the ancestral gods.

![Diagram of Outer Entrance](image.png)

Fig. 5.56. Adoration Scene of King and Ogdoad on Outer Entrance of Per-wer; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

The Atef crown worn by Hathor on the west scene of the Ogdoad adoration scene (Fig. 5.56) makes a visual link with this divine funerary cult, due to the crown's intrinsic connection.

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809 Dunand, Gods and Men, 50.
with Osiris, the ancestral god *par excellence*, and whose theology stresses not only his own protection and the regeneration of life from death, but also the cult of the ancestors. The Ogdoad scene on the entrance façade thus makes a connection with the two scenes of funerary offerings in the 3rd register of the east and west walls inside the Per-wer (Fig. 5.57).

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Fig. 5.57. Theme of Ancestor Gods, after D II, pl. 94; D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

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810 Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 129.
At first glance, the most striking feature of the two scenes is the two symmetrical images of Hathor (Fig. 5.58), each seated on a throne in front of an intricately latticed naos, symbolizing the archaic Per-wer shrine of Upper Egypt. Egyptian artistic conventions allow us to understand that these images depict the goddess facing directly outward from her naos, an arrangement replicated by the arrangement of the two images on the east and west walls, which both lie at a 90° angle in relation to the south wall (Fig. 5.59). In fact, these images appear to show two sides of the same statue; the texts accompanying the two scenes specify its owner as H.t-hr nb.t pr-wr, "Hathor, Lady of the Per-wer," its height, 4 cubits (2.10 m) and its material, nbw, "gold" (D III,
In both texts, the ideogram, writes "Per-wer." It is obvious that the statue depicted here is the principal one of Hathor at Dendera; furthermore, it permanently resided in the Southern Niche. Hathor's white crown with flanking ostrich feathers associates her with Nekhbet, the tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt who was also the mythical mother of the King, and is depicted wearing the same crown in the scene on the east wall.

![South Wall of Per-wer](image)

**Fig. 5.59.** Hathor's 4-cubit-high statue, represented as if she were facing outwards from the Southern Niche; after D III, pls. 180; 190. © IFAO

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811 It is questionable whether a solid gold statue of these dimensions could have been lifted into the southern niche situated so high on the wall, so the statue may have been hollow-cast. It is unlikely to have been merely gold-plated wood, because the texts at Dendera specify when a statue is plated, e.g. in Crypt East 1, Chamber C, East Wall, D V, pl. 336, where the description of Hathor's falcon statue states, "sun disk in gold, plated wood, 1 cubit, 3 palms, 1 finger" (D V, 15,10-11). Note, however, that the height and width of the naos are each 2 cubits, 2 palms, 2 fingers (= 1.24 cm), so it could not have accommodated the 4-cubit-high (= 2.10 m) statue of Hathor. Daumas, Mammisi de Nectanébo, 171, suggests that the measurements for the Hathor statue are incorrect, and that "height: 4 cubits," should be corrected to read "height: 1 cubit, 3 palms" (= 75 cm), to which Waitkus, Krypten, 241,14, agrees. However, Cauville, Statues cultuelles, 85, makes the point that such an error in measurement would be astonishing for the most finely decorated and most important room of the temple. Instead, she suggests (and I agree) that the naos depicted is rather the ancient model (due to the lattice decoration) of the Per-wer, symbolically representing the Southern Niche. She also notes that when viewed from below (since the niche is located 3 meters above the floor level), the statue with its 1-meter-high golden crown, would have been an impressively beautiful sight. Furthermore, such a cult statue measuring 2.10m would have easily fit into the Southern Niche, which measures 3.28m in height (dimensions calculated from Zignani, Temple d'Hathor, pl. 20).

812 The diagonal line inside the image of the shrine in the hieroglyph (probably denoting the linen drapery concealing the statue) should extend to the upper left inside corner of the opening.

813 Once installed in the Southern Niche, the statue's large size and undoubtedly considerable weight would have precluded removing it.

814 An example of Nekhbet with the white crown and flanking plumes includes the inlaid pectoral from the tomb of Tutankhamen, 18th Dynasty, Cairo Museum. See Aldred, Jewels of the Pharaohs, pl. 65.
The two scenes are complementary, each concerning a different type of offering to the dead: incense on the east wall; a *htp-di-nsw.t* offering of bread, meat, and beer on the west wall. In addition, both scenes contain symmetrical sub-scenes. The living king offers to the three gods seated on a common base before him, as well as to Hathor, Lady of the Per-wer, seated in front of her naos. In addition, the kneeling King Pepi I offers a gold statuette of Ihy to Hathor, Lady of the Per-wer in each of the sub-scenes. On the east wall, the recipients are Hathor, Horus Behdety, Nekhbet and Hathor, Lady of the Per-wer; on the west wall, Isis, Harsomtus, Mut, and Hathor, Lady of the Per-wer (Fig. 5.60).

![Fig. 5.60. Incense Offering, 3rd Register, East Wall, Per-wer; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO](image)

We begin with the scene on the east wall, focusing on the information it reveals about Hathor's relationship to the ancestor gods and the role played by the King in this constellation. Wearing the Atef crown of Osiris, and thus connecting him with funerary offerings, the King places balls of incense in an arm-shaped censer, offering their fragrance to the gods seated before him. He says,

\[
\text{ii snTr snTr=f h\text{ }w=t pd pd.n=f tpy.w=f=t} \\
\text{"The incense comes, it censes your (f.s.) body.}
\text{The incense, it has censed your (f.s.) ancestors." (D III, 72,11-12)}
\]

The alliteration on the roots, *sntr* and *pd*, both meaning "to cense," arrests the listener's attention, calling attention to the King's action. The words stand out, first as substantives (incense) and then as verbs (censes; has censed). The variation on the root created by each repetition makes the word play particularly effective, because the pun and the alliteration simultaneously explain and highlight the meaning of the phrase. The use of the 2nd person feminine singular pronoun

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815 Pepi I reigned during the 6th Dynasty of the OK; his devotion to Hathor is attested by an inscribed vase lid, found at Qena, in which he carries the epithet, "son of Hathor, Lady of Dendera." See Daumas, Pepi I, 170, n. 2, citing Petrie, Tanis, pl. 12.

816 Depictions of such censers go back to the NK, as shown on a stela from Deir el-Medina in Demarée, *th ikr* Stelae, pl. XII, A49.

817 *sntr= f* as a perfective *sdm= f*, "it censes," and *pd.n= f* as a perfect *sdm.n= f*, "it has censed."
indicates that the King is addressing Hathor. However, he offers the incense not only to her, but also to her "ancestors." The rest of his speech, which employs plural pronouns, addresses the group as a whole, as in this example:

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in=tn sHtp r sHtp ib=tn
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"I bring you (pl.) incense in order to pacify/satisfy your (pl.) heart." (D III, 72,17)

This statement is particularly effective, because the antanaclasis plays on two meanings of the word sHtp: "incense" and "pacify." In addition, by using the sign of the arm-shaped censer as the ideogram for each word, the text directly connects to the relief scene, where the king holds the identical ritual implement. The ideogram thus calls attention to censer used in the offering; by representing both words, it sets up an equivalency between "incense" and "satisfy," emphasizing that by means of the offering, the gods are pleased.

The incense offering scene and its symmetrical partner on the west wall together contain an extraordinary number of word plays: six in the present scene, eight in its counterpart. It is not, however, surprising. Incense, along with the food and drink offerings of the other scene, are typically offered to the dead; the King's Atef crown and the mention of "ancestors," also suggest the ritual's mortuary character. This type of linguistic emphasis has a long history in such offerings, going back to the Pyramid Texts.818 The tradition may have arisen because the magical effectiveness of words spoken is so important in this context. The King's words and gestures in this scene emphasize his role as Horus, who embraces his deceased father Osiris and performs magic like that of Thoth, pronouncing the powerful utterances over the body of the dead god. Activated by the King's performative speech, the offering of incense would revivify the body, restoring its lost moisture through the powers inherent in the "living" incense, whose grains were the "crystallized exudations from a divine body."819

Another clue to Hathor's role in this scene lies in her unusual headdress, consisting of a falcon wearing the horns and disk. It recalls the ba-bird encountered earlier, which alights as a female falcon upon her cult image in the sanctuary.820 The depiction of a person's ba in the form of a bird, descending from heaven to join its mummy, is a frequent theme in New Kingdom funerary art,821 as shown in the painting below from the New Kingdom tomb of Irynefer at Deir el-Medina (Fig. 5.61). It visually conveys the idea of the soul's mobility between the seen and unseen worlds—an ability also possessed, of course, by the goddess.

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818 PT 200 (§116a-d): *ind hr=k snTr ind hr=k sn-nTr...pd* tw m rn=k pd, "Hail to you, incense! Hail to you, brother of the god...cense yourself in your name of incense." The incense offering at Dendera also bears similarities to the Ritual of Amun, possibly dating to the 22nd Dynasty. See Moret, Culte, VII, 9 – VIII.5.
819 Blackman, Incense and Libations, 73-79.
820 In D III, 61.6-7, described at the beginning of the section, "Hidden of Image."
821 Depiction of the ba in the 19th Dynasty tomb of Nefertari in the Valley of the Queens, in McDonald, Tomb of Nefertari, 58-59; 19th Dynasty tomb of Inherkha, TT 359, in Valbelle, Artistes, 162-163; the scribe Ani and his wife Tutu as ba-spirits in his Book of the Dead, Thebes (19th Dynasty), British Museum, EA 10470/7, in Taylor, Death and Afterlife, fig. 8.
In the context of the King's incense offering, these observations agree with the idea, suggested by Kurth,\(^{823}\) that Hathor's falcon headdress designates her as a deceased primeval goddess, thus placing her into dual roles: a deceased primordial goddess who was "first to come into being"; the dutiful daughter maintaining the cult for "her ancestors," similar to Horus who maintained the funerary cult for his father, Osiris.\(^ {824}\) The first role is familiar from the previous discussion of Hathor as the creator of land, water, and light. The second role derives from her identification as the daughter of various primordial creator gods, such as Irta,\(^ {825}\) Nun,\(^ {826}\) Atum,\(^ {827}\) and Atum's daytime counterpart, Ra.

At Dendera and Edfu, various terms can denote the deceased divine ancestors, who are often characterized as serpents, alluding to their existence in the watery Nun. Some of the designations indicate their position in the line of creation, such as \(\text{tpy.w}^\text{c}\), whose literal meaning is "first one of the ancestors," as well as "first (daughter) of the ancestors. This ambiguity was probably deliberate, showing that Hathor can function in both roles simultaneously.\(^ {825}\)

Preys, Complexes, 533-534, notes that these two roles are reflected in the ambiguity inherent in Hathor's epithet, \(tp.t\ n(t)\ tpy.w^c\) (D III, 9,2), which can be translated as "first one of the ancestors," as well as "first (daughter) of the ancestors. This ambiguity was probably deliberate, showing that Hathor can function in both roles simultaneously.\(^ {825}\)

\(^{822}\) Located on vaulted ceiling in Irynefer's tomb, TT 290. PM I/1, p. 373 (12). Illustration by Caris Reid, after a photo of this scene kindly contributed by Kasia Szpakowska. The painting shows two images of the ba: one standing before a disk; the other flying towards the "shadow" of the deceased in a shrine.

\(^{823}\) Kurth, Pepi I, 18-19, who analyzes Hathor's depictions with the falcon headdress in Crypt South 1, Chamber E, North Wall (D V, 158,7 – 160,8; pl. 443), Chamber U on the east side of the Outer Vestibule (D VII, 136,14-137,9, pl. 649), as well as the present scene in the 3rd register, East Wall, of the Per-wer. He also notes the seven forms of Mehet-weret, resting in the necropolis of the gods in the form of a falcon at Esna (Esna V, 351). See also D V, pl. 445 and 448, for the feather garb of divinities; Spiegelberg, Falkenbezeichnung, 27-34.

\(^{824}\) Preys, Complexes, 533-534, notes that these two roles are reflected in the ambiguity inherent in Hathor's epithet, \(tp.t\ n(t)\ tpy.w^c\) (D III, 9,2), which can be translated as "first one of the ancestors," as well as "first (daughter) of the ancestors. This ambiguity was probably deliberate, showing that Hathor can function in both roles simultaneously.\(^ {825}\)

\(^{825}\) \(s.t\ t\ n(t)\), "Daughter of Iryta" (D III, 63,3).

\(^{826}\) \(s.t\ Nwn\), "Daughter of Nun" (D III, 63,3).

\(^{827}\) \(tln.t\ s.t\ Tm\), "Temet, Daughter of Atum" (D III, 100,15); \(s.t=Tr.t=R\), "his daughter, the Eye of Ra" (D VI, 96,9). Hathor's many connections with Atum and the Heliopolitan tradition goes back to at least the Ramesside Period, when the name \(Tm.n\) (Heliopolis) was sometimes replaced with \(Tm.t\) (Dendera) in Theban epithets of the god's name. From the Third Intermediate Period onward, Dendera became known as the "Southern Heliopolis"; texts at Dendera, especially in the Per-wer, refer to Dendera as \(\text{tln.t}\), "Land of Atum." See Myśliwiec, Atum, 123-124. Hathor also connects to Atum through her role as Hathor-Tefnut, in the Myth of the Wandering Goddess, because Shu (air) and Tefnut (moisture) were Atum's first emanations.
meaning is "those who were before," or dr.ty.w, "those at the limit," referring to the "limit," or "end," of time. Other terms emphasize their powers, like shm.w, "(divine) powers" and k3.w, "(divine) kas," or b3.w ɲh.w ("living bas"). In the last example, the snake determinative reflects their primeval, serpentine form; "living" indicates that even though they have completed their lifespans, they continue to live forever. Finally, they can be characterized as the emanations of either Ra or Atum as their creator, being called ms.w R5, "children of Ra," or ms.w ìtm, "children of Atum." Texts at Dendera list the names of the "dead gods" of both Dendera and Edfu. Because the crypts at Dendera represent the Duat, as well as functioning as archives for festival calendars, they contain many references to deceased gods, as well as to the rituals carried out for them throughout the festival year. For example, on the north wall of Chamber F in Crypt East 1, the text describes them as

\[ b3.w ɲh.w m T3-n-ítm dr.ty.w ntry.w m T3-rr hpr ds=sn m ɲh.w (i)pn nfrw w ɲ nb m dsr s.t \]

"The living bas in the Land of Atum (=Dendera), the divine forefathers in Tarer (=Dendera), who created themselves as these good ɲh-snakes, each one in the sacred place" (D V, 33,7-8).

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828 Wb V, 283.12; PL 1139-1140: tpy.w-" stresses the connection with sp tpy, "the First Time," of creation.
829 D III, 60.6; Wb V, 598.6-9; Meeks, An Lex 78,4947; Gundlach, Vorfahren, 1067-1069; Waitkus, Krypten, 186, n. 10, defines dr.ty.w as "ancestors, primeval gods," like tpy.w-", noting that the adjective wr.w used in their description can refer to time, i.e. their extreme age. Wilson, PL 1245, notes fifteen gods at Edfu designated as dr.ty.w, "the ancestors in the mansion of the bik-falcon" (E I, 562,10).
830 D III, 89.3. Often qualified with the adjective, ñps ("noble"), as in shm.w ñps.w, "noble (divine) powers" (D III, 84,13).
831 D III, 72,16. Often appearing in the epithet, k3.w nb.w k3w, "(divine) kas, lords of provisions" (D III, 84,13); also qualified as k3.w ɲh.w, "living kas" (D III, 60,2), esp. in the epithet of the King: ères k3.w ɲh.w ìtm, who is "at the head of the living kas forever" (D III, 60,2), which refers to "his kingship on earth, under the auspices of the ancestor kas" (PL 1074).
832 In Crypt East 1, Chamber F: b3.w ɲh.w m T3-n-ítm dr.ty.w ntry.w m T3-rr, hpr ds=sn m ɲh.w ipnw nfrw w ɲ nb m dsr s.t. "The living bas in the Land of Atum (=Dendera), the divine ancestors in Tarer, who came into being as good serpents, each one in the sacred place" (D V, 33,7-8). See also Chassinat, Khoiak I, 288-290; Goyon, Dieux-gardiens I, 468; 488; Waitkus, Krypten, 67, n.33.
833 Klotz, Kneph. 254-255.
834 D V,16,12. See also E V, 175,10-11; E VIII, 160,10.
835 D II, 47,3.
836 At Dendera, there are ten dead gods, listed on the exterior lintel of Passage E'-H' (D XI, 107,20 – 108,5): k3(?)-ɲh-n-Bhd.t (human-headed); Hr.w (falcon-headed); Wr.w (human-headed); šps.w (falcon-headed); Hnt-h3-di (human-headed); Dw.t (bull-headed); ñps.w hnt (human-headed); Dw.t št3 (jackal-headed); Hb (crocodile-headed); N dém-ɲh (crocodile-headed). At Edfu, there are nine dead gods, listed on the exterior lintel of Passage C'-H' (D IX, 241) and on the exterior lintel of Chamber E' (D XI, 58,14 – 59,8). See Cauville, Fêtes d'Hathor, 31. 
837 For 𓊖, Waitkus, Krypten, 66, n. 24, omits the p-stool and reads m, translating it as the preposition, "in": m ɲh-n=ìtm nfrw, "als ɲh-Schlanze in Vollkommenheit"; Cauville, Dend Trad V-VI, pp. 116-117, reads ipnw, translating it as a plural demonstrative pronoun, "ces": m ɲh-ìtm nfrw, "sous (la forme de) ces beaux serpents," Allen, Middle Egyptian, 5.10, notes the older m. pl. demonstrative pronoun: 𓊖 𓊖 ipnw, "these, those," which appears after the noun and is used mostly in religious texts. Reading 𓊖 as ipnw, after Cauville, requires switching the position of the two signs. This spelling does not appear under the demonstrative pronouns listed in Kurth, EP II, §§70-73.
The idea that a funerary cult was necessary for the primeval gods owes a great deal to the Greco-Roman theology at Thebes, with which both Dendera and Edfu were closely connected. According to the Theban tradition, after the first emanations of the primeval serpent Kematef expended their energy in creating the world, they died and were buried at the primeval mound of Djeme, located under the small temple of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III at Medinet Habu. In order to renew their creative energy, Amun of Luxor (Amenemopet), taking on the identity of Horus, son of Isis, journeyed there every ten days to bring them a variety of funerary offerings, including water, food, and incense. These offerings rejuvenated and renewed their kas, allowing them to continue their creative work from within the Nun, located under the primordial mound where they were buried. At the same time, the offerings not only renewed Amun-Ra's divine kingship (and thus the kingly ka held by the reigning monarch), but also activated Amenemopet's own cyclical regeneration. Known as the Decade Festival and thus carried out once every Egyptian week, this ritual formed the basis for similar offerings given to the deceased ancestor gods at Dendera and Edfu, where it was integrated into other festivals celebrated throughout the year.

At Dendera, rituals for the ancestor gods took place primarily in the divine necropolis of Khadi, "Khadi," situated at present-day Naga el-Guzariya across the Nile from...
Dendera. Both Horus and Harsomtus carry the title, *nb ḫḏi*, "Lord of Khadi," suggesting their participation in its funerary cult. Harsomtus, in particular, presents offerings to the deceased ancestor gods during three annual festivals, as well as during Dendera's Decade Festival. The text in the bandeau of the frieze in Chamber G of Crypt East 1, begins by describing him as

\[mḥn \, \text{wr} \, m \, p.t \, m \, mskt.t \, nb \, snḏ.t \, m \, s.t=f <m> \, m\text{̄nd}.t \, nb-(r)-dr \, m \, ḫtnw \, ḫn \, d.t=f \, m \, ṭnn \, \text{it} \, nṯr.w\]

"The great serpent in the sky in the day barque, the lord of fear in his place" <in> the night barque, Lord to the Limit in Heliopolis, *raised up* of body as *Tjenen*, Father of the Gods."

(D V, 44,10-12)

These epithets equate Harsomtus with the gods of the Heliopolitan pantheon: Ra (in his day barque) and Atum (in his night barque). The text also identifies him with the Memphite creator god *Tjenen*, with a pun on the god's name (*ṭn ḫ.t=f m ṭnn*), "whose body is raised up", evoking the image of the god rising up from the Nun as the primeval mound. The epithet, "Father of the Gods," belongs to Geb, personification of the earth. These epithets thus assimilate Harsomtus to two forms of the sun god and two earth-based creator gods. In addition, his designation as *mḥn \, \text{wr}*, "great serpent," alludes to his primordial status as the snake who came forth from a lotus at Creation. These characterizations reflect an amalgamation of Heliopolitan and Memphite traditions, probably passed on to Dendera via the Greco-Roman Theban synthesis. The continuation of the text in Crypt East 1 then makes a specific reference to the Decade Festival at Dendera:

\[tp \, hrw \, md \, wḥ-h.t \, n \, s.t=f \, Wsir \, sšm \, pr.t-hrw \, n \, b3.w \, ʾnh.w \, m \, ḥtp.w \, m \, k3.w \, ḫr \, dḥ3.w\]

"On the first day of the Decade: Placing offerings for his son, Osiris. Distributing the funerary offering for the living bas with offerings of food and provisions."

(D V, 44,12-13)

Thus, Harsomtus maintains the funerary cult of Osiris as well as that of the deceased primeval gods.

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845 D V, 43,1; in the Per-wer, both Horus (D III, 98,1) and Harsomtus (D III, 75,1; 79,12; 85,1; 88,4) are *nb ḫḏi*.
846 10 Thoth (I Akhet 10): "Procession of Harsomtus, the Great God, Lord of Khadi, going to the house of reception in order to pour [water] for the dead (gods) who are in Khadi" (D IX, 164,2-5); 30 Paophi (II Akhet 30): "Procession of Harsomtus, Lord of Khadi toward the house of reception, pouring water for the gods who are in Khadi" (D IX, 163,2-4); New Moon of Pachons: "Going out to Khadi, procession of the noble god, Harsomtus, the Great God, Lord of Khadi" (D IX, 203,5-8). Also a reference to "Decade"-type offerings: "Harsomtus…great of honor among the Ennead, with living brightness on the horizon on the first of the decade, when he gives an offering for his son Osiris and presents the funerary offering for the living bas consisting of food and provisions, which are offered for their names as ḡḏįt-Eye, with earth-hacking and fire on their altars" (D V, 55,10-15). See also Cauville, Fêtes d'Hathor, 7-10. Waitkus (Besuchsfesten, 156, n. 11) suggests that rituals for the deceased ancestor gods may have also taken place at the *ḥḏįt*-building at Dendera, as an "Ersatzritus" for the ritual at Khadi.
847 Cauville, Dend Trad V-VI, p. 131, translates s.t here as "nécropole."
848 *Wbn-m-nḥb \, m \, b3 ʾnh, " He who emerges from the lotus" as a living ba" (D V, 141,1-2); *b3 ʾnh \, m \, nḥb, "the living ba in the lotus" (D V, 144,10). The lotus from which he comes can also be characterized as *ir.t-R", the Eye of Ra": (D V, 37,3; 86,13; 92,3; VI, 122,1: 122,10). See also Morenz and Schubert, Gott auf Blume; Ryhiner, Lotus; Quaegebeur, Somtus l'Enfant, 113-121.
Returning to the symmetrical scene in the 3rd register of the west wall of the Per- wer (Fig. 5.62), the epithets of Harsomtus now hold more meaning:

\[ K3 \ nb \ k3.w \ rd\ h.t \ n \ s\m.w \ ss\m \ \'n\b \ w \ \'n\h.w \]

The Ka, \textit{Lord of Provisions} who gives offerings to the (divine) powers, who distributes life to the living. (D III, 85,2)

Word and sign plays abound in this expression, which begins with the appearance of both types simultaneously. There is a polyptoton on the root \textit{k3}, \textit{life-power}, or \textit{vital dynastic force}; it also means the power to produce and supply food and protection. In the present context, it designates the primordial manifestation of Harsomtus. Appearing first as the substantive, \textit{k3}, and then in its plural form, \textit{k3.w}, "provisions," its repetition emphasizes the turn in meaning between "primordial power" and "provisions," which is even more striking because \textit{k3.w} itself can also be characterized as "food for the ka." In addition, there is visual repetition, with the \textit{k3}-sign repeated twice in two visual puns: the first with god's ka embracing his serpentine form as a primeval deity; the second, with the \textit{k3}-arms "holding" a bread loaf. The expression ends with another polyptoton, this time on the root \textit{\'n\h}, "to live," appearing first as the substantive, \textit{\'n\h}, "life," and then as the masculine plural perfective active participle used as a noun of agent, \textit{\'n\h.w}, meaning "living ones," or simply, "the living." The aural emphasis in the expressions with polyptotons creates an intertwining between \textit{k3/k3w} and \textit{\'n\h/\'n\h.w}, highlighting the fact that Harsomtus, with his connections to the earth-god creators, has command over the products of the earth, and thus the ability to distribute food. This nourishment, in turn, gives "life to the living." Furthermore, these "living" are not just humans

\begin{itemize}
\item Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 161, translates (D169) \textit{k3}, as "le bon génie."
\item Kaplony, Ka, 275; Assmann, Search for God, 110.
\item Bedier, Geb, 173-174, and n. 7. See Schweitzer, Wesen des Ka, 46-48, for the ka as a nourishing power.
\item The expression, \textit{n k3=k}, "for your ka," can introduce funerary offerings as well food for the living. See Hornung, Idea into Image, 175-178.
\end{itemize}
and animals on earth, but also the \textit{k3.w \textit{nh.w}}, "the living kas" who are the primeval ancestor gods. The aural and visual plays with their multiple layers of meaning thus communicate all of these theological concepts, as well as presenting Harsomtus in dual roles, like Hathor: as the primordial creator as well as the descendent who provisions the cult of his divine ancestors.

Whereas Harsomtus attends to their offerings throughout the year, Hathor seems to participate in such rituals only during the two most important events of her festival year: the Return of the Wandering Goddess, celebrated at Dendera during the month of Tybi; the Festival of the Beautiful Reunion in the month of Epiphi, when she travels to Edfu to visit her consort Horus. During the festival in Tybi, after making the ceremonial navigations in her barque on the sacred lake, Hathor proceeds with her "divine court" to the hypostyle hall, followed by a libation carried out by Harsomtus "for those who are in Khadi." During her visit to Edfu, she participates more directly in the ancestor rituals, as the text in the bandeau of the frieze in East Crypt 1, Chamber C, indicates:

\begin{verbatim}
sSm=s pr.t-hrw n Wsir m s.t=f
ntr.w Ǧ3.w ms.w R R k\textit{h}=s n k\textit{t}=s(n) m k3.w hr df3.w
"She distributes the funerary offerings to Osiris in his place. The great gods, the children of Ra—she extends (her arm) to their kas with food and provisions." (D V, 16,11-13)
\end{verbatim}

In the text, her gesture of \textit{k\textit{h}-dr.t}, "extending the arm," for the food offerings indicates that Hathor is the officiant of the ritual. The statement also shows that recipients include Osiris, as well as the primeval gods. For more specific information about Hathor's role in this ritual, we turn again to the texts at Edfu. In the bandeau of the frieze on the outer east side of Edfu's enclosure wall, the text states that

\begin{verbatim}
spr=s r Bhd.t hr ms.w R R nhs=sn hr s.t=sn n ii[=s] hy Ǧ3 wr r-hn=s mit.t r sf 3w=sn
\end{verbatim}

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854 However, Waitkus, Fahrt nach Edfu, 105-111, and Egberts, Praxis und System, 18-19, suggest that Hathor made another annual voyage to Edfu during a festival celebrated from 18 – 24 Paophi, citing E VII, 27,1-2. Egberts interprets the text as follows: after arriving at Edfu, she would first circle around the great temple. Then, she would proceed to the Mammisi, where she would stay seven days with Horus, Harsomtus, and the Horus Harpoon. At the end of the festival, she visited the necropolis at Edfu, giving an offering to the \textit{ms.w R'} (children of Ra), the deceased primeval gods. Egberts translates "der sehr grosse Erhabene," which accompanied her, as the Horus Harpoon.

855 III Shomu, New Moon.

856 Alliot, Culte II, 443-560; E V, 230 – 236,4; Favard-Meeks, Behbeit, 422-423.

857 See Richter, Wandering Goddess, 174-175.

858 The associate gods of Dendera. See \textit{n. 794} above.

859 D IX, 202,4-9; Cauville, Fêtes d'Hathor, 9.

860 PL 1049; E III, 75,13, pl. 57. It is similar to the \textit{nis-offering} gesture that summons the recipient of funerary offerings: Wb II, 204,1-19; Blackman, Consecration of Egyptian Temple, 81 n. 2. Wilson, PL 491, translates \textit{nis dbh-ntr.w}, as "calling out the menu of the offering," a ritual in the daily service that takes place before the \textit{htp-di-nsw.t} offering. See also Cauville, Osiris, 157 n. 1. There does not seem to be significant difference in the depiction of the \textit{nis-} and \textit{k\textit{h}-}gestures. The King performs a similar gesture in his offering of the \textit{htp-di-nsw.t} in the symmetrical scene in the 3rd register of the west wall of the Per-wer.
She (=Hathor) arrives at Behedet862 (=Edfu) in the presence of the children of Ra and they awaken in their places at her coming. The very lofty one863 (=Horus of Edfu) is with her864 also, in order to present funerary offerings865 (E VII, 27,3-4).

The imagery of the ancestor gods "awakening," as Hathor arrives with their offerings, reinforces the idea of their rejuvenation, an important result of the maintenance of their funerary cult.866

During the festival in Epiphi, a particular form of Hathor travels to Edfu, as attested on the west wall of Crypt East 1, Chamber A, where the statue of this manifestation867 was also preserved:

\[
H.t-hr \text{nbt} \text{lwn.t} t \beta \text{ mln.t} \text{lR.t-Rt} \text{ hry.(t)-ib Bhd.t hnt r Msn tpr tr=ns n rnp.t 3bd 3 smw }<hrw> \\
\text{in.tw=sn Nbw, k3 mh 1.}
\]

"Hathor, Lady of Iunet, the Menit, the Eye of Ra who resides in Behedet, who sails to Mesen yearly the third month of summer (at the time of) the festival, 'She is Brought Back.' Gold, height 1 cubit" (D V, 5, 17-18).

Although this form of Hathor is not identical with \(\beta \text{ mln.t} \text{lR.t-Rt} \text{ m T3-rr, }"\text{the Menit, Eye of Ra in Tarer,}"868 who does not travel to Edfu, the designation, \(\beta \text{ mln.t,}\) nevertheless has significance. Besides the strong association with protection, as we saw earlier,869 the ritual instrument also has

862 Kurth, Reise der Hathor, 214-215, argues that "Behedet" specifically refers to the necropolis of deceased gods at Edfu, located in the southwestern part of the Temple of Edfu's sacred precinct. He also sees the visit to this necropolis, and the subsequent rejuvenation of the primeval gods (and of Horus, Hathor, the King, nature, and all of Egypt), as the primary purpose of the festival in the month of Epiphi, ruling out the idea of a "Heilige Hochzeit" between Horus and Hathor. On the other hand, Altenmüller, Fahrt der Hathor, 760; 764-765, accepts the idea of the "Heilige Hochzeit" of Hathor and Horus following the necropolis visit, seeing it as a ritual of rebirth equivalent to the high point of the Mysteries of Osiris in Khôiaik, when Osiris is reborn as Horus. Kurth's suggestion that rejuvenation is the main theme of the festival at Edfu in Epiphi does not preclude the idea of a \(\tau\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\varsigma \gamma\upsilon\omicron\nu\varsigma\) and a reunion of Hathor and Horus (who is also equated with the sun god, thus adding the allusion of the Distant Goddess reuniting with her father). Polyvalent Egyptian thinking would allow the intertwining of all three themes within the festival. Furthermore, the celebration in Dendera's mammisi of the birth of Ihy (equated with the King, the Living Horus) by Isis in the month of Pharmuthi, exactly nine months after Hathor's visit to Edfu (E VII, 27,3-4). It may designate the hy \(\beta \text{ wr} \) may designate the Horus Harpoon.

863 Fb III, 112,1-4: \(r-hn^3\) \(x\), "with her"; following Kurth, E VII, p. 48 (E VII, 27,4).

864 Waitkus, Krpyten, 186 n. 1, and Egberts, Praxis und System, 18-19, suggest that the hy \(\beta \text{ wr} \) may designate the Horus Harpoon.

865 Klotz, Kneph, 229-230, attests similar textual imagery at the Temple of Montu at Tod: the living bas "come alive from beholding him" (Tôd I, 89,5); a description of the Ogdoud on the arrival of Amun of Luxor: "the Inert-ones comes alive from beholding their father. See Clère, Porte, pl. 64 (= Urk VIII, 87b).

866 Waitkus, Krpyten, 186 n. 1, and Egberts, Praxis und System, 18-19, suggest that the hy \(\beta \text{ wr} \) may designate the Horus Harpoon.

867 D I, 51,12; 71,1-2; VI, 60,8-9; VI, 171,1-2; E I, 572,1-2, cited in Cauville, Panthéon d'Edfou, 10. The principal form of Hathor in the Temple of the Menit (Chassinat's Chamber L). See Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 134 n. 134.

868 In the menit offering scene discussed in Section 5.1.2, in which Hathor the Menit protects "her brother" Osiris.
revivifying power." Barguet suggests that the counterpoise represents the stylized female body of Hathor; the lotus often appearing on the disk may symbolize female genitals, with allusions to both birth and rebirth. The theologians at Dendera thus wisely chose this form of Hathor to visit Edfu, because the revivification of the deceased primordial gods there plays such an important role in the festival of Epiphi. This form of Hathor also agrees well with the corresponding form of Amenemopet, a creator god associated with the fertility god Min, who visits the deceased gods at Medinet Habu during the Decade Festival. The funerary offerings, combined with the revivifying power of Hathor as the Menit, thus restore the vital energy of the deceased primeval gods in their burial places at Behedet, allowing them to continue their creative work from within the Duat.

The question remains as to why Hathor carries out the ancestor rituals at Edfu, whereas Harsomtus carries them out at Dendera. As an androgynous creator, Kematef contained both genders, ensuring "generation and regeneration by its capacity to impregnate, conceive, and give birth to itself." The primordial emanations of Irta (=Harsomtus) and Mut (=Hathor), representing the male and female principles, are thus essential for cosmic renewal. I would suggest that Harsomtus and Hathor carry out complementary roles in maintaining the funerary rituals for the deceased ancestor gods. At Dendera, Harsomtus (identified with Ra) is the male complement to Hathor's primeval female form buried in Khadi; at Edfu, Hathor is the female complement to the male primeval form of Harsomtus buried at Behedet. It is probably not by chance that the symbol of Hathor the Menit represents female generative power, whereas the cult image of Horus of Behedet is an ithyphallic falcon. Furthermore, Horus of Edfu is equated with Kematef himself. The male-female complementarity thus has a generative function, not only in creating the heir equated with the living King, but also in the maintenance of the ancestor cult; it reflects both the generational cycle and the androgynous source from which it originates. The renewal of the primeval forms of both genders therefore allows the restoration and regeneration of the perpetual dynamic of the cosmos.

870 Bonnet, RÄRG, 450-451. An image of a menit with the counterpoise of a scarab appears in TT 359 at Deir el-Medina, in Cherpiion and Coreggiani, Inherkhâouy I, 95-97; II, 49, pl. 76. The accompanying text states that the deceased has the power to take on every form that he desires, the image visually representing the transformative power of the menit. Whereas the image pertains to BoD 30B, the title belongs to BoD 76, thus showing the free use of texts and images from the BoD prior to its codification in the 26th Dynasty.

871 Barguet, Contrepoids, 104-105, cited in Leclant, Contrepoids, 271, and Pinch, Votive Offerings, 279. The lotus also alludes to the primeval lotus containing the Divine Child.

872 Whereas other gods routinely hold the ankh to the nose to impart life, Hathor holds out the menit, as she does to the deceased king in the well-known scene from the tomb of Seti I (KV 17), in Robins, Art, p. 168, fig. 197. See also Staehelin, Menit, 52-53.

873 Otto, Amun, 239-240. However, Amun of Luxor's cult image is not ithyphallic. See Brunner, Götter, 644.

874 O'Connor, City and World, 147.

875 Depicted in the 3rd register, north and south walls of the Throne of Ra (Chassinat's Chamber N): D IV, 20, 3-6 and pl. 250; 30, 15-17, and pl. 260. The principal form of Horus in this chapel is the gmhs, the ithyphallic falcon. The joining at the Festival of the Beautiful Reunion of these two sexualized forms of Hathor and Horus of Edfu generates the son equated with the living King.

876 E VIII, 59,3-5: iw=n nsw.t bi.ty (Ptol. XII) hr=k hr Bhd.ty nfr t3 nb p.t (59,4) ini=f n=<k> [[h.t]] <nfr(t)> nb(t) <k3w> špsw hr ms n kU=k r'-nb <ntk Km-3.r=f> iri mn (59,5) r ñw hpr pr(t) nb(t) ln=k, "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Ptolemy XII] has come to you, Horus Behdety, Great God, Lord of Heaven. He brings <you> all good things, food, and delicacies, offering to your Ka daily, for you are Kematef, who created everything and every seed came out of you."

877 Troy, Queenship, 9.
Textual indications at Dendera and Edfu, together with Hathor's iconography, thus confirm the dual roles for both Hathor and Harsomtus: deceased primeval deities; children who maintain the mortuary cults of their divine forefathers, as well as that of Osiris. This duality allows Hathor and Harsomtus to have a presence in the Duat as well as on earth. Harsomtus carries out the rituals for the ancestor gods at Dendera, whereas Hathor fulfills this function at Edfu. The maintenance of the funerary cult of the divine ancestors also figures into the King's legitimacy, which we will explore further in the following section on the King as Intermediary.

This brings us back to the text at the beginning of this section, which stated that Hathor's d.t, or body, must be hidden from the "ancestors." I believe that the reason is connected with her role as the female sun, and can be explained by a comparison with Ra's nightly journey through the Netherworld. During the 5th Hour of the Amduat, the sun god must undergo an important transformation in the secret cave of Sokar, lying deep in the earth beneath a "primeval mound" vaguely resembling a pyramid. There, in the dark, hidden space, the ba of Ra joins with the secret d.t of Osiris, the fusion taking place by means of the pre-creation energy in the cave. By uniting with his "body" and becoming the dbâ-dmâḏ, the "united one," Ra is renewed and transformed, able to rise again, reborn, at dawn. The body of Osiris, however, remains protected and hidden in the Duat, ready to unite again the next night with Ra in a perpetual transformative process that allows the sun to rise again each dawn. Similarly, Hathor's secret d.t must remain hidden and protected in the Southern Niche, whose architectural arrangement high in the wall likens it to a hidden crypt as well as the primeval mound of creation. By joining her divine ba with her secret d.t, the same transformative process can take place, aided by the pre-creation energy she possesses as a primeval deity (renewed by the cult of the ancestor gods). As a result, Hathor is renewed and rejuvenated, rising again at dawn in the horizon and continuing her creative acts that make possible life on earth. As the Creator, Hathor's secret body must thus be kept secluded from her progeny, as well as from anyone not authorized to approach it, for a violation of its sanctity would endanger creation and thus life itself. The texts in the Southern Niche confirm that the ancestor gods are in the Per-wer, but not in the Southern Niche, where her body is hidden. The cryptographic text at the base of the Southern Niche states, pr-wr n Nbw.t dd.t ī hr šhm.w wr.w mi ẖ.t hr īn, "The Per-wer is for the Golden One, being enduring, containing the great divine powers (=ancestor gods), like the horizon containing the Aten" (D III 93,6). However, as we saw, the bandeau on the east wall of the Southern Niche states that ṣḥ.t ṣḥḏ.t irw ṣḥn(t) ḫprwr ṣḥw ṣṭpy.w-ḏ, "Primordial Goddess, secret one of secret representation, hidden one (f.) of form from the ancestors" (D III, 92,5-6). These texts suggest that the ancestor gods are present in the Per-wer (perhaps in the Nun, in the base of the south wall), but not above in the Southern Niche, where Hathor's secret body is concealed from them.

878 Favard-Meeks, Behbet, 424, observes that Osiris at Edfu does not seem to be associated with the cult of the ancestor gods during their rites of censing and libation.
879 Favard-Meeks, Behbeit, 422.
880 In 5.3.3.
5.2.7 Summary

The multiplicity of Hathor's characterizations as a primordial goddess at Dendera seems to be a local reflection on the Ptolemaic Theban synthesis of the three major cosmogonies from Heliopolis, Memphis, and Hermopolis. This unified theory at Thebes focused on the god Amun, equating him with various primeval forms: Atum, the son of Atum, a member of the Ogdoad, the creator of the Ogdoad, and as the Ogdoad's own solar child. At Dendera, Hathor has similar primeval forms, making her the female counterpart of the great god Amun at Thebes: Temet (the female Atum); the daughter of Atum; a member of the Ogdoad (as Amaunet); and as the Ogdoad's solar child, Rayt or Atenet (the female counterpart of Ra). Hathor, together with Harsomtus, can also be equated with the first emanations of the Kematef: Hathor as the fiery female uraeus, and Harsomtus as the earth snake, the equivalent of Irt. After Kematef returns to the Nun, the two primeval serpents, functioning as demiurges, then carry out the work of creating the world.

The cult of the deceased gods at Dendera is reminiscent of the Decade Festival celebrated for the primordial gods at Thebes. Dendera's own divine necropolis at Khadi, located "in the west" (the traditional place of burials) across the river from Hathor's temple, is similar to the primordial burial mound at Djeme, on the west bank across from Thebes. The purpose of both cults is to activate the renewal of the cosmic energy needed for creation to continue. At Thebes, it renews Amun of Luxor so that he can continue creation; at Dendera, it renews Hathor in all of her primordial manifestations, allowing her to continue creating all of the necessities of life: land, water, and light.

The funerary cult for the divine ancestors also serves as a model for that of the royal ancestors, in which the King honors his divine lineage as the Living Horus, the legitimate heir going back to Atum, the original Creator. The king thus possesses the divine authority to act as the intermediary between the human and divine worlds. On a daily basis, he (or his priestly

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881 Klotz (Kneph, 64-314, esp. 311-314) discusses how the major cosmogonies were adapted to fit the local Theban pantheon.
882 In the interior door framing of the 1st Chamber East (Chassinat's Chamber D), Hathor is ir.t R\(^{7}\) hnw.t ti.wy Itm.t s.t.t Itm, "Eye of Ra, Mistress of the Two Lands, Temet, daughter of Atum" (D II, 70,13).
883 Besides D II, 70,13 (noted above), Hathor is also "daughter of Atum" in D III, 101,15, in the h.t-w\(^{6}\)b (Chassinat's Chamber K). Interestingly, Hathor's relationship to Atum is explicitly expressed in the Per-wer only in the Southern Niche, by the epithets, hwn.t mnh.t n.t Itm, "excellent young girl of Atum" (D III, 92,6) and "Living Eye of Atum" (D III, 95,3).
884 East wall of Crypt West 3: ir H.t-hr nt.t m s.t tn nb.t Twn.t Tfn.t s.t.t R\(^{7}\) Itm.n.t pw, "As for Hathor who is in this place, Lady of Iunet, Tefnut, Daughter of Ra, she is Amaunet" (D VI, 156,3-4). Klotz, Kneph, 90, sees Amaunet as the "primeval mother par excellence," due to her epithet mw.t mw.wt lw.t.t snw=s, "mother of mothers without her peer" (Clère, Porte, pl. 48; also in Urk VIII, 100b). At Dendera, Hathor carries similar epithets: Nbw.t m mw.wt mw.wt, "The Golden One (f.) as the Mother of Mothers" (D V, 155,4); mw.t mw.wt hry.t-ib Npr.t, "mother of mothers, who resides at Netjeret (=Dendera)" (D VI, 152,9). In addition, Amaunet's role at Thebes as the cow who births Ra, which invokes the Ogdoad mythology, also fits in with Hathor's roles. Kockelmann, Toponymen, 103, notes that Isis, as an aspect of Hathor at Dendera, can also be identified with Amaunet. See Jan Bergman, "Isis," LÄ III, 186-203, esp. 197; Münster, Isis, 80-93.
885 As discussed in the section on Hathor as Ruler of Heaven and Earth, in the analysis of the adoration scene of the Ogdoad on the outer entrance of the Per-wer.
886 In the Mansion of the Sistrum (Chassinat's Chamber L), Hathor is ln.t sn.w.(f) n.(f) Itm, "the Female Aten, the equal (lit. "second") of the Aten" (D III, 132,3), showing her equality with the sun god.
stand-in) comes into the presence of the divine incarnation of the goddess, his ritual actions and effective, magical speech putting into motion the complex machinery of cosmic renewal.

5.2.8 Distribution of Scenes Relating to Theme of Hathor as Primordial Creator and Solar Goddess

Including the outer entrance, 77% (37) of the 48 scenes with figural representations in the Per- wer have textual references concerning Hathor's role as Primeval Creator and Solar Goddess. This is the highest percentage of the three themes in the Per- wer, attesting to the importance of this theme in the sanctuary. On the outer entrance, these themes are the focus of the two symmetrical adoration scenes high on the wall (thus emphasizing Hathor’s celestial nature), and in the texts on either side of the door. Within the Per- wer, the themes of Hathor as Creator and solar goddess appears in every register, although it is particularly evident in the 3rd register, the celestial realm of the gods. Within the Southern Niche, these themes appear in almost all of the ritual scenes of the 2nd register, thus overlapping with the textual references to the myth, which also appears in these scenes. This overlap occurs naturally, because the purpose of the myth is the return of the solar (and lunar) goddess. Among all 80 text groups, which include texts without accompanying scenes, references to Hathor as Primeval Creator and Solar Goddess occur as follows: outer entrance, 10; Per- wer proper, 18; Southern Niche, 9, for a total of 37, or 46%. There is additional overlap with the other two main themes of the Per- wer, which are discussed in 5.1 and 5.3.

887 Not including the frieze and the base of the Southern Niche.
Scenes Relating to Theme of Hathor as Primordial Creator and Solar Goddess

Fig. 5.63. Outer Entrance after D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

Fig. 5.64. Scenes in Per-wer, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

Fig. 6.65. Scenes in Southern Niche, after D III, pls. 201-202, © IFAO
5.3 King as Intermediary

The divine kingship—the central underlying principle of the social, political, and economic structures of Egypt—endured for more than three millennia. Ordained by the gods, it also became woven into the fabric of the ancient cosmogonies. Since the 4th Dynasty of the Old Kingdom, the king carried the epithet, "son of Ra," thus inheriting the office of the sun god, which the Ogdoad proclaimed at the birth of the solar child; the king could also trace his genealogy back to the creator god Atum, as the earthly incarnation of the falcon god Horus and thus the son of Osiris. As the "living Horus," the mortal king carried within him the kingly ka, a divine element making him more than human but not quite a god. Thus, he was ideally suited to be an intermediary between the human and divine worlds.

In order for the gods to continue to dwell on earth and take an interest in human affairs, the king needed to fulfill certain duties, considered essential for carrying out his royal office. The text of a sun hymn inscribed in Theban Tomb 33 best describes these expectations:

Ra has placed the King  
upon the land of the living  
forever and ever,  
judging mankind,  
satisfying the gods,  
realizing Ma'at and destroying Isfet.  
He (=the King) gives offerings to the gods  
and funerary offerings to the deceased.

Furthermore, when interacting with the deities, it was important for the king to make full use of the sacred power of the word. Performative, magically effective speech is the hallmark of the deities, especially of creator gods like Ra, Thoth, and Ptah, who used it to bring the world into existence. In performing the ritual acts of festivals, funerary offerings, and the daily temple rite, the king accompanies his actions with this powerful "language of the gods." By means of the

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888 Bell, Divine Temple, 137-138. The Egyptian kingship lasted from the 4th millennium BCE into the Roman Era. Baines, Kingship, 6, notes that even though the Roman emperors were absentee rulers, the office of kingship itself did not dissolve, but was eventually overtaken by events in the Roman Empire.

889 Noted in the previous section on Hathor as Ruler of Heaven and Earth. The mythology of the Ogdoad creating the sun first appears in the NK, in BoD 17 (=Urk V, 6,17); the sun god appearing in a lotus rising from the Nun appears in Urk VIII, 90c; 149b. See also Sethe, Amun, §96.

890 In the Heliopolitan cosmogony, Atum first creates Shu (air) and Tefnut (moisture), who mate and produce Geb (earth) and Nut (sky). Nut then gives birth to five children: Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys. Each living king is the incarnation of Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris. See Assmann, Search for God, 121. A striking visual image showing how the king fulfills his earthly role under the protection of Horus is the 4th Dynasty diorite statue of Khafre from Giza, now in the Cairo Museum, in which the Horus falcon embraces the back of the king's head with his wings.

891 Texts distinguish the king as nfr, "the good god," in contrast to a divinity of the divine pantheons, known as nfr ♂, "the great god." Examples in the Per-cher: king as nfr nfr (D III, 64,7; 65,9; 66,12; 67,12; 76,8; 77,4; 78,6; 79,6); gods as nfr ♂ include Ihy (D III, 51,12; 89,5; 89,7), Harsomtus (D III, 56,3; 75,1; 98,1); Ra-Horakhty (D III, 51,13); Horus and the winged disk (D III, 51,5; 52,3; 53,1; 57,3; 63,1; 68,4; 73,3; 80,8; 81,9; 83,3; 86,12; 86,13; 88,11; 94,7; 95,5).

892 Assmann, Sonnenhymnen, Nr. 37, p. 49 (TT 33 of Padiamenopet), line 33: r ḫnḫ ḫnfr d.t, "for an endless time and an unchanging duration."

893 Assmann, Hymnen und Gebete, Nr. 11, p. 98-99; Assmann, Sonnenhymnen, p. 48-49 (TT 33 of Padiamenopet). See also Betrò, Testi solari, 1990.
aural and visual plays in his words, his effective utterances connect the two spheres: the seen world, in which he carries out his actions; the unseen world of the Divine, where his actions are duplicated. These multi-layered expressions not only describe his actions in mythical terms, but also transfigure them, making the Divine approachable and allowing interaction between the two planes of existence.

The King's multi-layered speech is especially appropriate in funerary offerings, whose ritual utterances have a long history of such use, as noted earlier. By exploiting the ambiguity between similar-sounding words and repeating verbal roots in various forms, the King pronounces words of extraordinary power, giving his offerings the ability to renew and transfigure the dead. By rejuvenating the kas and bodies of the royal and divine ancestors, he also ensures that their primordial energy will continue to flow. In return for his actions, his offerings, and his speech, the gods guarantee his own rejuvenation, as well as a stable reign and a good inundation.

The following section examines the texts, reliefs, and architecture of the Per-mer, showing how their content and linguistic devices work together to affirm the king's legitimacy, display his effective speech, and maintain the cults of the ancestors.

5.3.1 Affirmation of Legitimacy

Texts affirming the king's legitimacy appear at architectural points of transition within the temple, such as the lintels or sides of doorways through which the king would pass in order to carry out rituals within a cult chamber. The scribes exploited the natural symmetry between the two sides framing a door or niche, creating complementary scenes that sometimes play on the geographical opposites of the Two Lands.

In the outer entrance of the Per-mer, the inner columns of text framing the sides of the door contain symmetrical phrasing attesting the King's legitimacy and assuring his rule (Fig. 5.66). After describing the fine workmanship of the Per-mer, made of "beautiful white limestone, shining with gold, decorated with color" (D III, 46,10), the text in the east inner column states Hathor's reaction to the King's accomplishment:

She has seen this beautiful monument that the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (bearing) the Double Crown." (D III, 47,2-3)

Pleased with the fine construction of her temple, Hathor accepts it as a gift of the "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," thus implicitly acknowledging his legitimacy. In return, she gives him "the years of Atum" (i.e. an infinity of years) as ruler of Egypt—a reference to the extreme longevity of the Creator of the Heliopolitan Cosmogony.

894 Assmann, Search for God, 88-89.
895 I.e. "bearing" the double crown on his head.
The symmetrical text in the west inner column contains a similar description of the fine materials used in the Per-wer's construction, noting "the beautiful limestone of Tura," and "the doors in real cedar of the best wood of Lebanon." Hathor's response is similarly positive:

\[
m3\lambda=s\ k3.t\ mnh.t\ ir\ n=s\ s\ s\ R^c\ (\ )|\!di=s\ n=f\ nswy.t\ n.t\ \hat{\text{Shw}}\ […]4\ squares\ …\]
\[
"\text{She sees the excellent work that the son of Ra made for her. She gives him the years of Atum under the Double Crown." (D III, 47,2-3)\]

The "kingship of Shu" refers to the rule of Egypt by the heir of the sun god, his eldest son. As we saw earlier, the Ogdoad had established Ra as the King of Egypt shortly after his birth from the lotus rising out of the Nun. This statement thus connects the rule of the living king to a line of divine rulers going back to the Creator. Although ending with a lacuna, the text's parallelism with the symmetrical text on the east side suggests that it would also have ended with hr, "under," or "possessing," plus a synonym for the double crown.

Expressions of the king's legitimacy also continue in places of transition inside the Per-wer, such as the two symmetrical scenes in the 1st register of the North Wall, on either side of the doorway (Fig. 5.67). The tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nekhbet and Wadjet, respectively, welcome the king to the Per-wer. Marking the festive occasion, the king appears in elaborate ceremonial dress, with fine pleating on his kilt and overdress, a pectoral around his neck, and a seshed band tied around his double crown.
Made from a long, folded strip of linen and tied around the forehead or a crown, the tying of the seshed band was one of the steps in the coronation ritual, having associations with divine sight. Its connection with rebirth and regeneration suggest that the images of the king wearing it on the east and west sides of the North Wall may also allude to the east-west course of the sun, its rebirth at sunrise being equated with Creation.

Continuing the usual distribution of Hathor on the east and Isis on the west, behind Nekhbet stands Hathor; and behind Wadjet, Isis. Because Hathor and Isis both wear the same horns-and-disk headdresses, only the texts distinguish between them. The pairing of the

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896 Goyon, Confirmation, p. 55 (I, line 15): "Faire approcher le diadème-ššd: J'ai incrusté pour toi tes yeux, je n'en ai pas spoilé ton visage!"; p. 87-88 n. 34-35 and fig. 3. It was also worn by the king on the occasion of his Sed Festival and during the New Year's Festival. See also Moret, Rituel, 189 n. 1, and Alliot, Chasse au filet, 68 n. 3.
897 Pecoil and Maher-Taha, Seshed, 79.
goddesses is appropriate, because Hathor's main temple at Dendera is in the south, whereas Isis raised her son Horus in the marshes of the Delta, in the north. Each tutelary goddess presents the king with a scepter representative of her own geographic area, consisting of its heraldic plant upon which an uraeus sits, wearing its respective crown: a white-crowned uraeus on the sw.t-plant of Upper Egypt; a red-crowned uraeus on the papyrus of Lower Egypt. Together, the two scepters form the w3d.ty (I60), the Two Uraeii, symbolizing the Two Lands united. The uraeii recall the myth in which Horus, having been victorious over his rival Seth for the kingship, reunites the two halves of Egypt and receives the two uraei: the cobra-headed Nekhbet and the vulture-headed Wadjet. By transmitting the w3d.ty to his heir, the god Horus thus establishes the living king as the ruler of the Two Lands.

Interestingly, the king's epithet on the west door jamb of the Per-wer's entrance is

\[
\text{wr w3d.ty}
\]

"Great One of Uraeii" (D III, 55.2), thus forming a textual connection between the door jamb and the two scenes on the north wall. This epithet refers to another episode in the myth, in which Horus places himself between the two cobras for protection, causing his enemies to fall down from fear. Ra-Horakhety describes Horus as wr w3d.ty...r mn pn, "Great One of Uraeii...down to this day" (E VI, 128,10-12).

For additional connotations carried by the two uraei, we turn to a text in the 1st Chamber East, in an offering of the w3d.ty to Harsomtus by the king. In the title of the scene, the ideograms for w3d.ty, are the identical uraeus-scepters presented to the king on the North Wall of the Per-wer. The text describes him as

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hr nd ntr.ty} & \text{ hr m3wy mr.ty} & \text{ hr shtp h3.t=f m wr.ty} \\
\text{sw m1 hr nb hq.t n.t mdh tp=f m wr.ty-hk3w}
\end{align*}
\]

"protecting the Eyes, renewing the Eyes, decorating his forehead with the Uraeii, for he is like Horus, Lord of the White and the Red Crowns, who girds his head with the Two Uraeii" (D II, 79.9-10).

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898 The w3d.ty are often represented as two snake-headed cobras, as in the hieroglyphs above, or as cobras wearing their respective crowns (I60), as in the scepters presented to the King. However, as the nb.ty, "Two Ladies," which forms part of the King's five-fold titulary, they appear as the vulture and the cobra perched on two nb-baskets.

899 The name of the chamber is w5r.t-hpr-h3.t, "The Leg Created from the Corpse" (Chassinat's Chamber D).

900 Harsomtus is often the recipient of the w3d.ty offering, due to the meaning of his name as "Horus who Unites the Two Lands." See PL 208.

901 WinGlyph M118 and M119.

902 Lit., "making peaceable his forehead." Wb IV, 221.10 – 222.20.

903 mdh, "to tie a band around the head," "encircle," "gird": Wb II, 190.2-5; PL 483-484, who notes Faulkner's suggestion that mdh has the more ritualistic sense of "investing with insignia." See CDME, 124; de Buck, Reading Book, p. 112, line 4; Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature II, 81-86; Great Hymn to Osiris, Stela of Amenmose, Louvre C 286.
An extraordinary variety of terms designate the Eyes and Uraeii in this text, as shown in the table below (Fig. 5.68):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signs</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Verbal Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Signs" /></td>
<td>( w\ddot{d}.ty^{904} )</td>
<td>Two Uraeii</td>
<td>( w\ddot{d}, ) &quot;be green&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Signs" /></td>
<td>( ntr.ty^{905} )</td>
<td>Two (divine) Eyes</td>
<td>( ntr, ) &quot;be divine&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Signs" /></td>
<td>( mr.ty^{906} )</td>
<td>Two Eyes</td>
<td>( mrt, ) &quot;throat&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Signs" /></td>
<td>( wr.ty^{907} )</td>
<td>Two Eyes (lit. &quot;Two Great Ones&quot;)</td>
<td>( wr, ) &quot;be great&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Signs" /></td>
<td>( wr.ty-\text{hk}3w^{908} )</td>
<td>Two Uraeii (lit. &quot;Great of Magic&quot; Goddesses)</td>
<td>( wr, ) &quot;be great&quot;; ( \text{hk}3, ) &quot;magic&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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These terms, designating the two uraeii, the king's double crown, and the two divine Eyes, are interchangeable. Furthermore, each term carries allusions that impart additional meaning to the offering of the \( w\ddot{d}.ty \) in the symmetrical scenes on the north wall of the Per-wer. The dual substantive, \( w\ddot{d}.ty \), derives from the root, \( w\ddot{d} \) "to be green, fresh"; it connects not only with the papyrus (\( w\ddot{d} \)) and the verdant green of the Delta, but also with the name of that area's goddess, \( W\ddot{d}.t, \) "Wadjet." The \( ntr.ty \) are the "Eyes of Horus that illuminate the earth" (E I 284,10), the root, \( ntr \), emphasizing the divinity of the sacred Eyes. The \( mr.ty \)-Eyes (whose singular form can also denote the Eye of Tefnut and thus the Wandering Goddess) connect with the Meret-goddesses, as attested by the use of Meret's image for the phonogram, \( mr \). The close homophones of \( Mr.t, \) "singer," \( mr.t, \) "throat," and \( M\ddot{b}c.t, \) "Ma'at," with their intertwining of connotations,\(^{909}\) allow \( mr.ty \) to allude to the restoration of cosmic order by means of the fiery uraeii, who strike down the king's enemies. The name of the uraeii, called \( wr.ty \), derive from the root, \( wr, \) "be great," thus emphasizing their power to protect the king. With the addition of \( \text{hk}3.w \) ("magic") to the epithet, it becomes the \( wr.ty-\text{hk}3w, \) "Great of Magic Goddesses," showing that

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\(^{904}\) \( w\ddot{d}.ty, \) lit., "the two of the \( w\ddot{d}\)-plant," Wb I, 269,1-4, MK; PL 208-209.

\(^{905}\) \( ntr.ty, \) Wb II, 366,1-6, PT; PL 560-561.

\(^{906}\) \( mr.ty, \) Wb II, 107,10-15, BoD; GR; PL 444.

\(^{907}\) \( wr.ty, \) lit., "the two great ones (f.)," Wb I, 332,1-2, PT; PL 246.

\(^{908}\) \( wr.t-\text{hk}3w, \) Wb I, 328, 7-9; PL 241-242.

\(^{909}\) As we saw in the lintel scenes on the north wall of the Per-wer, in Section 5.1.2, where the music of the Meret-goddesses calms the heart of the Distant Goddess.
their magical utterances have great effectiveness and power. In the dual, the epithet refers to Nekhbet and Wadjet; in the singular, it can belong to Isis, Seshat, and Hathor at Dendera. Interestingly, Pap. Salt 825 contains an invocation to four uraei, \(^9\) each facing a cardinal direction: two are called *ntr.ty*; two are *wı́d.ty*. Their purpose is to protect the king in all directions. Derchain compares them to Hathor's Four Faces, an epithet reflecting her ability to look to the four directions of the earth, conveyed architecturally by her four-faced columns at Dendera. \(^9\) The intertwining of so many allusions thus makes the goddesses' offering of the two uraei to the king profoundly significant, conjuring ideas of divinity, cosmic order, magical efficacy, and protection.

Returning to the symmetrical scenes on the North Wall of the Per-wer (Fig. 5.67), we see a visual pun in the king's jewelry (Fig. 5.69). A close inspection of the image shows that in both scenes he wears a pectoral consisting of a temple pylon \(\overline{\text{S100A}}\) accompanied by two pendant uraei. The amulet's name, *wıl* (derived from the root *wıl*, "be whole, healthy"), indicates its function of bringing well-being and protection to the wearer. By hanging around the king's neck, the two uraei visibly protect his body. Their placement on either side of the sign of the pylon, a type of watchtower, emphasizes their protection of the temple and palace, as well. The pectoral thus visually conveys the idea of *wıl wı́d.ty*, "the protection of the Two Uraeii," which is also a polyptoton on *wıl/wı́d* (by metathesis), emphasizing the well-being that the uraeii provide for the king.

![Fig. 5.69. King's Pectoral Forms a Visual Pun; after D III, pl. 180, © IFAO](image)

Homonyms of the two roots provide additional allusions. The *wıl.t* can also designate another Divine Eye, the whole Eye of Horus, as well as the Eye of Ra who went away as the Distant Goddess. On the other hand, *wı́d*, which can also mean "offspring," appears in the King's epithet, *wı́d n Wı́d.t*, "offspring of Wadjet." \(^9\) Itself a polyptoton on the root *wı́d*, the expression highlights this protective aspect while connecting the King with the goddess of Lower Egypt who presents him with one of the *wı́d.ty*. The King's pectoral thus visually represents the offering of the Two Uraeii and its associated protection, given to him in the two symmetrical scenes.

The offering of the two uraei by the goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, aided by multiple meanings in the scene's iconography, thus confirms the King's legitimacy, his rule over

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\(^9\) Derchain, Pap. Salt 825, 84-86, cited incorrectly in PL 561. See also E I, 312,13-15. The four uraeii also protect the solar barque in all directions.

\(^9\) Derchain, Hathor Quadrifrons, passim.

\(^9\) In D III, 23,2, in the *h.t-sm*, "Temple of the Sistrum," the SE Rear Chamber (Chassinat's Chamber I). The king also carries the epithet, *wı́d n Sı́m.t*, "offspring of Sekhmet," as we saw in the lintel of the Per-wer's outer entrance (D III, 51,14), in Section 5.1.2.
the Two Lands, and his right to wear the double crown. Allusions to Eye Goddesses and Divine Eyes emphasize the protective powers of the uraeii, who can extend their fiery power and effective magic in all directions, protecting the King and restoring Ma'at.

Imagining the transparency of the walls, we can see a connection of these themes with another point of transition: the lintel of North Wall inside the Southern Niche, located behind the niche's entrance (Fig. 5.70).

Fig. 5.70. Theme of the King's Legitimacy, after D III, pls. 180; 201, © IFAO
In these two symmetrical scenes (Fig. 5.71), the king, wearing the blue crown, offers the double crown to the child god Ihy, the son of Hathor and a solar god who is equated with Ra and the living king. On receiving the offering, Ihy reciprocates by giving him the land of Egypt and the crown (i.e. its rule). As befits the topic, the texts in both scenes contain an extraordinary number of words related to crowns or kingship. For words having alternate spellings, the scribe made a deliberate choice to employ signs depicting royal regalia: \( \text{dmd} \), "unite," written with ram's horns (a component of composite crowns), instead of \( \text{S23} \); the 2\textsuperscript{nd} singular masculine suffix pronoun, \( \text{k} \), written with the king's bag wig: \( \text{S56} \) instead of \( \text{V31} \). For geographical areas, the scribe also chose spellings with crowns: \( \text{Sm} \), "Upper

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913 For example, words for crowns include \( \text{shm.ty} \), "double crown" (D III, 88,18; 89,8; 89,9; 89,12); \( \text{Sm}=\text{s} \), "southern crown" (D III, 89,1; 89,13); \( \text{mh.t} \), "northern crown" (D III,89,1; 89,13); \( \text{nfr.t} \), "white crown" (D III, 89,14); \( \text{hd.t} \), "white crown" (D III, 89,2); \( \text{t.n} \), "red crown" (D III, 89,2; 89,14); \( \text{hp.t} \), "crown" (D III, 89,9); \( \text{wrr.t} \), "Upper Egyptian crown" (D III, 90,8).

914 Writings of these words with signs depicting royal regalia are frequently used elsewhere at Dendera in similar contexts of crowns and royalty.

915 D III, 89,2.

916 D III, 182,2; D X, 248,7.

917 D III, 88,18; 89,2; 89,5.

918 D III, 63,18.
Egypt," with (S50) instead of (M159) or (M140B); mhₜw, "Lower Egypt," with (S50) instead of (M15) or (M139B), thus employing compound signs that emphasize the king's rule over each area.

Beginning with the scene on the east side of the lintel (Fig. 5.71), we see several linguistic techniques of emphasis having a similar focus on kingship. As the King offers the double crown to Ihy in the east scene of the lintel, he says,

\[ \text{tp.t } \text{tn.ti } m \text{ tp=k } \text{hd.t } n(.t) \text{ dmd } m \text{ hn=k nswy.t=k nswy.t } n(.t) \text{ R} \]

"the uraeus is distinguished on your head, the white crown and red crown are united on your head. your kingship is the kingship of Ra" (D III, 89,1-2).

The first example is a polyptoton on the preposition, tp, meaning "upon," or "atop." It appears first as a feminine singular nisbe used as the substantive, tp.t, "uraeus," lit., "she who is upon," referring to the uraeus goddess who is upon the king's brow. It then appears as the masculine singular substantive, tp, "head." The alliteration, combined with the turn in meaning from "uraeus" to "head," emphasizes the position of the uraeus on the king's head, marking him as ruler. The second example is the repetition of nswy.t, "kingship." By repeating it twice, an equivalency is set up between "your kingship" and "the kingship of Ra," thus emphasizing that Ihy is the heir to the Ra, whose kingship was first established by the Ogdoad, as we saw earlier.

In an expression filled with visual puns, Ihy greets the King,

\[ \text{ii.ti } m \text{ Htp nsw.t Sma ity bi.ty mHw} \]

"Welcome in peace, King of the South, Sovereign and King of the North" (D III, 89,8-9).

Each sign in the highlighted words pertains to kingship. The sw.t, the heraldic plant of Upper Egypt, serves as a phonetic complement to the seated king wearing the white crown, the ideogram for nsw.t, "King (of Upper Egypt)." It is followed by the white crown atop the city-sign, as the compound ideogram writing šmᶜ, "South." The sign of a man wearing the double-feather crown atop a pair of ram's horns and holding a staff of office writes ity, "Sovereign." Next comes the bee, the heraldic symbol of Lower Egypt, serving as the ideogram for bi.ty, "King (of Lower Egypt)," followed by the red crown atop the city-sign, for mhₜw, "North." The expression is a bit redundant, because it could also be interpreted as "King of Upper Egypt and the South, Sovereign and King of Lower Egypt and the North." However, the combination of human figures, heraldic emblems, and crowns forms a pleasing visual tableau, showing the geographical range of the king's rule.

919 D III, 89,9.
920 D I, 91,2.
921 D II, 33,8.
922 D III, 89,9.
923 D X, 287,3.
924 D II, 33,8.
Ihy ends his speech by stating his reciprocal gift to the king,

\[
di = i\ n= k\ t\ p n\ hr\ nfr. w= s
\]

"I give you this land, possessing its\textsuperscript{925} good things" (D III, 89.9).

This expression plays on two meanings of the word \(nfr.w\). In the present writing, it can mean "good things" or "beauties." However, \(nfr.w\) is also a homonym for "crowns,"\textsuperscript{926} written with the determinative of the white crown: (D III, 22.9), thus forming a true pun. By possessing the crowns (i.e. the rulership) of the land, the King naturally gains possession of all of its "good things." The double meaning held by the word \(nfr\) thus emphasizes that Ihy's reciprocal offering to the king includes both the rule and the bounty of Egypt.

An allusion to filling the Divine Eye appears in the Royal Randzeile, where the King says to Ihy,

\[
in = i\ n= k\ h p. t\ \check{pr}. t\ m\ irw= f
\]

"I bring to you the crown, equipped with its components" (D III, 89.5).

In the scene on the lintel, the King is referring to his offering of the double crown, probably indicating that it possesses the components of both Upper and Lower Egypt. However, the phrase, \(\check{pr}. t\ m\ irw= f\), more commonly refers to the "equipping" of the Udjat Eye with all of its parts. This expression refers to the episode in the Contendings of Horus and Seth during which Seth wounds (or even gouges out) the Eye of Horus; Thoth heals the Eye and restores it to Horus. One of the methods ascribed to Thoth was the "filling" of the Eye, so that it was whole, intact, and again in possession of all of its parts. Texts in the Per-wer state that Thoth \(\check{pr}\ 'n h. t\ n\ nb= s\), "equips the Eye for its owner."\textsuperscript{927} The Eye thereby became the \(w dj. t\), the "whole, healthy" Eye, with none of its parts missing.

Interestingly, the scene in which this text appears, on the east lintel of the Niche's north wall, lies adjacent to an udjat offering in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} register of the east wall (Fig. 5.72).

\textsuperscript{925}Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 167, notes that the feminine suffix pronoun, \(=\text{s}\), is an error, because it refers to the m. s. substantive, \(t\), "land." (Perhaps the scribe was thinking of \(Km. t\), the feminine substantive for "Egypt"?)

\textsuperscript{926}Wb II, 262.5: \(\check{\text{nfr}}\), "crown of Upper Egypt"; Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 167, translates the phrase in D III, 89.9, as "ses (sic) belles couronnes." Note that it can also appear with the feminine ending: \(nfr. t\) (Wb II, 262.6; D III, 89.14).

\textsuperscript{927}D III, 65.9, in the scene of "releasing the bolt," in the daily temple ritual, 1\textsuperscript{st} register, east wall, 2\textsuperscript{nd} scene. Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, 117, suggests that the myths surrounding the wounding of the Eye and its restoration, in which Thoth plays an important role, arise because the moon(-eye) continually changes its shape, unlike the sun, which is constant.
Although not employing the exact phrase ("pr.ti m irw=s, "equipped with its parts"), it does emphasize the wholeness of the Udjat with similar phraseology:

\[ m-n= t \text{ wd3.t wd3.ti m irw=s } \]

"Take for yourself the udjat-eye, healthy in its form" (D III, 94,14-15),

\[ ... tni.ti m iry.w=s n(n) wn dbhw m-rw.ty=s \]

"... distinguished in its parts,\(^{928}\) there are no requirements absent from it"\(^{929}\) (D III, 94,15-16).

The polyptoton on the root \(wd3\) emphasizes the well-being of the Udjat-Eye, as we saw earlier.\(^{930}\) Several terms in the statement refer to the "form" or "parts" of the Eye: \(irw\) ("form" or "parts"); \(iry.w\) (lit. "those pertaining to it"), and \(dbhw\) ("requirements"). These elements are "healthy," "distinguished," and, with none "absent," respectively.

The subtle thematic connection between the two scenes suggests that there may be a link between the offering of the double crown and the offering of the udjat. Both offerings reestablish

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\(^{928}\) Lit., "those pertaining to it." See Allen, Middle Egyptian, 8.6.

\(^{929}\) Lit., "at its gate," i.e. outside of it.

\(^{930}\) Section 2.2.
order and return Ma'at: the first on a terrestrial level; the second on a cosmic level. In order to have order in the Two Lands, the legitimate king must be on the throne, ruling in justice and upholding Ma'at; Ihy's reciprocal gift to the king actualizes this legitimacy. In order to have order in the cosmos, the Eye must be returned to its rightful place on the brow of the sun god. Shu, Tefnut's brother, brings her home from her wanderings; his offering of the Udjat to Hathor establishes that the Eye has been returned to its proper place. Therefore, both offerings cause the reestablishment of order: the king on his rightful throne, and the Eye on the brow of the sun god.

Statements and images thus affirm the king's legitimacy at architectural points of transition. On the outer entrance to the Per-wer, Hathor defines his position in a long line of divine rulers stretching back to the Creator at the beginning of time. On the north wall of the Per-wer, through whose doorway the King passes to enter the sanctuary, Wadjet and Nekhbet offer him the Two Uraeii, symbolizing his rule over the Two Lands and alluding to the sacred Eyes of Horus, the restoration of Ma'at, and divine power. Even elements of his regalia give him confirmation of his rule, as well as divine sight and protection. Finally, on the north wall of the Southern Niche, the point of transition between the Per-wer proper and Hathor's sacred residence, Ihy's reciprocal offering of the double crown, equipped with all of its elements and thus alluding to the whole Eye of Horus, confirms the king's legitimacy and thus reestablishes cosmic order because the rightful ruler is on the throne.
5.3.2 Effectiveness of Speech

Besides being the legitimate heir to the throne of Egypt, recognized by the gods and the people as the Living Horus, the King must also possess effective speech in order to approach the gods. His authoritative utterances with their performative power are important in temple ritual, especially in adoration scenes, which set up his initial contact with the divinity. We begin again on the outer entrance of the Per-wer with the adoration of Hathor by the Ogdoad, a scene which introduces so many of the sanctuary's relevant themes (Fig. 5.73). Being symmetrical, the expressions in one scene complement those in the other.

For example, in the scene on the east side, the King is

\[ s\hat{n}b\ s\hat{s}\ n\hat{b}i\ n\ \text{ }^9m-t\hat{3}.wy \]

"Son of the Lord of Writing (=Thoth), whom He Who Knows the Two Lands\textsuperscript{931} (=Thoth) created"

(D III, 49.3-4).

\textsuperscript{931} Klotz, Kneph, 305, translates \textsuperscript{9}m-t\hat{3}.wy as "Earth-Knower."
The first epithet, *nb ss*, "Lord of Writing," designates the King as the son of the inventor of the sacred script, thus alluding to the command of ritual texts and their proper performance. The second, *nbi n m-t³.wy*, "created by He Who Knows the Two Lands," refers to Thoth's extensive knowledge and wisdom, which the King inherits as his son. The writing of this phrase entirely with ideograms foregrounds it visually, aided by the repetition of the three tall signs with similar shapes,  

The papyrus and the lotus,  

respectively; the seated ibis-headed man,  

is, of course, Thoth. However, the first sign,  

consisting of the head and neck of a long-necked animal,\(^{932}\) is the most interesting. It represents the verb *m*, "eat," or "swallow"; the derivation of the sign follows the Ptolemaic convention of substituting cause (throat) for effect (eat, swallow). Figuratively, "to swallow" something means "to know" it,\(^{933}\) a concept at work in magical rituals whereby words written on papyrus and dissolved in water become part of oneself when drunk.\(^{934}\) In addition, there is a connection to Ma'at, a concept inextricably associated with Thoth, who carries the epithet *nb M³.t*, "Lord of Ma'at." Just as one can "swallow" knowledge, one can also "swallow" Ma'at. Hatshepsut, in her well-known inscription from Speos Artemidos, states \(t=i\ pw s'm=i\ m\ thn=s\), "It (=Ma'at) is my bread, I swallow its brightness."\(^{935}\) Therefore, the king's epithet, *nbi n m-t³.wy*, alludes not only to his extensive knowledge of his kingdom, but also to Ma'at, a quality that must fill him and govern all of his actions.

Similar allusions occur in the king's epithets on the west column of the entrance, where he is  

"Heir of the Baboon (=Thoth), engendered by the Judge (=Thoth)" (D III, 50,7-8).

A frequent manifestation of Thoth, statues of the god as a baboon became popular objects of veneration by scribes.\(^{936}\) Besides the alliteration of *n* in *iw n čn³n*, "Heir of the Baboon," which  

highlights it aurally, *čn³n* holds an additional layer of meaning. Its homonym,  

again written with the long-necked animal, but with the added flesh determinative, also

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\(^{932}\) WinGlyph F11A, similar to Gardiner Sign List F11.

\(^{933}\) Fairman, Alphabetic Signs, 101.

\(^{934}\) The same concept is at work in the Late Period practice of pouring water over a Horus cippus, a stela depicting the child god standing on crocodiles and inscribed with healing magical texts. The patient would drink the water in the hope of a cure. See Ritner, Mechanics, 31-32 n. 144, for the standard text of such stelae. Ritner, op. cit., 103-110, esp. 102-103, observes that there was no distinction made between the "physical" swallowing of food for nourishment, the "medical" swallowing of prescriptions, and the "magical" swallowing of water imbued with the properties of the dissolved ink. See also Pinch, Magic, 70.

\(^{935}\) Urk IV, 385.1.

\(^{936}\) For example, an 18th Dynasty steatite statue of a scribe writing at the feet of the god Thoth in the form of a baboon wearing a lunar disk on his head, from Amarna, now in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 59291, depicted in Wilkinson, Gods and Goddesses, 217. A similar statuette group from the time of Amenhotep III shows the scribe Nebmerutef writing at the feet of Thoth in the form of a baboon, in the Louvre in Paris, no. E 11154, in Kozloff and Bryan, Dazzling Sun, 247.
means "throat." Like other words for "swallow" or "throat," it can metaphorically mean the throat by which one eats or swallows Ma'at, similar associations exist with mr.t, as we saw earlier in the lintel scenes on the North Wall of the Per-wer. As in the example in the symmetrical column on the outer entrance, the subtle reference to Ma'at in both of Thoth's epithets suggests that this essential quality is also inherent in his "son," the king.

The epithet, wpw, "Judge," derives from Thoth's role in the Contendings of Horus and Seth, in which he acts as supreme adjudicator between the two combatants. Sometimes written with the determinative of a seated baboon, wpw can also be translated as "messenger," agreeing well with Thoth's epithet as "Herald of Ra in Heaven." As the son of a divine judge, the king's actions and judgments would similarly be held to the highest standard.

The four epithets distributed between the texts of the two symmetrical adoration scenes thus provide a wealth of details about Thoth, his mythological associations, and the qualities deemed necessary for the king. While associating the god with writing, knowledge, and judgment, they also show that the concept of Ma'at—truth, justice, order, and impartiality—always lies behind his actions. As the god's son and heir, the king would possess these qualities as well.

The speeches of the Ogdoad emphasize their effective speech in addressing the goddess, with complementary phrasing: Kek praises Hathor with "the beautiful spells of her heart" on the east side (D III, 50,1); Naunet, with the "beautiful spells that she loves" on the west (D III, 48,14). On the east side, where Hathor is equated with Seshat the Great, Lady of Writing, she welcomes the King as

\[
\text{hk3 si hk3 nws.t mnh bnr dd.t}
\]

"Ruler, son of the ruler, excellent king, sweet one of speech." (D III, 49,10).

The repetition of hk3 highlights the king's legitimacy by affirming his lineage; bnr dd.t, "sweet one of speech," recalls the Hathor's own epithet, bnr mrw.t, "sweet one of love." In addition to describing the King's eloquence, it suggests that the goddess would appreciate douceur in his utterances. On the west side, she welcomes him with another series of epithets:

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937 Wb I, 191,14.
938 In a Ma'at offering in the Temple of Sokar chamber at Dendera (Chassinat's chamber F), Ma'at is equated with ₅n₅ <m>₅ rd₅, "the throat that turns back thirst" (D II, 146,11).
939 E VIII, 123,3-4: ḫwyty _wf ₅ nb <Hmrwt> * wp <rh.ṛw> hnt P-Msn sib-ḥtyty <₅> * ḫn ṣnw ṣhp ntr.w m r³-wy=f; "Thoth, the Twice Great, Lord of Hermopolis, who separates the two combatants in Pe-Mesen (=Edfu), the Vizier (lit., "He who belongs to the curtain": Martin-Pardey, Wesir, 1227-1235), who accepts no gifts (i.e. bribes), who pleases the gods with his deeds," thus showing Thoth's incorruptible nature. See also Kurth, E VIII, p. 221; Otto, Gott und Mensch, 122. Thoth appears in groups of divine judges (e.g. E VIII, 122, 6 – 123,14). See Kurth, Thoth, 506. See also Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, 145; PL 225; Wb I, 302,7-8 (wp); Wb III, 421,7 – 422,2 and PL 789 (sib-ḥtyty); PL 329 (ḥmn); Wb IV, 509,10-11 and PL 1020 (ḥmn ṣnw); 572; Wb II, 395,13-18 and PL 572 (ṛ₅-wy).
940 Boylan, Thoth, 183; Junker, Auszug, 66.
941 Kees, Mondsagen, 1-15. See also Hornung, BoD, 347, 95f (Spell 169, line 96).
Each phrase holds a wealth of meaning and allusions. The title, w²b-Ihy, refers to a wab ("purification") priest of Ihy;⁹⁴² the King frequently holds this epithet in adoration scenes. Although primarily a musician, depicted shaking the sistrum and menit before his mother Hathor, Ihy as a child god also has connections to primordial beginnings. He is linked with the Nun and thereby purification,⁹⁴³ which is especially appropriate for a wab-priest in his service. Additionally, he is identified with the primeval god Heh ("infinity"),⁹⁴⁴ thus linking him with the Ogdoad in the present scene. Even more interesting is the fact that he can appear in the place of Hu ("utterance") next to Sia ("perception"),⁹⁴⁵ which the Creator used to "speak" the world into existence. The epithet, w²b-Ihy, is thus particularly appropriate for the king to carry in adoration scenes, and particularly in the present one, with its strong emphasis on effective, performative speech.⁹⁴⁶

As we saw in the chapter on Word Play, the root ⁹⁴⁷ ḫh, written with the crested ibis, means "be bright, shining" or "be effective"; the texts play on the alternate meanings. Ritner⁹⁴⁷ observes that ḫh is a fundamental property of spoken magic, translating ḫh r³ not only as "effective of spells," but also as "magical of spells," emphasizing their creative power. At Dendera, Heka, the god of magic, bestows this quality to Hathor in her form as Seshat, the Goddess of Writing (with whom she is equated in the present scene).⁹⁴⁸ Being ḫh r³ is thus a desired quality in the performance of ritual. Not only would the King's words please the goddess, but by their very effectiveness and performative power, they would bring into being his ritual actions.

The third epithet of the King, spd dhl.s.w, "clever one of utterances," is also a clever example of scribal technique, containing both a visual play and multiple layers of meaning. The root spd, "be sharp," can also figuratively mean "be alert," or "be clever." The King is thus spd ḫr, "sharp of face" in battle,⁹⁴⁹ where alertness is crucial. The word dhl.s.w, "utterances," or "spoken words," derives from one of the seven manifestations of the primordial cow, Mehet-weret, representing the seven creative words (dhl.s.w) that brought the world into existence.⁹⁵⁰
The *dḥs.w* are closely associated with Thoth; as Ritner shows in a text from Esna, they contain not only creative but also protective power. As Ritner shows in a text from Esna, the contain not only creative but also protective power. The word *spd*, meaning "sharp" is always spelled with the thorn-sign. However, *dḥs.w*, which often appears with the thorn-sign, can also be spelled without it. Therefore, the scribe probably made a deliberate choice to write both words with the thorn sign, thus creating visual alliteration. By so doing, he alludes to the "cleverness" inherent in the *dḥs.w*, allowing to statement to mean "clever one of (clever) utterances." The epithet of the King thus alludes to several essential qualities: cleverness, creativity, and protectiveness—all of which would imbue his ritual utterances with performative power. It is also probably not by chance that in this scene, Hathor's reciprocal gift to the King is to protect his body "every day" (D III, 50,15).

In the last epithet, *mnḥ tpy.w-rḥ*, "excellent of utterances," the second element literally means, "(what is) on the mouth," thus emphasizing that the ritual words are to be spoken aloud. As we have seen, the aural quality of the liturgy, in both funerary and temple texts, led to the use of linguistic figures of repetition, like alliteration, antanaclasis, and polyptotons, as well as true puns that play on the multiple meanings of homophones. Multilayered expressions are effective expressions, and thus well suited for magical utterances.

Taken together, the string of epithets holds many allusions to the qualities required of the king's performative utterances in carrying out the temple ritual. Based in Ma'at and full of creative potential, they must be *ḥḥ* (effective), *spd* (clever), and *mnḥ* (excellent). They derive their great power from the Creator, who first used Hu and Sia to bring the world into being. Coming before the goddess in purity and truth, the King's words and deeds activate the temple's function of renewing the universe. In so doing, he taps into primeval, divine power. As Rochholz observes, "Durch die schöpferische Gesamtheit aller göttlichen Kräfte...ist die umfassende Welt- und Tempelschöpfung gesichert."

Again imagining the transparency of the walls, we see that the two adoration scenes of the Ogdoad on the outer entrance connect thematically with two smaller adoration scenes on either side of the doorway, in the second register of the north wall (Fig. 5.74).

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951 Sauneron, Esna III, p. 33 (no. 206/12-13; text); Esna V, pp. 268-269 (translation), cited in Ritner, Mechanics, 47 n. 226.

952 An examination of the spelling of *dḥs.w* in D I-IV shows two examples in which *dḥs.w* is spelled without the thorn-sign: D I, 6,17: 𓐩𓏫𓇋ᵍ, *dḥs.w stp.w*, "choice spells"; D II, 32,7: 𓐩𓏫𓇋ؽ, *spd dḥs.w*, "clever of utterances" (note that the thorn sign serves only as the ideogram for *spd*).

953 It is not a case of attraction, however, because the thorn-sign *does* often appear in *dḥs.w*. It would be a case of attraction if the writing of *dḥsw* did not normally include this sign. See Section 3.5 on attraction in the chapter on Sign Play.

954 Rochholz, Schöpfung, 44. English translation: "Through the creative totality of all divine forces...the comprehensive creation of the world and the temple are secured."
Fig. 5.74. Connection between Adoration Scenes of Outer Entrance and North Wall of Per-wer, after D II, pl. 94; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO
Visually, these symmetrical scenes are almost identical: Hathor, wearing the double crown, sits on a throne; the king, wearing the blue crown, stands before her, his hands raised in adoration. Over his head in the east scene, the Nekhbet vulture flies protectively; in the west scene, the falcon of Horus of Edfu. Before the King in both scenes stands a temple structure topped with a cavetto cornice: in the east scene, the presence of a child within marks it as the mammisi, the birth house of the divine child; in the west scene, it represents the bhn-gate of the temple. Both the mammisi and the temple gate belong to Hathor's ten sacred symbols, the rest of which appear as offerings on the Per-wer's east and west walls.

Echoing Nun's words in the east Ogdoad scene on the outer entrance, the King in the east scene of the North Wall offers his adoration to the goddess:955

\[
\text{dw\textsubscript{3}, n= i k\textsubscript{3}= t r k\textsubscript{3} n p.t}
\]

I have praised your Ka to the \textbf{height} of heaven''

(D III, 68,11-12).

Just like the speech of Nun, the antanaclasis on the close homophones of k\textsubscript{3} and k\textsubscript{3} ("ka," and "height," respectively) emphasize the roots and the height to which his praise extends. The raised arms of the determinative of k\textsubscript{3} mimic the arms of the k\textsubscript{3}-sign above it; the arrangement of the text in a column accentuates the vertical direction of the praise.

The King continues his adoration, saying,

\[
\text{sn= i n= t B r wsh n B}
\]

"I kiss \textbf{the earth} for you to the breadth of \textbf{the earth}"

(D III, 68,12).

"Kissing the earth"956 is the act of fully prostrating oneself in submission before a king or god. Usually, the sign of a man performing the act, \textsubscript{\textbf{\textbb{m}}}, serves as the determinative. Here, it is omitted, perhaps so as not to interfere with the symmetrical arrangement of the horizontal signs,

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955 I have displayed the text of each of the following examples in a column, as in the original relief, because the visual the arrangement of signs in the column has bearing on the interpretation.

956 The expression is usually translated, "I have kissed the ground for you, to the breadth of the earth." I have translated \textit{t\textit{\textbb{m}}} both times as "earth" in order to replicate the repetition of the Egyptian.
... which frame and highlight the square ideogram,  wsx, "breadth," in the middle.

The parallelism of the two expressions is striking: both verbal expressions (sdm.n=f or sdm=f) are followed by a direct object (k3, "ka"; t3, "earth") and a prepositional phrase indicating direction (r k3 n p.t, "to the height of heaven"; r wsx n t3, "to the breadth of the earth"). The first expression emphasizes k3, "height," both aurally and visually; the second emphasizes t3, "earth," both aurally and visually, but the latter's symmetrical arrangement around wsx, highlights "breadth" as well. In addition, the scribe has employed the poetic device of rhyme between k3/k3 and t3, simultaneously bringing into prominence their phonic similarity and difference. This highlighting of the two dimensions—the vertical and the horizontal—is exactly what the King's praise accomplishes as well: extending his adoration to the height of heaven and the breadth of the earth.

The King also declares his capability of delivering the proper magical utterances:

\[ r3=i \ hr \ sns,(w) \ hry-mk.t=i \ hr \ tpy.w-r3 \]

"my mouth possessing the prayers, my heart possessing the (magical) utterances"

(D III, 68,13).

The word used for heart, hry-mk.t, is particularly interesting. Its origin goes back to the Pyramid Texts, where the phrase refers to the position of the heart being "in the proper place."

Although Chassinat's publication reproduces the text as , he notes that in the original relief the heart sign, (F34), actually appears under the extended wing of the vulture, forming a striking visual message: . This placement emphasizes the protective stance of the vulture, showing that the "right place" for the heart is in a place of protection. It is probably not by chance that the bird flying protectively over the king's head in this scene is the vulture of Nekhbet, the Upper-Egyptian crown goddess. The word, mk.t, "heart," by the subtle arrangement of its signs, and the visual connection with Nekhbet overhead, thus carries connotations of magical protection. Furthermore, Hathor's aspect as "Lady of the Per-wer" is actually Hathor-Nekhbet, shown by her principle statue's wearing of Nekhbet's white crown and ostrich feathers,

957 Wb IV, 171,11-13: "Lobpreis, Verehrung, Gebet (immer mit Bezug auf einen Gott)." Cauville (Dend Trad III, p. 109) translates sns.w as both "rituels" (D III, 49,2) and "prières" (D III, 49,10).
958 Note that the 1st person singular suffix pronoun, = is as the vertical line under the right end of the p.t-sign
959 Wb II, 161.9.
960 Sethe, PT Kommentar I, 286d; cf. Wreszinski, Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit, 116; Vernus, Athribis, 201 n. (c).
961 D III, 68 n. 2.
962 Ghattas, Schutz des Leibes, 89-94; 92, who notes the richness of the mythological allusions in the text of the protective book. The text emphasizes the protection of the divine image, standing at the center of the temple cult and serving as the living form of the god, thereby requiring constant protection.

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which we saw earlier. A further allusion exists in the connection between heart and utterance, recalling the Creator God in the Memphite Cosmogony, who conceived (sia) an idea in his heart and expressed it in an utterance (hw), thus causing it to come into being. Interestingly, the primeval god Heh makes the identical statement in the Ogdoad adoration scene on the outer entrance, creating yet another connection between the adoration scenes, as well as the subtle allusion to Hu and Sia, who play such an important part in performative speech. Thus, the King’s heart (= mind) not only carries the utterances necessary to approach the goddess, but the goddess herself protects this sacred, magical knowledge within him. Interestingly, the symmetrical scene on the west side of the north wall continues this theme of protection, stating that the goddess is

\[ nb(.t) \ mk.t \ hr \ mk(.t) \ kmj \ s(y) \]

Lady of Protection, protecting the one who created her" (D III, 80,5-6).

The visual symmetry of the repeated vulture-sign (the ideogram for mkt, "protection") appears more striking in the column of the original relief than in the line of text in Chassinat’s publication, where the size of the vulture-signs is unequal. The visual prominence is also carried aurally in the linguistic emphasis on "protection," taking the form of antanaclasis on the root, mk, "protect," first as the feminine substantive, mk.t, "protection" and then as the infinitive, mk.t, "to protect," appearing in a pseudoverbal hr + infinitive construction, "protecting." The turn of meaning from substantive to verb highlights Hathor’s role as protectress (in this case, for her

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963 In Section 5.2.6, where Hathor wears this crown as "Lady of the Per-wer," seated before a latticed naos, in the two large scenes of offerings to the deceased primeval ancestor gods in the 3rd register of the east and west walls of the Per-wer. Another allusion to Hathor as Nekhbet appears in the Bandeau of the Frieze on the west wall of the Per-wer, in which the text, referring to Hathor, states, "She flies as the noble vulture" (D III, 62,5). 964 The pairing of m33 (to see) with dgI (to perceive) represents total sight, as in dl.n=1 n=k m33 nb n lmn dgI nb n lwn=hr", "I have given you the totality of (the ability of) seeing of the sun disk, the totality of (the ability of) perceiving of the moon" (E V, 275,16-17), in Husson, Miroir, 64 n. 9. 965 D III, 49,1-2: dwJ.n=1 m hr<=>rJ rJ=1 hr sns.w hry-mk.t(=i) hr tpy.w-rJ, “I have praised <your> face, my mouth possessing the prayers, (my) heart possessing the (magical) utterances.” Chassinat (D III, 49,1) again notes that the heart-sign should be placed under the extended wing of the vulture. 966 We will see more allusions to Hu and Sia on the thicknesses of the door jambs of the Southern Niche, where they appear together with members of the Ogdoad. 967 As shown here, type-set in WinGlyph.

D III, 80,6.
father Ra\textsuperscript{969}), linking with the king's expression in the symmetrical scene, stating that his magical utterances are \textit{hry-mk.t}, in the "right place," protected in his heart.

\textsuperscript{969} The masculine singular perfective active participle, \textit{km\texti{i}}, "the one who created," is written with \textsuperscript{G81}, the ideogram for \textit{km\texti{i}}, and determined with \textsuperscript{C2B}, the sign of the sun god Ra, thus clearly indicating the god who created Hathor.
Even stronger links to the Ogdoad adoration scene on the outer entrance exist in the two symmetrical scenes in the 1st register of the east and west walls of the Per-wer, which form part of the series depicting steps in the daily temple rite (Fig. 5.75). In both scenes, Hathor stands holding the papyrus scepter and wearing the double crown over the vulture headdress. Before her is Ma'at, her hands raised in adoration, followed by the King, wearing the bag wig on the east wall, and the blue crown on the west wall.

The presence of Ma'at standing between the King and Hathor is significant, signaling her importance in the encounter between him and the temple's principal goddess. The king's epithets, variations of the ones we saw in the Ogdoad scenes on the outer entrance, again link him to Thoth: iw n °m-t’Brien, "Heir of He who knows the Two Lands" on the east wall (D III, 66,12); sn.nw n Isden °'k3 ddw twt hmw, "Equal of Isden" (=Thoth), exact of speech, complete in his craft" on the west (D III, 78,6-7). As we saw previously, this identification with Thoth strongly connects him with the concept of Ma'at—its justice, order, and balance always at the heart of his words and deeds. Ma'at's presence between the King and Hathor in both scenes thus visually represents the idea that only through Ma'at may the King may approach the Divine.

We turn first to the scene on the east wall, entitled "Seeing the God." The King has just opened the naos and now stands before the awesome, radiant power of the goddess emanating from her naos. In response, he states, sb3k. n=i qfA.t n(.t) kA=s, "I have brightened the dignity of her ka," a multi-layered expression filled with aural and visual allusions, discussed earlier.

Having presented such a complex expression of praise, the King notes that Hathor is pleased, saying

\[ phr \ ib=s \ m \ tpy.w-wr3=i \]

"Her heart rejoices (lit. "goes around") with my (magical) utterances"

(D III, 66,7-8).

Interestingly, the expression, phr ib, lit. "the heart goes around," itself has magical implications. In Demotic, the verb, phr, and its Coptic descendent, əφəχεφ, mean "to enchant"; its origin lies in rituals of encirclement that define, purify, and protect a sacred space. The idea of encircling and controlling can also explain the idea behind the sun god's control of the universe, which he maintains by means of phr, "going around" and hkk, "rule." As Ra, the Female Sun, this encircling can also apply to Hathor, who rules both heaven and earth. To this idea, I would observe (with a pun on close homophones!) that her rule (hkk) also depends on her magic (hkk). Conversely, one could say that the king's clever, multi-layered

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970 Under the name, Isdn/Isds, Thoth is syncretized with Anubis, as early as de Buck, CT III, 61b, noted by Goebes, Crowns, 126, citing Altenmüller, Synkretismus, 241. Anubis commands Thoth to be in the "form" of Ra during the night in Faulkner, CT 347 (= de Buck, CT IV, 380a).
971 In Section 3.5.
972 Wb I, 544,12: "umwenden, umdrehen"; 544,14: "das Herz jemds. Umwenden (zum Guten)."
973 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 139,4: "bezaubern."
975 See Ritner, Mechanics, 57-63, esp. 61-62. Ritner notes that in an oracular statement of the Demotic Chronicle, the use of the determinative of "to enchant" in the verb phr, "to go around," suggests that both nuances were probably intended.
976 Ritner, Mechanics, 62.
expressions of praise, filled with aural and visual allusions, also have the capacity to "charm," thus bringing about the desired effect of pleasing and pacifying the goddess.

The mention of *tpy.w-r3*, "(magical) utterances," connects with the symmetrical scene on the west wall, repeating an expression seen earlier in the adoration scene on the east side of the north wall:

`r3=i hr sns.w hry-mk.t=i hr tpy.w-r3=t`

"my mouth possessing the prayers, my heart possessing your (f.s.) (magical) utterances"
(D III, 77,12 – 78,1).

However, this time the text omits the visual pun in the writing of *hry-mk.t*; the writing of *tpy.w-r3* contains the *t*-loaf and egg-sign at the end, clearly marking it with the feminine suffix pronoun, *=t*. Is the feminine suffix a scribal error, or is the King actually referring to his knowledge of Hathor's own magical utterances, the heka that created the world?

For help in answering this fascinating question, we turn to Hathor's speech in the same scene, in which she carries the following epithets:

`583.t 585.t 587 t spfr nb.t ss.hk3.t md3.wt`

"Seshat, the Female Creator who created writing, Lady of Writing, Female Ruler of Scrolls"
(D III, 78,10-11).

The triple alliteration on *s3* creates a striking aural emphasis, highlighting the phrase. The polyptoton on the root *s3*, "begin, initiate, create (in the beginning)," encountered earlier in a text in the Southern Niche, emphasizes Hathor's creation of writing, an accomplishment usually attributed to Thoth. The epithet string elaborates further by naming her "Lady of Writing," and "Female Ruler of Scrolls," alluding to the temple scriptorium where sacred texts are composed, and the temple library housing the liturgies and festival calendars. The emphasis on the written word is unmistakable, but this idea is at once broadened by the revelation that

`pr(.t) m r3=s hpr hr-^c`

"What goes forth from her mouth comes into being at once" (D III, 78,11),

a statement that puts her squarely in line with the Creator of the Memphite Cosmogony, who used Sia (Perception) and Hu (utterance) to create the world. This important facet of her creative ability and its relevance for the King's performative speech, together with the King's connections to Thoth and Ma'at, create a connection between these two symmetrical scenes with the door jambs of the Southern Niche (Fig. 5.76).

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977 In the present Section 5.3.2.
978 Cauville retains the *t* in her transliteration but ignores it in her translation, rendering *tpyw-r3.t* as simply, "les pières."
979 If one includes *spfr nb.t ss*, there is also a five-fold alliteration on the consonant, *s*.
980 D III, 95,3, in the 2nd register of the east wall of the Southern Niche. Discussed in 5.2.2.
As we saw earlier, the four narrow registers on the door jambs contain pairs of standing figures facing towards Hathor's sacred image in the niche, their hands raised in adoration; the two upper registers on both jambs contain male and female pairs of the Ogdoad (Fig. 5.77).
However, on the lowest register of east jamb we find the figures of the king and the queen, their counterparts on the west being Thoth and Ma'at (Fig. 5.78). Above them, in the second register, stand the personified characteristics of the Memphite Creator: Hu (utterance) and Sia (perception) on the east jamb; Iri (doing) and Sedjem (hearing) on the west.

It is interesting that the Queen, undoubtedly Cleopatra VII, due to the time-frame during which the Per-wer was decorated, is called, $hk3.t$, "female ruler," perhaps alluding to her role as a queen who exercised royal power.

The connection of Hu and Sia with the creator god seems to have originated in Heliopolis; passages in the PT (300c; 307) and CT (IV, 62f; VII, 222c) attribute both to the sun god Ra, where they later number among his 14 Ka-powers. See Gardiner, Personifications, 95; Schweitzer, Wesen des Ka, 73ff, including Iri and Sedjem. See also Schott, Krönungsboten, 55. Hu and Sia appear with the sun god in his solar barque. See Hornung, Unterweltsbücher,
The appearance of Hu and Sia recall the hymn in the outer entrance, which addresses the returning goddess as "your Ka behind you, Hu and Sia in your following" (D III, 46,4); her creative will and the power to "speak" things into existence are confirmed in the text in an adoration scene in the 1st register of the west wall of the Per-wer, which we just examined: "what goes forth from her mouth comes into being at once" (D III, 78,11). On the door jambs of the Southern Niche, the appearance of Thoth and Ma'at opposite the king and queen suggests that the earthly rulers must emulate Thoth in approaching the goddess with effective, eloquent speech, as well as living and ruling in Ma'at. We can also see a vertical relationship between the figures of the jambs: the first register being concerned with just, effective words and actions on earth; the second showing the will of the Creator putting thoughts into words and deeds; the third

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27; 34: Amduat I, 20 (no. 44); 20 (no. 50); 201. By at least the time of the CT (VI, 268o), Hu and Sia were also associated with the creative powers of Ptah. By the MK, Hu and Sia seem to have also become important characteristics of every god; they accompany Thoth. See de Wit, Opet I, 165; II, pl. 8. Altenmüller, Hu, 66-67, notes that since the MK, Hu and Sia were thought to exist before creation, being placed, along with Atum, in the primordial time. For an early Ptolemaic Era variation of the creation story, compare Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (BM 10188), in Faulkner, Bremner-Rhind IV, pp. 41-42, lines 28,20 – 29,6.

983 Outer column of door frame, w. side, Text B.

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and fourth, the divine primordial entity still in its primitive, unformed stage. The thicknesses of the niche's door jambs thus succinctly illustrate how the Creator employs the creative process to take the raw material of the universe and transform it into everything in the world—exactly what Hathor, as the female Creator, does within the niche of the Per-wer. In addition, the placement of these figures facing the incarnation of the goddess in adoration shows their constant involvement in the creation and maintenance of the cosmic balance of the universe.

These observations now clarify the King's assertion that his heart possesses Hathor's "magical utterances." He is referring to the creative ability inherent in heka, the power used by the Creator to create the world, given to mankind as a benefaction. In possessing Hathor's (i.e. the Creator's) heka, the King thus has at his disposal the tools necessary to create, to cause things to come into being. When performing the rituals, his powerful words thus access the primeval energy used to create the universe.

In addition, by placing both epithet strings in the same speech by Hathor—the one emphasizing the written word, the other emphasizing the spoken word—the ancient scribe shows the interconnectedness of both the visual and the aural in magical, performative utterances. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the multi-layered expressions in Dendera's texts, which often working simultaneously on aural and visual levels. Although the King would have spoken the ritual words aloud, they had their written counterparts in the sacred scrolls. These statements show the importance that the ancient scribes placed on both techniques, considered to be essential to effective heka in the temple. As a divinity, Hathor would be capable of seeing, hearing, and understanding all of the levels of meaning simultaneously, which would please her heart and pacify her ka.

5.3.3 Maintenance of Ancestor Cults

The King's maintenance of the divine and royal ancestor cults shows the intersection of the two previous themes. His ritual actions help affirm his legitimacy; the aural and visual techniques in his statements are a tour de force of effective speech. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the two offering scenes in the 3rd register of the East and West Walls (Fig. 5.79), discussed earlier in terms of Hathor's role as an ancestral goddess. This section will explore these themes within the two scenes, showing how they intertwine and mutually support each other.

984 In the adoration scene in the 1st register of the east wall: "my mouth possessing the prayers, my heart possessing your (f.s.) (magical) utterances" (D III, 77,12 – 78,1).
985 In the adoration scene in the 1st register of the east wall: "Seshat, the Female Creator who created writing, Lady of Writing, Female Ruler of Scrolls" (D III, 78,10-11).
986 In the adoration scene in the 1st register of the east wall: "What goes forth from her mouth comes into being at once." (D III, 78,11).
987 In Section 5.2.6.
As noted previously, each of the symmetrical scenes contains a sub-scene in which Pepi I offers a gold statue of Ihy to Hathor, Lady of the Per-wer, who can also take on the role of a deceased ancestral goddess. In the east scene, the King offers incense; in the west scene, he presents a funerary offering. His offerings in both scenes are directed toward all of the deities.
present, including the now-deceased Pepi I, who promoted Hathor's cult at Dendera during the Old Kingdom; the scenes can thus be considered representative of the maintenance of both the divine and royal mortuary cults. His performative speech is filled with linguistic techniques emphasizing his offerings to the deceased ancestor gods. In the incense scene on the east wall, antanaclasis and polyptotons play on turns of meaning in the repetitions of roots describing the offering: $snTr^{988}$ and $pD^{989}$ (incense), $sty$ (perfume), $990$ and $shtp^{991}$ (pacify). In the funerary scene on the west wall, similar techniques focus on roots with dual meanings: $kÂ$ (soul; provisions), $992$ $sp$ (noble; riches), $993$ and $htp$ (pacify/satisfy; offering). $994$ The alliteration of the roots and their multiple layers of meaning make the King's declarations clever and effective, showing that he is $spd$ $q3is.w$, "clever of (magical) utterances," and $mn$ $tpy.w-rÂ$, "excellent of (magical) utterances" $995$—qualities that would not only please his divine recipients, but also give his speech performative power to actualize the meaning behind the offerings and thus make them effective in rejuvenating the deceased beings.

The king's epithets affirm his legitimacy, such as: $sp$ $nh$ $r-tp.t$ $nTr.w$ $iw$ $n$ $Psdt.Â$t $Â$t, "Living Image and Hereditary Prince of the Gods, Heir of the Great Ennead" (D III, 84,12-13). The epithet, $r-tp.t$ $nTr.w$, "Hereditary Prince," belongs to Geb, the father of Osiris, thus showing that the king is his legitimate descendent. His epithet, $iw$ $n$ $Psdt.Â$t $Â$t, "heir of the Great Ennead," traces the King's (mythological) ancestry back to the Creator God, Ra-Atum. The term, "Living Image of the Gods," places the King, in the form of the living Horus, as their terrestrial representative. In addition, Hathor gives the King the Upper Egyptian crown, $996$ Nekhbet claims him as her son, $997$ and the deceased ancestor gods address him as

\[
\text{ity n itr ty $hk^3 n \, stm^s mhw$} \\
\text{"Sovereign of the Two Sanctuaries,} \\
\text{Ruler of the South and the North"} \\
\text{(D III, 85,8).}
\]

\begin{itemize}
  \item $snTr$ $sTr=f$, "the incense comes, it censes your (f.s.) body" (D III, 72,11-12);
  \item $sTr$ $sTr$ $s.t=t$, "incense, in order to cense your (pl) place" (D III, 72,17).
  \item $pD$ $pD$ $w=f$ $tpy.w$, "the incense, it has censed your (pl) body" (D III, 72,12).
  \item $fn$ $f$ $m$ $st$ $=f$, "your (pl) nose breathes its perfume...its perfume comes to you" (D III, 72,13-14).
  \item $sho$ $sho$ $ib=tn$, "incense in order to pacify your (pl) heart" (D III, 72,17).
  \item $kÂ$ $nb$ $kÂ$ $w$, "Ka-spirit, Lord of Provisions" (D III, 85,2).
  \item $shn$ $w$ $sp$ $w$ $nb$ $w$ $sp$ $w$, "noble (divine) powers, lords of riches" (D III, 84,13).
  \item $hto$ $ib=tn$ $hto$, "Our hearts are satisfied with your offerings" (D III, 85,8-9).
  \item D III, 50,14.
  \item Hathor: $dl=i$ $n=k$ $wr.r$ $mn.t$ $m$ $tp=k$ $hr$ $rdl.t$ $nwr=k$ $hr$ $ly$ $w=k$, "I give you the Upper Egyptian crown, fast on your head, causing fear of you to your enemies" (D III, 73,1).
  \item Nekhbet says that the King is $s$ $dm$ $t$ $pd$ $t$ $sd$ $n$ $s$ $t$ $m$ $Nhmn$, "son of She binds the bows together (=Nekhbet), nourished by the Vulture in Nekhen (=Hierakonpolis)" (D III, 73,12).
\end{itemize}
The statement consists almost entirely of ideograms related to kingship and the Two Lands. The first sign, \( \text{A311} \), consisting of a man wearing two ostrich feathers on ram's horns and carrying the staff of office, represents \( \text{ity} \), "sovereign"; the crown (minus the sun disk) recalls the Anedjty crown of the King, which associates the wearer with Osiris and kingship. Each of the elements of the dual substantive, \( \text{itr.ty} \), the "Two Sanctuaries" of Upper and Lower Egypt, depicts a sacred serpent, \( \text{O196} \), representing the divine being dwelling within it. Below the crook, the ubiquitous part of the King's regalia and the phonogram for \( \text{hk3} \), "ruler," are the geographical areas of the South and the North, \( \text{smf} \) and \( \text{mhw} \), represented by their respective crowns placed over the city-sign. This statement of legitimacy, rendered in a striking example of visual shorthand and proclaimed by the primeval ancestor gods, thus carries particular importance.

Not only is the King confirmed as the legitimate ruler by the gods, but his reign is assured of prosperity and stability, with his prestige placed in the hearts of his people. An allusion to this prosperity appears in the west scene in the speech of Isis, who sits atop her isheru lake:

"who floods the sanctuary of the Golden One with joy" (D III, 85,4).

The visual imagery of the sanctuary "being flooded" with joy carries additional connotations because the verb \( \text{bh} \), "floods" alludes to the inundation, as well as creating a pun with the waters of the isheru lake over which Isis sits in the relief. A further allusion appears in the signs that write the word, \( \text{bh} \), consisting of the benu-bird perched over the primeval mound rising out of the Nun. Because the waters of the isheru lake, like other sacred lakes, are equated with the Nun, several aural and visual connections thus exist in the expression, alluding to the annual flood and the bounty it brings to the land.

One of the reciprocal offerings by the ancestor gods is particularly interesting:

998 As we saw earlier, in the offering scene of two sistra in the 2nd register of the east wall of the Per-wer.
999 The two rows of shrines lined up on either side of the Sed Festival Court. See PL 123-124.
1000 Cat. IFAO 314,7 (1974b).
1001 As we saw in the offering of the double crown on the north wall of the Southern Niche, in Section 5.3.1.
1002 Hathor: \( \text{dl=1 n=mnh nb hr nfr.w=k hr-nb (hr) nhm n=k} \), "I give to you (that) the (cool) palace is enduring, possessing your good things, everyone rejoicing for you" (D III, 73,9); Isis: \( \text{di=i n=<k> lh.t hr ms.t n=k lh.t=s smf} \) "I give you the field, producing for you its products, the storehouse flooded with good things" (D III, 84,16).
1003 Hathor: \( \text{dl=1 shy.t=k m lb.w rmt} \), "I place your prestige in the hearts of the people" (D III, 85,7).
1004 As we saw in the section on the Myth, the isheru lake recalls the areas left after rains in the wadis, where lions would come to water, thus referring to the pacification of lioness-goddesses that takes place during the Festival of Drunkenness and the Return of the Wandering Goddess. Although Isis, taking the place of Hathor as the Distant Goddess, sits atop the isheru lake, the role more properly belongs to Mut, who carries the epithet, \( \text{nb.t lsrw} \), "Lady of the Isheru" (D III, 85,3) in the scene, wearing her characteristic double crown and sitting behind Harsomtus. See 4.1.1.
1005 We saw a similar example in Section 5.2.3.
"We give to you all of the things that heaven gives and the earth produces." (D III, 85,8-9)

The phrase, .IN.N.D.TA.D.D.TP.T.KM3.TT3, "all things that heaven gives and the earth produces," comes directly from the standard funerary offering formula for the dead. These performative words would provision the deceased in the afterlife, rejuvenating his body; the King's offering of funerary provisions and incense to the deceased ancestor gods would likewise renew their kas and their bodies. Their reciprocal offering, a literal replica of the well-known funerary formula, would thus also rejuvenate the King. This interpretation is supported by a similar scene in Crypt East 1, Chamber E, in which Pepi I offers a similar gold statue of Ihy to the three deceased goddesses seated before him, one of whom wears the same falcon headdress that marks Hathor as a deceased primeval deity on the east wall of the Per-wer. The key speech for our understanding of the present scene belongs to Harsomtus, who promises the King, "I make your body young, as a youth, every day. I preserve your generation in your temple" (D V, 159, 8). The King's offerings, which maintain the funerary cults of the deceased primeval gods and his royal predecessors, thus bring rejuvenation, a good inundation, and the blessings of heaven and earth, to the dead as well as to the living.

In addition, the primordial ancestors promise,

\[ b3k=n \quad B3k.t \quad m \quad r3 = k \]

"We make Egypt bright in your time," (D III, 85,9)

The polyptoton on the root b3k, "make bright, well, verdant," first as the perfective sdm=f, "we maintain," and then as the feminine substantive, B3k.t, "Egypt," emphasizes their promise to keep the King's land healthy and green during his reign. In addition, there is visual play in the writing of "Egypt" with the Udjat-Eye, thus equating the land with the sacred Eye of the god. Because the Udjat itself represents wholeness and health, it thus graphically (and thereby, magically!) shows that through the gods' blessings, Egypt will possess those qualities, too.

5.3.4 Summary

Because the King is the legitimate intermediary between the human and divine worlds, his ritual actions and performative words have power and authority. By offering to the ancestor gods and renewing their Kas, the King feeds their creative energy, allowing its use in the perpetual re-creation of the universe. Through his interaction with Hathor, whose own energy as a Creator Goddess is thus renewed, he is able to set in motion the cosmic machinery of the temple, reestablishing cosmic order and renewing the world.

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1006 Stela of Nakhti from Abydos, 12th-13th Dynasty, in Collier and Manley, Egyptian Hieroglyphs, 110.
1007 Kurth, Pepi I, 20, who cites the scene in the Crypt East 1 as a parallel to the symmetrical scenes in the Per-wer.
1008 Wb I, 425,18; LP, often in GR.
5.3.4 Distribution of Scenes Relating to King as Intermediary in Per-wer

Including the outer entrance, 54% (26) of the 48 scenes with figural representations$^{1009}$ in the Per-wer have textual references that affirm the King's role as intermediary between the human and divine worlds. This percentage is the second highest of the three main themes in the Per-wer, attesting the importance of his legitimacy, effective speech, and maintenance of the ancestor cults. The theme of his legitimacy is especially apparent in places of transition, like the lintel and door framing of the outer entrance, the scenes on the sides of the north wall, and the thicknesses of the door jambs in the Southern Niche. Because these texts scenes frame a door or niche, they appear in symmetrical pairs. In addition to these areas, the bandeaux of the frieze and the base, running around all of the walls of the Per-wer, focus on the King's completion of its construction and decoration. Among all 80 text groups, which include texts without accompanying scenes, references to the King as intermediary occur as follows: outer entrance, 10; Per-wer proper, 22; Southern Niche, 6, for a total of 38/80, or 48%. There is overlap between themes, but generally, the remainder of the text groups focus on the Myth of the Distant Goddess and Hathor as Primeval Creator and Solar Goddess. These themes are discussed in Sections 5.1 and 5.2.

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$^{1009}$ Not including the frieze and the base of the Southern Niche.
Scenes Related to King as Intermediary in the Per-wer

Fig. 5.80. Outer Entrance, Per-wer, after D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

Fig. 5.81. Scenes in Per-wer, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

Fig. 5.82. Scenes in Southern Niche; after D III, pls. 201-202, © IFAO
5.4 Analysis of Distribution of Themes in the Per-wer

In the following section we will look at the distribution of the three main themes studied in the Per-wer: the Myth of the Wandering Goddess, Hathor as Primeval Goddess, and the King as Intermediary. The scenes and texts containing these themes are highlighted in the diagrams in pink, yellow, and blue, respectively. The order of discussion moves from the outside of the Per-wer to the inside of the sanctuary, examining the walls in the following order: north, east, west, and south. Topics of particular interest include areas with a single, prominent theme, overlapping themes, and the possible reasons behind their architectural arrangement.

5.4.1 Outer Entrance

The color-coded diagrams clearly show that on the outer entrance, the emphasis on Hathor as a primeval, solar goddess coincides with expressions of the King's legitimacy and effective speech.

Fig. 5.83. The Three Themes on Outer Entrance of Per-wer Sanctuary, after D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

The overlap is especially noticeable in the montants and the Ogdoad adoration scene.\textsuperscript{1010} The adoration of Hathor by the primordial deities, as well as her tall crown's "piercing the sky," signal her pride of place; her Atef crown suggests her role as the daughter who maintains their funerary cult. The scene's emphasis on effective words, appearing not only in the King's speech, but also in the utterances of the primordial gods, is a characteristic of adoration scenes in general. The reason for this emphasis may be that during a worshipper's first encounter with a deity, the proper approach is adoration made with effective speech.

Word play thus naturally occurs in the words of the worshippers, with repetition on the roots, $k\dot{3}/k\dot{3}$ (ka/height) and $r\dot{f}$ (sun), emphasizing the height of their praise as well as Hathor's solar nature.\textsuperscript{1011} The King's speech is effective because Thoth, as the inventor of language, is characterized as his father. Sign play visually represents the meaning of epithets, with the

\textsuperscript{1010}Discussed in 5.2.1 (Hathor as Ruler of Heaven and Earth) and 5.3.2 (King's Effectiveness of Speech).
\textsuperscript{1011}$k\dot{3}/k\dot{3}$ (ka/height): D III, 48,15-16; $r\dot{f}/r\dot{f}$.w (Female Sun/suns): D III, 49,17.
repetition of the *spd*-sign emphasizing the idea that his speech is "clever." Because Thoth was also the chief deity of Hermopolis, the Ogdoad's place of origin, an emphasis on effective speech in a scene of their adoration is also quite appropriate. Interestingly, the bandeau of the frieze focuses primarily on Hathor's solar aspects, with word play on roots for "gold" and "shine"; sign play on words meaning "gold," perhaps because it signals the importance of her role in the sanctuary as the Eye of Ra.

The emphasis on the King's legitimacy appropriately appears around the three sides of the entrance through which he would pass in order to enter the sanctuary: on the lintel, the montants, the two inner columns, and the thicknesses of the jambs. Hathor rewards his building activity for her by giving him "the years of Atum under the Double crown," and the "kingship of Shu," thus affirming his right to rule.

The placement of the chronocrators for the month of Tybi directly over the Per-wer's entrance denotes the importance of the festival celebrating the return of the Distant Goddess in this month; many of their names allude to characters or actions in the myth. The two outer columns framing the door describe her joyous return, with Thoth opening the way for her, and Ra embracing her in his arms. Overhead, in the symmetrical scenes of the lintel, Thoth and Ra-Horakhty are again present, shaking the sistra as she returns.

5.4.2 North Wall

Although there is some thematic overlap on the outer entrance, the north wall's themes are distinctly separated. As if to underline the King's legitimacy as he walks through the doorway, the bandeaux of the frieze and the base, as well as the two symmetrical scenes at his eye-level, all concern his legitimacy. In both of these bandeaux, the goddess exalts the King for the fine workmanship of her sanctuary, placing him "at the head of the living (divine) kas" (i.e. the ancestor gods) forever. In the two symmetrical scenes of the 1st register, in which Nekhbet and Wadjet present the festively dressed king with the north and south scepters of rule, there are many visual allusions in the iconography, to the Two Uraei, their associated protection, and the King's rule over the Two Lands.

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1012 Visual repetition of meaning in Thoth's epithet, *m-t3.wy* (He who knows the Two Lands): D III, 49,3; Repetition of the *spd*-sign: D III, 50,14.
1013 For example, in D II, 3,6-7 (east side of bandeau of the frieze), polyptotons occur on the root *nbw*, "gold" (*Pr-Nbw.t/Nbw.t/nbw*) and *psd*, "shine" (*psd.t/psd.ti*). Sign play occurs with signs for gold and sun rays.
1014 D III, 47,2-3.
1015 D III, 48,1-2.
1016 D II, 31, nos. 17-26; 61, nos. 22-17.
1017 D III, 46,4.
1018 D III, 51,12 – 52,4; 52,7-53,3.
1019 Bandeau of the Frieze: D III, 61, 7-8; 62,7; Bandeau of the Base: D III 60,2; 60,8-9.
1020 D III, 63,14-18; 75,15 – 76,2.
The adoration scenes in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} register again praise Hathor with eloquent speech, containing word plays similar to those in the Ogdoad adoration scene. There is also aural emphasis on the root $\delta^3$, "first," referring to Hathor as a primordial goddess.\textsuperscript{1021} Sign plays visually represent the surrounding of Hathor's ka with praise,\textsuperscript{1022} as well as the protection of the King's heart, in which he safely holds the sacred utterances that please the goddess.\textsuperscript{1023}

Allusions to the myth occur in the four symmetrical scenes of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} register and the lintel. In the 3\textsuperscript{rd} register, the Udjat offering on the west side alludes to the return of the Eye; the offering of water on the east alludes to her purification in the waters of the Abaton. Abundant aural and visual devices emphasize these two strands of the myth, with polyptotons and sign plays emphasizing qualities of the Eye in the west scene\textsuperscript{1024} and qualities of the primordial water in the east.\textsuperscript{1025} Below, on the lintel, the important offerings of wine and the \textit{mnw}-jar of beer pacify the goddess, while alluding to the restoration of Ma'at resulting from her pacification by means of linguistic connections with the Meret singers, who soothe Hathor's heart with music. The four scenes thus present a condensed version of the myth: Hathor is pacified with the wine and beer; she is purified in the waters; the Eye is returned; Ma'at is restored (via the Meret/Ma'at connection). Because these scenes all appear above the doorway, they create a festive atmosphere and succinctly recount the myth as the procession of the goddess returns to the sanctuary. Furthermore, all of them remain in her line of sight once her ka alighted upon her statue in the Southern Niche.

\textsuperscript{1021} D III, 68,12.
\textsuperscript{1022} D III, 68,11-12.
\textsuperscript{1023} D III, 68,13.
\textsuperscript{1024} D III, 82,12 – 84,6. Polyptotons on the roots \textit{ntr} (divine), \textit{wdj} (udjat), and \textit{3h} (effective); visual pun on \textit{tni} (raised/Anedjty crown); many sign plays involving eyes.
\textsuperscript{1025} D III, 71,16 – 72,8. Polyptotons on \textit{kbh} (refresh), \textit{rnp} (youth/year); sign plays involving leg-signs and water (because the inundation is said to come from the leg of Osiris).
5.4.3 East Wall

Turning to the east wall, we see a great deal of overlap in the three major themes. Most striking is that the King plays a prominent role in all of the scenes. The top and the bottom of the walls, in the inscriptions of the bandeaux of the frieze and the base, describe the excellent work of the King’s construction of the Per-wer for the goddess,\(^{1026}\) who in return exalts the King and places him "at the head of the living (divine) kas" (i.e. the ancestor gods) forever.\(^{1027}\) In the 1\(^{st}\) register, he carries out the steps of the daily temple ritual; in the 2\(^{nd}\), he offers the goddess her sacred objects, which take the place of the usual accoutrements presented to the resident deity of a temple.\(^{1028}\) In the 3\(^{rd}\), he presents incense as an offering to the deceased royal and divine ancestors.

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1026 D III, 59,10 – 60.2; 60.4 – 60.9.
1027 D III, 60.2; 60.8-9.
1028 These include such adornments as the \(wsh\) (broad collar) and \(iry-Snb.t\) (pectoral). See Moret, Culte, 244; PL 94.
1029 D III, 64.4.
1030 D III, 64.7; 64.7-8.
1031 D III, 64.8; 65.3.
1032 D III, 65.3.
1033 D III, 65.6-7.
References to Thoth and the return of the Eye also connect it to the myth. The third scene, "Seeing the God," contains themes of the King's legitimacy as well as Hathor's solar aspect. He is again the heir of Thoth, but also the ti.t dsr(.t) n nb.w twr, "Sacred Image of the Lords of Purification," again emphasizing his purity; polyptotons on the roots r (sun) and itn (sun disk) highlight Hathor's solar qualities. In many ways, the scene is similar to an adoration scene, with proclamations of kissing the ground to the breadth of the earth, enhanced by signs representing meaning, and the intertwining of aural and visual plays on the idea of brightening the dignity of Hathor's ka and exalting her perfection.

The second register of the east wall again emphasizes the King's legitimacy in each scene, because King is equated with the appropriate divinity for each offering. In the first scene of the milk offering, he is equated with Anubis, sovereign of the milk cows; in the second, the menit offering, he is like Horus destroying Seth, who can be equated with the menit's counterpoise; in the third, an offering of sistra, he is like Ihy, who plays music for his mother and pacifies her heart. The offering of milk has no connection with the myth, unlike the menit and the sistrum, which are objects offered to the Distant Goddess. However, the milk alludes to Hathor's command of the inundation; in this scene she is equated with Isis, who heralds the inundation as Sopdet. Therefore, the connections of the scene agree with the theme of Hathor-Isis as primordial goddess, who "nourishes the gods with her white milk."

Moving on to the 3rd register of the east wall, we see that all three themes play a prominent role in this multi-layered incense offering scene. Attesting to his right to offer incense to the ancestral gods, the King carries the epithet, "overseer of the foremost place," the title of a censer-bearer. His legitimacy is emphasized in Nekhbet's speech, in which she calls him s3 dm3.t-ppd.t šd n s3.t m Nhn, "son of She Who Binds the Bows Together," nourished by the Vulture in Nekhen," thus calling him her son. The identification of Hathor as a primordial goddess derives from her unusual falcon-headdress, a mark of the deceased, as well as the texts that address all of the seated gods in the plural, as k3.w šps.w, "noble (divine) kas," a term for the deceased primordial ancestor gods. Allusions to the myth of the Wandering Goddess come from the pacifying qualities of the incense, as well as the references to Punt, the Valley of Myrrh, and the Land of God, all areas of incense and exotic riches that connect with the wanderings of the Distant Goddess. An extraordinary number of word plays in this particular scene make the speech of the king especially effective and clever. His kingship is assured by Hathor, who in return gives him the Upper Egyptian Crown, "causing fear of you to your enemies," as well as the stability of his palace and the rejoicing of his people. In addition, she gives him Byblos, Egyptian trade with Byblos goes back to the 2nd Dynasty; since the MK, Hathor carries the epithet."Lady of Byblos," where she was worshipped as a Hathor of foreign areas, like the Sinai or Punt, probably due to the

\[1034\] D III, 65.8-9: The King is snn n Hb in wd3.t n nb=s rdl 3h.t r s.t wnn=s, "the image of the Ibis who brings the Udjat-Eye to her lord (=Ra), who places the Shining Eye at the place where it should be (lit. "where it is").

\[1035\] D III, 66.10.

\[1036\] D III, 66.6-7.

\[1037\] D III, 69.8.

\[1038\] D III, 69.11.

\[1039\] D III, 69.12.

\[1040\] Wilson (PL 1195) notes that this epithet refers to the union of the Nine Bows (the traditional enemies of Egypt) under the rule of the Egyptian King. See also Borchardt, Sahure II, 84.

\[1041\] Hathor-Nekhbet is the Lady of the Per-wer in both scenes in the 3rd register of the east and west walls: D III, 73.9, on the east wall; D III, 85.7, on the west wall. The syncretization comes about due to her wearing of Nekhbet's white crown with double ostrich feathers, while seated in front of the archaic Per-wer shrine.

\[1042\] Punt: D III, 73.4; Valley of Myrrh: D III, 72.17; Land of God: D III, 73.13.

\[1043\] Egyptian trade with Byblos goes back to the 2nd Dynasty; since the MK, Hathor carries the epithet."Lady of Byblos," where she was worshipped as a Hathor of foreign areas, like the Sinai or Punt, probably due to the
and the Land of God, the areas that produce the incense and myrrh given to the gods in the offering. The presence of Pepi I and his offering of the statue of Ihy reminds us that by means of the King's offering, he also maintains the funerary cult of the deceased royal ancestors, on the model of Horus who offered to his deceased father, Osiris.

5.4.4 West Wall

On the west wall, there is a similar overlap of the King's theme with the other two themes. Beginning again in the 1st register, we see that in contrast to the west wall, references to Hathor's primordial or solar aspects occur in every scene of the daily temple rite. The reason is probably due to the King's action in the first scene, "Pulling the (door) bolt,"1044 which opens the doors of the shrine and allows her radiance to stream into the room. It also explains word plays on roots like $psd$ (shine), $itm$ (sun disk), and $\text{h.t}$ (horizon), as well as the visual plays in her epithets.1045 In this scene, his epithets equate him with Geb,1046 as well as alluding to his maintenance of the funerary cult of the ancestor gods,1047 which is appropriate considering the scene's placement on the west wall.

![Myth - Goddess - King](image)

Fig. 5.86. The Three Themes on West Wall of Per-wer Sanctuary, after D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

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1045 D III, 76,13: $nswy.t$-$bi$.ty.t $\text{h.t} h f m \text{h.t}$. "Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Horizon-Dweller (f.) who appears in the horizon."
1046 D III, 76,8: $r-ph.t ntr.w$. "Hereditary Prince of the Gods."
1047 D III, 76,8: $sk3 shm.w m s.t=sn$. "who exalts the (divine) powers in their place."
In the following scene of "Revealing the Face," the King's epithets again equate him with Geb as well as the son of Thoth.\textsuperscript{1048} The scene again emphasizes the shining quality of Hathor's presence, with plays on the multiple meanings of roots like psd (shine/Ennead) and ssp (light/chapel). Symmetrical arrangements on the signs for \textit{\textit{\textit{\textup{\texttt{psD}}}}\textit{\textit{\textit{\textup{sp}}}}} (shine/door) also emphasize the King's action in thus "opening the light in her chapel."\textsuperscript{1049} The final scene in the series of the daily temple rite episodes in the 1\textsuperscript{st} register is the scene of "Adoring the God." As in other adoration scenes, the King is equated with Thoth, who is "exact of speech"; aural and visual plays emphasize the recitation of the hymns and knowledge of the prayers.\textsuperscript{1050} The mention of the King's reading of the "festival book" leads to the identification of Hathor with Seshat, the goddess of writing, who is also characterized as a creator, bringing forth the world by her words.\textsuperscript{1051}

The second register of the west wall again emphasizes the King's legitimacy in bringing Hathor her sacred objects, equating him with the appropriate deity in each case; two of the offerings, the \textit{\textit{\textit{\textup{\texttt{mnw}}}}}-jar and wensheb, connect with the myth. In the first scene, the presentation of the \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{bd}}}}\textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{s}}}}, the symbol of rule over the earth, the King takes on the role of Horus who seized the Two Lands.\textsuperscript{1052} In the offering of the wensheb, he is naturally equated with Thoth, the Lord of Time.\textsuperscript{1053} Because the moon and the sun both play a part in ordering time, the accompanying text mentions both the Right and the Left Eye, thus connecting the scene with the theme of Hathor as a solar goddess.\textsuperscript{1054} The offering of the \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{mnw}}}}-vase and circlet of electrum in the third scene equates the King with Horus, who dispels evil and drives away impurity from the Female Sun Disk; a multitude of polyptoton plays on the double meanings of roots such as \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{h}}} (effective/shining), nfr (beautiful), tp (uraeus/head)}, thus connecting to her roles as solar goddess as well as the uraeus. Sign plays highlight the swiftness of her divine power\textsuperscript{1055} and add multiple allusions to her other epithets.\textsuperscript{1056}

Moving up to the 3\textsuperscript{rd} register of the west wall, we again see an overlap of all three themes, as in its symmetrical scene on the east wall. The offering of funerary provisions to the deceased ancestor gods solidifies the King's legitimacy, as he carries the epithet of Geb\textsuperscript{1057} and takes on the role of Horus who provisions the funerary cult of Osiris. A wealth of aural and visual techniques play on the double meanings of roots, thus highlighting both the offering and its recipients: \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{kA}}} (divine kas/food), \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{ps}}} (noble powers riches), \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{df}}} (provisions), \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{nh}}} (life), \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{h}}} (satisfy))}. In return for his offering, the gods promise to maintain Egypt, with a play on the two meanings of \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{bAk}}} (maintain/Egypt). The image of Isis seated over the Isheru Lake, as well as Mut's related epithet,\textsuperscript{1058} connects with the myth. Although not expressly stated, Hathor again

\textsuperscript{1048} D III, 77:5: \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{sI smt-mt}}} (son of He who unites with Ma'at) (Thoth); \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{snm}}} (image of the Hereditary Prince of the Gods) (Geb).}
\textsuperscript{1049} D III, 77:8: \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{wn.n=s sSp m sSp.t=k}}} (I have opened the light in your chapel).}
\textsuperscript{1050} D III, 77:12: \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{r=t i hry sns.w hry-md.t=i hry tpy.w-r=t}}} (my mouth possessing the prayers, my heart possessing the (magical) utterances), the latter expression with the heart-sign protected by the vulture, discussed in Section 5.3.2.}
\textsuperscript{1051} D III, 78:11: \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{pr(t).t m r=t=s hpr hre=}}} (what goes forth from her mouth comes into being at once), discussed in Section 5.3.2.}
\textsuperscript{1052} D III, 80:17: \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{sw mi Hr it.n=f tt.wy}}} (He is like Horus, he has seized the Two Lands).}
\textsuperscript{1053} D III, 81:8: \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{sw mi Isdn apr wda.t}}} (He is like Isden (=Thoth), who provisions the udjat).}
\textsuperscript{1054} D III, 82:5: \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{sw mi Hr dr stt n lm.t rwi sdbw}}} (He is like Horus who drives away impurity from the Female Sun Disk (i.e. Atenet), who dispels evil).}
\textsuperscript{1055} D III, 81:16.
\textsuperscript{1056} D III, 82:7-8, with visual plays on six epithets.
\textsuperscript{1057} D III, 84:12.
\textsuperscript{1058} D III, 85:3: \textit{\textit{\textit{\texttt{nb.t isrw}}} (Lady of the Isheru).}
has the role of a deceased ancestor goddess because of her presence as a recipient of the funerary offerings.

5.4.5 South Wall

The south wall, with its extra register at the base, has less overlap of themes than the lateral walls. The bandeaux of the frieze and the base contain the titulary of the king, characterizing him as beloved of Hathor\(^\text{1059}\) and beloved of Isis.\(^\text{1060}\) Beginning with the lowest register, the two symmetrical scenes of primordial water at the base connect to two major themes: the myth, due to the water's purifying, pacifying effect on the Distant Goddess;\(^\text{1061}\) Hathor as the female creator and bringer of the Nile, due to her characterization as the daughter of Nun and of Irta, and her identification with Isis.\(^\text{1062}\) The text emphasizes the root \textit{hpr}, "become," in descriptions of Hathor as primordial goddess who brings the world into existence.\(^\text{1063}\) Visual plays highlight characteristics of the water: child-signs alluding to rejuvenation;\(^\text{1064}\) leg-signs alluding to the leg of Osiris, the mythical source of the inundation.\(^\text{1065}\)

![Fig. 5.87. The Three Themes on South Wall of Per-wer Sanctuary, after D III, pl. 190, © IFAO](image)

In the 1\(^{\text{st}}\) register, the two symmetrical offerings of Ma'at appropriately equate the King with Thoth\(^\text{1066}\), who carries the epithet, "Lord of Ma'at." In return for the King's offering, Hathor

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\(^{1059}\) On the east side of the bandeau of the frieze and on both the east and west sides of the bandeau of the base (D III, 59,10-11 and 60,4-5).

\(^{1060}\) On the west side of the bandeau of the frieze (D III, 62,2-3).

\(^{1061}\) D III, 63,8, in the Royal Randzeile: \textit{in=f n=t nms.ty hnÊ.ti m nwn shtp=f lb=t m mw-rnp}, "He brings you the two \textit{nms.t}-jars filled with primordial water (lit. Nun), it pacifies your heart with the water of rejuvenation."

\(^{1062}\) Hathor is the demiurge who brings everything that exists into being when she shines (D III, 63,3-4); Isis as Sopdet heralds the coming of the inundation (D III, 74,12-13).

\(^{1063}\) Five examples of word play on the root \textit{hpr} in the east scene (D III, 74,12 – 75,11).

\(^{1064}\) D III, 63,5; \textit{Ihy-nwn}, "Ihy-nun"; D III, 63,5; \textit{mw-rnp}, "water of rejuvenation."

\(^{1065}\) D III, 71,18, discussed in \textbf{5.2.3}.

\(^{1066}\) D III, 67,12-13; 79,5-6.
places Ma'at in his heart, "in order to do (what is right) for the gods, forever." The mention of Thoth, as well as the statement that Ihy's pacifies her heart with the sistrum connects to the myth. There are multiple plays on sound and meaning between Ma'at and mr.t (throat), as discussed earlier. Visual plays appear in the epithets of Thoth, Harsomtus the Child, Hathor.

The 2nd register contains two symmetrical scenes, arranged on either side of the Southern Niche: cloth on the east side, unguent on the west. Both offerings correspond closely to funerary rites, reflecting the combination of solar and Osirian motives in the daily temple ritual. Traditionally, the white cloth symbolizes the strength of the Eye of Horus. The Ptolemaic scribes adapted it for Hathor, exploiting the aural connections of the words to her solar qualities. For example, the name of the nine-strand linen offered, psd, can also mean "shine"; its whiteness, hd, also means "bright," thus leading to many aural and visual puns. The symmetrical offering of unguent also connects to funerary rites for Osiris, in which the perfumed oil, containing magical properties, would bind the limbs together and give the mummy renewed strength. The statements referring to the God's Land and Valley of Myrrh connect to the myth. Just as Hathor "unites" with the light of the mirrors, she "unites" with the fragrance in her chapel.

Proceeding to the 3rd register, the two symmetrical offerings of the mirror naturally stress Hathor's solar qualities. The king's offering, and his crown with the large sun disk and double ostrich feathers, allude to the two Eyes of Ra. There is only one word play in both scenes together, a polyptoton on the root šḥ (effective/shining), designating the Eyes of Hathor's reciprocal gift to the King. However, there are many visual plays, on the signs writing sspt (luminous one), and emphasis on hand-signs in bhdw (throne), ntjt.t (throne dais), and šsp (receive), perhaps emphasizing the offering that was on the 'hand' of the king. The King's offering of the mirrors, though not explicitly stated in the texts, is the royal equivalent of the divine offering of the two Eyes to Hathor by Shu and Thoth in the Southern Niche. Both of them emphasize the importance of the return of the Udjat to its proper place.

5.4.6 Southern Niche

Entering the Southern Niche, we again see an emphasis on the King's legitimacy in the transition to the highly sacred space, in the decoration framing the entrance on the north wall. On the lintel, the King offers the double to Ihy, who, in turn, give the King rule over the Two Lands. The lower halves of the door jambs allude to the King's effective speech and his

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1067 D III, 68,3: ďl= i n=k m3t.t m lb=k r ir.t s n ntr.w q.t, "I place Ma'at for you in your heart, in order to do it (i.e. what is right) for the gods forever."
1068 D III, 79,4.
1069 Section 5.1.2.
1070 Davies, Ritual at Abydos, 89.
1071 Moret, Culte, 178-189.
1072 D III, 71,6-7.
1073 On the east side of the 3rd register, south wall: D III, 74,7, discussed in 5.1.4.
1074 D III, 83,6: hnm=s šbḥ m ḫd=s, "she unites with the fragrance in her chapel."
1075 D III, 74,2; 74,4; 74,7. Discussed in 5.1.4.
As shown in the diagram below, the predominant theme of the niche is Hathor's qualities as solar goddess and primordial creator. This emphasis is apparent on the east and west walls, where the linguistic devices in the udjat offering scenes highlight the turns in meaning in roots like wD3 (udjat/healthy); šh (Eye, effective/shining); š3r (primordial/create); and hD (shrine/light). Sign plays visually emphasize eyes (wD3.ty). This theme continues in the bandeau of the frieze as well as the cryptographic inscription of the base, where the Per-wer "for the Golden One" is "like the horizon containing the Aten." This solar emphasis ties in perfectly with the myth. The two Udjat offerings, in the 2nd register of the east and west walls, have unmistakable links to the myth. On the east wall, Shu, the brother of Tefnut who helps bring her back, offers the healthy Eye to Hathor; Horus of Edfu takes on the role of her father Ra, "who places his arms around the mistress and Lady of Iunet in his beautiful form of nb (r) dr, "Lord to the Limit."

On the west wall, Thoth greets the goddess, Ihy returns the Eye, and Harsomtus is called, "Ra himself in the Sanctuary of Ra."

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1076 The lower door jambs include images of the King and Queen, Thoth and Ma'at, and the personifications of Hu (utterance), Sia (perception), Ir (doing) and Sedjem (hearing), qualities used by the Memphite Creator God. Discussed in 5.3.2.

1077 wD3: D III, 94,14-15; šh: 94,15; š3r: 95,3;

1078 wD3.ty: D III, 97,13.

1079 D III, 93,6; 93,9.

1080 D III, 95,6. An epithet of the sun god, Ra.

1081 D III, 98,1.
Chapter 6
Conclusions

The Egyptian temple, a microcosm of the universe, replicates in stone the natural world. The Ptolemaic temples expand and elaborate this conception, aided by an enormous growth in the number, complexity, and polyvalency of hieroglyphic signs and iconographic elements in the reliefs; the scribes exploited this enlarged "playing field" to construct texts and reliefs that function on multiple aural, visual, and thematic levels. The present study explores these techniques in great detail, but its overarching purpose is ultimately a search for meaning. Did the multitude of puns, plays on signs, and complex iconographic creations have a purpose beyond a simple intellectual game of learned scribes? What were the ancient scribes trying to achieve? In order to answer these questions, we examined each of these techniques in depth, exploring their use in the Per-wer Sanctuary at Dendera, the most sacred cult chamber of Hathor.

We found that word plays exploit the power of the spoken word, recalling the authoritative utterance by the Creator, whose speech brought the world into existence; scribes used them in a number of creative ways: repetition, which highlights key words and lends structure to larger thematic units; antanaclasis, whose shifts in meaning emphasize cause and effect; polyptotons, whose puns and alliteration simultaneously explain and emphasize the meaning behind a phrase; true puns, whose power derives from their ambiguity, forging connections on multiple levels. The scribes employed each of these devices to link an offering with its result, or an action with its actor.

We saw how pictorial hieroglyphs naturally integrate both text and art to convey a message, the performative power inherent in writing giving them magical effectiveness. The scribes exploited the polyvalency of the signs in a number of ways: new ideograms, which convey multiple aspects of the deity; changes in orientation, which mimic the visual confrontation between characters; creation of symmetrical arrangements, which replicate action and result; visual alliteration, which, like aural alliteration, emphasizes key words and phrases. In each of these techniques, the scribes link the actor with his offering or the result of his action, visually foregrounding important theological concepts.

Finally, we saw the many links between texts and reliefs, facilitated by the increase in the multiplicity of crowns, cult objects, and regalia. Forming connections between iconography and epithets, the scribes not only created links to the wearer, but also to other actors and objects, both within and between scenes. By switching crowns between characters in two symmetrical scenes, the scribes not only bound together those scenes, but also highlighted the complementary pairs of scenes that are essential for the return of the Distant Goddess and the restoration of cosmic order.

These three types of scribal techniques thus lie at the heart of the meaning within the main thematic threads of the Per-wer: the Myth of the Wandering Goddess, Hathor as Creator, and the King as Intermediary. Furthermore, these techniques recreate and emphasize on both aural and visual levels two essential things: the complex, interconnected environment of the

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1082 The undulating wall enclosure = the waters of the Nun; pylon = the mountains of the horizon; hypostyle hall = the primeval swamp; plant life and offerings on lower registers of walls = products and plants of the earth; astronomical ceiling = sky; the sanctuary with its enclosed naos = the primeval mound of creation.
natural world and the interaction that takes place between the two main actors within this environment—the King, representing humankind, and the goddess, representing the Divine.

The scribes showed the interconnectedness of the natural environment through the links formed between words, signs, and iconography, as well as between symmetrical scenes. However, these connections between complementary pairs did not exclude one, or even both of these scenes, from forming relationships and connections with other scenes. This heightened complexity of an interlinked network of relationships is intentional; by its creation, the scribes sought to replicate in the texts and reliefs the complexity and perfection of divine creation.

Similarly, the scribes used these techniques to emphasize the interconnection between the King and the goddess, showing the importance of his actions and offerings in gaining the desired divine response. By means of offerings that pacify the Distant Goddess and convince her to return to Egypt, the King accomplishes a number of things simultaneously: her return heralds the coming of the inundation, with its attendant prosperity and joy; the return of the sun and the moon restore ordered time; her return to the brow of the sun god guarantees protection against all forces of destruction. Furthermore, her return restores cosmic order, or Ma'at.

The importance placed by the scribes on the restoration of Ma'at cannot be overstated. Figures of Ma'at appear four times (the "number of completion") on the south walls of the Per-\textit{wer} and of the Southern Niche. The goddess Ma'at also accompanies the King as his adores Hathor on the Per-\textit{wer}'s lateral walls. As we saw earlier, since the offerings of Ma'at in the floor-level crypt lie directly beneath the Southern Niche, images of Ma'at protect Hathor's sacred image not only on all sides, but also in three dimensions. The reason for this constant emphasis on Ma'at and on the offerings that the King makes to restore it, is due to the constant threat that chaos will overtake order,\textsuperscript{1083} requiring the constant nurture of balance and order, represented by Ma'at. The wall reliefs, whose multiple aural and visual plays cluster in these critical areas of the Per-\textit{wer}, underline the importance of this concept and attest the agency of the ancient scribes. Furthermore, by returning the goddess to her proper place and restoring Ma'at, the King also ensures the continuation of creation, because the the naos within the Per-\textit{wer} is not only the mound of creation, but Hathor herself is also the Creator.

\textsuperscript{1083} Modern physics recognizes this tendency in the concept of entropy, in which everything naturally tends towards a state of disorder; equilibrium is a state that is difficult to achieve and maintain.
Chapter 7

Translation of the Texts in the Per-wer Sanctuary

7.0 Introduction

The transliterations and translations (as in the previous chapters) employ the following symbols and conventions:

Underline = reversal
Red = parallelism; alliteration (unless otherwise indicated)
Blue = sign play
Bold = word play
Bold Blue = overlap of word and sign play

[ ] marks a restoration of the original text
< > shows that a word omitted in the original has been supplied
( ) marks English words inserted to clarify the sense
[...] marks lacunae
…. indicates inability to translate.
{ } indicates scribal error that should be omitted
* uncertain

In transliterations, proper names of divinities (e.g. H.t-hr, "Hathor") and toponyms (e.g Twn.t, "Iunet") are capitalized. Compound names are hyphenated in transliteration but not in English, e.g. Wbn.t-m-nbw, "She who shines like gold." Except for a few epithets, like Nbw.t (Golden one), Wbn.t-m-nbw (She who shines like gold), and ḫr.t-R (Eye of Ra), most epithets and titles are capitalized only in the English translation; longer epithets capitalize only the first word in English. The epithet, "the Great," is capitalized, but not separated from the main name by a comma, e.g. "Hathor the Great," as it is usually considered a unit in English. "Ka" and "Ba" are always capitalized in English, though not in transliteration.

As far as possible, I try to reflect in the English what is happening grammatically in the Egyptian. To this end, prepositional nisbes (adjectives made from prepositions) functioning as substantives are translated to reflect their role, e.g. ḫnt, derived from the preposition meaning "at the head of," is translated as "foremost one"; if feminine, "(f.)" is added, e.g., ḫnty.t Twn.t, "Foremost one (f.) of Iunet" (D III, 50,12).

In order to convey more meaning and allusions, some words are transcribed into English, rather than translated. For example, the male and female sun disks, Ἁtn and ἅτν.τ are always given as Aten and Atenet; the male and female suns, Ṣ and Ṣy.τ, as Ra and Rayt. Occasionally, the words will be rendered so that they replicate in English the word play present in the Egyptian, e.g. Rayt n Ra.w, "female sun of suns." The four main names of Dendera, Twn.t, Ṣd.t-di, Ṣrr, ḫ3b-3.wy, and Nfr.y.t, are given as "Iunet," "Iatdi," "Tarer," and "Qab-Tawy," and "Netjeryt,"
respectively, to maintain their distinctions. 

"Iunet," being especially ubiquitous, is discussed in a footnote only in the first text in which it appears (Doc 2). Likewise, the two types of eternity, \textit{d.t} and \textit{n\textasciitilde{h}h}, are translated as "\textit{d.t-}eternity" and "\textit{n\textasciitilde{h}h-}eternity," rather than the more traditional (and imprecise), "forever," and "eternally."

The male and female titles, \textit{hm} and \textit{hm.t}, are translated as "Incarnation," rather than "Majesty," in order to convey the idea that the deity is manifest in the physical vehicle of the statue of the god or the body of the living King. The term, "King," the office-holder on earth carrying the Ka of the Living Horus, is always capitalized.

\footnote{Kockelmann, Toponymen, 65; 221-232, notes that the different designations for Dendera (Iunet, Iatdi, and Tarer being the most frequent) function as synonyms, chosen to provide variation between parallel texts and to make word plays in epithets. The frequent occurrence of word plays with toponyms suggests that the scribes used the toponym lists in their construction. Thus, the epithet in a text seems to determine the choice of the toponym, e.g., in the antanaclasis in these two epithets: \textit{Nbw.t m-hnt pr-Nbw.t}, "The Golden One (f.) in the Sanctuary of the Golden One (f.)" (D III, 72,5); \textit{rmn.n=i lh.t r-tp pr lh.t}, "I carry the \textit{lh.t} (cow) to the House of the \textit{lh.t} (cow)" (D VII, 181,2).}
7.1 Outer Entrance

OUTER ENTRANCE IN MYSTERIOUS CORRIDOR, D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

Upper Frieze
Docs 1-2

Bandeau of the Frieze
Docs 3-4

Scenes between Bandeau of the Frieze and frieze of uraeei
Docs 12-13

Upper Cornice below frieze of Uraeii
Above the Solar Disk: Doc 5
Texts on either side of Solar Disk:
Viewer’s Left side (east): Doc 6
Viewer’s Right side (west): Doc 7 (destroyed)

Lateral Columns of Text
A: Doc 8; B: Doc 9
C: Doc 10; D: Doc 11

Lower Cornice
Texts on either side of Solar Disk:
Viewer’s Left (east): Doc 14
Viewer’s Right (west): Doc 15 (destroyed)

Lintel (immediately above door opening)
Viewer’s Right (east): Doc 16
Viewer’s Left (west): Doc 17

Lateral Columns of Text under Lintel (montants)
Viewer’s Left (east): Doc 18
Viewer’s Right (west): Doc 19

Thickness of the Door Frame (épaisseur des montants):
Viewer’s Left (east): Doc 20
Viewer’s Right (west): Doc 21

Door-Jambs (pieds-droit de l’embrasure)
Viewer’s Left (east): Doc 22
Viewer’s Right (west): Doc 23
Each deity's "number" (appearing in D II) is given below the seated image, to prevent confusion with the column numbers listed above in line drawing. D II, pl. 94, © IFAO.
Doc 1 – Upper Frieze, East Side: D II, 31, nos. 17-26

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>EAST WALL</strong></td>
<td><strong>EAST WALL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. Osiris [1st Tybi]</td>
<td>61. $W sû$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62. Hathor [1st Tybi]</td>
<td>62. $H.t-\dot{hr}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. She who is hidden/secret [2nd Tybi]</td>
<td>63. $\dot{St}t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64. Sole one (f.) (==uraeus) [2nd Tybi]</td>
<td>64. $W^*t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOUTH WALL</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Sopdu [3rd Tybi]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. She possesses her face [3rd Tybi]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Herishef (lit. He who is upon his lake) [4th Tybi]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Lady of her mother [4th Tybi]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. She of the $\dot{wrr}.t$-Crown [5th Tybi]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Lady of sweetness [5th Tybi]</td>
<td></td>
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<td>7. Neith [6th Tybi]</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Beloved of Her Father [6th Tybi]</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Lord of Mesen (=Edfu) [7th Tybi]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Lady of Keben (=Byblos) [7th Tybi]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Isis [8th Tybi]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. She who leads the goddesses [8th Tybi]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Ra-Horakhty [9th Tybi]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Lady of Khemnis [9th Tybi]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Lady of heaven [10th Tybi]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. She who creates her perfection [10th Tybi]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Whose power exists $^{1089}$ [11th Tybi]</td>
<td>18. $Wîn-bî\dot{t}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1086 Entries in red are located directly over the entrance to the Per-wer Sanctuary.

1087 An epithet of Hathor in D III, 62,5; E V, 332,9. Leitz, LGG VII, 140-142, notes that $\dot{St}t$ is identical with $\dot{St}t$-$\dot{irw}$, "She who is hidden of form," an important aspect of Hathor in the Per-wer. See 5.2.5.

1088 Seated woman holding a papyrus scepter. Transliteration follows that of Leitz, LGG VII, 127, and Wb I, 268, 17, which notes the use of the double reed leaf since the 18th Dynasty. Cauville, Dend Trad II, pp. 428-429, transliterates the name as $\dot{Wîdyt}$, no doubt to reflect the double reed-leaf in some of the writings. Wb I, 269, 6-8, distinguishes between the name of the goddess ($Wîdt$) and the word for a columned hall in a temple ($\dot{w}$$\dot{dy}t$), also attested since the 18th Dynasty, which is additionally a designation for Dendera's roof chapel.

1089 Seated lion-headed woman holding an ankh. Wb I, 413,2 – 414,6, translates $bîw$ as "fame," "power," and "will." Cauville, Dend Trad II, p. 56, translates $bîw$ as "numen". Leitz, LGG II, 375, translates it as "Macht."

1090 Seated woman wearing horns-and-disk headdress and holding a $\dot{w}$$\dot{is}$-scepter. The word, $Imîw$, can designate one of two toponyms: Imau or Momemphis (now Kom el-Hisn and al-Tud); Hannig A-D, 1304, determined with three tree-signs; $Imî$, Ima, or Yam, a region in Nubia near Kerma (Wb I, 81,8; Hannig A-D, 1304). Leitz, LGG VIII, 355: $Nbt-Imîw$, "Die Herrin von Kom el-Hisn"; $Nbt-Imîw-m$$\dot{hr}$$\dot{w}t-Nt$, "Die Herrin von Kom el-Hisn im tempel der Neith"; $Nbt-Imîw$, "Die Herrin von $Imîw$ (Ortsnamen unbekannter Lokalisierung in Nubien)." It is not clear to me which toponym is referenced in this epithet, but the references in LGG seems to suggest Kom el-Hisn as the most likely. Homonyms of $Imîw$ having meanings that relate to Hathor include $Imîw$, "the radiance of the sun" (Wb I, 80,9; since NK), and $Imîw$, "red color," "red cloth" (Wb I, 80,16-17; since NK). See also Galvin, Priestesses, 228-231; Staehelin, Tracht, 175-176.
| 21. Lord of Ma’at (=Thoth) [13th Tybi] | 21. Nb-m³š.t |
| 22. Lady of heads owing to her Ka (power) [13th Tybi] | 22. Nb.t-tp.w-m-k³=s |
| 23. Tefnut[14th Tybi] | 23. Tfny.t |

Doc 2 – Upper Frieze, West Side: D II, 61, nos. 17-22[^1095]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26. She who is beautiful to see[^1096] [16th Tybi]</td>
<td>26. Nfr.t-m³š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. She who gives what she wants[^1097] [17th Tybi]</td>
<td>24. Di.t-mr(=s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. [Onuris][^1098] [17th Tybi]</td>
<td>23. [Nn-hr.t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. [Naunet] [18th Tybi]</td>
<td>22. [Nn.t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. [Mut] [18th Tybi]</td>
<td>21. [Mw.t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. [With her] is the reunion[^1099] [19th Tybi]</td>
<td>20. Sln-[m–r=s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. [She of the unguent (?)[^1100] [19th Tybi]</td>
<td>19. [Md.t(?)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. She who is joyous[^1101] [20th Tybi]</td>
<td>18. (Imy.t)-hy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. [He who is unique (?)][^1102] [20th Tybi]</td>
<td>17. [Wɛ (?)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Whose Ka is in her heart [21st Tybi]</td>
<td>16. K³=s-m-ib=s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^1091]: Seated lion-headed woman wearing sun disk with uraeus and holding papyrus scepter.
[^1092]: Seated lion-headed figure holding papyrus scepter. Since the BoD (NK), bḥ is "the place where the sun rises" (Wb I, 422,9), in LP and GR it is also a verb meaning "rise (of the sun)," or "shine brightly" (Wb I, 423,1-2).
[^1093]: Seated woman wearing the red crown (Neith) and holding an ankh.
[^1094]: Seated lion-headed woman holding papyrus scepter.
[^1095]: Entries in red are located directly over the entrance to the Per-her Sanctuary. Entries in bold font allude to the Myth of the Wandering Goddess.
[^1096]: Parallel text: D XV, 101 no. 30; Cauville, Dend Trad II, p. 528, lists the 16th of Tybi.
[^1097]: Wb V, 420,1-3 GR: used particularly at Dendera for "sky," the place of the stars; also as the image of height, beauty, etc.; Parallel text: D XV, 100, no. 29; Cauville, Dend Trad II, p. 723, lists the 17th of Tybi.
[^1098]: Parallel text: D XV, 100, no. 27: Šw, together with the four-feathered headdress in our text, which is characteristic of Shu: (C95), confirms the restoration. Also, the reference in no. 20 to "reunion" is a strong allusion to the Return of the Distant Goddess, which Shu facilitates in the myth.
[^1099]: Parallel text: D XV, 100, no. 24. The 19th of Tybi is the first day of the Festival of the Return of the Distant Goddess; the name, "[with her] is the Reunion," or, "She who is reunited…," alludes to this festival, which celebrates the reunion of Hathor (as the Distant Goddess) with her father Ra, the sun god. The verb šhn can also mean "install," as in iw=t shn.ti m ḥḥ śps (D III, 46,4), "you are installed in the noble palace."
[^1100]: D III, 82,14 – 83,8, is an offering scene of the king’s presentation of md.t (unguent) to Hathor.
[^1101]: The caption above the lion-headed woman wearing the sun disk is (A28) as a determinative, but not as an ideogram.
[^1102]: Parallel Text: D XV, 100, no. 21.
15. Wadjet [21\textsuperscript{st} Tybi]
14. Lady of the account [22\textsuperscript{nd} Tybi]
13. Onuris [22\textsuperscript{rd} Tybi]
12. She who is green of field\textsuperscript{1103} [23\textsuperscript{rd} Tybi]
11. Iah (=Moon) [23\textsuperscript{rd} Tybi]
10. [Lady of light]\textsuperscript{1104} [24\textsuperscript{th} Tybi]
9. Amun-Ra [24\textsuperscript{th} Tybi]
8. Shining Eye [25\textsuperscript{th} Tybi]
7. Montu [25\textsuperscript{th} Tybi]
6. She who traverses Nubia\textsuperscript{1105} [26\textsuperscript{th} Tybi]
5. Wadjet [26\textsuperscript{th} Tybi]
4. She who is wide of stride [27\textsuperscript{th} Tybi]
3. Khonsu\textsuperscript{1106} [27\textsuperscript{th} Tybi]
2. Whose silence does not exist [28thTybi]
1. Anubis [28\textsuperscript{th} Tybi]

WEST WALL
64. She of the palace [29\textsuperscript{th} Tybi]
63. Onuris [29\textsuperscript{th} Tybi]
62. Lady of the sanctuaries (?) [30\textsuperscript{th} Tybi]
61. [Sokar] [30\textsuperscript{th} Tybi]
60. Lady of white limestone [1\textsuperscript{st} Mechir]
59. Sekhmet [1\textsuperscript{st} Mechir]
58. Lady of trembling [2\textsuperscript{nd} Mechir]
57. Sekhmet [2\textsuperscript{nd} Mechir]
56. Lady of the son of Ra [3\textsuperscript{rd} Mechir]
55. Osiris [3\textsuperscript{rd} Mechir]
54. Swift (f.) of the pillar\textsuperscript{1107} (?) [4\textsuperscript{th} Mechir]
53. Hathor, Lady of Iunet\textsuperscript{1108} [4\textsuperscript{th} Mechir]

\textsuperscript{1103} Parallel text in D XV, 99, 16: $W\textit{idy.t}$. There may be confusion between the double reed-leaf of Wadjet and the three reed leaves used to spell $s\textit{h.t}$, "fields."

\textsuperscript{1104} The epithet $n\textit{b ssP}$ (Lord of Light) is held by a genie (Edfou I, 511,4); Ihy (D III, 12,13); the King (D II, 22,6; 48,3; III, 160,11); Harsomtus (D VI, 127,4); Horus (D VI, 58,2).

\textsuperscript{1105} See discussion in Excursus, 5.0.1.1.

\textsuperscript{1106} Parallel text: D XV, 99, no. 3: $H\textit{ns}w \textit{m} W\textit{3s}t$ (Khonsu in Thebes).

\textsuperscript{1107} The adjective $h\textit{h}$ appears in epithets of gods who move or strike quickly (PL 705): Horus is $h\textit{h-nmt.t}$, "swift of steps" (E I, 76,3); Horus-Behdety is $h\textit{h-msw}$, "swift of births" (E I, 239,7; Wb III, 233,11); Isis-Hathor is $h\textit{h} b\textit{sw}$, "swift of Ba-power," or "swift and mighty" (E I, 306,1; Wb III, 233,12).

\textsuperscript{1108} The most well-known and oldest name of Dendera, attested since the 4\textsuperscript{th} Dynasty. Bonnet, RÄRG, 155, suggests that $I\textit{wn.t}$ (Iunet) may have originally meant "Pfeilerstadt," "Pfeilerhof," or "Säulensaal." Fischer, Dendera, 33, notes that in the late periods, Dendera was considered the feminine counterpart of $T\textit{wnw}$ (Heliopolis), as attested by texts at Dendera, e.g. "Hathor, for whom one made $I\textit{wn.t}$ in place of $T\textit{wnw}$ (Heliopolis)," as noted by Junker, Sechs Teile, 103. Murray, Temples, 53, derives the name, Dendera (Tentyra), from the phrase, $t\textit{t}-I\textit{wn.t-nfr.t}$, "The (female) pillar of the goddess." However, Kockelmann, Toponymen, 54, gives the correct transcription as $I\textit{wn.t-ti-nfr.t}$, "Iunet of the goddess" (D VI, 168,8 = No. 111). It would seem more likely that "Tentyra" derives from $t\textit{t-nfr.t}$, "The Goddess." See also El-Kordy, Noms de Dendara, 391, who gives the names of the temple complex and its parts listed in Dendera's Crypt West 3, the so-called "Crypt of the Archives."
Doc 3 – Bandeau of the Frieze, East Side: D II, 3, 6-7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3,6 The Sanctuary of the Golden One (f.),(^{1109}) is for the Golden One (f.),(^{1110}) gilded with gold,(^{1111}) the Golden One (f.) of the gods shines within it. The Per-wer is for the uraeus,(^{1112}) 3,7 shining like gold. The Shining (Uraeus) shines in its midst.(^{1113})</td>
<td>3,6 pr-(\text{Nb.w.t} n \text{Nb.w.t} \text{nbi m nbw Nb.w.t} \text{ntr.w wbn m-(\text{hint})=f} \text{pr-wr n lpy.t 3,7 p'(\text{p}^\prime)s m s(\text{s})wy psd. t psd.tl} m-(\text{kb}^\prime)s=f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{1109}\) The designation, pr-\(\text{nbw.t} n \text{nbw.t} \), "Sanctuary of the Golden One," can apply to a special part of the temple, such as the Per-wer, or to the temple as a whole. See Kockelmann, Toponymen, 75-79; Gauthier, DG, 93. Note the various ways that scholars transliterate "gold": Wb II, 237,6 - 239,13: \(\text{nb} \), but \(\text{nbw} \) when referring to the ore; Kurth, E VII, 306,13, \(\text{nb} \); Wilson, PL 503-504, \(\text{nbw} \); Cauville, D I-XV, \(\text{nbw} \); Preys, Complexes, 621, \(\text{nbw} \); Kockelmann, Toponymen, 75-76: \(\text{nwb} \), which comes closest to the Coptic, NOY\(\text{B} \) (Crum, 221b). I follow Wilson, Cauville, and Preys in transliterating it as \(\text{nbw} \).

\(^{1110}\) Preys, Complexes, 246-248, discusses the many epithets of Hathor (and her counterpart, Isis) that include the element, \(\text{nbw} \), "gold."

\(^{1111}\) I have chosen to translate \(\text{nbi} \) as "gilded," rather than "plated," in order to replicate in English the alliteration and polyptoton of the Egyptian \((\text{nbi m nbw})\): "gilded with gold." The verb, \(\text{nbi} \), "to fashion, work, make," may be connected etymologically with \(\text{nbw} \), "gold." Wilson, PL 502, notes that \(\text{nbi} \) derives from the older term, \(\text{nbi} \), meaning "to melt (metal)." See Wb II, 236, 6-9. Because the gold determinative is present in both \(\text{nbi} \) and \(\text{nbw} \), they may both derive from the root \(\text{nb} \) (gold).

\(^{1112}\) psd.t derives from psd, "to shine"; it denotes the (shining) uraeus when determined by \(\text{psd} \) (I64).

\(^{1113}\) The preposition \(\text{m-\(\text{kb}^\prime\)s} \), written with the coil-sign, literally means "in the coils," thus alluding to Hathor's manifestation as the cobra on the brow of her father Ra.
The Sanctuary of the Golden One (f.)\( ^{1114} \) is for the Golden One (f.) of the gods, plated in gold.\( ^{1115} \) She who shines like gold\( ^{1116} \) in it (=the sanctuary), (which) resembles\( ^{1117} \) seeing (it) (=the sanctuary) the horizon of heaven. She enters [...] 2 squares [...] all.

pr-Nbw.t n Nbw.t ntr.w inh m nbw Wbn.t-m-nbw wbn m-hnt=f twt 4,3 m33=f r 3h.t n.t p.t 5k=s [...] nb.w\( ^{3} \)

The designation, pr-nbw.t n nbw.t, "Sanctuary of the Golden One," can apply to a special part of the temple, such as the Per-ger, or to the temple as a whole. See Kockelmann, Toponymen, 75-79; Gauthier, DG, 93. Note the various ways that scholars transliterate "gold": Wb II, 237.6 - 239.13: nb, but nbw when referring to the ore; Kurth, E VII, 306.13, nb; Wilson, PL 503-504, nbw; Cauville, D1-XV, nbw; Preys, Complexes, 621, nbw; Kockelmann, Toponymen, 75-76: mb, which comes closest to the Coptic, NOYB (Crum, 221b). I follow Wilson, Cauville, and Preys in transliterating it as nbw.\( ^{1115} \)

The phrase, inh m nbw, is attested since the 18th Dynasty, but the writing of inh with the tusk of an elephant (F18) is typically GR (Wb I, 99).\( ^{1115} \)

The consensus among scholars is that the expression, should be considered a participial phrase beginning with a feminine singular perfective active participle, thus wbn.t m nbw, which can be translated as "She who shines like gold." Nuances of translation exist as follows: Cauville, Dend Trad II, pp. 18-19, "Celle qui brille comme l'or"; Preys, Complexes, 78 n. 700, as "Celle qui apparaît comme l'Or"; Leitz, LGG VIII, 349, "Die als Gold aufgeht"; Wb I, 293.7, as "die als Gold erglänzt." Whereas Wb I, 293.6, transliterates the masculine version referring to the sun god, , as wbn m nb, "der in Gold aufgeht," it translates the feminine version, , as wbn m nb, "die als Gold erglänzt." The presence of the t-loaf and egg determinative at the end of the phrase, following the sign for nbw, suggests that the feminine ending applies to the participle rather than to the substantive nbw. In our example in D II, 4.2, the t-loaf and egg directly follow the bull-sign, (E1), which stands in honorific transposition to the rest of the phrase.

Wb 257,14-17: the expression, tw.t + r, "be like, resemble," used in the LP and GR, replaced the earlier tw.t + n.\( ^{1117} \)
Dappled One of Plumage, who goes forth from the horizon. Dappled One of Plumage, who appears in the sky.

**Translation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45,6 Dappled One of Plumage, who goes forth from the horizon. Dappled One of Plumage, who appears in the sky.</td>
<td>45,6 s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t s3b šw.t wbn m nn.t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1119 Frequent epithet of Horus Behdety, referring to his multi-colored plumage as a falcon. Wilson, PL 790-791, observes that when light strikes the feathers at an angle, they appear rainbow-colored.

1120 Wb I, 292,9 – 294,3: wbn can mean “rise,” “appear,” and “shine,” all of which are applicable in this context.

1121 Wilson, PL 525, suggests that the word nn.t, "sky," may be a confusion between the Heliopolitan Nut (goddess of the sky) and the Hermopolitan Naunet (female counterpart of the Nun, the primeval waters).
**Doc 6 – Upper Cornice East of Winged Disk: D III, 45,8-9**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45.8 Nekhbet,(^{1122}) White One (f.)(^{1123}) of Nekhen,(^{1124}) Mistress of Upper Egypt. 45.9 Wadjet, Lady of Pe, Mistress of Dep.(^{1125})</td>
<td>45.8 Nhḥ.t ḫḏ.t Nhḥn ḫḥnw.t tḥšm(^{c}) 45.9 Wḏy.t nb.t ḫnḥw.t Dp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Doc 7 – Upper Cornice West of Winged Disk: D III, 45,10 (destroyed)**

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\(^{1122}\) The vulture representing Nekhbet in this scene wears the white crown of Upper Egypt, flanked by two ostrich feathers, recalling the crown of Hathor of the Per-wer, in her form as Nekhbet. See discussion in 4.1.4.

\(^{1123}\) Wb III, 211,3-7. The term, ḫḏ.t, meaning "White one," is an epithet of Nekhbet as well as a name for the crown of Upper Egypt, derived from its color.

\(^{1124}\) Hierakonpolis in Upper Egypt.

\(^{1125}\) Wadjet is traditional the local cobra goddess of the ancestral towns of Lower Egypt, Pe and Dep (Buto). As a reflection of this association, one of her epithets since the 18th Dynasty is Dp.t, "the One (f.) from Dep" (PL 1193; Wb V, 443,2-4). At Dendera, Hathor takes over this epithet in her role as the Lower Egyptian cobra (vis-à-vis Nekhbet, the Upper Egyptian vulture): D III, 38,10; D V, 113,1.
# Outer Entrance, Framing of Doors

![Diagram of Outer Entrance, Framing of Doors]

**Doc 8 – Door Frame, East Side, Outer Column, Text A: D III, 45,13 – 46,1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>45,13</strong> Words to say: How beautiful is your face! You appear in your sanctuary, Hathor, the Great (f.), Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra. You come forth (in procession), Lady of Light who repels the darkness. You have <strong>45,14</strong> brightened the Two Lands with your beauty. Ra himself is praising you, making adoration before your beautiful face. The gods are making adoration for you. The goddesses are making jubilation for you.</td>
<td><strong>45,13</strong> <em>dd mdw nfr.wy hr=t h³=t m pr=t H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Twn.t Tr.t-Rc pr=t r-h³ nb(t) sšp ḫsr kkw shd.n=t 45,14 tš.wy m nfrw=t Rc ds=f hr swšš=t hr ir(t) išw m hr=t nfr ntr.w hr ir(t) n=t išw ntr.wt hr ir.t n=t hnw nhm n=t 45,15 p.t hr ḫšbš=s m pr=t m ḫ.t swšš tw(=t) tš dr=f r tš-rš-c wbn</em>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1126 In Ptolemaic Egyptian, the water sign (N35) can also stand for the preposition *m*, due to a dissimilation by contact with the sound *m*, which also occurs in Demotic, as noted by Kurth, EP I, §17.4 and n. 9, who adds that genitival-*n* can dissimilate to *m* as well, which occurs below in the present text in line 45,15: *wbn ḫtp n ḫm*.

1127 Wilson, PL 924, suggests that the reed-leaf at the beginning of *sšp* may have been an error for the folded cloth sign, which scribes copied and repeated in later texts.

1128 Following Kurth, EP II, 908-909, who discusses the academic controversy surrounding the interpretation of *sdm.n=f* constructions in Ptolemaic. In this case, Hathor’s appearance has brightened the land, thus earning Ra’s (and the rest of the divine world’s and humanity’s) praise.

1129 Wb II, 259,20 – 260,17: *nfrw* can mean "beauty," "perfection," or, as the plural, *nfr.w*, "beauties," "good things," all of which are appropriate in the present context.

1130 Wb II, 493,15-23; PL 606. In this text, the ideogram denoting *hnw*, "jubilation," depicts a kneeling man raising one fist above his head and placing the other upon his chest. This gesture is characteristic of the Souls of Pe and Nekhen, attested as early as PT 1005ab, and appearing in the Per-wer in D III, 91.8. In the wine offering on the east side of the lintel on the north wall of the Per-wer, Isis carries the epithet, *nb.t hnw*, "Lady of Jubilation" (D...
The sky and the stars are rejoicing for you as you go forth from the horizon. The entire land praises you as far as the rising and the setting of the Aten. Millions open their arms for you, hundreds of thousands kiss the ground for you. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ) has come before you, Hathor, Lady of lunet. He makes this beautiful festival for you. He repeats it annually, for t.-eternity.

Translation

46,3 Words to say: the Uraeus appears within the temple, she upon the brow of [her] father. You walk in the place of your desire. You run towards all the gods who abide in the palace, your Ka behind you, Hu and Sia in your

Transliteration

46,3 dd mdw hwr.t m-hnt 3h.t <wbn>=s hr wp.t n.t it[=s] nmt=t m s.t-ib=t phrr=t r nfr.w nb(w) dd m 46,4 "h k=t m-hyt t Hw SIB m šmsw=t wp n=t Đhwty w.t wt

III, 59,5), employing as the determinative for hnw. See Dominicus, Gesten, 61-65; 87; Abb. 14, with reliefs depicting the gesture.

The expression, h3b=s, usually translated as "stars," means lit., “a thousand are her Bas,” in a reference to the "sparkling Bas" of Nut, the sky goddess (PL 704). See also von Lieven, Himmel über Esna, 167-171, for h3b(w)=s as a collective term for the decanal stars, cited in Goebbs, Crowns, 17 n. 24.


Wb III, 394,1-7, Wilson, PL 570, notes becomes r due to phonetic change. Junker, GrD §239, p. 173-174, translates r-r=f to mean “as far as,” in terms of place or time. The apparently extraneous t-loaf here (noted by curly brackets in the transliteration) is puzzling and must be a scribal error.

Coordination of two similar verbs: Kurth, EP II, §184.

Dissimilation of m to genitival-n, as discussed above in n. 1121.

hfn.w, "hundreds of thousands": written with the sign of a frog (I7).


Following Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 105, who translates wr.t as “uraeus,” instead of “great one” even though wr.t here does not include the cobra determinative. The following phrase, hr wp.t n.t it[=s], "on the brow of [her] father," suggests that a translation of "uraeus" is appropriate.

Restoration of missing <wbn> follows Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 104-105.

Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 329, restores s-bolt (O34) beneath f-viper (I9).

Wb I, 541,2-10: phrr is a 3rd geminating verb meaning “to run.” Gods run towards (+ r) a place (Wb I, 541,7), and to help someone (CT II 96I). The use of phrr in this context implies that Hathor hurries back to her temple, so that she may take her place on her father’s brow as the uraeus.

Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 105, translates dd here as “installés.” I prefer the translation “abide” or “endure,” because the djed pillar at the root of the word, as the symbol of permanence and stability, suggests that the associate gods at Dendera are ever-present in Hathor’s following.

The phrase, "your Ka behind you," recalls the image of the king with his kꜣ standing behind him, which appears in the painted scene in the well shaft of the NK Theban tomb of Amenhotep III, KV 22.
Thoth opens for you the ways. Ra embraces you in his arms. You are installed in the noble 46,5 palace. You appear within the temple, for you are the Lady (to) the Limit, Hidden One (f.) of image, who drives away evil from the Lord of the shrine, who wears the double crown in the Per-wer, who brightens 46,6 the Atef-wearer as the Shining One (f.). Your beauties are before (i.e. in the presence of) Ra, the Shining One (f.) who makes people live. The temple is more prosperous than the places of the festivals of 46,7 eternity. The Uraeus of the First Primordial God, you protect Horus ( ). He is Ra, from whom you have come forth.

Doc 10 – Door Frame, East Side, Inner Column, Text C: D III, 46,10 – 47,4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46,10 The doors of the heaven of the Beautiful One (f.)</td>
<td>46,10 $\gamma$.wy p.t n.(t) $\gamma$.t rw.ty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1145 It is not clear to me why the scribe chose to write $\text{sms-} \text{sign} \downarrow \uparrow$ (T74) upside down. The presence of Hu and Sia, the deifications of utterance and perception, in Hathor's following emphasizes the importance of these two qualities, not only in Hathor's speech, but also in the words spoken by the king during his recitation of the liturgy. Hathor's epithet, $\text{nb.t (r) Dr}$, "Lady (to) the limit," is attested since the MK (Wb II, 232 – 233,1-5: "Allherrin") and used for Hathor since GR. It is the feminine counterpart of a similar epithet belonging to the sun god Ra, $\text{nb (r) Dr}$, "Lord (to) the limit," i.e. to the limit of the universe. It can also designate the Eye of Horus and is the name of one of the seven heavenly cows. See also Wb II, 230,15 – 231,2; Wb V, 591.

1146 It is not clear to me why the scribe chose to write $\text{sms-} \text{sign} \downarrow \uparrow$ (T74) upside down. The presence of Hu and Sia, the deifications of utterance and perception, in Hathor's following emphasizes the importance of these two qualities, not only in Hathor's speech, but also in the words spoken by the king during his recitation of the liturgy. Hathor's epithet, $\text{nb.t (r) Dr}$, "Lady (to) the limit," is attested since the MK (Wb II, 232 – 233,1-5: "Allherrin") and used for Hathor since GR. It is the feminine counterpart of a similar epithet belonging to the sun god Ra, $\text{nb (r) Dr}$, "Lord (to) the limit," i.e. to the limit of the universe. It can also designate the Eye of Horus and is the name of one of the seven heavenly cows. See also Wb II, 230,15 – 231,2; Wb V, 591.

1147 According to Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 636, the "Lord of the shrine" is Ra. The statement that Hathor "drives away evil" from him agrees well with her protective role as the uraeus on his brow.


1149 Wb IV, 250,10 – 251,10; $\downarrow \uparrow$ (S5) $\text{shm.ty}$, as the ideogram for "double crown" since 18th Dynasty, contra Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 107, who instead transliterates as $\text{hfr}$; although in Dend fonds, 192, she notes that this sign can be transliterated as $\text{p}$ $\text{shmy}$ or $\text{nswt-bity}$. Wb III, 241,17, observes that since the 19th Dynasty, the double crown plus three plural strokes can also serve as the logogram for $\text{hfr}$, "crowns."

1150 The Atef-wearer is Ra. He can wear the Atef crown himself or bestow it on other gods who act as his deputies, such as Osiris or Thoth. See Goeb, Crowns, 374; Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 348.

1151 Again, as in D III, 46,3, there is no determinative to secure the translation of $\text{wr.t}$ as "uraeus" rather than "great one." However, because $\text{pw.ty tpy}$ is an epithet of the sun god (see note immediately below), the translation of "uraeus" makes sense (so in Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 107).

1152 Wb I, 497,4, $\text{pw.ty tpy}$: since the 21st Dynasty, a designation of the sun god, especially in contrast to other primeval gods, and who is considered their creator. D I, 75,2, clarifies the equation of Ra with this epithet: $\text{hs n=t R}$ $\text{r shry lb=s shtp tw pw.ty tpy.}$ “Ra plays the harp for you in order to appease your heart. The First Primordial God satisfies you, Hathor, Lady of Dendera.”
and the entrance doors of her chapel are in joy, (made) in beautiful white (lime)stone of Tura,\(^{1153}\) shining in gold, decorated with color, \(^{47,1}\) sanctified by the work of Tenen, its door leaves in beautiful cedar of Lebanon,\(^{1154}\) gilded with copper\(^{1155}\) of Asia.\(^{1156}\) Opening \(^{47,2}\) the doors of the palace, raising up the noble shrine,\(^{1157}\) illuminating the Two Lands with light beams,\(^{1158}\) Hathor, Lady of Iunet \(^{1159}\) shines in her sanctuary like Ra \(^{47,3}\) who shines in the sky. She has seen this beautiful monument that the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( )\(^{|}\) made for her. She gives him the years of Atum, carrying (i.e. bearing) the double crown. He is the Falcon, Firm upon the serekh, Foremost One\(^{1160}\) of the living (divine) \(^{47,4}\) Kas, for \(d.t\)-eternity.

\(^{1153}\) Wb. I, 191, 1: \(\Theta\) \(\sigma n.w\), although in the present text, it is written \(\mathcal{D}\) with the painted eye (D138), and thus alluding to Hathor’s epithet of \(\sigma n.t\), "Beautiful one," appearing at the beginning of this text (D III, 46,10). GG, p. 451, notes that \(\sigma(i)n.w\), ‘Ainu, is the quarry at modern Tura, from which \(\mathcal{D}\) \(\sigma n.w\), "fine white (lime)stone of ‘Ainu" was obtained.

\(^{1154}\) Wb III, 310,13; PL 740: \(\mathcal{Hn}\-\mathfrak{s}\) is a mountainous region in Lebanon renowned for its forests of pine and cedar. Brugsch, Geogr Inscrip III, 72-73, mentions “Chentes” as the source of wood for temple door leaves, which were plated with gold and fitted with copper.

\(^{1155}\) The erroneous sign in line 47,1 should be \(\sqrt{\mathcal{D}}\) (N34). PL 306 notes that the spelling \(\sqrt{\mathcal{D}}\) means “copper” in all periods, contra Cauville Dend Trad III, p. 107, who translates the word as “bronze.” Faulkner, CDME, 169, transliterates \(\sqrt{\mathcal{D}}\) as “\(\mathcal{Hm}\) (?) copper.”

\(^{1156}\) Wb IV, 348,3-5: \(\mathfrak{Sf.t}\), the old designation for the lands NE of Egypt, "Asia." However, cf. discussion in 5.1.1.1.

\(^{1157}\) \(\mathcal{Hd}\) in this context refers to the portable shrine holding the image of the goddess. Wilson (PL 696) suggests that there may be a connection with the word \(\mathcal{Hd}\), meaning “light,” or “bright,” referring to the divine radiance emitted by gods’ images in their shrines.

\(^{1158}\) Wb III, 215, notes that since Dynasty 22, \(\mathcal{Hd}\)\(\mathfrak{d}\)\(\mathfrak{t}\) is mostly written \(\mathcal{Hd}\)\(\mathfrak{d}\)\(\mathfrak{w}\), as here in line 47,2. Nevertheless, Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 106, and PL 698, transliterate this writing as \(\mathcal{Hd}\)\(\mathfrak{d}\)\(\mathfrak{w}\).t.

\(^{1159}\) Wb I, 292,9 – 294,3: \(\mathfrak{Wbn}\) can mean “rise,” "appear," and "shine."

\(^{1160}\) Prepositional nisbe (an adjective made from a preposition), derived from \(\mathfrak{Hn}\), "at the head of"; translated as "foremost." In this epithet, the nisbe functions as a substantive, "foremost one." Hathor is often described as \(\mathfrak{Hn}\)\(\mathfrak{Hn}\)\(\mathfrak{w}\)\(\mathfrak{w}\)\(\mathfrak{w}\), "Foremost one of the Living (divine) Kas." (D III, 47,3-4).
47,6 The doors of the heaven of Rayt,\footnote{Rayt (R\textsuperscript{3}y.t) is the female counterpart of the sun god, Ra. Devauchelle, Notes, 190, §3, observes that the title, Rayt, first appears as a designation of Hatshepsut in the function of the King; it is attested for Ptolemaic queens. In the Ptolemaic period, goddesses such as Hathor and Isis carry it; the title often appears parallel to itn.t, Atenet, "the female sun disk." See Gutbub, Rait, 87-88.} framing her chapel in joy, are in beautiful limestone\footnote{Limestone is irn\textsubscript{3}dy, lit. "white stone."} of Tura,\footnote{Wb II, 393,12; Gr. τυρόια; Hannig, Ä-D, 1357: Ancient R\textsuperscript{3}-\textit{dy}, another name for Tura, a limestone quarry south of modern Cairo across from ancient Memphis. Compare in the parallel text of D III, 46,10, in which the quarry is called "\textit{dy}<\textsuperscript{w}>,” "\textit{dy}<\textsuperscript{n}>.”} completed in its requirements,\footnote{This idea of being “completed in its requirements” recalls other expressions used in describing the healed Divine Eye of Horus, characterized as “completed,” or "equipped in its parts," e.g. \textit{pr} m irw=f (D I, 107,15). Additionally, the word, \textit{hsts}, often written with the seal-determinative (S20), carries it in the sense of concealing, thus alluding to the secluded, secret nature of Hathor’s sanctuary at Dendera. See Wilson, PL 690-691.} shining\footnote{Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 329, corrects the signs in D III, 47,6, to \textsuperscript{s}t\textsuperscript{t}, transliterating as \textit{pf}\textsuperscript{t}.tl.} in gold, \textit{provided} by the handiwork\footnote{In line 47,7, the doubtful sign should be \textsuperscript{t} (Aa20), transliterating \textit{pr}, “bestow, equip, provide,” as suggested by Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 106.} of Shu, its door leaves in real cedar of the best wood of Lebanon,\footnote{In line 47,7, the doubtful sign should be \textsuperscript{t} (Aa20), transliterating \textit{pr}, “bestow, equip, provide,” as suggested by Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 106.} plated in beautiful gold. Opening 48,1 the doors of the shrine,\footnote{Following the transliteration in Wb II, 393. Cf. PL 572, which transliterates it as \textit{pp}\textsuperscript{t}.\textit{t}.t.} carrying the noble chapel, filling the land with dust of gold,\footnote{Wb IV, 284,7; GR), a homophone inr \textit{dy}, another name for Tura, a limestone quarry south of modern Cairo across from ancient Memphis. Compare in the parallel text of D III, 46,10, in which the quarry is called "\textit{dy}<\textsuperscript{w}>,” "\textit{dy}<\textsuperscript{n}>.”} Hathor, Foremost One (f.) of Iunet, who illuminates her sanctuary [as] the Female horizon-dweller\footnote{Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 106, who transliterates it as \textit{fl}.ty. Note that \textit{fl}.ty can also mean temple, giving the additional allusion that Hathor illuminates her temple just as she illuminates the horizon in her role as \textit{fl}.ty.t.} in the horizon—she sees 48,2 the excellent work that the son of Ra made for her. She gives him the kingship of Shu […] 4 squares …], firm,\footnote{Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 107, translates “installé.”} Foremost One of the living 48,3 (divine) Kas,\footnote{Chassinat (D III, 48 n. 1) states that both Dümichen and Mariette saw a \textsuperscript{t} in the upper part of the lacuna, suggesting a restoration of \textit{st}, for the word \textit{hsts}: \textsuperscript{s}t\textsuperscript{t}, contra Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 106, who transliterates it as \textit{fl}.ty. Note that \textit{fl}.ty can also mean temple, giving the additional allusion that Hathor illuminates her temple just as she illuminates the horizon in her role as \textit{fl}.ty.t.} eternally.

\footnotesize
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
Translation & Transliteration \\
\hline
47,6 The doors of the heaven of Rayt,\footnote{Rayt (R\textsuperscript{3}y.t) is the female counterpart of the sun god, Ra. Devauchelle, Notes, 190, §3, observes that the title, Rayt, first appears as a designation of Hatshepsut in the function of the King; it is attested for Ptolemaic queens. In the Ptolemaic period, goddesses such as Hathor and Isis carry it; the title often appears parallel to itn.t, Atenet, "the female sun disk.” See Gutbub, Rait, 87-88.} framing her chapel in joy, are in beautiful limestone\footnote{Limestone is irn\textsubscript{3}dy, lit. "white stone.”} of Tura,\footnote{Wb II, 393,12; Gr. τυρόια; Hannig, Ä-D, 1357: Ancient R\textsuperscript{3}-\textit{dy}, another name for Tura, a limestone quarry south of modern Cairo across from ancient Memphis. Compare in the parallel text of D III, 46,10, in which the quarry is called "\textit{dy}<\textsuperscript{w}>,” "\textit{dy}<\textsuperscript{n}>.”} completed in its requirements,\footnote{This idea of being “completed in its requirements” recalls other expressions used in describing the healed Divine Eye of Horus, characterized as “completed,” or "equipped in its parts,” e.g. \textit{pr} m irw=f (D I, 107,15). Additionally, the word, \textit{hsts}, often written with the seal-determinative (S20), carries it in the sense of concealing, thus alluding to the secluded, secret nature of Hathor’s sanctuary at Dendera. See Wilson, PL 690-691.} shining\footnote{Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 329, corrects the signs in D III, 47,6, to \textsuperscript{s}t\textsuperscript{t}, transliterating as \textit{pf}\textsuperscript{t}.tl.} in gold, \textit{provided} by the handiwork\footnote{In line 47,7, the doubtful sign should be \textsuperscript{t} (Aa20), transliterating \textit{pr}, “bestow, equip, provide,” as suggested by Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 106.} of Shu, its door leaves in real cedar of the best wood of Lebanon,\footnote{In line 47,7, the doubtful sign should be \textsuperscript{t} (Aa20), transliterating \textit{pr}, “bestow, equip, provide,” as suggested by Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 106.} plated in beautiful gold. Opening 48,1 the doors of the shrine,\footnote{Following the transliteration in Wb II, 393. Cf. PL 572, which transliterates it as \textit{pp}\textsuperscript{t}.\textit{t}.t.} carrying the noble chapel, filling the land with dust of gold,\footnote{Wb IV, 284,7; GR), a homophone inr \textit{dy}, another name for Tura, a limestone quarry south of modern Cairo across from ancient Memphis. Compare in the parallel text of D III, 46,10, in which the quarry is called "\textit{dy}<\textsuperscript{w}>,” "\textit{dy}<\textsuperscript{n}>.”} Hathor, Foremost One (f.) of Iunet, who illuminates her sanctuary [as] the Female horizon-dweller\footnote{Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 106, who transliterates it as \textit{fl}.ty. Note that \textit{fl}.ty can also mean temple, giving the additional allusion that Hathor illuminates her temple just as she illuminates the horizon in her role as \textit{fl}.ty.t.} in the horizon—she sees 48,2 the excellent work that the son of Ra made for her. She gives him the kingship of Shu […] 4 squares …], firm,\footnote{Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 107, translates “installé.”} Foremost One of the living 48,3 (divine) Kas,\footnote{Chassinat (D III, 48 n. 1) states that both Dümichen and Mariette saw a \textsuperscript{t} in the upper part of the lacuna, suggesting a restoration of \textit{st}, for the word \textit{hsts}: \textsuperscript{s}t\textsuperscript{t}, contra Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 106, who transliterates it as \textit{fl}.ty. Note that \textit{fl}.ty can also mean temple, giving the additional allusion that Hathor illuminates her temple just as she illuminates the horizon in her role as \textit{fl}.ty.t.} eternally. & 47,6 \textit{\$w} p.t n(t), R\textit{\$y}. t \textit{\$\textsuperscript{3}y}. t = s m \textit{\$\textsuperscript{w}}. t m irn\textsubscript{3} dy nfr R\textit{\$}-\textit{dy} m\textit{irw}=f \textit{\$pr}. t\textsubscript{f}>; 47,7 m nbw <\textit{pr}>. t\textsubscript{f}>; \textit{\$w} \textit{\$nw}. \textit{wy}=f(v) m \textit{\$s} m\textsuperscript{3} n t-p\textit{ht} mk sk\textsuperscript{1}\textsubscript{74} m nbw nfr \textit{s\textsuperscript{3}} \textit{48,1} \textit{\$w}. y.\textit{\$t} \\
\end{tabular}
Outer Entrance, Scenes below Bandeau of Frieze

Scene below Bandeau of Frieze, East Side - Doc 12
D III, 48,11 – 49,11

Scene below Bandeau of Frieze, West Side – Doc 13
D III 49,14 – 50,15

Adoration of the King and Ogdoad on Outer Entrance of Per-wer Sanctuary

The $k\lambda.w \hat{\eta}h.w$, "living (divine) kas," are the ancestral gods. See discussion in 5.2.6.

Non-enclitic particle, used here to compare $mk\ m\ nbw\ nfr$ with the previous description of the cedar as the best from the forests of Lebanon (GG §§119,3; 230; Kurth, EP, 778-781).
### Doc 12 – Scene below Bandeau of Frieze, East Side: D III, 48,11 – 49,11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE AND DESCRIPTION</strong></td>
<td><strong>TITLE AND DESCRIPTION</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48,11 Adoring the God.1175 Words to say:1176 Hail to you, Noble Lady, 48,12 Female Ruler, Mistress of Goddesses, Seshat the Great,1177 Lady of Writing. <strong>NAUNET</strong></td>
<td>48,11 dwi ntr dd mdw nd hr=t ñps.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48,13 Naunet,1178 who pays homage to Hathor, Lady of Iunet. <strong>NUN</strong></td>
<td>48,12 ḥk3.t ḫnw.t ntr.wt S3.t wr.t nb.t sš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48,14 I have adored your face at the extreme limits1179 with the beautiful spells that you love. <strong>HAUHET</strong></td>
<td>48,13 Nwn.t di i3w n ḫ.t-hr nb.t Twn.t 48,14 dw3.n=i hr=t m ḥp.ty m 3ḥ.w nfr.w mr=t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48,15 Nun,1180 who pays homage to Hathor, Lady of the Temple of Purification.1181 I have praised 48,16 your Ka to the height of heaven, I have made your Ba-power greater than (that of) the gods. <strong>NUN</strong></td>
<td>48,15 Nwn di i3w n ḫ.t-hr nb.t h.t- swš3.n=i 48,16 k3=t r k3 n p.t swr.n=i b3w=t r nfr.w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48,17 Hauhet,1182 who pays homage to Hathor, Lady of Iunet. I have made homage to your Incarnation</td>
<td>48,17 Ḥḥ.t di i3w n ḫ.t-hr nb.t Twn.t ḫn.n=i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1175 The *dwi*-ntr ritual is attested from the 4th-5th Dynasties (Urk I, 10; 70; 44,9). In the daily temple ritual, it was performed in the morning at the rising of the sun; in the evening, its counterpart was the *di-i3w* ritual. Wilson, PL 30-31, notes, "in the Ptolemaic period, i3w was a simple sung prayer of praise, while *dwi* was accompanied by singers and music." See also PL 1184-1186; Barucq, Louage, 31-37; Labrique, Stylistique, 213-220; Beinlich, Fürbitte, 349-351.

1176 The expression, *dd mdw*, consisting of the narrative infinitive (*dd*) plus direct object (*mdw*), lit., "saying words," or "words to say." Its function is to introduce the text proper or the speech of the participants in a scene, as in the present scene. Allen, Middle Egyptian, 14.9, translates *dd mdw* as "Recitation." In the present text, *dd* is playfully written with 𓊹, (H18A), the head of a bird with an open mouth.

1177 In adoration scenes, Hathor is frequently equated with Seshat, the Goddess of Writing, because the eloquence and effectiveness of writing and speech in these scenes is especially important.

1178 Nwn.t, "Naunet" (Fr. Nouent or Nouit; Ger. Naunet). One of eight primeval gods of the Hermopolitan cosmogony; female counterpart of Nun, the primeval waters. In the Magical Papyrus of Leiden, Naunet is called Naatw. See Sethe, Amun, §127; Wb II, 215,18; Altenmüller, Achtheit, 56.

1179 Wb III, 69,11-14. Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 108, gives an uncertain, "ḥpt ty"; Chassinat has "sic" next to the signs. However, Wilson, PL 639, notes that ḥpty may mean "dual course," i.e. the course of both the sun and the moon, thus denoting the extreme limits of the earth to which the rays of these two celestial bodies can penetrate, which agrees with the depiction of two disks in 𓊚, the logogram for ḥpty in the present text.

1180 Nwn, "Nun" (Coptic Ṣḫnḥ; Fr. Noun or Nou; Ger. Nun), the personification of the primeval waters that covered the earth at Creation; one of the eight primeval gods of the Hermopolitan cosmogony. Wilson, PL 497, notes that "it could be envisaged as a vast dark, muddy, seething body of water – inert, yet full of life-force and in this respect, the Coptic Ṣḫnḥ (Abyss; hell) embodies only its negative aspects." The god Nun is also attested in the CT. See Wb II, 214,18 – 215,12; Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, 317 n. 6; Grieshammer, Nun, 534-35; Sethe, Amun, §127 and Tf. 1.

1181 The Temple of Purification (*ḥ.t-*bw) is the 1st Chamber West (Chassinat's Room K) at Dendera, D III, 99-129. It is appropriate that in the speech of Nun (waters of creation, which purify), Hathor’s epithet is "Lady of the Temple of Purification."

1182 Ḥḥ.t, "Hauhet" (Fr. Hehet; Ger. Hehet), the female counterpart of Heh, the personification of infinite space; one of the eight primeval gods of the Hermopolitan cosmogony. See Wb III, 152,12; Altenmüller, Achtheit, 56; Sethe, Amun, Sethe, §128.
HEH
49,1 Heh, who pays homage to Hathor, Lady of Iunet. I have praised to your face, my mouth possessing the praises, my heart possessing the (magical) utterances.  

KING
49,3 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ) | son of Ra ( ) | son of the Lord of Writing, created by the One who knows the Two Lands.  

BEHIND HIM: All protection and life are behind him, like Ra, for -eternity.  

Words to say: I have come before you, the Female horizon-dweller in the horizon, Mistress of Writing, Female ruler of books, for you are the Beautiful One (f.) of face, Mistress of Love. The goddesses live in seeing her face.

IHY
49,7 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor

HATHOR
49,8 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, Seshat the Great, Lady of the Library, the gods rise in the morning in order to pay homage to her.

DIVINE RANDZEILE
49,10 Words to say: Welcome in peace, Ruler, son of a ruler, Excellent King, Sweet one of speech. I have heard your praises, effective in my heart. I make your Ka great among the living ones.

48,18 in the sacred chapel. I make your Ka content with the sacred texts.  

HEH
49,1 Heh, referring to Seshat, translates Thoth, 103; 183.

Known," a characteristic already apparent in the MK (e.g., CT V, 306a.d.). See also Kurth, Thot, 506; Boylan, 1187.

"These your good deeds, they are the deeds of Sia and your songs (of praise)," indicating that the king has spoken the correct spells.

"These your good deeds, they are the deeds of Sia and your songs (of praise)," indicating that the king has spoken the correct spells. See PL 14; Junker, Textentlehnung, 123.

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE AND DESCRIPTION</strong>&lt;br&gt;49,14 Adoring the God. Words to say: Hail to you in peace, 49,15 Hathor, the doors of the temple are opened for you.</td>
<td><strong>TITLE AND DESCRIPTION</strong>&lt;br&gt;49,14 dw³ ntr dd mdw nd hr=t m htp 49,15 Ḥ.ḥ-hr wn n=t ḫs.wy ẖḥ.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KAUKET</strong>&lt;br&gt;49,16 Kauket, who pays homage to Hathor, Lady of Iunet. 49,17 Hail to you, Rayt, Mistress of Suns.</td>
<td><strong>KAUKET</strong>&lt;br&gt;49,16 Kk.t di ẖw n Ḥ.ḥ-hr nb.t Hnw.t nd hr=t 49,17 ṭyw.t ḫw.n.t n.(t ) ṭw KKEK&lt;ref&gt;49,16 Kk.t di ẖw n Ḥ.ḥ-hr nb.t Hnw.t nd hr=t 49,17 ṭyw.t ḫw.n.t n.(t ) ṭw KKEK&lt;/ref&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KEK</strong>&lt;br&gt;50,1 Kek, who pays homage to Hathor, Foremost one (f.) of Iunet. I have adored your Ka in Qab-tawy 50,2 with the beautiful spells of your heart.</td>
<td><strong>KEK</strong>&lt;br&gt;50,1 Kk.w di ẖw n Ḥ.ḥ-hr ḫnḥy.t ḫw.n.t ṭw n.t= t m ẖḥ.t=璃 t m ḫw.n.wf.nw iw bt NIAUT&lt;ref&gt;50,1 Kk.w di ẖw n Ḥ.ḥ-hr ḫnḥy.t ḫw.n.t ṭw n.t= t m ẖḥ.t=璃 t m ḫw.n.wf.nw iw bt NIAUT&lt;/ref&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NIAUT</strong>&lt;br&gt;50,3 Niaut, who pays homage to Hathor, Lady of Tarer. 50,4 I pay homage to you with the sacred texts, day and night without end.</td>
<td><strong>NIAUT</strong>&lt;br&gt;50,3 Niw.t di ẖw n Ḥ.ḥ-hr nb.t ṭ3-rr 50,4 ṭf n= t m ḫw=t m sp-n-sǐ3 m d.t=f ḫ.t=f n ḫḥ t ẖḥ.t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1190 ḫḥ.t can also be translated as "horizon," the metaphorical designation for the temple. By opening the doors of the temple, the doors of the "horizon," i.e. the liminal space between the realms of humans and gods, is thus also opened.

1191 ḫḥ.t, "Kauket" (Fr. Kek; Ger. Kekujit), the feminine counterpart of Kek, the personification of infinite darkness; one of the eight primeval gods of the Hermopolitan cosmogony. See Wb V, 144,6 (kkf.t; kkw.t); Altenmüller, Achtheit, 56; Sethe, Amun, §128.

1192 ṭyw.t, which I usually translate as "Rayt," is here translated as "female sun," so that the English translation will properly convey the polyptoton present in the Egyptian (ṛw.t/ṛw.w).

1193 ḫḥ.w, "Kek" (Coptic, kke; Fr. Kekou; Ger. Keku), the personification of infinite darkness; one of the eight primeval gods of the Hermopolitan cosmogony. In E IV, 16,3, the King is given his rule over all of Egypt and north to the limits of the ḫḥw-darkness (cited by Wilson, PL 1091). See Wb V, 142 – 144,6; Hornung, Licht und Finsternis, 73-83; Altenmüller, Achtheit, 56; Sethe, Amun, §129.

1194 ḫb-tȝ.wy, "Qab-tawy," a name of Dendera (Wb V, 10,2). Kockelmann, Toponymen, 197, cites D VI, 168, 7, as a firm basis for its transliteration as ḫb-tȝ.wy. The toponym means lit., "Insides of the Two Lands"; because ḫb can also be interpreted as " coils " (CDME 175, ḫb.w, " coils of snake "; PT 1146), designating Dendera as Qab-tawy (i.e. " Coils of the Two Lands ") alludes to Hathor in her form as the uraeus serpent.

1195 ḫnw.t, "Niaut" (Fr. Niou; Ger. Niau), feminine counterpart of infinite emptiness; one of the eight primeval gods of the Hermopolitan cosmogony. See Wb II, 202,13; Altenmüller, Achtheit, 56; Sethe, Amun, §133.

1196 ṭ3-rr, "Tarer," a name of Dendera (Wb V, 226,1; GR). Kockelmann, Toponymen, 65-66, discusses the name, noting that according to Dümichen (Bauurkunde, 30), Iunet and Tarer are the most frequently-used names in the inscriptions of the Temple of Dendera. Because they are used interchangeably, Kockelmann (65) argues against the idea that Tarer is the " profane name " and Iunet is the " theological name " (contra Dümichen, Bauurkunde, 30; Preys, Complexes, 49). Myśliwiec, Atum, 52, suggests that when written as a rebus with serpents, Tarer alludes to ṭ3-nt-im (" Land of Atum," another name of Dendera) and Atum's form as a primeval snake. Examples include D III, 57,5, 303

1197 Lit., "to your face."

1198 Wb IV, 300,2-21; PT; PL 795. Lit., " deeds of Sia," or " acts of perception. " sib, meaning " perception, " is an action of the heart and is complementary to ḫw, the spoken manifestation of that which is perceived. Both ḫw and sib
are qualities of the Creator God and are themselves personified as gods. They accompany the barque of Ra (See Gardiner, Hu and Sia, 43-54, 83-95, "understanding"). Cf. E IV, 5,7.8-6: $\text{Ax}=k\ n\ sw\ m\ sp-n-si\ =k\ m\ mtr-r-imy=k$, "These your good deeds, they are the deeds of Sia and your songs (of praise)," indicating that the king has spoken the correct spells. See PL 14: Junker, Textentlehnung, 123.

1199 Wb V, 506,7-12. The phrase, $d.t=f\ h.t=f$, literally means "in his body, (in) his stomach." Wilson, PL 1250, explains that "$d.t$ is the pupil of the sun eye and a number of phrases were constructed around the pair $d.t$ 'morning' = sun eye and $h.t$ 'evening' = womb of the sky." Thus, $m\ d.t=f\ h.t=f$ means "in the morning and evening," or "by day and night," i.e. "always."

1200 Níw, "Niau" (Fr. Niou, Ger. Niau), the personification of infinite emptiness; one of the eight primeval gods of the Hermopolitan cosmogony. Niau and his feminine counterpart, Niaut, sometimes replace the pair Tenem and Tenemet (infinite hiddenness) in the Hermopolitan cosmogony. See Altenmüller, Achtheit, 56; Sethe, Amun, §133.

1201 Wb 1, 365,11: "so weit die Erde ist."

1202 The baboon is a frequent manifestation of Thoth, the god of wisdom (Kurth, Thot, 511). Thoth as a baboon became an object of popular veneration, e.g., the 18th Dynasty stateite statue of a scribe writing at the feet of the god Thoth in the form of a baboon wearing a lunar disk on his head, from Amarna, now in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 59291, depicted in Wilkinson, Gods and Goddesses, 217.

1203 Stadler, Weiser, 333-334, notes the role of Thoth as judge and lawyer, who helps the deceased gain justice and always maintains a sense of fairness. Thoth is not the only god who is a judge; he exercises this role alongside other judiciary divinities, e.g., in the conflict between Horus and Seth.

1204 Prepositional nisbe (an adjective made from a preposition), derived from $\text{hnt}$, "at the head of"; translated as "foremost." In this epithet, the nisbe functions as a substantive, "foremost one." Hathor is often described as $\text{hnty}\ t\ \text{Iwn.t}$, "Foremost One (f.) of Iunet" (D III, 50,12); the King is $\text{hnty}\ k.t\ w\ \text{nh.w}$, "Foremost One of the Living (divine) Kas." (D III, 47,3-4).
what you say, 50,15 beautifully and in peace. I protect your body every day.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mnḥ tpy.w-r3 ndb=i dd.t=k 50,15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nfr m htp mk (= i) h r nb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Doc 14 – Lower Cornice, East Side: D III, 51,5-6

Translation

51.5 Behdety, the Great God, Lord of Heaven
51.6 Behdety, the Great God, Lord of Heaven

Transliteration

51.5 Bhd.ty ntr ḫ nb p.t
51.6 Bhd.ty ntr ḫ nb p.t

Doc 15 – Lower Cornice, West Side: D III, 51,8 (destroyed)

1205 Bhd.ty, lit. "The One from Behdet." Gardiner, Horus the Behdetite, 59-60, suggests that in the Predynastic Period, this epithet originally belonged to a falcon god worshipped in a northernmost Egyptian town, whose people conquered Upper Egypt, where Seth of Ombos was worshipped; "Behdet" was later incorporated into the epithet of the national god Horus to stress his northern origin and provide a counterpart to the southern Ombite, Seth.

1206 The texts in Columns 1 and 3, above the wing tips of the two falcons, are destroyed. The translations given above therefore apply only to Columns 2 and 4 (D III, 51.5, and 51.6, respectively), on either side of the central cartouche.
Outer Entrance, Lintel

Lintel, East Side
Doc 16
D III, 51,12 – 52,4

Lintel, West Side
Doc 17
D III, 52,7 – 53,3

D II, pl. 94, © IFAQ

Doc 16 - Outer Entrance, Lintel, East Side

Doc 17 - Outer Entrance, Lintel, West Side
### Translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(NO TITLE)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(NO TITLE)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IHY</strong></td>
<td><strong>IHY</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51,12 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor, the Great God.</td>
<td>51,12 <em>Ihy wr s3 H.t-ḥr p3 ntr ḫ3</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RA-HORAKHTY</strong></td>
<td><strong>RA-HORAKHTY</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51,13 Words to say by Ra-Horakhty, the Great God who resides in ḫ3 Iunet, the (divine) Noble Power, who pacifies the the Golden One (f.) of the gods.</td>
<td>51,13 *dd mdw in Rṣ-Hr-ḥ3.ty ntr ḫ3 <em>hry-ib ʾown.t šhm šps štp Nbwt ntr.w</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51,14 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ), [Offspring of Sekhmet], son of 51,15 Hathor.1209</td>
<td>51,14 *nsw.t-bi.ty ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>QUEEN</strong></td>
<td><strong>QUEEN</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51,16 The Female Ruler1210 ( ), Lady of the Two Lands ( ).</td>
<td>51,16 *ḥkš.t ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51,17 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ) is on his throne, pacifying the heart of his mother.</td>
<td>51,17 *wnn nsw.t-bi.ty ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…6 squares…</td>
<td>…4 squares…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HATHOR</strong></td>
<td><strong>HATHOR</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 52,1 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all 52,2 the gods. | 52,1 *dd mdw in H.t-ḥr wr.t nb(.t) ʾwnt.t ṭr-Rṣ nb(.t) p.t ḫnw.t ntr.w 52,2 nb(.w){nb.t}*
| **HORUS OF EDFU** | **HORUS OF EDFU** |
| 52,3 Words to say by Horus Beh[day] […]5 squares… | 52,3 *dd mdw in ḫr Bh[d.ty] […]5 squares…* |
| **DIVINE RANDZEILE** | **DIVINE RANDZEILE** |
| 52,4 Is […]3 squares… her sanctuary, filling heaven and earth with her good things,1211 she is […]7 squares… | 52,4 *wnn […]3 squares… ḫmr ṭmr p.t b3 m nfr.w=s sy m […]7 squares…* |

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1207 Wb III, 136–137; PL 663: *ḥry-ib*, lit. “in the middle,” translated "resides in" or "sojourns in," refers to a deity worshipped in a cult center of another deity. See Haring, Divine Households, 71 n. 3; Budde, Epithets, 3. The erroneous nw-jar here in the text (D III, 51,13) should be replaced by the frontal face (D2), as correctly written in D III, 56,3.

1208 See discussion of this epithet in 5.1.2.

1209 Written with the sign of a cobra wearing the horns and disk headdress: [♀] (I62).

1210 The decoration of the Per-wer took place during the reign of Cleopatra VII, who would have been the "queen" in this scene. It is therefore particularly interesting (and appropriate) that the queen takes on the epithet of ḫkš.t, "Female Ruler," the female equivalent of the King and an epithet of Hathor herself.

1211 Wb II, 259,1-2: *nfr.w* can also mean "beauties" or "good deeds"; transliterated *nfrw* (without the point), "goodness," "beauty."
In contrast to the parallel phrase in the symmetrical scene, which writes ḫ.t-حار (O10), it is here written with ḫ (I62), thus allowing the scribe the allude to two of Hathor's manifestations (as a female falcon, and as the cobra, or uraeus), as well as exhibiting variety in the writing of parallel phrases.

1212 In contrast to the parallel phrase in the symmetrical scene, which writes ḫ.t-حار with ḫ (O10), it is here written with ḫ (I62), thus allowing the scribe the allude to two of Hathor's manifestations (as a female falcon, and as the cobra, or uraeus), as well as exhibiting variety in the writing of parallel phrases.

1213 Wb I, 59,16-17; GR: ḫ nb ḫ.t-حار, "Heart of Ra," is an epithet of Thoth, as well as of Khonsu. Stadler, Weiser, 18, notes that this epithet seems to allude to the Creation, although not explicitly. Because the heart in Egyptian thought is the seat of intelligence and decision-making, this epithet identifies Thoth with the knowledge and realization of the creator god. See Stadler, Weiser, 376; 380.

1214 The use of ḫḥn, "make bright," creates a connection with the previous speech of the Queen, who indicates that the menit is made of ḫḥn.t, "faience"; the epithet, ḫḥn.t, "bright one (f.)" is an epithet of Hathor (Wb V, 394,1-2; PL 1171; D III, 68,2; 70,18; 81,12; 90,10). Thus, in making Hathor's face ḫḥn, the King is alluding to her inherent brightness, as well as to her connection to the menit, the cult object that is also a manifestation of the goddess.

1215 Rayt (Ṛฏ.) is the female counterpart of the sun god, Ra. Devauchelle, Notes, 190, §3, observes that the title Rayt first appears as a designation of Hatshepsut in the function of the King; it is attested for Ptolemaic queens. In the Ptolemaic period, goddesses such as Hathor and Isis carry it; the title often appears parallel to ḫtn.t, Atenet, "the female sun disk." See Gutbub, Rait, 87-88.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HORUS OF EDFU</th>
<th>HORUS OF EDFU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53,1 Words to say by Horus Behdety, [the Great God], Lord of Heaven: [I] have praised […] squares…]</td>
<td>53,1 <em>dd mwd in ḫr Bḥd.ty [ntr çi]</em> nb p.t dwi.n [= i] […] squares…]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[…] squares…]</td>
<td>53,2 […] squares…]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIVINE RANDZEILE</td>
<td>53,2 […] squares…]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53,3 Is […] shines in […] squares…]</td>
<td>DIVINE RANDZEILE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all, for she is […] squares…]</td>
<td>53,3 *wnn […] wbn m […] squares…] nb.w sy m […] squares…]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Doc 18 – Inner Lateral Framing, East Side: D III, 53,5-14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53,5 [...]18 squares...] for your Ka, <strong>53,6</strong> received, praised, and desired, Hathor, <strong>Lady of Iunet,</strong> our <strong>Beautiful Mistress.</strong></td>
<td><strong>53,5</strong> [...]18 squares...] ( n \ k3=t )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53,6 <strong>śsp.(w) hw.(w) mr.(w)</strong> ( Hr-hr nb t Iwn.t \ t3y=n \ hnw.t \ nfr.t )</td>
<td><strong>53,6</strong> <strong>śsp.(w) hw.(w) mr.(w)</strong> ( Hr-hr nb t Iwn.t \ t3y=n \ hnw.t \ nfr.t )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be very satisfied, be content with the great offering that your son made for you, King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), <strong>53,7</strong> your beloved, [...]15 squares [...] the Throne of Horus <strong>Behdety.</strong></td>
<td><strong>53,8</strong> <strong>You alight in the noble great house in joy. Protect them, preserve them (=the offerings), arrange them, establish them.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>53,9</strong> Come, inundate them with food offerings <strong>and supplies</strong> [...]14 squares [...]. <strong>53,10</strong> Come, make them firm for <strong>nHh</strong>- and <strong>d.t</strong>- eternity, our <strong>Beautiful Mistress.</strong> You are doing well for Iunet, Iatdi, the <strong>Throne of Horus,</strong></td>
<td><strong>53,10</strong> <strong>iw m mn=w w</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>53,16</strong>-54,9</td>
<td><strong>53,10</strong> <strong>iw m mn=w w</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1216 Plural endings on the passive participles (\( śp.w, hw.w, mr.w \)) refer to offerings presented by the king to Hathor, following Cauville, Cauville, **Dend Trad III, p. 114.**

1217 The signs of Hathor’s name and epithet face towards the east, away from the center of the door.

1218 Late Egyptian/Demotic **t3y=n** for the 1st person plural possessive pronoun, “our.” Repetition of the phrase, **t3y=n hnw.t nfr.t**, “Our beautiful mistress,” is highlighted in red.

1219 **Wfs.t-Hr** \( Bh.d.t \) **53,8** **hn=t pr** 3 **śps m hsw.t hw st mk st ts st grg st mi b sustaining the city of Edfu, attested since the 5th Dynasty in the sun temple of Niuserre;**

1220 The name was extended to include the town of Edfu and its main temple of Horus. See Kees, Gaulisten, 35-36. At Edfu, it can refer to the town, the temple, or the throne. Wilson, PL 273-274, suggests that the ambiguity was intentional, so that the other connotations would also be understood.

1221 Following EP II, §56a: 3rd person plural dependent pronoun, **st:** \( \ldots \), used often as a direct object. Note: Cauville, **Dend Trad III, p. 114,** transliterates as **swt.**

1222 Late Egyptian/Demotic constructions in this text and its symmetrical counterpart (Doc 18), highlighted in red, combine with traditional Middle Egyptian constructions to create an interesting mixture of old and new. In this text there is a frequent use of **hr** + infinitive pseudo-verbal constructions (with omitted preposition, **hr** for First Present,
Behdet,¹²²³ ⁵³,¹¹ the Hall [of Thebes],¹²²⁴ Khadi,¹²²⁵ Shabet,¹²²⁶ and all of the temples in which they are […] squares…]. ⁵³,¹² The sky is established, the earth is established, the people (?) are established, […] their young men ⁵³,¹³ are all their artisans. The enemies among them fall under your massacre according to what your Incarnation¹²²⁷ ordered concerning it, ⁵³,¹⁴ our Beautiful Mistress.

common in Late Egyptian and Demotic, although here introduced by the Middle Egyptian, iw=t, rather than by the proclitic pronoun, tw=t. The context suggests that they should be interpreted here as First Present rather than as circumstantial or future, even though the latter two constructions do employ iw=t + inf. in Late Egyptian and Demotic.

¹²²² Iatdi, one of the three main names of Dendera (together with "Iunet" and "Tarer"), is particularly associated with the small sanctuary located directly south of the main Temple of Hathor, considered to be the birthplace of the goddess Isis. See Kockelmann, Toponymen, 60-64.

¹²²³ Bh.d.ty, lit. "The One from Behdet." Gardiner, Horus the Behdetite, 59-60, suggests that in the Predynastic Period, the epithet originally belonged to a falcon god worshipped in a northernmost Egyptian town, whose people conquered Upper Egypt, where Seth of Ombos was worshipped; "Behdet" was later incorporated into the epithet of the national god Horus to stress his northern origin and provide a counterpart to the southern Ombite, Seth.

¹²²⁴ D VI, 168,9 (no. 120) gives the full writing of the toponym: ； it also appears in D X, 119,5: ； listed in Cauville, D X Index, 410, who translates as "Salle-de-Thèbes [Dendera]." See also Kockelmann, Toponymen, 184, for discussion of earlier misunderstandings of the name by Gauthier and Dümichen.

¹²²⁵ Naga el-Guzariya across from Dendera (Hannig Ä-D, 1373).

¹²²⁶ The city of Ṣḥb.t was located west of Dendera. See Fischer, Dendera, 12, cited by Kockelmann, Toponymen, 54 n. 128. See also Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 616.

¹²²⁷ The term (U36) hm (fem. hm.t) usually translated as "majesty" when referring to the king (or goddess), is more properly rendered as "incarnation," as suggested by Allen, Middle Egyptian, Essay 3, 31-32. In reference to the King, hm designates the incarnation of the Kingly Ka in the individual carrying the office of kingship; for the goddess, hm.t refers to her physical manifestation.
Doc 19 – Inner Lateral Framing, West Side: D III, 53,16 – 54,9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53,16 You are giving life to <strong>your</strong> 1228 <em>hm-ntr</em> priests, 1229 god’s fathers, 1230 <em>w</em>b-priests 1231 and lector priests. 1232 Your list of property 54,1 in its entirety is fixed without perishing for <em>nhh</em>-eternity and <em>d</em>.t-eternity, 1233 our 1234 Beautiful Mistress. You are doing good for every god and every goddess of 54,2 the origin as far as the two eyes (can see) in heaven and earth, our Beautiful Mistress. You are bringing the inundation downstream at its time. It is good, it is <strong>pure</strong> 54,3 of any impurity, in order to cause that it inundate the Two Lands. You are causing the sky to create the north wind (following) behind it (=the inundation), in order to cause it (=the inundation) to ebb 1235 and prevent the flood 1236 from filling it. 54,4</td>
<td>53,16 <em>iw=t</em> (hr) <em>di(t)</em> 54,9 <em>nfh n</em> (t) <em>t</em>y= <em>tw</em>h.w <em>nt</em>r w <em>w</em>r <em>h</em>b.(t) <em>t</em>ýy= <em>imy.t</em> pr 54,1 <em>r-d</em>ř=s w <em>h</em>š <em>sn r nhh d.t <em>t</em>ýy&lt;ś=n&gt; <em>hwn.t nfr</em>t <em>iw=t</em> (hr) <em>ir(t)</em> nfr r <em>nh</em>b.(t) <em>n</em>nt</em>r <em>n</em>b.(t) <em>n</em>t 54,2 šs<em>ř r(?)</em> sn n <em>h</em>š.ty m <em>pt B</em> <em>t</em>ýy=n <em>hwn.t</em> nfr<em>t <em>t</em> <em>iw=t</em> (hr) <em>in(t)</em> <em>h</em>špy m-hd r tr=f <em>iw=f</em> nfr <em>iw=f</em> <em>w</em>c</em>b 54,3 <em>r</em> <em>č</em>b <em>n</em>b r <em>di.t</em> ūh= ē <em>t</em>š.wy <em>iw=t</em> (hr) <em>di.t</em> ir <em>t</em>š.p.t <em>mhy.t</em> m-s<em>ř</em>f <em>shnty=f</em> <em>r</em> tm <em>di.t</em> <em>hns w</em> hym 54,4 <em>iw=t</em> (hr) <em>di.t</em> ir <em>n</em>3 <em>hn. w</em>t r*3- ūw.t <em>dny.w</em> hš.t=ř <em>f</em> tm <em>di.t</em> *šsp sw <em>w</em>šd-wr <em>iw=t</em> (hr) <em>di.t</em> <em>šsp sw w</em>šd-wr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1228 Late Egyptian/Demotic constructions in this text and its symmetrical counterpart (Doc 18), highlighted in red, combine with traditional Middle Egyptian constructions to create an interesting mixture of old and new. In this text there is a frequent use of hr + infinitive pseudo-verbal constructions (with omitted preposition, hr) for First Present, common in Late Egyptian and Demotic, although here introduced by the Middle Egyptian, iw=t, rather than by the proclitic pronoun, tw=t. The context suggests that they should be interpreted here as First Present rather than as circumstantial or future, even though the latter two constructions do employ iw=t + inf. in Late Egyptian and Demotic.

1229 *hm-ntr* is the highest ranking class of priests, attested since OK royal funerary temples through the GR. They carried out the daily temple ritual in place of the king, having access to the shrines of the gods within the temple. See Helck, Priester, 1086; 1091-1092; Meulenaere, Priester, 1097; Meeks, Donations, 645 n. 178; Gardiner, Onomastica I, 47*-49*; Sauneron, Priests, 57-60; Wb III, 88,19 – 90,7.

1230 Gardiner, Onomastica I, 47*-49*, notes that *it-ntr*, "god’s father" is the second-ranked class of priests, between *hm-ntr* and *w*b. Helck, Priester, 1089, cites the biography of the high priest, B*3k-n-Hnsw (Plantikow-Münster, Inschrift, 117-135), which notes that the *it.w*ntr walked ahead of processions sprinkling water (to purify the way). Attested from OK through GR, *w*b has a secondary role in the daily ritual, purifying the temple with water and incense, as well as carrying the sacred barque during processions. See Helck, Priester, 1086; 1089; Meulenaere, Priester, 1097; Sauneron, Priests, 70-71; Wb I, 282,13 – 283,12.

1231 *hry-hb.t*, "lector priest," or "ritualist," means lit., "He who is under (i.e. carrying) the (festival) scroll." Lector priests utilized their knowledge and linguistic skills in a variety of settings, recording prescriptions in the medical papyri, officiating at funerary rituals, and composing magical utterances for state rituals as well as for the use of private individuals. Their renown as magicians entered the literary tradition, coloring the perception of the Egyptian priestly priesthood in the GR, with references to Egyptian priestly knowledge becoming a rhetorical strategy that would give prestige and authority to spells in the Greek magical papyri. See Dieleman, Priests, 280-284. Sauneron, Priests, 61-62, notes that the Greeks called lector priests *πτροφόροι*, due to the two large feathers worn on their heads. See also Haring, Divine Households, 4-5; Wb III, 395,4-10 (*hry-hb*); Meeks, An Lex 78.3235 (*hry-hbt*); CDME 167 (*hry-hbt*); Erichsen, Glossar, 388 (*hr-hb*). Gardiner, Onomastica I, 55*, notes that the second word in the compound (*hry-hb*) is feminine, but the -t ending is almost always omitted.

1232 See 5.1.4 for discussion of *nhh*-eternity and *d*.t-eternity.

1233 Inscription erroneously has *t*ýy=t instead of *t*ýy=n, as corrected by Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 116.

1234 *shnty*, lit. "to cause to go south," perhaps meaning, "to bring to the front."

1235 The word *hym* ını*ım rm-m ir hım “flood, wave.” See Erichsen, Glossar, 268: *hjm*; Crum, 674a: 20614*, pl. 21414*: Example: *i p*3 *lm m-ir hjm* “O Sea, do not make waves!” cited in ÄZ 49 (1911): 35; Wb II, 481, 11-12: *hwn*, waves,
You are causing the streams of water (in the canals)\textsuperscript{1237} and the mouths (of the Delta rivers) to make dykes (at) its (=the inundation) meeting, in order that the Great Green\textsuperscript{1238} does not receive it (too soon). You are causing the Great Green to receive it in its time, its course not having stood still, our Beautiful Mistress. You are giving (?) the field in its time, bright\textsuperscript{1239} in all of its crops. 54.6 They are ripe, they are beautiful, they are very pure and excellent. You are causing that they (= men) cultivate it (= the field) in joy. You are causing that they reap it in joy. You are preserving it (= harvest) from all taints of the sky and all impurities of the earth. You are causing the son of Ra ( ) to conduct them to 54.8 the very great offering tables. You are giving them back into his hand in a just return. You are giving him strength, power, and fortitude to make plans for many years. You are giving him 54.9 the great ones of all the land and all the foreign lands, very bent (in submission), his mace upon their heads.

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\textsuperscript{1237} Small streams of water, coursing through the dry fields, would be the first noticeable effect of the inundation. Wilson, PL, 659, suggests choosing \textit{hnt} rather than \textit{drt} or \textit{šsptr} when it alliterates better with other elements of the sentence, as it does in our phrase: \textit{n3 hnt wr n3-hn.t}: the streams (and) the mouths (of the Delta rivers).

\textsuperscript{1238} Wb I, 269-19: \textit{w3d-wr}, "Great Green," is a designation for "sea"; it can refer to the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, or waters in the nome of Dendera or Edfu, depending on the context.

\textsuperscript{1239} The characterization of the fields as \textit{thn.t}, "bright," alludes to the ritual of "répandre l’or," during which sparkling green powder was strewn on the fields during the month of Epiphi in order to guarantee the agricultural cycle. See Goyon, Répandre l’or, 85-100; discussion in 5.2.4. The term, \textit{thn.t}, also alludes to Hathor’s epithet, \textit{thn.t}, "Bright One (f.)," which agrees well with her responsibility for the fertility of the fields.
Doc 20 – Thickness of Door Jamb, East Side: D III, 54,12 – 54,17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>54,12</strong> [...12 squares...] <strong>54,13</strong> Great one of dread among all those on earth, Lord of Ma’at who makes a monument in Iunet, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, ( ), beloved of <strong>54,14</strong> [Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra], Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, Great One (f.) of love, Mistress of Women, Beautiful One (f.) of face among the braided ones, Noble and <strong>54,15</strong> Great Lady, Lady of the noble ladies, the Beautiful One (f.) is beautiful in seeing her. How joyful to see her! How sweet to follow her! How beautiful is what she places in the heart! <strong>54,16</strong> The gods rejoice in her, the Ihy-children make music for her, the goddesses are praising her Ka, the Great One.</td>
<td><strong>54,12</strong> [...12 squares...] <strong>54,13</strong> wr nrw m tpy.w-t3 nb.w nb m3.t ir mnw m lw.t nsjt-bity nb t3.wy ( ) mry <strong>54,14</strong> [H.t-hr wr.t nb.t lw.t Tr.t Rf] nb.t p.t hnw.t nfr.w nb.w wr.(t) mr(w.t) hnw.t hm.wt nfr.t hr m haks.wt šps.t <strong>54,15</strong> wr.t nb.t šps.wt n.t n.ti n m3=s mfk ptr=s ndm.wy šms=s nfr.wy pš di=s m lb <strong>54,16</strong> hn n=s nfr.w šhy n=s Šhy.w ntr.wt hr dw3 k3=s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1240 The transliteration and translation of the phrase in line 54,15 is ambiguous, because ‘n.tiw (one turns) can also be read as ‘n.til (stative meaning “be beautiful”). However, the use of the eye with makeup (D138) as the determinative suggests the stative ‘n.til, rather than “turn around,” which is usually written with backwards walking legs (D55). Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 117, translates it as “La Belle, on se retourne pour la voir.” I prefer to translate ‘n.t ‘n.til n m3=s, as “The Beautiful One is beautiful when seeing her.” GO §305 suggests that it can also be translated with the English passive: “The Beautiful One is beautiful when she is seen.” The expression may be purposely ambiguous; if ‘n.til is translated as “turn,” its writing with the painted eye alludes to Hathor as ‘n.t, “the Beautiful One.”

1241 Blackman, Meir I, pl. 18,2, attests Šhwy, musician-priests of Hathor, as early as the Middle Kingdom, in a tomb-chapel at Qis where they are depicted wearing menit-necklaces, dancing, and playing castanets. An inscription clearly states that they belong to the Temple of Hathor of Qis (Meir II, p. 23). Blackman (Meir I, 23 n. 7) notes a similar scene in the tomb chapel of Amenemhet at Thebes (TT 82), from the reign of Thutmose III, depicting a festival of Hathor in which two Šhwy-priests are playing castanets: the first with the caption,”Šhwy of the Golden One, Mistress of Dendera”; the second with ”the Šhwy of Hathor, Mistress of Dendera.”
(f.) of Heaven, who brightens the Two Lands with her rays, the Atenet who fills the land with 54,17 gold dust. 1242 Her father Ra—his arms are around her Incarnation. Tenen adorns her with her adornments.

Doc 21 – Thickness of Door Jamb, West Side: D III, 52,2 – 55,8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 55,2 The Good God [lives], 1243 Great One of the Two Uraei, 1244 who ascends upon his throne in the palace. The Excellent King—one rejoices 55,3 in seeing him—Great One of awe-inspired terror 1245 before every face, the Image of Ra who makes a monument in lunet, son of Ra, Lord of Crowns ( ), 55,4 beloved of 55,5 Isis the Great, Mother of the God, the Eye of Lady, Ra of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods. Her mother bore her on earth in Iatdi 1246 the day of the night 55,6 of the infant in his nest. 1247 She is the Unique Uraeus, the Mistress of the gods and goddesses. No god is like her, Sothis in the

1242 Wb II, 117,5, notes that mh tī m nkr nbw, "fill the land with gold dust," refers to sunbeams. It is an allusion to the ritual of stī thn.t, which took place towards the end of the agricultural year on the first day of the month of Epiph. Green powder, made sparkling by the addition of gold, was sprinkled on the ground in front of Hathor’s statue, which went out in procession. The whole earth "sparkled with her radiance" (thn tī dr=f< m>  thw=t), thus guaranteeing the agricultural cycle. See Goyon, Répandre l’or, 85-100.

1243 Following Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 118, who inserts a missing ʿnh at the beginning of the line. The standard phrase, ʿnh ntr nfr, although grammatically a subjunctive and often translated as "May the good god live," is, however, a performative statement, and therefore carrying no uncertainty. A better translation is "The good god lives," as suggested by Prof. Jacco Dieleman, private communication, October 12, 2011.

1244 The wīd.ty, "the Two Uraei," refer to the two tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nekhbet and Wadjet, as cobras. The first attested example of the offering of the wīd.ty is in the reign of Hatshepsut, in which they are given to the queen by Pakhet at Speos Artemidos (Urk IV, 287,6; Fairman and Grdseloff, Speos Artemidos, 12-33). Nekhbet and Wadjet present the King with wīd.ty scepters in symmetrical scenes in the 1st register of the north wall of the Per-wer. See discussion in 5.3.1.

1245 Wb IV, 457,2 – 459,7; PL 1004. sfy.t, "awesomeness; awe-inspired terror, fear, majesty," is regarded as a synonymous of Ma’at in Ma’at offerings, due to its representation by the forepart (and thus throat) of the ram, because the word for throat (mr.t) is a close homonym of Ma’at, who was considered the throat of the god through which he obtains air and food, i.e. the sustenance of life. See discussion in 5.1.2. The reference to sfy.t of the King is thus also a subtle allusion to his responsibility in maintaining Ma’at, with the use of his awesome power to do so. Van der Plas, L’Hymne à la Crue du Nil, Leiden, 1986, 92-93, suggests that mysterium tremendum perhaps best evokes the underlying emotional response to the sfy.t of a god or king.

1246 Iatdi, one of the three main names of Dendera (together with "lunet" and "Tarer"), is particularly associated with the small sanctuary located directly south of the main Temple of Hathor, considered to be the birthplace of the goddess Isis. See Kockelmann, Toponymen, 60-64.

1247 Reference to the "Day of the Night of the Infant in his Nest," which plays on the double meaning of the word, msi, which can mean "birth," as well as "heliacal rising." The dawn, occurring 40 minutes before sunrise, and thus technically still the 5th epagomenal day, is therefore the heliacal rising of Isis-Sothis just before New Year’s Day, which can be considered her msi (though not to be confused with the birth of Isis, daughter of Geb and Nut, on the 4th Epagomenal Day). See discussion of this event, and its associated ritual of presenting the seshed band, in Leitz, Nacht des Kindes, 136-157.
sky, the Female Ruler of the stars, who decrees words in the circuit of the sun disk. 55,7 It is the Noble Lady within the Sanctuary of the noble lady, the Beautiful Noblewoman in the Sanctuary of the Noblewoman. This goddess is the Female Sovereign more than the ancestors. The Female Ruler, no one comes after her, the Female King of Upper Egypt, the Female King of Lower Egypt, the Female Ba in the west and the east. 1249

1248 Wb II, 415,11-14; MK. rpy.t, meaning "female statue," is related to the OK term for "noblewoman" (Wb II, 415,1-10). Wilson, PL 581, notes that it may have been "She of the palanquin," thus referring to a palanquin carrying the statue of a female goddess. See Ward, Miscellanies, 266-267. See also Wilkinson, Early Dynastic Egypt, 269, fig 8.3 (1) and (2), for representations of early dynastic cult images: a female figure on a sledge; a female figure in a carrying-shrine.

1249 The four cardinal directions are thus mentioned: north (Lower Egypt), south (Upper Egypt), the west, and the east, alluding to Hathor's Four Faces, an epithet reflecting her ability to look to the four directions of the earth. This idea is conveyed architecturally by her four-faced columns at Dendera. See Derchain, Hathor Quadrifrons, passim.
Outer Entrance, Door Jambs

Door Jamb
East Side
Doc 22
D III, 55,18 – 56,10

Door Jamb
West Side
Doc 23
D III, 56,13 – 57,9

D II, pl. 94, © IFAO
### Doc 22 – Door Jamb, East Side: D III, 55,11 – 56,10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>55,18</strong> The Good God lives, the Purifier-priest, nourished by the Beautiful One (f.), who adores his mistress with what she loves, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), beloved of Hathor the Great, <strong>55,19</strong> Lady of Iunet.</td>
<td><strong>55,18</strong> ʿnh nṯr nfr ʿb šd n n.t sw3š ḥnw.t=f m mṛ=s nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) mṛ H.t-ḥr wr.t <strong>55,19</strong> nb(.t) Iwn.t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1250 The standard phrase, ʿnh nṯr nfr, although grammatically a subjunctive and often translated as "May the good god live," is, however, a performative statement, and therefore carrying no uncertainty. A better translation is "The good god lives," as suggested by Prof. Jacco Dieleman, private communication, October 12, 2011.

1251 Wb I, 175,11-12 notes ʿb as a priestly title attested since Dyn 18, especially in the phrase, ʿb pr wr, "Purifier of the Per-Wer." Wilson, PL 144, suggests that ʿb may be part of the title of the ḫwn-mw.t=f priest in the phrase, ʿb pr wr, "one who purifies the Per-Wer," attested from the reign of Hatshepsut (Urk IV, 262,10; in “Coming out of the palace” texts, eg. E II, 59,16). Note that Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 120, transliterates as ʿb-nṯr. This epithet is the first of many on this door jamb relating to the King's role as high priest who carries out the daily temple ritual before the image of the goddess in the sanctuary. Interestingly, the order of these epithets mirrors the stages in the rite depicted inside the Per-wer in the 1st register of the east, south, and west walls. Each epithet, connecting to a fuller description of the scene within the sanctuary, thus summarizes the king's roles and actions.

1252 Wb IV 564 notes the GR writing of the word ʾšd, "nourish, bring up," with (signs V102 and X1); the use of (A2) as a determinative in this word is attested since the MK, thus suggesting this reading for the word in line 55,18. The epithet recalls the mythological image of Isis suckling her son Horus; being nourished by a goddess thus affirms the king's divine descent and equates him with Horus. One of the earliest images of a divine cow suckling the King appears in the Hathor Chapel of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. This imagery is duplicated in a text on the west side of the south wall of Dendera's Mysterious Corridor, not far from the Per-wer's entrance (D I, 130,5), in which Hathor is Sekhat-Hor in the Temple of the Cow; and "the mother of the God who protects her son, who nourishes his Incarnation with milk." Similarly, the text in the adoration scene of the 2nd register of the north wall of the Per-wer (D III, 69,2) gives Hathor's epithet as ʾšd mṛ=s ʾḥdw=s, "who nourishes her child with her milk."

1253 Correction in line 55,18: determinative of n.t is (C9) instead of (C9A), noted in Cauville Dend Trad III, p. 329 and pl. 35, in IFAO photo no. 98-2224-25 by A. Lecler.
55.20 The Good God lives, who protects the sanctuary,\(^{1254}\) who loosens the seal\(^{1255}\) in order to see the Golden One (f.), son of Ra (), beloved of Ihy the Great, son of 55.21 Hathor.

56.1 The Good God lives, who unbolts the doors\(^{1256}\) of the temples, who opens the door leaves of the Per-Wer, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (), beloved of Hathor, Lady of Iunet 56.2 the Menit.\(^{1257}\)

56.3 The Good God lives, child of Hapy, the Purifier, son of the Purifier,\(^{1258}\) son of Ra (), beloved of Haronsmtus, the Great God who resides\(^{1259}\) in Iunet.

56.4 The Good God lives, engendered by Shu, exact of feet in the secret places, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ()|, beloved of Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra 56.5 Words to say: Adoration to you, Golden One, Lady of Iunet, the Noble and Powerful Lady in the Sanctuary of the Noble Lady, She who shines like gold\(^{1260}\) 56.6 in the Temple of the Sistrum, the Atenet in the Land of Atum. I adore your Incarnation with what your heart desires. I invoke your statue with the sacred texts. 56.7 I exalt your k3 to the height of heaven. I praise your statue to the extent of the rays of the Aten. May you come in 56.8 peace. May you go in joy. Sweet is your heart in hearing the praises.\(^{1261}\) 56.9 Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, 56.10 the Great Uraeus, Lady of the Per-wer, your beautiful face is satisfied with your beloved son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands ()|, for d.t-eternity.

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\(^{1254}\) The GR spelling has the -loaf; Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 118, transliterates as iwnn. However, Wb. I, 55,12-13, includes the GR writing but transliterates only as iwnn, as does Wilson, PL 54.

\(^{1255}\) sfr htm, "loosens the seal," recalls the scene from the daily temple rite of sfr dbt, "loosening the seal," in the 1st register, 2nd scene of the east wall in the Per-wer (D III, 65.5 – 66.3). Cf. Bartel, Fortziehen der Riegel, 55-81.

\(^{1256}\) skr ḫwy, "unbolts the doors," recalls the scene from the daily temple rite of st3 idR, "pulling the door bolt," in which the text in the Royal Randzeile states that the King skr ḫwy mn.t, "opens the doors of heaven," in the 1st register, 1st scene of the west wall in the Per-wer (D III, 76.8).

\(^{1257}\) Hathor as the manifestation of her cult object, the menit-necklace. See Gosline, Mnjt, 40; Preys, Manifestations, 357-362; Staehelin, Menit, 52-53; Bonnet, RÄRG, 450-451; Barguet, Contrepoids, 107. Cauville, Dieux et prêtres, 71, notes that at Dendera there are two forms of "Hathor the Menit": one specific to Edfu, which is integrated into its pantheon; the one connected with Dendera.

\(^{1258}\) twr st twr, "Purifier, son of the Purifier," is a priestly title carried by the King in his identification as Horus, showing that the King has the requisite purity and legitimacy to approach the goddess. The title also appears in the 1st scene of the 1st register of the east wall of the Per-wer, in a scene from the daily temple rite in which the King ascends the steps to Hathor's shrine (D III, 64.3 – 65.3).

\(^{1259}\) Wb III 136-137; PL 663: ḫry-id, lit., "in the middle," translated "resides in" or "sojourns in," refers to a deity worshipped in a cult center of another deity. See Haring, Divine Households, 71 n. 3; Budde, Epithets, 3.

\(^{1260}\) See footnote on wbn.t-m-nbw in Doc 4.

\(^{1261}\) Cauville Dend Trad III, p. 121, translates as "prières" (prayers). PL 869, sns.w: "praises"; Wb IV, 171,11-13, attested in Dyn 18. In a sistrum text from E I, 523,12, Hathor hears the sns.w of the king.
Doc 23 – Door Jamb, West Side: D III, 56,13 – 57,9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56,13 <code>nh ntr nfr hry-sšt3 </code>b n Nbw.t px3-ib ikr db5.w ns.w.t-bi.ty ( ) mry H.t-hr nb.t lw.n.t Tr-Rnt nb.(t) p.t</td>
<td>The Good God lives, Master of Secrets, (^{1262}) Purifier-Priest of the Golden One, He who is open of heart, (^{1263}) Excellent One of fingers, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ) beloved of Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of heaven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57,1 `nh ntr nfr hn itr.ty st3 idr r m33 ḥnw.t(=f) s3 Rnt ( ) mry Hr[sm3-t3.wy] p3 ḥrd s3 H.t-hr</td>
<td>The Good God lives, who preserves the Two Sanctuaries, (^{1264}) who opens the (door) bolt (^{1265}) in order to see (his) mistress, son of Ra ( ) beloved of Har[somtus] the child, son of Hathor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57,2 `nh ntr nfr wn ǧ3.wy p.t sš sb3.w nw ḥ.t-sšš.t nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) mry 3&amp;t wr.t mw.t-ntr</td>
<td>The Good God lives, who opens the doors of heaven, (^{1266}) who opens the doors of the Temple of the Sistrum, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ) beloved of Isis the Great, Mother of the god.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57,3 `nh ntr nfr […]5 squares… the son of Ra (^{1267}) ( ) beloved of Horus Behdet, the Great God, Lord of heaven.</td>
<td>The Good God lives, […]5 squares… the son of Ra (^{1267}) ( ) beloved of Horus Behdet, the Great God, Lord of heaven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57,4 `nh ntr nfr mr ḥw.m-ntr n wsr.t kb nmt.t m</td>
<td>The Good God lives, the overseer of the ḥm-ntr-priests of the Mighty One (f.), Measured of steps (^{1268}) in the Two Sanctuaries, written (\overline{\text{ii}}\overline{\text{m}}) (O196). Gardiner, Horus the Behdetite, 27-28, connects itr.ty with itr.w, &quot;river channel,&quot; thus meaning a &quot;line&quot; or &quot;row&quot; of water. The itr.ty thus denote the two shrine rows on either side of the Sed Festival court: the itr.t-šm(\text{f.})t for Upper Egypt, itr.t-mh.t for Lower Egypt. The two itr.ty, or shrine rows, thus designate Egypt as a whole. See also PL 123-124.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{1262}\) Wb IV, 298,22 – 299,13; Erichsen, Glossari, 321; PL 666: ḥry-sšt\(\text{3}\), lit. "foremost one of secrets," or "master of secrets," is a priestly epithet, used of the King when he recites the contents of the temple library (E III, 347,10). See also Baines, Decorum, 9-14; cf. DuQuenes, Master of Secrets, 25-38.

\(^{1263}\) Wb I, 542,16-18; 18th Dyn., px3-ib, lit. "split" or "open" of heart," is an virtue given by the gods, a joyful condition. Otto, Gott und Mensch, 124-125, suggests that it implies a state of being "kundig," as well as "froh," which can be a gift from the divinity. Interestingly, the characteristic is typical of the king’s state of mind when approaching the goddess for the daily temple rite, as well as the state in which he will be as a result of the "drunkenness and joy" that Hathor gives the King in a sistra offering in the 29th scene of the 29th register, east wall of the Per-wer (D III, 70,15). In both cases, the idea of px3-ib seems to imply the joy and heightened state of perception when encountering the Divine.

\(^{1264}\) itr.ty, "the Two Sanctuaries," written \(\overline{\text{ii}}\overline{\text{m}}\) (O196). Gardiner, Horus the Behdetite, 27-28, connects itr.ty with itr.w, "river channel," thus meaning a "line" or "row" of water. The itr.ty thus denote the two shrine rows on either side of the Sed Festival court: the itr.t-šm\(\text{f.}\)t for Upper Egypt, itr.t-mh.t for Lower Egypt. The two itr.ty, or shrine rows, thus designate Egypt as a whole. See also PL 123-124.

\(^{1265}\) st3 idr, "pull the (door) bolt," recalls the episode of the daily temple rite in the 1st scene, 1st register, west wall of the Per-wer, in which the King pulls upon the bolt of the naos and opens the doors to reveal the goddess. See Wb IV, 352,10-12, and 17; PL 967; Graefe, Versiegelung, 147.

\(^{1266}\) sš ǧ3.wy p.t, "opens the doors of heaven," recalls the episode of the daily temple rite in the 1st scene, 1st register, west wall of the Per-wer, in which the Royal Randzeile states that the King skr ǧ3.wy nnt.t, "opens the doors of heaven" (D III, 76,8), describing his opening of the doors of Hathor's naos, thus revealing the goddess within.

\(^{1267}\) Following Cauville, Dend Trad I, p. 120, who restores sš Rnt in the last square of the lacuna in D III, 57,3.

\(^{1268}\) Wb V, 23,15-16; Late; GR. m kb nmt.t means lit., "in coolness of pace." Wilson, PL 1050, notes that the phrase often characterizes priests or gods as they approach the sanctuary in procession; she cites other translations: Otto, Gott und Mensch, 156, "mit kühlem, beherrschem Schritt"; Alliot, Culte I, 242, "en marche lente," and Daumas, Nout à Dendara, 391, "marcher lentement." The mention of being kb nmt.t, "measured of steps" in the sacred place (D III, 57,4) recalls the scene from the daily temple ritual of pr r ḥnw, "going up the steps," in the 1st register, east wall of the Per-wer, in which the King states, ts=i ḥnw.n Nbw.t m kb nmt.t, "I go up upon the stairs of the Golden One (f.) with measured steps" (D III, 64,3-4).
the sacred place, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), beloved of Hathor, Lady of Iunet, the Eye of Ra.  

Words to say: Adoration to you, the Atenet in Tarer,\(^{1269}\) the Noble One (f.) in the Palace of the Noble one (f.), the Uraeus of the Horizon-Dweller \(^{57,6}\) in the Sanctuary of the Golden One (f.), the Female sovereign in Iatdi: \(^{1270}\) I exalt your body in order to sweeten your heart. I make your Ba-power greater than (that of) the gods. I invoke your statue with the formulas of Sia and with the (magical) utterances for your manifestation. May you come in joy. May you walk in joy. Your Incarnation is joyful in your beauty/perfection. \(^{57,9}\) Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, the Noble and Powerful Lady in the Temple of the Sistrum, your beautiful face is satisfied with your beloved son, the son of Ra, Lord of Crowns ( ), for \(d.t\)-eternity.

\(^{1269}\) \(T\text{i}-rr\), "Tarer," a name of Dendera (Wb V, 226,1; GR). Kockelmann, Toponymen, 65-66 discusses the name, noting that according to Dümichen (Bauerkunde, 30), Iunet and Tarer are the most frequently-used names in the inscriptions of the Temple of Dendera. Because they are used interchangeably, Kockelmann (65) argues against the idea that Tarer is the "profane name" and Iunet is the "theological name" (contra Dümichen, Bauerkunde, 30; Preys, Complexes, 49). Myśliwiec, Atum, 52, suggests that when written as a rebus with serpents, Tarer alludes to &A-n-Itm ("Land of Atum," another name of Dendera) and Atum’s form as a primeval snake. Examples include D III, 57,5, D IV, 232,2, D VIII, 122,13.

\(^{1270}\) Iatdi, one of the three main names of Dendera (together with "Iunet" and "Tarer"), is particularly associated with the small sanctuary located directly south of the main Temple of Hathor, considered to be the birthplace of the goddess Isis. See Kockelmann, Toponymen, 60-64.
7.2 Bandeaux of the Base and the Frieze in the Per-wer

The bandeaux of the base and the frieze each consist of two continuous lines of text located on the east and west sides of the Per-wer. The bandeau of the base is located below the 1\textsuperscript{st} register; the bandeau of the frieze, above the 3\textsuperscript{rd} register. A single ankh-sign unites the two sides of each inscription at the center of the south wall, serving as the first word of the two lines of text, proceeding in an opposite direction around the walls of the sanctuary, ending at the center of the north wall. The bandeaux provide a summary of the chapel’s construction and decoration, welcoming the goddess to the beautiful sanctuary made for her by the King, and making allusions to the archaic Per-wer of Upper Egypt. The two sides of each bandeau contain parallel expressions, varied by synonyms or alternate signs in the writing. The two names of the sanctuary, Per-wer and Temple of the Sistrum, also appear in parallel. Ideograms designating the goddess generally face away from the center of the south wall, as if she is looking out from the inside of her naos in the Southern Niche; ideograms designating the King face towards the niche. This arrangement mirrors the larger wall reliefs of the king and the goddess, as well as the reality of the three-dimensional cult image that would have stood within the niche, and the living King facing towards this sacred image.

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1271 In the case of the bandeau of the base, it ends on either side of the door opening.
Doc 24 – Bandeau of the Base, East Side: D III, 59,10 – 60,2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH WALL 59,10 The Good God lives,(^{1272}) son of Hathor, heir of the Winged Disk,(^{1273}) Highest of the gods,(^{1274}) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, ( ) beloved of 59,11 Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet,(^{1275}) Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods. He has built the Per-wer</td>
<td>SOUTH WALL 59,10 ʕnh ntr nfr s3 H.t-hr iw n `py hry ntr.w nsw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy ( ) mry 59,11 H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Twn.t Tr.t-Rc nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w hws.n=f pr-wr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{1272}\) The standard phrase, ʕnh ntr nfr, although grammatically a subjunctive and often translated as "May the good god live," is, however, a performative statement, and therefore carrying no uncertainty. A better translation is "The good god lives," as suggested by Prof. Jacco Dieleman, private communication, October 12, 2011.

\(^{1273}\) The sun disk with wings, whose mythological explanation lies in the Myth of Horus, in which Behdety unites with the sun disk and flies to the sky in order to conquer the enemies of Ra-Horakhty. See Fairman, Triumph of Horus, passim.

\(^{1274}\) Wb III, 133,2: hry-ntr.w: highest god, or "chief" of the gods. At Dendera, this epithet can refer to the following deities: Ra-Horakhty (D IV, 265,1); the Ram, Lord of the Sky (D II, 65,13); Horus Behdety (D II, 136,14; IV, 66,3; 173,12; VI, 28,3); Harsiesis (D IV, 74,7); Harsomtus (D II, 20,4; 33,10; 188,13; IV, 69,14; VI, 18,11).

\(^{1275}\) Twn.t is the most well-known and oldest of Dendera's names, attested in the tombs of private individuals since the 4th Dynasty, e.g. in the rock-cut tomb of Mrī=s-ʕnh III at Giza. See Kockelmann, Toponymen, 53-59; Fischer, Dendera, 23.
**EAST WALL**

for her Incarnation\(^{1276}\) as a joy in an excellent work of\(^{1277}\) nhh-eternity, in order to protect 59,12 the (divine) image of her Ka within it,\(^{1278}\) in order to conceal her body from the divine ancestors.\(^{1279}\) He has erected the divine hall\(^{1280}\) of the Female Sovereign in Iatdi;\(^{1281}\) completed as a beautiful monument. It is founded\(^{1282}\) in festival. 60,1 It is built in joy. It is completed in sweetness of heart. The Sanctuary of the Noble Lady for the Noble Lady—she receives it in peace, rejoicing,\(^{1283}\) without anger in her. 60,2 She alights on her (secret) image\(^{1284}\) engraved on the wall.\(^{1285}\)

**NORTH WALL**

She rejoices in\(^{1286}\) seeing her city. She increases the royalty of the King on his throne, Foremost One\(^{1287}\) of the Living (divine) Kas,\(^{1288}\) for d.t-eternity.

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\(^{1276}\) GR spelling $\text{S}$ (C9D) with seated goddess wearing horns and disk headdress and holding $\text{S}$ (U36), the club phonogram for hm.

\(^{1277}\) Wb II, 301,4 gives n nhh, "for eternity," but spelled simply with the preposition n; Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 126-127, transliterates $\text{S}$ as n, "pour" (l’éternité). However, the t-loaf in n.t suggests that the phrase is genitalic.

\(^{1278}\) The preposition m-흐 in the word of the Ka, written with the coil-sign means lit., "in the coils," thus alluding to Hathor’s manifestation as the cobra on the brow of her father, the sun god Ra.

\(^{1279}\) Wb V, 283,12: “göttliche Wesen im Tempel” in GR. See Section 5.6.2 for discussion of the ancestor gods.

\(^{1280}\) Interpreted as the stative, "being in a state of rejoicing."

\(^{1281}\) Iatdi, one of the three main names of Dendera (together with "Iunet" and "Tarer"), is particularly associated with the small sanctuary located directly south of the main Temple of Hathor, considered to be the birthplace of the goddess Isis. See Kockelmann, Toponymen, 60-64.

\(^{1282}\) Passive form of the perfective $\text{s}d\text{m}f$ of sntl, "to found." The looped rope $\text{S}$ (V5A, used as the ideogram for snt in GR) alludes to the ceremony of "stretching the cord," by which the building area is measured with a rope or cord. See Wb IV, 177,10-178,12, esp., 177,13; PL, 874-875.

\(^{1283}\) In the GR, the word s$t$ means both "secret," and "image"; in this context it refers to the image of the goddess, hidden from public view. See Wb IV, 298,1 – 299,13; Wb IV, 299,14-16 GR.

\(^{1284}\) Wb IV, 14,4-14, which notes that in LP and GR, it also appears without the t-loaf. My translation of $\text{S}$ as singular s$t$ is contra Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 126-127, who translates it as s$t$w, "les parois," even though there is no indication in the signs that it is plural. See discussion in 5.2.5.

\(^{1285}\) Wb IV, 301,4, gives n nhh, "for eternity," but spelled simply with the preposition n; Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 126-127, transliterates it as $\text{S}$, "sanctuary."

\(^{1286}\) Prepositional nisbe (an adjective made from a preposition), derived from hnt, "at the head of"; translated as "foremost." In this epithet, the nisbe functions as a substantive, "foremost one." Hathor is often described as hnt. $\text{S}$ (D III, 50,12); the King is hnty k$\text{t}$w n$h$. $\text{S}$ (D III, 47,3-4).

\(^{1287}\) The k$\text{t}$w n$h$, "living kas," are ancestor gods, discussed in 5.2.6.
Doc 25 – Bandeau of the Base, W. Side: D III, 60,4 – 60,9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOUTH WALL</strong></td>
<td><strong>SOUTH WALL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60,4 The Good God lives, child of Iunyt,(^{1289}) the eldest son of Sematawy, son of Ra, Lord of Crowns ( )(^{1289}) beloved of 60,5 Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Lady of humankind,(^{1289}) Mistress of the Two Lands. He has completed <strong>WEST WALL</strong> the Per- wer of the Noble Lady in Iunet as a beautiful work of eternity in order to protect the images 60,6 of</td>
<td>60,4 حن nfr nn n'Iwn.t s3 smsw n Sm3-twy s3 R^e nb ḫw^e, ḫw^e ( )(^{1289}) mry 60,5 Ḥ.t-hr wr.t nb.t'Iwn,t nb.t.rhy.t ḫnw.t t.t.wy ḫr n=f <strong>WEST WALL</strong> pr-wr n Šps.t m'Iwn.t m k3.t nfr.t n.t d.t r ḫw.t šsp.w 60,6 n ḫm.t=s m-lhnt=f r dsr bs n Psd.t=s r swr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{1289}\) Lit."She of Iunet," an epithet of Isis (Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 357); Wb I, 55,1, GR: "Hathor-Isis von Dendera." Cauville, Inscriptions dédicatoires, 101 and 106 n. 17, notes that Iunet, the name of Isis, is derived from the name of the city and is a feminine form of Iuny, a form of Osiris at Edfu. The emphasis on Isis in this inscription is due to its location on the west side of the bandeau, as opposed to the emphasis on Hathor on the east side. A statue of the goddess Iunyt, depicted as a woman wearing a long wig and seated on a throne, was dedicated at Luxor Temple by King Amenhotep III. See El-Saghir, Luxor Cachette, 31-34.

\(^{1289}\) The epithet, nb.ty.t-rhy.t, belonging primarily to Isis, emphasizes her role as the queen who guarantees the passage of royal power from the father Osiris to his son Horus. At Dendera, Hathor especially carries this title on the west walls of the temple, where she takes the place of Isis. See Preys, Isis et Hathor, 351, who notes the necessity of a deeper study into the following issues: the reason for placing Hathor nb.ty.t-rhy.t in a particular scene; the processes by which Hathor is identified to Isis (via the latter's epithets, e.g. nb.ty.t rhy.t or ḫnty.t'Iwn.t) or vice versa (with Isis carrying Hathor's epithets, e.g. nbw.t or part of Hathor's great titulary).
her Incarnation within it, in order to sanctify the image\textsuperscript{1291} of her Ennead\textsuperscript{1292} in order to make her Bas
great in the presence of all the ancestor gods,\textsuperscript{1293} because\textsuperscript{1294} great \textit{60,7} is her name in the heart\textsuperscript{1295} of her father.\textsuperscript{1296} Her chapel is completed in \textit{very great} jubilation, rejoicing,\textsuperscript{1298} dancing, and rejoicing (in) the Sanctuary of the Beautiful One for the Beautiful
Mistress.\textsuperscript{1299} She enters it \textit{60,8} in peace, being brighter in her body than the gods.

**NORTH WALL**
She unites with her image in the Temple of the Sistrum. Her Incarnation rejoices at seeing her sanctuary. She magnifies the King upon the serekh of [his] Ka at the head of the living \textit{60,9} (divine) Kas, for \textit{d.t}-eternity.

\textit{b3.w} = \textit{hr dr ty.w tm.w dr wr} \textit{60,7}
\textit{rn=s} \textit{hr ntry n it=s hts.tw} \textit{czy.t= s}
\textit{m} \textit{czy} \textit{sp sn nw nhm} \textit{ib3 hntš pr-}
\textit{tn.t} \textit{n hnw.t} \textit{tn.t} \textit{ckpt=s sw} \textit{60,8}
\textit{ḥtp tnh.ti m d.t=s r ntr.w}

**NORTH WALL**
\textit{ḥnms=s} \textit{ti.t= s hnt h.t=sšš.t}
\textit{ḥw=ib} \textit{hm.t=s} \textit{n mšš pr=s}
\textit{sšš=s} \textit{nsw.t tp srh} \textit{n kš[f] hnty}
\textit{kš.w} \textit{60,9} \textit{ḥnh.w} \textit{d.t}

\textsuperscript{1291}Wb I, 474,1-4. Wilson, PL 331, notes that \textit{bs} is the image or cult statue of a god, derived from the MK \textit{bsw},
which, like \textit{sšš.t}, denotes something secret that must be kept away from ordinary eyes. See Sethe, Lesestücke MK,
70,17.

\textsuperscript{1292}Preys, Protection, alimentation, 353, defines the Ennead of Hathor at Dendera (listed on the north montant of the
Staircase Chamber, D VI, 140,2-6) as the following: Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet; Horus of Edfu, the Great God,
Lord of Heaven; Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Uraeus of Ra; Harusamn, the Great God who resides in Iunet; Ihy the Great,
son of Hathor; Harusamn the Child, son of Hathor; Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Chief of the Great Seat;
Hathor, Lady of Iunet, the Menit; Harusamn, the Great God, Lord of Khadi; Osiris-Wennefer, justified, the Great
God who resides at Iunet; Isis the Great, Mother of the God.

\textsuperscript{1293}The \textit{dr ty.w} are ancestor gods, discussed in 5.2.6. See also Wb V, 598,6-9; GR; PL 1245: Meeks, An
Lex, 78,4947. Wilson (PL 1245, citing LÄ VI, 1067-1069 n. 7) suggests that the name may derive from \textit{dr},
"boundary, limit," because they exist at the "limit" or "end" of time.

\textsuperscript{1294}Wb V, 593,11: \textit{dr} functions as a conjunction before a verbal or nominal clause since MK.

\textsuperscript{1295}Wb II, 365,5-7; PL 559: \textit{ḥntš} is the heart of the Creator God; it can also designate the heart of the King.

\textsuperscript{1296}Wb I, 141,10-19: it, "father," written with \textit{ḥ} (W10), a vase with bread, attested since OK.

\textsuperscript{1297}Written \textit{czy sp sn nw}, lit., "jubilation, jubilation," or translated as "very great jubilation."

\textsuperscript{1298}Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 127, translates as "tambourine." I prefer to read \textit{nhm} as the verb, "rejoice," following
PL 530, though perhaps it could be interpreted as "rejoicing with tambourine."

\textsuperscript{1299}Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 126-127, transliterates \textit{ḥnw.t} as simply \textit{tn.t}, "la Belle." The glyphs, however, suggest
\textit{ḥnw.t} \textit{tn.t}. 

327
Bandeau of the Frieze

Layout of the Bandeau of the Frieze, East and West Sides
Hieroglyphs face the same direction as the arrows.

Bandeau of the Frieze, East Side
D III, pls. 180, 190, © IFAO

North Wall  East Wall  South Wall
Doc 26 – Bandeau of the Frieze, E. Side: D III, 61.3-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOUTH WALL</strong></td>
<td><strong>SOUTH WALL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.3 The Good God lives, son of Hathor. Excellent heir of Behdety, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, beloved of 61.4 Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Mistress of all the gods. He has completed the Temple of the Sistrum for the Golden One (f.), Lady of Iunet, without its likeness in the Two Shrines, the great images engraved in it, chiseled excellently by the work of sculptors, adorned in gold illuminated with painting, more luminous to see (it) than the heaven of Ra. The Shining One (f.) shines in the sky before her city, the temple of her Ka since the beginning. She flies as the Female Falcon, the Shining One (f.) of brightness.</td>
<td>61.3 ḫn nṯr nfr s3 ḫt-hr iw nḫ n ḫbd.ty nsw.t-bi.ty nb ḫw.w ḫmr (f.) mḥr.t ( ḫn.t ṭw.nw.t nṯr.t ) mw nb.w ḫn.w f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EAST WALL</strong></td>
<td><strong>EAST WALL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She alights on 61.7 her image in her sanctuary. She praises Ra for her city in joy. It is established for an infinity of years. She has rewarded the One of the Two Ladies for the work of his hands, at the head of the Living (divine) Kas eternally.</td>
<td>h.t sḥḥ.t n Nbw.t nb.t ṭw.n.t n mtt=s m ity.t ṣḥm.w wr.w ṣḥmr m-hnt=s 61.5 ḫḥ nmnḥ m ḫk.t ṣgw.t.w ṣḥkr.t n ṭbw pḥp.f.ti m ṭrw 3ḥ m3w=s r nnn.t n ṭc 61.6 ps ṭ m p.t m-ṣk niw.t=s 3ḥ.t n.t ḫ=k=s ṭr bṣḥ ḫd=s s m bkt.t ṭḥn.(t) mšḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NORTH WALL</strong></td>
<td><strong>NORTH WALL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She praises Ra at the head of the Two Shrines for Upper Egypt, she has completed the Two Shrines, or shrine rows, thus designate Egypt as a whole. See also PL 123-124. Writing faces east, away from the naos.</td>
<td>ḫn=s ḫr 61.7 bs=s ḫnt hm=s ḫs=s ṭc 61.8 ḫnt ḫk.t w nḥw.w d.t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1300 nfr, "good," or "perfect," is written with the ideogram (E51), depicting a standing baboon, arms raised in praise; in Ptolemaic Egyptian it holds the value, nfr. See Wb II, 253,1; Kurth, EP I, 218 n. 327.

1301 ḫbd.ty, lit. "The One from Behdet." Gardiner, Horus the Behdetite, 59-60, suggests that in the Predynastic Period, this epithet originally belonged to a falcon god worshipped in a northernmost Egyptian town, whose people conquered Upper Egypt, where Seth of Ombos was worshipped; "Behdet" was later incorporated into the epithet of the national god Horus to stress his northern origin and provide a counterpart to the southern Ombite, Seth.

1302 Writing faces east, away from the naos.

1303 ity.t, "the Two Sanctuaries," written (O196). Gardiner, Horus the Behdetite, 27-28, connects ity.t with it.t.w, "river channel," thus meaning a "line" or "row" of water. The ity.t thus denote the two shrine rows on either side of the Sed Festival court: the ity.t-ṣmn.t for Upper Egypt, ity.t-ḥn.t for Lower Egypt. The two ity.t, or shrine rows, thus designate Egypt as a whole. See also PL 123-124.

1304 CDME 290; PL 1102.

1305 Wb V, 601.5-7.

1306 ḫḥ, with the polyvalent connotation of being shining, luminous, effective, magnificent. See Friedman, Root Meaning ḫḥ, 39-46.

1307 This statement alludes to the great antiquity of Hathor's cult center at Dendera.

1308 Wb V, 393.23-26: ḫtn, "das Glänzen, der Glanz," as a characteristic and an epithet of the sun god. As a solar goddess, Hathor is thus the feminine counterpart, ḫtn.t. Cf. PL 1170.

1309 Wb V, 77,9-11; PL 1071: pr-m-kd, "to rejoice," "joy."
**Doc 27 – Bandeau of the Frieze, W. Side: D III, 62,2-7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOUTH WALL</strong> 62,2 The Good God lives, son of the Powerful Noble Lady, the Living image of Somtus, son of Ra, Lord of crowns, beloved of Isis the Great, Mother of the god. Lady of Iatdi who resides in Iunet. He has finished</td>
<td><strong>SOUTH WALL</strong> 62,2 /**************************************************************************************************/  nfr sī šhm-Šps.t Šsp-Šnh n Sm3-T3. wy s3 Rc nb ḫw ( ) mry 62,3 Šš.t wr.t mw.t ntr nb.t T3.t di hry.t-ib ṭwn.t ṭr.k.n=f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1310 *nfr,* "good," or "perfect," is written with the ideogram [E51](E51), depicting a standing baboon, arms raised in praise; in Ptolemaic Egyptian it holds the value, *nfr.* See [Wb II, 253.1](/documents/253.1); [Kurth, EP I, 218 n. 327](/documents/218.327).

1311 As an epithet, *šhm-Šps* can refer to a number of male deities at Dendera: Horus (D III, 176.3); Horus of Heliopolis (D III, 183.1); Osiris (D III, 28.15); Ra-Horakhty (D III, 51.13); Thoth (D III, 20.1); *šhm* specifically refers to the power of a god (Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 600). In the plural, *šhm.w Šps.w,* refer to the ancestor gods (D III, 84.13; 182.10). The feminine counterpart, *Šhm-Šps.t,* is an epithet of Hathor (D III, 62.2; 98.8, 141.2).

1312 [Wb IV, 533.6-7](/documents/533.6-7); [PL 1028-1029](/documents/1028.1029). *Šš.p-Šnh* is the image of the King as a recumbent sphinx, the image of the sun god, holding an ankh in his paws. Wilson, PL 1029, notes that *Šš.p-Šnh* can appear in parallel to the epithet, *snn=hr,* "image of Horus," in reference to the King. See also Hornung, Mensch als Bild, 142,

1313 The epithet, [E52](E52) mw.t-ntr, "mother of the god," features honorific transposition of *ntr,* the falcon on standard.

WEST WALL
the Per-wer for the Female Sovereign in the Sanctuary of the One (f.) who knows, without its equal in the Two Palaces. The images of the gods are inscribed in it, carved excellently by the hand of Tenen, plated in gold, decorated with pigments. It resembles the pure sky. Iunyt shines in the sky at the prow of the barque, in the sight of the place where she was born. She flies as the noble vulture, turquoise of appearance. She alights upon her image

NORTH WALL
on the wall. She thanks the god for her city until the end of time. She is installed until the end of eternity.

62,7 She makes the sovereign great on account of the monument that he has made, Foremost One of the Living (divine) Kas, for d.t-continuity.

WEST WALL
pr-wr n lty(t) m pr-rh.t n sn.nw=f m Is.ty šsp.w nw ntr.w sš.ti m-hnt=f ħt 62,4 r-mnh m-s Tnn ħt m sšt.wy wh₅.ti m ti.t nhr=s r hr.t wSn.t wbn 62,5 lwny.t m p.t m h₅.t wšl m-sty-n s.t p²p².tw=s ḫt=s m šš.t šps.t mft.t ḫ₅w snm=s 62,6 ḫr ššm=s

NORTH WALL
hr šš.t wt dw³-ntr=s r nw.t=s ḫnty ḫw snn=s r km nhḥ 62,7 swr=s lty hr mnw ir.n=f ḫnty k₃.w ṣnh.w d.t

---

1315 WB II, 446,6, attested in GR as a name for Hathor. Kockelmann, Toponymen, 78-79, notes that it can designate the temple as well as the town of Dendera, attested by a text referring to the New Year's procession to the roof, which states, sšš-t ḫr ḫnḥw r=tP pr-rh.t, which Kockelmann translates as, "ich schreite über die Treppe hinweg auf das Haus-der-Wissenden" (D VII, 181,4). Wb II, 445,10, and Boylon, Thoth, 99, both note ḫr-snw as an epithet of Thoth since the 19 Dynasty, meaning, "the One who knows himself" (PL 590). In the present context, with reference to Isis, the epithet ḫr.t may allude to her great magical knowledge, and the fact that she was able to discover the secret name of Ra in the myth. Hathor, as Seshat, carries the epithet, "Lady of the Library," in the Ogdoad adoration scene on the Per-wer's outer entrance (D III, 49,9), which agrees well with this epithet.

1316 Wb IV, 149,13: lit., without its second.

1317 Wb I, 127,10; PL 113. Is.ty, "the Two Palaces," is a term for the whole of Egypt since GR. See also Gauthier, DI G, 106.

1318 PL 434: r-mnh, adverb meaning "excellently."

1319 The name of T₃-tnn (Tatenen; Tenen) means "the risen earth," from the verb, mθ, "to raise up" (PL 1165-1166).

1320 Literally, "She of Iunet," an epithet of Isis (Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 357); Wb I, 55,1, GR: "Hathor-Isis von Dendera." Cauville, Inscriptions dédicaire, 101 and 106 n. 17, notes that Iunyt, the name of Isis, is derived from the name of the city and is a feminine form of Iuny, a form of Osiris at Edfu.

1321 Wb IV, 332,7-10; Dyn. 21; PL 956: m-stš-n is lit., "in the sight of"; it means "before," "in the presence of." See Junker, GrD §226, p. 166.

1322 The word p²p² means "shine" as well as "born"; PL 346 notes that the shining of the sun is also its birth.

1323 Stš.t is an epithet of Nekhbet, the vulture goddess of El Kab, as well as the nurse of divine offspring and the protectress of Horus. Homonyms of stš.t include "the one who is secret," "womb," and "female image," all of which are appropriate epithets of Hathor-Isis. Wilson, PL 1037, notes that stš.t at Edfu is associated with El Kab, especially when emphasizing it as an incense-producing area.

1324 ḫnty (Wb III, 106,1-10) carries within it the idea of an infinite limit of time and space. PL 661 notes that the road determinative in some spellings of ḫnty implies something with two sides or boundaries—metaphorical for past and future; there may be a semantic link with the word ḫnty (horns), with the distance between the tips of the horns symbolizing spatial and temporal spans. Note the parallelism between ḫnty ḫw, "end of time," and km nhḥ, "end of eternity (or cyclical time)," in D III, 62,6.
7.3 North Wall of the Per-wer

North Wall, Lintel

North Wall Lintel
Doc 29
D III,
58,11 – 59,5

North Wall Lintel
Doc 28
D III,
57,15 – 58,8

D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

Doc 29 – North Wall, Lintel, W. Side
Doc 28 – North Wall, Lintel, E. Side
Doc 28 – Lintel, East Side: D III, 57,15 – 58,8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE</strong></td>
<td><strong>TITLE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57,15 Presenting the mnw-jar(^{1325}) to Hathor.</td>
<td>57,15 ms p³ mnw n H.t-hr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHY</td>
<td>IHY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58,1 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor. Playing the sistrum for his mother.</td>
<td>58,1 Ṣḥ w rt Š SŠ.t n mw.t=f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58,2 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( )</td>
<td>58,2 nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) s i R⁹ ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BEHIND HIM:</strong> 58,3 All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for d.t-eternity.</td>
<td><strong>BEHIND HIM:</strong> 58,3 s³ ‘nh w’s nb hš=f mi R⁶ d.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MERET OF THE SOUTH</strong></td>
<td><strong>MERET OF THE SOUTH</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58,4 Meret of the South,(^{1326}) Mistress of the Throat.</td>
<td>58,4 Mr.t šm² hnw.t ⁸ŠŠ.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58,5 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ) is upon his throne, pacifying his mistress with beer,(^{1327}) for he is like Ihy 58,6 who makes music for his mother, his mother rejoices at seeing him.</td>
<td>58,5 wn nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) hr bkr=f hšt hnw.t=f m dsrw sw mi Ṣḥ 58,6 ir Ṣḥ n mw.t=f hntš mw.t=f n mŠš=f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HATHOR</strong></td>
<td><strong>HATHOR</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58,7 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet,</td>
<td>58,7 dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb(t)² lwn.t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{1325}\) As Wilson (PL 426, citing du Buisson, Nomes et signes, 7-9) observes that the mnw-jar is a container used for wine, beer, fruit, and water, as well as for plaster and incense. Texts specify that the mnw-drink required preparation with carefully measured ingredients. In a beer offering in Crypt West 3, the text states, \(\text{hnhk s h(n)t Š d mdw nfr.wy mn, mnw r pŠ mnw sbsub Št h r tp-hsŠ bŠ Š n k=t=r n mw n mрп=t hntš ib=t r Š Š nb,}\) "Offering Beer. Words to say: How good this is, the beer for the mnw-jar, brewed and filtered according to the exact calculation, overflowing for your ka at the time you love, your heart rejoices every day" (D VI, 163,13-15). The polyptoton on the close homophones of hnhk/h(n)t Š t, emphasizes the offering of beer. The texts also stress that the contents of the mnw are sweet, as in an offering of the mnw-jar to Hathor on the exterior of the Pronaos at Edfu: \(\text{nfr.wy m h Š Š f Š pr m imy.w h Š Š t= nb t} \) \(\text{bnr.wy bnrw=f ndm.wy mnw=f hŠ Š Š nb.w r tp-hsŠ,}\) "How lovely it is in its contents (h.t), supplied with all its ingredients (wmmw), how sweet is its sweetness, how pleasant is its liquid, all its spices (hšw) are exactly calculated (tp-hsŠ) (E IV, 348,7-8). The polyptoton, here on the root bnr (bnr.wy/bnrw=f), emphasizes the drink's sweetness.\(^{1326}\)

\(^{1326}\) Wb II, 107,2-6: Attested since the OK as one of two songstresses: Mr.t šm² (Meret of Upper Egypt) and Mr.t mhw (Meret of Lower Egypt). Wilson, PL 445, notes that Meret presided over music and singing at rituals and funerals; due to her association with Hathor, who restores order with her music, Meret became identified with Ma'at, the goddess (and concept) of order and justice. Ma'at was also considered as the throat of the god through which he obtains the sustenance of life (i.e. air and food), leading to the use of the word, mr.t, as the "throat" over which the songstress Meret had authority. Wilson, PL 445, also notes that mr.t (singer), mr.t (throat), and mŠš.t (Ma'at) may have sounded the same, thus forming an effective pun, because "they seem to be interchangeable and are the more powerful because one word incorporates the aspects of the other two." At Dendera, Hathor incorporates all three concepts: singer, throat, and Ma'at. See G. Lefebvre, *Tableau des parties du corps humain mentionnées par les égyptiens*, Cairo, Supp. ASAE 17 (1952): 22; Blackman and Fairman, Façade of Edfu, 420; Berlandini, Meret, 80-88.

\(^{1327}\) A drink called dŚrw in 4th Dynasty offering lists (Wb V, 616,7-13) was probably also a type of beer, according to Helck, Bier im Ägypten, 18-19. Wilson, PL 1248, observes a possible confusion between dŚrw (a drink) and dŚrw (a vessel). As a ritual offering at Dendera, it is interesting that dŚrw (beer) is homophonic with dŚrw, "sacredness."
Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, Lady of Drunkenness\(^{1328}\) (or, "beer"), Lady of Myrrh,\(^{1329}\) Lady of Music, the Mistress 58,8 who ties\(^{1330}\) the headband.

DIVINE RANDZEILE
The Eye of Ra is in the Per-Wer sanctuary, bestowing music and love,\(^{1331}\) for she is the Lady of Drunkenness, the Lady of Joy.\(^{1332}\) One repeats drunkenness for her Incarnation.

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Doc 29 – Lintel, West Side: D III, 58,11 – 59,5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE</strong></td>
<td><strong>TITLE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58,11 Offering wine to his mother.</td>
<td>58,11 ḫnk irp n mw.t=f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58,12 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( )</td>
<td>58,12 nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) s3 Rk ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BEHIND HIM:</strong> 58,13 All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for dt- eternity.</td>
<td>58,13 s3 ūnh w3s nb hš=f ml Rk dt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MERET OF THE NORTH</strong></td>
<td><strong>MERET OF THE NORTH</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58,14 Meret of the North, Mistress of the Throat</td>
<td>58,14 Mr.t mhw ḫnw.t hty.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59,1 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ) is upon his throne, gladdening the heart of his mistress, for he is Lord of Imet and Senu,(^{1334}) who</td>
<td>59,1 wnn nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) hr ns.t=f hr wnf lb n ḫnw.t=f sw m nb lm.t Snw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59,2 ḫb inw m tš.wy hš=s.wt</td>
<td>59,2 ḫb inw m tš.wy hš=s.wt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1328 Wb V, 325,7-9; GR: ḫt can mean both "beer" and "drunkenness." Wilson (PL 1150) suggests that the ambiguity is deliberate.

1329 Wb I, 206,7 – 207,3. The ideogram of the man turned backwards, \(\text{ḥp} (\text{A31B})\), carries the value ūn, meaning, "turn away," "go back." In Ptolemaic, with the addition of three grain signs, it writes \(\text{ḥp} \, \text{ḥnw} (\text{myrrh}).\) Myrrh is the fragrant gum resin from the Commiphora tree, originating in Pun and the God's Land (i.e. Arabia, Somalia, and Ethiopia). Interestingly, it can also be written with an eye: \(\text{ḥp} \, \text{ḥnw} \, \text{ḥnw} \), as in D III, 72,17 (Doc 36), perhaps in reference to the Eye of Horus, with which offerings in general are identified.

1330 Wb V, 396,12 – 399,3. The verb, ṣš, "fix, tie on, attach," occurs in texts accompanying rituals of tying on wšh-collars, wḏt- and sšw-amulets, and mšḥ (also transliterated as mḥ) garlands; the act of tying thus has ritual significance. ṣš can also denote the "joining" of the bones of Osiris by Isis and Nephthys (E I, 221,15), thus adding to its power by allusion to this act.

1331 ḫš.t and mrw.t often appear as a pair (D III, 22,7; 131,14; 136,4), and in the compound ideogram: \(\text{ḥš.t} \, \text{ḥnw.t} (\text{W44}).\) They also appear together Demotic magical papyri, as noted to me by Prof. Jacco Dieleman, private conversation, October 11, 2011.

1332 Wb I, 5,1: lit. "wideness of heart." ḫw.t-lb (spelled with the three-grain determinative) is a LP homonym for "myrrh," thus agreeing well with her epithet of "Lady of Myrrh" in D III, 57,7.

1333 Wb I, 78,12: im.t, name of the city of Buto in Lower Egypt; Wb I, 78, gives its nisbe, im.ty, as "the one of Buto" (meaning "wine"), reflecting its renown as a wine-producing region. Other toponyms of the area include Tell
collects tribute in the Two Lands and the foreign lands.

IH Y
59,3 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor.

ISIS
59,4 Words to say by Isis the Great, Mother of the god, Lady of Iatdi, who resides in Iunet, Lady of dance, Mistress of Joy (lit. wideness of heart).

DIVINE RANDZEILE
59,5 Iunyt is rejoicing in her chapel, making glad her heart with its beauties, for she is the Mistress, the Lady of Gladness, Lady of Jubilation, every day.

IH Y
59,3 Ihy wr s3 H.t-hr
ISIS
59,4 dd mdw in 3s.t wr.t mw.t-nfr nb.t T3.t-di hr(y.t)-ib lwnt nb.t( t) ḥb ḥnw.t 3w(t)-ib

DIVINE RANDZEILE
59,5 wnn lwnt.h ḫr(h.t) t<i> m ḥy.t=s ḥr šḥn tš ib=s m nfr.w=s sy m ḥnw.t nb(t) hy nb(t) ḥnw nb(t) ḫntš ḫr nb

Nabasha, Tell Bedawi, and Tell Far‘an in the Delta, located SE of Tanis and NE of Qantir; site of the Ramesside temple of Wadjet, a temple built by Amasis, and of the remains of a Late Period cemetery, as well as a Graeco-Roman town. See CDME 18, Baines and Malek, Cultural Atlas, 166-70; Gardiner, Onomastica II, 171; Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 124, who transliterates as lmtv. Wilson, PL 65, notes that lmt is also the pupil of the eye; it can refer to the pupil of the Divine Eye as well as the eye of Apep. Although the reference to lmt in the present text may create a connection with the udjat offering on the opposing wall (due to the homonym, lmt, "pupil" of the Eye), the word lmt as "pupil" does not appear in D I-IV. However, there is word play (and a visual pun) on lmt, "child," in a scene of "Striking the Ball" by the king in the Court of the New Year’s Chapel (Chassinat’s Chamber R; D IV, 193,12), because the ball is equated with the eye of Apep. Wilson, PL 65-66, notes similar word play with the two meanings of lmt, "the pupil of the eye or child is with you," in E IV, 137,3.

Pelusium (Tell el-Farama), located NE of the Delta near the Mediterranean Sea in a wine production area. Hammig A-D, 1381; Baines and Malek, Cultural Atlas, 167.

Use of (U104) crescent moon for ḥb (Wb I, 91,16: ḥb lwnt; III, 252,1-5; ḥbḥl, "collect (tribute") is frequent in GR. It is especially appropriate in the Per-pher due to the role of Thoth (who is associated with the moon and its phases), who "assembles" the parts of the ḥbt-eye. In the present context, it refers to the King’s collection of tribute, but perhaps it also subtly alludes to the King’s role as Thoth, "collecting (the elements) of the Eye."

Note the variation in writing "Hathor" in Ihy’s epithet in the two symmetrical scenes. In Doc 28 (D III, 58,1), the ideogram used is the seated goddess with horns and disk; in Doc 29 (D III, 59,3), the ideogram used is the rearing cobra, thus alluding to her role as the uraeus. The variations in writing thus allude to two of her manifestations.

Lit."She of Iunet," an epithet of Isis (Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 357). Wb I, 55,1, GR: "Hathor-Isis von Dendera." Cauville, Inscriptions dédicatoires, 101 and 106 n. 17, suggests that Iunet, the name of Isis, is derived from the name of the city and is a feminine form of Osiris at Edfu.

The erroneous ḫr should be replaced with ḫ, to form ḫ = .ti to form the proper Ptolemaic stative ending of ḫr(.t)ti, "being in a state of rejoicing."

"luminous one." A close homophone is ḫy.t, the designation for the roof kiosk at Dendera, where the ḥnw ltn (union with the sun disk) ritual takes place on New Year’s Day.

"suggesting a more active expression of joy."

"Lady of Jubilation," is an epithet of Isis at Dendera (Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 478). The determinative is a man performing the ḥnw rite, seen also in textual representations (D III, 91,8) of the Souls of Pe (C21) and the Souls of Nekhen (C40).
Doc 30 – North Wall, 3rd Register, East Side: D III, 71,16 – 72,8
### Translation

**TITLE AND FORMULA**

1343 Greeting with the nms.t-vessel. Words to say: Take for yourself the libation vessel. I offer you the nms.t-vessel. You are satisfied with what comes forth from the Nun (primordial waters). I greet you with what emerges from the leg (styr). Your heart rejoices with what appears from the leg (wfr.t).

**HORUS**

72,1 Horus as Ihy, he has equipped him(self) with his ornaments. Gold. Height: 1 cubit.

72,2 The shm-sistrum is in my right hand, it has caused your anger to pass away. The menit-necklace is in my left hand, driving away your rage, Noble and Powerful Lady in the Temple of the Sistrum, the来的

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**Transliteration**

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<td>1343 nhr t nms.t dd mdw m-n=t 1344 nhr t nms.t htp=t hr pr(t) m nwn</td>
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1345 The f. s. perfective active participle of the 3rd weak verb, "emerge." 1346 The f. s. perfective active participle of the tri-literal verb wbn, "appear," "rise," or "shine." 1347 The terms for the sacred leg of Osiris, sty and wfr.t, sometimes refer to the flood in Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively. See Beinlich, Osirisesreliquien, 210 and n. 29. The scribe who composed this text may thus be making a subtle allusion to the flood in the Two Lands. The term, sty, "pours with stil," "pour out (water)," as well as the name that is the source of the inundation, ti-stil, "land of the bow" or "land of the stil-mineral." Interestingly, the scribe does not exploit the possibility for puns on stil in this text.

1350 The correct dependent pronoun here is ambiguous, because the s-bolt can stand for either the f. s. or the m. s. dependent pronoun. See Kurth, EP I, §§52-53, p. 604. Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 143, transliterates it as sy, meaning that Horus Ihy has equipped his (Hathor) with his ornaments. If the word is meant to be sw, then the sentence would mean that Horus as Ihy has equipped himself with his ornaments, perhaps referring to the sistrum and menit that he carries in his hands.

1355 Following Cauville (Dend Trad III, p. 1), I read shm for the arched sistrum and sSt.t for the naos-sistrum, as was the practice during the LP and GR. During the NK, the reading was the opposite. See Reyners, Sistrum, 1013-1026. The transitive use of the verb sSm, "cause to pass away," is often used to describe anger driven away by the sound of the sistrum (Wb III, 48,2; PL 921). Since the MK, the writing, 3sSm, can also be used for the verb snl, "pass by; cause to pass away," which interchanges with sSm in the same formulas. See Wb III, 454. Note that Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 142, transliterates this passage as snl. The h.t-sSt.t, Temple of the Sistrum, is the rear SE chapel at Dendera (Chassinat's chamber I; D II, 1-43); the name can also apply to the village where the Temple of Dendera is located, as noted by Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 1.
Atenet\textsuperscript{1355} who shines in the sky, Great One (f.) 72,3 of love, Mistress of gods and goddesses, who fills the sky and the land with her beauties.

**KING**

**ROYAL RANDZEILE**

I have come 72,5 before you, Female Ba\textsuperscript{1356} among the (divine) Powers, Noble Lady in the Temple of Purification.\textsuperscript{1357} I bring you the hd.t-vessel filled with Hapy (=inundation water) in order to refresh your heart with the libation water, for you\textsuperscript{1358} are the Golden One (f.) within the Sanctuary of the Golden One (f.), 72,6 who brings Hapy in his canals.\textsuperscript{1359} BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him like Ra, for d.t-eternity.

**HATHOR**

**DIVINE RANDZEILE**

72,7 Hathor, Lady of Iunet. Gold. Height: 1 cubit.

72,8 Words to say: Welcome in peace, heir of Ra, Divine Seed of Atum! I have received\textsuperscript{1360} your libation that came forth from the Nun. I purify my body [with] the water of youth. I cause that the inundation comes\textsuperscript{1361} to you at its season of the year,\textsuperscript{1362} at the beginning of the year, without end.

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\textsuperscript{1355} The in.t is the female sun disk, the feminine counterpart of in, "Aten," the sun disk.

\textsuperscript{1356} Hathor at Dendera is the female Ba, perhaps in parallel to Horus Behdety as the Ba of Ra (PL 306). Derchain, Hathor Quadrifrons, 5 n. 13, suggests that it was confused with b3.t, a symbol of Hathor. See also Fischer, Bat, 7-23.

\textsuperscript{1357} The "Temple of Purification" is the Temple of Hathor at Dendera (Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 520).

\textsuperscript{1358} twt (tw=t) is the f.s. independent pronoun, whose form goes back to the PT of the OK, in which the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} person singular independent pronouns were formed by adding the ending t to their dependent pronouns (GG §64).

notes that the later version is written twt. In Middle Egyptian, its use was restricted mainly to religious texts (Wb. V, 360,5ff; Allen, Middle Egyptian, 5.5, p. 50). Note that Kurth, EP I, §§63-64, uses the transliteration, twt, conforming to the OK spelling with the t-tether: ꜧ t-tw.\textsuperscript{1359} The writing of t 1 1 for hn.wt, "canals" or "streams of water" is common at Dendera, according to Fairman, JEA 54 (1968): 236-8, esp. 237 n. 12. Wilson (PL 659) suggests choosing hn.t as the translation, instead of dr.t or ssh.t, when it alliterates better with other elements of the sentence, as in the present phrase: in hꜧpy m hn.w.t=f, "who brings Hapy in his canals."

\textsuperscript{1360} Note that ss.p, "receive," is spelled with the same hand-sign used to spell hm.w.t, "canals," in D III, 72,6. Perhaps the scribe was making a subtle allusion to the inundation water in the canals, which the goddess receives.

\textsuperscript{1361} ii is a grammatical subjunctive but is best translated without any uncertainty (e.g. "might come," or "may come"), because it is a performative statement by a deity.

\textsuperscript{1362} The vulture sign (G14) is the phonogram for nr (GG, 469), perhaps due to the fear (nr.t) caused by the bird (PL 526). With the addition of a small disk, it can write nri, "year" (Fairman, Ptolemaic Signs, 107), thus leading to its use for the synonym, nnp.t. Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 380, citing Papyrus Lansing, 2,6, notes the Coptic nrt, "time": he interprets nrt in the sense of "return of the year." Context can help in deciding whether to read the vulture and disk as nri or nnp.t, as complementary pairs (nrt/nnp.t) in parallel phrasing, or in a polyptoton with

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### Translation

**TITLE AND FORMULA**

83,12 Offering the Udjat-Eye. Words to say: Take for yourself the Udjat-Eye, **83,13 the (divine) Eye**, purified of pain, ennobled by the work of the Reckoner of tribute, **83,14 its white and its black** installed in their place, its pupil being intact without evil.

**IHY**

83,15 **Ihy. Gold. Height: 1 cubit. I have played music before your beautiful face, Golden One (f.). 83,16 I make calm your heart with praises.** 83,17 Its white and its black installed in their place, its pupil being intact without evil.

**KING**

84,1 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ).

### Transliteration

**TITLE AND FORMULA**

83,12 **hnk wš.t dd mdw m-n=t wš.t** 83,13 **ntr.t ntr.ti r hḥw ṣps.ti m kš.t n(t) Ḥšb-inw**

83,14 **ḥd=s km=s mn s t=sn dfd=s ʿ.t.ti n(n) dw**

**IHY**

83,15 **Thy nbw kš mh l ihy.n=ḥ**

**KING**

84,1 **nsw.t-bi.ty ( )| s3 R* ( )|**

### Variations

- **rnp**, as in the present example. See Blackman and Fairman, Myth of Horus, 23-25, for more discussion.

  - The sign in line 83,13, **(O124)**, serves as the determinative for **ntr.t (divine Eye)**, as well as the ideogram **ntr.ti** in **ntr.ti** (stative of "divinized, purified"). Wb II, 363.1 – 364.18, esp. 364.15-18: **ntr.t** can serve as a transitive verb meaning, "be holy, divine," or "make holy" in the sense of purifying (from evil).

  - The adjective-verb **ʾps.t**, meaning, "provision, enrich," has the original nuance of "one who provides, according to Wilson (PL 1002), who notes that in an epithet, it can imply either "one who provided with" goods, food, etc., or "one who provides" such things. In the present context, the Reckoner of Tribute (=Thoth) provides the divine Eye with all of its elements (its white and its pupil), so the stative, **ʾps.ti**, could be read as either "provisioned" or "ennobled."

  - The Reckoner of Tribute, **Ḥšb-inw**, is Thoth: Wb III, 167.16, Late, GR: "der die Abgaben zählt," or, "who distributes the offerings." See Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 550. Wilson, PL 667, suggests, "the name of a god brought by Hathor to reckon up the kingship."

  - **km=s**, "its black," being the pupil of the divine Eye. Referring to the word **im.t** ("pupil of the eye"); Wb I, 75.23, Wilson, PL 65, observes, "If the Eye of Re is Hathor, then the black dot in it is her child, Horus."

  - Wb IV, 442.3-4, since MK. Wilson (PL 834) notes that **sfn** is analogous to **sḥtp**, "make calm, pacify." It never appears with determinatives of "joy" words, such as the lotus, with only **ḥḥḥ** (F63) to indicate emotion, suggesting that it is more likely to mean "make happy" rather than "rejoice."

  - Wb IV, 171.11-13; Dyn 18: praise, veneration, prayer, with reference to a god. Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 109, translates **sḥns.w** as "rituels" (D III, 49.2) and "prières" (D III, 49.10).

  - Wb II, 3.4: **mh**, lit., "fill," means "to decorate, adorn" the brow with (m) the diadem."

  - Wb V, 478.6; MK; often written without the t-loaf in GR. Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 158, transliterates as **ḥḥn**, despite the t-loaf that appears in the text.
Udjat-Eyes, the (divine) Eye of the pupil of the Udjat-Eye. I bring you the Effective-eye, effective in its body, distinguished in all its ritual, for you are the Right Eye of He who shines like gold, the Living Eye of Atum. BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for d.t-eternity. HATHOR

84.4 I give you your eyes (with the ability) to see d.t-eternity. Evil will not come into their presence. Hathor. Gold in embossed work. Height: 3 palms. DIVINE RANDZEILE

Words to say: Welcome in peace, Image of Isden, the Living image of the heart of Ra! I have received the

1371 Wb V, 573.6 defines dfd-n-wd3.t as "Pupil of the Udjat-Eye," of the sun god, Horus, or of Hathor, as mother of the "pupil of the wd3.t-eye." Wb V, 573.7, adds that at Dendera, it can designate an epithet of Ra. The ntr-sign serving as a determinative at the end indicates the divine nature of the bearer. In the present context in the Royal Randzeile, the king is addressing Hathor as nb.t wd3.ty ntr.t n.t dfd-n-wd3.t, "lady of the two Udjat-Eyes, the (divine) Eye of the pupil of the Udjat," suggesting that the Pupil of the Udjat here is Ra, because Hathor is the (divine) Eye of Ra. Emphasis on the entire phrase occurs through four repetitions of the udjat-sign 3 (D10A): doubled symmetrically as the ideogram for wd3.ty; used as the determinative in ntr.t; serving as the ideogram for wd3.t.

1372 Meeks, An Lex, 78.4852, suggests that m-d.t=f is an adverbial phrase meaning, "totally, entirely."

1373 Wb V, 374.1 – 375.28; PL 1165. The stative, tn.ti, from tn, "to distinguish, raise up," is often written in Ptolemaic Egyptian with the ideogram of the double ostrich feather crown on ram's horns. In the present text, the description of the udjat offering as tn.ti m tp-rd=s nb, "distinguished in all its ritual," makes a pun on the crown worn by the king in the scene, which can be called tn, since its feathers are raised high up on the head. The crown itself also has associations with the Eye.

1374 Wb V, 288.2 – 289.23, esp. 3-5: ceremonial regulations for a god or temple, attested since MK. The expression, tp-rd, lit. "upon the feet," or "head and feet" probably refers to the diligence of the priests entrusted with the ritual.


1376 Wb I, 205.7; PL 161. Epithet of Hathor; synonym for the wd3.t-eye. The Eye of Atum is also mentioned in the udjat-offering scene on the East Wall of the Southern Niche, in D III, 95.3.

1377 The pseudovaleral construction with hr m33 functions as the object of the main clause ("I cause for you that your eyes (are able) to see eternity"). See Kurth, EP II, §253, esp. (b), p. 951). Cf. Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 159, translates the phrase as "pour voir la perennité."

1378 Kurth, EP II, 788-790, notes that, just as in Middle Egyptian, the construction n nn sdm=f (in Ptolemaic, interchangeable with n sdm=f) often has future meaning (see GG §105; 457), leading to the translation, "evil will not come into their presence." In the context of the present text, translating n sdm=f as future also makes more sense than as a negated narrative past, n sdm=f (used in Middle Egyptian to negate the narrative sdm.n=f).

1379 Lit., "opposite them."

1380 PL 1057: km3.ti, stative from km3, "to beat out metal"; Wb V, 37,4-6: embossed, chassed work (in gold or silver).

1381 Wb I, 134.9. Isdn is an epithet of Thoth since the end of the NK; originally an independent god, he became (like Isdes) a manifestation of Thoth, attested from NK to GR, determining the lifetime of humans, judging, and giving written and oral instructions. The King can be characterized as the descendent, heir, or "image" of Isden. See Grieshammer, Isden, 184-185; Boylan, Thoth, 201; Bonnet, RÄRG, 326.

1382 Wb I, 59,16. The epithet, ib n R", "heart of Ra," belongs to Thoth, with whom the king is identified in this text. Because Thoth is "lord of rituals," the text thus emphasizes the King's efficacy and legitimacy in carrying out the rituals within the Per-fer. Boylan, Thoth, 60, suggests that Thoth and Ma'at within the barque of Ra represent the methods of Ra's government: Ma'at denoting the fairness and justice of Ra's rule; Thoth, "its business-like and efficient character."
**Udjat-Eye, healthy** in its body, complete,\(^{1383}\) 84,6
provided with its parts. I give you your eyes (with the ability) to see *nhh*-eternity,\(^{1384}\) without clouds in your face.\(^{1385}\)

\(\text{wd3.ti} \ m \ d.t=s \ \text{ip.ti} \ 84,6 \ \text{db3.ti} \ m \ \text{iry.w=si} \ n \ n=k \ \text{ir.ty=ky} \)

\(\text{hr} \ m33 \ \text{nhh} \ n(n) \ \text{igp} \ m \ hr=k\)

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\(^{1383}\) Wb I, 66,1-21, esp. 2: *ip.ti* (lit. "counted"), stative of *ip*, "to count, reckon," refers to the inventory of the Eye's constituent parts, all of which the healthy Eye (*wd3.ti*) possesses.

\(^{1384}\) See previous explanation for D III, 84,4 (n. 38). Parallel construction of lines 84,4 (*hr m33 d.t*) and 84,6 (*hr m33 nhh*) include eternity in each of the dualities of Egyptian time: linear (*d.t*) and cyclical (*nhh*). Hathor's gift to the King thus encompasses all of eternity. Harsomtus carries the epithet *nb nhh* (Lord of *nhh*-eternity) in D III, 79,13 (Doc 55), in 1st reg, w. side, S. Wall, Per-wer, in Ma'at offering; Osiris is characterized as *nb nhh hkb d.t* (Lord of *nhh*-eternity, Ruler of *d.t*-eternity), in 3rd reg, 1st scene, S. Wall, Temple of the Sistrum (Chassinat's Chamber I), in the *h.t shm* (Chassinat's Chamber I), in *nh-wls-dd* offering.

\(^{1385}\) Rain clouds obscure the light of Horus Behdety, so they must be removed. See Ward, Overflow, 230. As the Sun Eye, Hathor *dr igp*, "drives away the clouds" (PL 118).
Doc 32 – North Wall, 2nd Register, East Side: D III, 68,11 – 69,2

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<tr>
<td><strong>68,11</strong> Adoring the god. Words to say: I have praised <strong>68,12</strong> your <strong>Ka</strong> to the <strong>height</strong> of heaven, I have kissed the ground<strong>1386</strong> for you to (the extent of) the breadth of the earth. I have greeted you,<strong>1387</strong> 68,13 my mouth possessing the prayers,<strong>1388</strong> my heart<strong>1389</strong> possessing the utterances. <strong>68,14</strong> I praise<strong>1390</strong> your Incarnation in Qab-tawy.<strong>1391</strong> Noble and Powerful Lady in the Temple of the Bier.<strong>1392</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>68,11</strong> <em>dwį ntr dd mdw dwį:i</em> 68,12 <strong>k3=t r k3 n{t} p.t sn.(n)=i</strong> n=t <strong>B r wsḫ n B nd.n=i hr=t</strong> 68,13 *<em>r=i hr snš.(w) hry-mk.t=i hr tpy.w-ri</em> 68,14 <strong>swšš=i hm.t=t m K3b-t3.wy ṣps.t wrš.t hnt ḫ.t-nml.t</strong></td>
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</table>

**1386** The expression, *sn-tš* (lit. "kiss the ground") 𓊨𓊒𓊛𓊢𓊬𓊒𓊬𓊒, is written here with the calf-head determinative and phonetic complements; it means "to prostrate oneself (before King or deity)." An example appears with the ideogram, 𓊨𓊡𓊤𓊧𓊠𓊢𓊠𓊡, in an "Adoring the God (dwį-ntr)" scene on the outer façade of the Per-wer (D III, 50,6, Doc 13), where the Ogdoad are adoring Hathor; with the ideogram, 𓊨𓊨𓊧𓊤𓊠𓊢𓊠𓊡(A92&Aa12), in the "Seeing the God (m33-ntr)" scene, as part of the daily temple ritual carried out by the King, in the 1st reg. 2nd scene, E. Wall of the Per-wer (D III, 66,10, Doc 48).

**1387** Wb II, 372,8-10, "to greet someone," lit., "ask the face.' Although the GR spelling appears without the prothetic *l*, the traditional spelling is *ind-hr*. As Wilson (PL 564) observes, "The true form of *nd* is written with the prothetic *l* and is a stereotyped formula used from the Pyramid to GR texts. It is a very formal greeting used on meeting gods and the king." See also Griffiths, Meaning of *nd* and *nd-hr*, 36-37; Caminos, Grußformeln, 915-917; Grapow, Anredeten, grüssten sprachen, 73 and 113ff. In offerings of "greeting vessels (*nd-hr.w,*)," it appears in puns at Edfu: Greeting with the "greeting" vessels (*nd-hr=k m nd-hr.w,*), E II, 231,16. Wilson, PL 564, suggests that it does not appear in Demotic or Coptic due to its religious formality.

**1388** Wb IV, 171,11-13; Dyn 18; praise, veneration, prayer, with reference to a god. Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 109, translates *snsw* as "rituels" (D III, 49,2) and "prières" (D III, 49,10).

**1389** Wb II, 161,9. Wilson (PL 665) observes that the word’s origin may lie in the phrase *hry-mkt*, which is frequently applied to the heart being "in the right place": "your heart rests in hr-mk.t=f (its place)," noted by Wrezinski, ZÄS 45 (1908): 116. The word *mk.t* became a synonym for "heart," with the heart determinative then added to the writing. As noted by Chassinat (D III, 68 n. 2), the heart in D III, 68,13 is actually placed under the extended wing of the vulture, 𓊨𓊠𓊢𓊠𓊡𓊠𓊢𓊠𓊡. This arrangement is an example of sign play, in which there is a visual representation of meaning. Placement of the heart-sign under the wing visually emphasizes the protective stance of the vulture, showing that the "right place" for the heart is in a place of protection.

**1390** The 1st person singular suffix pronoun, =*i*, is placed before the determinative 𓊨𓊡𓊠𓊡𓊠𓊡(A30).

**1391** Wb V, 10,2; name of Dendera. Kockelmann, Toponymen, 197, cites 𓊢𓊠𓊢𓊠𓊡𓊠𓊡𓊠𓊢𓊠𓊡, the writing in D VI, 168,7, as a firm basis for its transliteration as *k3b-t3.wy*. The toponym is lit. "Insides of the Two Lands" Because *k3b* can also be interpreted as "coils" (CDME 175, *k3b.w*, "coils of snake"; PT 1146), by designating Dendera as Qab-tawy (i.e. "Coils of the Two Lands"), an allusion is made to Hathor in her manifestation as the uraeus serpent.

**1392** Wb II, 266,2-5; LP, GR. The term, *nml.t*, "bed, bier," is written with the lion-bier, which includes a lion head, tail, and feet. Wilson (PL 517) suggests that the term, very common in Osirian texts at Dendera, derives from nm, "to sleep," which can also mean the "sleep of death." The verb and later noun may originate from the earlier term, *mnm.t* (Wb II, 80,13-14). The compound substantive, *h.t-nml.t* (Temple of the Bier), designates the mammisi at Dendera. Compare with *pr-msy.t*, 𓊨𓊠𓊢𓊠𓊡𓊠𓊡𓊠𓊡𓊠𓊡𓊠𓊡𓊠𓊡, the Sanctuary of the Bier), another name for "mammisi," in a menit offering in the 4th register of the S. Wall of the Offering Hall (D VII, 92,1).
KING
68,15 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ) son of Ra
BEHIND HIM: 68,16 All protection, life, and
dominion are behind him, like Ra, for d.t-eternity.
ABOVE HIM, VULTURE OF NEKHBT: Nekhbet,
68,17 White One (f.) of Nekhen.

HATHOR
69,1 Words to say by Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra,
Uraeus1393 of Ra in Iunet, the Female Creator1394 who
was first to be born, 69,2 without another except for
her,1395 who nourishes1396 her child with her white
milk.1397

1393 Wb III, 141,9-11: Dyn 18, GR. Often written with the cobra determinative, hr.t-tp (uraeus) literally means, "she
who is upon the head," and is particularly associated with Hathor at Dendera.
1394 Wb IV, 409,3-4; GR. Derived from the verb sꜣ (be first, create). ṣꜣ.t is an epithet of Hathor, representing the
goddess as the first female creator deity. It appears among Hathor's epithets in the Per-fer: ṣꜣ.t šꜣ.t irw (Primordial
Goddess, secret one of form (D III, 92,5); ṣꜣ.t ṣꜣ.t ṣꜣ.t m ḫr=š (Female Creator, who created the earth when she came
into being, D III, 95,3). See PL 988-999.
1395 Wb III, 216,3: hr ḫr. w, an epithet in the sense of being unique of its kind, usually of persons. PL 710: n ḫr ḫr
ḥw=f (There is no other except for him). This expression emphasizes Hathor's status as a unique being, which is also
alluded in her epithet, ḫwꜣ (unique uraeus or hieroglyph) in D III, 82,9 (mnw-vase offering in 2nd reg, 1st scene of West
Wall, Per-Wer); for Isis in D III, 55,6 (montants of the west side of the Outer Façade of the Per-wer).
1396 Wb IV, 564,17 – 565,15; PT. Wilson, PL 1040, notes, "ideally, ṣd is the action of a mother nourishing or
suckling her child, but it can be applied to other situations. Gods and goddesses provide nourishment, especially
Isis." The verb ṣd appears in D III, 69,12 and 69,13 (milk-offering in 2nd reg, 1st scene, of E. Wall of Per-wer); D III,
73,12 (incense-offering in 3rd reg., E. Wall of Per-wer). Hathor's act of nourishing her divine child alludes to her
nourishment of the land.
1397 Wb III, 212,12; GR. The substantive, ḫdw (white milk), derives from ḫd (white), due to its color. Frequently
used in milk offering scenes at Dendera, Edfu, and Philae, especially in the mammisi, where it is offered to the
divine child as a "life giving or renewing substance" (Wilson, PL 696). See also Helck, Bier, 18.
Doc 33 – North Wall, 2nd Register, West Side: D III, 80,4-10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.4 Adoring the god. Words to say: Greetings to you. Noble Lady, my Mistress, whose divine power is greater than (that of) all the gods, you are called the Golden One (f.), Lady of Iunet. Lady of Protection, protecting the one who created her.</td>
<td>80.4 dw3 ntr dd mdw nd ḫr=t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.5 ḫr=t šps.t hnw.t=i wr(t) b3.w r ntr.w nb.w dd.tw [n]=t Nbhw.t nb(t) ʻtwnt.80.6 nb(t) mk.t hr mk(t) km3 s(y)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.7 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( )</td>
<td>80.7 nsw.t-bi.ty ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEHIND HIM: 80.8 All protection, life, stability, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for d.t-eternity. ABOVE HIM, FALCON OF HORUS: Behdety, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, the Dappled One of plumage.</td>
<td>BEHIND HIM: 80.8 s3 ʻnh dd w3s h3=f mi Râ d.t ABOVE HIM, FALCON OF HORUS: Bhd.ty ntr ʻt nb p.t s3b šw.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HATHOR</td>
<td>HATHOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.9 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, She who is Highest of the Great Seat, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, the First daughter of her father Ra, who hears the prayers of everyone.</td>
<td>80.9 dd mdw in ḫt-ḫr wr.t nb(t) ʻtwnt.t lr.t-Râ hry.(t) s.t wr.t nb(t) p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w s3.t tp(y.t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.10 n(t) it=s Râ ndb nis n ḫr-nb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1398 Wb II, 372.8-10, "to greet someone," lit., "ask the face.' Although the GR spelling appears without the prothetic ḫ, the traditional spelling is ḫm-d-ḥr. As Wilson (PL 564) observes, "The true form of nd is written with the prothetic ḫ and is a stereotyped formula used from the Pyramid to GR texts. It is a very formal greeting used on meeting gods and the king." See also Griffiths, Meaning of ḫd and nd-ḥr, 36-37; Caminos, Grubformeln, 915-917; Grapow, Wie sie sprachen, 73 and 113ff. In offerings of "greeting vessels (nd-ḥr.w)," it appears in puns at Edfu: Greeting with the "greeting" vessels (nd-ḥr=k m nd-ḥr.w), E II, 231,16. Wilson, PL 564, suggests that it does not appear in Demotic or Coptic due to its religious formality.

1399 Lit., "great one (f.) of power with respect to all the gods."

1400 km3, masc. sing. perfective active participle, "the one who created her," is written with (G81), the ideogram for km3, and determined with (C2B), the sign of the sun god Ra, thus clearly indicating the god who created Hathor.

1401 Lit., "the highest"; can be translated as "Female Chief."

1402 Gabolde, Linteau tentryite, 199-200 and n. 24, observes that the epithet, ḫr.t wr.t, generally denotes that the divinity is in a sanctuary personally consecrated to him, but its meaning can extend to any place where a divine statue can receive a cult. Frequently, the term, s.t wr.t, applies to chapels for divinities who are not in their main cult center, e.g. Amun at Speos Artémidos, which is dedicated primarily to the goddess Pakhet.

1403 Wb II, 205.1-4, the infinitive nis (invoke, call, summon), used here as a substantive (invocation, call, summons). It appears in phrases like sd nr nis (hear a calling); ḫrw nis n wḥ-lh.t (the sound of the invocation of the offering ritual). Compare with snst(w), "praise, veneration, prayers, with reference to a god" (Wb IV, 171,11-13), appearing in Docs 31 and 32, in the 3rd and 2nd registers, respectively.

1404 Lit., "every face." This scene faces the south wall at the level of the sistrum image of Hathor on the outer rear wall, which served as a focus of popular pety. In the 1st floor Crypt South 2, Chamber B, a similar text on the west side of the south wall states that Hathor sd m spr.w nw hhw, "hears the supplications of the multitude" (D VI, 33,11). In contrast, this scene in the crypt stands directly behind the level of the supplicants who would have stood under the sistrum image on the rear wall. Imagining the transparency of the walls, the two inscriptions are thus at the level of Hathor's sistrum image, and at the same level of those praying below that image.
### Doc 34 – North Wall, 1st Register, East Side: D III, 63,14-18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td>63,14 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NEKHRET</strong></td>
<td>BEHIND HIM: Protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>63,15</strong></td>
<td>Words to say by Nekhbet, White One (f.) of Nekhen, the Uraeus of all the gods. 63,16 Come in peace! You enter the Temple of the Sistrum. HATHOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>63,16</strong></td>
<td>Come in peace! You enter the Per-Wer. HATHOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>63,17</strong></td>
<td>Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods. Welcome! Welcome, my beloved son! My heart rejoices in seeing you.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1405 ḫḏ.t Nḥḥ, "White One (f.) of Nekhen (Hierakonpolis)," a frequent epithet of Nekhbet, plays on its homonym meaning "White Crown," which Nekhbet represents as tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt. See Leitz, LGG V, 606-608.

1406 ḫ.t śšš.t is here an alternate name for the Per-wer Sanctuary. Depending on the context, it can also designate the Rear SE Chapel (Chassinat’s Chamber I; D III, 9,1; 97; 10,4), or the main Temple of Hathor at Dendera (D III, 1,15; 29,6; 64,6; 177,1).

1407 Wadjet is traditional the local cobra goddess of the ancestral towns of Lower Egypt, Pe and Dep (Buto). As a reflection of this association, one of her epithets since the 18th Dynasty is Dp.t, "She of Dep" (PL 1193; Wb V, 443,2-4). At Dendera, Hathor takes over this epithet in her role as the Lower Egyptian cobra (vis-à-vis Nekhbet, the Upper Egyptian vulture): D III, 38,10; D V, 113,1.

1408 ḫḥ.t ṣḏ means literally, "the mound of birth," which is the birthplace of Isis-Sothis. At Dendera, it is equated with the small temple located in the (geographic) southwest corner of the temple enclosure. See Leitz, Nacht des Kindes, 138.

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### Doc 35 – North Wall, 1st Register, West Side: D III, 75,15 – 76,2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td>75,15 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WADJET</strong></td>
<td>BEHIND HIM: Protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>75,16</strong></td>
<td>Wadjet, Lady of Pe and Dep.1407 Come in peace! You enter the Per-Wer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ISIS</strong></td>
<td>Welcome! Welcome, young man of my Incarnation! My face brightens in seeing you.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1405 ḫḏ.t Nḥḥ, "White One (f.) of Nekhen (Hierakonpolis)," a frequent epithet of Nekhbet, plays on its homonym meaning "White Crown," which Nekhbet represents as tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt. See Leitz, LGG V, 606-608.

1406 ḫ.t śšš.t is here an alternate name for the Per-wer Sanctuary. Depending on the context, it can also designate the Rear SE Chapel (Chassinat’s Chamber I; D III, 9,1; 97; 10,4), or the main Temple of Hathor at Dendera (D III, 1,15; 29,6; 64,6; 177,1).

1407 Wadjet is traditional the local cobra goddess of the ancestral towns of Lower Egypt, Pe and Dep (Buto). As a reflection of this association, one of her epithets since the 18th Dynasty is Dp.t, "She of Dep" (PL 1193; Wb V, 443,2-4). At Dendera, Hathor takes over this epithet in her role as the Lower Egyptian cobra (vis-à-vis Nekhbet, the Upper Egyptian vulture): D III, 38,10; D V, 113,1.

1408 ḫḥ.t ṣḏ means literally, "the mound of birth," which is the birthplace of Isis-Sothis. At Dendera, it is equated with the small temple located in the (geographic) southwest corner of the temple enclosure. See Leitz, Nacht des Kindes, 138.
7.4 East and West Walls of the Per-wer

East and West Walls, 3rd Register
D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

East Wall
3rd Register
Doc 36
D III,
72.11 – 73.13

West Wall
3rd Register
Doc 37
D III,
84.9 – 85.9
Doc 36 – East Wall, 3 rd Register: D III, 72,11 – 73,13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72,11 Doing the censing. Words to say: the incense comes, 72,12 it censes your (f.s.) body. The incense, it has censed your ancestors. 72,13 The beautiful incense is for your (pl.) nostrils, your (pl.) nose breathes in its perfume. Take for yourselves its Eye of Horus, its perfume comes to you (pl.).</td>
<td>72,11 ir.(t) snTr ḏd mdw ii 72,12 snTr snTr=f ḫw=f ṣḏ pd. ḏn=f tpy. w-f=t 72,13 ḫms ṣfr r ḫnm. ty=f tn nṣp fn=f=t m 72,14 ṣṭy=f m-n=t ḫr.t-Ḥr ii ṣṭy=s ṣr=t m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72,15 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ), the Censer-bearer, 72,16 who does the censing for his mother.</td>
<td>72,15 nsw.t-ḥi.t ty () sȝ Rrå () mr s.t-ḥnt 72,16 ir snTr n ṣȝw.t=f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words to say: I have come before you (pl.), (divine) Powers in Iunet, Noble (divine) Kas, Lords of the God's Land. I bring to you incense in order to pacify your (pl.) heart, incense in order to cense your place(s), for you (pl.) are the Ennead of the Land of Atum, who follow their heart(s) in the Valley of</td>
<td>Dd mdw ii.n=i xr=t sxm.w m Iwn.t kA.w Sps.w nb(.w) tA-nTr in=i n=t 72,17 ṣḥtp ṣḥtp ib=t snTr σnTr s.t=t n tw=t Psḏ.t m ṭ3 n ṣṯms ib= sn m in(.t) ṣnıyw BEHIND HIM:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1409 In Middle Egyptian, religious texts make use of the imperative m, "Take," followed by the dative, e.g. n=k, "for yourself." Allen, Middle Egyptian, §16.3 notes that the imperative and following dative were apparently pronounced as one word, so that they were usually written together with the bi-literal sign (S42r1). I follow Allen's suggested transliteration, m-n=k.

1410 Writing of ṣḥtp, "Horus," with the eye (D4) and road-with-bushes sign (N31F) alludes to the "distance" of the Distant Goddess, because ḫrì, "be far away, distant" (Wb III, 145,1-19, esp. 1), is written with variations of this sign as its ideogram, e.g. ḫrì (N31) or ḫrì (N31F).

1411 mr (from Middle Egyptian ḫmvr-t) s.t-ḥnt (lit., "overseer of the foremost place") is a designation for censer-bearer (Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 577).

1412 ṣḥw.t, "(divine) powers" and ḫ. ṣḥw, "noble (divine) Kas," are designations for ancestor gods. See discussion in 5.2.6.

1413 tȝ-nfr, "God's Land," is a reference to Punt, and thus alludes to the Myth of the Distant Goddess.

1414 For an arm-shaped censer found in the temple of Shoshenq at el-Hiba and now in the Egyptological Institute in Heidelberg (Inv. No. 2419), see Beinlich, Räucherarm, 15-31.

1415 ṭȝ=t can be singular or plural, but the other plural pronouns in this passage suggest a plural reading here.

1416 Preys, Hathor Protection, 353, defines the Ennead of Hathor at Dendera as the following (listed on the north montant of the Staircase Chamber, D VI, 140.2-6): Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet; Horus of Edfu, the Great God, Lord of Heaven; Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Uraeus of Ra; Harsomtus, the Great God who resides in Iunet; Ihy the Great, son of Hathor; Harsomtus the Child, son of Hathor; Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Chief of the Great Seat; Hathor, Lady of Iunet, the Menit; Harsomtus, the Great God, Lord of Khadi; Osiris-Wennefer, justified, the Great God who resides at Iunet; Isis the Great, Mother of the God.

1417 tȝ n ṣṯm, "Land of Atum," refers to Dendera—both the temple enclosure and the main temple within it. The association of Hathor of Dendera (Iwn.t) with Atum of Heliopolis (Iww.t) goes back to the OK, in which Pepi I places both deities together as his forefathers. See Fischer, Dendera, 32; Kochelmann, Toponymen, 174-175.

349
Myrrh.\textsuperscript{1418} BEHIND HIM: 72,18 All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for $d.t$-eternity.

HATHOR
73,1 I give you the Upper Egyptian crown,\textsuperscript{1419} fast\textsuperscript{1420} on your head, placing the dread of you against your enemies. 73,2 Hathor. Height: 1 cubit, 1 finger.

HORUS OF EDFU
73,3 Words to say by Horus Behdetey,\textsuperscript{1421} the Great God, Lord of Heaven, the Dappled One of Plumage, who goes forth from the horizon, the Divine Falcon,\textsuperscript{1422} Chief of 73,4 Punt, who follows his heart\textsuperscript{1423} in the Valley of Myrrh, the one and only,\textsuperscript{1424} he who does not have his equal,\textsuperscript{1425} all that comes into being, comes into being in him.

NEKHBE Secret LIT152739fNKHBT
73,5 Words to say by Nekhbet, the White One (f.) of Nekhen, Outstretched of Arm,\textsuperscript{1426} Lady of Fag,\textsuperscript{1427} Uraeus on the head of all 73,6 the gods, Noble Lady in the Sanctuary of the Noble Lady, who fills the palace with her beauties.\textsuperscript{1428}

STATUE OF PEPI I, ABOVE IMAGE OF IHY
73,7 Gold

\textsuperscript{1418} The writing of 'ntyw, "myrrh," with an eye (stice, although note that here the eye is erroneously written upside-down) alludes to the offering of the Eye of Horus, as well as to a frequent epithet of Hathor, "n.t," "beautiful one," written with the painted eye: $\textcircled{\text{D138}}$. Junker, Onurislegende, 78, suggests that in.t antyw, "Valley of Myrrh," is a poetic name for Punt.

\textsuperscript{1419} Wb I, 333,11-12; PT; PL 244: As the geminating form of wr.t, meaning literally, "der größe werdende," thus implying the domination of Upper over Lower Egypt when designating the white crown of Upper Egypt. Since the 19th Dynasty, wr.t can also designate the double crown. Abubakr, Kronen, 30-31; 53.

\textsuperscript{1420} mn.ti, stative of mn, "to remain, be firm," so the crown is "fast" on the King's head. Wb II, 60,2 – 62,26; PL 422.

\textsuperscript{1421} BHd.ty, lit., "The One from Behdet." Gardiner, Horus the Behdetite, 59-60, suggests that in the Predynastic Period, this epithet originally belonged to a falcon god worshiped in a northernmost Egyptian town or village, whose people conquered Upper Egypt, where Seth of Ombos was worshipped; Behdet was later incorporated into the epithet of the national god Horus to stress his northern origin and provide a counterpart to the Ombite, Seth.

\textsuperscript{1422} The bowl of burning incense (R7), employed as the phonogram, h, in $\textcircled{\text{Bik}}$, "Falcon," alludes to the censing by the King in this scene, as noted to me by Emily Cole, private conversation, November 14, 2011.

\textsuperscript{1423} I.e. "is content."

\textsuperscript{1424} w$^\text{w},w$, lit., "the unique one of the unique ones."

\textsuperscript{1425} Lit., "he who (there is) not his second," with lw.ty being the masculine singular relative adjective, meaning "(there is) not." See Allen, Middle Egyptian, §12.9.

\textsuperscript{1426} I.e. "generous." The expression $\textcircled{\text{lw}\.\text{ty}-ib}$ can also mean myrrh (Wb I, 5,1; LP), as suggested by Emily Cole, private conversation, November 14, 2011.

\textsuperscript{1427} Wb I, 576,7; fg: Hannig, A-D, 1341: fgtr (Faget), cult center of Nekhbet in or near El-Kab. Note that Hannig adds the feminine t-loaf to the transliteration. The literal meaning of fag is "fingernail, claw"; the name therefore means, "City of the Claw."

\textsuperscript{1428} nfrw=s can also be translated as "her perfection."
| KING | 73,8  
(Pepi)| nbw k3 mh 1 |
| HATHOR | 73,9  
di=i n=k mnkb mn hr |
| NAOS | 73,10  
k3 mh 4 nbw |
| DIVINE RANDZEILE | 73,11  
$qA mH 2 Ssp 2 Dba 2 $w$|
| DIVINE RANDZEILE | 73,12  
dd mdw ii.ti m htp s3 |

**KING**

73,8 (Pepi). Gold. Height: 1 cubit.

**HATHOR**

73,9 I cause for you that the (cool) palace is enduring, possessing your beauties, everyone is rejoicing for you. Hathor, Lady of the Per-wer, height: 4 cubits. Gold.

**NAOS**

73,10 Height: 2 cubits, 2 palms, 2 fingers; Width: 2 cubits, 2 palms, 2 fingers

**DIVINE RANDZEILE**

73,11 Words to say: Welcome in peace, son of She who binds together the bows, whom the Vulture in Nekhen has nourished. We receive the incense in order to cense our statues. Our body rejoices with the incense. We give you Byblos, possessing what is in it, and the Land of God, possessing what comes forth from it.

---

1429 Wb II, 90,15-21. The word can carry various meanings, including a cool room in a house for sleeping, a type of chapel in a temple, the entire temple, or the royal palace. The last definition fits the present context.

1430 *nhm* is a stative; "every face (i.e. everyone) is (in a state of) rejoicing."

1431 The reference to "binding together the bows" refers to the Nine Bows, the traditional enemies of Egypt, united under the King's rule. This epithet, which primarily refer to Nekhbet, appears as early as the temple of Sahure. See Borchardt, Sahure II, 84; PL 1195. The sign, (Aa52), originally carrying the value *tm3*, becomes *dm3* by phonetic change in Nekhbet's epithet, *dm3*(t)-pdwt, "She who binds together the bows." See Fairman, Ptolemaic Signs, 111.

1432 The "Vulture in Nekhen" is Nekhbet in Hierakonpolis.

1433 Wb V, 118,2; Hannig Ä-D, 1395: *Kpny*, is Keben or Gubla (=Byblos); Hebrew: . Egyptian trade with Byblos goes back to the 2nd Dynasty; since the MK, Hathor carried the epithet, "Lady of Byblos," where she was worshipped as a Hathor of foreign areas, such as the Sinai or Punt, probably due to the influence of Egyptian settlers. Since the Roman general Pompey added Syria and Phoenicia to the Roman Empire in 64 BCE, any reference to Hathor "giving Byblos" to the King in Dendera's texts must be due to her religious influence in the area, rather than reflecting the political reality. See Helck, Byblos, 889-891.

1434 The "Land of God" refers to Punt, a "cultural geographical place" (where the Sun Eye travels and where incense and exotic products originate), rather than an actual place, as suggested to me by Prof. Jacco Dieleman, private conversation, November 14, 2011.
**Doc 37 – West Wall, 3rd Register: D III, 84,9 – 85,9**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>84,9</strong> Doing the funerary offering. Words to say:</td>
<td><strong>84,9</strong> ir(t.) htp-di-nsw.t dd mdw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>84,10</strong> The funerary offering. I have placed(^{1435}) (it) for your (pl.) Ka with all good and pure things.(^{1436})</td>
<td><strong>84,10</strong> htp-di-nsw.t (wd.n=1) n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thousands(^ {1437}) (of them) <strong>84,11</strong> are before you (pl.) of all things good, pure, pleasant, and sweet.</td>
<td>(k3=t n m bw-nfr nb tnv bw) <strong>84,11</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>84,12</strong> King of Upper and Lower Egypt (\text{(})) son of Ra (\text{(}))</td>
<td><strong>84,12</strong> nsw.t-bi.ty (\text{(})) (s3) (R^*) (\text{(}))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living Image, Hereditary prince <strong>84,13</strong> of the gods, (\text{Heir of the Great Ennead.})^{1439}</td>
<td><strong>84,13</strong> ntr.w (tw^r) (n) Psd.t (\text{g}^3).t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words to say: I have come before you (pl.), (divine) Kas, Lords of Provisions, Noble (divine) Powers, Lords of exotic provisions.(^{1440}) I bring you (pl.) <strong>84,14</strong> thousands of bread, meat, and beer in order to supply your place of provisions, for you (pl.) the Ennead(^{1441}) of the Land of Atum,(^{1442}) who give life to the living. BEHIND HIM: All</td>
<td>**dd mdw ii.n=i hr=tn k3.w nb.(w) k3w slm.w (\text{$ps.w} \ n b.w \ \text{$psd.(w)}) (in=i) (n=n) (tn) <strong>84,14</strong> h3.w (m t) twf (h(n)k.t s \text{$dfw}) (s.f=tn) (m) (d3bw) (tw=t) Psd.t (n(t).t) (t) (n) (t) (I) (md) (\text{$nh}) (n) (\text{$nh.w}) (BEHIND) (HIM:) (s3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{1435}\) Wb I, 385,1: The verb \(wd\), "to place," used in the PT, but after the OK is only attested in religious texts. Synonymous with \(rdi\) (give).

\(^{1436}\) Note that the straight leg, \(=\) (D58), has the phonetic value \(bw\). Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 159, translates, "tous bons pains frais" (all good, fresh breads).

\(^{1437}\) Wb III, 221,8-10. Note that \(h\)\(\text{\$w}\) is a true pun, because it not only means "thousands" but also "incense." The powdered dry "leaves" \(\text{(}\begin{align*}h\text{\$w}\text{\)\end{align*}}\) from the incense trees of Punt were used in manufacturing the fragrant incense. See Raymond, Medical Book, 169, and 272, no.116, cited by Wilson, PL 702.

\(^{1438}\) Wb II, 416,5: \(r-p.f.t\) \(nfrw\), "hereditary prince of the gods," is a title of the earth god Geb. This epithet agrees well with the "crown of Geb" worn by the king, denoting his responsibility for products of the earth, such as the bread, meat, and beer that he presents in this funerary offering. The king also carries this epithet in the 1st and 2nd scenes of the 1st register of the West Wall of the Per-wer (Docs 45 and 47).

\(^{1439}\) The Great Ennead of Heliopolis, attested already in the early OK (Urk I, 153) but probably already existing earlier (Bonnet, RARG, 521), consists of a "family tree" of nine gods, with creator god Atum at its apex. He exhales Shu (wind) and sneezes out Tefnut (moisture), who then (by sexual reproduction) produces Nut (heaven) and Geb (earth), who in turn produce the siblings Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys. Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris inherits the kingship from his father; the king, as the "living Horus" is thus the heir of the Psd.t \(t\) \(t\) \(t\), "the Great Ennead."

\(^{1440}\) Wb IV, 453,1-8: also the produce of foreign lands, exotic things. It can also be transliterated as \(\text{\$pssw}\), with the double \(s\)-bolt sometimes written out. See PL 1002; E II, 48,9.

\(^{1441}\) Preys, Hathor Protection, 353, defines the Ennead of Hathor at Dendera as the following (listed on the north montant of the Staircase Chamber, D VI, 140,2-6): Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet; Horus of Edfu, the Great God, Lord of Heaven; Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Uraeus of Ra; Harosmthus, the Great God who resides in Iunet; Ihy the Great, son of Hathor; Harosmthus the Child, son of Hathor; Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Chief of the Great Seat; Hathor, Lady of Iunet, the Menit; Harosmthus, the Great God, Lord of Khadi; Osiris-Wennefer, justified, the Great God who resides at Iunet; Isis the Great Mother of the God. Cf. Cauville’s "pantheon of Dendera," in n. 794.

\(^{1442}\) \(t\) \(n\) \(t\) \(I\) \(tm\), "Land of Atum," refers to Dendera—both the temple enclosure and the main temple within it. The association of Hathor of Dendera \(\text{(Iwn.t)}\) with Atum of Heliopolis \(\text{(Iwnw)}\) goes back to the OK, in which Pepi I places both deities together as his forefathers. See Fischer, Dendera, 32; Kochelmann, Toponymen, 174-175. At Dendera, Hathor is \(I\) \(wn.t\) \(s.t.t\) \(I\) \(tm\), "Temet, daughter of Atum" (D III, 101,15), \(wd\)\(t\) \(n.t\) \(I\) \(tm\), "the Udjat-Eye of Atum" (D III, 97,16), and \(\text{\$nh.t n.t}\) \(I\) \(tm\), "the Living Eye of Atum" (D III, 84,3; 95,3).
protection 84.15 life, dominion are behind him, like Ra, for d.t.-eternity.

ISIS
84.16 I give to <you> the field producing for you its products, the storehouse flooded with good things. Isis. Beautiful gold, 84.17 height: 1 cubit. Her isheru-lake is all around her.

HARSOMTUS
85.1 Words to say by Harsomtus, Lord of Khadi, the Great God who resides in Lunet, Divine Falcon on the serekh, 85.2 Ka-spirit, Lord of Provisions who gives offerings to the (divine) Powers, who distributes life to the living.

MUT
85.3 Words to say by Mut the Great, Lady of the Isheru-lake, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, 85.4 Noble and Powerful Lady in the Sanctuary of the Noble Lady, who floods the sanctuary of the Golden One with joy.

STATUE OF PEPI I, ABOVE IMAGE OF IHY
85.5 Gold
KING
85.6 (Pepy). Gold, height: 1 cubit
HATHOR
85.7 I place your awe-inspired terror in the hearts of the people, the gods are (in a state of) rejoicing in 84.15 "nh w3s nb h3=f mRc d.t

ISIS
84.16 d3.i n=n=<k> jh.t hr ms.t n=k h.t=f s3n b,h m nfr.w 3s.t nbw 84.17 nfr k3 mỉ= l 1 isrw=s m kd=s nb

HARSOMTUS
85.1 qdt mdw in Hr-sm3-t3.wy nb Hmdi ntr c3 hry-ib Twn.t bkt ntry hry s rh 85.2 K3 nb k3.w rdl lh.t n shm.w ssm cnh n cnh.w

MUT
85.3 qdt mdw in Mw.t wr.t nb.(t) l3rw Tr.t-Rc nb.t pt lh.w ntr.w nb.w 85.4 3ps.t wr.t hnt pr-3ps.t b'h pr-Nbw.t m thlw.t

STATUE OF PEPI I, ABOVE IMAGE OF IHY
85.5 nbw
KING
85.6 (P<y>) nbw k3 mỉ= l
HATHOR
85.7 d3.i jfy.t=k m ib.w rm.t ntr.w hrc n m3'= k H.t-hr nb.t pr-

---

1443 Kockelmann, Toponymen, 208, defines Hādi (Khadi), the present-day el-Goūziereya across from Dendera, as the cult center of Harsomtus, who is the child of Hathor at Dendera as well as the Lord of Khadi. He carries this epithet already in the Middle Kingdom chapel of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II at Dendera. See Habachi, Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, 24, fig. 7. This epithet of Harsomtus in the present text, along with the double-feather crown that he wears in the scene, agrees well with a listing in the inventory of toponyms on the west wall of Crypt West 3 (D VI,169,4; Kockelmann, Toponymen, 118; 208): Pr-nb-sw.ty-hnty H1-di, "House of the Lord of the Double-feather Crown in Khadi." Preys, Complexes, 27, mentions a Festival of Khadi, in which Harsomtus visits the necropolis of the ancestor gods. Other listings of Khadi are in Brugsch, DG, 336; Gauthier, DG, 93.

1444 Wb III 136-137; PL 663: hry-ib, lit. "in the middle," translated "resides in" or "sojourns in," refers to a deity worshipped in a cult center of another deity. See Haring, Divine Households, 71 n. 3; Budde, Epithets, 3.

1445 Cauville, Dend Trad III, p.161, translates k3, (D169), as "le bon génie." It refers to the primordial Ka-spirit. See discussion in 5.2.6.

1446 The image of the benu-bird on the primeval mound in the writing of b'h alludes to the inundation.

1447 The writing of thhw(t) employs (V14), the phonogram for t in both hieroglyphs and in hieratic, although only in a few words whose value t had not changed into t. See GG, p. 523.

1448 Wb IV, 457.2 – 459.7; PL 1004. sfy.t, "awesomeness; awe-inspired terror, fear, majesty," is regarded as a synonym of Ma'at in Ma'at offerings, due to its representation by the forepart (and thus throat) of the ram, because the word for throat (mr.t) is a close homonym of Ma'at, who was considered the throat of the god through which he obtains air and food, i.e. the sustenance of life. See discussion in 5.1.2. The reference to sfy.t of the King is thus also a subtle allusion to his responsibility in maintaining Ma'at, with the use of his awesome power to do so. Van der

**DIVINE RANDZEILE**

85,8 Words to say: Welcome in peace, Sovereign of the Two Sanctuaries, Ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt. We receive your exotic provisions of bread, meat, and beer. Our hearts are satisfied with your offerings. We give to you all the things that heaven gives and the earth produces. We make Egypt bright in your time.

Plas, Crue du Nil, 92-93, suggests that *mysterium tremendum* perhaps best evokes the underlying emotional response to the šfy.t of a god or king.

1449 šfy.t is the stative, thus the gods are "in a state of rejoicing."

1450 The two State Sanctuaries of Upper and Lower Egypt.

1451 Well-known phrase from the standard funerary offering formula, which is what is usually wished for the deceased. Hathor gives it as her reciprocal offering to the King. For an example of the formula, see the Stela of Nakhti from Abydos, 12th-13th Dynasty, in Collier and Manley, Egyptian Hieroglyphs, 110.

1452 bšk, "be bright, clear," thus making Egypt bright, well, and fertile. See PL 303-304.
### Doc 38 – East Wall, 2nd Register, 1st Scene: D III, 69,5-13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>69,5</strong> Offering milk. Words to say: this milk(^{1453}) <strong>69,6</strong> that I have presented before you,<strong>(^{1454})</strong> your inundation(^{1455}) is in them, they are pure.(^{1456})</td>
<td><strong>69,5</strong> hnk ūt.i dd mdw ʾnh-wšs 69,6 mn ms.n=i m hr=t bḥ=t im=sn iw=w wʾb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>69,7</strong> King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ).</td>
<td><strong>69,7</strong> nsw.t-bi ty ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The son of Ra <strong>69,8</strong> ( ) is upon his throne,<strong>(^{1457})</strong> as the great king, Ruler of the <strong>69,9</strong> Herd,<strong>(^{1458})</strong> offering white milk (ḥdw), presenting <strong>69,10</strong> sweet milk (bnrw), giving milk (<strong>ʾnh-wšs</strong>) to the Eye of Ra, <strong>69,11</strong> for he is like Anubis, Sovereign of the <strong>69,12</strong> milk cows,<strong>(^{1460})</strong> heir of him, of the Overseer**(^{1461})** of the Storeroom. <strong>69,13</strong> BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for d.t-eternity. <strong>69,14</strong> ABOVE HIM: <strong>69,15</strong> Wadjet, Lady of Pe and Dep.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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\(^{1453}\) Wb I, 197,7 and 204,1. This alternative word for milk is obviously a word play on its individual elements, meaning “life” and “power,” which the texts exploit. For example, in the Royal Randzeile (D III, 69,8), the king’s offering of milk (**ʾnh-wšs**) to the Eye of Ra can also be characterized as a gift of life and power. These powers of renewal and strengthening inherent in the milk usually lead to the deity in return giving the king strength and might against his enemies, as well as rejuvenation of his body and limbs. See Guglielmi, Milch, 127-128.

\(^{1454}\) Wb III, 123,1-13; PL 661-2. m-hr, before + suffix (lit. “in the face of”)

\(^{1455}\) The ideogram for bʾḥ, “flood,” is the image of the benu-bird perched upon a mound standing above the flooding fields. Wb I, 443,11 – 449,8; PT).

\(^{1456}\) The purity of the milk renders it appropriate as a divine offering.

\(^{1457}\) Wb II, 505,17-19; 18\(^{th}\) Dynasty: derives from the Semitic loanword: ʿnḫ. Wilson, PL 609, notes that in GR texts it was a “block throne.” See Kuhlmann, Thron, 15; Černý, Naunakhthe, 39 n. 1.

\(^{1458}\) The writing of mnmn.t, “herd,” is by rebus with the menstr counterpoise, ḥīḥ ṣūḥ increasing the cow determinative.

\(^{1459}\) The writing of the s-causative verb sfr (cause to go up, i.e. lift up, present) with the double stairway, (O41), gives the visual idea of height, as the king raises the offering that he presents to the deity. The sign also alludes to the raised location of the naos, which in turn represents the primeval mound.

\(^{1460}\) Anubis is considered the lord of cows and cattle. See Grenier, Anubis, 19-20; Blackman and Fairman, 65; Roeder, Dakke, pl. 58; Mammissi d’Edfou, 87,9-10; 146,2; Mammissis de Dendara, 32. His title, ʾity n wsḥ.wt, “Sovereign of the Milk-cows,” alludes to Isis, who has the epithet wsḥ.wt, “mourner” (Wb I, 373,1-2; GR). Wilson, PL 267, notes that a text at Edfu states that after the head of Isis had been cut off, Anubis offers cows to Isis on “the day of establishing her head” (E II, 168,8-9); Thoth replaces the head of the wsḥ.wt in Papyrus Jumilhac. See Vandier, Jumilhac, XXI, 4-5. Both statements link to the Contendings of Horus and Seth, in which Horus cuts off the head of Isis.

\(^{1461}\) Wb I, 74,11-13; II, 94,5-13: the title began as imy-r and was abbreviated to mr. At Dendera, it is usually written with the recumbent lion, (E23) or the schematic owl, (G17A).

\(^{1462}\) The king’s epithet, ʾwʾ mr-šwnt, heir (i.e. son) of the overseer of the storeroom implies his control of the agricultural produce of the entire land. The šwnt was the magazine or storeroom primarily for grain, but also for other products. See LÄ V, 591-8; Wb IV, 507,1-16; PL 1020.
HATHOR
69,11 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Isis the Great, Mother of the Falcon, Beautiful young girl, Sweet One (f.) of (sweet) milk, who nourishes the gods with her white milk.

DIVINE RANDZEILE
The Eye of Ra is powerful in Iunet as the Excellent cow among the gods, nourishing this land, making the people (lit. faces) live, rejuvenating her child with her sweet milk, for she is the Beautiful Feline, Sweet One (f.) of love, who protects the body of her IHy-priests.

HATHOR
69,11 qd mdw in H-t-hr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t Ir.t-R=f s.t wr.t nw.t n.t Bik, hwn.t 69,12 nfr.t bnr.t bnrw šd.t ntr.w m ḫd+w=s
DIVINE RANDZEILE
wnn Ir.t-R=f wsr.t ti m Iwn.t m ḫh.t mnh.t m ntr.w hr šd.t t š t hr 69,13 šn hr.w hr smp m=s m bnrw=s sy m hwn.t nfr.t bnr.t ntr.w tḏ ḫ+w n Ihy.w=s

Doc 39 – West Wall, 2nd Register, 1st Scene: D III, 80,13 – 81,2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>80,13 Presenting the ḫḥdb to his mother, the Powerful One.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KING</td>
<td>80,14 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROYAL RANDZEILE</td>
<td>The son of Ra ( ) is 80,15 upon his throne as the Ruler of the circuit of the earth, satisfying his mistress, making her son great, placing the dread of her in the Banks of 80,16 Horus (=Egypt), for he is like Horus. He has</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1463 Hathor’s equation with Isis in this milk-offering scene emphasizes her nourishing, motherly qualities. The mention of the Falcon (Bik) in conjunction with Isis makes an allusion to the myth of rearing her child Horus in the marshes of Khemmis. The Falcon is said to be created by the sacred HsA.t cow and born of the wSb.t cow, an epithet of Isis (E IV, 220,4; VII, 285-286). See PL 308-309; 677; 266.

1464 The noun, hwn.t (young girl) can also be written with the ideogram for a cat: (D III, 69,13), which can denote Tefnut as a young lioness (Wb III, 54,2) and thus alludes to the Myth of the Wandering Goddess. It is also used in the expression, “the girl in the Eye,” to designate the pupil (Wb III, 53,22), especially in the ritual of the Pupil of the Horus Eye. See Borghouts, Evil Eye, 141 n. 11, cited by Kurth, EP I, 212 n. 150.

1465 The question of whether to read nw or nn for has been debated, but Fairman, Alphabetic Signs, 249, suggests that by the Ptolemaic Period, the old word for “child” had become nn, with the child-sign used to write nn-nsw.t, the name of Herakleopolis.

1466 Wb III, 53,10 – 54,1; PL 626. The writing of hwn.t, "young girl," with the cat alludes to Hathor's manifestation as a lioness. I follow Cauville (Dend Trad III, p. 155) in translating it as “feline” to reflect this allusion.

1467 Wab priest in the service of the child god Ihy. See Cauville, Ihy-Noun, 99-117.

1468 Wb I, 153, 7: written with two tongues-of-land signs (instead of three, in the present example), it is more properly idb.wy Hr, "the (two) Banks of Horus."

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seized the Two Lands. Upper and Lower Egypt are upon the water of his Incarnation. **BEHIND HIM:** All protection, life, and dominion are behind him 80,17 like Ra, for d.t-eternity.

**HATHOR**

80,18 Words to say by Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, Isis the Great, Mother of the Falcon, 81,1 Female Sovereign in the circuit of the Aten. 1470

**DIVINE RANDZEILE**
The Lady of the Two Lands, appears/shines in her chapel in "This is the nome of Horus," 1471 making bright the son of Osiris, rejuvenating 81,2 her child, nursing her child in the place that she loves, for she is the Beautiful Feline who protects 1472 Egypt to its totality, 1473 who decrees words in the circuit of the Aten.

**BEHIND HIM:** s3 5'nh w3s nb h3=f 80,17 mi R® d.t

**HATHOR**

80,18 dd mdw in Ḫ.t-hr nb.t Iwn.t 'Ir.t-R® nb.t p.t ḫnw.t nfr.w nb.w ṣs.t wr.t mw.t n.t Bik 81,1 ity.t m šn n itn

**DIVINE RANDZEILE**

w3n nb(.t) t3.wy wbn.ti m iwnn.t=s hnt sp3.t-pw-n.t-Hr ḫr s3h s3 Wsr ir srnp 81,2 mn=s ḫr rr s3=s m s.t-3b(.t)=s sy m ḫwn.t nfr.t ḫn.t B3k.t r ṣw=s wd mdw m šn n itn

---

1469 I.e. dependent on him. See Wb II, 52,17; PL 418, noting, "this metaphorical expression alludes to the inferior position of someone whose water supply is dependent upon the good will of anyone in control of the upper part of an irrigation canal. It implies 'to be dependent' rather than 'to be loyal,' " citing Westendorf, Auf Wasser, 47-48. Cf. earlier discussion by Clère, Recherches, 288 and n. 4; CDME, 105, "loyal."

1470 Itn, "Aten," is the male sun disk; one of Hathor's frequent epithets at Dendera is Atenet, "the Female Sun Disk"; examples in the Per-wer include the following: D III, 54,16; 56,6; 57,5; 66,2; 67,3; 68,3; 71,10; 74,1; 76,12; 78,11; 82,5; 82,8; 85,14; 95,17.

1471 Perhaps a reference to Dendera. Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 587, is uncertain of its meaning.

1472 Wb III, 101,7-11. ḫn.t is the f. s. perfective active participle of ḫn, "protect."

1473 Lit., "in its length."
East and West Walls, 2nd Register, 2nd Scene

D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

Doc 40
D III,
69,15 – 70,5

Doc 41
D III,
81,4-12

East Wall, 2nd Register, 2nd Scene

West Wall, 2nd Register, 2nd Scene
Translation

TITLE AND FORMULA

69,15 Offering the menit.1474 Words to say: Take for yourself the menit. 69,16 Golden One (f.), Lady of the Menit. Your heart is satisfied/pacified upon seeing what I have done.

KING

69,17 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ).

ROYAL RANDZEILE

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt 69,18 ( ) is upon his throne, in strength1475 in the Temple of the Menit, destroying 1476 the Coward,1477 slaying the Watchful one,1478 slaying the Angry one,1479 for he is like Horus who presents her Incarnation with her offering, who pacifies her heart every day. BEHIND HIM: 70,2 All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for d.t-eternity.

SOLAR DISK ABOVE HIM:

Behdety, the Great god, Lord of heaven.

HATHOR

70,3 Words to say by Hathor, Lady of Iunet, the Menit, Eye of Ra, the Beautiful One (f.) in all her names,1480 the Shining and Powerful One (f.), the Protectress 70,4 for her brother,1481 who makes his protection against his enemies.

Transliteration

TITLE AND FORMULA

69,15 ħnk mn.t dd mdw m-n=t mn.t 69,16 Nb.w nb.t mn.t htp id=t ħr m33 ir(t).n=i

KING

69,17 nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) | s3 Rᶜ ( ) |

ROYAL RANDZEILE

wnn nsw.t-bi.ty 69,18 ( ) | hr bkr=f m tnr hnt h.t-mn.t hr hd Hm.ty hr inin 70,1 Nhš hr ḫbb ḫr.ty sw mi ḥr ħnk hm.t=f s m h.t=s shtub ib=s rᵗ nb BEHIND HIM:

70,2 s3 `nh w3s nb ḫ=m f Hr Rᶜ d.t

SOLAR DISK ABOVE HIM:

Bḥd.ty ntr ḫ=m nb p.t

HATHOR

70,3 dd mdw in ḥ.t-ḥr nb.t Iwn.t t=mn.t ḫfr.t m rn(w)=s nb.w ḫh.t wsr.t ndty.t 70,4 ḥr sn=s ir nh(t)=f r ḫnty.w=f

notes that ħmr is only used of the King or Horus Behdety at Edfu when strength is required in order to slay a foe or required for an offering. The writing of ḫmr in this passage employs the tall-t (U33) as the phonogram for t and the aleph-vulture (G1) as the phonogram for n.

1476 Note the insistent alliteration of ḫ and ḥ (highlighted in red), which emphasizes the destruction of Seth.

1477 Te Velde, Seth, 44, suggests that ḫm.ty means "effeminate one" as a derogatory term for Seth.

1478 Wb II, 287,14-16; 18th Dynasty, GR. Nhš, "Watchful One," possibly derives from the verb, nhšt, "be awake," referring to the watchful god at the prow of the sun bark (as noted in Amduat texts), which in later texts is Seth.

Wilson, PL 531, notes that in GR temples, Nhš denotes Seth in his manifestation as an animal.

1479 Wb III, 244,2-7; 18th Dynasty, LP, GR. ḫfr.ty, "Angry One" derives from the verb ḫfr, "be angry, furious," as an epithet of Seth.

1480 Gutbub, Hathor, 341-342, notes that nfr.t m rn(w)=s nb.w, "the beautiful one in all of her names," is an epithet of Isis; an analogous epithet, ḫ.t-ḥr m sp.t nb.t, "Hathor in all of the nomes." The phrase, "in all of her names," is used after the list of the different names of Isis in the various sanctuaries. Gutbub suggests that the use of this phrase by Hathor means that the names given to Isis are equivalent to Hathor, so that at Dendera, Isis can also be called Hathor.

1481 If the king is the son of Ra and Hathor is the daughter of Ra, then they could be considered as siblings. This is the only reference in the Per-wer to the King's being Hathor's brother, but it appears elsewhere at Dendera. Hathor is often characterized as the protector of her brother, as in the h.t-sḥm (Temple of the Sistrum, Chassinat's Chamber I;
The Lady of Gladness is within the Temple of the Menit, the Lady of Joy in her places, protecting her father, increasing the awe of him, placing the dread of her in the gods, for she is Lady of Jubilation, Mistress of Dance, Lady of Drunkenness, Mistress of Joy.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ) is upon his throne, complete in his form as Ruler of the Two Lands, perfecting Tayet, making healthy the Eye (of light), making live the Uraeus, for he is like Isden, who provisions the Udjat-Eye, who makes She Who Leads Mankind, "She Who Leads Mankind," is an epithet referring to the royal uraeus, attested since the MK. Wilson, PL 928, notes that this epithet appears in the Hymn to the Diadem (4,4).

Although principally a goddess of weaving, Tayet can take the form of the uraeus. Thus, the "perfecting" of Tayet (using the verb ttw, which in its transitive form can also mean "to collect together, assemble") alludes to the filling (or "completing") of the Udjat Eye with all of its necessary parts, an action carried out by Thoth in the myth, and with whom the King is equated in this scene. See discussion in 2.2.

The earliest example is in Urk VI, 15.7. Goyon, Dieux-Gardiens, 39 n. 9, observes that the epithet can apply to Seth as well as to Apep (Apophis, the evil serpent who attempts to halt the solar barque in the Amduat). The term, whi sp, often appears in alliteration with w, as in the present passage, which emphasizes his non-existence. The presence of this epithet in the wensheb offering relates to the symmetrical scene of the menit offering, which emphasizes the destruction of Seth.

Wb I, 258.9; implying that nothing is lacking. This epithet recalls the Udjat-Eye and the necessity of restoring all of its parts.

Wb IV, 289.9: Sšm.t-rmt, "She Who Leads Mankind," is an epithet referring to the royal uraeus, attested since the MK. Wilson, PL 928, notes that this epithet appears in the Hymn to the Diadem (4,4).

Wb I, 134.9. Isdn is an epithet of Thoth since the end of the NK; originally an independent god, he became (like Isdes) a manifestation of Thoth, attested from NK to GR, determining the lifetime of humans, judging, and giving written and oral instructions. The King can be characterized as the descendant, heir, or "image" of Isden. See Grieshammer, Isden, 184-185; Boylan, Thoth, 201; Bonnet, RÄRG, 326.
effective/shining the (effective/shining) Eye with its parts. BEHIND HIM: 81,9 All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for d.t-eternity.

SOLAR DISK ABOVE HIM: Behdety, the Great God, Lord of Heaven.

HATHOR 81,10 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, She who takes the inventory. Lady of Protection, she has united with 81,11 the Uraeus on the head of her father.

DIVINE RANDZEILE

The Uraeus is within the Temple of the Wensheb, Bright One (f.) of face in her sanctuary that she loves, uniting with the Left Eye, 81,12 brightening the Banks, leading the Two Lands with her beauties, for she is Lady of Life, the Sweet One (f.) of Love, who illuminates this land with her shining eyes.

---

1489 Wb IV, 167,13; GR, "epithet of Hathor." It is probably derived from snhi, "to take inventory, registration." Although not written with the sign of the right angle, (O38), as in the verb, nhi, "protect," there seems to be a subtle allusion to protection, because the following epithet of Hathor is nb.t mk.t, "Lady of Protection." The idea of Hathor's "taking the inventory" agrees well with the theme in this scene of completing the Eye and making certain that it has all of its parts.

1490 iAb.t, "Uraeus," an epithet of Hathor, is also the homonym for "Left Eye," thus alluding to the Eye of Horus, which needed to be restored.

1491 There is a subtle play between the end of Hathor's speech, in which she is said to be iAb.t m tp n it=s, "the Uraeus on the head of her father" (D III, 81,11) and the first line of the Divine Randzeile, wnn hr.t-tp m-hnt h.t-wnšb ũhn.t hr m iwnt.t=s mr=s hr ũhm iAb.t 81,12 hr šhd idb.w hr šsm t3.t wy m nfr.w=s sy m nb.t 3nh bnr.t mrw.t wpš t3 pn m 3h.ty=s(y), "the Uraeus on the head of her father," thus linking the two adjacent scenes (2nd and 3rd scenes, of the wensheb and mnw-jar, respectively) in the 2nd register of the west wall.

1492 Wb I, 305,11-19; PT; PL 227: wpš, "scatter with light," becoming a general term meaning "to illumine"; the sign, (N55), may represent a "hazy cloud of incense smoke or incense burning brightly." The idea of "scattering light," alludes to the ritual of "répandre l'or," during which sparkling green powder was strewn on the fields during the month of Epiphi in order to guarantee the agricultural cycle. See Goyon, Répandre l'or, 85-100; discussion in 5.2.4.
East and West Walls, 2nd Register, 3rd Scene

D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

Doc 42
D III, 70,7-18

East Wall, 2nd Register, 3rd Scene

Doc 43
D III, 81,14 – 82,11

West Wall, 2nd Register, 3rd Scene
Doc 42 – East Wall, 2nd Register, 3rd Scene: D III, 70, 7-18

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>70,7 Playing the ssâ.t- and the shm-sistrum. Words to say: the ssâ.t-sistrum 70,8 is in my right hand, the shm-sistrum is in my left hand. I am Horus, offspring of Sekhmet. I praise (swâś) 70,9 your Ka in Qab-tawy. I have satisfied your beautiful face. <strong>IHY</strong> 70,10 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor, child of the Golden one (f.), Lady of Iunet. I have played 70,11 the sistrum before your beautiful face. <strong>KING</strong> 70,12 who makes music for his mistress. <strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong> The son of Ra ( ) is upon his throne in the Per-wer Sanctuary as the Great Sovereign who rules the Two Lands, praising her Incarnation, adoring 70,13 her Ka, pacifying her heart with what she loves, for he is like Ihy who makes music for his mistress. Her Incarnation rejoices in seeing his face. <strong>BEHIND HIM:</strong> All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, 70,14 like Ra, for d.t-eternity.</td>
<td>70,7 ir.(t) ssâ.t shm ðd mdw ssâ(t). 70,8 m wnny=f i shm m 70,9 k3=t m K3b-t3. wy htp.n=f i hr=f t nfr <strong>IHY</strong> 70,10 Thy wr s3 H.t-hr nn n Nbw.t nb.t Twm.t ir.n=i sâ.s.t m hr=t nfr <strong>KING</strong> 70,11 nsw.t-bi.ty ()</td>
</tr>
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</table>

1493 For discussion of the epithet, Hr wâd n Shm.t, “Horus, Offspring of Sekhmet,” see Germond, Sekhmet, 91 n. 21; 95 n. 57. It appears in the following sistrum-offering scenes at Dendera: D III, 70,8 (Per-wer, East Wall, 2nd reg, 3rd scene); V, 42,1 (Crypt East 1, Chamber G, East Wall); V, 57,5 (Crypt East 2, Chamber A, East Wall).

1494 Wb V, 10,2: name of Dendera. Kockelmann, Toponymen, 197, cites the writing in D VI, 168,7, as a firm basis for its transliteration as k3b-t3.wy. The toponym is lit. "Insides of the Two Lands" Because k3b can also be interpreted as "coils" (CDME 175, k3b.w, "coils of snake"; PT 1146), by designating Dendera as Qab-tawy (i.e. "Coils of the Two Lands"), an allusion is made to Hathor in her manifestation as the uraeus serpent.

1495 Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 139, gives htp n.i hr.t nfr, and translates as, “Your beautiful face is satisfied with me.” Both translations are theoretically possible; Cauville’s translation does agree well with the statement in the Royal Randzeile, sfn hm.t=s n m33 hr=f, “Her Incarnation rejoices in seeing his face” (D III, 70,13).

1496 Wb II, 272,4-6. nn, “child,” appears in the OK in the name of the city of Herakleopolis, nn-nsw.t (becoming hnn-nsw.t in MK CT; h.t-nn-nsw.t in LP). Fairman, Alphabetic Signs, 249-250, discusses the issue of reading it as nnw or mn, suggesting that in Ptolemaic it was probably read mn, due to the long tradition of its use in the name of Herakleopolis. Fischer, Ehnasaya, 423-425, maintains that there is no clear evidence for mn as an independent word for “youth” in the earlier periods, and that the child does not appear in the name of Herakleopolis until the Ptolemaic texts. See also Tawâfik, Priest Stela, 135 n. 1.

1497 The signs in D III, 70,10, suggest a translation of ir.n=i sâ.s.t m hr=t nfr, “I have played the sâ.s.t-sistrum before your beautiful face,” contra Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 138-139, who gives irt sâs.t m hr.t nfr, “jouer du sistre devant ton beau visage.”

1498 h3 t3.wy could also be translated as “Ruler of the Two Lands,” instead of the perfective active participle, “who rules the Two Lands,” which Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 141, prefers.
HATHOR
70,15 I give you beer, you repeat drunkenness and joy (lit. openness of heart) without stopping. Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, 70,16 Mistress of all the gods, she who does not have her equal in heaven and on earth, Great One (f.) of love, Mistress of Women, Lady of the sss.t-sistrum, Mistress of the shm-sistra, Lady of Music, Lady of Gladness, Lady of Jubilation, 70,17 Lady of Joy, Mistress of the ib3-dance, Lady of Myrrh who ties the headband.

DIVINE RANDZEILE
The Lady of Iunet is satisfied/rests in Iunet as Lady of the sss.t-sistrum, Mistress of the sxm-sistra, driving away anger, dispelling rage, destroying evil in front of her face, for she is the Bright One (f.) of face, the Sweet One (f.) of Love. Her father is satisfied in seeing her.

Doc 43 – West Wall, 2nd Register, 3rd Scene: D III, 81,14 – 82,11

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<td>TITLE AND FORMULA</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>81,14 Presenting the mnw-vase. Words to say: the Effective/Shining one (f.) 81,15 in Iunet, your 3hw-</td>
<td>81,14 ms p3 mnw dd mdw 3h(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81,15 m lwn.t 3h.w=t</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

1499 Wb V, 325,7-9; GR. There is a true pun on th, which can be translated as either "beer" or "drunkenness." Wilson, PL 1150, admits that the word may be deliberately ambiguous.
1500 Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 140, transliterates as n ir 3h, "sans interruption." I prefer mn ir(t) 3b because the water-sign below the negative arms gives mn, followed by the infinitive ir(t) with feminine t unwritten, similar to D III, 82,7.
1501 hnw.t shm.w, "Mistress of the shm-sistra," creates a true pun with shm.w, "powers." The two phrases, hnw.t hm.wt nb.t sss.t and hnw.t shm.w nb(t) hs.t (highlighted in red), stand in a chiastic relationship to each other. See discussion in 5.1.2.
1502 This epithet of Hathor, "who ties the headband" connects with the east scene of the lintel of the north wall inside the Per-wer, where she carries a similar epithet: ts mih (D III, 58,8).
1503 hnw.t shm.w, "Mistress of the shm-sistra" (D III, 70, 17-18), which appears above in D III, 70,16, is repeated here, again with a true pun on shm.w, "powers."
1504 Wb V, 473,12; PT. Wilson, PL 1202-1203, notes that dr, "to drive away, repel," often written with the sign 𓀊, as in the present example, 𓀊, is not the determinative of the word but rather the phonogram for dr. It may have been confused with (M31A), the sign for rwD, having become dr by means of metathesis. The object of this verb is usually something hostile or chaotic that would disturb the order of the world if not driven away.
power (or shining deeds) are shining. Beautiful one (f.), how beautiful 81,16 is your beauty! Female Ba 1505 among the (divine) powers, Speedy One (f.) of divine power 1506 Effective One (f.) of magic 81,17 Lady of the Per-wer, Mistress of the Per-Neser.

HARSOMTUS THE CHILD
82,1 Harsomtus the Child, son of Hathor, Noble Child of the Eye of Ra 82,2 I have played the ssSn.t-sistrum before your beautiful face. Your heart is pacified with what you love.

KING
82,3 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra: ROYAL RANDZEILE
The son of Ra 82,4 ( ) is on his throne as chief of the Two Lands in the Great Hall, washing the hands, purifying the fingers, hating the sadness of 82,5 the Eye of Ra, for he is like Horus, who drives away impurity from the Atenet, who dispels evil, who releases the debt. BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like 82,6 Ra, for d.t-eternity.

HATHOR
82,7 I give you your heart resting in its place, joy without ceasing. 1507 Words to say by Hathor the Great, 82,8 Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, the Great Uraeus in the Place of Drunkenness (=Dendera) of the Atenet, the Golden One (f.) 82,9 Lady of Music, Lady of the hB-dance, Lady of Joy, Mistress of the ibB-dance, she is content with what one does for her Incarnation, the (unique) Uraeus, Great one (f.) in the Place of the Beautiful One (f.), Mistress and Lady of the headband 1508 82,10 of electrum. 1509

\[\text{Hathor} \quad 82,7 \quad \text{di=i n=k ib=k htp hr mk.t=f hnt} \quad \text{nn ir.(t)} \quad \text{tb \ dd mdw in H.t-hr wr-t} \quad 82,8 \quad \text{nb(t)} \quad \text{Hwn.t Tr.t-Rc} \quad \text{nb(t)} \quad \text{pt. Hnw.t nfr.w nb.w mhn.t w.t} \quad \text{Hnt s.t-thn.t itn.t Nbwt} \quad 82,9 \quad \text{mb(t)} \quad \text{hr hy nb(t)} \quad \text{rs} \quad \text{hwn.t ibB htp=s ir.tw n hm.t=s w.C.t wr.t Hnt s.t-nfr.t Hnw.t nb.t w3h} \quad 82,10 \quad \text{n dM}\]

1505 Wb I, 412,11; GR. Wilson, PL 305-306, suggests that this epithet, referring to Hathor of Dendera, was perhaps a parallel to Horus Behdety as the Ba of Ra. Derchain, Hathor Quadrifrons, 5 n. 13, however, suggests that it was confused with btt, a symbol of Hathor. Cf. Fischer, Bat, 7-23.
1506 h3h-bt.t (fem. h3h-t-bt.t) is an epithet describing gods "who move quickly or strike at speed" (Wilson, PL 705).
1507 Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 156, transliterates as n ir tb, "sans interruption." I prefer nn ir.(t) tb because the water-sign below the negative arms gives nn, followed by the infinitive ir.(t) with feminine t unwritten. A similar case occurs in D III, 70,15.
1508 Wb I, 257,13-14, attested since the PT; PL 196-197. PL 196 notes that by the MK, the term w3h (probably derived from the verb w3h, "to put, place") was superseded by m3h, possibly with some degree of confusion. The w3h garland may be placed around the throat or on the head. An example of such a circlet is the beautiful floral crown of Princess Khnemet of Dahshur, a cloisonné version made with gold, carnellian, lapis lazuli, and turquoise. See Aldred, Jewels of Pharaohs, pl. 14, and the description on p. 115, where he notes that it is "one of the triumphs of the Egyptian goldsmith, a happy combination of fragility and strength, of formalized flower shapes scattered in the random profusion of nature."
1509 This offering specifies that the headband is made from dM, but other texts at Dendera specify the material as nb or s3w(y (D III, 25,8-16). Wb V, 537,13, specifies dM as lighter-colored gold, equated with the Greek χρυσός (gold). El-Kordy, Couronne d’or, 445-446, observes that by the GR, dM was simply a synonym of nb; s3w(y was
The daughter of Ra is within the Place of Drunkenness (=Dendera), the Uraeus on the head of her father, bestowing favors, increasing love, giving joy, rejoicing. She is the Lady of the Two Lands, the Lady of bread who makes beer, Mistress of the headband of electrum.

another material used to make the headband, being an inferior quality of gold, perhaps mixed with silver. Texts at Dendera mentioning a \textit{w\textit{th}} n s\textit{wy} include D III, 25,8; 149,9, and 175,8. I follow Cauville's (Dend Trad III, p. 157) translation of \textit{d\textit{m}} as "electrum." Because \textit{s\textit{wy}} originates in a region of Nubia called \textit{hh} (Heh), the offering of the \textit{w\textit{th}} headband in this scene may indirectly allude to Nubia, the place where the Distant Goddess sojourned. In an offering scene of two vases of gold and lapis-lazuli in the lintel of Dendera's Treasury (Chassinat's Chamber Q), Hathor says to the King, \textit{di=i n=k Hh hr s\textit{wy} im=f}, "I give you Heh, possessing the gold that is in it" (D IV, 148,3), with the toponym, Heh, written as \textit{\textit{Heh}}. Characterized as the "flesh of the gods," and in particular that of the sun god Ra, the gold used to make this headband would have rejuvenating qualities.

The epithet, \textit{hr.t-	extit{tp}} m \textit{tp} n \textit{it=s}, "the Uraeus on the head of her father" (D III, 82,10), combines two epithets (\textit{tp} n \textit{it=s} and \textit{hr.t-	extit{tp}}) appearing successively in the adjacent wensheb-offering scene, thus linking the two scenes: \textit{lh.t m tp} n \textit{it=s}, "the Uraeus on the head of her father" (D III, 81,11) and \textit{wnn hr.t-	extit{tp}} m-\textit{hnt} h.t-\textit{wnb}, "the Uraeus (lit. She Who is on the Head) is within the Temple of the Wensheb" (D III, 81,11). The repetition of \textit{tp} in the epithets emphasizes Hathor's role as the uraeus on her father's brow.

El-Kordy, Couronne d'or, 441-452, omits the present scene in his list of attestations of the offering of the "crown of gold" at Dendera, perhaps because this offering is not mentioned in the title and formula. However, Hathor's epithet here in the Divine Randzeile (D III, 82,11), \textit{hnw.t n t w\textit{th}} n \textit{d\textit{m}}, "Mistress of the Circlet of Electrum," as well as her epithet in her speech (D III, 82,9-10), \textit{nb.t w\textit{th}} n \textit{d\textit{m}}, "Lady of the Circlet of Electrum," clearly refer to the King's offering of this crown.
East and West Walls, 1st Register, 1st Scene

D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

Doc 44
D III, 64,3 – 65,3

East Wall, 1st Register, 1st Scene

Doc 45
D III, 76,5-13

West Wall, 1st Register, 1st Scene
Doc 44 – East Wall, 1st Register, 1st Scene: D III, 64,3 – 65,3

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<tr>
<td>64,3 Going up the stairs (of the shrine). Words to say. I go up upon the stairs of the Golden one (f.) with measured steps in order to see her Incarnation in her shrine.</td>
<td>64,3 pr r ḫnḏw ḏḏ &lt;mdw&gt; ṭs=i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td>64,4 r ḫnḏw n Nb.w t ṁ ḫb nmt t r m33 64,5 ḥm.t=s ṁ ḫd=s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64,6 King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Ra, Overseer of the hm-ntr priests within the Temple of the Sistrum, the Purifier, purified in his body.</td>
<td>64,6 nsw.t-bi.ty ()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
<td>64,8 twr s3 64,8 twr wbn ḫr ḫnḏw m ḥwwr ḡk ḫw ḏsr ḫ msr ḫspr ḫ ḫhwn.w t ṭ snfr ṭb=s ṃ ḫw 64,9 s3 R&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt; () BEHIND HIM: s3 ḫn w＇s nb ḫ=f mi R&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt; ḏ.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Good God shall live, the hm-ntr priest, son of a hm-ntr priest, the Purifier, son of the Purifier, who appears upon the throne in (a state of) great purity, who enters the sacred place in (a state of) sacredness, who approaches the mistress in order to make her heart rejoice, Lord of Crowns, son of Ra.</td>
<td>ḫnṯ twr.swr.t xnt ḫ.t</td>
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1512 Wb III, 314,4-15; PL 743. For a discussion of the beginning episodes of the daily temple ritual, see Guglielmi and Buroh, Eingangsprücchen, 101-166; Moret, Culte, 31-56.

1513 Wb V, 618,9. The playful writing of ḏḏ, "to say," with a crouching baboon, (E35), the manifestation of the god Thoth, or Ḫwty, retains the initial ḏ of his name through the consonantal principle and is interpreted as ḏḏ. By alluding to Thoth, the god of wisdom and inventor of language, this writing underlines the importance of the King's effective speech as he approaches the deity in the shrine. The compound ideogram of the baboon holding the mdw-staff (walking stick) (E42) more fully writes ḏḏ mdw, "words to say." See Fairman, Ptolemaic Signs, 121.

1514 Wb V, 23,15-16; Late; GR. The phrase, ṁ ḫb nmt t, means lit., "in coolness of pace." Wilson, PL 1050, notes that the phrase often characterizes priests or gods as they approach the sanctuary in procession; she cites other translations: Otto, Gott und Mensch, 156, "mit kühlern, beherrschtem Schritt"; Alliot, Culte I, 242, "en marche lente," and Daumas, Nout à Dendara, 391, "marcher lentement."

1515 Wb III, 209,1-8; PT; GR. The term ḥḏ, "shrine, chapel," carries with it the connotation of light, due to its homonym that means "light, bright." Wilson, PL 696, suggests that it may thus reference "the divine glow given off by images of gods in their shrines."

1516 Wb III, 88,19 – 90,7. Highest-ranking class of priests, attested since OK royal funerary temples, who carried out the daily temple ritual in place of the king, having access to the shrines of the gods within the temple. This category of priesthood continued into the GR. See Helck, Priester, 1086; 1091-1092; Meulenaere, Priester, 1097; Meeks, Donations, 645 n. 178; Gardiner, Onomastica I, 47*- 49*; Sauneron, Priests, 57-60.

1517 Kockelmann, Toponymen, 146-148, notes that ḥ.t-sḥḥ.t, "Temple of the Sistrum," is the name given to the rear SE chapel at Dendera (Chassinat’s chamber I; D II, 1-13); Crypt South 1, Chamber A. Cauville, Dyn Tr III, p. 1, notes that the ṣḥ-ntr (divine hall) can apply to the main temple of Hathor at Dendera, as well as to the village where the Temple of Dendera is located. The designation, ḥ.t-sḥḥ.t is often used in parallel with pr-wr in the inscriptions in the Per-wr Sanctuary, e.g. on the door jambs of its entrance: ḥr.t-tp wr.t nb.t pr-wr, "Great Uraeus, Lady of the Per-wr" (east door jamb, D III, 56,10); ṣps.t wrw.t ḫnt h.t-sḥḥ.t, "Powerful Noble Lady in the Temple of the Sistrum" (west door jamb, D III, 57,8-9).

1518 Wb V, 253,5 – 254,16. twr, "purifier," "pure one," is a priestly title carried by the King in his identification as Horus. Wilson, PL 1129, notes that the twr.w made up a class of priests ranking between God’s Fathers and the Chief Lector Priest (E V, 30,1), substituting for the King and performing purification rituals within the temple.

1519 Lit., "make her heart beautiful."
**Behind Him:** All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for d.t-eternity.

**Hathor**

65,1 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods: I give you the appearance on 65,2 the great throne, 1520 like Horus upon the throne dais.

**Divine Randzeile**
The Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Female ruler in Kab-tawy (=Dendera), the Beautiful one (f.) of face, Festive one (f.) of eyes, 1522 Noble and Powerful Lady, 65,3 there is no knowing her body. 1523 The Sacred One (f.) among the Ennead, who rests in her shrine 1524 in her sacred sanctuary, 1525 Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet.

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**Doc 45 – West Wall, 1st Register, 1st Scene: D III, 76,5-13**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title and Formula</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulling the (door) bolt. 1526</td>
<td>st3 idr st3.n=i 76,6 idr m hd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have pulled 76,6 the (door) bolt of the shrine 1527 of your Incarnation. I release the seal 1528 in order to see your body.</td>
<td>n hm.t=t sfl=f=i dbc r m33 d.t=t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King</td>
<td>King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76,7 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( )</td>
<td>son of Ra ( )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1520 Wb III, 314.4-15; PL 743. The term, _hndw_ denotes either a throne or a stairway; its use for the _hndw wr_, "great throne," of Horus (D III, 65.2) thus connects with the title of the present scene, _pr r hndw_, "going up the stairs" (D III, 64.3).

1521 Wb V, 384.14 – 385.9; MK. Kuhlmann, Thron, 76 n. 4, suggests that _tnt3.t_ may be a loan word; the original word may have meant "mound," alluding to the primeval mound. Wilson, PL 1168, notes that the throne dais can also consist of a more elaborate kiosk with the two thrones of Upper and Lower Egypt, used in the coronation or the King’s Sed Festival.

1522 Wb II, 93.11-14; BoD: GR. Wilson, PL 440, explains that _mnt_ in general refers to something spherical in shape, such as breasts, cheeks, and eyeballs. See also Meeks, Notes de lexicographie, 81 n. 1, _mnft_.

1523 Alternatively, "without (anyone) knowing her body (_d.t_)." See discussion in 5.2.5.

1524 See D III, 64.5, for discussion of _hd_.

1525 The GR writing includes the _t_-loaf; Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 118, thus transliterates as _iwnmt_. However, Wb I, 55.12-13 includes the GR writing but transliterates as _iwnn_. Following the more traditional writing. Wilson (PL 54) and CDME 13 agree with Wb, which I follow here.

1526 The ritual unbolting of the naos, in which the king withdraws the bolt to the door and then breaks the seal so that the shrine door can be opened. See Graefe, Versiegelung, 147; cf. Moret, Culte, 35-36 (pBerlin, III, 3; Abydos I, p. 35, 2nd Scene).

1527 Wb III, 209.1-8; PT; GR. The term _hd_, "shrine, chapel," carries with it the connotation of light, due to its homonym that means "light, bright." Wilson, PL 696, suggests that it may thus reference "the divine glow given off by images of gods in their shrines."

1528 _sfl dbc_ means lit., "release/remove the finger," referring of the finger of Seth being removed from the Eye of Horus, so that the door to the shrine can be opened. See Te Velde, Seth, 49.
Living Image of 76,8 the Hereditary prince of the gods,\(^{1529}\) who exalts the (divine) powers in their place.

**ROYAL RANDZEILE**

The Good God lives, He who unbolts the door-leaves of heaven, who opens the door-leaves of the horizon (=temple) of the Golden one (f.), who opens 76,9 the sanctuary of the Golden one (f.) so that her Incarnation shines—Her Ennead\(^{1530}\) shines behind her—who exalts her Ka upon the Great Seat, the Lord of crowns, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ). BEHIND HIM: 76,10 All protection, life, and dominion are behind him like Ra, for d.t-eternity.

**HATHOR**

76,11 Words to say by Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Mistress of Humankind,\(^{1531}\) Mistress of the Two Lands: I cause that dread of you 76,12 goes around in the Two Lands, the dread of you among people.\(^{1532}\)

**DIVINE RANDZEILE**

76,13 Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Horizon-Dweller (f.) who appears in the horizon (=temple), the Ennead rejoice to see her. The Atenet, she is like the Aten, people rejoice to see her rays, more Hidden One (f.) of manifestation than (that of) the gods and the goddesses, Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet.
East and West Walls, 1st Register, 2nd Scene

D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

Doc 46
D III,
65.6 – 66.3

East Wall, 1st Register, 2nd Scene

Doc 47
D III,
77.2-9

West Wall, 1st Register, 2nd Scene
Doc 46 – East Wall, 1st Register, 2nd Scene: D III, 65,5 – 66,3

<table>
<thead>
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<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **65,5** Releasing the bolt (lit. removing the finger).
Words to say: **65,6** I have undone the earth (clay?)
(seal), I have released the bolt. I am the Heart **65,7** of Ra. | **65,5** sfn dbt dd mdw **65,6** st3.n=i t=d sfh.n=i dbt ink ib **65,7** n Rc |
| **KING** **65,8** King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra,
Image of the Ibis **65,9** who brings the Udjat-Eye to her lord, who places the Shining Eye at the place where it habitually is. | **65,8** nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) | s3 Rc ( ) | snn n Hb **65,9** in wd3.t n nb=s rdi 3h.t r s.t wnn=s |
| **ROYAL RANDZEILE** The Good God lives, Image of Isden, **65,10** who equips the (living) Eye of her lord, who saves **65,10** the Eye of Horus from the one who does it harm, who fills the Udjat-Eye with its parts, who inspects the (bright/clear) Eye, **65,11** who makes the shining/effective Eyes shining/effective, Lord of crowns, King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ) | **BEHIND HIM: 65,11** s3 nh w3s nb h3=f mi Rc d.t |
| **HATHOR** **66,1** Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet,
Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven: I give you the palace (lit. cool place), **66,2** stable (due to) possessing your good deeds, the Horizon of the Two Lords possessing the awe-inspired terror of you. | **66,1** dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb.t lwn.t Ir.t-Rc nb.t p.t d=l=i n=k mnkb **66,2** mn hr nfr.w=k 3h.t-nb.wy hr sfy.t=k |

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1533 Cf. Moret, Culte, 42-43 (pBerlin, III,8).
1534 Cf. Moret, Culte, 42-43 (pBerlin, III,8).
1534 Wb I, 59,16-17; GR: "Heart of Ra," is an epithet of Thoth, as well as of Khonsu. Stadler, Weiser, 18, notes that this epithet seems to allude to the Creation, although not explicitly. Because the heart in Egyptian thought is the seat of intelligence and decision-making, this epithet identifies Thoth with the knowledge and realization of the creator god. See Stadler, Weiser, 376; 380.
1535 The king’s epithet, snn n Hb, "image of the Ibis," refers to Thoth.
1536 Lit., "where it is," i.e. to the place where the Eye should be.
1537 Wb I, 134,9. Isdn is an epithet of Thoth since the end of the NK; originally an independent god, he became (like Isdes) a manifestation of Thoth, attested from NK to GR, determining the lifetime of humans, judging, and giving written and oral instructions. The King can be characterized as the descendent, heir, or "image" of Isden. See Grieshammer, Isden, 184-185; Boylan, Thoth, 201; Bonnet, RÄRG, 326.
1538 sfbk.t or sbk.t, derived from sbk, "to be clear, bright" (Wb IV, 94,13-13; GR; PL 817).
1539 Wb IV, 457,2 – 459,7; PL 1004. sfy.t, "awesomeness; awe-inspired terror, fear, majesty," is regarded as a synonym of Ma’at in Ma’at offerings, due to its representation by the forepart (and thus throat) of the ram, because the word for throat (mr.t) is a close homonym of Ma’at, who was considered the throat of the god through which he obtains air and food, i.e. the sustenance of life. See discussion in 5.1.2. The reference to sfy.t of the King is thus also a subtle allusion to his responsibility in maintaining Ma’at, with the use of his awesome power to do so. Van der Plas, Crue du Nil, 92-93, suggests that mysterium tremendum perhaps best evokes the underlying emotional response to the sfy.t of a god or king.
DIVINE RANDZEILE
The Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Atenet in the temple (or "horizon"), Hidden One (f.) of form from the living, the Great (living) Eye, 66,3 preserved in her shrine, whose brightness is hidden from the Ennead, who shines in the sky daily, Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet.

DIVINE RANDZEILE
nsw.t-bity.t itn.t
ḥnt ḫt.t ḫn(t).t sšm=s r tpy.w-t3
‘nh.t 66,3 wr.t ḫn.t m ḫd=s sšt3.t
mšḥr r psḏ.t psḏ m nn.t m ḫr-hrw
H.t-hr wr.t nb.t ḫwn.t

Doc 47 – West Wall, 1st Register, 2nd Scene: D III, 77,2-9

Green– words for "open"
Orange – words for "shine," "light," etc. (also by allusion)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE</strong></td>
<td>77,2 Revealing (lit. opening) the face of the Golden One (f.) in her noble shrine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td>77,3 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
<td>77,5 The Good God lives, son of He who unites with Ma'at (=Thoth), the Image of the Hereditary Prince of the gods, who unbolts the doors of Iunet in order that the Golden one (f.) shines/appears, who opens the door-leaves of her heaven in order that she goes forth, her Ennead shines during her beautiful festival, Lord of crowns, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ). BEHIND HIM: 77,6 All protection, life, and dominion are behind him like Ra, for d.t-eternity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1540 Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 132, transliterates as ṣḥ3t.
1541 Lit., "Hidden one (f.) of brightness."
1542 Cf. Moret, Culte, 49 (pBerlin, IV,3), described by Moret as "Apparition du dieu à la lumière."
1543 Wb II, 416,5: r-p.t nprw, "hereditary prince of the gods," is a title of the earth god Geb.
1544 Preys (Hathor Protection, 353) defines the Ennead of Hathor at Dendera as the following (listed on the north montant of the Staircase Chamber, D VI, 140,2-6): Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet; Horus of Edfu, the Great God, Lord of Heaven; Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Uraeus of Ra; Harsomtus, the Great God who resides in Iunet; Ihy the Great, son of Hathor; Harasotum the Child, son of Hathor; Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Chief of the Great Seat; Hathor, Lady of Iunet, the Menit; Harsomtus, the Great God, Lord of Khadi; Osiris-Wennefer, justified, the Great God who resides at Iunet; Isis the Great, Mother of the God. Cf. Cauville's "pantheon of Dendera," in n. 794.
HATHOR

77,7 Words to say by Hathor, Lady of Tarer, \(^{1545}\)Eye of Ra, Lady of heaven: **I have opened the light in your chapel.** \(^{77,8}\)I have dispelled the darkness in your sanctuary.

DIVINE RANDZEILE

Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rayt in heaven (lit. She Who Gives Love), Beautiful One (f.) of appearance in the Land of Atum (=Dendera), who shines on the earth like He who shines like gold (=Ra), her rays illuminate the (whole) earth, gods and people live in seeing her, Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet.

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1545 *Tī-rr*, "Tarer," a name of Dendera (Wb V, 226.1; GR). Kockelmann, Toponymen, 65-66 discusses the name, noting that according to Dümichen (Bauurkunde, 30), Iunet and Tarer are the most frequently-used names in the inscriptions of the Temple of Dendera. Because they are used interchangeably, Kockelmann (65) argues against the idea that Tarer is the "profane name" and Iunet is the "theological name" (contra Dümichen, Bauurkunde, 30; Preys, Complexes, 49). Myśliwiec, Atum, 52, suggests that when written as a rebus with serpents, Tarer alludes to *Tī-n-Ītm* ("Land of Atum," another name of Dendera) and Atum's form as a primeval snake. Examples include D III, 57,5, D IV, 232.2, D VIII, 122,13:

1546 It is interesting that Hathor calls the Per-wer Sanctuary "your" (=King's) chapel, rather than "my" chapel.
East and West Walls, 1st Register, 3rd Scene

East Wall, 1st Register, 3rd Scene

West Wall, 1st Register, 3rd Scene

Doc 48
D III, 66,5-67,3

Doc 49
D III, 77,11–78,12

D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO
Doc 48 – East Wall, 1st Register, 3rd Scene: D III, 66,5 – 67,3

### Translation

**TITLE AND FORMULA**

66,5 Seeing the god.\(^{1547}\) Words to say: I have perceived\(^{1548}\) 66,6 the dread\(^{1549}\) of She who shines like gold. I have brightened the dignity of 66,7 her Ka, I have exalted her perfection to the height of heaven, her heart 66,8 rejoices\(^{1550}\) with my utterances (recitations, spells?)

**MA'AT**

66,9 Words to say by Ma'at the great in the Temple of Ma'at, daughter of Ra in the Sanctuary of the Noble Lady. 66,10 How beautiful is your face, Golden One (f.), Lady of Iunet, daughter of Ra in the Sanctuary of the Noble Lady. I pay you homage to the height of heaven, I kiss the ground to the breadth of the earth.

**KING**

66,11 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ), the sacred image 66,12 of the lords of purification, who sees the Golden One (f.) in (a state of) great purity.

**ROYAL RANDZEILE**

The Good God lives, heir of the One who knows the Two Lands,\(^{1551}\) who sees the Golden One (f.) in 66,13 her sacred form,\(^{1552}\) who leads to the palace in great purity, who clothes with his clothes of "seeing the god," who enters in peace, who exits in joy, Lord of Purification, son of Ra 66,14 ( ) BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for d.t.-eternity.

**HATHOR**

67,1 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet,

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\(^{1547}\) Moret, Culte, 55-56 (pBerlin, IV,6).

\(^{1548}\) The word dgi, "to see," also means "to perceive" (Wb V, 497,4 – 498,24; PL 1212), i.e. to become aware of through the senses, thus alluding to the experience of the priest upon opening the shrine of the goddess, described in the text at: D III, 42,12: mAA.n=i Sfy.t n.t Bik-n- nb.t wArx snD.t=f m Ha=i, "I have seen the awe-inspired terror of the Falcon of the Golden One (f.), and the dread of him is flooded in my body."

\(^{1549}\) I.e. the awesome, fear-inducing presence of the goddess.

\(^{1550}\) pxr-ib, lit. "the heart goes around." Wilson (PL 366) notes that comparison with Demotic and Coptic suggests the meaning, "charming of the heart."

\(^{1551}\) Wb I, 184,2: ‘m-tβ*w, "the One who knows the Two Lands," is an epithet of Thoth, alluding to his role as "All-Knowing," a characteristic already apparent in the MK (e.g. CT V, 306a.d.). See also Kurth, Thot, 506; Boylan, Thoth, 103;183.

\(^{1552}\) The word ti.t is written , "image, form" (Wb V, 239,1 – 240,11), rather than , "chapel" (Wb V, 240, 12). Thus, m ti.t=s dsr.t may be read as, "in her sacred form," or (assuming a scribal error in the determinative), "her sacred chapel."
Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, the Noble Primordial One (f.) in Tarer, gods and men live to see her. I cause for you that men are praising the awe-inspired terror of you and women hasten in order to see you.

**DIVINE RANDZEILE**

The Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rayt, daughter of Ra, the Atenet in the circuit of the sun disk, the Beautiful One (f.) who appears in Netjer (=Dendera) among her Ennead, everyone lives in seeing her. One rises early in the morning in order to adore her every single day, Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra.

---

1553 *T3-rr*, "Tarer," a name of Dendera (Wb V, 226,1; GR). Kockelmann, Toponymen, 65-66, discusses the name, noting that according to Dümichen (Bauerkunde, 30), Iunet and Tarer are the most frequently-used names in the inscriptions of the Temple of Dendera. Because they are used interchangeably, Kockelmann (65) argues against the idea that Tarer is the "profane name" and Iunet is the "theological name" (contra Dümichen, Bauerkunde, 30; Preys, Complexes, 49). Myśliwiec, Atum, 52, suggests that when written as a rebus with serpents, Tarer alludes to *&-An-Itm* ("Land of Atum," another name of Dendera) and Atum's form as a primeval snake. Examples include D III, 57,5, D IV, 232,2, D VIII, 122,13. 

1554 Wb IV, 457,2 – 459,7; PL 1004. *Sfy.t,* "awesomeness; awe-inspired terror, fear, majesty," is regarded as a synonym of Ma'at in Ma'at offerings, due to its representation by the forepart (and thus throat) of the ram, because the word for throat (*mr.t*) is a close homonym of Ma'at, who was considered the throat of the god through which he obtains air and food, i.e. the sustenance of life. See discussion in 5.1.2. The reference to *Sfy.t* of the King is thus also a subtle allusion to his responsibility in maintaining Ma'at, with the use of his awesome power to do so. Van der Plas, Crue du Nil, 92-93, suggests that *mysterium tremendum* perhaps best evokes the underlying emotional response to the *Sfy.t* of a god or king.
### Translation

**TITLE AND FORMULA**

77,11 Adoring the god. Words to say: I have paid homage 77,12 to your (f.) face, my mouth possessing the prayers, my heart possessing 78,1 your (magical) utterances. I have adored your Incarnation, I have exalted your beauty/goodness, 78,2 I make your Bas greater than (those of) the gods and goddesses.

**MA’AT**

78,3 Words to say by Ma’at the great, daughter of Ra in the Place of Ra, the gods and men live to see her. 78,4 How beautiful is your face, daughter of Ra in the Sanctuary of Ra, Noble Lady in the Sanctuary of the Noble Lady, my arms are in adoration before your beautiful face, I praise your Incarnation with what you love.

**KING**

78,5 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ), Ihy-w’ab, Effective One 78,6 of mouth, who reads (aloud) the festival book, Sweet one of tongue in reciting the (hymns of) praise.

**ROYAL RANDZEILE**

The Good God lives, Equal of Isden, Exact one of speech, Complete one 78,7 of craft, who exalts the perfection of the Golden One (f.), Lady of Iunet, who "praises the god" for the One (f.) who shines like gold, who praises the Ka of his mother in all of her names, the Lord of crowns, son of Ra ( ), 78,8 BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for d.t-eternity.

**HATHOR**

78,9 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods. The gods and goddesses praise her for the greatness of her Ba-power. I cause for you that the p.t-people are praising your Incarnation and the rhy.t-people are thanking the god for you.

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### Transliteration

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<td>77,11 <em>dwA nTr Dd mdw</em> HfA.n=i</td>
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<td><strong>MA’AT</strong></td>
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<td>78,9 *dwA nTr Dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Twn.t Tr.t Rc nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w dw3 sy nfr.w nfr.wt n wr n 78,10 b3w=s di=i n=k p.t hr sw3š n †hm=k rhy.t (hr) dw3 n=k ntr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1555 Cf. Moret, Culte, 67-68 (pBerlin, V, 3).
1556 Wb I, 134,9. *Isden is an epithet of Thoth since the end of the NK: originally an independent god, he became (like Isdes) a manifestation of Thoth, attested from NK to GR, determining the lifetime of humans, judging, and giving written and oral instructions. The King can be characterized as the descendent, heir, or "image" of Isden. See Grieshammer, Isden, 184-185; Boylan, Thoth, 201; Bonnet, RÄRG, 326.
1557 Gutbub, Hathor, 341-342, notes that a similar epithet, *nfr.t m rn.w=s nb.w*, "the beautiful one in all of her names," is an epithet of Isis.
The Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seshat, the Primordial One (f.) who invented writing, Lady of writing, Female Ruler of scrolls, Noble and Powerful Lady, without another except for her, the Atenet who shines in the sky. What goes forth from her mouth comes into being at once, Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet.

1558 Assimilated with Seshat, Hathor takes on the role of Thoth’s partner. See Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, 69; Budde, Seschat, 11 and n. 64. See also Klotz, Kneph, 160, who notes that as the partner of Khonsu and Khonsu-Thoth at Thebes, “Hathor within the Benenet” was also partially or directly assimilated with the goddess Seshat. See also Dargardin in Luft’s The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt, 104-112. This epithet of Hathor appears at Edfu (E II, 99,7; 100,14), as well as at Qasr el-Ghueita in the el-Kharga Oasis. See Klotz, Kneph, 158-159 n. 661.

1559 Wb IV, 106,11 – 107,6; OK. The term, sphr, “to write, inscribe,” in GR refers to a variety of different types of inscriptions. Wilson, PL 830, notes that sphr is most often accomplished by gods, such as Thoth or Seshat, who are associated with writing. In the present text, in which Hathor is assimilated to Seshat, she is characterized as the inventor of writing (a feat usually attributed to Thoth).

1560 Wb III, 475,6 – 476,15; PT; also transliterated as sl. This word seems to have a more restricted context than sphr (discussed in the previous footnote), referring to the writing of texts on papyrus, wooden boards, or temple walls (PL 920).
7.5 South Wall of Per-wer

South Wall, 3rd Register

Doc 50
D III 73,16 – 74,7

Doc 51
D III 85,12 – 86,4

D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

South Wall, 3rd Register, East Side
Mariette D II, pl. 67a

South Wall, 3rd Register, West Side
D III, pl. 190
Doc 50 – South Wall, 3rd Register, East Side: D III, 73,16 – 74,7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong>&lt;br&gt;73,16 Presenting the mirror to his mother, the Powerful one (/&gt;.</td>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong>&lt;br&gt;73,16 sfḥr wn.(t)-hr n mw.t=f wsr.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong>&lt;br&gt;73,17 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt (.), son of Ra (/&gt;.</td>
<td><strong>KING</strong>&lt;br&gt;73,17 nsw.t-bi.ty (.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong>&lt;br&gt;Words to say: I have come before you, Atenet, Lady of the Horizon, Noble and Gentle Lady of the Heart of Ra, I bring to you the mirror that Henu fashioned, created by his own hands, for you are the Great one (f.), Lady of the Uraei, Luminous one (f.) of rays like her father. BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and power are behind him, like Ra, for d.t.-eternity.</td>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong>&lt;br&gt;dd mdw ii.n=f 74,1 ḫr=t ḫtn.t nb.t 3h.t šps.t im3.t ḫb n Rε ḫn (=i) n=t ṣnh nb.i nb.w ḫnw km3 m ḫwy=f(y) ḫs=f tw=t wr.t nb.t ḫr.wt, 74,2 šḤp(t) stw.t mi ḫi=s BEHIND HIM: sĮ ṣnh ḫs nb ḫ=t=f mi Rε d.t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1561 The term wn.hr, frequently used in mirror-offering texts of the Graeco-Roman period, first appears during the Saite Period, where it is found on the base of a 26th dynasty statue of a woman, found at Mendes (Husson, Miroir, 37 n. 200, citing Piehl, Mendès, 27-31). Husson (37) notes that one ideogram of a mirror (used here) can be transliterated as either wn.hr or wt.hr; two ideograms as wn.wy.hr or wn.ty.hr, transliterating with the t only when it appears in the hieroglyphs. I have chosen to transliterate it here as wn.t.hr (placing the t in parenthesis if the t-loaf does not appear in the writing. This choice follows Wb. I, 313, and is supported by the fuller writing in the parallel mirror-offering scene (Doc 51: D III, 86,3).  

1562 Reading the sḏm.n=f here as perfect, following Kurth, EP II, §236, contra its translation as an emphatic relative clause (compare Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 145).  

1563 The ḫtn.t (Atenet) is the female Aten, or sun disk, an epithet of Hathor in her role as the Right Eye of the sun god Ra. The word, ḫtn.t, is also another word for mirror, which is itself a symbol of the sun. See Husson, Miroir, 38; Bénédicte, Miroirs, iv; PL 121. The use of this epithet thus creates a link between the offering and its divine recipient.  

1564 Wb I, 59,16-17; GR: ḫb n Rε, “Heart of Ra,” is an epithet of Thoth, as well as of Khonsu. Stadler, Weiser, 18, notes that this epithet seems to allude to the Creation, although not explicitly. Because the heart in Egyptian thought is the seat of intelligence and decision-making, this epithet identifies Thoth with the knowledge and realization of the creator god. See also Stadler, Weiser, 376; 380.  

1565 The term ṣnh for mirror is attested since the Old Kingdom, where it is called ṣnh m3 hr (“miroir, vision du visage”) in a mastaba from the reign of Pepi II (Husson, Miroir, 35 n. 178, citing Jéquier, Saqqara, 51, fig. 55).  

1566 Henu is “a craftsman aspect of Sokar comparable to Pḥḥ” (PL 160), as well as the personification of the god Sokar himself (PL 652). As early as the PT (§620b-c), Henu can be represented ideographically by Sokar’s ḫnw-barque,” (P61B) (LLG 159-160), as in this scene, with or without phonetic complements, and with or without an additional seated-god determinative. A text in the 19th Dynasty tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50) equates Henu with Sokar: ḫd.tw r=s st.n=f Skr. dl-k ḫnw hr m=f ḫhr=f, ḫhr=k nb.w ḫnw ḫm=f. “One says concerning you: ‘He has drawn the Sokar barque.’ You have placed Henu on his sledge; you have circled the walls in his following,” in M. Lichtheim, “The Songs of the Harpers,” JNES 4 no. 3 (1945): 178-212, pl. I, line 6, from left rear wall of hall). References to Henu in Ptolemaic temples frequently occur in the context of offering the mirror(s), which he is said to create (D III, 17,7; 74,1; 151,14; 192,13); he fulfills this function at Kom Ombo (KO 492), as noted by Husson, Miroir, 206. The king is also called the child (D III, 142, 1-2) or son (D III, 142,2) of Henu, or engendered (D III 192,16) by Henu. See also Aufrère, L’univers minéral, 1991; P. Munro, ZÂS 95 (1969): 92-109; Piehl, RecTrav 3 (1882): 28.
HATHOR
74,3 I cause (that) everyone rejoices in seeing you, and (that) the love of you goes about in (their) hearts. Hathor. Bronze plated in gold, 74,4 throne in gold, her limbs in gold.

NAOS
74,5 Cedar, height: 3 cubits, 1 palm; width: 1 cubit, 3 palms; depth: 2 palms.

DIVINE RANDZEILE
74,6 Words to say: Welcome in peace, Good God, Beautiful One of face, Good Ruler upon the throne dais. I have received the mirror that was on your hand. 74,7 Its light unites with (i.e. reflects) my body. I give you your (whole, uninjured, divine) Eyes, (being) effective in their place. I make clean (or "protect") your body from evil. 1567

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Doc 51 – South Wall, 3rd Register, West Side: D III, 85,12 – 86,4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| TITLE AND FORMULA  
85,12 Presenting the mirror1568 to his mother, the Powerful one (f.).  
KING  
85,13 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ).  
ROYAL RANDZEILE  
Words to say: I have come1569 85,14 before you, Atenei.1570 Lady of the Horizon, Noble and Gentle Lady of | TITLE AND FORMULA  
85,12 si$t r wn.t-hr n mw.t=f  
wsr.t  
KING  
85,13 nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) | s3 Rc ( )  
ROYAL RANDZEILE  
dd mdw it.n=t 85,14 hr=t Ttn.t nb(t) 3h.t $ps.t im$3(t)i ib n Rc |

1567 Literally, “I make clean your body from evil.” Interestingly, sbk (“protect/make clean”) may be related to the word sbk.t “eye” (the “clean” Eye, as opposed to the “whole” Eye, wd$t). Note that the word used for “Egypt” in the 3rd Register of the west wall is bkt, spelled with the wdl.t-sign.

1568 The term wn.t-hr, frequently used in mirror-offering texts of the Graeco-Roman period, first appears during the Saite Period, where it is found on the base of a 26th dynasty statue of a woman, found at Mendes (Husson, Miroir, 37 n. 200, citing Piehl, Mendès, 27-31). Husson notes that the indeogram of a mirror (used here) can be transliterated as either wn-hr or wn.t-hr; two ideograms as wn.wy.hr or wn.ty.hr, transliterating with the t only when it appears in the hieroglyphs. I have chosen to transliterate it here as wn.t-hr, following Wb. I, 313, and as well as the fuller writing in the parallel mirror-offering scene in the Per-Wei, located in the 3rd register at the west side of the south wall, at D III, 86,3, whose fuller writing of the word does include the t-loaf (contra Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 406, who renders it wn-hr).


1570 The it.n.t (Atenet) is the female Aten, or sun disk, an epithet of Hathor in her role as the Right Eye of the sun god Ra. itn is another word for mirror, which is itself a symbol of the sun, whose often elliptical appearance is copied in the shape of the mirror’s disk. See Husson, Miroir, 38; Bénédicte, Miroirs, iv; Wilson, PL 121. The use of this epithet thus creates a link between the offering and its divine recipient.
the Heart of Ra, I bring to you the mirror\textsuperscript{1571} that Henu fashioned,\textsuperscript{1572} created by his own hands, for you are the Great One (f.), Lady 85,15 of the Uraei, Luminous one (f.) of rays like Ra. BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for $d.t$-eternity.

**HATHOR** 86,1 I place the love of you in the hearts of men. Women rejoice to see you. Hathor, Lady of Iunet. Gold. (Scepters of) life 86,2 and dominion in gold and every fine stone. Height: 6 palms.

**DIVINE RANDZEILE** 86,3 Words to say: Welcome in peace, Image of the Luminous one,\textsuperscript{1573} Child of the Moon. I have received the mirror from the hand of your Incarnation. I see the 86,4 beauties of my body. I give you the Two (healthy) Eyes, (being) firm in their place, complete, (there being) no lessening in them.

---

\textsuperscript{1571} The term ʾ$n$h for mirror is attested since the Old Kingdom, where it is called ʾ$n$h m$3$ hr (“miroir, vision du visage”) in a mastaba from the reign of Pepi II (Husson, Miroir, 35 n. 178, citing Jéquier, Saqqara, 51, fig. 55.

\textsuperscript{1572} According to LGG, 159-160, Ḥnw is the personified Sokar barque, often written ideographically, as it is here, (P61B); it can also signify the god Sokar himself (PL 652). At Dendra, the king is called the son of Henu (in Room L, the $h$-mnit, D III, 142,2). At Dendera, references to Henu frequently occur in offerings of the mirror, which he is said to create (D III, 17,7; 74,1; 141,12, 142,1; 151,14; 192,13; 192,16); he also fulfills this function at Kom Ombo (KO 492). See also Husson, Miroir, 206.

\textsuperscript{1573} $I$h$w$ is sunlight, personified as the sun god Ra (Wb I, 33,4; PL 34).
South Wall, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Register

Doc 52
D III, 71,3-12

Doc 53
D III, 82,14 – 83,8

D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

South Wall, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Register, East Side

South Wall, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Register, West Side
### Translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></th>
<th><strong>Transliteration</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71,3 Offering cloth to his mother, the Powerful One (f.).</td>
<td><strong>TITLE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71,4 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor: Playing the sistrum for his mother.</td>
<td><strong>IHY</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71,5 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt 71,6 ( ) is upon his throne, illuminating the body with the nine-strand linen, clothing his mistress, covering her body, giving 71,7 the bright cloth to Rayt, for he is the one who conceals, excellent in his duty, tying on his mistress the bright white cloth. BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and power are behind him, like Ra, for d.t-eternity. ABOVE HIM: Nekhbet, the White one (f.) of Nekhen.</td>
<td>**71,6 mnw.t-bi.ty ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HATHOR</strong></td>
<td><strong>HATHOR</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71,9 Words spoken by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, Ma’at the Great, who is equipped with ornaments. Bright one (f.) 71,10 of appearance in the Sanctuary of Wadjet, the Lovely and Beautiful One (f.), who makes excellent the cloth, the Atenet, Lady of Suns, the Noble and Powerful Lady, without another except for her, the Atenet 71,11 who brightens the Two Lands with her rays of light.</td>
<td><strong>71,9 dd mdy w H.t-hr wr.t</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIVINE RANDZEILE</td>
<td>DIVINE RANDZEILE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She who shines like gold shines in Iunet as the &lt;Noble Lady&gt; in the Sanctuary of the Noble Lady, 71,12 protecting the one who created her, driving away her enemies, inspiring terror of her among the gods, for she is the Lady of Joy, Mistress and Lady of Clothing, Lady of Ma'at, the Bright One (f.) of ornaments.</td>
<td><strong>71,12 mk.t km3 sy hr dr hfr.twy=s hr rdi.t</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1574 The word play in this line is discussed in Section 2.4.
1575 This statement refers to the concealing of Hathor's body (i.e. her statue) with the cloth.
1576 Kockelmann, Toponymen, 100-101 (citing Gauthier, DG II, 64-65) notes that due to Hathor's identification with Wadjet, who is also a daughter of Ra, Dendera can be designated "the House of Wadjet."
1577 Error noted by Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 140-141. The signs in Chassinat D III, 71,11 are ꜗꜗꜗ, which do not make sense here.
Doc 53 – South Wall, 2nd Register, West Side: D III, 82,14 – 83,8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **82,14** Preparing the unguent. Words to say: Take for yourself **82,15** the myrrh prepared by Shesmu,\(^{1578}\) your nose is flooded with its fragrance. | **82,14** ḫrt, t mḏ.t dd mdw m-n=t  
82,15 ³ntyw nwd n Šsmw wrḥḥ  
fnḏ= t m **82,16** ḫmn=f  
**KING**  
82,17 nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) | s3 RČ ( ) |
| **82,17** King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ). | **ROYAL RANDZEILE**  
wnn nsw.t-bi.ty **83,1** ( ) | hṛ brḥw=f m pr wr ṭwḥ  ṭwr  ḫḥ:r bḥ-nṯr ḫr sḏm ib ḫr sḏm r ṭt ḡr rdi.t  
ḫd.t-nṯr n ḫr.t-pw smi **83,2** Šsmw  
**BEHIND HIM:** is in ḫr.Hr ṭp m ird.w=s  
**ABOVE HIM:** **83,3** Bḥḏ.ty nṯr ³矿山 p t  
**IHY**  
83,4 ḫḥy s3 ḫ.H+t-ḥr ḫrt, t sšš.t n mw.t=f ṭwr.t  
83,4 ḫḥy s3 ḫ.H+t-ḥr ḫrt, t sšš.t n mw.t=f ṭwr.t  
83,4 ḫḥy s3 ḫ.H+t-ḥr ḫrt, t sšš.t n mw.t=f ṭwr.t  
**HATHOR**  
83,5 Words spoken by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, Noble and Great Lady, Mistress of the God’s Land (=Dendera), **83,6** who follows her heart in the Valley of Myrrh. Pleasant One (f.) of perfume, Sweet One (f.) of Love, she unites with the fragrance in her chapel. **83,7** Ma’at the Great, Bright One (f.) of appearance, the Atenet, who shoots forth rays like her father Ra. |  
**83,5** dd mdw in ḫ.H+t-ḥr wr.t ṭb.t  
Twn.t ḫr.t-RČ nb.t p t ḫnwt nṯr ṭwr nb.w ṣḥps.t ṭwr.t ḫnwt t bḥ-nṯr **83,6**  
ṣḥms ib=s m ṭb.t ³ntyw nḏm ṭṣi  
bwr.t ḫnwt hnm=s 3bḥ m ḫd=s  
MČ.t ṭwr t **83,7** ṭḥn.t ḫn ṭwr.t ṭbd st ṭwr mi ṭr=s  
**DIVINE RANDZEILE**  
The Eye of Ra, who shines in heaven, illuminating the sky and the land with her beauty,\(^{1580}\) **83,8** giving joy, dispelling sadness, protecting her father from the enemy, | **DIVINE RANDZEILE**  
wnn ḫr.t-RČ psḏ m ḫr.t ḫr ṭṣḥ p ṭt t  
m nfrw=s ḫr **83,8** rdi.t ṭw-ib ḫr  
ɾw.t ḫh-w ib ḫr nḏ ṭr=s m-Č sḫi  

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\(^{1578}\) Wb IV, 537,14 – 538,6. Shesmu is attested since PT as a god of wine and oils; his name is usually represented by the ideogram of a wine press, ḫḥ=S (Aa23L), as in the present text. From the 19th Dynasty through GR, he is also characterized as god of unguents and perfumes, carrying the title nb ḫswy, “Lord of the Laboratory” (E IV, 200,5) and also associated with embalming. In his more fearsome aspect, he is a guardian deity who strikes down rebels (Junker, Stundenwachen, 124 no. 5, in the 12th Hour of the Night); he can be depicted as a lion (Ciccarello, Shesmu, 48). This leonine association agrees well with the King’s epithet of “Great Lion” in the previous line (D III, 83,1). See Ciccarello, Shesmu, 43-54; Helck, Schesemun, 590-591.

\(^{1579}\) Wb IV, 130,15 – 131,10. ṭm r’h, “to clothe,” can also include “clothing the body with oil” (E 187,18-19), as well as meaning “to make happy” (E I, 116,4, cited by Wilson, PL, 845). Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 157, translates the phrase, ḫr sḏm r ṭd.t, as “en train d’adoucir l’odeur.”

\(^{1580}\) Alternatively, nfr.w, “good things.”
for she is the Female Falcon, the Dappled One (f.) of Plumage, Behdetyt,\textsuperscript{1581} Lady of Punt.

\textit{sym bik.t n\textsuperscript{tr}y.t s\textsuperscript{3}b.t \textsuperscript{t}sw.t B\textsuperscript{h\textsuperscript{d}.t.y.t nb.t Pwn.t}}

\textsuperscript{1581} \textit{Bhd.ty.t}, the feminine form of "Behdety," means "She (who comes) from Behdet." Together with "Female falcon," and "Dappled one (f.) of plumage," these epithets equating Hathor with the female counterpart of Horus Behdety connect well with his image as a falcon, flying protectively over the head of the King.
Doc 54 – South Wall, 1st Register, East Side: D III, 67,6 – 68,7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67,6 Offering Ma'at. Take for yourself Ma'at, 67,7 Ma'at is your (f.) name, it is Ma'at, that one calls your (f.) Incarnation, it is the <strong>throat</strong>, I have presented (it) 67,8 to your face. She is not far from you every day.</td>
<td>67,6 <em>hk m̀₃.t</em> <em>m-n=t</em> 67,7 <em>m̀₃.t</em> <em>M̀₃.t</em> <em>r=t</em> 67,7 <em>m̀₃.t</em> <em>M̀₃.t</em> <em>pwa</em> 67,7 <em>k₃.tw r hmt.t=t</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA'AT</td>
<td>MR.T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHY</td>
<td>IHY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67,9 Words to say by Ihy the Great, son of Hathor, the child, one rejoices to see him. I have played 67,10 the <strong>sistrum</strong> before your beautiful face, Ma'at the Great in the Temple of the Sistrum (=Dendera).</td>
<td>67,9 <em>dd mdw</em> <em>In</em>Ihy <em>wr</em> <em>s3 H.t-hr hy</em> <em>hntš.tw</em> <em>n m̀₃=t f</em> <em>ir.n=i</em> 67,10 <em>sS₃.t</em> <em>m</em> <em>hr=t</em> <em>nfr</em> <em>M̀₃.t</em> <em>wr.t</em> <em>hnt</em> <em>H.t</em> <em>sS₃.t</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67,11 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( )</td>
<td>son of Ra, Sacred Image of the Heart 67,12 of Ra, who lifts up (i.e. offers) Ma'at to the Lady of Ma'at.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROYAL RANDZEILE</td>
<td>ROYAL RANDZEILE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Good God lives, 1583 the Equal of Isden, 1584 Eldest son of the One who knows the Two Lands, 1585 Excellent judge 67,13 without being partial (lit. upon a side), who establishes laws like the Foremost One of Heseret, 1586 who does Ma'at (lit. the semen of the bull), 1587 who</td>
<td>5<em>nh nfr nfr sn.nw n Isdn s3 smsw n 5m-3.t</em> <em>wy</em> <em>wpw</em> <em>lkr</em> 67,13 <em>n rdI.t hr gs smn</em> <em>hp.w</em> <em>mi</em> <em>Hnty-Hsr.t</em> <em>ir mtw.t-k₃</em> <em>sk₃</em> (? )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5<em>nh nfr nfr sn.nw n Isdn s3 smsw n 5m-3.t</em> <em>wy</em> <em>wpw</em> <em>lkr</em> 67,13 <em>n rdI.t hr gs smn</em> <em>hp.w</em> <em>mi</em> <em>Hnty-Hsr.t</em> <em>ir mtw.t-k₃</em> <em>sk₃</em> (? )</td>
<td><em>nfr.w nw</em> <em>T₃-mry</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NB</strong></td>
<td><strong>NB</strong></td>
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</table>

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1582 Considered as the sustenance upon which the gods live, Ma'at could thus be regarded as the throat of the god by which air and food were given to him (PL 445). The songstress Meret, attested as early as the OK, presides over music and singing at rituals (Wb II, 107,2-6); her name can also mean "singer" and "throat," and by extrapolation, "Ma'at." Wilson (PL 445) notes that because the three concepts (singer, throat, and Ma'at) may have sounded the same in pronunciation, they would have created an effective pun: "...they seem to be interchangeable and are more powerful because one word incorporates the aspects of the other two." For more discussion on Ma'at and Meret as the throat of the sun god, see Guggiellini, Göttin Mr.t, 105-148; Lefebvre, Tableau, 22; Blackman and Fairman, Façade of Edfu, 397-428, esp. 420; also Berlandini, Meret, 80-88.

1583 The standard phrase, "nḥ nfr nfr, although grammatically a subjunctive and often translated as "May the good god live," is, however, a performative statement, and therefore carrying no uncertainty. A better translation is "The good god lives," as suggested by Prof. Jacco Dieleman, private communication, October 12, 2011.

1584 Wb I, 134,9. *Isdn* is an epithet of Thoth since the end of the NK; originally an independent god, he became (like Isdes) a manifestation of Thoth, attested from NK to GR, determining the lifetime of humans, judging, and giving written and oral instructions. The King can be characterized as the descendent, heir, or "image" of Isden. See Grieshammer, Isden, 184-185; Boylan, Thoth, 201; Bonnet, RÄRG, 326.

1585 Wb I, 184,2: "m-3.t*wy, "the One who knows the Two Lands," is an epithet of Thoth, alluding to his role as "All-Knowing," a characteristic already apparent in the MK (e.g. CT V, 306a.). See also Kurth, Thot, 506; Boylan, Thoth, 103;183.

1586 *Hnty-Hsr.t*. "Foremost One of Heseret," is an epithet of Thoth, *Hsr.t* being the necropolis at Hermopolis, the cult center of Thoth (Wb III, 168,12: *Hsr.t* is attested since MK). Stadler, Weiser, 17, suggests that this epithet, which occurs frequently in Ma'at-offering scenes, stresses the legislative aspect of Thoth's office and his impartiality in making decisions.

1587 Ma'at is equated with *mtw.t-k₃*, "semen of the bull," *pr.t im=f bnhm(t) hnr=f m sp-tpty*, "who came forth from him and sprung up together with him at the First Time." See Mendel, Kosmogonische Inschriften, pl. 8, col. 48; 85-86.
exalts the beauties of Ta-mery,\textsuperscript{1588} the Lord of Ma'at, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ). BEHIND HIM: 67,14 All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for \emph{d.t}-eternity.

HATHOR 68,1 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of heaven, Mistress of all the goods, Ma'at the Great 68,2 daughter of Ra, Mistress of the Goddesses, Noble and Powerful Lady in the Temple of the Sistrum, Ipyt,\textsuperscript{1589} Lady of the Per-wer, equipped with her regalia, Bright One (f.) of face among the Ennead, \textsuperscript{68,3} the Very Beautiful One (f.) among the goddesses, the Atenet who fills the earth with gold dust,\textsuperscript{1590} I place Ma'at for you in your heart, in order to do it (=what is right)\textsuperscript{1591} for the gods for \emph{d.t}-eternity.

HORUS OF EDFU 68,4 Words to say by Horus Behdety, the Great God, Lord of heaven, the Dappled One of Plumage, who goes forth from the horizon, the Divine God in the Land \textsuperscript{68,5} of Atum, the Falcon satisfied with [Ma'at].\textsuperscript{*} I give you Ma'at united with the land, without falsehood coming into being during your years (of reign).

DIVINE RANDZEILE 68,6 The Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Golden one (f.), Lady of Iunet, Ma'at the Great in the Temple of the Sistrum. She is the Primordial Goddess, there is no equal to her, no god is equal to her, \textsuperscript{68,7} Noble Lady, satisfied with Ma'at (lit. the semen of the bull), Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet.

BEHIND HIM: 67,14 \emph{s3 \textasciitilde{\textnormal{nh}}} \textsuperscript{w} \textit{nb h\textasciitilde{\textnormal{t}}} = f m \textit{R\textasciitilde{\textnormal{t}}} \textit{d.t}

HATHOR 68,1 \emph{dd mdw in H.t-\textit{hr} wr.t nb.t 'twn.t \textit{lr.t-R\textasciitilde{\textnormal{t}}} nb.t p.t \textit{hmw.t ntr.w nb.w M\textnormal{3}\textit{t} wr.t 68,2 \textit{s3 t R\textasciitilde{\textnormal{t}}} hnm.w ntr.w \textit{spz.t wsr.t 'nt h.t-s\textasciitilde{\textnormal{t}}.t 'tpy.t nb.t Pr-\textit{wr} \textit{pr.t hkr.w thn.t \textit{hr}} \textit{hnt Psd.t 68,3 \textit{nt nfr.t imy-tw ntr.w 'lm.t mh t' m nkr nbw d\textasciitilde{\textnormal{i}} = i n = k m3.t m ib = k r \textit{ir.t} = s n ntr.w d.t}

HORUS OF EDFU 68,4 \emph{dd in Hr Bh\textit{d.ty ntr \textasciitilde{\textnormal{3}}} nb.p.t s3 b \textit{sw.t pr m 3h.t ntr ntrry m t'}} \textsuperscript{68,5} n 'tmw \textit{sb.ty htp hr [m3.t]} \textsuperscript{*} \textit{d\textasciitilde{\textnormal{i}} = i n = k m3.t hnm.ti m t', n hpr grg m rnp.wt = k}

DIVINE RANDZEILE 68,6 \textit{nswy.t-bi.ty.\textit{t Nbw.t nb.t 'twn.t M\textnormal{3}\textit{t} wr.t hnt h.t-s\textasciitilde{\textnormal{t}}.t \textit{s3.t pw n wn tw.t.n = s n ntr m sn.t r = s 68,7 \textit{spz.t htp hr mtw.t-k3 H.t-\textit{hr} wr.t nb.t 'twn.t}}}

\textsuperscript{1588} Lit. “the beloved land,” referring to Egypt.
\textsuperscript{1589} Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 360, identifies \textit{Ipy.t} with Wadjet, Lady of Pe; her name is determined by a rearing cobra. Hathor is also equated with her in D III, 95,4; 95,17.
\textsuperscript{1590} Allusion to the "spreading the gold dust," a ceremony attested in the calendar texts of the Ptolemaic gate in the Mut Temple precinct at Karnak. Dedicated to Mut and Hathor as guarantors of the annual agricultural cycle, it took place on the first day of the month of Epiphi, near the end of the agricultural year and just before the harvest. The fields were made green and glittering with a mixture of green \textit{hmw}-powder and gold dust. See Goyon, Répandre l'or, 85-100.
\textsuperscript{1591} Wb II, 20, 3-4; Cauville Dend Trad III, p. 137, translates, "afin de l'exercer pour les dieux éternellement."
### Translation

#### TITLE AND FORMULA

| 78,15 | To offer Ma'at. Words to say: Take for yourself Ma'at, 79,1 Ma'at in Iunet (=Dendera), awe-inspired terror (Ma'at) belongs to your Ka in your chapel. You judge this land in rectitude (=Ma'at). You collect the tribute from the four corners of heaven. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 79,1 | Ma'at in Iunet (=Dendera), awe-inspired terror (=Ma'at) belongs to your Ka in your chapel. You judge this land in rectitude (=Ma'at). You collect the tribute from the four corners of heaven. |

#### HARSOMTUS THE CHILD

| 79,3 | Words to say by Harsomtus the Child, son of Hat hor, Beautiful child of the Golden One (f.). I have played the sistrum in front of your beautiful head, in order to satisfy your Ka with the ritual of your Majesty. |
| 79,4 | Words to say by Harsomtus the Child, son of Hat hor, Beautiful child of the Golden One (f.). I have played the sistrum in front of your beautiful head, in order to satisfy your Ka with the ritual of your Majesty. |

#### KING

| 79,5 | The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ), heir of the Baboon, engendered by the Judge, the Living flesh (i.e. son and successor) of the One who knows the Two Lands. |
| 79,6 | The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ), heir of the Baboon, engendered by the Judge, the Living flesh (i.e. son and successor) of the One who knows the Two Lands. |

#### ROYAL RANDZEILE

| 79,7 | The Good God lives, son of the Lord of Hermopolis, Excellent heir of the Judge of the combatants, the Overseer of the city who is impartial and devoid of wavering, who triumphs over inequity, who increases awe-inspired terror (=Ma'at), the Lord of |
| 79,8 | The Good God lives, son of the Lord of Hermopolis, Excellent heir of the Judge of the combatants, the Overseer of the city who is impartial and devoid of wavering, who triumphs over inequity, who increases awe-inspired terror (=Ma'at), the Lord of |

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1592 Wb IV, 457.2 – 459.7; PL 1004. ṣfy:t, "awesomeness; awe-inspired terror, fear, majesty," is regarded as a synonym of Ma'at in Ma'at offerings, due to its representation by the forepart (and thus throat) of the ram, because the word for throat (mr.t) is a close homonym of Ma'at, who was considered the throat of the god through which he obtains air and food, i.e. the sustenance of life. See discussion in 5.1.2. The reference to ṣfy:t of the King is thus also a subtle allusion to his responsibility in maintaining Ma'at, with the use of his awesome power to do so. Van der Plas, Crue du Nile, 92-93, suggests that mysterium tremendum perhaps best evokes the underlying emotional response to the ṣfy:t of a god or king.

1593 Lit. "divide, separate," as in separating ma'at from isfet (wrongdoing) in the land.

1594 The baboon is a frequent manifestation of Thoth, the god of wisdom (Kurth, Thoth, 511). Thoth as a baboon became an object of popular veneration, e.g., the 18th Dynasty steatite statue of a scribe writing at the feet of the god Thoth in the form of a baboon wearing a lunar disk on his head, from Amarna, now in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 59291, depicted in Wilkinson, Gods and Goddesses, 217.

1595 Stadler, Weiser, 333-334, notes the role of Thoth as judge and lawyer, who helps the deceased gain justice and always maintains a sense of fairness. Thoth is not the only god who is a judge; he exercises this role alongside other judiciary divinities, e.g. in the conflict between Horus and Seth.

1596 Wb I, 184.2: 'm-t3, wy, "the One who knows the Two Lands," is an epithet of Thoth, alluding to his role as "All-Knowing," a characteristic already apparent in the MK (e.g. CT V, 306a.d.); See also Kurth, Thoth, 506; Boylan, Thoth, 103;183.

1597 Hermopolis is the cult center of Thoth.

1598 Horus and Seth are the "combatants"; the Judge is Thoth.

1599 Lit. "not giving to a side."

1600 Lit. "taking and bringing."

1601 See footnote on ṣfy:t in previous line, D III, 79,1.
Ma'at, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ),

BEHIND HIM: 79,8 All protection, life, and dominion are behind him like Ra, for ḏ.t-eternity.

ISIS
79,9 Words to say by Isis the Great, Mother of the god, Lady of Iatdi, who resides in Iunet, the Female Sovereign of the circuit of the Aten, 79,10 who is born in Iunet in the night of the child in his nest, the Female ruler who is satisfied with Ma'at, the Noble and Powerful Lady in the Palace of the Noble Lady, 79,11 who decrees words to the gods and the goddesses. I give you this land, united with life, every mouth equipped with Ma'at.

HARSOMTUS
79,12 Words to say by Harsomtus, Lord of Khadi, the Great God who resides in Iunet, the Divine Falcon on his serekh, 79,13 Lord of nḥḥ-eternity, who lives in Ma'at.

DIVINE RANDZEILE
I cause for you that people (lit. faces) rejoice (ḥngg) to see you and that the Two Lands rejoice (nhm) for you. 79,14 The Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Female sovereign of the sovereigns, the Female Ruler who rules the four corners of heaven, the Noble and Powerful Lady, Mistress of the Goddesses, who does good things in the circuit of the Aten, the Bright one (f.) of face, 79,15 satisfied with Ma'at, Isis the Great, Mother of the God.

R° ḏ.t

ISIS
79,9 dd in ḏ.t wr.t mw.t nṯr nb.t ṭ3.t-dt ḫry.t-ib ḡnw.t ić.t m ṣḥ n n ṭm 79,10 p$p° mقوانين t mw ḡn m ṣḥ=ḫ ḫt.t ḫḥ hr ḡnṣ.t ṣps.t wrṣ.t ḫnty.t ḥ$-ṣps.t 79,11 wd mdw n nṯr.w nṯr.wt ḏ=i n=k ṭ3 pn ḫḥm.ti m ṣḥ r ṭ nb ṣpr.ti m m$ṣ.t

HARSOMTUS
79,12 ḏ=d mdw in ḫr-sm3-ṭ thù nb ḫḥd nṯr ḫṛ-ib ḡnw.t ḫḥt nb nḥḥ nb nḥḥ ṣḥ m mṣṣ.t

DIVINE RANDZEILE
d=i n=k ḫḥ.sg ḫngg n mṣṣ=k ṭ3.wy ḫḥm n=k 79,14 nsw.yt-bi.ṭy.t ić.t n.t ić.t ḫḥ t ḫḥ 🕜f.w nw ṣn.t ṣps.t wrṣ.t ḫnw.t nṯr.wt ḫr tp-nṯr m ṣḥ n n ṭm ṭm.n ḫḥ 79,15 ḫhr ḫḥ m$ṣ.t 3s.t wrt mw.t nṯr

1602 Wb III 136-137; PL 663: ḫṛ-ib, lit. “in the middle,” translated "resides in" or "sojourns in," refers to a deity worshipped in a cult center of another deity. See Haring, Divine Households, 71 n. 3; Budde, Epithets, 3.
Doc 56 – South Wall, Base, East Side: D III, 62,12 – 63,10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **(NO TITLE)**  
 **HATHOR**  
 62,12 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, Noble 62,13 and Great Lady in the Temple of the Sistrum, shining one (f.) of face among the Ennead, who came into being at the beginning with her father Nun. All things come into being after she came into being. I give you 62,14 Hapy (the inundation), rushing at his time.  
 **HORUS OF EDFU**  
 63,1 Words to say by Horus Behdety, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, Ra-Horakhty in the Great Seat, who shines 63,2 in order the make the rx.yt (people) live. I give you the primordial water, abundant at its time.  
 **DIVINE RANDZEILE**  
 63,3 The Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Great one (f.) in Iunet. Daughter of Ir-ta (=Creator God) in the Temple of the Sistrum, who came into being 63,4 when she shines.  
 **IHY**  
 63,5 Ihy-nun, son of Hathor: Playing the sistrum for his mother.  
 **KING**  
 63,6 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ) has come before you, 63,7 Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra.  
 **ROYAL RANDZEILE**  
 He brings you (f.) the two nms.t-jars filled with  
| (NO TITLE)  
 **HATHOR**  
 62,12 dd in H.t-hr wr.t nb.t  
 lwn.t Ir.t-Rc nb.t p.t hw.t nwr.w nb.w šps.t 62,13 wrs.t hnt h.t-sšš.t thn.(t) hř hnt Psd.t hpr hnt hr it=s Nwn hpr ih.t nb.t m-ht hpr=s di=i n=k 62,14 H赖以生存 hr hw.t r nw=f  
 **HORUS OF EDFU**  
 63,1 dd in Hr Bhdt.ty ntr s’ nb p.t Rc-Hr-iḥ.ty hnt s.t wr.t wbn 63,2 r s’nḥ rhy.t dī=i n=k nwn wr.ti r tr=f  
 **DIVINE RANDZEILE**  
 63,3 nsw.yt bi.ty.t wr.t m lwn.t s’t Ir-tš hnt h.t-sšš.t hpr hnt hr it=s Nwn hpr wnn.t 63,4 m wbn{r}=s  
 **IHY**  
 63,5 ḫy-nwn s’h.t-hr ir.(t) sšš.t n mw.t=f  
 **KING**  
 63,6 ii.n nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) s’h.t Rc ( ) hr=† 63,7 H.t-hr wr.t nb.t lwn.t Ir.t-Rc  
 **ROYAL RANDZEILE**  
 in=f’n=† nms.ty hnt.rc ti m |

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1603 Ihy-nun and his counterpart, Ihy-wab, are child-god musicians who appear with Hathor, especially in festivals like the navigation in Tybi and the Festival of Drunkenness (Cauville, Ihy-Noun, 104). Ihy-nun’s earliest attestation is in CT IV, 179t (“in this my good name of Ihy-nun,” with translation suggested by Cauville, Ihy-Noun, 110). They belong to the oldest religious traditions of Dendera, but it is uncertain if they originated there or were imported from Thebes. They also are linked to the regeneration of the dead (e.g., the statuettes in the tomb of Tutankhamen. See Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Vie et mort d’un pharaon*, 1963, p. 250 and fig. 248; Abitz, Statuetten, 83ff.). Their importance is shown by their presence in Per-wer’s Southern Niche (west wall, D III, 97,1-2), the most sacred part of the principal chapel of Hathor at Dendera. Ihy-nun also appears on the west wall of the Per-wer’s Southern Niche, D III, 97,1.

1604 This phrase is appears in its own column, separated from Ihy's name and epithets in the previous horizontal line, suggesting that the verb form is a narrative infinitive (ir.(t), "making") rather than a perfective active participle (ir, "who makes") modifying Ihy-nun.
primordial water, it satisfies your heart with the water of rejuvenation, the Hereditary Princess is behind him.\textsuperscript{1605} All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for \textit{d.t-eternity}.

\textbf{QUEEN} \textsuperscript{63,9} Female Ruler, Lady of the Two Lands: receive (them) from his hand, (of) the one who created your (f.) Incarnation, it (=primordial water) satisfies \textsuperscript{63,10} your heart with the libations.

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### Doc 57 - South Wall, Base, West Side: D III, 74,12 – 75,11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(NO TITLE) ISIS</td>
<td>(NO TITLE) ISIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{74,12} Words to say by Isis the Great, Mother of the God, Lady of Iatdi, who resides in Iunet, Sopdet (=Sothis), who pours out Hapy \textbf{74,13} in his cavern, who was put on \textit{earth} upon the \textbf{Land} of Atum by her mother Nut in the Temple of Nut: I give you the Two Caverns, pouring out what is in them (lit. in it).</td>
<td>\textbf{74,12} \textit{dd} in \textit{3.t \ wr.t mw.t ntr nb(t) T3.t-di hry(t)-ib Twn.t} \textit{Spd.t sty Hcpy} \textbf{74,13} \textit{m tph.t= f di(t) r t3 tp t3-n-\textit{lmw} in mw.t=s Nw.t m h.t-Nw.t \textit{dl= i n=k kr.ty}} \textit{hr k3=f imy=f}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{HARSOMTUS} \textbf{75,1} Words to say by Harsomtus, Lord of Khadi [the Great God]* in Iunet, \textsuperscript{1606} the great snake (lit. &quot;son of the earth&quot;) who came forth from the lotus, \textsuperscript{1607} the Divine God \textbf{75,2} [who came into being] \textsuperscript{1608} in the beginning, \textsuperscript{1609} [the snake]\textsuperscript{1610}* who came forth from the Nun: I give to you the flood water subsided.</td>
<td>\textbf{HARSOMTUS} \textbf{75,1} \textit{dd mdw in Hr-Sm3-t3.\textit{wy nb H3di [ntr c3]* hry-ib Twn.t s3-t3 wr pr m nbh ntr ntry} \textbf{75,2} [hpr] \textit{hnt [s3-t3]* pr m nwn dl= i n=k nwy nn.t}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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\textsuperscript{1605} \textit{r-ht=f}, "behind him." Cf. \textit{r-s3=f}, "behind him" in the following clause.

\textsuperscript{1606} This string of epithets is well attested for Harsomtus at Dendera, allowing the insertion of \textit{ntr c3} in the lacuna. In the Per-Wer Sanctuary, it appears in D III, 79,12; 85,1; 98,1; elsewhere in the Naos, in D I: 4,5; 35,12; D III: 24,6; 29,13; 40,13; 115,6; 116,11; 125,14; 153,1; 156,15; and D IV: 40,3.

\textsuperscript{1607} See Quaegebeur, Somtous l'Enfant, 113-121; Waitkus, Geburt des Harsomtus, 272-294.

\textsuperscript{1608} Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 330, corrects Chassinat’s D III, 75,2, so that Chassinat’s first lacuna in the line now holds the signs \textsuperscript{(L1:D153)}.

\textsuperscript{1609} This epithet refers to the origin of the gods. Parallel phrasing at Dendera suggests that the lacuna held the word \textit{hpr}, in the epithet, \textit{ntr ntry hpr hnt} (the divine god who came into being in the beginning), which is also attested for Thoth (D III, 20,1). In the Per-Wer, the phrase \textit{ntr ntry} is attested for Horus (D III, 68,4); the phrase \textit{hpr hnt} for Hathor (D III, 62,13; 63,3; 95,17).

\textsuperscript{1610} This lacuna may have held \textit{\textbf{s3-t3}} ("snake," lit. "son of the earth"), an epithet of Harsomtus as a primeval snake, (D III, 133,1: \textit{Hr-sm3-t3\textit{.wy m s3-t3}}, "Harsomtus is the snake"). Alternatively, it may be \textit{\textbf{ir-t3}} (DIII, 75,2), a creator god in the form of a snake, which can also be equated with Harsomtus (D II, 166,12).
DIVINE RANDZEILE

75,3 The Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Female Ruler of the land, she was born in Iatdi. Sothis the great, who pours out Hapy from his cavern in order to flood the Two Lands with what exists.

75,4 The Female Ruler of the land, she was born in Iatdi. Sothis the great, who pours out Hapy from his cavern in order to flood the Two Lands with what exists.

IHY

75,5 Ihy-wab, son of Hathor: the sšš.t-sistrum is in my right hand, I make pass away from you rage, the menit-necklace is in (my) left hand, driving away evil.

KING

75,7 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ) has come before you (f.), Isis the Great, Mother of the god

ROYAL RANDZEILE

He brings you the hs-vases supplied with flood water in order to refresh your heart with the flood water, the great one (f.) of the Hts is following him, the rhy.-t-people are behind her, paying homage to your face.

BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for d.t-eternity.

QUEEN

75,10 The Female Ruler, Lady of the Two Lands ( ): Receive (them) from his hand, (of) your beloved son. Your face is satisfied with what comes forth from the Nun.

primordial connections, since the ancestral gods of Edfu are the sšš.t dsrw, sacred snakes protecting the One dappled of plumage (=Horus Behdety) (E VII, 107,16); the cosmological god of Edfu has sšš.t on his head (E VI, 186,5).

1611 Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 146, transliterates the infinitive as baHy.

1612 Ihy-nun and his counterpart, Ihy-wab, are child-god musicians who appear with Hathor, especially in festivals like the navigation in Tybi and the Festival of Drunkenness (Cauville, Ihy-Noun, 104). Ihy-wab's earliest attestation is in the 11st dynasty stela of Intef II (MMA 13.182.3) from Thebes, in a hymn to Hathor: "O Ihy-wab of Hathor, Ihy of millions of ornaments!" (Cauville, Iny-Noun, 110). They belong to the oldest religious traditions of Dendera, but it is uncertain if they originated there or were imported from Thebes. They also are linked to the regeneration of the dead (e.g., the statuettes in the tomb of Tutankhamen. See also Grdseloff, Notes, 107-125. The Hts is an object offered to a deity upon completion of a divine edifice as a guarantee for the future performance of the rites therein. It often has the appearance of a hkr frieze formalized as an offering, as suggested by Wilson, PL 691.
Doc 58 – South Wall, Text above Solar Disk: D III, 86, 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>86,12 Behdety, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, the Dappled One of plumage, who goes forth from the horizon. Lord of Mesen, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, the Dappled One of plumage, who goes forth from the horizon.</td>
<td>86,12 ḏḥḏ ty nṯr šṯ nb p.t šḏḥ šw.t pr m šḥ.t nb ṭsḥn nṯr šṯ nb p.t šḏḥ šw.t pr m šḥ.t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Doc 59 – South Wall, Text below Solar Disk: D III, 86,13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>86,13</strong> The great image of Horus Behdety, the Great God, Lord of heaven. The noble image of Horus Behdety, the Great God, Lord of heaven.</td>
<td><strong>86,13</strong> <code>sšt3 wr n Hr-Bḥd.ty ntr ⲡ nb p.t štt3 šps n Ḥr-Bḥd.ty ntr ⲡ nb p.t</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Doc 60 – South Wall, Base of Door, East Side: D III, 86,17

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>86,17</strong> East: She who carries. South: She who carries</td>
<td><strong>86,17</strong> <code>Tḥḥ.t.t Ḥḥ.t Ṣḥs(y.t) Ḥḥḥ.y.t</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Doc 61 – South Wall, Base of Door, West Side: D III, 87,2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>87,2</strong> West: She who carries. North: She who carries</td>
<td><strong>87,2</strong> <code>Fmt.t.t Ḥḥ.t.t Ḥḥḥ.t.t Twḥ.t.t</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.6 Southern Niche

**Thickness of Door Jambs, Southern Niche**

D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

Thickness of Door Jamb, West Side
Doc 63
D III, 87,12 – 87,13

Thickness of Door Jamb, East Side
Doc 62
D III, 87,7-9
For discussion of the figures depicted in Docs 62 and 63, see Section 5.3.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FIRST REGISTER</strong></td>
<td><strong>FIRST REGISTER</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 1 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( )</td>
<td>no. 1 *nsw-t-bi.ty ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 2 Female ruler ( )</td>
<td>no. 2 *Hk₃.t ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECOND REGISTER</strong></td>
<td><strong>SECOND REGISTER</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 1 [without caption]</td>
<td>no. 1 [without caption]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 2 [without caption]</td>
<td>no. 2 [without caption]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THIRD REGISTER</strong></td>
<td><strong>THIRD REGISTER</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 1 Heh</td>
<td>no. 1 *Hh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 2 Hauhet</td>
<td>no. 2 *Hh.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOURTH REGISTER</strong></td>
<td><strong>FOURTH REGISTER</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 1 Amun</td>
<td>no. 1 *Imn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 2 Amaunet</td>
<td>no. 2 *Imn.t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FIRST REGISTER</strong></td>
<td><strong>FIRST REGISTER</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 1 Thoth</td>
<td>no. 1 *Dḥwty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 2 Ma'at</td>
<td>no. 1 *Mš₃́.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECOND REGISTER</strong></td>
<td><strong>SECOND REGISTER</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 1 Ir</td>
<td>no. 2 *Sdm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 2 Sedjem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THIRD REGISTER</strong></td>
<td><strong>THIRD REGISTER</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 1 Niau</td>
<td>no. 1 *Niw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 2 Niaut</td>
<td>no. 2 *Niw.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOURTH REGISTER</strong></td>
<td><strong>FOURTH REGISTER</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 1 Kek</td>
<td>no. 1 *Kkw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. 2 Kauket</td>
<td>no. 2 *Kk.t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Translation

TITLE AND FORMULA

88,18 Offering the double crown. Words to say: Take for yourself 89,1 the white crown of Upper Egypt\footnote{The feminine suffix =s, though unidentified, appears with words for royal regalia; in this case may refer to the patron goddess of the Upper Egyptian crown, Wadjet. Wb IV, 476,3-7, attested since MK.} united with the red crown of Lower Egypt, the uraeus is distinguished\footnote{Lit., "raised up." See discussion of the verb ṭn in, "raise up" in 5.1.4.} on your head. 89,2 Your kingship is the kingship of Ra. You are similar to 89,3 them (=the crowns), you are their lord, they increase the awe-inspiring terror of you more than (that of) the (divine) powers.

KING

89,4 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( )| son of Ra.

ROYAL RANDZEILE

Words to say: I have come 89,5 before you, child in Iunet, I bring to you the crown equipped with its components, for you are the Great God, the Beautiful one of appearance in Netjeryt,\footnote{\textit{Ntry.t}, "the (female) Divine," or "Netjeryt," as a name for Dendera, created from the root \textit{ntr}, "divine," carries allusions to its homonyms: heart (\textit{ntr}, Wb II, 365,5-7; GR), censer (\textit{ntr}, Wb II, 365,4; GR); natron (\textit{ntr}, Wb II, 366,8-11; PT), beer (\textit{ntr}, Wb II, 365,8); sacred Eyes (\textit{ntr.y}, Wb II, 366,16; PT), all of which relate to the daily temple rite or to Hathor as the Distant Goddess. The term, \textit{Ntry.t}, as a toponym for Dendera appears in the lists of Gauthier, DG III, 110, and Brugsch, DG, 367 (cited by Kockelmann, Toponymen, 224 n. 943).} Lord of the ss.t-sistrum, Ruler of the menit-necklace. BEHIND HIM: 89,6 all protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, \textit{d.t}-eternity.

IHY

89,7 Words to say by Ihy the Great, son of Hathor, the Great God, the Shining One, one lives in seeing him, Effective one of form, Great one of awe-inspired terror among 89,8 the gods, Lord to the Limit, Ruler of the Ennead,\footnote{Wb IV, 457,2 – 459,7; PL 1004. \textit{sfy.t}, "awesome; awe-inspired terror, fear, majesty," is regarded as a synonym of Ma'at in Ma'at offerings, due to its usage in connection with the forepart (and thus throat) of the ram, because the word for throat (\textit{mr.t}) is a close homonym of Ma'at, who was considered the throat of the god through which he obtains air and food, i.e. the sustenance of life. See discussion in 5.1.2. The reference to \textit{sfy.t} of the King is thus also a subtle allusion to his responsibility in maintaining Ma'at, with the use of his awesome power to do so. Van der Plas, Crue du Nil, 92-93, suggests that \textit{mysterium tremendum} perhaps best evokes the underlying emotional response to the \textit{sfy.t} of a god or king.} Noble Son, Youth of the Eye of Ra, who fills his brow with the double crown.

DIVINE RANDZEILE

Words to say: Welcome in peace, 89,9 King of the South, Sovereign and King of the North. I have received

Transliteration

TITLE AND FORMULA

88,18 \textit{hnk shm.ty dd mdw m-n=k}

89,1 \textit{šmr=s hnm.ti m mhw=s tp.t}

89,2 \textit{ḥd.t n(t) dmD m nswy.t=k nswy.t n(t) R^c}

89,3 \textit{stw.t=k nsw.t sn ntk nb=sn swr=sn sfy=k r shm.w}

KING

89,4 \textit{nsw.t-bi.ty ()| s\textit{ı} R^c (|)

ROYAL RANDZEILE

\textit{dd mdw ii.n=i 89,5 hr=k hi lḥnt ‘tnw.t in=i n=k ḫp.t ‘pr.ti m irw=f tw=t ntr ‘î n nubre m Ntry.t nb ss.t ḥkî mni.t BEHIND HIM: 89,6 s\textit{ı} ‘nh w’s nb ḥ=f m R\textit{ıt} d.t}

IHY

89,7 \textit{dd mdw in ‘thy wr s\textit{ı} H.t-hr p3 ntr ‘î wbn ‘nh.tw n m3=î ‘spd irw ‘î sfy.t lḥnt 89,8 ntr.w nb (r) ḫr ḥkî PsD.t s\textit{ı} ‘sp sdtý n ‘lr.t-R^ıt mḥ ḥt.t=f m shm.ty}

DIVINE RANDZEILE

\textit{dd mdw ii.ti m ḥtP 89,9 nsw.t šmr ity bi.ty mhw šsp.n=i shm.ty=k}
your double crown, I shine in it. I give you this land, possessing its crowns/good things.\textsuperscript{1621} 

\text{wbn(=i) im= s di= i n= k t\textsuperscript{3} pn hr} 
\text{nfr.\textsuperscript{w}= s}

\textsuperscript{1621} Wb II, 259.23; The word, \textit{nfr.\textsuperscript{w}}, can also mean "riches," "beauties," and "good things," all of which are applicable to the products of Egypt.
### Doc 65 – Southern Niche, North Wall, Lintel, West Side: D III, 89,12 – 90,8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE</strong></td>
<td><strong>89,12</strong> ḫnk ṣḥm.ty ḏḏ mdw m-n=k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89,13 Šm 3mn.n=k mḥw ṣṣp.n=k psḥ.ty m bw-wḫ 89,14 ḫf.n=k nfr.t ink.n=k n.t ḫw ḫw nw Rḫ 90,1 ṣt.n=k sn ḫt.s.t n.t ṭ= k r ḫw(t) ṭ= sn m 90,2 nsw.t-bi.ty ii sk nb.w ʻtr.ty r m3ḏ= k ṣfy.t=k ṭḥr m tš.wy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td><strong>90,3</strong> nsw.t-bi.ty ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROYAL RANDZEILE</strong></td>
<td><strong>ndw ii.n=i 90,4 ḫr=k sfy n Sn.w.t in.n=i n=k ḏmd m sp tw=t ḫy ḫnt Psḏ.t ṭḥn ḫw ḫw BEHIND</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HIM:</strong> All protection, 90,5 life and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for ḏ.t-eternity.</td>
<td><strong>IHY</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90,6 Words to say by Ihy the great, son of Hathor, Noble Child of the Eye of Ra, Beautiful lotus of the Golden One (f.), 90,7 Living Image of Atum, child of the Horizon-Dweller, one rejoices to see him, Beautiful one of face, Sweet one of love.</td>
<td><strong>DIVINE RANDZEILE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90,8 Ruler in Egypt,</td>
<td><strong>dd mdw ii.t m ḫtp 90,8 ḫk3 ḫnt B3k.t</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1622 See discussion of *psḥ.ty* in Te Velde, Seth, 60.
1623 Lit., “in one place.”
1624 *itr.ty*, “the Two Sanctuaries,” written ± (O196). Gardiner, Horus the Behdetite, 27-28, connects *itr.ty* with *itr.w*, “river channel,” thus meaning a “line” or “row” of water. The *itr.ty* thus denote the two shrine rows on either side of the Sed Festival court: the *itr.t-šm.t* for Upper Egypt, *itr.t-mḥ.t* for Lower Egypt. The two *itr.ty*, or shrine rows, thus designate Egypt as a whole. See also PL 123-124.
1625 Wb IV, 457,2 – 459,7; PL 1004. *ṣfy.t*, “awesomeness; awe-inspired terror, fear, majesty,” is regarded as a synonym of *Maʿat* in *Maʿat* offerings, due to its representation by the forepart (and thus throat) of the ram, because the word for throat (*mr.t*) is a close homonym of *Maʿat*, who was considered the throat of the god through which he obtains air and food, i.e. the sustenance of life. See discussion in 5.1.2. The reference to *ṣfy.t* of the King is thus also a subtle allusion to his responsibility in maintaining *Maʿat*, with the use of his awesome power to do so. Van der Plas, Crue du Nil, 92-93, suggests that *mysterium tremendum* perhaps best evokes the underlying emotional response to the *ṣfy.t* of a god or king.
1626 Perhaps an allusion to the child rising from the primordial lotus (birth of Ra).
I have taken the crown that was in your hand, I shine with it every day. I give you the crown, fast on your forehead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>88,1</strong> The Good God lives, […] of […], the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), beloved of Hathor, Lady of Iunet.</td>
<td><strong>88,1</strong> 𓊱𓊳 ntr nfr […] n […] nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) mry H.t-hr nb.t Twn.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>88,2</strong> The Good God lives, born of the Powerful one (f.), son of Ra ( ), beloved of Harpocrates.</td>
<td><strong>88,2</strong> 𓊱𓊳 ntr nfr msy n wsr.t s3 Rˁ ( ) mry Hr-p3 hrd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>88,3</strong> The Good God lives, child of the Eye of Ra, King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), beloved of Ihy the Great, son of Hathor.</td>
<td><strong>88,3</strong> 𓊱𓊳 ntr nfr ḥy n ḫr.t-Rˁ nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) mry ḫy wr s3 H.t-hr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>88,4</strong> The Good God lives, heir of Ra, son of Ra ( )</td>
<td>beloved of Harsomtus, Lord of Khadi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>88,5</strong> The Good God lives, nursed by the Golden One (f.), King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( )</td>
<td>beloved of Hathor, Lady of Iunet.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Doc 67 – Southern Niche, Door Jamb, West Side: D III, 88,8-12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>88,8 The Good God lives, engendered by Isis, the King of Upper and Lower</td>
<td>88,8 ʿnḥ ntr nfr wtt n 3s.t*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt ( ), beloved of Isis the Great.</td>
<td>nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) mry 3s.t wr.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88,9 The Good God lives, child of the Golden One (f.), son of Ra ( ),</td>
<td>88,9 ʿnḥ ntr nfr ḫy n Nbw.t s3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beloved of Ihy, son of Hathor.</td>
<td>Rʾ ( ) mry Thy s3 H.t-hr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88,10 The Good God lives, nursed by the uraeus, the King of Upper and</td>
<td>88,10 ʿnḥ ntr nfr ūr n Hr.t-tp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Egypt ( ), beloved of Hathor, the Uraeus of Ra.</td>
<td>nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) mry H.t-hr mḥn(y).t n(.t) Ra Rʾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88,11 The Good God lives, heir of Behdet, son of Ra ( ), beloved of</td>
<td>88,11 ʿnḥ ntr nfr ḫw n BHd.ty s3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horus Behdet, the Great God, Lord of heaven.</td>
<td>Rʾ ( ) mry Hr-Bhd.ty ntr ḫw nb p.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88,12 The Good God lives, son of Hathor, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt</td>
<td>88,12 ʿnḥ ntr nfr s3 Ht-hr nsw.t-bi.ty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ), beloved of Hathor, Lady of Iunet.</td>
<td>( ) mry H.t-hr nb.t Iwn.t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1627 Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 163-164, suggests that the goddess should be Iunyt instead of Isis. An examination of D I-IV shows no comparable phrase, with either wtt ḫw.t or wtt Twny.t.

1628 The sign, (I71), is the ideogram for ṭḥḥ and the abbreviation for ṭḥḥ(y).t, a designation for the uraeus on the brow of the sun god, other gods equated with him, or the king (Wb II, 129,3-6). Cauville (Dend Trad III, p. 163-164), however, translates it as ḫr.t-ṭp, "uraeus." The phonetic writing of the word as ṭḥḥ(y).t appears in D III, 82,8.
Doc 68 – Southern Niche, North Wall, Door Frame, East Side: D III, 90,10 – 91,4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>90,10 Words to say: Hail to you, Eye of Ra, whose manifestations are numerous, [Lady]® of Names throughout the Two Lands.¹⁶²⁹ Bright One (f.) of brightness among the gods, one does not know 91,1 her statue. Secret one (f.) of form, Hidden one (f.) of image, Powerful one (f.) of Ba-power for her father, Great one (f.) in heaven, who brightens the Two Lands with her beauties, the goddess who does not have her equal, 91,2 Lady of love, one rejoices at seeing (mḫ.t) her. The gods rejoice at seeing, Luminous One (f.) in the horizon, who</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90,10 dd mdw ind hr=t'Ir.t-Rê  ršš(.t) hpr.w [nb.t]* rn.w m-ḥt tḥ.t wy thn(.t) msh r-n hr nTr.w n rh.tw 91,1 šsm=s ṣṭḥ(ī) lrw thn(ī) sšḥb wr.t bḥw ḥr ṭī=s wr.t m p.t šḥḏ tḥ.t wy m nfr.w=s nTr.t iwt.t sn.nw=s 91,2 nb(ī) mrw.t ḫntš.tw n m3=s tfn nTr.w n dg(ī)=s ḫḥy.t m ḥḥ.t ḫḥy tḥ.t wy m st.wt=s ṭḥ.t 91,3 ṭp.t n(ī)</td>
<td>¹⁶²⁹ This epithet recalls H.t-hr m sp.t nb.t, &quot;Hathor in all of the nomes,&quot; an epithet of Isis mentioned by Gutbub, Hathor, 342. The phrase, &quot;in all of her nomes,&quot; often appears after the list of the different names of Isis in the various sanctuaries. Gutbub suggests that the use of this phrase by Hathor means that the names given to Isis are equivalent to Hathor, so that at Dendera, Isis can also be called Hathor.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
illuminates the Two Lands with her rays, the Atenet 91.3 First daughter\(^{1630}\) of the Aten, the Beautiful Noblewoman, without another except for her. Without her likeness among the goddesses, the Very Beautiful One (f.), Beautiful One (f.) of appearance in Netjeret.\(^{1631}\) 91.4 Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, your beautiful face is satisfied with the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (\(\)\).

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**Doc 69 – Southern Niche, North Wall, Door Frame, East Side: D III, 91.6-10**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>91.6 Words to say: Hail to you. Female sovereign in the horizon, Lady to the Limit, Female Ruler of the Ennead, praise to you within the palace, Noble Lady and Mistress of the noble ladies. The gods and men praise you, the goddesses and women adore you. How beautiful is your face in the Per-wer Sanctuary! Ra rejoices (being) near you, the sky and the stars rejoice for you, the sun and the moon adore you, the Souls of Pe and the Souls of Nekhen are making jubilation(^{1632}) for your Ka. Thoth the great is praising(^{1633}) your Incarnation, the Ennead of Ra is paying homage(^{91.9}) to your Ka, (who are) the gods who come into being in the Nun, the Lords of the sanctuaries are paying homage to your name, everyone is possessing dread of you, Hathor, Lady of Tarer,(^{1634}) your beautiful face is benevolent(^{1635}) to the son of Ra, 91.10 (()).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91.6 <code>dt mdw inD Hr=t ity.t m 3h.t nb(.t) tr hK(.t) Psd.t išw n=t m-\(\)mhw 'h </code>øps.t hnw.t 91.7 `øps.wt swšs tw ntr.w t(^{2}).w dw(^{3}) tw nfr&lt;.w&gt; t hm.wt nfr.wy hr=t m pr-wr h(^{5}).R(^{6}) m hsf=t(^{7}) nhm n=t p.t 91.8 hr h(^{8}).b(^{9})=s dw(^{3}) tw in(^{10}) ḫb(^{11}).w P b(^{12}).w N()ny(^{13}) (hr) ir.t hnw n k3=t Dhwty wr hr swšs hm.=t Psd.t R(^{6}) (hr) di(.t) išw 91.9 n k3=t ntr.w h(r)p(r) m nwn nb.w itr.ty (hr) di(.t) išw n r(^{15})n=t hr-nb hr h()ry.t=t H.t-hr nb(.t) T()3-rr ḥtp hr=t nfr n s() R(^{7}) 91.10 (()).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{1630}\) Wb V, 278.7-8.

\(^{1631}\) N\(\)try.t, "the (female) Divine," or "Netjeret," as a name for Dendera, created from the root nfr, "divine," carries allusions to its homonyms: heart (npr\(^{11}\), Wb II, 365.5-7; GR), censer (npr\(^{11}\), Wb II, 365.4; GR); patron (npr\(^{11}\), Wb II, 366.8-11; PT), beer (npr\(^{11}\), Wb II, 365.8); sacred Eyes (nfr\(^{11}\), Wb II, 366.16; PT), all of which relate to the daily temple rite or to Hathor as the Distant Goddess. The term, N\(\)try.t, as a toponym for Dendera appears in the lists of Gauthier, DG III, 110, and Brugsch, DG, 367 (cited by Kockelmann, Toponymen, 224 n. 943).

\(^{1632}\) hnw, illustrated by the stance of the figure in (A8), which is a gesture of acclamation. See Dominicus, Gesten, 61-65.

\(^{1633}\) Instead of the two flesh signs \(\) in the verb swšš ("to praise"), there should be two w-curls \(\). The error is noted by Chassinat in D III, 91.8.

\(^{1634}\) T\(\)3-rr, "Tarer," a name of Dendera (Wb V, 226.1; GR). Kockelmann, Toponymen, 65-66 discusses the name, noting that according to Dümichen (Bauurkunde, 30), Iunet and Tarer are the most frequently-used names in the inscriptions of the Temple of Dendera. Because they are used interchangeably, Kockelmann (65) argues against the idea that Tarer is the "profane name" and Iunet is the "theological name" (contra Dümichen, Bauurkunde, 30; Preys, Complexes, 49). Myśliwiec, Atum, 52, suggests that when written as a rebus with serpents, Tarer alludes to T\(\)3-\(\)nl\(\)m ("Land of Atum," another name of Dendera) and Atum's form as a primeval snake. Examples include D III, 57.5, D IV, 232.2, `\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\); D VIII, 122.13: `\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\).
### Doc 70 – Southern Niche, Bandeau of Frieze, East Side: D III, 92,5-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOUTH WALL</strong>&lt;br&gt;92,5 The Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rayt who reveals the interior, Female Ruler who rules the four corners of heaven, the Primordial One (f.), Secret One (f.) of image,</td>
<td><strong>SOUTH WALL</strong>&lt;br&gt;&lt;span&gt;92.5 nsyw.t-bi.ty.t R5y.t wn-wnw&lt;/span&gt;&lt;br&gt;&lt;span&gt;hk3.t hk3 ifd.w nw nn(t)&lt;/span&gt;&lt;br&gt;&lt;span&gt;šš3.t šš3(t) irw&lt;/span&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EAST WALL</strong>&lt;br&gt;Hidden One (f.) of form from the 92,6 ancestors, who fills the Heart of Ra when she shines, Excellent young girl of Atum, Powerful One (f.) of Ba-power before (i.e. in the presence of) her father, the Great one (f.) seen within your (f.) palace, your throne 92,7 is for d.t-eternity,</td>
<td><strong>EAST WALL</strong>&lt;br&gt;&lt;span&gt;tn(t) hprw 92.6 r tpy.w-ɛ mh ib n R5 m wbn=s hwn.t mnh.t n.t ɪlmw, wsr.t-b3w hr it=s šš3.t mš.ti&lt;/span&gt;&lt;br&gt;&lt;span&gt;m=wnw šš=t ns.t=t 92.7 pw n d.t&lt;/span&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1635 Wb III, 189,11.
1636 The sun “opens” or “reveals” the interior, with its daytime light (PL 767 and Wb III 369,12). In this context, the solar goddess (R5yt) reveals the interior of the sanctuary with her shining appearance.
1637 Alliteration of šš3(t).1
1638 The epithet, ib n R5, is ambiguous; it could refer to the heart (mind) of Hathor’s father Ra, who is joyful when he sees her, or to the god Thoth, who is characterized as the “heart of Ra.” See n. 1213.
1639 Lit., “in her act of shining.”
### NORTH WALL

It is the Lady to the Limit\(^{1640}\) among the Ennead. Ra praises her with his own mouth. For a very great \(nhh\)-eternity (you) shine in your sanctuary, Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra. Protect your son, your beloved, 92,8 the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), for \(d.t\)-eternity.

---

\(^{1640}\) The “limit” of the universe.
### Doc 71 – Southern Niche, Bandeau of Frieze, West Side: D III, 92,10-13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **SOUTH WALL**<br>92,10  The Female King of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, the Female King of Senut (=Egypt), the Atenet to the limit of the rays of the Aten, Female Sovereign of Heaven, Female ruler of the stars, Hidden One (f.) of form from 92,11 the (divine) powers,<br>WEST WALL<br>The Female Ba, Great One (f.) of Ba-power among the gods, no god is like her. Excellent tyet-symbol, enduring in her shrine, the gods **rise early in the morning** in order to **adore her** every day. the Unique One (f.), the multitude are 92,12 following her.<br>NORTH WALL<br>Lady of the cities of the nomes, for a very great $d.t$-eternity, $d.t$-eternity, (you) shine in your sanctuary, Isis the Great, Mother of the God. Protect your beloved son, the son of Ra ($\cdot$), 92,13 for $d.t$-eternity. | **SOUTH WALL**<br>92,10  $nswy.t$-bi.ty.t $nswy.t$ n.t<br>$Snw.t$ $R^\cdot.y.t$ $r$ $r3^\cdot$ $st.wt$ $itin$ $ity.t$<br>$n(.t)$ $p.t$ $hk3(t)$ $h3b3=s$  $imn(t)$<br>$sSt3=s$ $r$ 92,11 $Shhm.w$<br>**WEST WALL**<br>$b3.t$ $R3(,t)$ $b3w$ $m-hnt$ $ntr.w$ $n$ $ntr$ $m$<br>$sn(.t)$ $r=s$ $ti.t$ $mnht.t$ $dd.ti$ $m$
$dry.t=s$ $dw3$ $ntr.w$ $w$ $dw3=s$ $r^c$ $nb$
$ntr.t$ $w^c.t$ $hh$ $hr$ 92,12 $sm.s=s$
**NORTH WALL**<br>$nb(t)$ $n(.t)$ $niw.wt$ $sp3.wt$ $d.t$ $sp-
$sn.nw $psd$ $m$ $pr=t$
$3.t$ $wr.t$ $mw.t$
$ntr$ $hw$ $s3=t$ $mry=t$ $s3$ $R^c$ ($\cdot$) 92,13 $d.t$ |
**Doc 72 – Southern Niche, Base, D III, 93, 6 and 9**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>93.6</strong> The Per-wer Sanctuary is for the Golden One (f.), (being) enduring/permanent/stable, containing the great (divine) powers, like the horizon containing the Aten. 93.9 [repeated in ordinary writing in two columns, one on each side of south wall’s base]</td>
<td><strong>93.6</strong> pr-wr n Nbw.t qd.ti hr shm.w wr.w mi 3ḥ.t hr itn 93.9 [repeated in ordinary writing]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Southern Niche, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Register, East and West Walls

- East Wall
  - 2\textsuperscript{nd} Register East Wall
    - Doc 73
    - D III, 94,14 – 95,7

- South Wall
- West Wall
  - 2\textsuperscript{nd} Register, West Wall
    - Doc 74
    - D III, 94,13 – 98,2

East Wall, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Register
West Wall, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Register
### Translation

**TITLE AND FORMULA**

94,14 Offering the Udjat-Eye. Words to say: Take for yourself the Udjat-Eye, 94,15 healthy in its form, the \(3\text{h}.t\)-Eye, effective in its \(3\text{h}w\)-power, provided with 94,16 its ritual (lit. its head and feet), distinguished in its parts, there are no parts absent from it (lit., "at its gate," i.e. outside of it).

**IHY**

94,17 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor, Ra himself in the Sanctuary of Ra: playing the \(s\text{s}s.t\)-sistrum for his mother, the Powerful one (f.).

**SHU**

95,1 Words to say by Shu, son of Ra [in the Place of Ra(?)], Excellent king among the gods.

**HATHOR**

95,2 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, Lady of the Udjat-Eyes, She of the 95,3 festively decorated eyes, the Living Eye of Atum, the Uraeus who shines on the brow of her father, the Primordial One (f.) who created the land when she came into being, the Beautiful mistress, beautiful to see, the Young Lady, 95,4 the Living Eye of Eternity, Ipyt, Lady of Pe, the Atenet, Lady of the Horizon (i.e. also temple), the Beautiful Image, beloved of Ra.

**HORUS OF EDFU**

95,5 Words to say by Horus Behdety, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, Horakhhty in Wetjeset-Hor, who places his arms around 95,6 the Mistress and Lady of Iunet in his beautiful form of Lord to the Limit: I have extended my arms around the Uraeus in her shrine. (I) protect her Ka among 95,7 the (divine) Kas.

### Transliteration

**TITLE AND FORMULA**

94,14 h\(nk\) wd\(t\) \(dd\) mdw m-n=t w\(d\)t 94,15 wd\(t\) p\.t m irw=s \(3\text{h}.t\) 3\(t\)-\(t\)
94,16 m \(3\text{h}w=s\) gb\(t\)-\(t\) m 94,16 tp-rd=s n.t m irw.w=s n wn db\(t\) m-rw.ty=s

**IHY**

94,17 Th\(y\) wr s\(3\) H.t-\(hr\) R\(c\) ds=f h\(nt\) pr-R\(c\) ir(t) s\(s\)\.t n mw.t=f wsr.t

**SHU**

95,1 \(dd\) mdw in \(\dot{\text{S}}\)w s\(3\) R\(c\) \{n s\(3\) R\(c\) t\} \(m\ s.t-R\(c\)\(?\)\} nsw.t mn\(h\) \(\text{hnty}\) ntr.w

**HATHOR**

95,2 \(dd\) mdw in H.t-\(hr\) wr.t nb.t Twn.t Ir.t-R\(c\) nb\.t p\.t \(\text{hnt}\) ntr.w nb\.w nb\.t w\(d\)t shb.t 95,3 mnd.ty \(\text{c}n\).t n.t \(\text{lm}\) ipy.t psd \(\text{hr}\) wp\.t n.t it=s \(3\text{S}c\.t\) \(3\text{S}c\.t\) t\(3\)
\([\text{hpr}]^*\) s h\(w\.t\) nfr.t nfr m33 s\(d\)ty.t 95,4 \(\text{c}n\).t n.t \(\text{d}\.t\) \(\text{lp}\.t\) nb.t \(\text{P}^\text{im}\) n.t nb\.t 3\(t\)-\(t\) \(t\)-\(t\) nfr.t m\(r\)y.t R\(c\)

**HORUS OF EDFU**

95,5 \(dd\) mdw in Hr Bhd.ty ntr c\(3\) nb p\.t Hr-\(3\).t h\(nt\) W\(t\)s.t-Hr rdl c\.wy=f\(i\) h\(3\) 95,6 h\(w\.t\) nb\.t Twn.t m irw=f nfr n nb \(\text{d}r\) dwn.n=i c\.wy=i h\(3\) h\(r\)-t\(p\) m \(\text{h}d=s\) \(m k(=i)\) k\(3\)=s h\(nt\) 95,7 k\(3\).w
### Translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(NO TITLE)</td>
<td>(NO TITLE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHY</td>
<td>IHY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97,13 Words to say by Ihy the Great, son of Hathor, Lord of the Two Udjat-Eyes, Lord of the Cartouche: I offer the Udjat-Eye to his mother, the Powerful one (f.)</td>
<td>97,13 dd mdw in lhy wr s3 H.t-hr nb wd3.ty nb mnš hnk (=i) wd3.t 97,14 n mw.t=f wsr.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THOTH</td>
<td>THOTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97,15 Words to say by Thoth, the Thrice Great, Lord of Hermopolis, who pacifies the gods with his words: Hail to you, She who shines like gold, the Udjat-Eye of Atum!</td>
<td>97,15 dd mdw in Dhwty s3 s3 wr nb lmnw shtp ntr.w m mdw=f nd hr=t wbn.t - 97,16 m-nbw wd3.t n.t ltmw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HATHOR</td>
<td>HATHOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97,17 Words to say by Hathor, Lady of Tarer, Mistress of Humankind, Mistress of the Two Lands, the Shining</td>
<td>97,17 dd mdw in H.t-hr nb.t T3-rr nb.ty.t rhy.t hnwt.t t3.wy 3h.t m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1641 There is some uncertainty in the translation of (NO TITLE), which could be an epithet of either Ihy or Hathor in this sentence. Cauville (Dend Trad III, pp. 176-177) translates it as nb wd.ty (Lord of the Two Udjat-Eyes), thus assigning it to Ihy. However, as nb.t wd.ty (Lady of the Two Udjat-Eyes), it is an epithet more commonly held by Hathor (D III, 84,2; 95,2) or Isis (D III, 152,6).

1642 A similar dilemma occurs with (NO TITLE), an epithet that, again, can be translated as either masculine or feminine: nb mnš (Lord of the Cartouche), or nb(t) mnš (Lady of the Cartouche), and thus attributed to either Ihy or Hathor.

1643 mw.t=f (his mother) in the text is ambiguous because it is not clear if the suffix pronoun =f refers to Ihy or to the King. If it refers to the King, then Cauville's translation (Dend Trad III, pp. 176-177) of the entire sentence, "I offer the udjat-eye to his mother," makes sense. However, if the suffix pronoun =f instead refers to Ihy, then the sentence would be better rendered as, "Offering the udjat to his mother," taking hnk as an infinitive rather than as a sdm=f with an omitted 1st singular suffix pronoun. One indication that Cauville's translation may be correct is the stroke above the first instance of the arm with the nw-jar (D39), which (although placed before, rather than after, the sdm=f), can be read as the 1st s. pronoun, =i.

1644 Boylan, Thoth, 182, translates as 'the thrice great," contra Cauville Dend Trad III, p. 177, who translates s3 s3 wr as "Thot dismégiste" (Thoth, the Twice Great). I am following Boylon, taking wr as the third instance of "great."

1645 Preys, Complexes, 81 n. 749, transliterates as ir.t, rather than wd3.t. Preys, Complexes, 81, notes that "Eye of Atum" is a reduction of the epithet "Left Eye of Atum," an extremely rare designation of Hathor encountered only twice in the temple (D III, 148,13, in Mansion of the Menit; D IX, 92,1-2, in Chamber of Appearances), both of which concern the offering of the Udjat-Eye and where the epithet is associated with the "Right Eye of Ra." Preys, Complexes, 81 n. 749, notes these references to the Eye of Atum: D I, 64,14; 120 no. 36; III, 97,16; V, 150,3; VI, 133,12; VII, 164,3-4; IX, 28,13.

1646 T3-rr, "Tarer," a name of Dendera (Wb V, 226,1; GR). Kockelmann, Toponymen, 65-66, discusses the name, noting that according to Dümichen (Bauurkunde, 30), Iunet and Tarer are the most frequently-used names in the inscriptions of the Temple of Dendera. Because they are used interchangeably, Kockelmann (65) argues against the idea that Tarer is the "profane name" and Iunet is the "theological name" (contra Dümichen, Bauurkunde, 30; Preys, Complexes, 49). Mysliwiec, Atum, 52, suggests that when written as a rebus with serpents, Tarer alludes to Ti-n-Itm.
One (f.) in the sky at the front of the 97,18 (solar) barque, the Udjat-Eye, divinized in the Divine (=Dendera).

HARSOMTUS

98,1 Words to say by Harsomtus, Lord of Khadi, the Great God who resides in Iunet, Ra himself in the Sanctuary of Ra: 98,2 I place my arms around Rayt, Mistress of the Two Lands, in (my) great manifestation of Meh-wer.

HARSOMTUS

98,1 dd mdw in Hr-sm3-t3.wy nb H3di ntr s3 hry-ib Twn.t R R ds=f hnt pr-Rc 98,2 di=i c.wy=i h3 R3y.t hnw.t t3.wy m hprw(=i) wr n Mh-wr

("Land of Atum," another name of Dendera) and Atum's form as a primeval snake. Examples include D III, 57,5, D IV, 232,2, D VIII, 122,13: The epithet, nb.ty.t-rhy.t, belonging primarily to Isis, emphasizes her role as the queen who guarantees the passage of royal power from the father Osiris to his son Horus. At Dendera, Hathor especially carries this title on the left walls of the temple, where she takes the place of Isis. See Preys, Isis et Hathor, 351, who notes the necessity of a deeper study into the following issues: the reason for placing Hathor nb.ty.t-rhy.t in a particular scene; the processes by which Hathor is identified to Isis (via the latter's epithets, e.g., nb.ty.t-rhy.t or hnty.t Twn.t), or vice versa (with Isis carrying Hathor's epithets, e.g. Nbw.t or part of Hathor's great titulary).

I am not entirely convinced that (A239A) should be read as ntr r, as suggested by Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 176-177. I would like to see further evidence of the reading (perhaps from other examples of this title, or the full spelling of the word). Another reference for this term is D VII, 14,16, cited in Cauville, Dend fonds, 22.

Wb III 136-137; PL 663: hry-ib, lit. “in the middle,” translated "resides in" or "sojourns in," refers to a deity worshipped in a cult center of another deity. See Haring, Divine Households, 71 n. 3; Budde, Epithets, 3.

The spelling of hprw, which includes the flesh sign (F51B) in the original, is probably correct, despite Chassinat's indication of "(sic)." Wilson, PL 721, cites a similar spelling from Edfou IV, 13, 6-7.

Leitz (LGG 361-362) suggests that this epithet of Harsomtus may mean "der grosse Füllende." In the Khonsu Temple's barque chapel at Karnak, the Creator God entered the Nun as Mh-wr (Mendel, Kosmogonische Inschriften, W 35, cited in Leitz, LGG, 362).
Southern Niche, 1st Register, East and West Walls

East Wall, 1st Register
- East Wall
- South Wall
- West Wall

D III, pls. 201; 202, © IFAO

East Wall
- 1st Register
- Doc 75
- D III, 93,15 – 94,4

West Wall
- 1st Register
- Doc 76
- D III, 96,22 – 97,7

West Wall, 1st Register
Doc 75 – Southern Niche, East Wall, 1st Register: D III, 93,15 – 94,4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>IHY</strong></td>
<td><strong>IHY</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93,15 Ihy, electrum.</td>
<td>93,15 ḫy ḫd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HATHOR</strong></td>
<td><strong>HATHOR</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94,1 Hathor, Lady of Iunet, who is in her barque.(^{1652}) Gold and every fine stone.</td>
<td>94,1 ḫ.t-ḥr nb.t Twn.t imy(.t) wꜣ=s nbw ḫ.t nb.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TWO PERSONNAGES BEHIND</strong></td>
<td><strong>TWO PERSONNAGES BEHIND</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HATHOR</td>
<td>HATHOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94,3 Black bronze, head and kilt in gold.</td>
<td>94,3 ḫd km, tp šndy.t m nbw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ON BASE:</strong></td>
<td><strong>ON BASE:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94,4 Base in electrum.</td>
<td>94,4 ḫs.t m ḫd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doc 76 – Southern Niche, West Wall, 1st Register: D III, 96,22 – 97,7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE</strong></td>
<td><strong>TITLE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96,22 Offering unguent and cloth to his mother, the Powerful One (f.).</td>
<td>96,22 ḫnk md.t mnḥ.t n mw.t=f wsr.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IHY #1</strong></td>
<td><strong>IHY #1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97,1 ḫy-nun in the Temple of ḫy.</td>
<td>97,1 ḫy-ḫn ḫnt ḫ.t-Ṭy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IHY #2</strong></td>
<td><strong>IHY #2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97,2 ḫy-w’ab in the Temple of Purification. Gold, height of each one of them: 1 cubit.</td>
<td>97,2 ḫy-w’b ḫnt ḫ.t-ḫbw nbw kš &lt;n&gt;* ṣr ḫ.w im mh 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97,3 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ), the equal of Shesmu 97,4 raised by Tayet.</td>
<td>97,3 nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) sš Rš ( ) snw n Ṣsmw 97,4 rr n T3y.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HATHOR</strong></td>
<td><strong>HATHOR</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97,5 Hathor, Lady of &lt;the Two Lands&gt;, Lady of bread, who makes beer.(^{1653}) Gold, height: 1 cubit.</td>
<td>97,5 ḫ.t-ḥr nb.(t) &lt;tš.wy&gt; nb.(t) t ir ḫ(n)k.t nbw kš mh 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{1652}\) Hathor wears the same crown (double crown, two ostrich feathers framing white crown, one behind red crown; antelope horns), carrying a similar epithet ḫy.t-ḥb wꜣ=s, "who resides in her barque" in an offering of four jars of primordial water, in the 1st scene, 3rd register, of east wall of the Barque Sanctuary (D I, 50,6; pl. 51), in which Hathor is ṣš.t ḫ.t-ḥb ḫšm m ḫsw=ḫ ḫpr ḫt=ḫ ḫ.t ḫš.t, "the Daughter of ḫ.t-ḥb who created his body, who came into being with him at the beginning" (D I, 50,6-7). The antelope horns may allude to Satet, the Lady of Elephantine and female protector of the southern border, who was identified with Sothis when she pours out the annual flood, and with Isis, who protects Osiris (Valbelle, Satet, 488). In the PT of Pepi I, Satet purifies the deceased King with four jugs of water (PT §114), thus linking to the above-mentioned scene on the east wall of the Barque Sanctuary in which the King offers the four nms.t-jars to Hathor wearing the crown with the antelope horns. See note on nms.t-jars in Doc 30.

\(^{1653}\) This epithet also appears in the 3rd scene of the 2nd register of the west wall (Doc 43), in an offering of the mnw-jar (D III, 82,11).
| HORUS 97,6 | Horus, Lord of the Crown. Wood: height: 1 cubit, 3 palms, 1 finger. |
| ON BASE: 97,7 | White (lime)stone; height: 1 cubit, 1 finger. |

| HORUS 97,6 | Hr nb wrr.t im3 k3 mh 1 šsp 3 db 1 |
| ON BASE: 97,7 | inr ḫd k3 mh 1 db 1 |
Frieze of the Southern Niche
The decorative, cryptographic inscription is inscribed on all of the walls in the Southern Niche. It is repeated a total of six times (D III, 96,10): twice on the wider north and south walls; once on each of the east and west walls. In addition, it is repeated in ordinary writing on the columns that frame the east and west walls (D III, 96,15).

Southern Niche, Frieze
D III, pls. 201; 202, © IFAO
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>96,10</strong></td>
<td><strong>96,10</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An infinity of festivals in the Temple of the Sistrum, Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra.</td>
<td>ḫḥ n ḫb.w ḫ.t-sšš.t ḫ.t-Ḥr wr.t nb.t ḫwn.t ḫr.t-Rā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Southern Niche, South Wall, 2nd Register

Text Column in Common, Docs 78 & 79
D III, 96,6

East Side 2nd Register
Doc 78
D III, 95,10-18

West Side 2nd Register
Doc 79
D III, 98,5-13

D III, pl. 202, © IFAO

East Side, 2nd Register

West Side, 2nd Register
Doc 78 – Southern Niche, South Wall, 2nd Register, East Side: D III, 95,10-18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **TITLE AND FORMULA**
95,10 Offering Ma’at. Words to say: Take for yourself ma’at, Ma’at in Iunet, 95,11 it is Ma’at that one will say to your Incarnation, it is your body, installed in your shrine, 95,12 she is not far from you, every day. | **TITLE AND FORMULA**
95,10 ḫnk m$m^3$.t ḏd mdw m-n=t m$m^3$.t M$m^3$.t m Iwn.t 95,11 M$m^3$.t pw (<dd.) k$t$.tw r ḫm.t= t ḏ.t=t pw ḏd.t m ḫd.t 95,12 {m} n ḫr= t r=t r=x nb |

| IHY | IHY |
| 95,13 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor: playing the sistrum for his mother, the Powerful One (f.). | 95,13 Ḯy wr sḥ H.t-ḥr ir(t) sḥḥ.t n mw.t=f wrs.t |

| KING | KING |
| 95,14 King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ), son of He who unites Ma’at 95,15 heir of Ma’at. | 95,14 nsw.t-bi.ty ( ) | sḥ R$^3$ ( ) | sḥ Sm-t-M$m^3$.t 95,15 iw$^w$ n M$m^3$.t |

| BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, ḏ.t-eternity. | BEHIND HIM: sḥ $^3$nh wḥs nb $ḥ^i= f$ mi R$^3$. ḏ.t |

| HATHOR | HATHOR |
| 95,16 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Ma’at the Great in the Horizon of Eternity. She is the First One (f.), the First One (f.) who came into being at the beginning, the Atenet, who fills the earth with gold dust, the daughter of the Child, the young woman, the Beautiful One (f.) of appearance. The gods <tremble> before the dread of her, Ipyt, Lady of Pe, 95,18 Protectress of her Father, Great One (f.) of (placing) dread among the gods. | 95,16 ḏd mdw in H.t-ḥr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t Tr.t-R$^w$ M$m^3$.t wr.t ḫnt $ḥ$ $ ḫ$nh ṭpy.t $ ḫ$ pw n ḫt H.t-ḥr.w R$^w$.y t n ḫr 95,17 ḫw=s $ḥḥ$.t pw $ḥḥ$. $ḥp(r)$ ḫnt ʾtn.t mh $t$ m nkɾ nbw sḥ.t Ṣfy $ṣ$dy.t $n$ t ḫ$ ḫ$w <sd$ḍ$ḥ> nṯr.w m snḏ.t=f sʾtpy.t nb.t P 95,18 ndty.t n.t i$t= s $ḥ$ ḫnt nwr m nṯr.w |

| COLUMN IN COMMON WITH SYMMETRICAL SCENE: | COLUMN IN COMMON WITH SYMMETRICAL SCENE |
| 96,6 Words to say: Great Lady, Beautiful One (f.) in | 96,6 ḏd mdw ṣḥḥ.(t) wr.(t) |

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1654 Following Allen, Middle Egyptian, 22.19, and taking the phrase (dd.)k$t$.tw as sḏm k$ḥ=f.

1655 The Child, Ṣḥḥ, is the solar god (Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 588). It indoubtedly refers to the creation myth in which the sun god can be depicted as a child coming forth from the lotus, as shown in the sculpture found at the entry of the tomb of Tutankhamen (see Desroches-Noblecourt, Tutankhamen, 6; 294).

1656 The word, $ṣd$, “to tremble,” and its reduplicated form, $ṣd$ḍ$ḥ$, are written with a bird sign whose head is encircled by dots to signify trembling. Gardiner tentatively identifies the bird as a “buff-backed egret” (GG, p. 470, G33, citing Urk IV, 616,8 and PT 2152); see also Wb IV, 365,14 ("die Rohrdommel"). Chassinat notes that the ibis in line 95,17 is an error. Although the ibis looks very similar to the egret, the circle of dots is essential for this meaning.

1657 Cauville’s Corrigenda, Dend Trad III, p. 331, corrects the lacuna to $<σ=σ>$ (O29).

1658 This column unites Docs 78 (on the east) and Doc 79 (on the west). Chassinat (D III, 96) notes that it has a unique arrangement, with certain elements repeated and adapted for the appropriate scene they face, whereas others are written only once. For example, in the group of two seated back-to-back goddesses, Hathor faces east and Isis faces west, which is appropriate because the scene on the east (Doc 78) concerns Hathor, whereas the scene on the west (Doc 79) concerns Isis.
Doc 79 – Southern Niche South Wall, 2nd Register, West Side: D III, 98,5-13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
<td><strong>TITLE AND FORMULA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>98,5</strong> Offering Ma'at. Words to say: awe-inspired terror (=Ma'at) belongs to you, Mistress <strong>98,6</strong> and Lady of awe-inspired terror (=Ma'at), the satisfying of the god (=Ma'at) is satisfying your (f.) heart.</td>
<td><strong>98,5</strong> hnk m3t.t dd mdw šfy.t ūr= t hw.w <strong>98,6</strong> nb(t) šfy.t shtp ntr hr shtp ib=t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HARSOMTUS THE CHILD</strong></td>
<td><strong>HARSOMTUS THE CHILD</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>98,7</strong> Harsomtus the child, son of Hathor: I have played the sistrum <strong>98,8</strong> in front of the face of the Lady of the Sistrum, I repel your anger, Powerful and Noble One (f.).</td>
<td><strong>98,7</strong> Hr-sm=s-t. wy p3 hrd s3 H.t-hr ir.n=t sšššš.w <strong>98,8</strong> m hr n nb.t sšššš.dr= i shm=t Shm-šps.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
<td><strong>KING</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>98,9</strong> King of Upper and Lower Egypt ( ), son of Ra ( ), prince of &lt;ma'at&gt;, lord of ma'at. BEHIND HIM: <strong>98,10</strong> All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, d.t-eternity.</td>
<td><strong>98,9</strong> nsw.t-bi.ty ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ISIS</strong></td>
<td><strong>ISIS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>98,11</strong> Words to say by Isis the Great, Mother of the God, Lady of Iatdi, who resides in Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, Lady of Ma'at, who lives on ma'at, <strong>98,12</strong> she is satisfied that one does it for her ka, (she) who was born in Iunet on the night of the child in his nest of the great festival of the entire land. The unique goddess, <strong>98,13</strong> the multitude acclaims her, who ordains commandments to the extent of the rays of the</td>
<td><strong>98,11</strong> dd mdw in 3$t$. wr.t mw.t-ntr nb(t) $^t$.dį hry.t-lb lw.n.t Tr.t-R$^c$ nb(t) p.t hw.w ntr.w nb.w nb(t) m3t.t 'nh n m3t.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>98,12</strong> htp=s $^r$.tw=s $^n$ k3= s bh m lw.n.t grh nhm m sš=f bh $^r$3 n $^t$ dr=f ntr.t wc.t nhm <strong>98,13</strong> n=s $^h$hw w$d$ mdw $^r$-r$^3$-c st.wt itn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1659 itr.ty, "the Two Sanctuaries," written ⲡ ⲑ (O196). Gardiner, Horus the Behdetite, 27-28, connects itr.ty with itr.w, "river channel," thus meaning a "line" or "row" of water. The itr.ty thus denote the two shrine rows on either side of the Sed Festival court: the itr.t-$s$m$^c$.t for Upper Egypt, itr.t-$m$h.t for Lower Egypt. The two itr.ty, or shrine rows, thus designate Egypt as a whole. See also PL 123-124.

1660 Wb IV, 457,2 – 459,7; PL 1004. šfy.t, "awesomeness; awe-inspired terror, fear, majesty," is regarded as a synonym of Ma'at in Ma'at offerings, due to its representation by the forepart (and thus throat) of the ram, because the word for throat (mr.t) is a close homonym of Ma'at, who was considered the throat of the god through which he obtains air and food, i.e. the sustenance of life. See discussion in 5.1.2. The reference to šfy.t of the King is thus also a subtle allusion to his responsibility in maintaining Ma'at, with the use of his awesome power to do so. Van der Plas, Crue du Nil, 92-93, suggests that mysterium tremendum perhaps best evokes the underlying emotional response to the šfy.t of a god or king.
This column unites Docs 78 (on the east) and Doc 79 (on the west). Chassinat (D III, 96) notes that it has a unique arrangement, with certain elements repeated and adapted for the appropriate scene they face, whereas others are written only once. For example, in the group of two seated back-to-back goddesses, Hathor faces east and Isis faces west, which is appropriate because the scene on the east (Doc 78) concerns Hathor, whereas the scene on the west (Doc 79) concerns Isis.

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This column unites Docs 78 (on the east) and Doc 79 (on the west). Chassinat (D III, 96) notes that it has a unique arrangement, with certain elements repeated and adapted for the appropriate scene they face, whereas others are written only once. For example, in the group of two seated back-to-back goddesses, Hathor faces east and Isis faces west, which is appropriate because the scene on the east (Doc 78) concerns Hathor, whereas the scene on the west (Doc 79) concerns Isis.
**Doc 80 – Southern Niche, South Wall, 1st Register: D III, 94,7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>94,7 Hathor, Lady of Iunet. Behdety, the Great God, Lord of Heaven. Lord of Mesen, the Great God, Lord of Heaven. <strong>94,8 The divine dresser:</strong> I have enfolded in […] Lady of (divine) Powers in protection, <strong>I protect</strong> your ka with all(?) protection. <strong>94,9 The Protectress:</strong> I have extended my arms around your body with my wings, I surround the body of <strong>94,10 your Incarnation.</strong></td>
<td>94,7 *H.t-hr nb.t Iwn.t Bhd.ty ntr *3 nb p.t nb Msn ntr *3 nb p.t 94,8 <em>hbs.t-ntr sbh.n= i</em> n […] nb.t shmw m hw.t *mk= i k3= t m mk.t nb(.t)(?) 94,9 *hwy.t dwn.n= i *wy= i h3 d.t= t m dm3 ty= i inh= i h5w n 94,10 hm.t= t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1664 Chassinat D III, 8, notes "(sic)" below the last group of signs in this line, which probably refers to the *nb*-basket, because *mk(.t)* can be spelled with the *k3*-arms and arm (E VI, 84,5). Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 172-173, omits *nb* from her transliteration and does not translate it. Could it be *mk.t nb(.t)*, "all protection"?
References

Abbreviations
OK – Old Kingdom  
PIP – First Intermediate Period  
MK – Middle Kingdom  
SIP – Second Intermediate Period  
NK – New Kingdom  
TIP – Third Intermediate Period  
LP – Late Period  
GR – Graeco-Roman Period

BoD – Book of the Dead  
BM – British Museum  
CT – Coffin Texts  
DeM – Deir el-Medina  
IFAO – Institut français d’archéologie orientale  
KV – Kings Valley (designates royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings)  
PT – Pyramid Texts  
QV – Queen’s Valley (designates royal tomb in the Valley of the Queens)  
TT – Theban Tomb

Journals and Series
ÄA – Ägyptologische Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden)  
ÄAT – Ägypten und Altes Testament (Wiesbaden)  
ÄF – Ägyptologische Forschungen (Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York)  
AH – Agyptiaca Helvetica (Genève)  
AHAW – Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften (Heidelberg)  
AO – Acta Orientalia (Leiden-Copenhagen)  
APAW – Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin)  
ASAE – Annales du Service des antiquités de l’Égypte (Le Caire)  
ASE – Archaeological Survey of Egypt (London)  
BA – Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)  
BACE – Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology (Sydney)  
BdÉ – Bibliothèque d’étude (Le Caire)  
BE – Bibliothèque égyptologique comprenant les oeuvre des égyptologues français dispersées dans divers recueils et qui n’ont pas encore été réunies jusqu’à ce jour (Le Caire-Paris)  
BES – Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar (New York)  
BIFAO – Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale (Le Caire)  
BSEA – British School of Egyptian Archaeology (London)  
CASAE – Cahiers. Suppl. aux ASAE (Le Caire)  
CdÉ – Chronique d’Égypte (Bruxelles)  
CHAN – Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden-Boston)  
CRIPEL – Cahier de recherches de l’Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille (Lille)  
DAWB – Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Berlin)
WVDog – Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Berlin-Leipzig)
ZÄS – Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig-Berlin)
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Allen, PT

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Alliot, Chasse au filet

Altenmüller, Fahrt der Hathor

Altenmüller, Achtheit

Altenmüller, Hu
Altenmüller, Synkretismus

Altenmüller-Kesting, Reinigungsriten

Anderson, Egyptian Antiquities

Andrews, Mummies

Arkell, Archaic Hathor

Arkell, Hathor Bowl

Arnold, Temples

Arnold, Wandrelief

Artemidorus Oneirocritica

Assmann, Ewigkeit

Assmann, Hymnen und Gebete

Assmann, Kulturelle Gedächtnis

Assmann, Liturgische Lieder

**Assmann, Ma'at**

**Assmann, Mind of Egypt**

**Assmann, Re and Amun**

**Assmann, Search for God**

**Assmann, Sonnenhymnen**

**Assmann, Verkünden und Verklären**

**Assmann, Zeit und Ewigkeit**

**Aufrère, L'univers minéral**

**Ayad, God's Wife**

**Baines, Kingship**

**Baines, Communication**
Baines, Decorum

Baines and Eyre, Literacy

Baines and Malek, Cultural Atlas

Barguet, Contre-poids

Barta, Stirnband-Diadem

Bartel, Fortziehen der Riegel

Barucq, Louage

Bedier, Geb

Beinlich, Fürbitte

Beinlich, Osirisreliquien

Beinlich, Räucherarm

Bell, Deified Tutankhamen
Bell, Divine Temple

Bell, Royal Ka

Bénédite, Miroirs

Bénédite, Philae

Bennett, Arsinoe II

von Bergmann, Inschriften

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Betró, Testi solari

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Kákosy, Kronen

Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, Tomb of Hezi

Kaplony, Ka

Kees, Gaulisten
Kees, Mondsagen

Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions

Klotz, Adoration of the Ram

Klotz, Kneph

KO

Kockelmann, Toponymen

Kozloff and Bryan, Dazzling Sun

Kugler, Propaganda

Kuhlmann, Thron

Kurth, E VII

Kurth, E VIII

Kurth, EP

**Kurth, Friese**

**Kurth, Himmel stützen**

**Kurth, Lautwerte**

**Kurth, Lautwerte Nachtrag**

**Kurth, Nilgott**

**Kurth, Pepi I**

**Kurth, Research**

**Kurth, Reise der Hathor**

**Kurth, Säulen**

**Kurth, Thot**

Kurth, Treffpunkt

LÄ

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Lacau, Suppressions

Lacau, Textes religieux

Lauffray, Kiosque de Taharqa

Lauffray, Taharqa à Karnak

Lausberg, Handbuch der Rhetorik

Leclant, Contrepoids

Leclant, Lait

Leclant, Suckling of Pharaoh

Lefebvre, Tableau

**Leitz, Astronomie**

**Leitz, Aussenwand**

**Leitz, Kurzbibliographie**

**Leitz, LGG**

**Leitz, Nacht des Kindes**

**Leitz, Quellentexte**

**Leitz, Tagewählerei**

**Lepper, Papyrus Westcar**

**Lepsius, Denkmäler**

**Lexová, Dances**

**Lhote, Peinture égyptienne**

**Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature**

**von Lieven, Himmel über Esna**

**von Lieven, Nutbuch**

**von Lieven, Wine, Weib, Gesang**

**Liddel and Scott, Lexicon**

**Loprieno, Puns**

**Lorton, Hymn at Hibis**

**Macadam, Royal Family**

**Michel, Calembours**

**Malaise, Coiffure hathorique**

**Mammisis de Dendara**

**Mammisi d'Edfou**

**Manniche, Music and Musicians**

**Mariette, Déchiffrement**

**Mariette, Dendérah**

**Mariette, Mastabas**

**Martin, Obelisk**

**Martin-Pardy, Wesir**

**McDonald, Tomb of Nefertari**

**Meeks, An Lex**

**Meeks, Donations**

**Meeks, Notes de lexicographie**

**Mendel, Kosmogonische Inschriften**

**Meulenaere, Priester**

MH

Midant-Reynes, Prehistory

Montet, Géographie I

Morardet, Philae

Morenz, Sonnen-Mysterium

Morenz, Sinn und Spiel

Morenz, Visuelle Poesie

Morenz, Wortspiele

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Müller, Kriegshelm

Müller, Nachtrag

Müller-Winkler, Udjatauge

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**Ogdon, Gesture**

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**Ockinga, Theban Tomb 147**

**Osing, Gurna**

**Osing, Ritualszenen**

**Osing, Sethos I**

**Otto, Amun**

**Otto, Anedjti**

**Otto, Augensagen**

**Otto, Dualismus**

**Otto, Priester und Tempel**

**Pack, Artemidori Daldiani**

**Parkinson, Cracking Codes**

**Parkinson, Dream and Knot**

**Pecoil and Maher-Taha, Seched**

**van Peer, Mutilated Signs**

**Pestman, Jeux de déterminatifs**

**Petrie, Palettes**

**Petrie, Tanis**

**Piankoff, Tut-Ankh-Amon**

**Piehl, Mendès**
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Pierret, Pschent

Pinch, Magic

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PL

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PM

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Poo, Wine Offering
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Preys, Complexes

Preys, Hathor fille de Noun

Preys, Isis and Hathor

Preys, Jeu de signes

Preys, Jeux de titulatures

Preys, Maîtresse des seize

Preys, Manifestations

Preys, Objets sacrés

Preys, Pouvoir d'Ihy

Preys, Protection, alimentation

Preys, Sceptre-ouas

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**Quaegebeur, Ptolemaic Queens**

**Quaegebeur, Somtus l'Enfant**

**Quaegebeur, Trois statues**

**Redford, Harem**

**Rendsburg, Shipwrecked Sailor**

**Reymond, Ancestor Gods**
Reymond, Children of Tanen II

Reymond, Children of Tanen I

Reymond, Egyptian Temple

Reymond, Medical Book

Reynders, Sistrum

Richter, Amduat

Richter, Hatshepsut

Richter, Wandering Goddess

Ritner, Mechanics

Roberts, Jeweled Style

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Robins, Cult Statues

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Sauneron, Esna V

Sauneron, Germe

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Sauneron, Priests

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**Staehelin, Menit**

**Staehelin, Tract**

**Staehelin, Untersuchungen zur Tracht**

**Steindorff, Blaue Königskrone**

**Stephens, Seeing Double**

**Sternberg, Mythische Motive**

**Sternberg-El Hotabi, Trankopfer**

**Strauss, Kronen**

**Szpakowska, Behind Closed Eyes**

**Tawfik, Cult Objects**

**Tawfik, Priest Stela**
Taylor, Death and Afterlife

Teeter, Writing

Teeter and Johnson, Meresamun

Te Velde, Seth

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Traunecker, Hiérophanie

Traunecker, Rites de l'eau

Troy, Queenship

Urk VIII

Valbelle, Artistes

Valbelle, Satet

Valbelle, Satis

**Valeurs phonétiques**

**Vandier, Jumilhac**

**Vassilika, Edfu**

**Vassilika, Philae**

**Vazquez-Presedo, Schreckens**

**Veldhuis, Cow of Sîn**

**Vernus, L'ambivalence**

**Vernus, Athribis**

**Vogelsang-Eastwood, Clothing**

**Wainwright, Red Crown**

**Waitkus, Besuchsfesten**

Waitkus, Fahrt nach Edfu

Waitkus, Geburt des Harsomtus

Waitkus, Krypten

Ward, Miscellanies

Ward, Overflow

Watterson, Alliteration in Ptolemaic

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Wells, Astronomy

Wendrich, Archaeology

West, Tefnut

Westendorf, Auf Wasser
Westendorf, Koptisches Handwörterbuch

Westendorf, Sonnenlauf

Wildung, Formgeschichte

Wildung, Nofret

Wilkinson, Early Dynastic

Wilkinson, Gods and Goddesses

Williams, Death on the Nile

WinGlyph

White, Interpretation of Dreams

Wilkinson, Gods and Goddesses

Winter, Tempelreliefs
Woldering, Sammlung Hannover

Wreszinski, Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit

Yoyotte, Religion

Yoyotte, Tanis

Žabkar, Hymn to Incense

Zauzich, Schreibungen

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### Appendix 1 – Table of Word Plays in the Per-wer Sanctuary

The following table includes the outer entrance of the Per-wer. Discussion of individual examples is indicated by section number listed in the column, "Type." For example, a discussion of the repetition and true pun on *m³.t/mr.t* in Doc 54 (South Wall, 1st register, east side) appears in Section 5.1.2.

#### Types of Word Play

- Repetition (*ploce*) (same root, same form, same meaning)
- Antanaclasis (same root, same form, different meaning)
  - Antanaclasis on close homophones (different roots, close in sound, different meaning)
- Polyptoton (same root, different form, same or different meaning)
  - Polyptoton on close homophones (different roots, close in sound, different meaning)
- True Pun (one word with two or more lexical/grammatical meanings that fit the context)
  - True Pun on close homophone (different roots, close in sound, different meaning)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc No. Location</th>
<th>Text Ref</th>
<th>Location; Scene</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Exterior Entrance</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 1 Entrance Frieze E. Side</td>
<td>D II, pl. 94</td>
<td>Chronocrators for Tybi 11-15</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 2 Entrance Frieze W. Side</td>
<td>D II, pl. 94</td>
<td>Chronocrators for Tybi 16-20</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side</td>
<td>D II, 3.6; D II, pl. 94</td>
<td>Frieze East Side</td>
<td>Polyptoton on <em>nbw</em> (gold); imperfect pun on <em>nbi</em> (close homophone)</td>
<td><em>pr</em>-<em>nbw.t n nbw.t nbi m nbw. nbw.t nfr.w wbn m-lm=f</em></td>
<td>Emphasizes gold: <em>nbw</em> (gold), <em>nbw.t</em> (golden one), <em>nbi</em> (gild).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>See 2.5.3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side</td>
<td>D II, 3.7; D II, pl. 94</td>
<td>Frieze East Side</td>
<td>Polyptoton on <em>psd</em> (shine)</td>
<td><em>psd.t pzd.tl m-kib=f</em></td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor's radiant nature.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *pr*-*nbw.t* is the name of the sanctuary of the Golden One. The Golden One is gilded in the sanctuary, emphasizing its radiant nature.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 3</th>
<th>Entrance</th>
<th>Bandeau of Frieze</th>
<th>E. Side</th>
<th>D II, 3, 7; D II, pl. 94</th>
<th>Frieze East Side</th>
<th>True pun on m-k3b=f (lit. &quot;in its coils&quot;)</th>
<th>psd.t psd.ti m-k3b=f; The shining (uraeus) shines in its (=Per-wer's) midst. Prepositional phrase, m-k3b=f, (lit.&quot;in its coils&quot;) alludes to Hathor's manifestation as uraeus.</th>
<th>Allusion to Hathor's manifestation as uraeus.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doc 4</td>
<td>Entrance</td>
<td>Bandeau of Frieze</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>D II, 4, 2; D II, pl. 94</td>
<td>Frieze West Side</td>
<td>Repetition of Nbw.t (Golden One)</td>
<td>pr-Nbw.t n Nbw.t nPr.w The Sanctuary of the Golden One (=Dendera) is for the Golden One of the Gods</td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor's epithet as the &quot;Golden One.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 4</td>
<td>Entrance</td>
<td>Bandeau of Frieze</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>D II, 4, 2; D II, pl. 94</td>
<td>Frieze West Side</td>
<td>Repetition of nbw (gold) over two cola</td>
<td>...inh m nbw Wbn.t-m-nbw, wbn m-Hnt=f ...plated in gold. She Who Shines Like Gold shines in it.</td>
<td>Emphasizes that the Per-wer's decoration in gold mimics Hathor's radiance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 4</td>
<td>Entrance</td>
<td>Bandeau of Frieze</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>D II, 4, 2; D II, pl. 94</td>
<td>Frieze West Side</td>
<td>Polyptoton on wbn</td>
<td>Wbn.t-m-nbw, wbn m-Hnt=f She Who Shines Like Gold shines in it.</td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor's radiance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 5</td>
<td>Entrance</td>
<td>Cornice Above</td>
<td>Winged Disk</td>
<td>D III, 45, 6; pl. 94</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 6</td>
<td>Entrance</td>
<td>Cornice</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 45, 8-9; pl. 94</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 7</td>
<td>Entrance</td>
<td>Cornice</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>D III, 45, 10; pl. 94</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 8</td>
<td>Entrance</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>Door Frame</td>
<td>D III, 45, 13; D II, pl. 94; Mariette, D II, pl. 60a</td>
<td>Outer Column Text A</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on pr=t (with multiple meanings)</td>
<td>h=t m pr=t...pr=t r-h3 Yyou appear in your sanctuary... You go forth outside (in procession). Aural emphasis with visual meaning; emphasizes Hathor's procession from her sanctuary.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 9</td>
<td>Entrance</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>Door Frame</td>
<td>D III, 46, 4-5; D II, pl. 94; Mariette, D II, pl.</td>
<td>Outer Column Text B</td>
<td>Polyptoton on shn, intensified by visual alliteration</td>
<td>Ra embraces you in his arms.</td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor's embracing by Ra and her installation in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Doc 10
Entrance E. Side Door Frame

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>60b</th>
<th>of embracing-arms sign (D32)</th>
<th>you are installed in the noble palace.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>See 5.1.1.</td>
<td>Visual alliteration with the two embracing-arms ideograms (D32), used twice to represent the verb -bordered by, but with a different meaning for each repetition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the sanctuary.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doc 11
Entrance W. Side Door Frame

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D III, 47.7 – 48.1; D II, pl. 94; Mariette, D II, pl. 60d</th>
<th>Inner column Text D</th>
<th>Polyptoton on  ( wbn )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hathor, Lady of Dendera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>shines/appears/rises in her sanctuary like Ra who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>shines/appears/rises in the sky.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Visual alliteration with the two embracing-arms ideograms (D32), used twice to represent the verb -bordered by, but with a different meaning for each repetition.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doc 11
Entrance W. Side Door Frame

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D III, 47.7 – 48.1; D II, pl. 94; Mariette, D II, pl. 60d</th>
<th>Inner column, Text D</th>
<th>Polyptoton on  ( \text{Ax.t} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the Horizon-dweller in the horizon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Equates Hathor's illumination of her temple with the illumination of the horizon.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doc 12
Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D III, 48.15-16; D II, pl. 94</th>
<th>Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Nun</th>
<th>Antanaclasis of close homophones (( k^{3}/\tilde{k}^{3} ))</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I have praised your ( \text{ka} ) to the height of heaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Note: there is also a visual play on this phrase. See Doc 12 in Sign Play Table, 3.9.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doc 12
Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D III, 49.5; D II, pl. 94</th>
<th>Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of the King</th>
<th>Repetition of  ( \text{hk}^{3} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ruler, son of the ruler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasizes the king’s royal lineage.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doc 12
Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D III, 49.10; D II, pl. 94</th>
<th>Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Kauket</th>
<th>Polyptoton on  ( r^{5} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hail to you, Rayt, Mistress of Suns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor’s solar nature and her primacy over the other “suns.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doc 13
Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D III, 49.17; D II, pl. 94</th>
<th>Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Kauket</th>
<th>Polyptoton on  ( r^{5} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hail to you, Rayt, Mistress of Suns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor’s solar nature and her primacy over the other “suns.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 13</td>
<td>Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze</td>
<td>D III, 50-7; D II, pl. 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 14</td>
<td>Entrance Lower Cornice E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 51-5-6; D II, pl. 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 15</td>
<td>Entrance Lower Cornice W. Side</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 16</td>
<td>Entrance E. Side Lintel</td>
<td>D III, 51-12-14; D II, pl. 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 17</td>
<td>Entrance W. Side Lintel</td>
<td>D III, 52-13-14; D II, pl. 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 18</td>
<td>Entrance E. Side Door Framing</td>
<td>D III, 53-12; D II, pl. 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 19</td>
<td>Entrance W. Side Door</td>
<td>D III, 54-2-3; D II, pl. 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 20</td>
<td>Entrance E. Side Thickness of door jamb</td>
<td>Text Column (montant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D III, 54,13</td>
<td>Wr ṱrw m ṱpy.w-t nb.w nb mỉš.t</td>
<td>Great One of Fear among all those on earth, lord of Ma'at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 20</td>
<td>Entrance E. Side Thickness of door jamb</td>
<td>Text Column (montant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D III, 54,14-15</td>
<td>ṱps.t wr.t nb.t ṱpsw.t</td>
<td>The noble and great lady, lady of the noble ladies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 20</td>
<td>Entrance E. Side Thickness of door jamb</td>
<td>Text Column (montant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D III, 54,15</td>
<td>ṱn.t ṱn.t n mỉš=s</td>
<td>The beautiful one is beautiful in seeing her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 20</td>
<td>Entrance E. Side Thickness of door jamb</td>
<td>Text Column (montant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D III, 54,16</td>
<td>ṱhy n=s ṱhyw</td>
<td>The ṱhy-children play music for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 20</td>
<td>Entrance E. Side Thickness of door jamb</td>
<td>Text Column (épaisseur des montants)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D III, 54,17</td>
<td>ḫnw.t ṱhkr.w ṱhkr.wt ṱhkr.m snt r=s</td>
<td>Mistress of the Gods and the Goddesses, no god is comparable to her</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 21</td>
<td>Entrance W. Side Thickness of door jamb</td>
<td>Text Column (épaisseur des montants)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D III, 55,6</td>
<td>ṱnt.s twr m ṱnt pr-ṱpy.t</td>
<td>The purifier, son of the purifier</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 21</td>
<td>Entrance W. Side Thickness of door jamb</td>
<td>Text Column (épaisseur des montants)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D III, 55,7</td>
<td>ṱps.t pw m m-hmt pr-ṱpy.t</td>
<td>The noble lady in the sanctuary of the noble lady [=Isis]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 21</td>
<td>Entrance W. Side Thickness of door jamb</td>
<td>Text Column (épaisseur des montants)</td>
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<tr>
<td>D III, 55,7</td>
<td>ṱpy.t n.t m pr-ṱpy.t</td>
<td>The beautiful noblewoman in the sanctuary of the noblewoman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 22</td>
<td>Entrance</td>
<td>Pied-droit de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 22 Entrance E. Side Door Jamb</td>
<td>D III, 56,5; IFAO photo no. 98-2224-25; Mariette, D II, pl. 60e</td>
<td>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</td>
</tr>
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<td>Doc 22 Entrance E. Side Door Jamb</td>
<td>D III, 56,6; IFAO photo no. 98-2224-25; Mariette, D II, pl. 60e</td>
<td>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</td>
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<td>Doc 22 Entrance E. Side Door Jamb</td>
<td>D III, 56,7; IFAO photo no. 98-2224-25; Mariette, D II, pl. 60e</td>
<td>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</td>
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<td>Doc 23 Entrance W. Side Door Jamb</td>
<td>D III, 57,5; IFAO photo no. 98-2222-23; Mariette, D II, pl. 60a</td>
<td>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</td>
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<tr>
<td>Per-wer Interior</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 24 E. Side Bandeau of Base</td>
<td>D III, 60,1; pl. 184</td>
<td>East Wall</td>
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<td>Doc 25 W. Side</td>
<td>D III, 60,7; pl.</td>
<td>West Wall</td>
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<td>Side</td>
<td>Bandeau</td>
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<td><strong>Bandeau of Base</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Her chapel</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Completion of the Per-wer.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Bandeau</strong></td>
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<td><strong>West Wall</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Antanaclasis on ˁn</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Emphasizes Hathor's beauty.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Doc 26</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>E. Side Bandeau of Frieze</strong></td>
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<td><strong>East Wall</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Polyptoton on psḏ</strong></td>
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<td><strong>The Shining One shines in the sky before her city.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Emphasizes Hathor's radiant quality.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Doc 27</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>W. Side Bandeau of Frieze</strong></td>
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<td><strong>South, West, and North Walls</strong></td>
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<td><strong>None</strong></td>
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<td><strong>North Wall</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Doc 28</strong></td>
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<td><strong>N. Wall E. Side Lintel</strong></td>
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<td><strong>D III, 58.5-6; pls. 180 and 181; Mariette, D II, pl. 66b</strong></td>
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<td><strong>mnw-vase</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Antanaclasis on ēh</strong></td>
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<td><strong>See 2.2.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Emphasizes the king's role as Ihy, making music for his mother Hathor.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Doc 29</strong></td>
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<td><strong>N. Wall W. Side Lintel</strong></td>
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<td><strong>D III, 59.5; pl. 181; Mariette, D II, pl. 66a</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Wine to his mother (Isis); Divine Randzeile (Isis)</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Polyptoton on close homophones (hnw/hnw)</strong></td>
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<td><strong>hnw.t nb.t ēh, nb.t hnw Mistress and Lady of exultation, Lady of jubilation</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Wb. II 493; PL 606 (hnw)</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Emphasizes Hathor's role in jubilation.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Doc 30</strong></td>
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<td><strong>N. Wall E. Side 3rd Reg.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>D III, 72.5; pl. 184; Mariette, D II, pl. 66a</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Greeting with nmst-jar</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Polyptoton on ḫḥ</strong></td>
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<td><strong>See 5.1.3.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Emphasizes the refreshing quality of libation water.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>N. Wall E. Side 3rd Reg.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>D III, 72.5; pl. 184</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Greeting with nmst-jar</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Repetition of Nbw.t</strong></td>
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<td><strong>tw=f Nbw.t m-hnt pr-Nbw.t You are the Golden One in the sanctuary of the Golden One.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Emphasizes Hathor's epithet as the Golden One.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Doc 30</strong></td>
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<td><strong>N. Wall E. Side 3rd Reg.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>D III, 72.5; pl. 184</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Greeting with nmst-jar</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Polyptoton on ṟnḫ</strong></td>
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<td><strong>See 5.2.3.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Emphasizes the rejuvenating qualities of the inundation</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 31 N. Wall W. Side 3rd Reg.</td>
<td>Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>inundation might come to you in its time of <strong>the year</strong>, at the beginning of <strong>the year</strong>, without ceasing.</td>
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<td>D III, 83,13; pl. 185</td>
<td>Udjat offering (Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>Polyptoton on <strong>ntr</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 31 N. Wall W. Side 3rd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 84,2; pl. 185</td>
<td>Udjat offering (Hathor); Royal Randzeile</td>
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<td>Also listed in Word Play table.</td>
<td></td>
<td>See 5.1.4.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 32</td>
<td>N. Wall</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
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<tr>
<td>D III, 68.12; pl. 31; IFAO photo no. 98-2211</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>$sn.t=\text{s}\ n sH\ n \text{s}$</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 32</th>
<th>N. Wall</th>
<th>E. Side</th>
<th>2nd Reg.</th>
<th>Polypptoton on title</th>
<th>Emphasizes the primacy of Hathor, as primordial goddess.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 69.1-2; pl. 31; IFAO photo no. 98-2211</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>$sb.t sb.(t) p^s p^s n k.t hr hw=s$</td>
<td>The Primordial One (f.), who was first to be born</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 33</th>
<th>N. Wall</th>
<th>W. Side</th>
<th>2nd Reg.</th>
<th>Polypptoton on title</th>
<th>Emphasizes Hathor's greatness over all the gods and her epithet as the Golden One.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 80.5; pl. 183; IFAO photo no. 93-2210</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>$wr.t b^s w r ^s tr.w nb.w dd.tw [n]=t nbw.t nb.(t) lw^s.t$</td>
<td>… greater than all the gods, you are called the Golden One, Lady of Iunet.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 33</th>
<th>N. Wall</th>
<th>W. Side</th>
<th>2nd Reg.</th>
<th>Polypptoton on title</th>
<th>Emphasizes Hathor's protective qualities.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 80.6; pl. 183; IFAO photo no. 93-2210</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>$nb.(t) mk.t hr mk.(t) km^s s(y)$</td>
<td>Lady of Protection, protecting the one who created her.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 34</th>
<th>N. Wall</th>
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<th>1st Reg.</th>
<th>Polypptoton on title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 63.14-18; pl. 182; IFAO photo no. 97-2221</td>
<td>no title (Nekhbet and Hathor welcome King)</td>
<td>$iI sntr. sntr=f h^s w=t$</td>
<td>The incense comes, it censes (i.e. purifies) your body</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 35</th>
<th>N. Wall</th>
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<th>Polypptoton on title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 75.15-76.2; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2220</td>
<td>no title (Wadjet and Isis welcome King)</td>
<td>$pd pd.n=f tp.yw.c=t$</td>
<td>The incense, it has censed (lit. stretches/diffuses) your ancestors.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Doc 36</th>
<th>E. Wall</th>
<th>3rd Reg.</th>
<th>3rd Reg.</th>
<th>Polypptoton on title</th>
<th>Emphasizes the incense's fragrance.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 72.11-12; pl. 188-189</td>
<td>Doing the censing; title and formula</td>
<td>$nsp fnm=tn m sty=f m-n=tn lr.t- Hr il sty=s r=tn$</td>
<td>Your (pl.) nose breathes its (m.s.) perfume. Take to</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 36</th>
<th>E. Wall</th>
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<th>Polypptoton on title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 72.11-12; pl. 188-189</td>
<td>Doing the censing; title and formula</td>
<td>$il sntr. sntr=f h^s w=t$</td>
<td>The incense comes, it censes (i.e. purifies) your body</td>
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<th>Polypptoton on title</th>
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<tr>
<td>D III, 72.11-12; pl. 188-189</td>
<td>Doing the censing; title and formula</td>
<td>$pd pd.n=f tp.yw.c=t$</td>
<td>The incense, it has censed (lit. stretches/diffuses) your ancestors.</td>
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<td>Doc 36</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>3rd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 73.12-13; pls. 188-189</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on sntr</td>
<td>Visually and aurally emphasizes the King's act of censing and its role in satisfying the gods.</td>
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<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>3rd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 73.12-13; pls. 188-189</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on sntr</td>
<td>(I bring) incense in order to cense your (pl.) places Emphasizes censing with incense.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 36</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>3rd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 73.12-13; pls. 188-189</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on sntr</td>
<td>We receive the incense in order to cense our statues Emphasizes censing with incense.</td>
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<td>Doc 37</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>3rd Reg</td>
<td>D III, 84,13; pls. 195-197</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on kšw</td>
<td>Emphasizes the divine powers in charge of provisions (food).</td>
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<td>Doc 37</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>3rd Reg</td>
<td>D III, 84,13; pls. 195-197</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on šps.w</td>
<td>The noble powers, lords of riches/provisions Emphasizes the noble powers in charge of provisions.</td>
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<td>Doc 37</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>3rd Reg</td>
<td>D III, 84,14; pls.</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on dfβ</td>
<td>Emphasizes the provisioning of</td>
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<td>Doc 37 W. Wall 3rd Reg</td>
<td>195-197</td>
<td>Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Emphasizes the life-giving qualities of the Ennead of Atum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 37 W. Wall 3rd Reg</td>
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<td>Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Emphasizes Harsomtus' role as Lord of Provisions</td>
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<td>Doc 37 W. Wall 3rd Reg</td>
<td>195-197</td>
<td>Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Emphasizes the ability of Harsomtus to provide sustenance to living beings.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 37 W. Wall 3rd Reg</td>
<td>195-197</td>
<td>Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Emphasizes the reception of the offerings by the gods.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 37 W. Wall 3rd Reg</td>
<td>195-197</td>
<td>Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Emphasizes that the gods' maintenance of Egypt.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 38 E. Wall 2nd Reg 1st Scene</td>
<td>93-2202</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor's sweet milk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 38 E. Wall 2nd Reg 1st Scene</td>
<td>93-2202</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor's sweet milk and love.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Doc 40 E. Wall 2nd Reg 1st Scene | 98-2207 | None | Emphasizes the Queen's Word and sign play.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd Scene</th>
<th>photo no. 98-2203</th>
<th>title and formula</th>
<th>((m-n=t))</th>
<th>Take for yourself the <em>menit-necklace</em> of gold</th>
<th>offering of menit-necklace to Hathor.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Also Doc 17 (52,13-14)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>((m-n=t))</td>
<td>Horizontal signs alternate with small round signs to create graphical opposition.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Doc 40**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E. Wall 2nd Reg. 2nd Scene</th>
<th>photo no. 98-2203</th>
<th>Antanaclasis on close homophones ((nbw.t/nb.t))</th>
<th>(Nbw.t\ \text{nb}.t\ \text{mnt} )</th>
<th>The Golden One, Lady of the menit</th>
<th>Emphasizes Hathor’s epithets of Golden One and Lady of Menit.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Doc 41**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W. Wall 2nd Reg. 2nd Scene</th>
<th>photo no. 98-2206</th>
<th>Polyptoton on (wdb)</th>
<th>(wdb3.t\ \text{wdb}.t)</th>
<th>The Udjat Eye, being healthy</th>
<th>Emphasizes the health of the Udjat Eye.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W. Wall 2nd Reg. 2nd Scene</th>
<th>photo no. 98-2206</th>
<th>Polyptoton on (wbn)</th>
<th>(wbn.t\ \text{wbn}.t)</th>
<th>The Shining One, being shiny</th>
<th>Emphasizes the radiance of the Udjat Eye.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W. Wall 2nd Reg. 2nd Scene</th>
<th>photo no. 98-2206</th>
<th>Antanaclasis on (twt) over two cola</th>
<th>(twt\ \text{m} \text{irw} = f n \text{hk}.t \text{t}.\text{wy} ) (hr\ \text{twt}\ \text{T}y.t)</th>
<th>Complete in his form as the ruler of the Two Lands, perfecting Tayet</th>
<th>Emphasizes the completeness and perfection of the King’s form and action.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W. Wall 2nd Reg. 2nd Scene</th>
<th>photo no. 98-2206</th>
<th>Polyptoton on (\text{sih})</th>
<th>(\text{sih} \ \text{si}.t\ \text{m} \text{dbh} = s)</th>
<th>who makes effective the Udjat-Eye with its elements</th>
<th>Emphasizes the effectiveness of the Udjat Eye.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W. Wall 2nd Reg. 2nd Scene</th>
<th>photo no. 98-2206</th>
<th>True pun on (\text{ibb}.t)</th>
<th>(\text{ibb}.t\ \text{m} \text{tp} \text{n} \text{ir}=s)</th>
<th>She has united with the uraeus on her father’s brow. (\text{ibb}.t) is homophonic with “left Eye,” connecting the uraeus with the Eye of Horus.</th>
<th>Subtle allusion to the left Eye of Horus, the moon (equated with Isis).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<p>| W. Wall 2nd Reg. 2nd Scene | photo no. 98-2206 | Antanaclasis on (\text{tp}) over two cola | (\text{ibb}.t\ \text{m} \text{tp} \text{n} \text{ir}=s) | The uraeus is on the head of her father—the uraeus (lit. “She who is on the head”) is within the Temple of the Wensheb. The term for “uraeus” ((hr.t-tp), lit. “she who is on the head”) is explained in the previous statement that the uraeus ((ibb}.t) is (\text{m} \text{tp} \text{n} \text{ir}=s), “on the head of her | Repetition and explanation emphasize that Hathor is the uraeus on the head of the sun god Ra. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 42</th>
<th>E. Wall</th>
<th>2nd Reg.</th>
<th>3rd Scene</th>
<th>D III, 70.8; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204</th>
<th>Playing $s\tilde{s}.t$ and $s\tilde{h}m$-sistra (Hathor); title and formula</th>
<th>Polypototon on $s\tilde{h}m$ over two cola</th>
<th>See 5.1.2.</th>
<th>$s\tilde{h}m$ m $i\tilde{b}y=\tilde{t}$ ink $Hr$ w\tilde{d} $n$ $s\tilde{h}m$.t The $s\tilde{h}m$-sistrum is in my left hand. I am Horus, the offspring of Sekhmet</th>
<th>Emphasizes the king's role as son of Sekhmet, playing the sistrum.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doc 42</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 70.11-12; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204</td>
<td>Playing $s\tilde{s}.t$ and $s\tilde{h}m$-sistra (Hathor); speech of King</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on $i\tilde{h}y$</td>
<td>See 2.2.</td>
<td>$i\tilde{h}y$ n $n\tilde{b}w.t$ $i\tilde{r}$ $i\tilde{h}y$ n $h\tilde{n}w.t$=$f$ The $i\tilde{h}y$ of the Golden One, who makes music for his Mistress</td>
<td>Emphasizes the King's role as Ihy, making music for Hathor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 42</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 70.13; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204</td>
<td>Playing $s\tilde{s}.t$ and $s\tilde{h}m$-sistra (Hathor); Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on $i\tilde{h}y$</td>
<td>See 2.2.</td>
<td>$s\tilde{w}$ $m\tilde{l}$ $i\tilde{h}y$ $i\tilde{r}$ $i\tilde{h}y$ n $h\tilde{n}w.t$=$f$ He is like Ihy who makes music for his Mistress.</td>
<td>Emphasizes the King's role as Ihy, making music for Hathor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 42</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 70.15; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204</td>
<td>Playing $s\tilde{s}.t$ and $s\tilde{h}m$-sistra (Hathor); speech of King</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on $\tilde{t}h$</td>
<td>I give you beer; you repeat drunkenness.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasizes drunkenness through beer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 42</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 70.15; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204</td>
<td>Playing $s\tilde{s}.t$ and $s\tilde{h}m$-sistra (Hathor); speech of Hathor</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on close homophones ($i\tilde{b}$/$i\tilde{b}$)</td>
<td>Lady of Joy ($i\tilde{w}$-ib), Mistress of the $i\tilde{b}$-dance.</td>
<td>The alliteration of $i\tilde{b}$ in the two epithets suggests the equivalency of joy and the $i\tilde{b}$-dance.</td>
<td>Subtle equation of &quot;joy&quot; and the $i\tilde{b}$-dance, both of which occur in epithets of Hathor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 42</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 70.16; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204</td>
<td>Playing $s\tilde{s}.t$ and $s\tilde{h}m$-sistra (Hathor); speech of Hathor</td>
<td>True pun on $s\tilde{h}m$.w</td>
<td>$h\tilde{n}w.t$ $s\tilde{h}m$.w Mistress of the $s\tilde{h}m$-sistra</td>
<td>True pun on $s\tilde{h}m$.w, which can also be translated &quot;powers.&quot;</td>
<td>Emphasis on Hathor's power manifested within the $s\tilde{h}m$-sistra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 42</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 70.17-18; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204</td>
<td>Playing $s\tilde{s}.t$ and $s\tilde{h}m$-sistra (Hathor); Divine Randzeile</td>
<td>True pun on $s\tilde{h}m$.w</td>
<td>$h\tilde{n}w.t$ $s\tilde{h}m$.w Mistress of the $s\tilde{h}m$-sistra</td>
<td>True pun on $s\tilde{h}m$.w, which can also be translated &quot;powers.&quot;</td>
<td>Emphasis on Hathor's power manifested within the $s\tilde{h}m$-sistra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 43</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 81.14; IFAO photo no. 98-2205</td>
<td>Offering $m\tilde{n}w$-vase (Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>Polypototon on $\tilde{h}$</td>
<td>Effective/Shining One ($\tilde{h}$) in Iunet (=Dendera), your $\tilde{h}$w-power is effective</td>
<td>Multiple meanings are embedded in the polypototons. See more detailed analysis in Word Play chapter.</td>
<td>Emphasizes the shining effectiveness of Hathor's $\tilde{h}$w-power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 43</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 81,15; IFAO photo no. 98-2205</td>
<td>Offering <em>mmw</em>-vase (Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>Polyptoton on <em>nfr</em></td>
<td>See 2.3.</td>
<td><em>Nfr.t nfr.wy nfrw=t</em> Beautiful One, how beautiful is your beauty/perfection!</td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor's beauty and perfection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 44</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 81,16; IFAO photo no. 98-2205</td>
<td>Offering <em>mmw</em>-vase (Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>Polyptoton on <em>b3</em></td>
<td>See 5.1.2.</td>
<td><em>b3.t r shm.w b+h= b3.w</em> Female Ba among the (divine) powers, speedy one of (divine) power</td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor's swift divine power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 44</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 82,10; IFAO photo no. 98-2205</td>
<td>Offering <em>mmw</em>-vase (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)</td>
<td>Repetition of <em>tp</em></td>
<td><em>hr.t-tp m tp n t=t=s</em> The uraeus on the head of her father</td>
<td>The uraeus, <em>hr.t-tp</em>, is lit. &quot;She who is on the head.&quot;</td>
<td>Emphasizes the place of the uraeus on the head of her father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 44</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td>1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 64,7; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; Mariette, D II, pl. 65a</td>
<td>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); speech of King</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on <em>tvr</em></td>
<td><em>tvr twr m d.t=f</em> The purifier, purified in his body</td>
<td>Emphasizes King's purity.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 44</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td>1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 64,7; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212;</td>
<td>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Repetition of <em>hm-ntr</em>; possible elipsis of <em>hm-ntr</em></td>
<td><em>hm-ntr s=f &lt;hm-ntr&gt;</em> <em>hm-ntr</em> priest, son of a <em>hm-ntr</em> priest</td>
<td>The first <em>hm-ntr</em> may do double duty, with the second (omitted) instance understood (elipsis).</td>
<td>Emphasizes King's purity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 44</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td>1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 64,7-8; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212;</td>
<td>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Repetition of <em>tvr</em></td>
<td><em>tvr s=f twr</em> The purifier, son of a purifier</td>
<td>Emphasizes the king's unbroken lineage as purifier-priest.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 44</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td>1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 64,8; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212;</td>
<td>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on <em>dsr</em></td>
<td><em>tk bw dsr m dsr</em> who enters the sacred place in (state of) sacredness</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on <em>dsr</em>, with first instance as adjective, the second as substantive.</td>
<td>Emphasizes the king's state of sanctity when entering the sacred shrine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 44</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td>1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 65,3; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212;</td>
<td>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)</td>
<td>Polyptoton on <em>dser</em></td>
<td><em>dser.t hmt Psd.t htp m hd=s m iw=m=s dser</em> The sacred one among the Ennead, who rests in her naos in her sacred shrine</td>
<td>Emphasizes the sacred character of Hathor and her shrine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 45</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td></td>
<td>D III, 76,9; pl. 191;</td>
<td>Pulling (door) bolt (Hathor's)</td>
<td>Polyptoton on <em>psd</em> over two cola</td>
<td><em>s=t pr-nbw.t r psd hmr t=f=s, wbn Psd.t=s m-h=f=s</em> who opens the sanctuary of the Golden One, in order to make</td>
<td>Emphasizes the radiance that emanates from...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scene</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Image</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1st Scene</td>
<td>IFAO photo no. 98-2217; Mariette, D II, pl. 64b</td>
<td>shrine; Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>radiant Her Majesty; her Ennead shines behind her.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 45 W. Wall 1st Reg. 1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 76.9; pl. 191; IFAO photo no. 99-2217; Mariette, D II, pl. 64b</td>
<td>Pulling (door) bolt (Hathor’s shrine); Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>$sk3 k3=s$ who makes high her ka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 45 W. Wall 1st Reg. 1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 76.12; pl. 191; IFAO photo no. 99-2217; Mariette, D II, pl. 64a</td>
<td>Pulling (door) bolt; Divine Randzeile (Hathor)</td>
<td>$\text{nswy.t-bi ty.t } 3\hat{h}. ty.t \text{ hr } m 3\hat{h}. t$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 46 E. Wall 1st Reg. 2nd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 65.10; pl. 187; IFAO photo no. 98-2213; Mariette, D II, pl. 65b</td>
<td>Unfastening the seal (Hathor’s shrine); Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>The solar feminine disk (Atenet)--it resembles the Aten</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 46 E. Wall 1st Reg. 2nd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 66.3; pl. 187; IFAO photo no. 98-2213; Mariette, D II, pl. 65b</td>
<td>Unfastening the seal (Hathor’s shrine); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)</td>
<td>$stl.t ms3\hat{h}. r Psd.t. psd m nn.t m hr.t-hrw$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- Polyptoton on close homophones ($k3/k3$)
- Polyptoton on $\hat{h}$: true pun on $\hat{h}. t$
- Polyptoton on $\hat{m}$
- Polyptoton on $psd$ over two cola
- The King opens the doors, revealing the sacred statues of Hathor and her Ennead.
- Hathor's role as solar goddess is emphasized; a pun on $\hat{h}. t$ equates the horizon with the temple.
- Emphasizes the height to which the King praises Hathor.
- Hathor appears in the horizon (=temple).
- Hathor’s role as solar goddess is emphasized; equates temple with horizon.
- Emphasizes Hathor's role as solar goddess.
- Emphasizes the King's role in making the two Divine Eyes magically effective.
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<th>Doc 47</th>
<th>W. Wall</th>
<th>1st Reg.</th>
<th>Revealing face of the Golden One (Hathor); Royal Randzeile</th>
<th>Polypoton on psd</th>
<th>psd Psd.t=s m hb=s nfr her Ennead shines during her beautiful festival</th>
<th>Emphasizes the radiance from Hathor's Ennead.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doc 47</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td>Revealing face of the Golden One (Hathor); speech of Hathor</td>
<td>Polypoton on close homophones sSp</td>
<td>wn.n=i sSp m $Sp.t=k I have opened the light in your chapel</td>
<td>Emphasizes the light emanating from Hathor's shrine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 47</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td>Revealing face of the Golden One</td>
<td>True pun on dl.t-mrw.t</td>
<td>Rayt in heaven</td>
<td>The literal meaning, &quot;She who gives love,&quot; for Di.t-mr(w).t, &quot;heaven,&quot; is used at Dendera to allude to Hathor's loving nature. (e.g. D III, 54,14; 58,8; 70,16; 72,2). LGG IV, 612; Wb 420,1-3; PL 1183. Emphasizes Hathor's nature as one who gives love.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 48</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td>Seeing the god (Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>Triple polypoton on k3 and on close homophone k3 over two cola</td>
<td>sb1k,n=i k3.t n(.t) k3=s $k3.n=i nfrw=s r k3 n{.t} p.t I have brightened the dignity of her Ka. I have exalted her perfection to the height of heaven.</td>
<td>Emphasizes the height to which the King praises Hathor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 48</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td>Seeing the god (Hathor); speech of Ma'at</td>
<td>Repetition of M35.t</td>
<td>dd mdw in M35.t wr.t hnt h,t-M35.t Words to say by Ma'at in the Temple of Ma'at</td>
<td>Emphasizes the goddess Ma'at.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 48</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td>Seeing the god (Hathor); speech of Ma'at</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on close homophones (nbw.t/nb.t)</td>
<td>nfr.wy hr=t Nb.w.t nb(,t) Twn.t How beautiful is your face, Golden One (f.), Lady of lunet (=Dendera)</td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor's epithets as Golden One and Lady of Lunet.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 48</th>
<th>E. Wall</th>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Reg.</th>
<th>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Scene</th>
<th>D III, 66,13; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette, D II, pl. 63b</th>
<th>Seeing the god (Hathor); Royal Randzeile</th>
<th>Antanaclasis on $\text{f}$</th>
<th>$\text{f}_m \text{f}_n \text{m}_3 \text{n}_t$ who clothes with his clothes of &quot;seeing the god.&quot;</th>
<th>Emphasis on the king’s act of clothing the divine statue.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doc 48</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Reg.</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Scene</td>
<td>D III, 67,2; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette, D II, pl. 63b</td>
<td>Seeing the god (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)</td>
<td>Polyptoton on $\text{r}$</td>
<td>$\text{r}_y \text{t} \text{s}_3 \text{t}$ The female sun, daughter of Ra.</td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor's role as solar goddess.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 48</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Reg.</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Scene</td>
<td>D III, 67,2-3; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette, D II, pl. 63b</td>
<td>Seeing the god (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)</td>
<td>Polyptoton on $\text{m}$</td>
<td>$\text{m}_t \text{m} \text{n} \text{t} \text{m}$ the female sun disk in the circuit of the sun disk</td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor's role as solar goddess.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 48</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Reg.</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Scene</td>
<td>D III, 67,2; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette, D II, pl. 63b</td>
<td>Seeing the god (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)</td>
<td>Polyptoton on $\text{d}_w$</td>
<td>$\text{d}_w \text{t} \text{w} \text{r} \text{d}_w \text{s} \text{r}^2 \text{n}_b \text{s} \text{p} \text{n} \text{n}_w$ one rises early in the morning in order to adore her every single day</td>
<td>Emphasizes the daily morning worship of Hathor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 49</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Reg.</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Scene</td>
<td>D III, 78,6; IFAO photo no. 98-2215; Mariette, D II, pl. 63a</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of King</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on close homophones ($\text{n}_s/\text{n}_t$)</td>
<td>$\text{l}_w \text{n}_s \text{f}_r \text{n}_t \text{s}_h \text{k}_n \text{w}$ Sweet of tongue, reciting the (hymns) of praise</td>
<td>Emphasizes King's action of praising Hathor with his sweet words of praise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 49</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Reg.</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Scene</td>
<td>D III, 78,11; IFAO photo no. 98-2215; Mariette, D II, pl. 63a</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)</td>
<td>Polyptoton on $\text{s}_3$; alliteration on $\text{s}_3$</td>
<td>$\text{s}_3 \text{t} \text{s}_3 \text{s}_3 \text{s}_p \text{h}_r$ Seshat, the Primordial One who initiated writing</td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor’s role as Seshat, who invented writing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| South Wall | | | | | | | | |

<p>| Doc 50 | S. Wall | 3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Reg | E.Side | D III, 74,7; Mariette, D II, pl. 67a | Mirror offering (Hathor); Divine Randzeile | Polyptoton on $\text{h}$ | $\text{d}_l \text{=} \text{t}_1 \text{m} \text{n}_k \text{f}_t \text{h}_y \text{=} \text{k}_l \text{t}_s \text{f}_m \text{s} \text{f}_t \text{=} \text{s}_n$ I give you your (whole, uninjured, divine) Eyes, effective in their place. | Emphasizes the uninjured, effective state of the Divine Eyes, which are |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 51</th>
<th>S. Wall</th>
<th>3rd Reg. W. Side</th>
<th>D III, 85.12 – 86.4</th>
<th>none</th>
<th>equated mirror of the offering.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doc 52</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 71.6; pl. 190; IFAO photo no. 98-2208</td>
<td>Offering cloth to Hathor; Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>True pun on psd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hr sḥd ḫw m psḥd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>illuminating (sḥd) (her) body with the nine-strand linen (psḥd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>See 2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The word for nine-stranded linen, psḥd, is a homonym for ḫw, light, thus creating a true pun and lending the secondary meaning, &quot;illuminating the body with light,&quot; which alludes to the quality of the fine linen, called, šḥp.t, &quot;bright cloth,&quot; and ḫḏ.t, &quot;bright white cloth&quot; in the next line (D III, 71.7). This description connects with the idea that the king is clothing his mistress with cloth that is appropriate to her role as Ṣḥḥy.t, the female sun, mentioned at the end of the phrase (D III, 71.7).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasizes the brightness of the cloth offering; secondary meaning of &quot;illuminating with light&quot; is especially appropriate for &quot;the female sun.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 52</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 71.6-7; 8; pl. 190; IFAO photo no. 98-2208</td>
<td>Offering cloth to Hathor; Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Polypoton on ḫḏ across several colons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hr sḥd ḫw m psḥd...ṣḥ ḫnw.t=f ḫḥ.t... ḫḥ.t Nḥḥ.t ḫḥ.t Nhḥn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>illuminating (sḥd) her body with the nine-strand linen (the &quot;shining&quot; cloth)….tying on his mistress the bright white cloth (ḥḥ.t)...Nekhbet, White One of Nekhen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>The play on the root ḫḥ, describing the king's action as well as his offering, emphasizes the shining quality of the cloth, while also connecting to the epithet of Nekhbet, ḫḥ.t (&quot;White One&quot; of Nekhen), who as a vulture flies protectively over his head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasizes the shining quality of the white cloth being offered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 52</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 71.10; pl. 190; IFAO photo no. 98-2208</td>
<td>Offering cloth to Hathor; speech of Hathor</td>
<td>Polypoton on mnh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sḥnḥḥ-mnh.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>who makes excellent the cloth</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>See 2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasizes that Hathor makes the cloth excellent (perhaps by imparting her radiance to it).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 52</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg</td>
<td>D III, 71.10</td>
<td>Offering cloth to Hathor;</td>
<td>Polypoton on Ṣḥḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ṣḥḥ y.t nb.t Ṣḥḥ.w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the female sun, lady of (male) suns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor's solar nature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Document</td>
<td>Side</td>
<td>Reg</td>
<td>Wall</td>
<td>File</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 52</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Reg</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 71,11; IFAO photo no. 98-2208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 52</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Reg</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 71,11; IFAO photo no. 98-2208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 53</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Reg</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>D III, 83,1; pl. 198; IFAO photo no. 98-2209</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 53</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Reg</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>D III, 83,1; pl. 198; IFAO photo no. 98-2209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 54</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Reg</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 67,6-7; IFAO photo no. 98-2218, Mariette, D II, pl. 62a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 54</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Reg</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 67,9-10; IFAO photo no. 98-2218;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1665 Error noted by Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 140-141. The signs in Chassinat D III, 71,11 are $\text{H6 A4}$, which do not make sense here.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
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<th>Literary Details</th>
<th>Commentary</th>
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<td>D III, 67,12; IFAO photo no. 98-2218; Mariette, D II, pl. 62a</td>
<td>Offering Ma'at; speech of the King</td>
<td>Repetition of $m\text{f}.t$ who lifts up (i.e., offers) Ma'at to the Lady of Ma'at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 54</td>
<td>S. Wall E. Side 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 67,13; IFAO photo no. 98-2218; Mariette, D II, pl. 62a</td>
<td>Offering Ma'at; Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Polyptoton on close homophones ($k\bar{s}/k\bar{f}$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 54</td>
<td>S. Wall E. Side 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 68,4-5; IFAO photo no. 98-2218; Mariette, D II, pl. 62a</td>
<td>Offering Ma'at; speech of Horus of Edfu</td>
<td>Polyptoton on $nfr$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 54</td>
<td>S. Wall E. Side 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 68,6; IFAO photo no. 98-2218; Mariette, D II, pl. 62a</td>
<td>Offering Ma'at; Divine Randzeile (Hathor)</td>
<td>Antanaclasis on close homophones ($Nb\text{w}.t/nb\text{w}.t$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 55</td>
<td>S. Wall W. Side 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 78,15 – 79,1; IFAO photo no. 99-2219; Mariette, D II, pl. 62b</td>
<td>Offering Ma'at; title and formula</td>
<td>Repetition of $m\text{f}.t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 55</td>
<td>S. Wall W. Side 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 79,10; IFAO photo no. 99-2219; Mariette, D II, pl. 62b</td>
<td>Offering Ma'at; speech of Isis</td>
<td>Repetition of $sps\text{t}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 55</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 79,14; IFAO photo no. 99-2219; Mariette, D II, pl. 62b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 55</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 79,14; IFAO photo no. 99-2219; Mariette, D II, pl. 62b</td>
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<td>Doc 56</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>Lower Base</td>
<td>D III, 62,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 56</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>Lower Base</td>
<td>D III, 63,3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 57</td>
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<td>Lower Base</td>
<td>D III, 74,13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 57</td>
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<td>D III, 75,1-2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Doc 57</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>Lower Base</td>
<td>D III, 75,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Niche</td>
<td>Exterior Framing of Door</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 58</td>
<td>Lintel Above Solar Disk</td>
<td>D III, 86,12</td>
<td>Text above Winged disk</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 59</td>
<td>Lintel Below Solar Disk</td>
<td>D III, 86,13</td>
<td>Text below Winged Disk</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 60</td>
<td>E. Side Base of Door</td>
<td>D III, 86,17</td>
<td>Four goddesses who hold up the sky</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 61</td>
<td>W. Side Base of Door</td>
<td>D III, 87,2</td>
<td>Four goddesses who hold up the sky</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 62</td>
<td>E. Side Thickness Door Jambs</td>
<td>D III, 87,7-9; pl. 200</td>
<td>Eight figures in four registers</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 63</td>
<td>W. Side Thickness Door Jambs</td>
<td>D III, 87,12-13; pl. 200</td>
<td>Eight figures in four registers</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Niche N. Wall Interior Framing of Door</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 64</td>
<td>E. Side Lintel</td>
<td>D III, 89,1; pl. 201; Mariette, D II, pl. 68b</td>
<td>Offering double crown; title and formula</td>
<td>Polyptoton on tp See 5.3.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 64</td>
<td>E. Side Lintel</td>
<td>D III, 89,2; pl. 201; Mariette, D II, pl. 68b</td>
<td>Offering double crown; title and formula</td>
<td>Repetition of <em>nswy.t</em> See 5.3.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 64</td>
<td>E. Side Lintel</td>
<td>D III, 89,9; pl. 201; Mariette, D II, pl. 68b</td>
<td>Offering double crown; Divine Randzeile</td>
<td>True pun on <em>nfr.w</em> See 5.3.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc</td>
<td>Side/Location</td>
<td>Document</td>
<td>Lines/References</td>
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<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>D III, 89,12-90,8; pl.201; Mariette, D II, pl.68a</td>
<td>Offering of double crown</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 88,1-5</td>
<td>Horizontal lines of text</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>D III, 88,11</td>
<td>Horizontal lines of text</td>
<td>Repetition of Bhd.ty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 91,1; pl. 201</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Polyptoton on $\text{ht}\text{t}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Montants</td>
<td>D III, 91,2; pl. 201</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Polyptoton on $\text{ht}\text{t}$ over two cola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Montants</td>
<td>D III, 91,3; pl. 201</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Repetition of $\text{nt}\text{t}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Montants</td>
<td>D III, 91,6-7; pl. 201</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Polyptoton on $\text{ps}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Montants</td>
<td>D III, 92,5; pl. 201-202</td>
<td>South Wall</td>
<td>Polyptoton on $\text{ht}\text{t}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Bandeau</td>
<td>D III, 92,10; pl. 201-202</td>
<td>South Wall</td>
<td>Repetition of nswy.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Bandeau</td>
<td>D III, 92,11; pl. 201-202</td>
<td>West Wall</td>
<td>Polyptoton on $\text{nt}\text{t}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 71</td>
<td>Bandeau of Frieze W. Side</td>
<td>D III, 92,11; pl. 201-202</td>
<td>West Wall Polyptoton on dw³</td>
<td>dw³ ntr.w n dw³=s r² nb</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 72</td>
<td>Base</td>
<td>D III, pl. 201</td>
<td>Cryptographic inscription</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 73</td>
<td>E. Wall 2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 94,14-15; D III, pl. 201</td>
<td>Udjat Offering Polyptoton on wd³</td>
<td>m-n=t wd³.t wd³.t.t m r.w=s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 73</td>
<td>E. Wall 2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 94,15; pl. 201</td>
<td>Udjat Offering Polyptoton on 3h.t 3h.t.t m 3hw=s</td>
<td>The Divine Eye, effective in its elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 73</td>
<td>E. Wall 2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 95,3; pl. 202</td>
<td>Udjat Offering Polyptoton on 3₅</td>
<td>3₅ t 3₅ t.t m hpr=s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 73</td>
<td>E. Wall 2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 95,6; pl. 202</td>
<td>Udjat Offering Polyptoton on nfr</td>
<td>hnw.t nfr.t nfr m33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 73</td>
<td>E. Wall 2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 95,6; pl. 202</td>
<td>Udjat Offering True pun on hd (shrine/be bright)</td>
<td>dwn.n=i a.wy=i HA Hr.t tp m HD=s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 73</td>
<td>E. Wall 2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 95,6; pl. 202</td>
<td>Udjat Offering Polyptoton on k₃</td>
<td>mk(=l) k₃=s hnt k₃.w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 74</td>
<td>W. Wall 2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 97,13; pl. 202</td>
<td>No title (Udjat Offering) Polyptoton on wd³</td>
<td>nb wd³.ty nb mnš: hnk=l wd³.t n mv.t=f wsr.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 74</td>
<td>W. Wall 2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 97,18; pl. 202</td>
<td>No title (Udjat Offering) Polyptoton on nfr</td>
<td>nfr.t nfr.t.t m nfr.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 74</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 98.2; pl. 202</td>
<td>No title (Udjat Offering)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 75</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 93.15 – 94.4; pl. 201</td>
<td>No title (statues)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 76</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 96.22 – 97.7 pl. 202</td>
<td>Offering unguent and cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 77</td>
<td>N., S., E., W. Walls</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 96.10; pls. 201-202</td>
<td>Cryptographic Inscription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 78</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 95.10-11; pl. 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 78</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 95.14-15; pl. 202; speech of King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 78</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 96.6; pl. 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 79</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 98.5-6; pl. 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 79</td>
<td>S. Wall</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 98.6; pl. 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 79</td>
<td>S. Wall W. Side 2nd Reg.</td>
<td>Offering Ma'at; Speech of Harsomtus the Child</td>
<td>Polyptoton on $shm$</td>
<td>$dr=i$ $shm.t$. $shm$-$hp.t$. I repel your (f.) fury (?), Powerful-Noble One (f.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 79</td>
<td>S. Wall W. Side 2nd Reg.</td>
<td>Offering Ma'at; speech of King</td>
<td>Repetition of $maat$</td>
<td>$sr.n &lt;m^3\cdot t&gt;$ $nb$ $m^3\cdot t$. prince of $maat$, lord of $maat$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 79</td>
<td>S. Wall W. Side 2nd Reg.</td>
<td>Offering Ma'at; speech of Isis</td>
<td>Repetition of $maat$</td>
<td>$nb.(i)$ $m^3\cdot t$ $\tilde{\nu}h$ $n$ $m^3\cdot t$. lady of Ma’at, who lives on ma’at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 80</td>
<td>S. Wall 1st Reg.</td>
<td>No title (protection)</td>
<td>Polyptoton on $mk$</td>
<td>$mk=i$ $ki=t$ $m$ $mk.t$. I protect your (f.) ka with protection</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2 – Table of Sign Plays in the Per-wer Sanctuary

Types

**Visual Emphasis by Ideograms**
- Playful writings (including rebus and visual puns, representation of meaning)
- Reversal of sign(s) to represent action

**Visual Emphasis by Arrangement**
- Symmetrical Arrangement in two more words
- Graphical opposition of signs

**Emphasis by Visual Alliteration**
- Repetition of same sign (not due to repetition of same word)
- Repetition of similar-shaped signs (horizontal, tall, etc.)
- Repetition of same sign-type (e.g. crowns, birds, etc.)

**Sign Play between Parallel Texts**

**Visual Emphasis by Attraction** (Writing of word repeats sign (or similar-shaped sign) from nearby word)

**Aural and Visual Alliteration Combined**
- Aural and visual alliteration in same passage (only alliteration, not word play)
- Sign play plus word play (repetition/symmetry of signs + word play, e.g. polyptoton, antanaclasis, etc.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc No.</th>
<th>Text Ref</th>
<th>Location of Scene</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exterior Entrance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 1 Entrance Frieze E. Side</td>
<td>D II, pl. 94</td>
<td>Chronocrators for Tybi 11-15</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 2 Entrance Frieze W. Side</td>
<td>D II, pl. 94</td>
<td>Chronocrators for Tybi 16-20</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side</td>
<td>D II, 3,6</td>
<td>Frieze, East Side</td>
<td>Reversal</td>
<td>Nbw.t Golden One</td>
<td>Allows Hathor’s bovine form to look outward from the sanctuary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side</td>
<td>D II, 3,6</td>
<td>Frieze, East Side</td>
<td>Reversal</td>
<td>Nbw.t ntr. w Golden One of the Gods</td>
<td>Allows Hathor’s bovine form to look outward from the Sanctuary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau</td>
<td>D II, 3,6</td>
<td>Frieze, East Side</td>
<td>Repetition of gold sign</td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasizes the golden radiance of Hathor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Document/Location</td>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Repeated Signs</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side</td>
<td>D II, 3,6-7</td>
<td>Repetition of sun rays sign (N8A)</td>
<td>Verbs meaning &quot;shine&quot; visually emphasizes the streaming radiance of Hathor as a solar goddess</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side</td>
<td>D II, 3,6</td>
<td>Repetition of bull sign (E1)</td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor's bovine manifestation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side</td>
<td>D II, 3,6-7</td>
<td>Repetition of cobra sign (I64)</td>
<td>Emphasizes Hathor's manifestation as the uraeus on Ra's brow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side</td>
<td>D II, 3,7</td>
<td>Visual representation of meaning with f-viper</td>
<td>Use of f-viper for m. s. pronoun is play on phrase &quot;in its coils&quot; and emphasizes Hathor's snake manifestation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 4 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze W. Side</td>
<td>D II, 4,2</td>
<td>Reversal</td>
<td>Allows Hathor's manifestation (bovine) to look outward from sanctuary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 5 Entrance Upper Cornice Above Winged Disk</td>
<td>D III, 45,6; pl. 94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of Frieze E. Side

(S12A) in variations

Verbs meaning "shine" visually emphasizes the streaming radiance of Hathor as a solar goddess.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 6</th>
<th>Entrance Upper Cornice E. Side</th>
<th>D III, 45.8-9; pl. 94</th>
<th>none</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doc 7</td>
<td>Entrance Upper Cornice W. Side</td>
<td>D III, 45.10; pl. 94</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 8</td>
<td>Entrance E. Side Door Frame</td>
<td>D III, 45.13 Outer Column Text A</td>
<td>Reversal</td>
<td>Allows Hathor's manifestations (falcon and horned cobra) to look outward from the sanctuary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Image" /> H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Twn.n. t'I.t.-Rc</td>
<td>Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 8</td>
<td>Entrance E. Side Door Frame</td>
<td>D III, 46.1 Outer Column Text A</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</td>
<td>Allows Hathor's cobra and cow manifestations to look outward from the sanctuary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Image" /> nb.t Twn.t Lady of Lunet (=Dendera)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The sign of a full bull or cow figure (E 92) carries the value of nb or nb(t). The uraeus (I64) is one of Hathor's forms that dwells in Lunet (i.e. Dendera). A composite sign made from parts of both signs can thus carry both values, forming nb.t Twn.t. The resulting cow-headed snake thus alludes to the bovine and orphidian manifestations of the goddess.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 9</td>
<td>Entrance W. Side Door Frame</td>
<td>D III, 46.5 Outer Column Text B</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</td>
<td>Emphasis on the hidden aspect of the goddess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compare with Doc 71 (92,10)</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Image" /> Imn.t sšt3 hidden (one) of image</td>
<td>The word sšt3 also means “hidden,” so the use of this word, meaning “image (of a god),” emphasizes the hidden aspect of the statue of the divinity. The recumbent jackal on the platform is also the ideogram for sšt3 (verb – conceal), so this writing doubly emphasizes the hiddenness of the image (e.g. it could also be translated as Imn.t sšt3.t - hidden one of hidden thing or hiddenness).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 9</td>
<td>Entrance W. Side Door Frame</td>
<td>D III, 46.5-6; Mariette D II, pl. 60b Outer Column Text B</td>
<td>Repetition of crown signs</td>
<td>Repetition of crown signs emphasizes Hathor's rule over Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image4" alt="Image" /> W.t. shm.ty m pr-wr shd 'ffty t.wbn.t</td>
<td>who wears the double crown in the Per-ner, who brightens the Atef-wearer (=Ra) as the Shining One (f.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(S5) shm.ty
double crown (D III, 46,5)
(S1) shd
brighten (D III, 46,5)
(S186 & F107) Atef.ty
Atef-wearer (D III, 46,6)

*from the Per-wer; the word shd alludes to her role as the shining uraeus on Ra's brow.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 9</th>
<th>Entrance W. Side Door Frame</th>
<th>D III, 46,5-6; Mariette D II, pl. 60b</th>
<th>Outer Column Text B</th>
<th>Writing of ʾnw with painted eye by attraction to ʾn.t</th>
<th>Links the beauty of the limestone used to build the sanctuary with beauty of the</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*Emphasizes the King's rulership by repetition of crowns; alludes to Hathor's shining appearance.*

The use of attraction in spelling of the verb shd (brighten) with the white crown, instead of the mace, (D III, 91,1), brings multiple meanings to the sentence in which it appears. It writing is influenced by the crown signs employed elsewhere in the sentence, e.g. shm.ty, double crown (S5), and Atef.ty, wearer of the Atef-crown (S8).

The text states that Hathor "wears the double crown in the Per-wer": Ra's epithet, "Atef-wearer," also emphasizes his own rulership. By writing the word shd with the white crown, Hathor's description, "who brightens the Atef-wearer as the Shining One," not only alludes to her shining appearance as the fiery uraeus on her father's brow (as Wbn.t, the Shining One), but also to her divine rule over Upper Egypt specifically, by the wearing of its white crown in her seat in the Great Sanctuary--itself named for the archaic shrine of Upper Egypt.
| **Doc 10** | Entrance E. Side Door Frame | D III, 47.2; D II, pl. 94; Mariette, D II, pl. 60d | Inner Column Text C | none |
| **Doc 11** | Entrance W. Side Door Frame | D III, 47.7 – 48.1; D II, pl. 94; Mariette, D II, pl. 60d | Inner column Text D | none |
| **Doc 12** | Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze | D III, 48.11 | Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula | Reversal of ntr-sign in dw1 ntr 3.1.2 |
| **Doc 12** | Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze | D III, 48.12 | Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula | Symmetrical arrangement of signs in two or more words |
| **Doc 12** | Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze | D III, 48.13 | Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Nun | Reversal H.t-hr nb.t Iwn.t Hathor, Lady of Iunet |
| **Doc 12** | Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze | D III, 48.15 | Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Nun | Reversal H.t-hr nb.t h.t-bw Hathor, Lady of the Temple of Purification |
| **Doc 12** | Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze | D III, 48.15-16 | Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Nun | Visual representation of meaning |

Due to attraction with an epithet of Hathor, a goddess who resides there.

Reversal of ntr-flag allows the man to face the divine flag in worship, thus mimicking the action in the phrase, dw3-ntr.

Symmetrical arrangement of signs visually highlights the phrase.

Allows Hathor's manifestation (falcon) to look outward from the sanctuary.

It is appropriate that in the speech of Nun (=waters of creation, which purify), Hathor's epithet is "Lady of the Temple of Purification."

Men with arms raised in praise literally surround Hathor's ka with praise.

Signs of men with arms raised in praise surround the k3-sign of Hathor.

Female ruler, Mistress of Goddesses

Symmetrical arrangement of signs around the cup-sign (W24).

I have praised your ka to the height of heaven.

See 5.2.1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 12</th>
<th>Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze</th>
<th>D III, 48,17</th>
<th>Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Hauhet</th>
<th>Reversal</th>
<th>Allows Hathor’s manifestation (falcon) to look outward from the sanctuary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 49, 1</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Heh</td>
<td>Reversal</td>
<td>Hathor, Lady of Iunet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;H.t-hr nb.t Twn.t&quot;</td>
<td>Hathor, Lady of Iunet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 12</td>
<td>Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze</td>
<td>D III, 49, 2</td>
<td>Also in Doc 32 (68,13)</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Heh</td>
<td>Placement of the heart-sign under the wing visually emphasizes the protective stance of the vulture, showing that the &quot;right place&quot; for the heart is in a place of protection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D III, 49, 4</td>
<td>Also in Doc 54 (67,12); Doc 55 (79,6)</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of King</td>
<td>Visual representation of meaning (in text) in hry-mk.t</td>
<td>Complete phrase: hry-mk.t (=i) my heart possessing the (sacred) utterances</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;hry-mk.t (=i)&quot;</td>
<td>my heart possessing the (sacred) utterances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 13</td>
<td>Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze</td>
<td>D III, 49, 14</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>Reversal</td>
<td>Emphasizes that the King is son of Thoth (&quot;who knows the Two Lands&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;dw3 ntr&quot;</td>
<td>adoring the god</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Emphasis on the meaning (in text) in hry-mk.t. See 5.3.2 for similar phrase.

The word hry-mk.t is often applied to the heart, being "in the right place" (See Wb II, 161,9; Sethe, PT Kommentar, 286d; PL 665).

My heart possessing the (sacred) utterances.

The word hry-mk.t is often applied to the heart, being "in the right place" (See Wb II, 161,9; Sethe, PT Kommentar, 286d; PL 665).

Epithet of Thoth uses the sign for the throat, in which the cause is used for the effect (i.e. the throat represents "m, "eat" or "swallow"; Fairman Ptolemaic Signs, 101), figuratively representing "knowing." (In magical rituals, by "swallowing" words written on papyrus and dissolved in water, they become a part of oneself.) The papyrus and lotus represent Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively, by means of metonymy (sign = thing meant). (Fairman Ptolemaic Signs, 100)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 13</th>
<th>Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze</th>
<th>D III, 49, 15</th>
<th>Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula</th>
<th>Reversal</th>
<th>Allow Hathor's manifestation as the uraeus to look outward from the sanctuary.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$H.t-\text{hr}$ Hathor</td>
<td>The uraeus is identified with Hathor by the horns-and-disk headdress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$H.t-\text{hr} \text{ nb.}\text{t Twnt}\text{t}$ Hathor, Lady of Iunet (=Dendera)</td>
<td>Allows Hathor's manifestation to look outward from sanctuary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$H.t-\text{hr} \text{ mhny.}\text{t Twnt}\text{t}$ Hathor, Foremost One (f.) of Iunet (=Dendera)</td>
<td>Allows Hathor's manifestation to look outward from sanctuary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$H.t-\text{hr} \text{ nb.}\text{t T3-rr}$ Hathor, Lady of Tarer (=Dendera)</td>
<td>Allows Hathor's manifestation to look outward from sanctuary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$H.t-\text{hr} \text{ nb.}\text{t Twnt}\text{t}$ Hathor, Lady of Iunet (=Dendera)</td>
<td>Allows Hathor's manifestation to look outward from sanctuary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 13</td>
<td>Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze</td>
<td>D III, 50,14</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Niau</td>
<td>Visual representation of meaning</td>
<td>Visual represents the king's actions as purifying priest and musician playing the sistrum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$\text{w'ab}-\text{priest-musician}$</td>
<td>Emphasizes that king's &quot;clever&quot; speech is pleasing to the goddess (and magically effective).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$\text{spd}\text{ Disw}$ clever of discourse</td>
<td>Both words, $\text{spd}$ and $\text{Disw}$, can be written without the $\text{spd}$-sign, so the scribe made a deliberate choice to create visual alliteration with the repetition of the $\text{spd}$-sign, emphasizing the &quot;sharpness&quot; (i.e. cleverness) of the king's speech. It is almost as if the statement says &quot;clever one of (clever) speech.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 14</td>
<td>Entrance Lower Cornice</td>
<td>D III, 51,5-6; D II, pl. 94</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Image Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doc 15</td>
<td>Entrance Lower Cornice W. Side</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>Visual pun on w/d</td>
<td>Emphasizes the king's role as the offspring of Sekhmet by a visual pun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 16</td>
<td>Entrance E. Side Lintel</td>
<td>D III, 51,12-14; D II, pl. 94; Lintel (no title) sistra offering (Hathor); speech of King</td>
<td>Visual pun on w/d</td>
<td>w/d n Shm.t, &quot;offspring (lit. offshoot) of Sekhmet.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 17</td>
<td>Entrance W. Side Lintel</td>
<td>D III, 52,13-14; Also listed in Word Play (no title) sistra offering (Hathor); Queen's speech</td>
<td>Graphical opposition</td>
<td>m-n=k mln.t n(.t) nbw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 17</td>
<td>Entrance W. Side, Lintel</td>
<td>D III, 52,15; Also listed in Word Play (no title) sistra offering; Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Repetition of hr-sign (D2) with multiple meanings.</td>
<td>Repetition of face sign emphasizes that the face (of Hathor) is what the king is brightening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 17</td>
<td>Entrance W. Side Lintel</td>
<td>D III, 52,16; D II, pl. 94 (no title) sistra offering; Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Writing of shtp by attraction to arm-sign in mw.t (across a colon)</td>
<td>Emphasizes the act of offering (embedded pictorially in the Ptolemaic writing of mw.t, &quot;mother&quot;), which results in the pacification of the goddess.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 18</td>
<td>Entrance E. Side Door Framing</td>
<td>D III, 53,6; D II, pl. 94 Text Column (montant)</td>
<td>Reversal</td>
<td>Allows Hathor's manifestation to look outward from the Sanctuary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Doc 18
Entrance
E. Side
Door
Framing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D III, 53.8; D II, pl. 94</th>
<th>Text Column (montant)</th>
<th>Graphical opposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>image placed over a $hb$-basin, (W3) during festivals.</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Protect them, preserve them, arrange them, and establish them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having “alighted” in her “great noble house,” built for her by the King, and received the great offering presented to her by the King, Hathor is invoked to “protect them, preserve them, arrange them, and establish them.” The beating arm appears three times: in the ideogram $hw$ at the beginning, and as the determinative in $fs$ and $grg$. The word $st$ (them), the 3rd per dependent pronoun that is the direct object of each imperative, appears together with the first imperative ($hw$) and then alternates with the successive verbs. Except for the protective vulture with outstretched wings ($mk$), all of the signs are horizontal, top signs appearing nearly identical. The contrast of the large bird and the smaller, horizontal signs emphasizes the vulture, and thus the word $mk$ in the expression.</td>
<td>The contrast between the horizontal signs and the large vulture emphasizes the latter, and thus the word “protect.” The series of imperatives, all with the same direct object, highlights the expression and lends urgency to it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Doc 19
Entrance
W. Side
Door
Framing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D III, 54.7; D II, pl. 94</th>
<th>Text Column (montant)</th>
<th>Graphical opposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[iw=t (hr) nhm=s r] $snn.w nb.w nw p.t ^b.w nb.w nw t$ [You (i.e. Hathor) are preserving it (the cultivated fields) from] all taints ($snn.w$) of the sky and all impurities ($^b.w$) of the earth. The similarly-shaped groups on either side of $^b.w$ (impurities) emphasizes this word in the text.</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Emphasizes that Hathor will preserve the fields from all impurities of the sky and the earth, i.e. from anything that can harm them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 19</strong> Entrance W. Side Door Framing</td>
<td>D III, 54,8; D II, pl. 94</td>
<td>Text Column (montant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 19</strong> Entrance W. Side Door Framing</th>
<th>D III, 54,8; D II, pl. 94</th>
<th>Text Column (montant)</th>
<th>Repetition of arm signs</th>
<th><img src="image" alt="Image" /></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$nht \ n^t$ Power and fortitude Repetition of arm-signs in words of power.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 20</strong> Entrance E. Side Thickness of door jamb</th>
<th>D III, 55,7</th>
<th>Text Column (montant)</th>
<th>Repetition of birds and mammals</th>
<th><img src="image" alt="Image" /></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$wr \ nrw \ m \ tpy. w-t \ nb. w \ nb \ M^s.t$ great one of fear among all those on earth, Lord of Ma'at Repetition of three birds in a row: $wr$ (swallow, G36), $nrw$ (head of vulture, H4), $m$ (owl, G17); four different mammals: $tp$ (head of man), $nb.w$ (recumbent lion, E23), and $nb$ (cow, E92), plus $M^s.t$ (seated woman,C10A). Signs for different living beings (birds, mammals, man and woman) allude to the meaning carried in the phrase.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 21</strong> Entrance W. Side Thickness of door jamb</th>
<th>D III, 55,7</th>
<th>Text Column (épaisseur des montants)</th>
<th>Writing of $\text{ii}$ with jackal sign by attraction to $Imn.t.t$ and $Thb.t.t$</th>
<th><img src="image" alt="Image" /></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Writing of the verb $\text{ii}$ (come) with the jackal sign, due to writing of the toponyms in the continuation of the expression in D III, 55,8: $b3.t.m \ imn.t.t \ Thb.t.t$ (the female Ba in the west and the east) with jackal signs: $Imn.t.t$ (west) $Thb.t.t$ (east) Use of walking jackals &quot;west&quot; and &quot;east,&quot; connects back to previous statement that no one can come upon Isis by surprise (&quot;come&quot; with walking jackal sign); this statement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The context is a phrase describing Isis (D III 55.7): *n ii hcr-s3=s*, "no one comes after her" (lit. no one comes upon her back), i.e. takes her by surprise; the verb *ii*, "come" is written here with the walking jackal. At the end of the epithet string, in line 55.8, Isis is called, *bt m imnt.t i3bt.t* (the female Bu in the west and the east); these two toponyms also employ the walking jackal sign, as shown above. The West signifies the western side of the Nile, where the dead are buried (lit. the "hidden place"); the East is the eastern side, where the sun rises in the morning--the land of the living. Both toponyms are more commonly written with the standards for west (R14B), and east, (R15), rather than with the jackal sign (e.g. D III, 33.4; 86.17; 159.14; 170.10; 187.6. The use of the walking jackal to write these words is therefore a deliberate choice by the scribe; it allows a link back to the idea that no one takes Isis by surprise--in either the land of the dead or the land of the living (i.e. everywhere).

**Doc 22**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entrance E. Side Door Jamb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 55.20 IFAO photo no. 98-2224-25 Mariette D II, pl. 60e; Also in Doc 66 (88.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3 R* son of Ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child sitting (on lap) with hand to mouth, wearing sun disk with uraeus on his head as composite ideogram, s3 R* (son of Ra)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Playful writing succinctly conveys epithet and draws attention to it.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 22 Entrance E. Side Door Jamb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 56.8; IFAO photo no. 98-2224-25; Mariette D II, pl. 60e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of bird and mammal signs for <em>ntr.w</em> and <em>nb.w</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ntr.w nb.w</em> all the gods</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Writing reflects the archaic practice of trifold repetition of signs to express plural, but with three different bird signs for *ntr.w*: falcon, ibis, benu-bird; three different signs for *nb.w*: cow, sphinx, nb-basket. The falcon represents Horus of Edfu or Hathor of Dendera (as female...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 22</th>
<th>Entrance E. Side Door Jamb</th>
<th>D III, 56.9-8; IFAO photo no. 98-2224-25; Mariette D II, pl. 60e</th>
<th>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</th>
<th>Reversal</th>
<th>See 3.3.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Allows Hathor's manifestation (and those of the gods depicted) to look outward from the Sanctuary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 23</th>
<th>Entrance W. Side Door Jamb</th>
<th>D III, 57.1; IFAO photo no. 98-2222-23; Mariette D II, pl. 60a Also in Doc 26 (61,4); Doc 65 (90,2)</th>
<th>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sign of serpent within shrine represents all gods and goddesses who rest within it (PL 124); the sign also personifies the being that dwells within the itr.t (Wb I, 147,14).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 23</th>
<th>Entrance W. Side Door Jamb</th>
<th>D III, 57.5; IFAO photo no. 98-2222-23; Mariette D II, pl. 60a</th>
<th>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Allusion to primeval snake in the writing of Dendera's name of Tarer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 23 Entrance W. Side Door Jamb</td>
<td>D III, 57,7; IFAO photo no. 98-2222-23; Mariette D II, p. 60a</td>
<td>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</td>
<td>Graphical opposition with chiasmus</td>
<td>Repetition of groups emphasizes Sia's effective spells.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 23 Entrance W. Side Door Jamb</td>
<td>D III, 57,9-8; IFAO photo no. 98-2222-23; Mariette D II, pl. 60a</td>
<td>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</td>
<td>Reversal</td>
<td>Allows Hathor's manifestation (and those of the gods depicted) to look outward from the Sanctuary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 23 Entrance W. Side Door Jamb</td>
<td>D III, 57,8; IFAO photo no. 98-2222-23; Mariette D II, pl. 60a</td>
<td>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>Playful (and succinct) writing of &quot;mistress&quot; in Hathor's titulary.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 23 Entrance W. Side Door Jamb</td>
<td>D III, 57,9-8; IFAO photo no. 98-2222-23; Mariette D II, pl. 60a</td>
<td>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</td>
<td>Repetition of signs (falcons and cows)</td>
<td>Allusion to Horus/Hathor as falcons and Hathor as cow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per-wer Interior</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 24 E. Side Bandeau of Base</td>
<td>D III, 59,10; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; 98-2213; Mariette D II, pl.</td>
<td>South Wall</td>
<td>Reversal</td>
<td>Allows Hathor's manifestation to look outward from the center of the Per-wer's S. Wall, the location of the S. Niche.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

si H.t-hr son of Hathor

Epithet of the King. Sign for Hathor (falcon in temple enclosure) is placed in honorific transposition as well as being reversed in direction, so that her image faces away from the center.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 24</th>
<th>E. Side Bandeau of Base</th>
<th>South Wall</th>
<th>Reversal</th>
<th>Allows Hathor's manifestations to look outward from the Sanctuary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D III, 59,11; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; 98-2213; Mariette D II, pl. 61c</td>
<td>South Wall</td>
<td>Hathor the great, lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Image: H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Twn.t Tr.t-R' nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Doc 24**

E. Side Bandeau of Base

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Wall</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th>Writing of <em>wr.t</em> by rebus with the image of the hippopotamus goddess Taweret (losing the semantic value but keeping phonetic value; dropping the f.s. article <em>t</em>).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Image: H.t-hr wr.t] Hathor the Great</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Doc 24**

E. Side Bandeau of Base

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Wall</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</th>
<th>The sign of the cow carries the value of <em>nb</em> or <em>nb.(t)</em>; the uraeus (I64) is one of the forms of Hathor dwelling in Iunet (=Dendera). A composite sign made from parts of both signs can thus carry both values, forming <em>nb.t Twn.t</em>. This cow-headed snake thus alludes to Hathor's bovine and orphidian manifestations.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Image: nb.t Twn.t] Lady of Iunet (=Dendera)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also in

Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 26 (61,4); Doc 77 (96,10); for Isis, Doc 27 (62,3); Doc 71 (92,7)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 25</strong></th>
<th><strong>South Wall</strong></th>
<th><strong>Playful writing of</strong></th>
<th><strong>Playful writing draws attention to the King's epithet, &quot;child of Lunet.&quot;</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Side Bandeau of Base</td>
<td>D III, 60,4; IFAO photo no. 97-2221; Mariette D II, pl. 61d</td>
<td>nn n Twny.t child of Iunyt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Doc 42 (70,10); Doc 55 (79,3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 25</strong></th>
<th><strong>South Wall</strong></th>
<th><strong>Visual pun</strong></th>
<th><strong>Visual pun created by attraction calls attention to the King's role as eldest son of the god Somtus.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Side Bandeau of Base</td>
<td>D III, 60,4; IFAO photo no. 97-2221; Mariette D II, pl. 61d</td>
<td>s3 smsw n Sm3-tl.wy the eldest son of Somtus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3 smsw with rebus also in Doc 54 (67,12)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 25</strong></th>
<th><strong>South Wall</strong></th>
<th><strong>Reversal</strong></th>
<th><strong>Allows Hathor's manifestations to look outward from the center of the sanctuary.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Side Bandeau of Base</td>
<td>D III, 60,5; IFAO photo no. 97-2221; Mariette D II, pl. 61d</td>
<td>H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Twnt.t nb.ty.t rhy.t hnw.t lB.wy Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Lady of the Rekhyt, Mistress of the Two Lands.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 25</strong></th>
<th><strong>South Wall</strong></th>
<th><strong>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</strong></th>
<th><strong>Playful writing calls attention to the epithet &quot;Hathor the Great.&quot;</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Side Bandeau of Base</td>
<td>D III, 60,5; IFAO photo no. 97-2221; Mariette D II, pl. 61d</td>
<td>H.t-hr wr.t Hathor the Great</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Writing of wr.t by rebus with the image of the hippopotamus goddess Taweret (losing the semantic value but keeping phonetic value; dropping the f.s. article t)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 25</td>
<td>W. Side of Bandeau of Base</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D III, 60,5; IFAO photo no. 97-2221; Mariette D II, pl. 61d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Also in Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 70 (92,7)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Wall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See 3.1.1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composite of Hathor's cobra and cow manifestations calls attention to her epithet, &quot;Lady of Dendera.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 25</th>
<th>W. Side of Bandeau of Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 60,5; IFAO photo no. 97-2221; Mariette D II, pl. 61d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Also in Doc 45 (76,11); Doc 74 (97,7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Wall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lady of the Rekhyt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playful writing emphasizes Hathor's role as Lady of the Rekhyt which she takes over from Isis on west walls of the temple.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 26</th>
<th>W. Side of Bandeau of Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 61,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Also in Doc 27 (62,2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Wall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The good god</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The word nfr appears in honorific transposition. The baboon with arms raised in adoration holds the value</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Playful writing of nfr emphasizes the King's epithet, nfr.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 26</strong></th>
<th>W. Side of Bandeau of Base</th>
<th><strong>D III, 61,3</strong></th>
<th>South Wall</th>
<th>Reversal</th>
<th><img src="image" alt="nh ntr nfr s3 H.t-hr" /></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Good God lives, son of Hathor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 26</strong></td>
<td>E. Side Bandeau of Frieze</td>
<td><strong>D III, 61,3-4</strong></td>
<td>Mariette D II, pl. 61a</td>
<td>South Wall</td>
<td>Reversal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t Tr.t-Rt nb.t p.t lwnt ntr.w nb.w" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of All the Gods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 26</strong></td>
<td>E. Side Bandeau of Frieze</td>
<td><strong>D III, 61,4</strong></td>
<td>Mariette D II, pl. 61a</td>
<td>South Wall</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="H.t-hr wr.t" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hathor the Great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Writing of <em>wr.t</em> by rebus with the image of the hippopotamus goddess Taweret (losing the semantic value but keeping phonetic value; dropping the f.s. article <em>t</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 26</strong></td>
<td>E. Side Bandeau of Frieze</td>
<td><strong>D III, 61,4</strong></td>
<td>Mariette D II, pl. 61a</td>
<td>South Wall</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="nb.t Iwn.t" /></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lady of Iunet (=Dendera)</td>
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<td>The sign of the cow <em>(E 92)</em> carries the value of <em>nb</em> or <em>nb.t</em>; the uraeus <em>(I64)</em> is one of the forms of Hathor dwelling in Iunet (=Dendera). A composite sign made from parts of both signs can thus carry both values, forming <em>nb.t Iwn.t</em>. This cow-headed snake thus alludes to Hathor's bovine and orphidian manifestations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Doc 26 | E. Side Bandeau of Frieze | D III, 61, 4; Mariette D II, pl. 61a | South Wall | Playful writing (rebus); reversal | ![Eye of Ra](Image) | Eye of Ra
The sun god Ra (C2B) holds the Divine Eye (Ir.t) (D10), to form the composite ideogram, Ir.t-R°. | Playful writing calls attention to Hathor’s frequent epithet, Ir.t-R°.  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Doc 26 | E. Side Bandeau of Frieze | D III, 61, 4; Mariette D II, pl. 61a | South Wall | Playful writing (rebus); reversal | ![Lady of Heaven](Image) | nb.t p.t Lady of Heaven
Seated figure of Hathor, wearing horns-and-disk headress and holding papyrus scepter, stands for nb.t, a frequent epithet of the goddess (See Kurth EP I, p. 164 n. 606: Wb II, 232, 4ff; E III, 353,13; D I, 31,6). The seated figure of Isis, wearing the throne sign on her head and also holding a papyrus scepter, stands for p.t (See Kurth EP I, p. 165, n. 636: Kurth GM 19 (1976), 35ff, with E I, 59,12, corrected as ref.; D III, 165,14, with p.t t). | Horns and disk allude to Hathor; throne alludes to Isis; allows Hathor’s manifestation to look out from the center of the Sanctuary. |
| Doc 26 | E. Side Bandeau of Frieze | D III, 61, 4; Mariette D II, pl. 61a | South Wall | Playful writing (rebus); reversal | ![mistress](Image) | hnw.t mistress
The seated woman wears a cup, hnw.t, on her head, thus allowing the sign to represent hnw.t, "mistress," by rebus. (ref: Fairman, Ptolemaic Signs, 213; 290) | Playful (and succinct) writing of "mistress" in Hathor’s titulary. |
| Doc 26 | E. Side Bandeau of Frieze | D III, 61, 4-3; Mariette D II, pl. 61a | South Wall | Playful writing (rebus); reversal | ![all the gods](Image) | nfr.w nb.w all the gods
Cow with star between horns is composite ideogram: cow = nb.(t); star = nfr. This imagery recalls the Predynastic slate palette, prefiguring the goddess Hathor of the historical period, with stars perched above the crown of the head, on the ends of the horns, and by each ear. | Playful writing of nfr.w nb.w hearkens back to Predynastic imagery, emphasizes Hathor’s role as celestial goddess. |
<p>| Doc 26 | E. Side Bandeau of Frieze | D III, 61, 4; Mariette D II, pl. 61a | East Wall | Playful writing (rebus); reversal | <img src="Image" alt="Lady of Iunet" /> | nb.t Iwn.t Lady of Iunet (=Dendera) | Composite of Hathor’s cobra and cow manifestations calls attention to her epithet, &quot;Lady of Dendera.&quot; |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Image Location</th>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Side</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doc 26</td>
<td>E. Side Bandeau of Frieze</td>
<td>D III, 61,4; Mariette D II, pl. 61a</td>
<td>East Wall</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>itr.ty</td>
<td>The Two Sanctuaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Sign of serpent within shrine represents all gods and goddesses who rest within it (PL 124); the sign also personifies the being that dwells within the itr.t (Wb I, 147,14).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 26</td>
<td>E. Side Bandeau of Frieze</td>
<td>D III, 61,6; Mariette D II, pl. 61a</td>
<td>East Wall</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>Bik.t</td>
<td>female falcon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Falcon sign, with woman's head wearing horns-and-disk headress, visually personifies Hathor as female falcon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 27</td>
<td>W. Side Bandeau of Frieze</td>
<td>D III, 61,3</td>
<td>South Wall</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>nfr</td>
<td>the good god</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>The word nfr appears in honorific transposition. The baboon with arms raised in adoration holds the value nfr in Ptolemaic Egyptian.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 27</td>
<td>W. Side Bandeau of Frieze</td>
<td>D III, 62,2; Mariette D II, pl. 61b</td>
<td>South Wall</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>ss-p-nh</td>
<td>living image</td>
</tr>
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<td>Occurring in the following phrase: ss-p-nh n Sm3-t3.wy s1 R&quot; the living image of Somtus, son of Ra</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>King as living image of the sun god (sphinx) is shown by the ankh-sign held in the sphinx's paws. Note that the word occurs in an alliterative series on s and S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 27</td>
<td>W. Side Bandeau of Frieze</td>
<td>D III, 62,2; Mariette D II, pl. 61b</td>
<td>South Wall</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>Sm3-t3.wy</td>
<td>Somtus (Sema-tawy), lit. &quot;Uniter of the Two Lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sign consists of the sm3 sign with heraldic plants of Upper and Lower</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 27</td>
<td>W. Side Bandeau of Frieze</td>
<td>D III, 62,3; Mariette D II, pl. 61b</td>
<td>South Wall</td>
<td>Reversal</td>
<td>Egypt, the sedge and the papyrus, on either side.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Allows Isis-Hathor's manifestations (and those of the gods of Dendera) to look outward from the center of the sanctuary.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 27</th>
<th>W. Side Bandeau of Frieze</th>
<th>D III, 62,3; Mariette D II, pl. 61b</th>
<th>South Wall</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</th>
<th>Isis the Great, Mother of God, Lady of Iatdi, in the midst of Iunet.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Playful writing calls attention to the epithet of &quot;great&quot; for the goddess.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 27</th>
<th>W. Side Bandeau of Frieze</th>
<th>D III, 62,3; Mariette D II, pl. 61b</th>
<th>South Wall</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</th>
<th>Lady of Iatdi (=Dendera)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ideogram for Hathor is direct representation of the goddess.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 27</th>
<th>W. Side Bandeau of Frieze</th>
<th>D III, 62,2; Mariette D II, pl. 61b</th>
<th>South Wall</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</th>
<th>Osiris, Horus, and Hathor-Isis.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Composite ideogram for &quot;Dendera&quot; written with the images of the major divinities of Dendera.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 27</th>
<th>W. Side Bandeau of Frieze</th>
<th>D III, 62,4-5; Mariette D II, pl.</th>
<th>West Wall</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th>The complete sentence is wbn Twny.t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>The sign for wil$^3$ visually represents the sun as it sails.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^{532}$
"Iunyt shines in the sky at the prow of the barque." The sign for wi3 is a visual representation of solar barque as it sails through the sky.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>North Wall</th>
<th>Doc 28 E. Side Lintel</th>
<th>m p.t m h.t.t wi3, &quot;Iunyt shines in the sky at the prow of the barque.&quot; The sign for wi3 is a visual representation of solar barque as it sails through the sky.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doc 28 E. Side Lintel</td>
<td>D III, 58.6; pls. 180-181; Mariette D II, pl. 66a</td>
<td>m mw-vase (Hathor); Royal Randzeile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 28 E. Side Lintel</td>
<td>D III, 58.7; pls. 180-181; Mariette D II, pl. 66a</td>
<td>m mw-vase (Hathor); speech of Hathor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 28 E. Side Lintel</td>
<td>D III, 58.8; pls. 180-181; Mariette D II, pl. 66a</td>
<td>m mw-vase (Hathor); Divine Randzeile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Emphasis on "his mother," using the sign of the arm holding cup, a frequent spelling of the word in offering scenes of wine or beer.

Several other signs (e.g. recumbent cow, lion) could have been chosen for nb.t, so use of the repeated nb-signs seems deliberate.

Hathor the great, lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods, lady of drunkenness (or, "beer"), lady of myrrh, lady of music

Visual emphasis on the nb-signs calls attention Hathor's epithets.

Visual alliteration of repeated wine jars calls attention to the passage, highlights the idea that the wine takes over one’s heart (i.e. sy m nb(t) lh nb(t) lw.t-<ib> whm.tw nwh n hm.t=s for she is the lady of drunkenness, the lady of joy (lit. wideness of heart), one repeats drunkenness for her Incarnation.
Writing of the wine-jar sign in ḫḫ.t-ḥb, "joy," rather than the heart-sign, though marked as an error by Chassinat, is probably attraction to the wine-jar sign in ḫḫ, "drunkenness," thus emphasizing that the wine takes over one's heart (i.e., mind) completely. Graphic opposition also present in alternation of wine jars with horizontal signs.

| **Doc 29** | **W. Side Lintel** | Wine to his mother (Isis); title and formula | Repetition of arm with nw-jar in ḫnk and mw.t | Emphasizes the act of offering the wine.

The process of "attraction" takes place in the choice of signs in this statement. The sign of the forearm with the hand holding a rounded nw-jar, ḫnk (D39), functions as the ideogram for the verb ḫnk (to offer). In Ptolemaic, the same sign can also be the ideogram for the substantive mw.t (mother). The more traditional writing of mw.t, the vulture sign, is still used quite often in the texts at Dendera; the scribe had a choice in which signs to employ in writing it. By choosing to write mw.t with the same sign as ḫnk, he created "visual alliteration," which arrests the attention of the viewer. Furthermore, by repeating this particular sign, the act of offering a bowl of liquid is thus emphasized, which in this context fits perfectly with the title of the scene: "Offering wine to his mother."

Interestingly, the same sign, ḫnk (D 39), forms part of a composite ideogram to write one of epithets of Hathor-Isis, in her speech in the columns above her head: (D III, 59.4): mw.t-ntr; ḫnk

---

1666 GG, p. 469, notes that the vulture is read as mw.t (mother) for an obscure reason, referencing N. de G. Davies, *The Mastabas of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Sawwareh*, Part I, in Archaeological Survey of Egypt, London; Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900-1901, p. 19.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 29</strong></th>
<th><strong>W. Side Lintel</strong></th>
<th><strong>D III, 58.14; pl. 180-181; Mariette D II, pl. 66a</strong></th>
<th><strong>Wine to his mother (Isis); speech of Meret of the North</strong></th>
<th><strong>Graphical opposition</strong></th>
<th><strong>Strong graphical opposition calls attention to the words, &quot;Meret,&quot; &quot;North,&quot; and &quot;throat&quot;: the goddess and her domains of action in the scene.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **W. Side Lintel** | **D III, 59.5; pl. 180-181; Mariette D II, pl. 66a** | **Wine to his mother (Isis); Divine Randzeile (Isis)** | **Graphical opposition and repetition of sign groups** | **Emphasizes Hathor's epithets as Lady of Gladness, Jubilation, and Joy, which come about as a result of the wine offering.**
| | | | | | Two groups with similarly-shaped signs highlight them from the rest of the text: |
| | | | | | ![Graphical representation](image)
| | | | | | *nb(t) hy nb(t) hnw*
| | | | | | *nb(t) hntš rʾ nb*
| | | | | | the lady of gladness, lady of jubilation, lady of joy every day.*
| | | | | | ![Graphical representation](image)
| | | | | | *hy (gladness)*
| | | | | | ![Graphical representation](image)
| | | | | | *hnw (jubilation).*
| | | | | | Both groups have small signs at the top (reed shelter and either two reed leaves or nw-jar) and the lively dancing man as the determinative. The *nb*-basket (an ideogram for *nb.t*, "lady," is underneath both of the dancing men:
| | | | | | ![Graphical representation](image)
| | | | | | so that the men almost look as if they are dancing on the *nb*-basket, which itself recalls the similar-shaped sign*
of the alabaster purification basin, called a *hb*-basin (W3), which is the ideogram for "feast," or "festival"—thus alluding to the festival of drunkenness celebrated for the goddess. The two groups of signs, with the repetition of the dancing men catches the eye and emphasizes the gaiety and rejoicing taking place because of the wine-drinking. The following word, *hntS* (joy), is written with the forepart of a horse, with his two front legs kicking, thus mimicking the motions of the dancing men with their legs. Note: photo of relief (D III, pl. 181) shows the horse kicking his legs up higher, and the men have both arms raised in joy and they seem to be dancing more vigorously.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 30</th>
<th>D III, 71.18; pl.184</th>
<th>Greeting with <em>nms.t</em>-jar (Hathor); title and formula</th>
<th>Repetition of leg-signs</th>
<th>Emphasizes the origin of the inundation from the leg of Osiris, the movement of the water and fish.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E. Side 3rd Reg.</td>
<td>See 5.2.3.</td>
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</table>

Each of the words (in bold blue font) above have a leg in one of their signs:

- (K18A);
- (D56);
- (F98); and another (D56).

The emphasis in this passage is on what "comes emerges from the leg" [of Osiris], i.e. the inundation. The word *bs* (emerge) usually has walking-legs determinatives, which is natural because the verb concerns motion. This particular ideogram is
especially appropriate because it carries the idea of a fish in motion, which the fish would do in the waters of the emerging inundation. The "leg" of Osiris, called alternatively sty and wꜣr.t, naturally uses the leg-determinative. Interestingly, for "rejoice," the word hntš was chosen, which can be represented by the forepart of a horse whose legs are visible. There are other ways of writing "emerge," or "come forth," which do not use walking legs (e.g. a snake coming out of a shelter, as used in the previous phrase, in line 71.17); "rejoice," has any number of synonyms that do not employ a leg-sign. Therefore, unless this was a set phrase that could not be altered, the writing suggests that the scribe deliberately chose words such as bs and hntš, and wrote them with signs having legs. The use of multiple leg-signs in the words serves to emphasize visually the leg of Osiris, as well as the idea of the motion of the water emerging from it. This emphasis is particularly appropriate in an offering of primordial water.

| Doc 30 | D III, 72.5; pl.184 | Greeting with nms.t-jar (Hathor); Royal Randzeile | Graphical opposition | \( in = l \) \( n = t \) \( h ḏ.t \) \( h n ^{r}. t i \) \( m \) \( h ^{py} \) \( I \) bring to you the \( \) vessel (\( ḏ.t \)) filled with inundation water

Tall signs are \( in \) (W25), \( ḏ ḏ \) (T3), \( h n ^{r} \) (F11A), and \( m \) (Aa56)
Alternating with pairs of short signs: \( n = t \) (W24:X1), \( t \)-loaf and vase-determinative (X1&W70), and \( w \)-curl and \( t \)-loaf (Z7:X1)
The graphical opposition occurs by alternating signs of similar shape.

| Doc 31 | D III, 83.12-13; pl. 185 | Udjat offering (Hathor); title and formula | Repetition of eye sign | \( h n k \) \( w ḏ t.t \) \( d d \) \( m - n = t \) \( w ḏ t \) \( i ṛ t . t i \) \( r \) \( 3 h w \) Offering the udjat-eye. Words to say: Take for yourself the udjat-eye, the (divine) eye, purified of pain.

| Doc 31 | D III, 84.2; pl. | Udjat offering | Visual pun on \( ṭ n i \) | Emphasizes the "raised up"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd Reg.</th>
<th>185</th>
<th>(Hathor); Royal Randzeile</th>
<th>The word <em>tni</em>, written with the sign of the double ostrich feather crown, describes the udjat as &quot;raised up&quot; (by the king's hand raised in offering it to Hathor); the word <em>tni</em> (as well as the ideogram used to write it) also designates the crown worn by the king in this scene.</th>
<th>quality of the Udjat and connects it with the king's high double feather crown (having associations with the Eye).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 31</strong></td>
<td><strong>W. Side 3rd Reg.</strong></td>
<td>D III, 84,2; pl. 185</td>
<td>Udjat offering (Hathor); Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Repetition of eye signs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 32</strong></td>
<td><strong>E. Side 2nd Reg.</strong></td>
<td>D III, 68,11-12; IFAO photo no. 98-2211</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>Visual representation of meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 32</strong></td>
<td><strong>E. Side 2nd Reg.</strong></td>
<td>D III, 68,12; IFAO photo no. 98-2211</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>Symmetrical arrangement of signs around a word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 32</strong></td>
<td><strong>E. Side 2nd Reg.</strong></td>
<td>D III, 68,13; IFAO photo no. 98-2211</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>Visual representation of the heart-sign</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*sn.n=i n=t t*l r wsh n t\*$

I have kissed for you the ground to the breadth of the earth

Complete sentence: *sn.n=i n=t t*l r wsh n t\*$

I have kissed for you the ground to the breadth of the earth

The symmetrical arrangement of horizontal signs, *t*l and n t\*, frame and highlight the large, square sign for *wsh*, "breadth."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Registration</th>
<th>Image/Photograph</th>
<th>Adoration</th>
<th>Visual Representation</th>
<th>Visual Puns</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td>IFAO</td>
<td>D III, 68.14</td>
<td>photo 98-2211</td>
<td>Adoring</td>
<td>Temple of the Bier (=Mammisi)</td>
<td>Visual representation of meaning</td>
<td>under the wing visually emphasizes the protective stance of the vulture, showing that the &quot;right place&quot; for the heart is in a place of protection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>Complete phrase: ( hry-mk.t=i ) my heart possessing the (sacred) utterances</td>
<td>See 5.3.2.</td>
<td>The word ( hry-mk.t ) is often applied to the heart, being &quot;in the right place&quot; (Wb II, 161.9; Sethe, <em>Pyr Komm</em> 286d; PL 665).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 32</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 80.5</td>
<td>pl. 183; IFAO photo no. 93-2210</td>
<td>Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula</td>
<td>Temple of the Bier (=Mammisi)</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Visually represents the mammisi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 33</td>
<td>N. Wall</td>
<td>D III, 63.14-18</td>
<td>pl. 182; IFAO photo no. 97-2221</td>
<td>no title</td>
<td>(Nekhbet and Hathor welcome King)</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>2nd Reg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 34</td>
<td>E. side</td>
<td>D III, 75.15-76.2</td>
<td>pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2220</td>
<td>no title</td>
<td>(Wadjet and Isis welcome King)</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 35</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Reg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. and W. Walls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 36</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>D III, 72.14</td>
<td>pl. 188-189</td>
<td>Doing the censing</td>
<td>Visual pun</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>The writing of the name of Horus alludes to the Distant Goddess.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Reg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Writing of ( \text{Horus,} ) with the eye (D4) and road-with-bushes sign (N31F) alludes to the distant Eye Goddess, because ( hr.i ), &quot;be far away, distant&quot; (Wb III, 145.1-19, esp. 1), can also written with variations of the same sign as its ideogram, e.g.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Doc 36 | E. Wall | D III, 72,17; pl. 188-189  
Also listed in Word Play | Doing the censing; speech of King | Repetition of incense-arm sign; visual representation of meaning  
See 5.2.6 |  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I bring you incense in order to pacify/satisfy your (pl.) heart.}
\end{align*}
\]  
Spelling of \textit{sh}tp (incense; pacify.) both times with incense arm (R42); this sign is the same type of ritual instrument held by the king in the scene. Use of (R42) in either word could have attraction on the spelling of the other word. | Emphasizes the King's act of censing (visually and aurally) and the result of the act (pacification) |
| Doc 36 | E. Wall | D III, 73,10; pl. 188-189  
(in horizontal line) | Doing the censing; speech of Hathor | Symmetrical arrangement of two or more words  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{H.t-hr nb.t pr-wr}
\end{align*}
\]  
Hathor, Lady of the Per-wer  
In the original inscription (D III, pl. 189), \textit{pr-wr} (O21B) has a rectangular shape, thus forming symmetry with \textit{H.t-hr} (O10). | Symmetry highlight's Hathor's role as Lady of the Per-wer. |
| Doc 37 | W. Wall | D III, 84,14; pl. 197; Mariette D II, 67b  
Also listed in Word Play | Funerary Offering; Royal Randzeile | Graphical opposition and repetition of similar-shaped signs (with word play of antana-clasisa)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kA.w nb(.w) kAw}
\end{align*}
\]  
Divine powers, lords of nourishment  
Aural and visual plays on \textit{kA.w} (divine powers) and \textit{kAw} (nourishment). | Emphasis on the divine powers who are in charge of nourishment. |
| Doc 37 | W. Wall | D III, 84,14; pl. 195; Mariette D II, 67b  
(in column) | Funerary Offering; Royal Randzeile | Symmetrical arrangement of two or more words  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\texttt{\textaaa{n.t} t\texttt{\textaaa{n.t} n\texttt{\textaaa{lt}m}}}}
\end{align*}
\]  
of the Land of Atum  
Complete sentence:  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tw=t Psd.t n(t) t\texttt{\textaaa{n.t} n\texttt{\textaaa{lt}m}}}
\end{align*}
\]  
You are the Ennead of the Land of Atum  
Omission of feminine ending of genitival \textit{n.t} creates symmetry of the two water signs above and below the \textit{ti}-sign, which may allude to the waters of creation above (Naunet) and below (the Nun) the earth. | May allude to waters of creation above and below the earth. |
### Doc 37
W. Wall 3rd Reg

| D III, 85.1; pl. 195; Mariette D II, 67b | Funerary Offering; Royal Randzeile | Symmetrical arrangement of signs in parallel texts | Columns relating to Harsomtus stand out due to their visual symmetry.

See also Doc 55 (79,12)

The Horus falcon in the first column, adorned with the $nh\text{hw}$ flagellum, a symbol of rulership, stands over plant motifs: the $sm\text{i-ti,wy}$ motif – representing the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt (lotus for U.E. and papyrus for L.E.); followed by the $nb$-basket (lord) and the name of the place called $Hidi$–present-day Naga el-Guzariya across from Dendera, also written with a plant symbol, the leaf, stalk, and rhizome of a lotus. (find out more about this place).

In the second column, the Horus falcon stands atop a crenellated temple enclosure containing the netjer-sign (O124), indicating the residence of a divinity, followed by the heaven sign (standing for the preposition $hr$, upon $r$, meaning "above"); palace façade, the serekh symbol. The group (which itself has visual symmetry, because $n\text{try}$ and $sr\text{h}$ have similar shapes – both being square representations of buildings) emphasizes visually the dominion of Horus over three domains: the temple (as god in the place of interaction between men and gods), heaven (as god), and the palace (as king on earth) – thus, he is over everything!

Taken together, the two Horus falcons at the top of each column stand out, each followed by a symmetrical group – one of buildings (temple & palace) and one of plants (the natural world of the Two Lands, and the specific area near Dendera). Horus is thus lord of the temple (the world of the gods, with which the king interacts); the palace (world of temporal administration); the natural world of growing plants – bringing
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 37</th>
<th>W. Wall 3rd Reg</th>
<th>D III, 85,2 pl. 195; Mariette D II, p. 67b</th>
<th>Funerary Offering; Speech of Harsomtus</th>
<th>Repetition of similar-shaped signs; visual representation of meaning</th>
<th>See 5.2.6.</th>
<th>fertility to the Two Lands in exchange for the king's offerings.</th>
<th>Emphasizes the ability of the Ka of Harsomtus to provide food.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doc 37</td>
<td>W. Wall 3rd Reg</td>
<td>D III, 85,3-4; pl 195; Mariette D II, p. 67b</td>
<td>Funerary Offering; Speech of Mut</td>
<td>Repetition of bird-signs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Columns relating to Mut stand out due to the repetition of bird signs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 37</td>
<td>W. Wall 3rd Reg</td>
<td>D III, 85,8 pl. 195; Mariette D II, 67b</td>
<td>Funerary Offering; Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Graphical opposition of itr.ty and šm* mhw</td>
<td>See 5.3.3.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasis on the Two State Sanctuaries, and their regions of Upper and Lower Egypt, of which the king is sovereign and ruler.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

The Ka-Spirit, Lord of Provisions

The k3-arms with the serpent represents the primordial manifestation of Harsomtus; it plays visually with k3.w, "provisions," with the k3-arms "holding" a bread loaf.

Columns relating to Mut stand out due to the repetition of bird signs.

Sovereign – written with man wearing double-plumed headdress, carrying staff of office

Red crown (n.t) – functions as genitival n by acrophony

Two Sanctuaries – two primordial serpents in sanctuaries, alluding to the deities in residence.

Heka – ruler – written with shepherd's crook

Shorthand for South and North of Egypt, written with the respective crowns of each of the "Two Lands,"
The arrangement features an alternation between ruler signs (ity, red crown; heka-crook) and dual signs for the Two Lands (itr.ty with snakes; two crowns on city-signs). The idea of rule over the two lands is thus repeated twice, with different signs, but each group in a symmetrical arrangement.

**Doc 37**  
W. Wall  
3rd Reg  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>D III, 85.9; pl.198; Mariette D II, 67b</th>
<th>Funerary Offering; Divine Randzeile</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City-signs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The writing of Egypt with the udjat-eye sign (Wb I, 425,18) equates the land with the sacred Eye of the god.
- Also part of Word Play

**Doc 38**  
E. Wall  
2nd Reg.  
1st Scene  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>D III, 69.5; IFAO photo no. 98-2202</th>
<th>Offering milk (Hathor); title and formula</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Counts twice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Playful writing of ḫd ṣdw Words to say
- Note that that mouth of the bird is open, as if he is "speaking."
- Emphasizes life-giving properties of milk

**Doc 38**  
E. Wall  
2nd Reg.  
1st Scene  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>D III, 69.5; IFAO photo no. 98-2202</th>
<th>Offering milk (Hathor); title and formula</th>
<th>Playful writing; visual representation of meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Ptolemaic designation for milk (Wb I, 204,1). In D III, 69.8, the text states, "nh-wis n ḫr.t R" (the milk of the Eye of Ra). Life and dominion come from Hathor's milk. Note also the formulaic text behind the king: "nh w-is nb ḫr=f, "all life and dominion are behind him."
- Equates Hathor's flowing milk with the inundation

**Doc 38**  
E. Wall  
2nd Reg.  
1st Scene  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>D III, 69.6; IFAO photo no. 93-2202</th>
<th>Offering milk (Hathor); title and formula</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Use of the boat to write the preposition ḫr (from ḫr.w, "boat," by consonantal principle: Fairman, ASAЕ 43, p. 240 no. 263) connects it visually with the idea of the inundation raising the water level, allowing the navigation of the boat. The boat sign also stands over the water sign, continuing visual pun.
- Allusion to Hathor's bovine manifestation

---

**Note:**  
Playful writing of Egypt with Udjat eye, which visually equates the land with sacred Eye of the god.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Scene</th>
<th>photo no. 98-2202</th>
<th>Royal Randzeile</th>
<th><em>hk3 mnmn.t</em> ruler of the herd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The counterpoise serves as the phonogram for the sound <em>mn</em>, having dropped the weak consonants <em>i</em> and <em>t</em>, by means of the consonantal principle, from the word <em>mni.t</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Because the menit was one of Hathor’s ritual instruments, the spelling of “herd” with the menit-sign not only alludes to Hathor herself in her bovine manifestation, but also to her herd of sacred cows.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Doc 38**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E. Wall</th>
<th>2nd Reg. 1st Scene</th>
<th>D III, 69,13; IFAO photo no. 98-2202</th>
<th>Offering milk (Hathor); Royal Randzeile</th>
<th>Repetition of child-sign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>hr srnp nn=s m bnrw=s</em> rejuvenating her child with her sweet milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Repetition of the child sign in <em>srnp</em> (&quot;rejuvenating&quot;) and <em>nn</em> (&quot;child&quot;) underlines the rejuvenating power of Hathor's milk.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Doc 39**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W. Wall</th>
<th>2nd Reg. 1st Scene</th>
<th>D III, 80,15; pl. 193; IFAO photo no. 98-2202</th>
<th>Offering <em>hdb</em> (Hathor); Royal Randzeile</th>
<th>Graphical opposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>hr sHtp Hnw.t=f swr s=s hr rdl(t) nrw=s</em> satisfying his mistress, magnifying her son, placing the terror of her (in the Banks of Horus—i.e. Egypt)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Emphasizes the actions of the king: satisfying Hathor, magnifying her son, and spreading the fear of her throughout Egypt.
| **Doc 39**  | **W. Wall** | **2nd Reg.** | **1st Scene** | **D III, 80,18; pl. 193; IFAO photo no. 98-2202** | **Offering h牒 (Hathor); speech of Hathor** | **Attraction; repetition of cow signs** | **nb.t p.t hnw.t nfr. w nb.w**<br>Lady of Heaven, Mistress of All the Gods<br>Recumbent cow spelling nb.w takes its form by attraction to the previous use of the recumbent cow to spell nb.t. The two words, nb.t and nb.w can be spelled other ways (e.g. most commonly with the nb-sign). By choosing to write both with the recumbent cow, the text visually emphasizes Hathor's bovine manifestation. The presence of the Hathoric cow in the text in a scene emphasizing Isis may be a subtle way to include Hathor in the scene. | **Emphasizes Hathor's bovine manifestation in her epithets.** |
| **Doc 39**  | **W. Wall** | **2nd Reg.** | **1st Scene** | **D III, 81,2; pl. 193; IFAO photo no. 98-2202** | **Offering h牒 (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)** | **Playful writing (rebus?)** | **hwn.t nfr.t**<br>Beautiful young girl<br>Use of cat-ideogram for hwn.t (young girl) alludes to Hathor's form as the young lioness Tefnut (Wb III, 54,2), who turns into a beautiful woman on her return from Nubia. This writing of hwn.t is also used in the expression, "the young girl in the Eye," as the designation for the pupil of the eye, especially the Horus Eye (Wb III, 53,21). | **Allusion to Hathor as the young lioness Tefnut in the Myth of the Sun Eye.** |
| **Doc 40**  | **E. Wall** | **2nd Reg.** | **2nd Scene** | **D III, 70,1; IFAO photo 98-2203** | **Offering menit (Hathor); Royal Randzeile** | **Playful writing (rebus)** | **Nhs Seth**<br>The word may derive from the verb nhsi (Wb II, 287,3-9), referring to Seth's role in later texts as the watchful god at the prow of the sun barque. GR temples depict Seth as a donkey (Wb II, 287,17), shown here slaughtered as the determinative. | **Playful writing of the name of Seth depicts him as a slaughtered donkey.** |
### Doc 41
**W. Wall**  
**2nd Reg.**  
**2nd Scene**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document Reference</th>
<th>D III, 81.7; pl. 194; IFAO photo no. 98-2206</th>
<th>Offering wensheb (Hathor); Royal Randzeile</th>
<th>Graphical opposition</th>
<th>Alternation of groups with tall signs and horizontal signs emphasizes the phrase. The phrase relating to the King, <em>twt m irw=f</em>, &quot;complete in his form,&quot; alludes to the whole and healthy Udjat Eye, which is frequently referenced in this scene of offering the wensheb.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Doc 42
**E. Wall**  
**2nd Reg.**  
**3rd Scene**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document Reference</th>
<th>D III, 70, 7-8; pl. 180 IFAO photo no. 98-2204</th>
<th>Playing <em>sSS.t</em> and <em>shm</em>-sistra (Hathor); title and formula</th>
<th>Graphical opposition and symmetrical arrangement of similar-shaped signs</th>
<th>The parallelism in the text is naturally mirrored in the parallelism in the signs. In the original inscription, each pair of signs is the same height as the other pairs. There is an alternation between two sets of pairs: one with the sistrum and the tall-<em>m</em>; the other with either the west or the east symbol plus a seated man. The visual symmetry of the four pairs arrests the gaze and adds emphasis to the statement visually. (also perhaps implying that the sound of the sistrum spreads to the west and the east).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Doc 42
**E. Wall**  
**2nd Reg.**  
**3rd Scene**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document Reference</th>
<th>D III, 70, 9; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204</th>
<th>Playing <em>sSS.t</em> and <em>shm</em>-sistra (Hathor); title and formula</th>
<th>Repetition of similar-shaped signs</th>
<th>Emphasizes king's journey around Egypt, praising Hathor throughout Egypt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*swAS=i kA=t m-pbr t3.wy*  
(I praise your ka) all around the two lands
**Doc 42**
E. Wall
2nd Reg.
3rd Scene

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Playing</th>
<th>Graphical opposition and symmetrical arrangement of signs in two or more words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Playing</td>
<td>sšš.t and shm-sistra (Hathor), speech of Ihy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Playing writing:**  repetition of *nw*-jars

**Child of the Golden One**

The genitival *n*, represented by the *nw*-jar, (W24) is placed under the child as if he is sitting on it. (similar to the stool □ (Q3) in Doc 55, D III, 79,3)

**Emphasis on pacifying the heart of the goddess with what she loves.**

*Intervening signs are divided into three groups, but the most striking, because they are almost identical, are the first two groups:*

- ![Symbol](image1)
- ![Symbol](image2)

The words in these two groups are *hr stp ib=s*, which are visually emphasized by the symmetrical arrangement of signs.

**Emphasis on Hathor as Lady of various types of music**

The four sistra within close proximity of each other (and especially the three together in one group) emphasize Hathor’s musical domains and the offerings given to her in this scene.

---

**Doc 43**
W. Wall
2nd Reg.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offering</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Offering</td>
<td><em>mnw</em>-vase (Hathor),</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**She who is speedy of (divine) power**

**Emphasis on Hathor’s swift power.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene</th>
<th>photo no.</th>
<th>title and formula</th>
<th>possible attraction</th>
<th>Complete sentence: ( bt.t \ r \ sh.m \ w \ h.t \ bt.w ) Female Ba among the (divine) powers, she who is speedy of (divine) power</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>98-2205</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Playful writing of &quot;speedy&quot; with a winged walking canine, whose wings are perhaps due to attraction to the ( bt.w )-birds.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 43</th>
<th>W. Wall</th>
<th>Offering ( mnn.v )-vase (Hathor), title and formula</th>
<th>Symmetrical arrangement of signs in ( pr-nsr )</th>
<th>Sanctuary of the Flame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd Reg. 3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 81,17; IFAO photo no. 98-2205</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Scene</td>
<td></td>
<td>Repetition of child sign</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Reg. 3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 82,1; IFAO photo no. 98-2205</td>
<td>Offering ( mnn.v )-vase (Hathor), speech of Harsomtus the Child</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harsomtus the child, son of Hathor, noble child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Scene</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Child sign (A17) is repeated twice in two synonyms for &quot;child&quot;: as the ideogram in ( hrd ) and as the determinative in ( sflt ).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 43</th>
<th>W. Wall</th>
<th>Offering ( mnn.v )-vase (Hathor), speech of Harsomtus the Child</th>
<th>Playful writing of stool under child</th>
<th>Harsomtus the Child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd Reg. 3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 82,1; IFAO photo no. 98-2205</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stool of reed matting ( Q3 ) in ( p3 ) ( hrd ) is arranged so that the child appears to be sitting on it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Scene</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Reg. 3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 82,7; IFAO photo no. 98-2205</td>
<td>Offering ( mnn.v )-vase (Hathor), speech of Hathor</td>
<td>Playful writing: visual representation of meaning</td>
<td>I give you &quot;personalizes&quot; the suffix pronoun for the King.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Scene</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Speech of Hathor (D III, 82,7) to the King uses the bag wig ( S56 ) as the 2nd m.s. suffix pronoun, which is appropriate, as it depicts his regalia.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 43</th>
<th>W. Wall</th>
<th>Offering ( mnn.v )-vase (Hathor), speech of Hathor</th>
<th>Visual representation of meaning</th>
<th>I give you your heart, which rests in its place.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd Reg. 3rd Scene</td>
<td>D III, 82,7; IFAO photo no. 98-2205</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Visually shows the protective action of the vulture upon the &quot;flesh&quot; of the king's heart.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The original text shows the vulture with the flesh-sign placed under the extended wing, which Chassinat reproduces (inaccurately) as , thus obscuring the visual pun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 43</th>
<th>W. Wall 2nd Reg. 3rd Scene</th>
<th>D III, 82,7; IFAO photo no. 98-2205</th>
<th>Offering <em>mnw</em>-vase (Hathor), speech of Hathor</th>
<th>Visual representation of meaning</th>
<th>Bag wig sign &quot;personalizes&quot; the suffix pronoun for the King.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Offerings</td>
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<tr>
<td>D III, 82,7-8; IFAO photo no. 98-2205</td>
<td>Offering <em>mnw</em>-vase (Hathor), speech of Hathor</td>
<td>Repetition of same sign-type (living beings)</td>
<td>Signs of living beings in most of the words of Hathor's epithet string show her dominion over the living world, as well as illustrating many of her manifestations (falcon, lioness, woman, uraeus, cow, sun disk).</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The 2nd m.s. pronoun = *k* (you) is written twice with the bag wig in the text; worn by the king as part of his regalia, it thus "personalizes" the pronoun.

Words to say by Hathor the great, lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods, the great uraeus.

The following living beings (or parts thereof) appear in this epithet-string:
- Hawk (*H.t-hr*)
- Swallow (*wr.t*)
- Lion (*nb.t*)
- Human Eye (*Ir.t*)
- Sun disk with uraeus (*Rf*)
- Cow (*nb.t*)
- Falcon (on standard) (*ntr.w*)
- Sphinx (*nb.w*)
- Uraeus (*mnH.t*)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 44</th>
<th>E. Wall</th>
<th>1st reg</th>
<th>1st Scene</th>
<th>D III, 64.3; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; Mariette D II, pl. 65a</th>
<th>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine)</th>
<th>Playful writing; visual representation of meaning</th>
<th>pr r hdnw</th>
<th>Going up the steps (of the shrine)</th>
<th>Playful writing emphasizes the King's action of climbing the steps of the shrine.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doc 44</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1st reg</td>
<td>1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 64.3; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; Mariette D II, pl. 65a</td>
<td>Also (written more fully) in Doc 49 (77,11)</td>
<td>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); title and formula</td>
<td>d d (mdw)</td>
<td>Words (to say)</td>
<td>Ptolemaic writing of dd is derived from Dhwty (Thoth, represented by his form as a baboon), in which, according to the consonantal principle, only d remains. As a representative of Thoth, the baboon also alludes him as the inventor of language—a role taken on by the King when approaching the shrine of the goddess with his &quot;effective speech.&quot; More fully written (with baboon holding mdw-sign) in Doc 49 (D III, 77,11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 44</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1st reg</td>
<td>1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 64.8; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; Mariette D II, pl. 65a</td>
<td>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Playful writing; visual representation of meaning</td>
<td>ḫkw bw dsr</td>
<td>who enters the sacred place</td>
<td>Playful writing of ḫk (enter) with snake entering the shelter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 44</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1st reg</td>
<td>1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 65.2; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; Mariette D II, pl. 65a</td>
<td>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); Divine Randzeile</td>
<td>Repetition of similar-shaped signs; visual pun</td>
<td>m K3b-t3.wy</td>
<td>(Female ruler) in Dendera</td>
<td>Complete phrase: ḫk:i.t m K3b-t3.wy Female ruler in Dendera The use of m K3b-t3.wy for &quot;in Dendera&quot; (lit. &quot;in the coils of the Two Lands&quot;) alludes to Hathor's important manifestation at Dendera as the uraeus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 44</td>
<td>E. Wall</td>
<td>1st reg</td>
<td>1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 65.3; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; Mariette D II, pl. 65a</td>
<td>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); Divine Randzeile</td>
<td>Visual pun</td>
<td>dsr(t)</td>
<td>sacred one (f.)</td>
<td>The jackal determinative in dsr(t) alludes to Hathor's hidden nature, because the recumbent jackal (E15) is the ideogram for sšt3 (secret/hidden); the previous line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 45</td>
<td>W. Wall 1st Reg. 1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 76.5; pl. 191; IFAO photo no. 99-2217; Mariette D II, pl. 64b.</td>
<td>Pulling the (door) bolt; title and formula</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>states, <em>n rḥ ḏ.r=s,</em> &quot;without (anyone) knowing her body.&quot;</td>
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<td>Doc 45</td>
<td>W. Wall 1st Reg. 1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 76.8; pl. 191; IFAO photo no. 99-2217; Mariette D II, pl. 64b.</td>
<td>Pulling (door) bolt; Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Repetition of door-leaf signs</td>
<td>The writing alludes to Thoth and the respect accorded sacred cult statues in procession.</td>
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<td>Doc 45</td>
<td>W. Wall 1st Reg. 1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 76.8; pl. 191; IFAO photo no. 99-2217; Mariette D II, pl. 64b.</td>
<td>Pulling (door) bolt; Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Repetition of sun rays signs in two words.</td>
<td>Repetition of door-leaf sign visually emphasizes the action of opening the door, which is appropriate in this scene of &quot;pulling the (door) bolt.&quot;</td>
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<td>Doc 45</td>
<td>W. Wall 1st Reg. 1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 76.8; pl. 191; IFAO photo no. 99-2217; Mariette D II, pl.</td>
<td>Pulling (door) bolt; Royal Randzeile</td>
<td>Repetition of sun rays signs in two words.</td>
<td>The sentence begins: <em>sš pr-Nbw.t</em> (who opens the sanctuary of the Golden One), Emphasizes the radiance of the goddess and her Ennead, which shines forth when the King opens the shrine's doors.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 45</td>
<td>W. Wall 1st Reg. 1st Scene</td>
<td>D III, 76,11; pl. 191; IFAO photo no. 99-2217; Mariette D II, pl. 64a Also in Doc 25 (76,11); Doc 74 (97,17)</td>
<td>Pulling (door) bolt; speech of Hathor</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>nb.ty.t-rhy.t-Lady of the Rekhyt</td>
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<td>Pulling (door) bolt; Divine Randzeile</td>
<td>Repetition of sign-type (sun disks)</td>
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<td>( \text{nswy.t-bi.ty.t} \ 3h.ty.t \ h^c \ m \ h.t ) Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Horizon-Dweller (f.) who appears in the horizon (=temple).</td>
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<td>Signs and the words in which sun disks appear: ( \text{(N6B): } \text{nswy.t} ) (female king)</td>
<td>Emphasizes that Hathor is a solar goddess.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Word Play</td>
<td>(N27): $3h.t.y.t$ (horizon dweller); $3h.t$ (horizon)</td>
<td>(N28): $h^5$ (appear)</td>
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<td><strong>Doc 46</strong>&lt;br&gt;E. Wall 1(^{st}) Reg. 2(^{nd}) Scene</td>
<td>D III, 65,10; pl. 187; IFAO photo no. 98-2213; Mariette D II, pl. 65b</td>
<td>Unfastening the seal</td>
<td>Playful writing</td>
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<td>dbh.w parts</td>
<td>Making the Ujdat Eye complete, so that is has all of its parts. During the festival of the month of Khoiak, the fourteen pieces of the Divine Eye are reunited (See R. Herbin, &quot;Un Hymne à la lune croissante, BIFAO 82 (1982): 237-282, esp. 274).</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 47</strong>&lt;br&gt;W. Wall 1(^{st}) Reg. 2(^{nd}) Scene</td>
<td>D III, 77,4, pl. 192; IFAO photo no. 98-2216; Mariette D II, pl. 64a</td>
<td>Revealing the face of the Golden One</td>
<td>Symmetrical arrangement of signs in two or more words</td>
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<td>$s\ s\ s.wcy\ p.t\ n\ pr=s$ who opens the doors of heaven of her shrine</td>
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<td>The arrangement gives a visual representation that the two doors are the transition between the two worlds: the world of the king, who is opening them ($s\ s$, written with the door bolt, pool, and door-leaf); the world of the gods, $pt\ n\ pr=s$, &quot;heaven of the shrine.&quot; The two doors thus lie at the intersection of the human and divine worlds.</td>
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<td><strong>Doc 47</strong>&lt;br&gt;W. Wall 1(^{st}) Reg. 2(^{nd}) Scene</td>
<td>D III, 77, 4-5, pl. 192; IFAO photo no. 98-2216; Mariette D II, pl. 64a</td>
<td>Revealing the face of the Golden One</td>
<td>Symmetrical arrangement of signs in two or more words</td>
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<td>$s\ s\ s.wcy\ewn.t$ who unbolts the doors of Iunet (=Dendera)</td>
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<td>The two door-leaf signs are placed on either side of the two faces &amp; disk (=Dendera). By opening the door-leaves, Hathor's faces (two of which are visually represented here) are revealed (which is the purpose of this scene). Spelling of Iunet with the two faces of Hathor: D IV, 92,11; D VIII, 68,15. The circle in the middle is more properly the city sign, e.g. D X, 352,5: $\odot\odot\odot$.</td>
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<td>Visually emphasizes Hathor's shrine, which is being opened.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 47</td>
<td>W. Wall</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Reg. 2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; Scene</td>
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<td>D III, 77, 5; pl. 192; IFAO photo no. 98-2216; Mariette D II, pl. 64a</td>
<td>Revealing the face of the Golden One</td>
<td>Symmetrical arrangement of signs in two or more words; sign play in parallel texts, D III, 77,9</td>
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<td>D III, 77, 5; pl. 192; IFAO photo no. 98-2216; Mariette D II, pl. 64a</td>
<td>Revealing the face of the Golden One</td>
<td>Repetition of sunlight signs; sign play in parallel texts: D III, 77,5</td>
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**Doc 47**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visual imagery</th>
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<tr>
<td>alludes to idea that Hathor’s shrine is in heaven, the world of the divine.</td>
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</table>

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<tr>
<th>Imagery of illumination emphasizes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hathor's ability to create light.</td>
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</table>

| Signs carrying multiple meaning allude to Hathor's beauty, "seeing" the god, and maintaining Egypt. See Sign Play chapter for more discussion. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 48</th>
<th>E. Wall</th>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Reg. 3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Scene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D III, 66,6-7; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette D II, pl. 63b</td>
<td>Seeing the god (Hathor); title and formula</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D III, 66,10; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette D II, pl.</td>
<td>Seeing the god (Hathor); speech of Ma’at to Hathor</td>
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</table>

| Signs of praising, jubilating, and making obeisance combine to form a tableau |

|        | $wp \, t\!, \, w t\, n.t=s$ who opens the door-leaves of heaven of her shrine |
|        | The $wp$-horns wth the $p$-stool between them recalls Hathoric horns-and-disk headdress. It floats above three door signs (forming the shape of a shrine), and thus labeling it hers. The whole arrangement stands upon the signs for $nn.t$ (heaven), bringing to mind the idea that Hathor’s shrine is in heaven, in the world of the divine. |
|        | $wp\, t\!, \, m\!\!3\!, t\, =s \, ndb$ her rays illuminate the (whole) earth |

<p>|        | $sbk!, n=t , kfr!, (t) , n(t) , k3=s$ I have brightened the dignity of her ka. The writing of $kfr.t$ (dignity) with the painted eye, due to attraction with the previous word $sbk$ (brighten), alludes to Egypt ($b3k!, t$, written with the painted eye), so that &quot;brightening&quot; Hathor’s ka can be equated with &quot;brightening&quot; Egypt (i.e. keeping it in good condition). The eye sign also alludes to Hathor as the Beautiful One ($n.t$, also written with painted eye). The use of eye signs in both words also alludes to &quot;seeing the god&quot;--the main context of this scene. |
|        | $dl=, n=t , l, w t, r , k3 , n, , p, t!!s, n!!t!=i, l, , r , w s, n, t!!3$ I give you praise to the height of heaven. I kiss the ground to the |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 48</th>
<th>E. Wall</th>
<th>1st Reg.</th>
<th>3rd Scene</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>breadth of the earth.</td>
<td>of activity in honoring Hathor.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>D III, 66,10; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette D II, pl. 63b</strong></td>
<td><strong>Playful writing (rebus)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Seeing the god (Hathor); speech of Ma'at to Hathor</td>
<td>Fairman suggests that the scarab beetle as $t\beta$ (earth) was some kind of pun (ASAE 43 (1943): 272). Living in burrows, it has close connections with the earth; due to its generative powers ($hpr$), it may have also symbolized the land's fertility (PL 1118). In D III, 66,10, a tongue of land stands between the two hind legs.</td>
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</table>

<p>| <strong>D III, 66,13; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette D II, pl. 63b</strong> | <strong>Symmetrical arrangement of signs in two or more words</strong> |
| Seeing the god (Hathor); Royal Randzeile | Emphasis on the king's coming (in peace) and going (in joy), when visiting the shrine of the goddess to perform the daily temple rite. |
| See 3.2.1. | This text refers to the king, visiting the shrine of the goddess to perform the daily temple rite. The first sign ($\kappa$) is actually reversed, creating a symmetrical arrangement, with the two snakes facing each other. In the column in which the text appears, the shelters thus both face the same direction, emphasizing the coming and going of the snakes (which refers to the movement of the king, coming and going from the shrine). |
| | |
| | There is also symmetry around the central $htp$ sign, framed on either side by the opposition present in the directions of the snake- and $m$-signs, with the latter sign forming a mirror image of shape of each shelter above. When seen in a column, the shelter always faces the same direction, emphasizing the going and coming of the snake; the actual arrangement of the text in a column emphasizes this movement more than the linear arrangement of Chassinat's type-set hieroglyphs. |
| |
| [Note: Mariette D II, pl. 63b has an error in the writing of $\kappa$, with the snake coming out of the shelter instead of going into it, as noted by |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 49</strong> E. Wall 1st Reg. 3rd Scene</th>
<th>D III, 77,11; IFAO photo no. 98-2215; Mariette D II, pl. 63a</th>
<th>Seeing the god (Hathor); title and formula</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th>Chassinat, D III, 66 n. 9]</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>dwr ntr Adoring the god</td>
<td>Allusion to Thoth, master of eloquent speech, which is an important aspect of the King’s recitations in this scene.</td>
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<td>Use of ibis-sign to represent ntr alludes to Thoth, master of eloquent speech—an important aspect of the King’s recitations before Hathor.</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 49</strong> E. Wall 1st Reg. 3rd Scene</th>
<th>D III, 77,11; IFAO photo no. 98-2215; Mariette D II, pl. 63a</th>
<th>Abbrev. writing in Doc 44 (64,3)</th>
<th>Seeing the god (Hathor); title and formula</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>dd mdw Words to say</td>
<td>Allusion to the King’s role as Thoth and the importance of effective speech by means of the playful writing on &quot;words to say.&quot;</td>
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<td>Ptolemaic writing of dd is derived from Dhwy (Thoth, represented by his form as a baboon), in which, according to the consonantal principle, only d remains. As a representative of Thoth, the baboon also alludes him as the inventor of language—a role taken on by the King when approaching the shrine of the goddess with his &quot;effective speech.&quot; The mdw-sign held by the baboon completes the phrase.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 49</strong> E. Wall 1st Reg. 3rd Scene</th>
<th>D III, 78,6; IFAO photo no. 98-2215; Mariette D II, pl. 63a</th>
<th>Also in Doc 31, D III, 84,4</th>
<th>Seeing the god (Hathor); Royal Randzeile</th>
<th>Symmetrical arrangement of signs in a word.</th>
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<td>Emphasis on the word, ḫṯḏ (exact), an important quality of the king’s speech before the goddess.</td>
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<td>Symmetrical arrangement of signs emphasizes the word ḫṯḏ, &quot;exact,&quot; an important quality of the King’s speech to Hathor.</td>
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<th><strong>South Wall</strong></th>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 50</strong> S. Wall E. Side 3rd Reg</th>
<th>D III, 74,2-6; Mariette D II, pl. 67a</th>
<th>Presenting the Mirror; Royal Randzeile and speech of Hathor</th>
<th>Repetition of sign, ḫḏ (D46D)</th>
<th>Repetition of less usual hand-sign ḫḏ (D46D) in the following words: sḥpt (luminous one (f.)) (74,2) bḥḏw (throne) (74,4) ṭḥšt (throne dais) (74,6) sḥp (receive) (74,6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>See 5.1.4.</td>
<td>The hand-sign, ḫḏ (D46D), connects Hathor’s luminosity, the king’s royalty, and her receiving of the offering from his hand.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 50</strong> S. Wall E. Side 3rd Reg</th>
<th>D III, 73,17; Mariette D II, pl. 67a</th>
<th>Presenting the Mirror; Royal Randzeile</th>
<th>Visual representation of meaning (rebus)</th>
<th>I have come</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>il.nl=i</td>
<td>Emphasizes the King’s movement in approaching the goddess.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

556
Playful use of walking jackal for *ii* (come), gives the visual impression of motion.

**Doc 51**

S. Wall  
W. Side  
3rd Reg.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Also in Doc 51 (85,13)</th>
<th>Presenting the Mirror; Royal Randzeile</th>
<th>Visual representation of meaning (rebus)</th>
<th>Emphasizes the King's movement in approaching the goddess.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 85,13; pl. 190; 199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Also in Doc 50 (73,17)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Walking jackal for *ii* (come) gives visual impression of motion.

**Doc 51**

S. Wall  
W. Side  
3rd Reg.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presenting the Mirror; Divine Randzeile</th>
<th>Rebus</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 86,3; pl. 190; 199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The signs of *iwn-hr* (lit. "the column that rejoices") also write *Tlh* (Iah, the name of the moon god) by rebus: *i<iwn + c<hr + h<i3h*

**Doc 52**

S. Wall  
E. Side  
2nd Reg

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offering cloth; title and formula</th>
<th>Repetition of arm with <em>nw</em>-jar; Writing of <em>mw.t</em> by possible attraction to arm with <em>nw</em>-jar in <em>hnk</em></th>
<th>Offerings to his mother, the Powerful One (f.).</th>
<th>Emphasizes the act of offering cloth.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 71,3; IFAO photo no. 98-2208</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Also in Doc 29 (58,11, wine); Doc 74 (97, 13-14, udjat)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Offerings to his mother, the Powerful One (f.).

The process of "attraction" takes place in the choice of signs in this statement. The sign of the forearm with the hand holding a rounded *nw*-jar, *s*f* (D39), functions as the ideogram for the verb *hnk* (to offer).

In Ptolemaic, the same sign can also be the ideogram for the substantive *mw.t* (mother). The more traditional writing of *mw.t*, the vulture sign *1667*

G14, is still used quite often in the texts at Dendera, so the scribe had a choice in which signs he would use to write it.

Interestingly, the same sign, *s*f* (D 39), forms part of a composite ideogram to write one of epithets of Hathor-Isis, in her speech in the columns above her head: (D III, 59,4): *mw.t-ntr*.

**Doc 53**

S. Wall  
W. Side

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preparing unguent of myrrh;</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 82,15; pl. 198;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unusual sign for myrrh calls attention to the

---

1667 GG, p. 469, notes that the vulture is read as *mw.t* (mother) for an obscure reason, referencing N. de G. Davies, *The Mastabas of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Sawwareh*, Part I, in Archaeological Survey of Egypt, London; Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900-1901, p. 19.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 53</th>
<th>S. Wall W. Side 2nd Reg</th>
<th>D III, 83.6; pl. 198; IFAO photo no. 98-2209</th>
<th>Preparing unguent of myrrh; Title and Formula</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Unusual sign for myrrh calls attention to the offering</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Doc 53 | S. Wall W. Side 2nd Reg | D III, 82.15; pl. 198; IFAO photo no. 98-2209 | Preparing unguent of myrrh; Title and Formula | Playful writing (rebus) | \(\begin{array}{c} \text{(D8)} \\
\end{array}\) | god of the laboratory who prepares myrrh for the unguent offering |
| Doc 53 | S. Wall W. Side 2nd Reg | D III, 83.5; pl. 198; IFAO photo no. 98-2209 | Preparing unguent of myrrh; Speech of Hathor | Repetition of cow sign | \(\begin{array}{c} \text{(Aa23L)} \end{array}\) | lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods |
| Doc 54 | E. Side 1st Reg. | D III, 67.12; IFAO photo no. 98-2218; Mariette D II, 62a | Offering Ma'at; Royal Randzeile | Visual pun (rebus) | \(\begin{array}{c} \text{s3 smsw} \end{array}\) the eldest son | Visual pun created by attraction calls attention to the King's role as eldest son of the god Thoth |
| **Doc 54**<br>**E. Side**<br>**1st Reg.** | **D III, 67,12;**<br>**IFAO photo no. 98-2218;**<br>**Mariette D II, 62a**<br>**Also in Doc 12**<br>(49,4);<br>**Doc 55**<br>(79,6) | **Offering**<br>Ma'at;<br>Royal Randzeile | **Playful writing; repetition of similar-shaped signs**<br>

![Image]

**5m-tL.wy**

He who knows the Two Lands (=Thoth)

Epithet of Thoth uses the sign for the throat, in which the cause is used for the effect (i.e. the throat represents 5m, "eat" or "swallow"; Fairman ASAE 43, 101), figuratively representing "knowing." (In magical rituals, by "swallowing" words written on papyrus and dissolved in water, they become a part of oneself.) The papyrus and lotus represent Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively, by means of metonymy (sign = thing meant). (Fairman ASAE 43, 100)

| **Doc 54**<br>**E. Side**<br>**1st Reg.** | **D III, 67,12;**<br>**IFAO photo no. 98-2218;**<br>**Mariette D II, 62a**<br>**Also in Doc 12**<br>(49,4);<br>**Doc 55**<br>(79,6) | **Offering**<br>Ma'at;<br>Speech of Hathor | **Symmetrical arrangement signs in two words**

![Image]

\[
\text{1} \quad nfr \cdot w\ nb\cdot w
\]

all the gods

Symmetrical writing of small sign + three determinative strokes around nb-basket.

| **Doc 55**<br>**W. Side**<br>**1st Reg.** | **D III, 79,3;**<br>**IFAO photo no. 98-2219;**<br>**Mariette D II, pl. 62b**<br>**Also in Doc 43**<br>(82,1);<br>**Doc 66**<br>(88,2) | **Offering**<br>Ma'at;<br>speech of Harsomtus the Child | **Repetition of child signs**

![Image]

\[
Hr \cdot Sm3-tL.wy\ p3\ hrd\ s3\ H.t-hr\ nhn\ nfr\ Harsomtus\ the\ child,\ son\ of\ Hathor,\ beautiful\ child
\]

Child sign serves as logogram for two different words.

| **Doc 55**<br>**W. Side**<br>**1st Reg.** | **D III, 79,3;**<br>**IFAO photo no. 98-2219;**<br>**Mariette D II, pl. 62b**<br>**Also in Doc 43**<br>(82,1);<br>**Doc 66**<br>(88,2) | **Offering**<br>Ma'at;<br>speech of Harsomtus the Child | **Playful writing of child seated on stool**

![Image]

\[
p3\cdot hrd\ the\ child
\]

Complete phrase:

\[
Hr \cdot Sm3-tL.wy\ p3\ hrd\ s3\ H.t-hr\ Harsomtus\ the\ Child,\ son\ of\ Hathor
\]

Stool of reed matting \(Q3\) is arranged so that the child appears to be seated on it.

| **Doc 55**<br>**W. Side**<br>**1st Reg.** | **D III, 79,6;**<br>**IFAO** | **Offering**<br>Ma'at;<br>speech of | **Playful writing (rebus);**

![Image]

\[
5m-tL.wy
\]

He who knows the Two Lands

Emphasizes that the King is son of Thoth ("who knows the Two Lands")

---

Emphasizes that the King is son of Thoth ("who knows the Two Lands")
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 55</th>
<th>W. Side 1st Reg.</th>
<th>Offering Ma'at; speech of the King</th>
<th>Repetition of similar-shaped signs; similar sign-type (buildings; plants)</th>
<th>Hr-sm3-tഠ,wy nb  Hr-di nfr *t&lt;br&gt;Harsomtus, Lord of Khadi  &lt;br&gt;bik ntry hry srஇ&lt;br&gt;divine falcon upon his serekh</th>
<th>Emphasizes that Horus is a divine king ruling over humanity and nature.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 79.6; IFAO photo no. 98-2219; Mariette DII, pl. 62b</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Doc 37 (85,1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 55</td>
<td>W. Side 1st Reg.</td>
<td>Offering Ma'at; speech of Harsomtus</td>
<td>Repetition of similar-shaped signs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D III, 79.12; IFAO photo no. 98-2219; Mariette DII, pl. 62b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also Doc 37 (85,1)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sign represents the heads of four of the eight primeval gods of the Hermopolitan creation myths. The gods consisted of four pairs of males and females personifying the world before creation, depicted as snakes (male) and frogs (female). In the first column, the Horus falcon stands over signs depicting the natural world (repetition of similar sign-type): the papyrus and sedge plant (representing the Two Lands), and the leaf, stalk and rhizome of a lotus (M12B). In the second column, Horus stands over two buildings (repetition of similar-shaped signs and sign type): a representation of the plan of the temple enclosure, and the palace façade. The two buildings thus represent the divine and temporal rule of the king, a fitting description of the role of the living Horus in Egypt. Interestingly, the heaven sign connects the two visually.
| **Doc 55**<br>W. Side<br>1<sup>st</sup> Reg. | D III, 79,13; IFAO photo no. 98-2219; Mariette D II, pl. 62b | Offering Ma'at; speech of Harsomtus | Playful writing (rebus) | $nb\ nhh$
Lord of Eternity (=Thoth)

Eternity is represented as the Horus falcon rising in the sun disk in the horizon, a symbol of the eternal cycle of death (sunset) and rebirth (sunrise). $nhh$ is equated with Ra, and therefore with day and the morning sun; it symbolizes "the eternal continuation of the first time" (PL 536; see also LÅ I, 47,54; Žabkar, *JNES* 24, 1965, 77-83; Assmann, *Zeit und Ewigkeit*, passim). |
| **Doc 56**<br>E. Side<br>Lower Base | D III, 63,5; pl. 190 | Primordial water in $nms.t$-jars; speech of Ihy | Repetition of similar sign-type; possible attraction | $Thy-nwn, s3\ H.t-hr$
Ihy-nun, son of Hathor

The use of the child-sign in "son" may be due to attraction to the child-sign in "Ihy."

$Thy-nwn$ (Ihy-nun)

$s3$ (son) |
| **Doc 56**<br>E. Side<br>Lower Base | D III, 63,7; pl. 190 | Primordial water in $nms.t$-jars; speech of King | Reversal $H.t-hr\ wr.t\ nb.t\ Twn.t\ Tr.t-R$
Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet (=Dendera), Eye of Ra.

Standard writing of Hathor's titulary with no other sign play. |
| **Doc 56**<br>E. Side<br>Lower Base | D III, 63,7; pl. 190 | Primordial water in $nms.t$-jars; Royal Randzeile | Repetition of similar sign across cola | $nms.ty\ Hm=ti\ m\ nwn\ Shtp=f\ Ib=t\ m\ mw-rnp$
The two $nms.t$-jars are filled with primordial water; it satisfies your heart with the water of rejuvenation.

The repetition of child signs emphasizes the rejuvenating properties of the King's offering of primordial water. |
| **Doc 57**<br>W. Side<br>Lower Base | D III, 74,12; pl. 190 | Inundation water in $hs$-jars; speech of Isis | Repetition of similar sign-shape $sty\ Hf/py$
who pours out Hapy |
| **Doc 56**<br>E. Side<br>Lower Base | D III, 63,7; pl. 190 | Primordial water in $nms.t$-jars; speech of King | Reversal $H.t-hr\ wr.t\ nb.t\ Twn.t\ Tr.t-R$
Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet (=Dendera), Eye of Ra.

Standard writing of Hathor's titulary with no other sign play. |
| **Doc 56**<br>E. Side<br>Lower Base | D III, 63,7; pl. 190 | Primordial water in $nms.t$-jars; speech of King | Reversal | $nms.ty\ Hm=ti\ m\ nwn\ Shtp=f\ Ib=t\ m\ mw-rnp$
The two $nms.t$-jars are filled with primordial water; it satisfies your heart with the water of rejuvenation.

The repetition of child signs emphasizes the rejuvenating properties of the King's offering of primordial water. |
| **Doc 56**<br>E. Side<br>Lower Base | D III, 63,7; pl. 190 | Primordial water in $nms.t$-jars; speech of King | Reversal $H.t-hr\ wr.t\ nb.t\ Twn.t\ Tr.t-R$
Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet (=Dendera), Eye of Ra.

Standard writing of Hathor's titulary with no other sign play. |
| **Doc 56**<br>E. Side<br>Lower Base | D III, 63,7; pl. 190 | Primordial water in $nms.t$-jars; speech of King | Reversal | $nms.ty\ Hm=ti\ m\ nwn\ Shtp=f\ Ib=t\ m\ mw-rnp$
The two $nms.t$-jars are filled with primordial water; it satisfies your heart with the water of rejuvenation.

The repetition of child signs emphasizes the rejuvenating properties of the King's offering of primordial water. |
See 5.2.3. Signs with liquid spewing forth, \(\text{D53} \text{sty} \) (pour out), and \(\text{D26B} \text{Hp}^y \) (Hapy, the god equated with the inundation) emphasize the coming forth of the inundation water from the caverns at Elephantine. The phallus sign additionally alludes to fertility, an important result of Egypt's inundation.

**Doc 57**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W. Side Lower Base</th>
<th>Inundation water in (hs)-jars; speech of Isis</th>
<th>Writing of (tph.t) by attraction to (spd)-sign in (spd.t)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 74,12-13; pl. 190</td>
<td>See 5.2.3.</td>
<td>Spd.t (sty ) (Hp^y ) (m ) (tph.t=f)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sopdet (=Sothis), who pours out Hapy in his cavern

Attraction of the spelling of \(tph.t\) (cavern) to the \(spd\) thorn-sign \(\swarrow\) (Z22) in the previous word, \(Spd.t\) (Sopdet) draws a visual connection between the goddess Sopdet, whose appearance heralds the Inundation, thus causing Hapy to pour out the water from his cavern.

**Doc 57**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W. Side Lower Base</th>
<th>Inundation water in (hs)-jars; speech of Isis</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 74,13; pl. 190</td>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{ti n } \text{Imw})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\text{Imw} \) (Atum) is written with the following cryptic phonetic signs:

\(\text{E35}\), carries the phonetic value \(i\), which Fairman (ASAE 43,252 n. X) suggests was originally derived from \(\swarrow\), a rebus for Thoth due to a misunderstanding of the hieratic form of \(\swarrow\) (Dhwty), allowing Thoth's ideogram to carry the phonetic value \(i\) by the Ptolemaic Period. The baboon, by its association with Thoth, then acquired this value.

\(\text{Aa52}\), ideogram for \(tm, \text{dm}\), by confusion with \(\swarrow\) (S23), sign of knotted strips of cloth as ideogram for \(\text{dmd}\). "unite."

Cryptic writing of "Land of Atum" highlights the word and may allude to Dendera's hidden aspects.

**Doc 57**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W. Side Lower Base</th>
<th>Inundation water in (hs)-jars; speech of Isis</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 74,13; pl. 190</td>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{kr.ty} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The \(\text{kr.ty} \) are two holes or gaps in the earth from which inundation water that it brings to the land.
breaks through at Elephantine. The snakes in the writing of kr.ty are explained in a depiction of the Nile's source at Philae, in which a vulture and falcon are atop a pile of boulders, under which Hapy kneels, holding two vessels pouring water while surrounded by a huge serpent (PL 1066). Texts at Dendera note that caverns are the source of the inundation (D III, 110,14); Hathor is nb.t kr.ty, "lady of the caverns" (D III, 168,5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 57</th>
<th>W. Side Lower Base</th>
<th>D III, 74,13; 75,2; pl. 190</th>
<th>Inundation water in hs-jars; speech of Harsomtus</th>
<th>Playful writing; visual representation of meaning</th>
<th>Bag wig sign &quot;personalizes&quot; the suffix pronoun for the King.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Also in Doc 43 (82,7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inundation's mythological origin at Elephantine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 57</th>
<th>W. Side Lower Base</th>
<th>D III, 75,1; pl. 190</th>
<th>Inundation water in hs-jars; speech of Harsomtus</th>
<th>Repetition of snake signs</th>
<th>Emphasizes the role of Harsomtus as the &quot;Great Snake&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 57</th>
<th>W. Side Lower Base</th>
<th>D III, 75,3; pl. 190</th>
<th>Inundation water in hs-jars; Divine Randzeile</th>
<th>Attraction to (D46) in spelling of Hapy</th>
<th>Emphasizes the &quot;spewing forth&quot; of the inundation water.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 57</th>
<th>W. Side Lower Base</th>
<th>D III, 75,5-6; pl. 190</th>
<th>Inundation water in hs-jars; speech of Ihy</th>
<th>Repetition of same sign-type (arms)</th>
<th>Emphasis on the action of arms (shaking sistrum) to dispel rage and evil.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Speeches of Isis (D III, 74,13) and Harsomtus (D III, 75,2) to the King use the bag wig (S56) as the 2nd m.s. suffix pronoun, which is appropriate, as it depicts the King's regalia.

Text refers to Harsomtus as the primordial snake.

The use of (D46) in sty is attracted by its use in the spelling of Hapy, thus emphasizing the spewing forth of the inundation water. (Compare writing of sty in D III, 74,12, also in Doc 57).

The sSS.t-sistrum is in my right hand, I make pass away from you rage, the menit-necklace is in (my) left hand, driving away evil.

Arm signs naturally occur in wnmy=i (my right hand) and I3b(=i) (my left hand), as well as in wnmy=i (my right hand) and I3b(=i) (my left hand).
\[ n\text{sn} \text{ (rage)} \text{ and } d\text{r} \text{ (evil), words implying force.} \]

Interestingly, it is the action of the arm shaking the sistrum that can counteract the forces (represented by beating arms) of rage and evil.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 57</th>
<th>W. Side Lower Base</th>
<th>D III, 75.8; pl. 190</th>
<th>Inundation water in ( h_{s} )-jars; speech of King</th>
<th>Reversal</th>
<th>Allows Isis' avian manifestations to look outward from sanctuary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ j_{s.t} w_{r.t} m_{w.t-n_{f}} \text{ Isis the great, mother of the god} ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 57</td>
<td>W. Side Lower Base</td>
<td>D III, 75.8; pl. 190</td>
<td>Inundation water in ( h_{s} )-jars; speech of King</td>
<td>Repetition of same sign-type (birds)</td>
<td>Emphasizes Isis' avian manifestations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ j_{s.t} w_{r.t} m_{w.t-n_{f}} \text{ Isis the great, mother of the god} ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Use of sparrow, vulture, and falcon to write the titulary of Isis.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| S. Niche Exterior Framing of Door | | | | |
| Doc 58 | Lintel Above Solar Disk | D III, 86.12 | Text above Winged Disk | none |
| Doc 59 | Lintel Below Solar Disk | D III, 86.13 | Text below Winged Disk | none |
| Doc 60 | E. Side Base of Door | D III, 86.17 | Four goddesses who hold up the sky | none |
| Doc 61 | W. Side Base of Door | D III, 87.2 | Four goddesses who hold up the sky | none |
| Doc 62 | E. Side Thickness Door Jambs | D III, 87.7-9; pl. 200 | Eight figures in four registers | none |
| Doc 63 | W. Side Thickness Door Jambs | D III, 87.12-13; pl. 200 | Eight figures in four registers | none |

<p>| S. Niche N. Wall Interior Framing of Door | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Doc 64</strong></th>
<th>E. Side Lintel</th>
<th>Offering double crown; speech of Ilhy</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th>Playful GR writing of the Ennead. (See Wb I, 559.2-14; discussion in Beinlich, Osirisreliquien, 302-304).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 64</strong></td>
<td>E. Side Lintel</td>
<td>Offering double crown; Divine Randzeile</td>
<td>Repetition of similar sign-types (kingship)</td>
<td>Each sign in the expression pertains to kingship. The sw.t, the heraldic plant of Upper Egypt, plus the king wearing the crown of Upper Egypt as determinative, spells nsw.t (King of Upper Egypt). The bee, the heraldic emblem of Lower Egypt, serves as the ideogram for bl ty (King of Lower Egypt). The white and red crowns placed upon city signs represent Egypt's šm (South) and mhw (North), respectively, the crowns visually emphasizing the king's rule over these areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 65</strong></td>
<td>W. Side Lintel</td>
<td>Offering double crown; title and formula</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>The &quot;Two Halves&quot; (i.e. Upper and Lower Egypt) are represented, appropriately, as two halves of a cartouche, the protective circuit around the king's name. The union of the two halves of Egypt as a mark of legitimate kingship is one of the rewards given by the gods to the king in return for his offerings (See Te Velde, Seth, 60).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 65</strong></td>
<td>W. Side Lintel</td>
<td>Offering double crown; title and formula</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>Sign of serpent within shrine represents all gods and goddesses who rest within it (PL 124); the sign also personifies the being that dwells within the itr.t (Wb I, 147,14).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc</td>
<td>Side</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Offering</td>
<td>Playful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>W. Side</td>
<td>90,8</td>
<td>double</td>
<td>writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lintel</td>
<td>201;</td>
<td>crown;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mariette</td>
<td>Divine</td>
<td>Randzeile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 88,2</td>
<td>Horizontal</td>
<td>lines of text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pied-droit</td>
<td>Also in Doc 22 (55,20)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 88,2</td>
<td>Horizontal</td>
<td>lines of text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pied-droit</td>
<td>Also in Doc 43 (82,1); Doc 55 (79,3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 88,10</td>
<td>Horizontal</td>
<td>lines of text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pied-droit</td>
<td>See also Doc 25 (60,4); Doc 42 (70,10)</td>
<td>Repetition of cobra signs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>E. Side</td>
<td>D III, 91,1</td>
<td>Text in column</td>
<td>Visual representation of meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Montants</td>
<td>Doc 70, thn.t lprw (92,5); Doc 9, lmn.t sst3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Playful writing of Egypt with udjat eye emphasizes the word.**

**Playful writing succinctly conveys the King's epithet, "son of Ra" and draws attention to it.**

**Playful writing draws attention to the King's epithet, 'beloved of Harpocrates.'**

**Playful writing draws attention to the King's epithet, "child of the Eye of Ra."**

**Emphasizes Hathor as the uraeus of Ra.**
Because a shrine conceals sacred objects from profane eyes, the word *txn* thus emphasizes the idea of concealment from those not authorized to look. Thus, the determinative of *txn.t* visually represents the meaning of "hidden," as well as alluding to the shrine in which the hidden deity resides.

### Doc 69

**W. Side Montants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 69</th>
<th>Text in column</th>
<th>Repetition of same sign and sign-type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 91,8</td>
<td>The Souls of Pe and the Souls of Nekhen are performing henu for your Ka.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The characteristic writing of the &quot;souls of Pe&quot; and &quot;souls of Nekhen,&quot; all of them performing the <em>hnw</em>-gesture, continues the alliteration with the following word, <em>hnw</em>, whose determinative is a figure performing the gesture.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### S. Niche Walls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 70</th>
<th>South Wall</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus) and representation of meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bandeau of Frieze E. Side</strong></td>
<td>See also Doc 68 (91,2)</td>
<td>See 5.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D III, 92,5; pls. 201-202</td>
<td>Doc 9 (46,5) <em>inn.t sšt3</em></td>
<td>The determinative for <em>txn.t</em> (hidden one) shows a man hiding behind a wall (Wb V, 327,8-18; GR); the verb <em>txn</em> (be hidden, conceal) is related to <em>txn</em>, an obelisk-shaped casket for relics, similar to a portable shrine. Because a shrine conceals sacred objects from profane eyes, the word <em>txn</em> thus emphasizes the idea of concealment from those not authorized to look. Thus, the determinative of <em>txn.t</em> visually represents the meaning of &quot;hidden,&quot; as well as alluding to the shrine in which the hidden deity resides.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Doc 70

**Bandeau of Frieze E. Side**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 70</th>
<th>North Wall</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bandeau of Frieze E. Side</strong></td>
<td>Also in Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 25 (60,5)</td>
<td>See 3.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D III, 92,7; pls. 201-202</td>
<td></td>
<td>The sign of a full bull or cow figure (E 92) carries the value of <em>nb</em> or <em>nb(.t)</em>. The uraeus (I64) is one of Hator's cobra and cow manifestations calls attention to her epithet, &quot;Lady of Dendera.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Emphasizes the henu-gesture made by the Souls of Pe and Nekhen.

Emphasizes the hidden quality of Hathor's form.

Composite of Hathor's cobra and cow manifestations calls attention to her epithet, "Lady of Dendera."
of the forms of Hathor that dwells in Iunet (i.e. Dendera). A composite sign made from parts of both signs can thus carry both values, forming \( nb.t \ tern.t \). The resulting cow-headed snake thus alludes to both the bovine and orphidian manifestations of the goddess.

**Doc 70**
Bandeau of Frieze
E. Side

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 70 Bandeau of Frieze E. Side</th>
<th>D III, 92,7; pls. 201-202</th>
<th>North Wall</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th>See 3.1.1.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Also in Doc 26 (61,4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sun god Ra (C2B) holds the Divine Eye (\( Ir.t \)) (D10), to form the composite ideogram, \( Ir.t-R^c \).

Playful writing calls attention to Hathor’s frequent epithet as Eye of Ra.

**Doc 71**
Bandeau of Frieze
W. Side

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 71 Bandeau of Frieze W. Side</th>
<th>D III, 92,12; pls. 201-202</th>
<th>North Wall</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Compare with Doc 9 (46,5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Her form is hidden (from the Divine Powers)

The word \( sSt\) also means “hidden,” so the use of this word, meaning “image (of a god),” emphasizes the hidden aspect of the statue of the divinity. The recumbent jackal on the platform is also the ideogram for \( sSt\) (verb – conceal), so this writing doubly emphasizes the hiddenness of the image (e.g. it could also be translated as \( imn.t \ sSt.t \) – hidden one of hidden thing).

Emphasis on the hidden aspect of the goddess.

**Doc 71**
Bandeau of Frieze
W. Side

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 71 Bandeau of Frieze W. Side</th>
<th>D III, 92,12; pls. 201-202</th>
<th>North Wall</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Also in Doc 27 (62,3); Hathor, Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 26 (61,4); Doc 77, (96,10)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Writing of \( wr.t \) by rebus with the image of the hippopotamus goddess Taweret (losing the semantic value but keeping phonetic value; dropping the f.s. article \( t\)).

Playful writing calls attention to the epithet of "great" for the goddess.

**Doc 71**
Bandeau of Frieze
W. Side

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 71 Bandeau of Frieze W. Side</th>
<th>D III, 92,12; pls. 201-202</th>
<th>North Wall</th>
<th>Repetition of similar sign-types (birds)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Mother of God

Vulture stands for \( mw.t-nfr \); Horus-falcon for \( nfr \). The use of birds for her epithet alludes to her form as a bird (a kite).

Emphasis on epithet of Isis, with allusion to her form as a bird (a kite).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 72 Base</th>
<th>D III, 93.6; pl. 201</th>
<th>Cryptographic inscription</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus); visual representation of meaning</th>
<th>pr-\textit{wr} n Nbw.t \textit{dd.ti} hr shm.w wr.w \textit{mi} \textit{3h.t hr itn}</th>
<th>Equates the Per-wer Sanctuary with the horizon—the boundary between day and night, and the entrance to the Duat and the unseen world of the gods.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Per-wer Sanctuary is for the Golden One (f.), being enduring/permanent/stable, containing the great (divine) powers, like the horizon containing the Aten (sun disk).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual signs in this inscription are treated below.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 72 Base</td>
<td>D III, 93.6; pl. 201</td>
<td>Cryptographic inscription</td>
<td>Visual representation of meaning</td>
<td>pr-\textit{wr} Per-wer Sanctuary</td>
<td>Succinct writing of Per-wer with logogram representing the shape of the archaic Per-wer shrine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Logogram for pr-\textit{wr} substitutes for \begin{center} \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{pr-wr.png} \end{center} its ordinary writing: \begin{center} \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{pr-wr.png} \end{center} (D III, 93.9).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>\begin{center} \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{nbw.png} \end{center} Golden One (f.)</td>
<td>Visual emphasis on Hathor as the Golden One.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Logogram (composite sign) for Nbw.t substitutes for the ordinary \begin{center} \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{nbw.png} \end{center} writing of the epithet: \begin{center} \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{nbw.png} \end{center} (D III, 93.9).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 72 Base</td>
<td>D III, 93.6; pl. 201</td>
<td>Cryptographic inscription</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>\begin{center} \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{dd.png} \end{center} (stative) be enduring/stable, permanent</td>
<td>Writing the stative of dd.ti (be enduring) with the temple logogram emphasizes the permanence of Dendera.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The h.t-sign \begin{center} \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{h.png} \end{center} (O6) corresponds to the stative ending .ti in the ordinary writing of dd.ti: \begin{center} \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{dd.png} \end{center} (D III, 93.9).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 72 Base</td>
<td>D III, 93.6; pl. 201</td>
<td>Cryptographic inscription</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>hr containing</td>
<td>Emphasizes that Dendera contains the Golden One, just as the horizon contains the sun disk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The h.t-sign \begin{center} \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{h.png} \end{center} (O6) substitutes for the ordinary writing of \begin{center} \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{hr.png} \end{center} for hr (D III, 93.9). The h.t-sign to write, &quot;containing,&quot; helps equate the temple with the horizon that \textit{contains} the sun disk.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 72 Base</td>
<td>D III, 93.6; pl.</td>
<td>Cryptographic</td>
<td>Playful writing</td>
<td>shm.w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 72</td>
<td>Base</td>
<td>D III, 93.6; pl. 201</td>
<td>Cryptographic inscription</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>(divine) powers; genies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
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<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>201</td>
<td>inscription</td>
<td>(rebus)</td>
<td>Seated man with the shm-scepter on his head substitutes for the ordinary writing of shm: (S42), meaning &quot;power.&quot; This logogram is then tripled in OK-style to form the plural, which in ordinary writing is (D III, 93.9).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 72</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>D III, 93.6; pl. 201</th>
<th>Cryptographic inscription</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th>wr.w great (m.pl.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>201</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The seated figure of Thoth can represent &quot;Twice Great&quot; due to his very common title of Dhwty wddj, &quot;Thoth the Twice Great&quot; (Fairman, BIFAO 43 (1945): 106). Therefore, Thoth can also represent the synonym wr, &quot;great,&quot; rendered here in the plural to agree with the plural substantive, sxm.w, &quot;powers.&quot; By contrast, the ordinary writing of wr.w is l l.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 72</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>D III, 93.6; pl. 201</th>
<th>Cryptographic inscription</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th>mi like</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>201</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In accordance with the consonantal principle (Fairman, BIFAO 43 (1945): 110), the sign of the seated cat, mlw, can lose its weak, final consonant, thus substituting for the phonogram mi in ordinary writing (D III, 93.9).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 72</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>D III, 93.6; pl. 201</th>
<th>Cryptographic inscription</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th>3h.t horizon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>201</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The more ambiguous cryptographically substitutes for in ordinary writing (D III, 93.9), both of which can mean either &quot;horizon&quot; or &quot;temple.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 72</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>D III, 93.6; pl. 201</th>
<th>Cryptographic inscription</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th>hr containing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>201</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The h.t-sign substitutes for the ordinary writing of hr, (D III,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 72</strong></td>
<td><strong>Base</strong></td>
<td><strong>D III, 93,6; pl. 201</strong></td>
<td><strong>Crypto-graphic inscription</strong></td>
<td><strong>Playful writing (rebus)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 73</strong></td>
<td><strong>E. Wall 2nd Reg.</strong></td>
<td><strong>D III, 94,16; pl. 201</strong></td>
<td><strong>Udjat Offering; title and formula</strong></td>
<td><strong>Playful writing (rebus)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 73</strong></td>
<td><strong>E. Wall 2nd Reg.</strong></td>
<td><strong>D III, 95,1; pl. 201</strong></td>
<td><strong>Udjat Offering; speech of Shu</strong></td>
<td><strong>Playful writing (rebus); repetition of similar sign type</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doc 73</strong></td>
<td><strong>E. Wall 2nd Reg.</strong></td>
<td><strong>D III, 95,2-3; pl. 201</strong></td>
<td><strong>Udjat Offering; speech of Hathor</strong></td>
<td><strong>Repetition of nb-sign (V30)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**itn** Aten (sun disk)

The horizontally stretched logogram of *itn* is the same as the ordinary writing given in D III, 93.9. The simple, more circular disk, ☀️ (Y24), with which it can be easily confused, is ambiguous, serving as the logogram or determinative for $r^e$ (sun, or sun god $R^e$) or $hrw$ (day). More commonly, the word *itn* is spelled out phonetically, ☀️ ☀️ ☀️ ☀️, employing the sun disk as the determinative.

**dbh.w parts**

**ntr.w gods**

Using variations on a multiple of one sign to represent plurality, the falcon represents Horus of Edfu or Hathor of Dendera (as female falcon); the ibis as Thoth; the benu-bird on the mound of creation as the naos in Dendera.

**nb(.t) p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w nb(.t) wdl.ty shb(.t) mnd.ty**

lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods, lady of the Udjat-eyes, She of the festively decorated eyes.

Note that the *nb*-basket in *shb.t* should actually be the *hb*-basket ☐️ (W3). Chassinat has the sign marked “sic,” but it is possible that the scribe intentionally used the *nb*-basket so that it would continue the visual alliteration (in a form of attraction), or perhaps the detail would have been painted. However, the last sign ☐️ (N11r3) should actually be ☐️ (Z25), so perhaps it...
was a scribal error. If \( \text{mng.ty} \) can be the deter. for \( \text{mng.ty} \): (N11\text{r}3, instead of Z25), it might allude to the crescent moon; the moon is also considered one of the udjat eyes. It is also possible that the scribe was being creative, substituting the crescent sign for one arch of an eyebrow.

| Doc 73 | E. Wall | D III, 95.6-7; pl. 201 | Udjat Offering: speech of Horus of Edfu | Repetition of \( k\dot{s} \)-sign holding an object | \( mk(=i) k^3=s \)  
\( \text{hnt k}^5 \text{w} \)  
I protect her Ka among the (divine) kas. | Emphasis on Hathor's Ka among the divine Kas. |
|--------|----------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

| Doc 74 | W. Wall | D III, 97,13-14; pl. 202 | No title (udjat offering); speech of Ihy | Attraction to arm holding \( nw \)-jar (D39) | \( \text{hnk}=i \text{ wd}3.t n \text{ mw}.t=f \text{ wsr}3.t \)  
I offer the Udjat-Eye to his mother the Powerful One (f.) | Emphasizes the act of offering the udjat. |
|--------|----------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

The sign of the forearm with the hand holding a bowl \( \underline{\underline{\text{D}39}} \) functions as the ideogram for the verb \( \text{hnk} \) (to offer). In Ptolemaic, the same sign can also be the ideogram for the substantive \( \text{mw}.t \) (mother). Employing the same sign in two different words thus creates visual alliteration.

The following line (D III, 97,15) makes a further subtle allusion to "mother" (thereby referring back to the statement just given by Ihy), in which the text describes Thoth as \( \text{sh\text{t}p nfr.w m mdw}=f \) (he who appeases the gods with his words), with preposition \( m \) now represented by the vulture sign \( \underline{\underline{\text{G}14}} \), the traditional ideogram for \( \text{mw}.t \) (serving as the \( m \) by means of acrophony—taking the initial consonant from the word represented by the sign). Even though the sign now represents the preposition \( m \), its original meaning of \( \text{mw}.t \) remains in the background, thus subtly alluding to Hathor's role as the mother of Ihy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 74</th>
<th>W. Wall</th>
<th>2nd Reg</th>
<th>D III, 97,17; pl. 202</th>
<th>No title (udjat offering); speech of Hathor</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th>Lady of the Rekhyt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Also in Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 45 (76,11)</td>
<td>Also in Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 45 (76,11)</td>
<td>Also in Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 45 (76,11)</td>
<td>This epithet, principally belonging to Isis, emphasizes her role as the queen who guarantees the passage of royal power from the father Osiris to his son Horus. At Dendera, Hathor carries this title on the proper left (i.e. west) walls of the temple, where she takes role of Isis (e.g. D III,38,2; 38,14; 76,11; 97,17, 156,2; 190,4; and here, on the west side of the bandeau of the base). The epithet is formed by signs of the $nb.ty$, the two tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the $rhy.t$-bird, which stands for humans. The $nb.ty$ element is made feminine by means of the $t$-loaf- and egg-signs at the end of the word.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 75</th>
<th>E. Wall</th>
<th>1st Reg</th>
<th>none</th>
<th>D III, 93,15 – 94,4; pl. 201</th>
<th>No title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 76</th>
<th>W. Wall</th>
<th>1st Reg</th>
<th>D III, 97,1; pl. 202</th>
<th>Offering unguent and cloth; speech of Ihy</th>
<th>Repetition of sign-type (child and Ihy playing sistrum)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Also in Doc 53 (82,15)</td>
<td>Also in Doc 53 (82,15)</td>
<td>Also in Doc 53 (82,15)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Offering unguent and cloth</td>
<td>Offering unguent and cloth</td>
<td>Offering unguent and cloth</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$Thy-nwn \ hnt \ h.t-Ihy$ Ihy-nun in the Temple of Ihy</td>
<td>Playful writing emphasizes Hathor's role as Lady of the Rekhyt which she takes over from Isis on west walls of the temple.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Note that in the original relief, the form of Ihy shaking the sistrum does not wear a kilt and thus represents a child.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The imagery of Shesmu's occupation (god of the laboratory) stands for his name, calling attention to the god</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 76</th>
<th>W. Wall</th>
<th>1st Reg</th>
<th>D III, 97,3; pl. 202</th>
<th>Offering unguent and cloth</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Also in Doc 53 (82,15)</td>
<td>Also in Doc 53 (82,15)</td>
<td>Also in Doc 53 (82,15)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 76</th>
<th>W. Wall</th>
<th>1st Reg</th>
<th>D III, 96,10-15; pl. 201-202</th>
<th>Frieze on all walls of S. Niche</th>
<th>Cryptographic inscription with many examples playful writing (rebus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$Hh \ n \ hbt \ m-hnt \ h.t-ss.t$ $H.t-hr \ wr.t \ nh.t \ Twn.t \ I.tr.t-R'$ An infinity of festivals in the Temple of the Sistrum, Hathor the Great, Mistress of Dendera, Eye of Ra.</td>
<td>Playful writing emphasizes Hathor's role as Lady of the Rekhyt which she takes over from Isis on west walls of the temple.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Written in ordinary writing in columns on either side of frieze on east and west walls. See below for individual phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls</th>
<th>Frieze on all walls of S. Niche</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th>Emphasizes the multitude of festivals that take place at Dendera</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 96,10 and 15; pl. 201-202</td>
<td></td>
<td>![Image](Hk n hb.w) infinity of festivals</td>
<td>The god Heh, similar to <img src="C78A" alt="Image" /> is depicted graphically. The word hb <img src="O23D" alt="Image" /> appears on either side of the sun disk upon his head and in the basket on which he crouches (with a painted, rather than engraved, diamond-shape lozenge). These images create three instances of the word hb, to give the plurality, hb.w. The preposition, n, in the phrase, hh n hb.w, is denoted by the red crown <img src="S3" alt="Image" /> (n &lt; n.t, &quot;Red Crown,&quot; by the consonantal principle) on the head of the vulture <img src="S3&amp;G14" alt="Image" />, at the right of Heh.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls</th>
<th>Frieze on all walls of S. Niche</th>
<th>Playful writing (rebus)</th>
<th>The use of the red crown (for the previous preposition n) and the vulture (for the prep. n) alludes to Hathor as the mother of the king.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D III, 96,10 and 15; pl. 201-202</td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="m-hnt" alt="Image" /> in</td>
<td>The vulture, <img src="G14" alt="Image" /> carries the value m (derived from mw.t, &quot;mother,&quot; by the consonantal principle). Standing on the hnt-sign, it visually renders the compound preposition, m-hnt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls</td>
<td>D III, 96,10 and 15; pl. 201-202</td>
<td>Frieze on all walls of S. Niche</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls</td>
<td>D III, 96,10; pl. 201-202</td>
<td>Frieze on all walls of S. Niche</td>
<td>Reversal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Also in Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 26 (61,4); Doc 77 (96,10); Isis: Doc 27 (62,3); Also in Doc 71 (92,12)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls</td>
<td>D III, 96,10; pl. 201-202</td>
<td>Frieze on all walls of S. Niche</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Also in Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 26 (61,4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls</td>
<td>D III, 96,10; pl. 201-202</td>
<td>Frieze on all walls of S. Niche</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Also in Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 25 (60,5);</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls</td>
<td>D III, 96,10; pl. 201-202</td>
<td>Frieze on all walls of S. Niche</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Also in Doc 26 (61,4); Doc 70 (92,7); Doc 77 (96,10)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls</td>
<td>D III, 96,10; pl. 201-202</td>
<td>Frieze on all walls of S. Niche</td>
<td>Playful writing (rebus)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doc 78 S. Wall E. Side 2nd Reg.</td>
<td>D III, 95.17; pl. 202</td>
<td>Offering Ma'at</td>
<td>Repetition of child sign in two different words (Sfy and sdy.t)</td>
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</table>

The cow-headed snake thus alludes to Hathor's bovine and orphidian manifestations.

The sun god Ra (C2B) holds the Divine Eye (Ir.t) (D10), to form the composite ideogram, Ir.t-Ra. Emphasizes Hathor's epithet of Ir.t-Ra.

The offering Ma'at sign is the daughter of the Child, the young woman. Emphasizes Hathor's role as the young woman who is the daughter of the Child.
Symmetry with two or more words; playful or cryptic signs; representation of meaning
Count as 11 examples of ideograms (rebus or visual puns) for statistics.

The text employs ideograms mostly known from the texts in the Per-wer.
Signs not encountered so far are the ideogram of a standing Thoth for wr(.t), the standing Ptah(?)-figures for ntry.t and the shm-scepter flanked by two symmetrically seated gods holding wls-scepters, carrying shm-scepters on their heads. The writing of Iunet, with two faces on either side of a disk (the city-sign when written fully, though its ambiguity may allude to Hathor's solar aspect), is found in other texts in the Per-wer.

Two different signs, functioning as logograms for rpy.t (noblewoman), refer to scenes on either side of the column of cryptographic text: the sign for Isis on the viewer's left refers to the east scene; that of Hathor on the right, to the west scene.

Symmetry of cryptographic inscription has double signs, allowing it to refer to the scenes on either side of the column. Hathor is referenced on the east side; Isis on the west, as usual. The union of the two aspects of the goddess, Hathor-Isis, are thus united by the column of text, which itself states that the powers of the lords of the Two Sanctuaries are united in Iatdi.

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Symmetry of cryptographic inscription has double signs, allowing it to refer to the scenes on either side of the column. Hathor is referenced on the east side; Isis on the west, as usual. The union of the two aspects of the goddess, Hathor-Isis, are thus united by the column of text, which itself states that the powers of the lords of the Two Sanctuaries are united in Iatdi.
<p>| Doc 79 (98.8) | Offering Ma'at. Cryptographic inscription; Divine Randzeile; reads two different ways, depending on scene to which it refers. | Symmetry with two or more words; playful or cryptic signs; representation of meaning Count as 11 examples of ideograms (rebus or visual puns) for statistics. | dd mdw rpy.t wr.t nfr.t hnt Iwn.t šps.t ntry.t nb.t pr-Nbw.t hwn.t šhm.w nb.w ntr.ty hmn hnt B.t-di Words to say: the great lady, beautiful one (f.) in Iunet, noble and divine lady, lady of the Sanctuary of the Golden One (f.), the feline (or &quot;young girl&quot;), the powers and the lords of the Two Sanctuaries are united in Iatdi. It uses ideograms mostly known from the texts in the Per-wer. Signs not encountered so far are the ideogram of a standing Thoth for wr(,t), the standing Ptah(?)-figures for ntry.t and the šhm-scepter flanked by two symmetrically seated gods holding wšs-scepters, carrying šhm-scepters on their heads. The writing of lunet, with two faces on either side of a disk (the city-sign when written fully, though its ambiguity may allude to Hathor's solar aspect), is found in other texts in the Per-wer. Two different signs, functioning as logograms for rpy.t (noblewoman), refer to scenes on either side of the column of cryptographic text: the sign for Isis on the viewer's left refers to the east scene; that of Hathor on the right, to the west scene. Symmetry of cryptographic inscription has double signs, allowing it to refer to the scenes on either side of the column. Hathor is referenced on the east side; Isis on the west, as usual. The union of the two aspects of the goddess, Hathor-Isis, are thus united by the column of text, which itself states that the powers of the lords of the Two Sanctuaries are united in Iatdi, the place of birth (at Dendera) of Isis. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doc 80 S. Wall 1st Reg.</th>
<th>D III, 94,8; pl. 202</th>
<th>No title (protection) Central Scene of S. Niche</th>
<th>Symmetrical arrangement of two or more words: attraction with $k3$-arms in last word, $mk.t$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mk=$i k3=t m mk.t nb(t)$</td>
<td>I protect your ka with all protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The word $mk.t$ (protection) can be spelled with the $k3$-arms and arm (E VI, 84,5) sign, but it is not common at Dendera. I believe that the spelling here is due to attraction with the previous word, $k3$.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Emphasis on protection of Hathor’s ka, increased by the spelling of $mk.t$ (protection) with the $k3$-sign.