

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

By

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Abstract

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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 chiasmic 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, commemorated 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

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.² 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.³

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.⁴ These multiple layers of meaning give us clues to the myth's importance.

Sonnenaue, 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, Sonnenaue; de Cénival, *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.⁵ In fact, she returns precisely at the summer solstice—the time when the days were longest.⁶
- 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.⁷
- 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.⁸
- 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.⁹

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.¹⁰
- 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,¹¹

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 *šmw* 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 Bleeker, *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, *Déesse Lointaine*, 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.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, *mnw*-jars of beer, wine, menit, sistrum, makeup, the udjat, and fragrant substances, especially from Punt); and rituals or actions: *sh̄tp* (pacification), *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.

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.

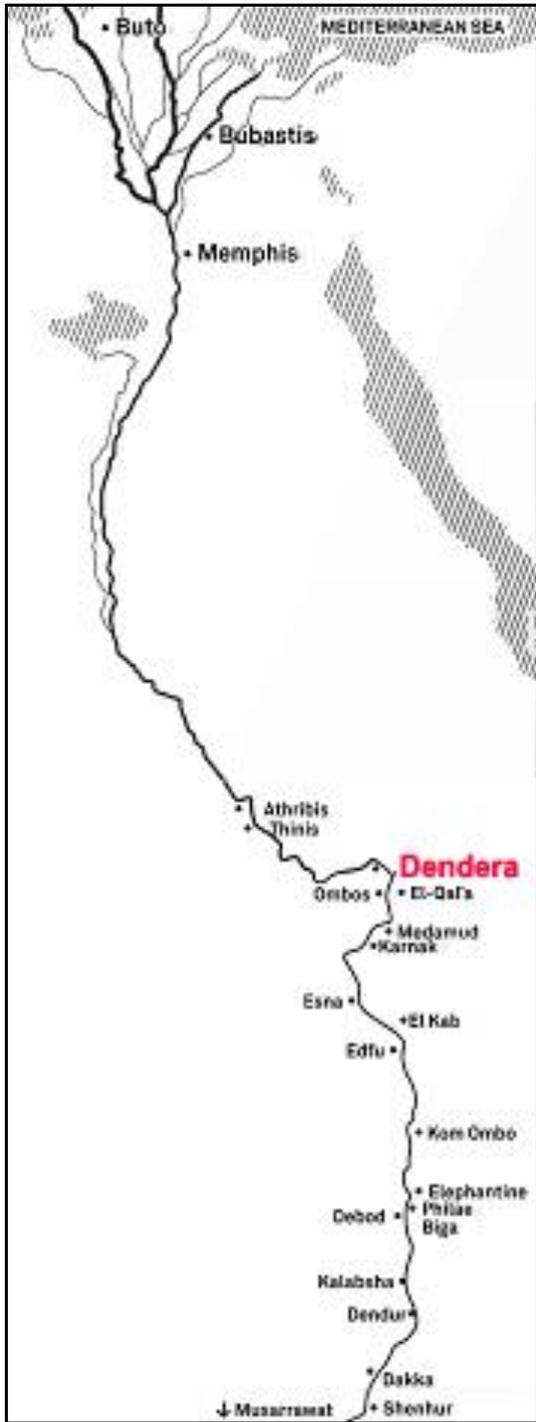


Fig. 1.1. Plan of Egypt¹⁵

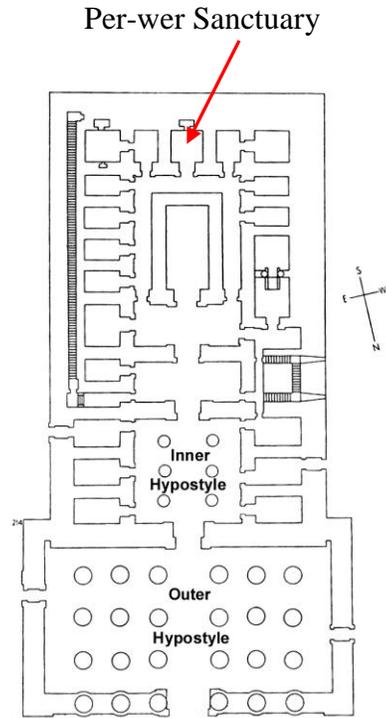


Fig. 1.2. Plan of the Temple of Hathor at Dendera¹³



Fig. 1.3. Temple of Hathor at Dendera¹⁴

¹³ Illustration by the author, after D I, pl. 45, © IFAO.

¹⁴ Photo by Ian J. Anderson, <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Dendera_7_977.png>, accessed 4-20-12.

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,¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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,¹⁸ there have been few studies that synthesize these three aspects.¹⁹ Derchain, who coined the phrase, *Grammaire du temple*, to describe the patterns in temple decoration,²⁰ 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*.²¹ 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

¹⁶ Richter, *Wandering Goddess*.

¹⁷ 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.

¹⁸ Rochemonteix, *Oeuvres diverses*, 194. Discussed in **4.0.1.3**.

¹⁹ 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.

²⁰ Derchain, *Manuel*, 31-44.

²¹ 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 12th Dynasty (Fig. 1.4). The later use of screen walls in the 25th Dynasty kiosk of the Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak²⁴ (Fig. 1.5) is a direct precursor of similar constructions of the Graeco-Roman period.

²² Derchain, *Poème pariétal*, 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*.



Fig. 1.4. White Chapel of Senusret I
Karnak, 12th Dynasty²⁵



Fig. 1.5. Kiosk of Taharqa
Karnak, 26th Dynasty²⁶

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



Fig. 1.6. Tomb of Petosiris
Tuna el-Gebel, 30th Dynasty²⁸

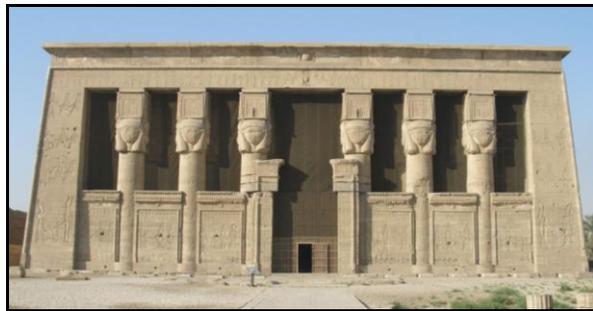


Fig. 1.7. Temple of Hathor, Dendera
Ptolemaic Period²⁹

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).

²⁵ Photo by Olaf Tausch, 2011, <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karnak_Wei%C3%9Fe_Kapelle_02.jpg>, accessed 4-21-12.

²⁶ "Rendering of Taharqa Kiosk," photo by Digital Karnak Project, UCLA, 2008, <<http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Karnak/feature/TaharqaKiosk>>, accessed on 4-2-12, which states that the screen walls, built under Taharqa, were decorated under Ptolemy IV Philopator. Cf. Arnold, *Temples*, 51, who states that the columns connected by the screen walls were built first during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator.

²⁷ Arnold, *Temples*, 44, discusses the creation of these new forms, reflecting changes in ritual practices.

²⁸ Photo by Su Bayfield, 2009.

²⁹ Photo by Ian J. Anderson, 2008, <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Dendera_7_977.png>, accessed 4-20-12.

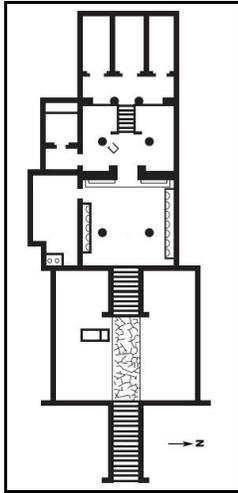


Fig. 1.8. Temple of Seti I at Deir el-Medina, New Kingdom³⁰

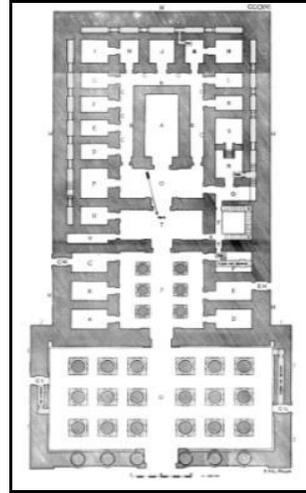


Fig. 1.9. Radiating Chapels at Dendera, Ptolemaic Period³¹

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.

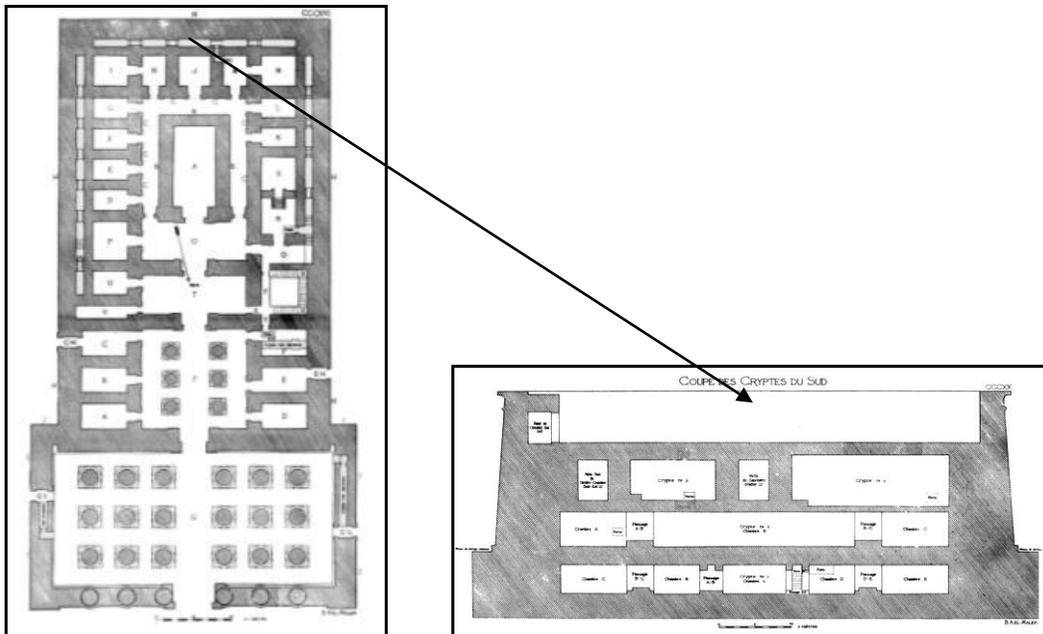


Fig. 1.10. Plan of the Temple of Hathor at Dendera and Section of Crypts³²

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 (*hnm-itn*) 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,³³ the only roof chapel still in existence today is the one at Dendera.



Fig. 1.11. Kiosk, Roof of Dendera³⁴

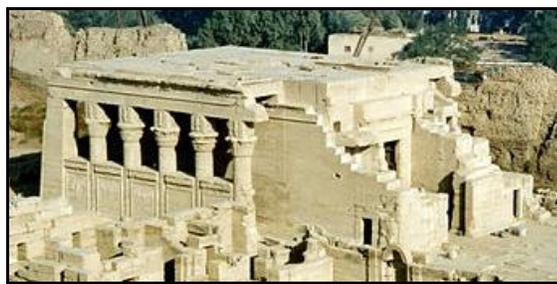


Fig. 1.12. Roman Mammisi at Dendera³⁵

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 Harsomtut and Harsomtut 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 scribal playing field for creating expressions that function on multiple phonetic, semantic, and visual levels.

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.

³⁵ Photo by Bernard Gagnon, 1989, <commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dendera_Temple.jpg>, accessed 4-20-12.

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),³⁶ Samuel Johnson (Fig. 2.2) disparagingly called it the lowest form of humor.³⁷

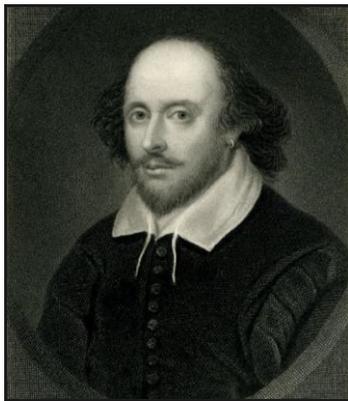


Fig. 2.1. William Shakespeare³⁸



Fig. 2.2. Samuel Johnson³⁹

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,⁴⁰ and particularly in Ancient Egypt, a

³⁶ Unattributed informal estimate.

³⁷ Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, Vol. II, 6th ed., London, 1785, states, “Quibble – a slight cavil; a low conceit depending on the sound of words; a pun,” in <http://www.archive.org/details/dictionaryofengl02johnuoft>, accessed 12-27-09. Hodge, *Ritual and Writing*, 337-338, notes that the condescending attitude of western culture towards the pun has led to a comparative lack of interest in its history. He offers this insightful observation: “Punning is considered silly or trivial in a culture that is alien to the magical properties of language, because a pun works precisely by linking two unrelated objects of experience by the ostensible logic of their phonetic shapes, the logic of a myth,” citing Andras Hamori, “Notes on paronomasia in Abu Tammam’s Style,” *JSS* 12 (1967): 83-90, esp. 90.

³⁸ Etching of William Shakespeare by Edward Scriven after the Chandos portrait, in *Knight's Gallery of Portraits*, London: Charles Knight, 1835.

³⁹ Portrait of Samuel Johnson by Evert A. Duyckinck, in *Portrait Gallery of Eminent Men and Women in Europe and America*, New York: Johnson, Wilson & Company, 1873. Adapted by the author.

⁴⁰ In addition to ancient Egyptian, word play appears in Greek, Sumerian, Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Syriac, and Sanskrit literature. Sawyer, *Root Meanings*, 42, suggests that recurring sequences of sounds in Semitic languages (in contrast to Indo-European) encourage the creation of puns. For word play in Sumerian, Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, see Noegel, *Puns and Pundits*, 2000. Veldhuis, *Cow of Sîn*, 1991, considers word and sound play in a Mesopotamian childbirth incantation. For word play in Sanskrit poetry, see Ingalls, *Sanskrit Poetry*, 20-21. Word play has an important role in magical and divinatory texts. See Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes*, 61-122;

pun (more properly called paronomasia⁴¹) 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.⁴² As early as the Pyramid Texts,⁴³ plays on words formed multiple layers of meaning, alluding to mythology, explaining etymologies, and creating associations between the seen and unseen worlds.⁴⁴

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.⁴⁵ 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 heritage⁴⁶ with a tendency to elaborate and refine,⁴⁷ 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

Noegel and Szpakowska, *Dream Manual*, 193-212. Cf. word play in ancient Greek in Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica*, which interprets dreams by means of puns: Pack, *Artemidori Daldiani*, 1963; White, *Interpretation of Dreams*, 1990.

⁴¹ Paronomasia (Gr. παρονομασία – “play upon words which sound alike, but have different senses,” from the verb, παρονομάζω, “to call with a slight change of name,” in Liddel and Scott, *Lexicon*, 1342; Grapow, *Sinuhe* 117, defines paronomasia as "(syntaksche) Beziehung zwischen zwei stammverwandten Wörtern gleicher oder verwandter Bedeutung." I follow Grapow's definition in my use of the term, "paronomasia."

⁴² Loprieno, *Puns*, 8-9.

⁴³ Firchow, *Stilistik*, 220-235, forms a solid foundation for the further study of these figures in Egyptian texts.

⁴⁴ 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.)

⁴⁵ 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.

⁴⁶ Derchain-Urtel, *Ägypten*, 112; Finnestad, *Temples*, 198; Wilson, *PL*, xvi.

⁴⁷ 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.

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,⁴⁸ based on material collected for the *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*.⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰ 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."⁵¹ 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..."⁵²

Although often appearing in Egyptian stories, as shown by Hintze,⁵³ word plays and figures of repetition occur most frequently in religious literature, as Schott demonstrated in his study of Egyptian myth in 1945.⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵

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

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.

⁵⁰ Grapow, *Sprachliche Formung*, 1936, which, unlike his previous work, includes hieroglyphs for all examples, as well as transliterations of relevant passages; idem, *Untersuchungen über die altägyptischen medizinischen Papyri*, MVAG 40,1; 41,2, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1935-1936; idem, "Untersuchungen über Stil und Sprache des koptischen Kambyses-Romans," *ÄZ* 74 (1938): 55-68; *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten und zu ihnen verwandten historischen Berichten des Neuen Reiches*, Abhandlungen der DAWB, Philologisch-historische Klasse 1947, Nr. 2; idem, *Stilistik Sinuhe*, 1952; idem, "Beiträge zur Untersuchung des Stils ägyptischer Lieder," *ZÄS* 79 (1954): 17-27.

⁵¹ Grapow, *Sprachliche Formung*, 20.

⁵² Grapow, *Sprachliche Formung*, 17.

⁵³ Hintze, *Stil und Sprache*, 274, notes that the various means of "Ausdrucksverstärkung," 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 *i3w.t* means both "cattle" and "office."

⁵⁴ 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" (*mḥ*) over "die" (*šm*) so that it would create a word play with a previous statement about "Lower Egypt" (*mḥw*).

⁵⁵ 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); דָּבָר, *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 1970.⁶⁶ 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 verlorengelht,"⁶⁷

thus suggesting that stylistic devices are best studied in the context of a complete work.⁶⁸ 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,⁶⁹ Malaise on puns in myth,⁷⁰ and Derchain-Urtel on word plays of "place" and "movement,"⁷¹ but only Foster's study of word play in *The Eloquent Peasant*⁷² 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 Guglielmi⁷³ 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,⁷⁴ 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.⁷⁵

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.⁷⁶ In most cases, scholars do not give stylistic

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 passing⁷⁷ or listing them without analysis of their function or meaning.⁷⁸ 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 Cauville⁷⁹ and modifying the classifications of Guglielmi to correspond with the devices observed at Dendera,⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹

2.0.3 Importance of Effective Speech

“Beautiful speaking,” in a rhetorically persuasive and clever way, was a highly desired quality in ancient Egypt.⁸² This idea originates in the concept of *heka*, the creative power

⁷⁷ E.g. Preys, *Complexes*, passim.

⁷⁸ E.g. Leitz, *Aussenwand*, 2001, 153-167.

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: plocé (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,⁸³ 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-wer sanctuary (Fig. 2.3), Hathor praises the King's recitation and chanting of the liturgy, calling him *3h r3*, "effective one of speech,"⁸⁴ *spd d3isw*, "clever one of discourse," and *mnh tp.yw r3*, "excellent one of utterances." In return for his "effective speech," she promises to protect him daily.⁸⁵

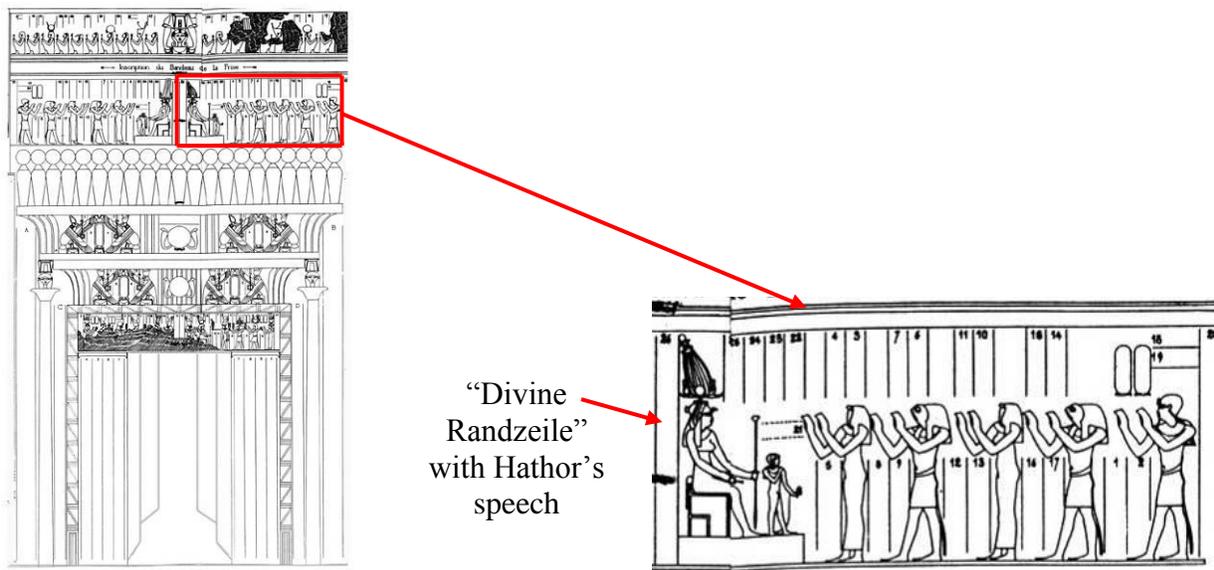


Fig. 2.3. Entrance to the Per-wer Sanctuary in the Mysterious Corridor, D II, pl. 94⁸⁶

Texts thus originate in words spoken or sung during the performance of a ritual.⁸⁷ This oral element is apparent not only from the phrase, *dd mdw* ("recitation"), beginning each utterance,

⁸³ The MK "Teaching for Merikare," line 47g, designates the purpose of *hk3* as a *hsf-c-n-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, *w^cb-ihy* priest, effective of speech (*3h r3*), clever of discourse (*spd d3isw*), excellent of utterances (*mnh tp.yw-r3*). I hear what you say, beautifully and in peace. I protect your body every day." Concerning the epithet, *3h-r3*, 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 *dw3-ntr* 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.⁸⁸ These multi-leveled expressions have the ability to foreground ideas and impart additional meaning in succinct, dense statements.⁸⁹ 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.⁹⁰

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 *ṯsw*, not only to describe "problems," but also for metrical verse; *wḥꜥ*, "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-wer is repetition, known in Greek rhetoric as *ploce*, (Gr. πλοκή, "twining, twisting," "interweaving"; Lat. *iteratio*).⁹¹ 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."⁹²
- Edgar Allen Poe, "The Raven," 1858



Fig. 2.4. "The Raven"⁹³

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,⁹⁴ "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-wer, 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,



"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-wer's entrance door (Fig. 2.5),⁹⁵ where

⁹¹ πλοκή also has the connotation of complication, e.g. of a plot. See Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, 1422; Brogan, *Ploce*, 916.

⁹² Poe, *Raven*, 143.

⁹³ Painting by John Tenniel, 1858, <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Tenniel_TheRaven.jpg>, accessed 4-20-12.

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 *šps.t* with the sign of the hippopotamus goddess Taweret,⁹⁶ 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.⁹⁷ We will see more use of visual allusions in the following chapter on Sign Play.

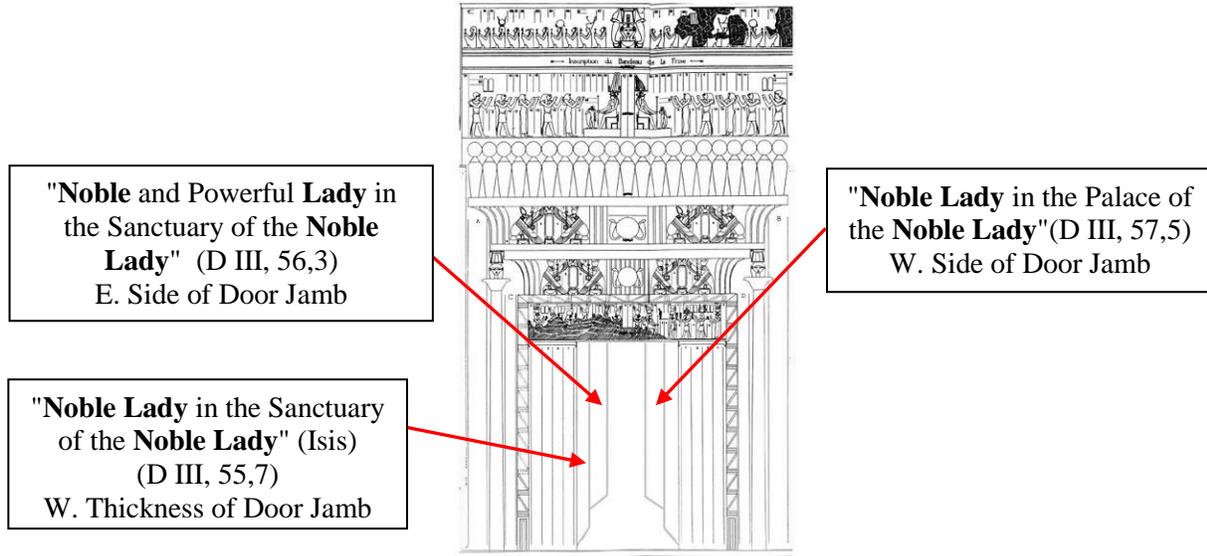


Fig. 2.5. Entrance of Per-wer, D II, pl. 94, © IFAO; Repetitions of *šps.t*, "Noble Lady"

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;⁹⁸ 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.⁹⁹ 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):

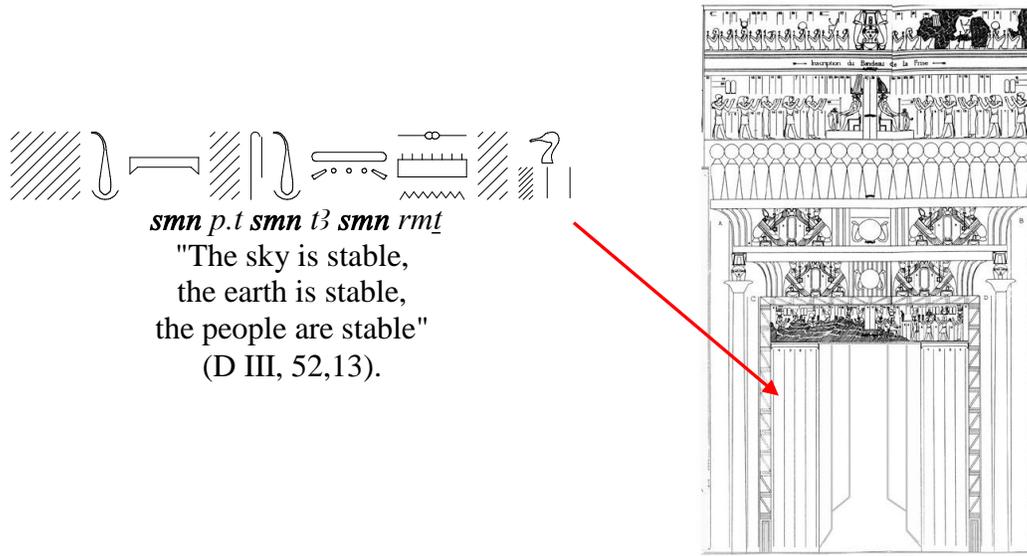


Fig. 2.6. Entrance of the Per-wer, D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

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, *t3y=n hnw.t nfr.t*, "Our Beautiful Mistress," whose surprising use of the possessive plural pronoun, *t3y=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 D III, 64,7-8, east wall, 1st register, 1st Scene of the Per-wer, in which the root, *twr*, enjoys further emphasis, in an example of antanaclasis: *twr twr m d.t=f*, "The Purifier, purified in his body" (D III, 64,7). The stylistic trope of antanaclasis is discussed in the following section (2.2).

¹⁰¹ 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. ἀντανάκλασις, “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),

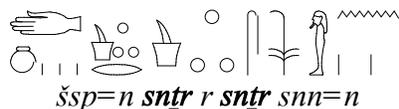
“The only thing we have to **fear** is **fear** itself.”
 - Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1933



Fig. 2.7. Franklin D. Roosevelt¹⁰²

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.¹⁰³ 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.3c17121.

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).

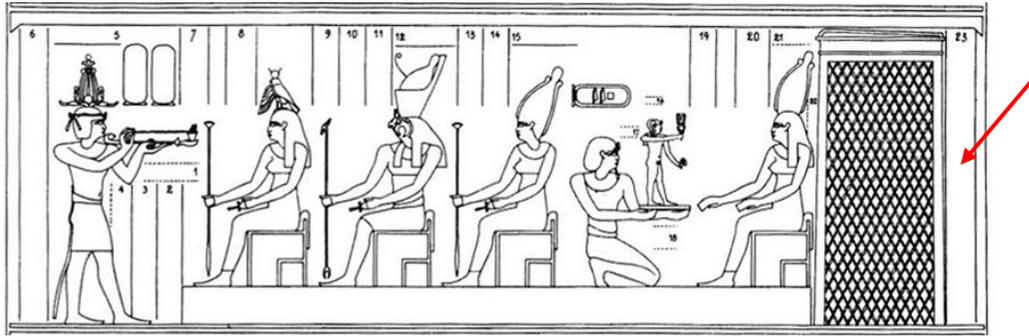


Fig. 2.8. East Wall, 3rd Register; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

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 censuring. In addition, the verb, *sntr*, can be understood as its homonym, the *s*-causative, "make godly,"¹⁰⁴ 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 (a 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:



sw mi Thy ir ihy n hnw.t=f
 "He is like **Ihy**
 who makes **music** for his mistress"
 (D III, 70,13).

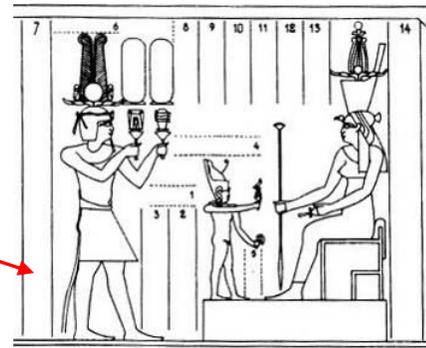


Fig. 2.9. East Wall, 2nd Register, 1st Scene; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

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

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 top¹⁰⁵ (Fig. 2.10) is similar to the alabaster sistrum of Teti I, from the 6th 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 1st 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.

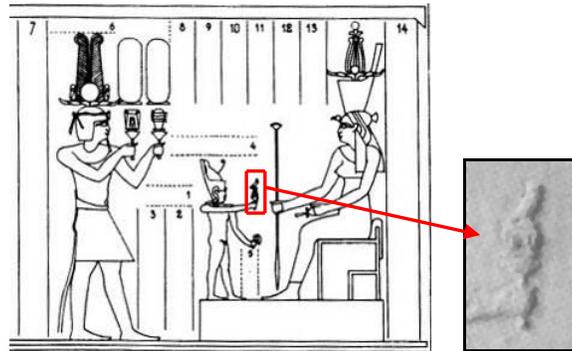


Fig. 2.10. Ihy's Falcon-topped Sistrum¹⁰⁷



Fig. 2.11. Sistrum of Teti I, Memphis, 6th Dynasty¹⁰⁸



Fig. 2.12. Serekh of Djet, Abydos, 1st Dynasty¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Ihy holds the falcon-topped naos sistrum in the following relief scenes: outer entrance of Per-wer, west side of lintel (D II, pl. 94; sistra); south wall of the Per-wer, 2nd register, east side (D III, pl. 190; cloth); in the *h.t-w^cb* (Chassinat's Chamber K), north wall, 3rd register (D III, pl. 211; natron); in barque sanctuary (Chassinat's Chamber A), south wall, 1st 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, 2nd register, 1st 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.

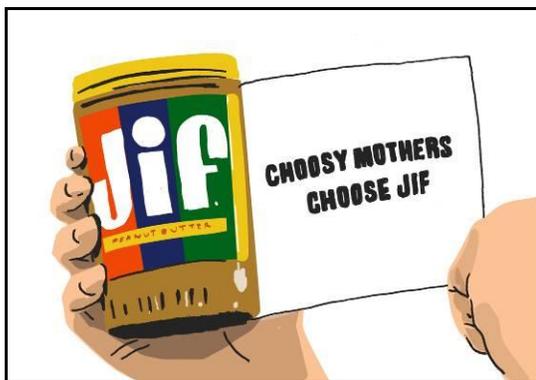
¹⁰⁹ Illustration by Caris Reid of the Serekh of King Djet from Abydos, now in the Louvre, E 11007. Djet's name means "cobra."

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,"

Fig. 2.14. Jif Peanut Butter, TV Commercial¹¹⁴

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,

¹¹⁴ Jif peanut butter commercial, first aired in March, 1977, by J.M. Smucker Company. Illustration by Rachel Domm, after screen capture from video at www.youtube.com/watch?v=_OTsqVKmjAw, accessed 1-21-12.

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-wer, in an offering of cloth (Fig. 2.17). Hathor is described as

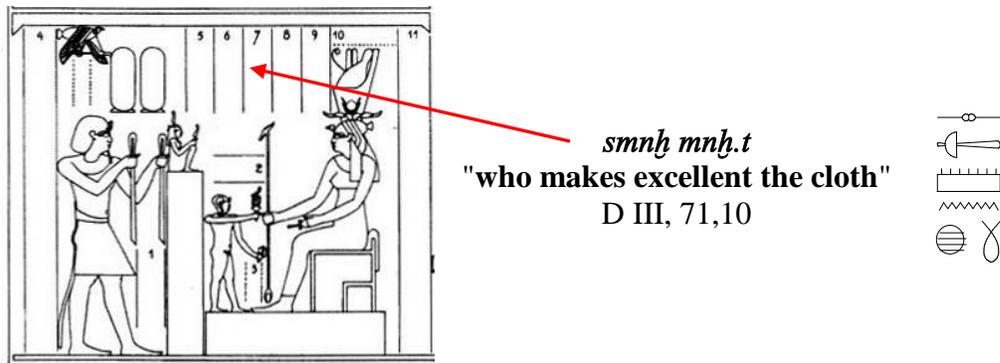


Fig. 2.17. South Wall, 2nd Register, East Side; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

The root *mnh*, "be excellent, effective," appears first as the causative verb, "make excellent," followed by the feminine substantive, *mnh.t*, "cloth."¹¹⁷ 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,¹¹⁸ 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.¹¹⁹

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. Wilson¹²⁰ notes that polyptotons are particularly effective "because the pun and alliteration serve the same purpose of explaining and emphasizing the meaning of the phrase."

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 hk3w* 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



Fig. 2.18. Richard III¹²²

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 polyptoton, 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 šḥd ḥ^cw m psd
"illuminating (her) body with the
nine-stranded linen"
(D III, 71,6).

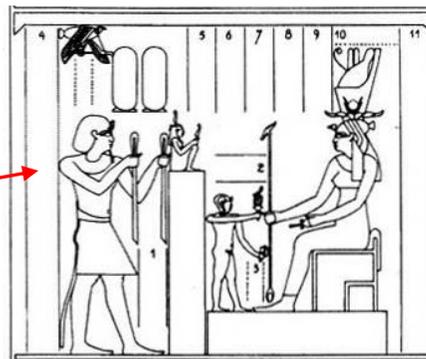


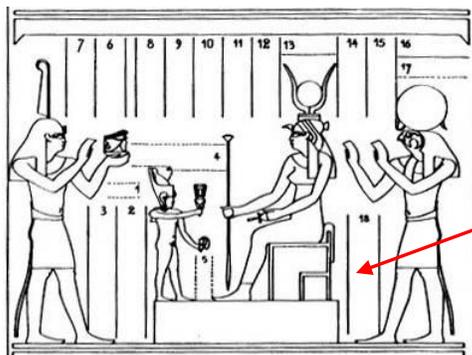
Fig. 2.19. South Wall, 2nd Register, East Side; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

¹²¹ Act 1, Scene 1 of "Richard III," first performed in 1594.

¹²² Anonymous portrait of Richard III, ca. 1520, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London, ref. no. NPG 4980(12), <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Richard_III_earliest_surviving_portrait.jpg>, accessed 4-20-12.

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 *sšp.t*, "bright cloth," and *ḥd.t*, "bright white cloth," in the following line (D III, 71,7). Furthermore, *ḥd.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,



dwn.n=i ʿ.wy=i ḥ3 ḥr.t-tp m ḥd=s
 "I extend my arms around the
 uraeus in **her shrine**"
 (D III, 95,6),



Fig. 2.20. Southern Niche, E. Wall, 2nd Reg; D III, pl. 201, © IFAO

the sun god thus embracing his daughter upon her return. The use of  *ḥd* for "shrine" has an additional allusion by means of its homonym,  *ḥd*, meaning "be light, bright."¹²³ Wilson¹²⁴ 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 *ḥd*, "shrine," even employs the sign of two Divine Eyes residing within a structure,  (O337),¹²⁵ 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.

¹²³ Wb III, 209, 1-8. This writing is attested since the MK. It appears in the expression *r-pʿ.t r ḥd 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.ty.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.ty.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,"¹²⁶ 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 Topper¹³⁰

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.¹³¹ The following section looks at an example from each of these three categories.

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,

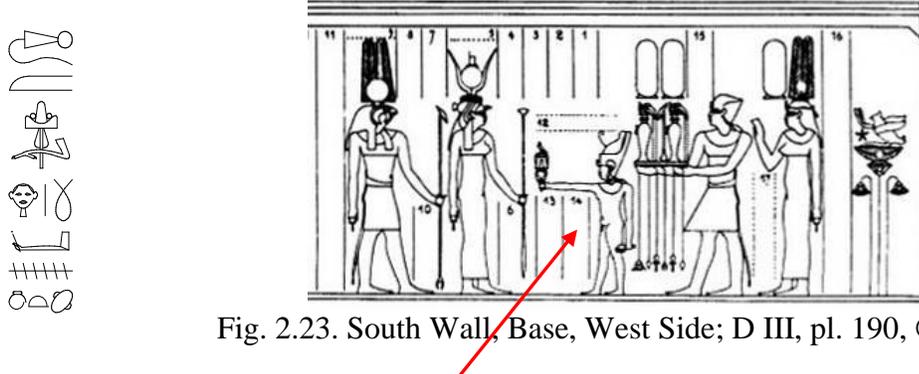


Fig. 2.23. South Wall, Base, West Side; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

mni.t m i3b(=i) hr dr [m]n.t
 "the **menit** is in (my) left hand, driving away **distress**"
 (D III, 75,6).

The term, *mn.t*, "distress," or "sadness,"¹³² 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 *mni.t* ("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-wer'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 *mni.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 mni.t*, Chassinat's Chamber L) includes the expression, *dr mn.t m ib n nb(t) mni.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 physical distress. See Wb II, 67, 6-18.

¹³³ In the menit offering in the 2nd register of the east wall of the Per-wer, Hathor gives protection against the enemies of Osiris and protects her father Ra (D III, 70,3-5).



sk3=i k3=t r k3 n p.t
 “I make high your
 ka to the height of
 heaven”
 (D III, 56,7).

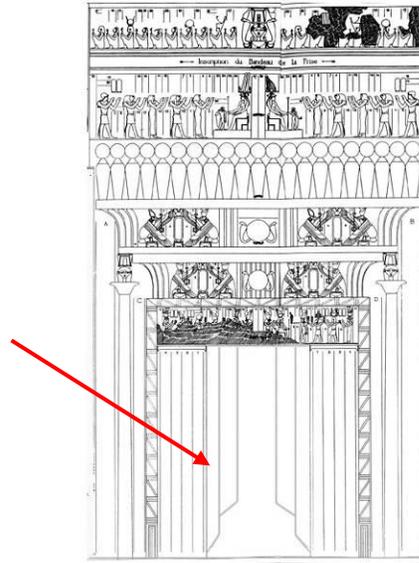


Fig. 2.24. Per-wer Entrance; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

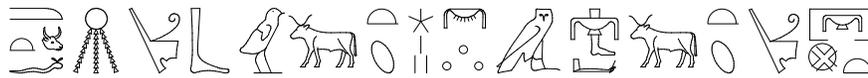
The two occurrences of root, *k3* (“be high”), first as the causative verb, *sk3* (“make high”), and then as the substantive, *k3* (“height”), create a polyptoton. These two forms of “be high” bracket the word, *k3* (“the soul” or “embodiment of Hathor”), thus emphasizing the height to which the king praises her. The word, *k3*, 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, *k3*, three times. Additionally, the hieroglyph of a man raising his arms in adoration, on either side of the *k3* 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); *hnw.t nb.t hy, nb.t hnw*, “Mistress and Lady of Exultation, Lady of Jubilation” (D III, 58,11); *dw3.n=i k3=t r k3 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 b3w r ntr.w nb.w, dd.tw nbw.t nb.t iwn.t*, “whose power is greater than all the gods, one calls you Lady of Dendera” (D III, 80,4); *sk3 k3=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.



(Read from right to left)

*pr-nbw.t n nbw.t nbi m nbw,
nbw.t ntr.w wbn m-hnt=f*

"The sanctuary of the **Golden One** (is) for
the **Golden One**, gilded with gold, the
Golden One of the gods shines in it"
(D II, 3,6)

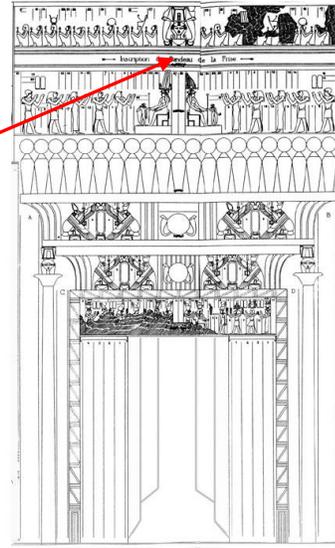


Fig. 2.25. Per-wer Entrance; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

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).¹³⁶

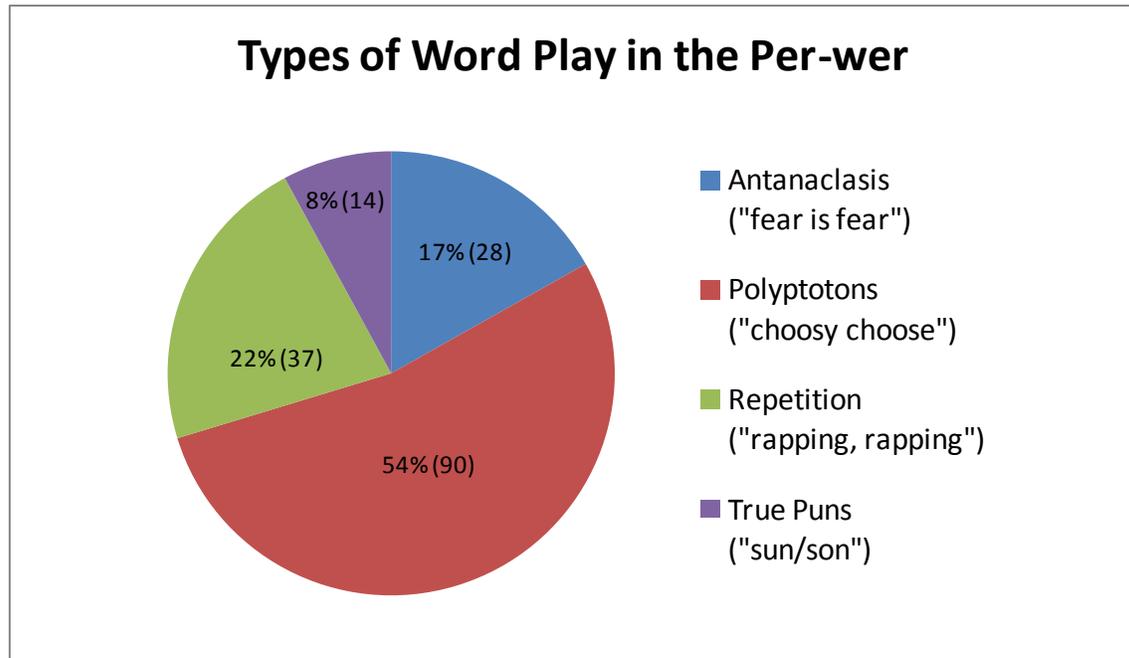


Fig. 2.26. Types of Paronomasia in the Per-wer Sanctuary

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. Polypotons 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. Polypotons make up such a large percentage of the word play perhaps because syntactical variations on a root are particularly versatile.

¹³⁶ A more detailed listing of word play in the Per-wer appears in Appendix 1.

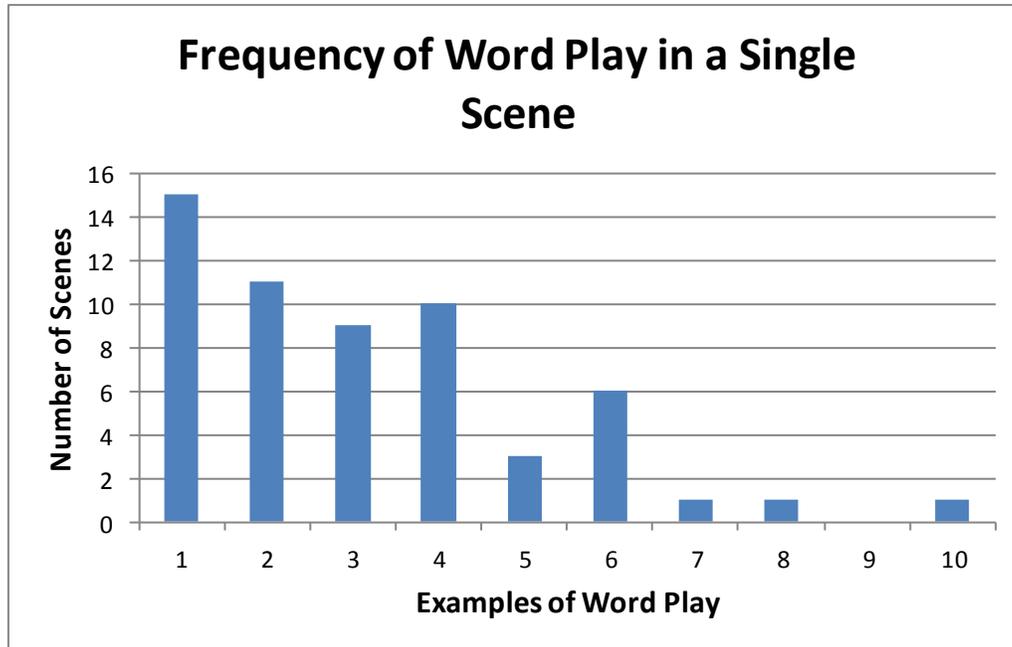


Fig. 2.27. Frequency of Word Play in a Single Scene

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.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.

¹³⁷ West wall, 3rd register of Per-wer, in D III, 84,13, pl. 190; Cauville, Dend Trad III, 158-161.

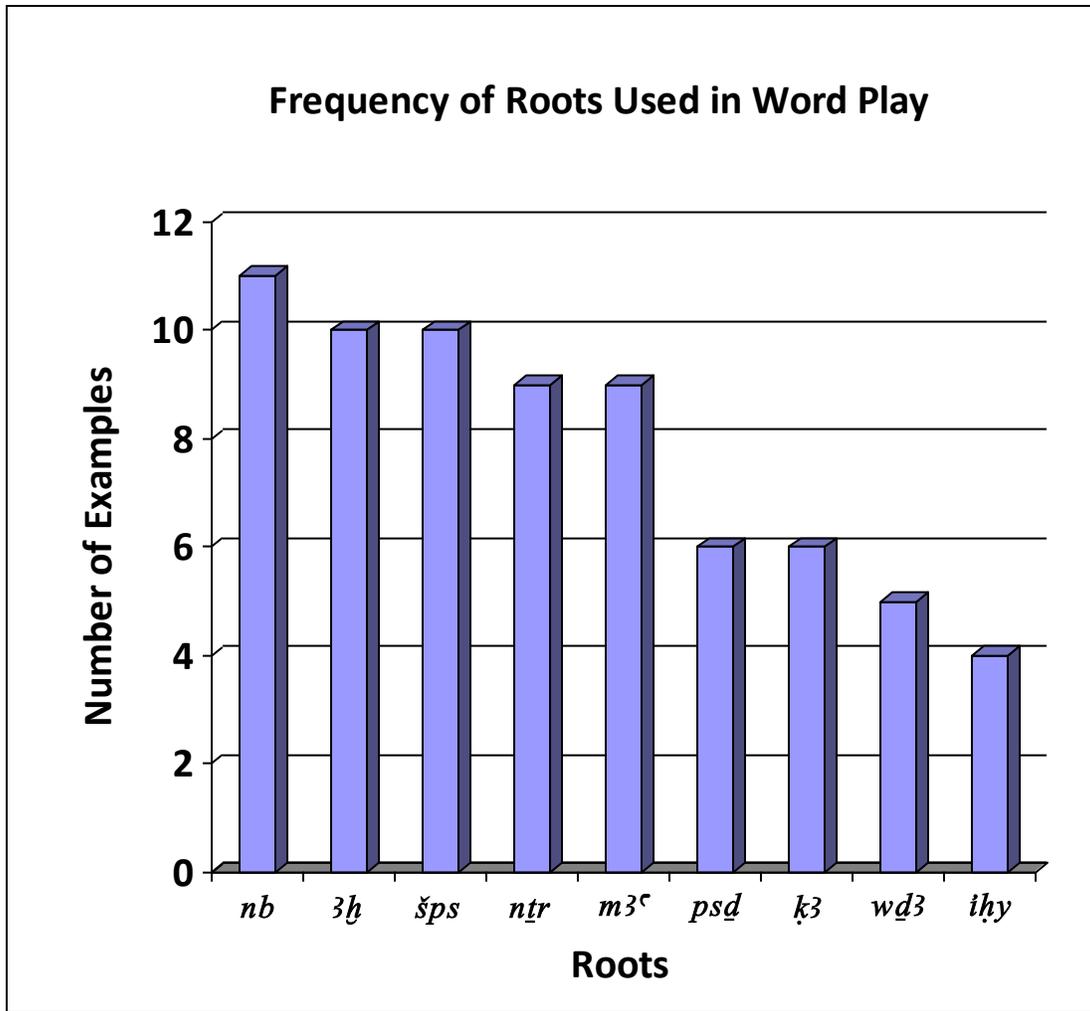


Fig. 2.28. Frequency of Roots Used in Word Play in the Per-wer Sanctuary

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 *šps* ("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

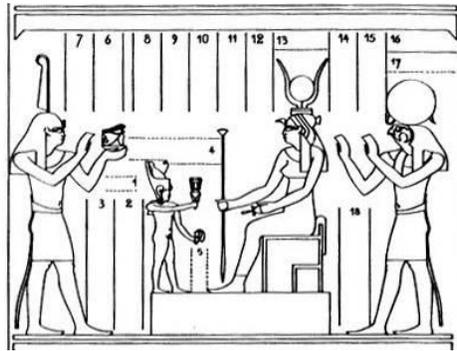


Fig. 2.29. Southern Niche, East Wall, 2nd Register; D III, pl. 201, © IFAO

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:



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

It continues with



"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:

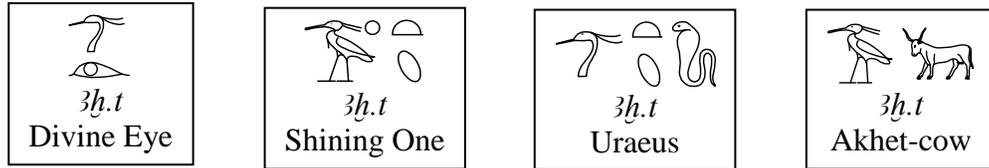


Fig. 2.30. Homonyms for *3h.t*

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 mnh.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):

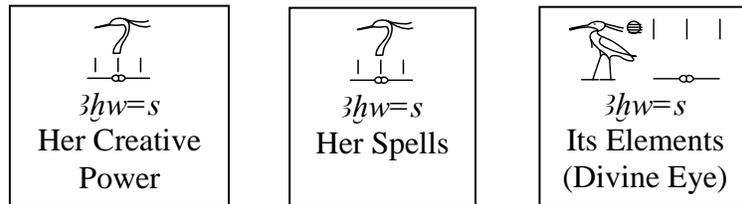


Fig. 2.31. Homonyms for *3hw=s*

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 *d3is.w 3h.w*, "magical formulas"¹³⁸ (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 *d3is.w* are personified spells or words, regarded as gods of writing. See Cauville, *Essai d'Horus*, 129.

Thus, our simple phrase, $\mathfrak{h}.t \mathfrak{h}.ti m \mathfrak{h}w=s$, 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."

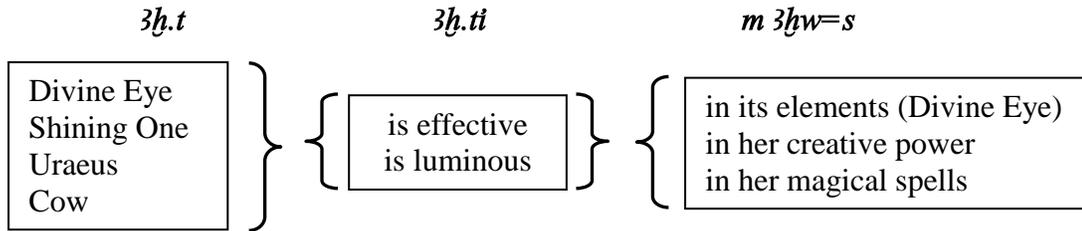


Fig.2.32. Multiple Interpretations of Dendera III, 94,15.

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 $\mathfrak{h}w$ (magical spells) that are $\mathfrak{h}.ti$ (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.

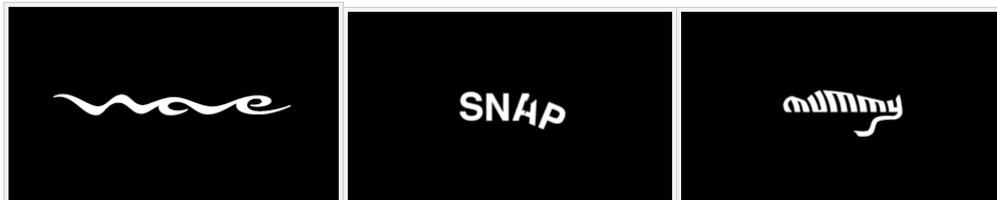


Fig. 3.1. Words visually embodying their meaning through graphic means¹³⁹

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).

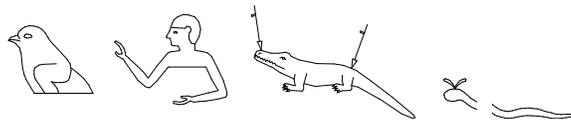


Fig. 3.2. Quail chick, man, crocodile, and viper nullified by various graphic means.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Examples from www.logopond.com. The undulating font of the word, "wave," in the first example visually replicates the meaning of the word. "Wave" logo by Jan Zabransky; "Snap" logo by George Bokhua, www.creative.ge; "Mummy" logo by Gustav "Hemisferiod."

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.¹⁴² 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.¹⁴³ 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."¹⁴⁴

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,¹⁴⁵ but it was especially popular during the Ptolemaic and Roman eras.¹⁴⁶ 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

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, *Demnatio Memoriae*, 95-102.

¹⁴⁵ Pierre-Croisiau, *Jeux graphiques*, 355-362.

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,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."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.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.¹⁵⁰ In 1889, Loret suggested that the Graeco-Roman hieroglyphs became so increasingly complicated that eventually they were indecipherable even for the Egyptians themselves.¹⁵¹ This limiting attitude discouraged the search for system within the complexity; it has persisted despite later advances in our knowledge of Ptolemaic writing.¹⁵²

Although Lepsius corrected and expanded Champollion's system of interpreting the hieroglyphs,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.¹⁵⁴ Exploiting this new source material, Junker initiated the scientific study of the

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-Osirian 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, *Tempelschriften*, 1867; idem, *Baugeschichte Denderatempels*, 1877; Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, 1870; von Bergmann, *Inschriften*, 1879, de Rougé, *Edfou*, 1880; Mariette, *Dendérah*, Vol. 1-5, 1870-1874; Rochemonteix, *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, Rochemonteix, *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. Bénédite, *Philae*). Together with the IFAO, Chassinat created a

writing system at Dendera with his 32-paged, hand-written doctoral thesis, defended in 1903.¹⁵⁵ He judged that the writing, especially in the *bandeaux*,¹⁵⁶ was "decorative," rather than purposely cryptic, noting that parallel texts elsewhere in the temple expressed the same things in "normal" writing.¹⁵⁷ He rightfully asked, "Welchen Zweck hätte es vollends gehabt, in den Crypten, in die kein Unberufener eindringen durfte, Texte, dazu ganz belanglosen Inhaltes, also zu verschleiern?"¹⁵⁸ He noted the abundance of signs carrying alphabetic values, derived metaphorically;¹⁵⁹ he observed that graphic peculiarities, rather than being "sinnlose Spielerei," were an expressive medium for visually conveying additional meaning.¹⁶⁰ A few years later, Junker followed up these preliminary observations with a comprehensive investigation of the texts at Dendera,¹⁶¹ resulting in the only grammar of Ptolemaic writing until Kurth's publication in 2008.¹⁶²

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

standard font for reproducing hieroglyphs (Chassinat, *Catalogue des signes*, 1907; idem, *Supplement*, 1930); his publication of Dendera, beginning in the 1930's, increased the scholarly standard for accuracy. See Kurth, *Research*, 154; Sauneron, *L'écriture ptolémaïque*, 30.

¹⁵⁵ Junker, *Schriftsystem Dendera*.

¹⁵⁶ The *bandeaux*, or "stringcourses," are located above and below the ritual scenes on a wall. See Fig. 3.3.

¹⁵⁷ Junker, *Schriftsystem Dendera*, 13.

¹⁵⁸ Junker, *Schriftsystem Dendera*, 12, with reference to Mariette, *Dendérah III*, 15 and 70. For a discussion of literacy, especially among various classes of priests, see Baines and Eyre, *Literacy*, 71, who notes that in Appeals to the Living (inscriptions on funerary stelae encouraging passersby to read offering formulae), there are cryptographic texts meant to spur the reader to solve the puzzle. See Scharff, *Denkstein*, 104-105 (line 11 of the stela), discussed by Darnell, *Solar-Osiris Unity*, 477-478 and n. 117. In religious texts, the purpose of cryptography is usually not to conceal meaning, as shown by parallel texts in plain writing of the *Amduat* in NK royal tombs (e.g. KV 34 of Thutmose III; see Richter, *Amduat*, 82) and in the cryptography at the base of the four walls of the Southern Niche in the Per-wer (D III, 96,10), which is repeated in ordinary writing in the columns framing its east and west walls (D III, 96,15). Darnell, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 479-480, observes that NK cryptography appears in texts concerning solar regeneration and the crossing of cosmic boundaries; it is located in liminal areas associated with the crossing of boundaries between this world and the next. The cryptography in the Per-wer's Southern Niche suggests a similar association, as discussed in 3.7.

¹⁵⁹ Junker, *Schriftsystem Dendera*, 23-40.

¹⁶⁰ Junker, *Schriftsystem Dendera*, 23 and 32, notes that groupings of Ptolemaic signs can convey meaning beyond the phonetic information carried by the sign. Despite this observation by Junker, a disdainful attitude toward Ptolemaic hieroglyphs persisted among scholars. In 1934, Erman, *Religion*, 368, complains that the system was "arbitrary," stating that the GR priests "hatten an die Stelle der alten Hieroglyphen eine neue Art gesetzt, die sich so willkürlich handhaben liess, dass sie nur für Eingeweihte lesbar war," adding sarcastically, "Wie schön, wenn sie nun ein und dieselbe Inschrift zehnmal nebeneinander schrieben und dabei doch bei jedem Male sich anderer Worte bedienten." In 1937, Grapow, *Sprachliche Formung*, 55, had much the same opinion, expressing disappointment that a list of Hathor's names at Dendera began each column with a different writing of *H.t-hr*, so that the "harmonisches Schriftbild" was "absichtlich zerstört," evidently not aware that the variations in signs allow visual allusions to the

different manifestations of the goddess, e.g. her form as the uraeus, when writing her name as  (Mariette, *Dendérah I*, 25-26 = D IX, 26-29). For an interesting study of the epigraphic aspects of Ptolemaic script and its development over time, see Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*.

¹⁶¹ Junker, *GdD*, 1906. Although Dendera's texts have much in common with those of Edfu, there are still some nuanced differences; the examples in Junker's grammar come entirely from Dendera, so it is still a useful resource when studying these texts. Junker followed these grammatical studies with important analyses of myths in the temples of Dendera, Edfu and Philae: Junker, *Stundenwachen*, 1910; idem, *Auszug*, 1911; idem, *Abaton*, 1913; idem, *Onurislegende*, 1917.

¹⁶² Kurth, *EP*, which focuses primarily on examples from the Temple of Horus at Edfu.

signs in the texts at Edfu.¹⁶³ By careful analysis of their means of derivation, he showed that the writing system, rather than being "willkürlich,"¹⁶⁴ 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.¹⁶⁵ 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.¹⁶⁶ 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."¹⁶⁷ 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.¹⁶⁸ 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.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶³ 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.

¹⁶⁴ 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."

¹⁶⁵ 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 ptolémaïque*, 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.

¹⁶⁶ Fairman, *Ptolemaic Signs*, 131.

¹⁶⁷ Gutbub, *Jeux de signes*, 1953.

¹⁶⁸ Attraction is discussed in 3.5.

¹⁶⁹ 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 1982.¹⁷⁰ 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.¹⁷¹ He noted some interesting features at Esna, such as the "perturbation" of signs,¹⁷² the existence of "parasite" signs,¹⁷³ and the use of group writing, recalling a similar technique in Demotic.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.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.¹⁷⁶ Other studies include those of Felber,¹⁷⁷ Derchain-Urtel,¹⁷⁸ Cauville,¹⁷⁹ Morenz,¹⁸⁰ and Preys.¹⁸¹ Except for Sauneron's study of the litanies at Esna,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

¹⁷⁰ Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*.

¹⁷¹ Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, list of epithets: 59-79; discussion: 56-58.

¹⁷² Placement in a different order than usual for the signs spelling a word. See Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, 87-88.

¹⁷³ 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.

¹⁷⁴ 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.

¹⁷⁵ Esna's texts were composed around 100 years after Dendera's.

¹⁷⁶ 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 *ʒ*, *i*, *w*, 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.

¹⁷⁷ Felber, *Mischschreibungen*, 1990.

¹⁷⁸ 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.

¹⁷⁹ Cauville, *Exigence décorative*, 2002.

¹⁸⁰ Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel*, 2008, and *idem*, *Visuelle Poesie*, concentrate mostly on pre-Ptolemaic cryptographic inscriptions.

¹⁸¹ Preys, *Jeu de signes*, 2009.

¹⁸² Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, 56-79.

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 Chassinat¹⁸³ and Cauville,¹⁸⁴ and selecting the classifications of Gutbub¹⁸⁵ 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 *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.

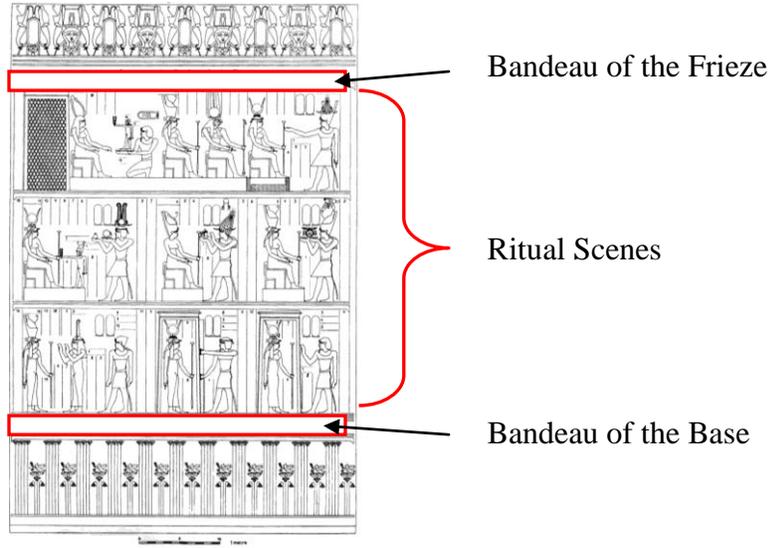


Fig. 3.3. Decoration of a typical wall in the Per-wer, highlighting the bandeaux above and below the ritual scenes in the middle; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

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:



H.t-ḥr, nb.t'wnt, 'r.t-R'

 "Hathor Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra"

 (D III, 92,7).

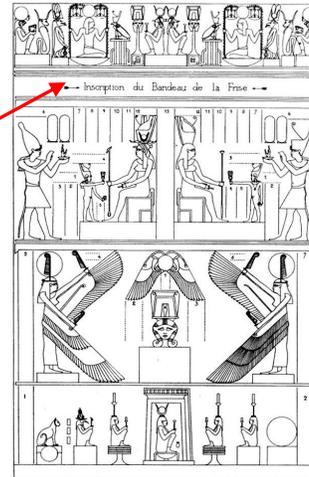


Fig. 3.5. South Wall of Southern Niche; D III, pl. 202, © IFAO

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'wnt*, "Lady of Dendera."¹⁸⁸ Finally, the last sign, a seated figure of Ra holding the udjat eye, is a composite ideogram for *'r.t-R'*, "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 Champollion¹⁸⁹ in the 19th century—that hieroglyphs were purely symbolic and metaphorical.¹⁹⁰

An interesting example with another one of Hathor's frequent epithets, *ḥnw.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).

¹⁸⁸ Fairman, *Ptolemaic Signs*, 100. See also Junker, *Textentlehnung*, 127-128.

¹⁸⁹ Iversen, *Hieroglyphs*, 136-147.

¹⁹⁰ Iversen, *Hieroglyphs*, 43-44.

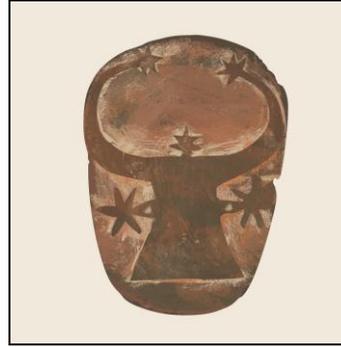
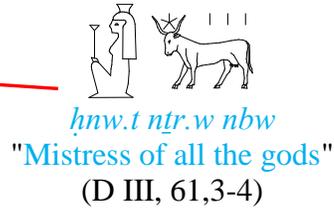
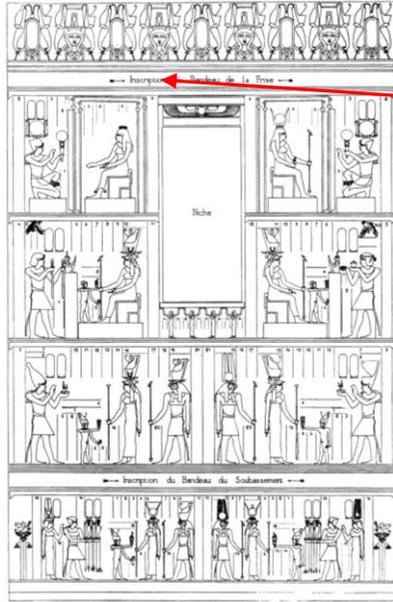


Fig. 3.6. South Wall, Per-wer Sanctuary;
D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

Fig. 3.7. Predynastic Slate Palette¹⁹¹

The seated woman holding a papyrus scepter wears ∇ (W10), a *h̄n.t*-cup, on her head, thus allowing the sign to represent *h̄nw.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 *n̄tr*, "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

¹⁹¹ Illustration by Rachel Domm 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 *h̄nw.t*, "mistress," with the *h̄*-twisted-wick, *h̄n.t*-cup, and *t*-loaf first appears in the MK; with the *h̄n.t*-cup alone as its ideogram, in the LP; with the seated woman wearing the *h̄n.t*-cup on her head, in the GR. See Wb III, 107.

¹⁹⁴ The writing of *n̄tr.w nb.w* with the simpler signs of classical Egyptian, ∇ | | | | , appears in two scenes in the Per-wer: 1st register, east side, north wall (D III, 63,17); 1st register, 1st scene, east wall (D III, 65,1). Written with the same signs, but with the repetition of three *n̄tr*-signs or three *nb*-baskets for the archaic plural: 2nd register, 3rd scene, east wall (D III, 70,16); 2nd register, east side, south wall (D III, 71,9); 2nd register, 3rd 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.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.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.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.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.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.

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*, §§9; 12-13; GG, §16.

¹⁹⁶ Fischer, *Reversals*, 134-135.

¹⁹⁷ Fischer, *Reversals*, 63-111.

¹⁹⁸ The text in the scene of pulling open the door bolt of the naos, in the 1st register of the west wall of the Per-wer, refers to the doors of the naos as *ʿ3.wy m.t.*, "the door-leaves of heaven" (D III, 76,8).

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.

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).²⁰⁰ The

ideogram of her name,  (O10),²⁰¹ a falcon within a temple enclosure, visually representing *H.t-ḥr*, "House of Horus," faces *away* from the central naos, unlike the rest of the signs of the King's epithets, which face towards it.²⁰² 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).

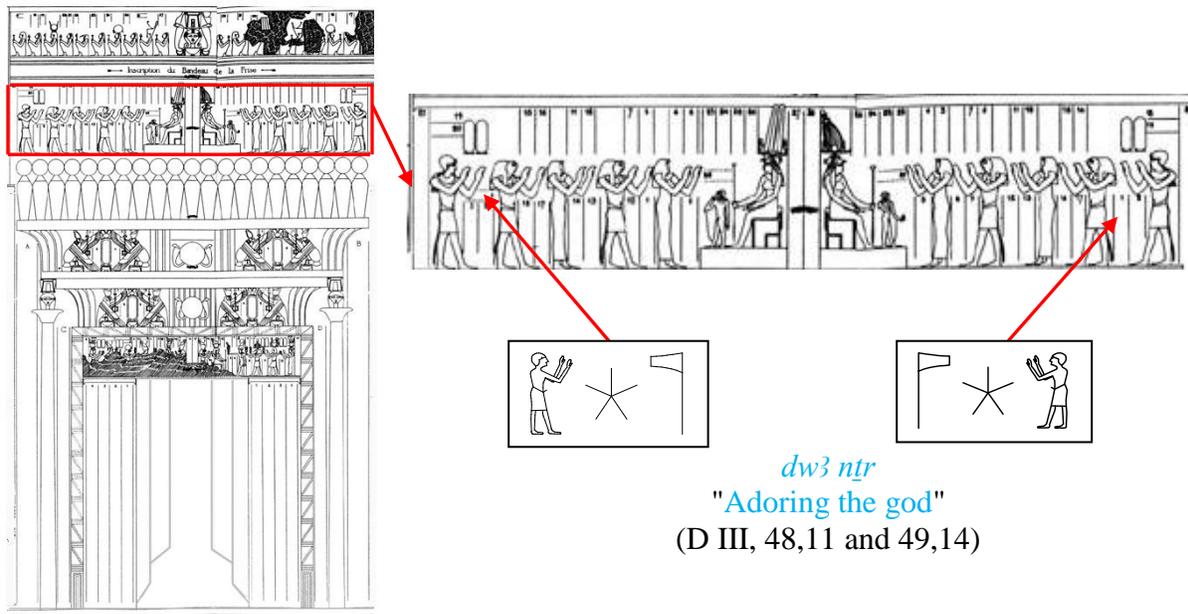


Fig. 3.10. Outer Entrance of Per-wer; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

The reversal of the *ntr*-flag, the ideogram for "god,"²⁰³ 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

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-ḥr* literally means, "House (or Temple) of Horus."

²⁰² In the phrase *s3 H.t-ḥr*, "son of Hathor," there is honorific transposition of the name of the goddess, so in the

reversed unit of *s3 H.t-ḥr*, the sign for *H.t-ḥr*,  is placed before , which writes *s3*, "son."

²⁰³ *ntr* appears before the infinitive, *dw3*, "adoring," due to honorific transposition. See GG §57.

titles,²⁰⁴ 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.²⁰⁵

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.²⁰⁶ 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,

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 *dw3-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  *nh.wy*, "door leaves" (D III, 57,7);  *wd3.ty*, "udjat-eyes" (D III, 84,2; 86,4; 97,13);  *hp.ty*, "extreme limits" (D III, 48,14);  *hn.ty*, "span of time" (D III, 62,6);  *pꜥpꜥ*, "shine, illuminate" (D III, 46,10). The symmetrical writing of *nh.wy* and *wd3.ty* are standard at Dendera, but *hp.ty* is a *hapax legomenon*, usually appearing with different signs. Although *pꜥpꜥ* 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.

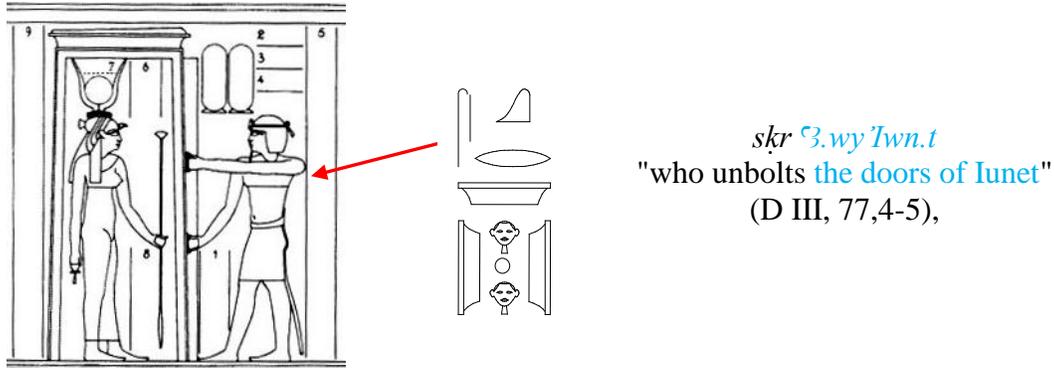


Fig. 3.11. 1st register, West Wall, D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

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). Grdseloff²⁰⁷ 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.

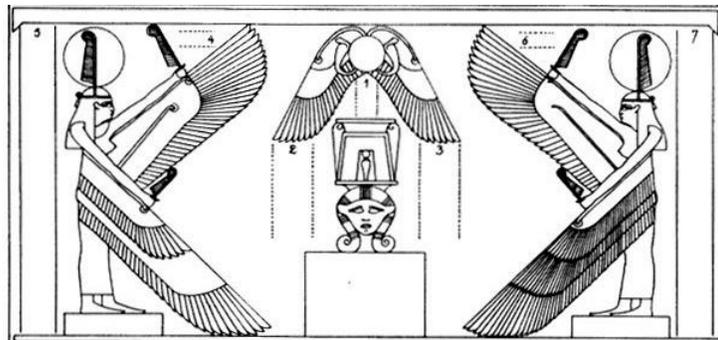
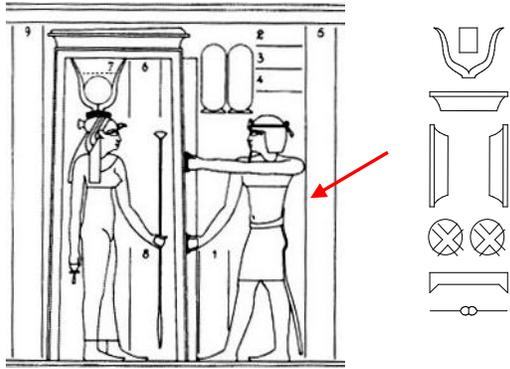


Fig. 3.12. Late Period Sistrum²⁰⁸ Fig. 3.13. 1st reg., S. Wall, S.Niche; D III, pl. 202, © IFAO

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,

²⁰⁷ Fairman, *Alphabetic Signs*, 252 and n. 2.

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.



wp ʕ.wy nn.t=s
 who opens the door-leaves of her heaven
 (D III, 77,5).

Fig. 3.14. 1st Register, West Wall; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

At the top, the grouping of *wp*-horns and the *p*-stool²⁰⁹ 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 *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 1st 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 *ʕm-t3.wy*, "He who knows the Two Lands" (D III, 66,12), the All-knowing Thoth,

ʕk m htp pr m hntš
 "who enters in peace,
 who exits in joy"
 (D III, 66,13)

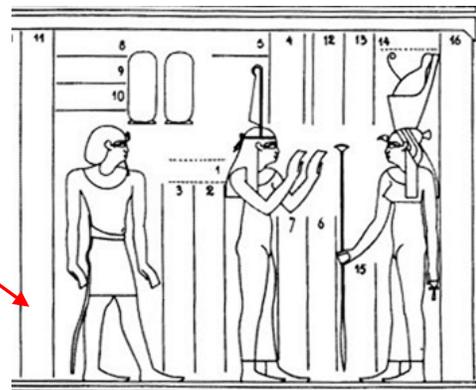
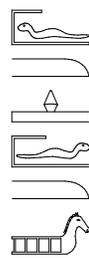


Fig. 3.15. 1st Register, 3rd Scene, East Wall; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

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 *ʕk* and *pr*, "enter" and "exit," with the entering and exiting serpents thus alternates between left and right. There is also symmetry around the central

²⁰⁹ The *p*-stool functions as the phonetic complement of *wp*.

hṭp-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 *hntš*, "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 hntš*, "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 2nd 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,

sšš.t m wnmy=i šhm m i3by=i
 "the *sšš.t*- sistrum is in my right
 (hand), the *šhm*-sistrum is in my (left)
 hand" (D III, 70,7),

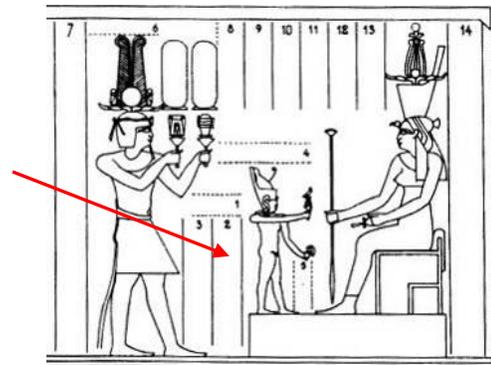


Fig. 3.16. 3rd Scene, 2nd Register, East Wall; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

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 hntš*, "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,"²¹¹ 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,²¹² 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,²¹³ visual alliteration can also call attention to a particular word or phrase and create a visual pattern. In the Per-wer, visual alliteration makes up 26% (60) of the 254 sign plays.²¹⁴ In the following sections, we will look at examples from each of the three types of visual alliteration that I found in the Per-wer: 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.).²¹⁵ 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-wer (Fig. 3.17).

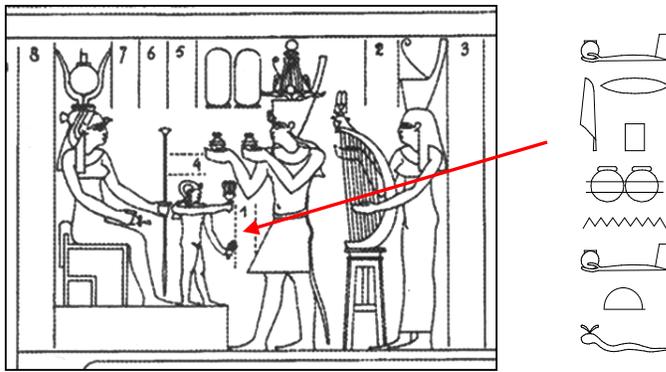
²¹¹ The correspondence of the two cardinal directions, west and east, to "right" and "left," is understandable if one imagines oneself on a boat on the Nile, looking upstream. Then, west would be on the right, and east on the left.

²¹² Evident in almost every major poetry of the world, except Arabic, Hebrew, and Persian. See New Princeton Encyclopedia, 37.

²¹³ William Bedell Stanford, *Aeschylus in his Style: A Study in Language and Personality*, Dublin: University Press, 1942, cited by Percy G. Adams, "Alliteration," in New Princeton Encyclopedia, 37.

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.



ḥnk irp n mw.t=f
 “Offering wine to his mother”
 (D III, 58,11).

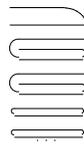
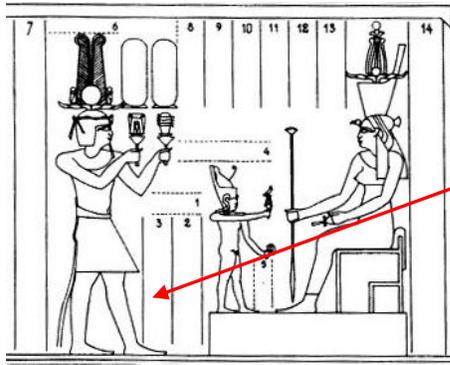
Fig. 3.17. West Side, Lintel, North Wall; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

In the title of the scene, *ḥnk irp n mw.t=f*, “Offering wine to his mother,” the sign of the arm holding the *nw*-jar,  (D39), is repeated twice: first as the ideogram for *ḥnk*, “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,

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 *ḥnk*, “offering,” because *ḥnk* can be written with this sign; at Dendera, Hathor-Isis is often called the mother of the King. Other examples in the Per-wer with this repetition include an offering of cloth in the 2nd register, east side of the south wall: *ḥnk mnḥ.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: *ḥnk=i wd3.t n mw.t=f wsr.t*, “I offer the *udjat* to his mother, the Powerful One” (D III, 97,13).



sw3š=i k3=t m-phr t3.wy
 "I praise your Ka (all) around the
 Two Lands" (D III, 70,9),

Fig. 3.18. 3rd Scene, 2nd Reg., East Wall; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

The phrase, *m-phr t3.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, *m*, with the owl,  (G17), or *phr*, "go around," more

traditionally as   (D III, 108,1; 124,12; 158,16), or even with  (E277) (D VII, 3,5; 26,9),²¹⁷ the composite sign of a lion and a sheath-covered dagger. There are also many other

ways in Ptolemaic to write *t3.wy*, "the Two Lands":   (S48 and S50) (D III, 54,3); 

(M13 and M127) (D III, 49,4; 79,6);  (L1 and N21, repeated) (D VI, 168,7).²¹⁸ Thus, the scribe's decision to write *m-phr t3.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.

3.3.3 Repetition of Signs of Similar Type

The third type of visual alliteration in the Per-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:

²¹⁷ Fairman, Ptolemaic Signs, 129.

²¹⁸ Wb V, 212,6 – 216,7, places the earliest writing of *t3.wy* with two scarab beetles in the 21st Dynasty, during the reign of Pinedjem I at Medinet Habu. See Lepsius, Denkmäler III, 25 e-g; Text III, 164.



mry H.t-hr mhny.t n(.t) R^c

 beloved of Hathor, uraeus of Ra

 (D III, 88,10).

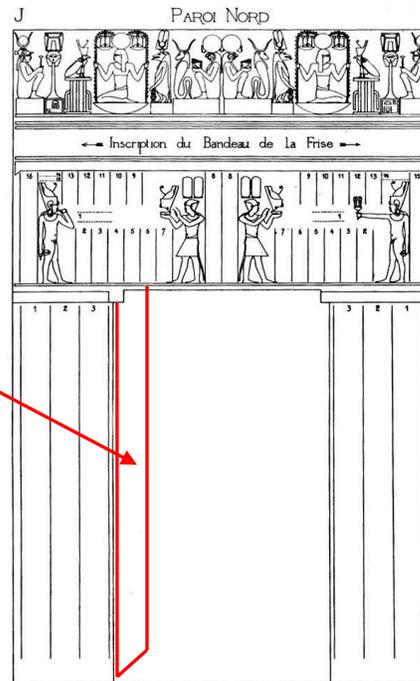


Fig. 3.19. North Wall, Southern Niche; D III, pl. 201, © IFAO

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,²¹⁹ but for Hathor's name, the scribe had a variety of signs from which to choose: a falcon in the temple

enclosure,  (O10)²²⁰ the seated goddess wearing the horns and disk and holding a papyrus

scepter,  (C9A),²²¹ Hathor seated on a throne,  (C154),²²² or a uraeus wearing the horns and

disk,  (I62).²²³ 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

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-ḥr wr.t nb.t 'Iwn.t 'Ir.t-R^c nb.t p.t*, ending with

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

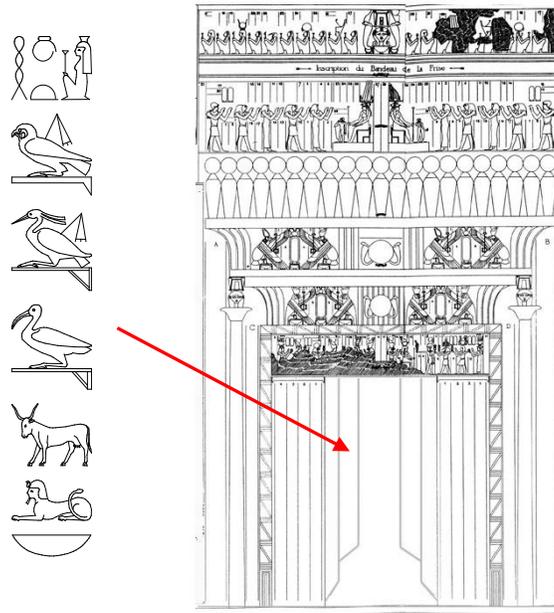


Fig. 3.20 Outer Entrance of Per-wer; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

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 *ḥb*-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.²²⁴ 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).

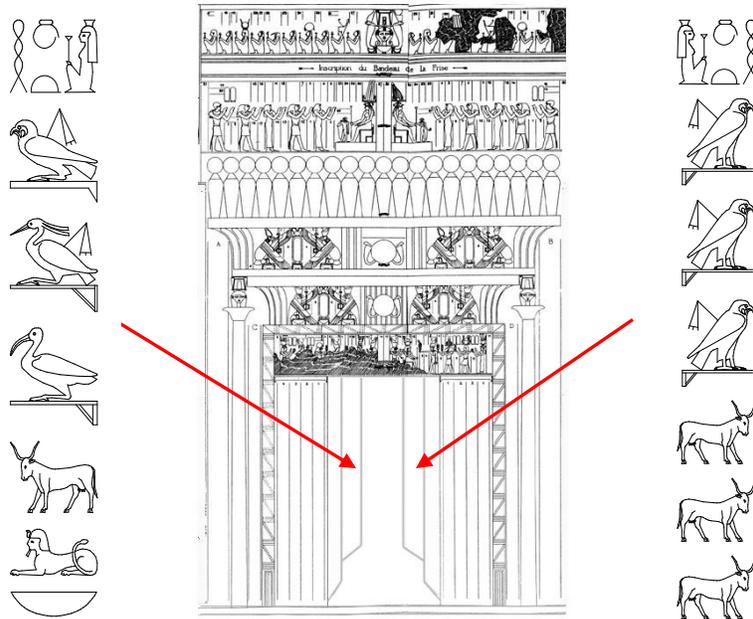


Fig. 3.21. Outer Entrance of Per-wer (e. jamb on left; w. jamb on right); D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w
 "Mistress of all the Gods"
 (D III, 56,8; 57,9)

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 ʕ.wy nn.t*, "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.

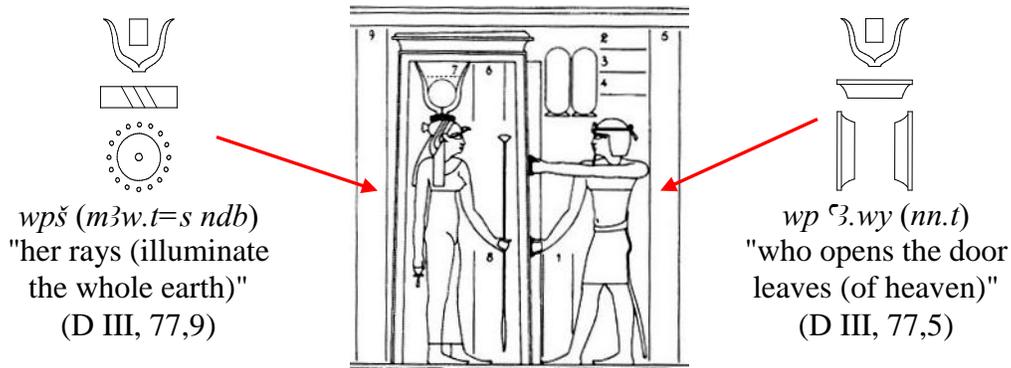


Fig. 3.22. 1st Register, West Wall; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

In approximately the same place in the Divine Randzeile behind Hathor, on the viewer's left, the text states, *wpš m3w.t=s ndb*, "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 *wpš* ("illuminating"). By opening the doors of the naos, the King lets in Hathor's divine light, which illuminates the earth; the determinative of *wpš*, 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.

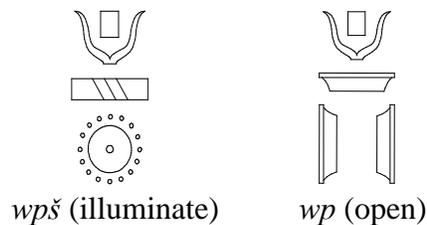


Fig. 3.23. Visual Equivalency of *wpš* and *wp*

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 *ḥn.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.²²⁶ However, Gutbub recognized that the spelling of a word *can* be deformed in order to create this type of visual alliteration.²²⁷ 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

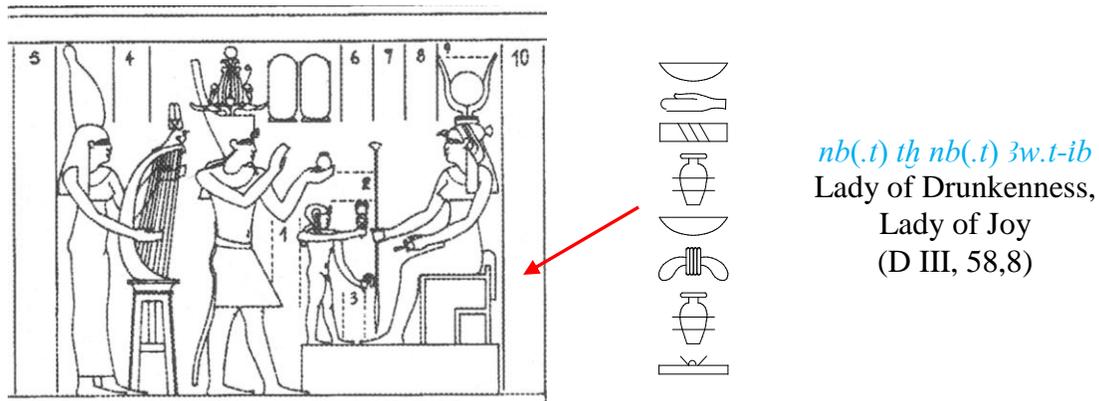
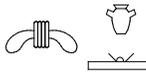


Fig. 3.24. East Side of Lintel, North Wall of Per-wer; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

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., "wideness of

heart," is , 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.²²⁸ 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

²²⁶ e.g. Chassinat, D III, 58,8; Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 134, notes an error with an asterisk next to *kβ.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).

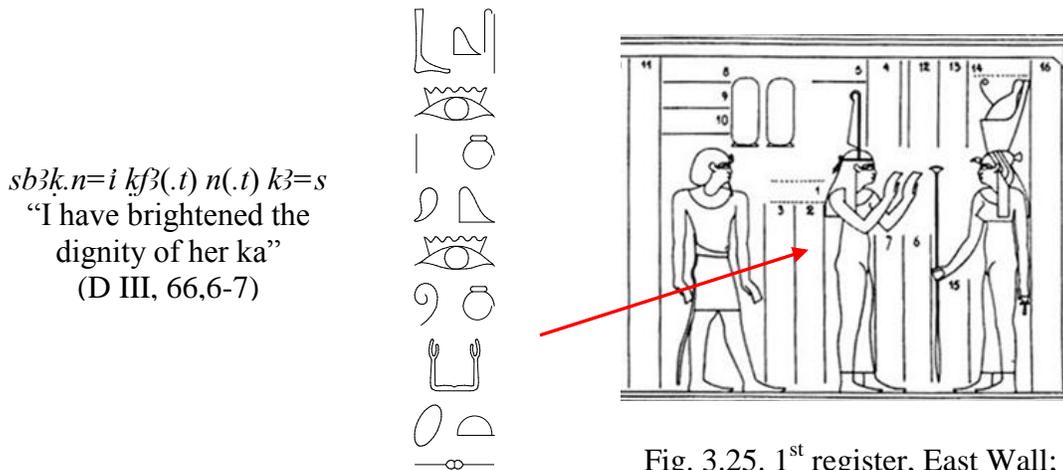


Fig. 3.25. 1st register, East Wall;
 D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

Word	Dendera Spelling	Usual Spelling
<i>sb3k</i> – to brighten		
<i>kf3.t</i> - dignity		

Fig. 3.26. Comparison of spellings of the words, *sb3k* and *kf3.t*.

Cauville²²⁹ 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 *šfy.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.

²²⁹ Dend Trad III, p. 134.

First, by writing *sb3k* with the painted eye, an allusion is made to another word written with an eye-sign, the word *b3k.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.

Words Related by Allusion	
	
<i>b3k.t</i> Egypt	^ḥ <i>n.t</i> Beautiful One (f.)

Fig. 3.27. Words related to *sb3k* and *kf3.t* by allusion.

In choosing to write the word *kf3.t* with the painted eye, the scribe was employing the technique of “attraction” to the spelling of the previous word *sb3k*, thus creating visual alliteration that foregrounds this phrase. Also, by employing the *painted* eye sign for both *sb3k* and *kf3.t* the scribe makes an additional allusion to Hathor herself, who is often called, ^ḥ*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 *kf3.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.

3.6 Types and Distribution of Sign Play in the Per-wer

Having defined the major categories of sign play that I studied in the Per-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.

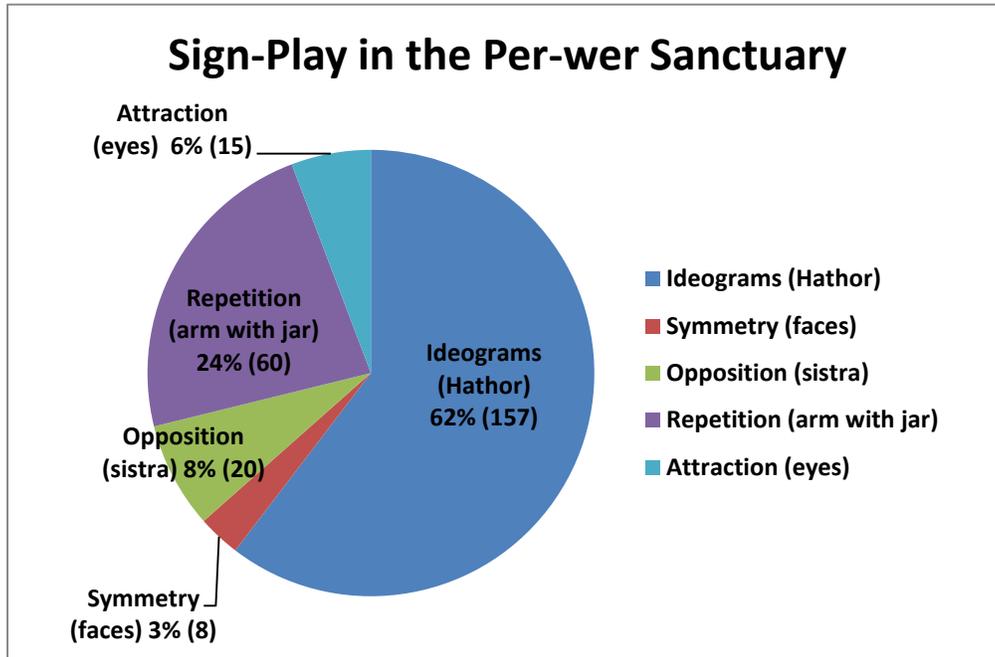


Fig. 3.28. Types of Sign Play in the Per-wer Sanctuary

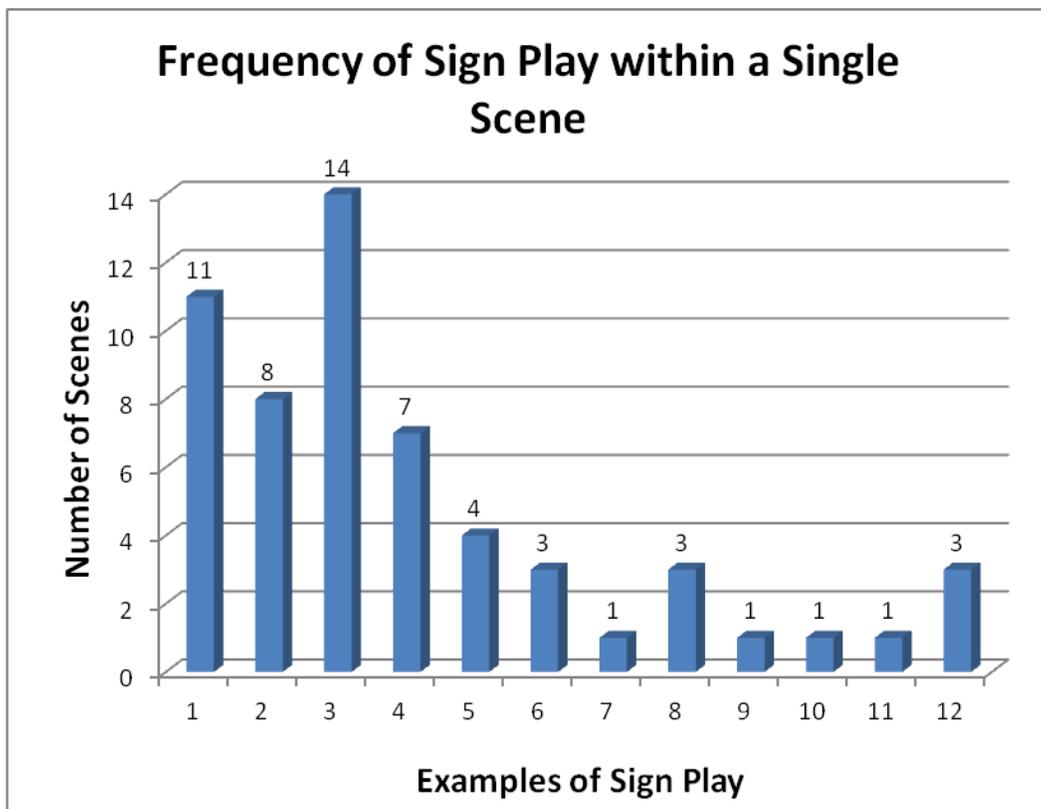


Fig. 3.29. Frequency of Sign Play within a Single Scene.

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.

Type of Scene	Location	Sign Plays
Ma’at Offering	S. Niche, of Per-wer, 2 nd Register, west side	12
Ma’at Offering	S. Niche of Per-wer, 2 nd Register, east side	12
Bandeau of Frieze	Per-wer, East side	12
Cryptographic	S. Niche of Per-wer, Base of South Wall	11
Inundation Water	Per-wer, South Wall, base	10
Cryptographic	S. Niche of Per-wer, Frieze of South Wall	9

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

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

A look at the south wall of the Per-wer (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.

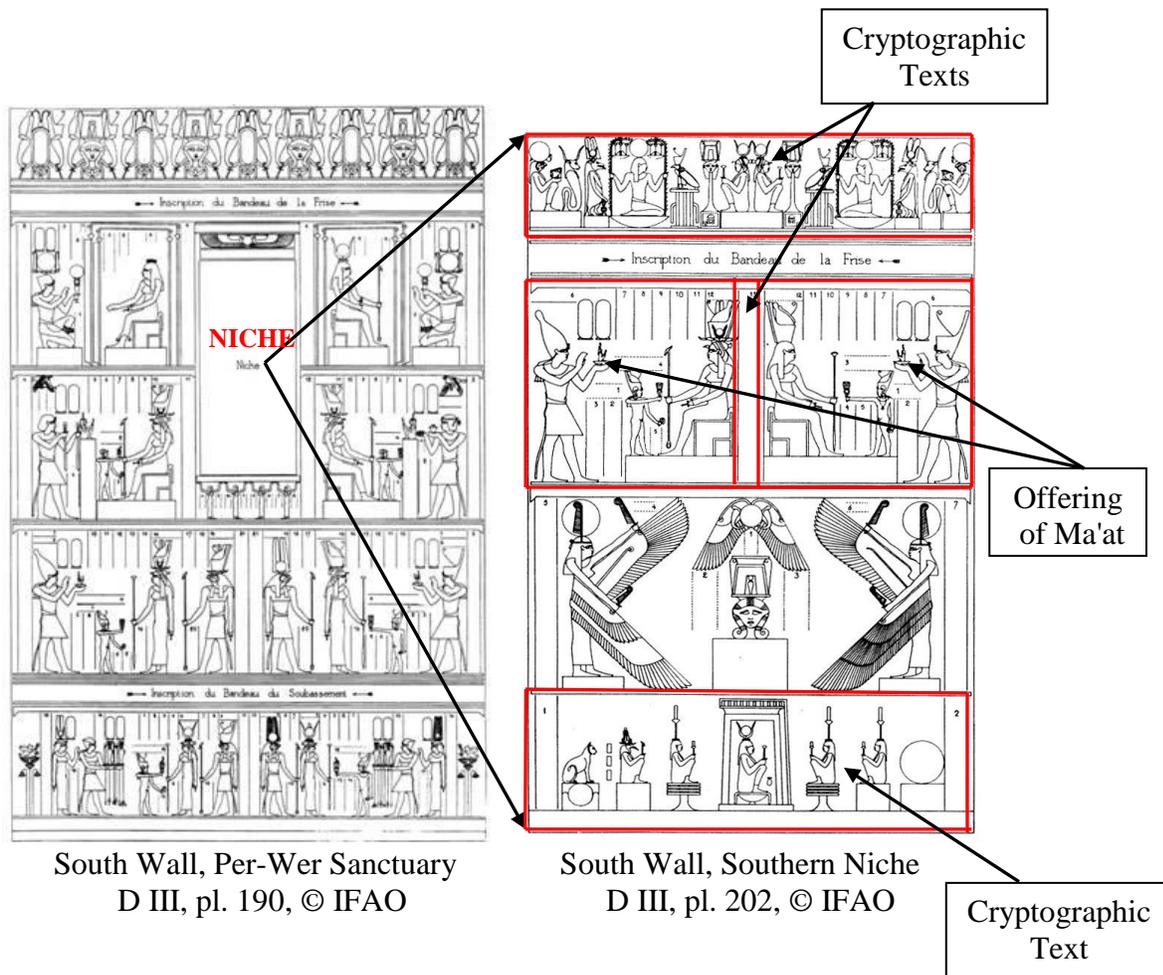


Fig. 3.31. South Wall of Per-wer, with Enlargement of Rear Wall of Southern Niche

Also, just as cryptography in New Kingdom royal tombs is associated with the crossing of cosmic boundaries, according to Darnell,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.

²³⁰ Darnell, *Solar-Osirian Unity*, 479-480.

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-wer with Southern Niche Reached by Ladder²³¹

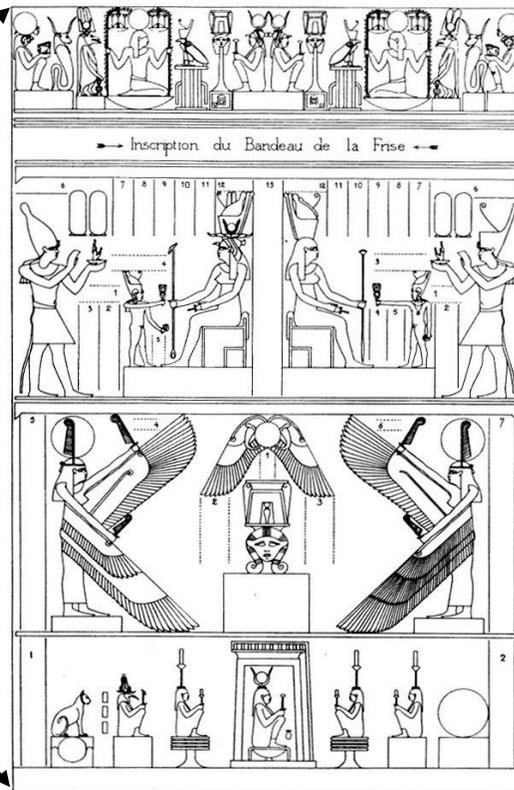


Fig. 3.33. Rear Wall of Southern Niche D III, pl. 202, © IFAO

²³¹ Photo by Su Bayfield, 2009.



Fig. 3.34. 1st Register, Rear South Wall of Southern Niche²³²

²³² 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.²³³ 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).

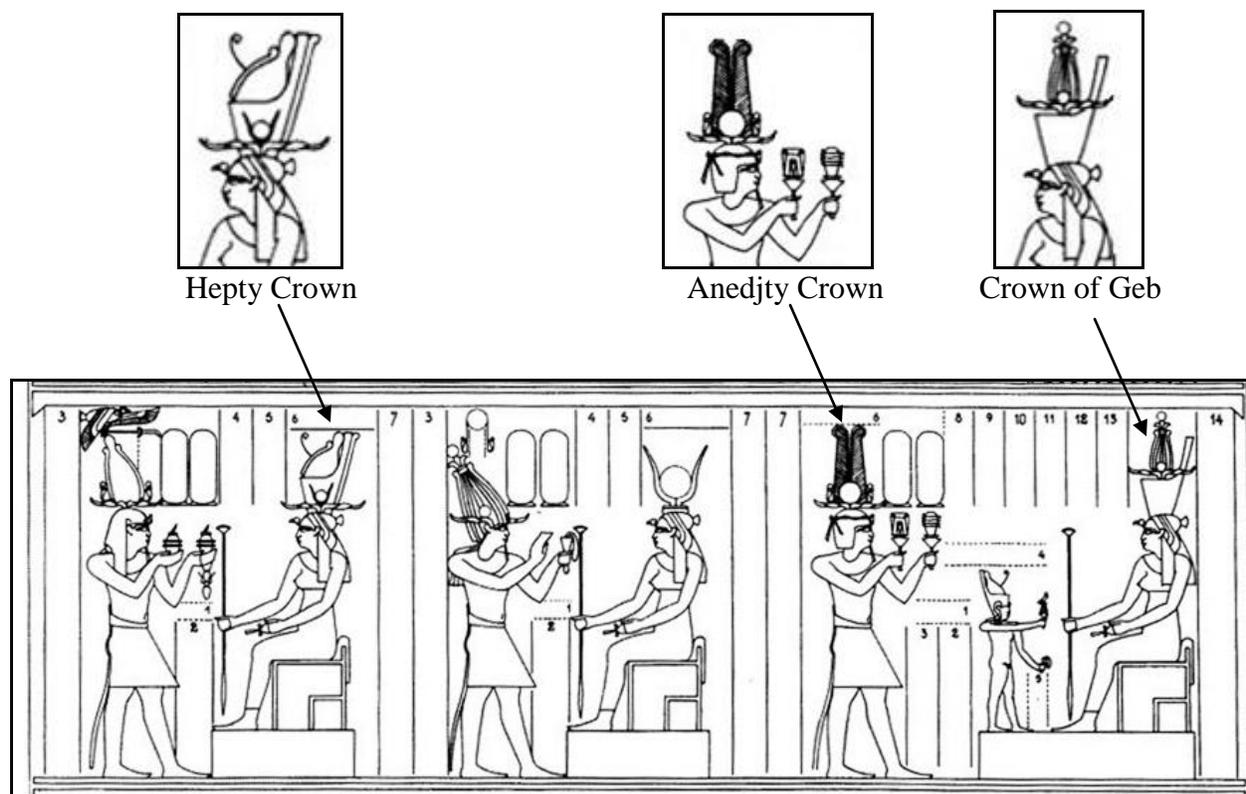


Fig. 4.1. East Wall, 2nd Register, Per-wer Sanctuary; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

²³³ Kozloff and Bryan, *Dazzling Sun*, 76-77.

In the middle scene of this relief, Hathor wears her well-known horns-and-disk headdress,²³⁴ 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.²³⁵ 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.²³⁶ Accompanying Hathor in the same scene, the King wears the "Anedjty" or "Tjeny" crown, consisting of two ostrich feathers, a sun disk and uraeii atop a pair of ram's horns.²³⁷ 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.²³⁸ 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";²³⁹ 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";²⁴⁰ 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."²⁴¹ 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."²⁴²

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.

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.

²⁴⁰ Bonnet, "Kronen," *RÄRG*, 394-395.

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 analysis²⁴⁸ 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 variations²⁵² 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.

²⁵³ Pecoil and Maher-Taha, *Seched*, 1983; Barta, *Stirnband-Diadem*, 1984; Goebes, *Nemes*, 1995.

the Late and Ptolemaic periods.²⁵⁴ Among the more notable works are investigations of the double-feather crowns,²⁵⁵ Hathor's crown of gold,²⁵⁶ the crown of Arsinoe,²⁵⁷ and the Anedjty and Hepty crowns, the latter two studies by Derchain-Urtel.²⁵⁸ 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.²⁵⁹ By connecting these themes with information gleaned from additional texts at Edfu and earlier papyri,²⁶⁰ 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.²⁶¹ Drawing upon his previous study of several cult chambers at Dendera,²⁶² 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.

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 Myśliwiec, 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'Arsinoë, 1998; see now Nilsson, Arsinoë II, 2010, who provides a thorough study of this crown.

²⁵⁸ Derchain-Urtel, Krone und Nebenformen, 1990; idem, *hptj*-Krone, 1994.

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 pBerlin 3055; pBrooklyn Museum 47.218.50.

²⁶¹ Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 2003.

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,²⁶³ cloth,²⁶⁴ and jars of inundation water²⁶⁵), for objects recalling the gifts made by Thoth to the Distant Goddess (menit,²⁶⁶ sistrum,²⁶⁷ wensheb,²⁶⁸ udjat,²⁶⁹ mirror,²⁷⁰ crown of electrum,²⁷¹ milk,²⁷² wine,²⁷³ and the *mnw*-jar²⁷⁴), and symbols of power and protection (*w3s*-scepter,²⁷⁵ *w3d.ty*-scepters,²⁷⁶ and the *h3db*-symbol²⁷⁷). 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,²⁷⁸ because the scribe will often make a deliberate change in order to create allusions that will connect with texts or other iconographic elements.²⁷⁹ Although the study of Egyptian costume has a long history, beginning in 1900 with Gayet,²⁸⁰ and more recent studies have appeared,²⁸¹ the best

²⁶³ See Blackman, *Incense and Libations*, 1912; Beinlich, *Räucherarm*, 1978; Žabkar, *Hymn to Incense*, 1992.

²⁶⁴ See Ryhiner, *Étoffes*, 1995.

²⁶⁵ See du Buisson, *Vases*, 1935; Altenmüller-Kesting, *Reinigungsriten*, 1968; Traunecker, *Rites de l'eau*, 1972; Tawfik, *Cult Objects*, 1979; Bonheme, *Eaux rituelles*, 1995.

²⁶⁶ See Barguet, *Contrepoids*, 1953; Daumas, *Objets sacrés*, 1970; Gosline, *Menit*, 1994; Preys, *Sistre et menat*, 2002. See now Budde, *Götterkind*, 109-114.

²⁶⁷ See Reynders, *Sistrum*, 1998; Quack, *Sistrumspiel*, 2001; Preys, *Sistre et menat*, 2002.

²⁶⁸ See Sambin, *Clepsydre*, 1988; idem, *L'offrande de clepsydre*, 1989.

²⁶⁹ See Darnell, *Apotropaic Goddess*, 1997.

²⁷⁰ See Husson, *Miroir*, 1977.

²⁷¹ See El-Kordy, *Couronne d'or*, 1986.

²⁷² See Daumas, *Mammisi*, 175-206; Leclant, *Lait*, 1951.

²⁷³ See Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Trankopfer*, 1992; Poo, *Wine Offering*, 1995; von Lieven, *Wine, Weib, Gesang*, 2003.

²⁷⁴ See Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Trankopfer*, 1992; Dils, *Wine*, 1993; Poo, *Wine Offering*, 1995.

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-ouas*, 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.

²⁷⁸ Vassilika, *Phylae*, 1989.

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 (*nms.t*-jar of primordial water) and the 3rd register of the south wall (mirror offering).

²⁸⁰ Gayet, *Costume*, 1900.

²⁸¹ For the OK: Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur Tracht*, 1966; NK: Janssen, *Costume*, 1995; general studies: Staehelin, *Tracht*, 1986; Voselsang-Eastwood, *Clothing*, 1993.

resource for costumes appearing in the Ptolemaic temple reliefs is Vassilika'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,²⁸² musical performance,²⁸³ mourning,²⁸⁴ and jubilation.²⁸⁵ Brunner-Traut²⁸⁶ provides an excellent summary of the different types of gestures, but I found the more comprehensive work by Dominicus²⁸⁷ to be the most useful for my research at Dendera, especially in determining the meaning behind two of the gestures in the Per-wer.²⁸⁸ 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;²⁸⁹ 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.²⁹⁰ 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

²⁸² Müller, *Gebärden*, 1937; Garnot, *L'Hommage*, 1954;

²⁸³ Hickmann, *Chironomie*, 1958; Hermann, *Singen*, 1958; Careddu, *L'art musical*, 1991.

²⁸⁴ Werbrouck, *Pleureuses*, 1974.

²⁸⁵ Hermann, *Jubel*, 1963; Ogdon, *Gesture*, 1979-1980; Dunand, *Gestes*, 1987.

²⁸⁶ Brunner-Traut, 1977.

²⁸⁷ Dominicus, *Gesten*, 1994.

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*.²⁹¹ Osing was more specific, singling out interplays between specific elements of iconography that create chiasmus and alternation between crowns and clothing at Karnak.²⁹²

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.²⁹³ 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,²⁹⁴ 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,²⁹⁵ she does not consider that the crowns or offerings depicted may also play a significant role.

On the contrary, Derchain²⁹⁶ and Preys²⁹⁷ 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,²⁹⁸ 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

²⁹¹ Derchain, Manuel, 1962, 34.

²⁹² In Osing, Ritualszenen, 1970, 162-164, in his review of Wolfgang Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II in Karnak*, ÄA 18, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1968.

²⁹³ As noted by Vassilika, Philae, 7.

²⁹⁴ Vassilika, Philae, 6.

²⁹⁵ 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.

²⁹⁶ Derchain, Poème, pariétal; Preys, Complexes; idem, Catalogue d'Hathor.

²⁹⁷ Preys, Jeux de titulatures.

²⁹⁸ 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,²⁹⁹ it forms a chiasmic 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-wer, helping to carry out its function and purpose.³⁰⁰

4.1 Crowns and Headdresses in the Per-wer

This section takes a closer look at individual crowns worn by divine and royal figures³⁰¹ in the relief scenes of the Per-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.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-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-wer Sanctuary at Dendera, observations about the patterns of use suggest an underlying systematic behind the choices of the priestly scribes.³⁰³

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-wer,³⁰⁴ accounting for 12% (17) of the 142 individual crowns depicted, and appearing in 38% (17) of the Per-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 iconography³⁰⁵ include a Predynastic slate palette depicting a cow with stars on the tips of its horns (Fig. 4.2), as well as a 1st Dynasty stone vessel with a cow-eared female wearing horns.³⁰⁶

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.

³⁰⁰ We will examine the three pairs of symmetrical scenes having chiasmic relationships between epithets and iconography in 4.3.

³⁰¹ Including Hathor, Isis, Horus Behdety, Ra-Horakhty, Thoth, Shu, Ihy, Harsomtut, Nekhbet, Wadjet, the King, and the Queen.

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.

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-wer extend to other chambers and temples, and if there was a progression and elaboration of these techniques over time.

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.

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 7th Upper Egyptian nome (Sheshesh, or Sistrum Nome). Already in the PT (§1096b), Hathor is called "Bat with her two faces"; by the 12th Dynasty, she had completely assimilated Bat's iconography. See Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 134; Fischer, *Bat*, 12-14.

³⁰⁶ Arkell, *Hathor Bowl*, 5, and pl. 8-9, cited in Dumas, *Hathor*, 1024; 1030 n. 1.

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;³⁰⁷ the cow horns and solar disk thus combine both her bovine and solar manifestations.³⁰⁸

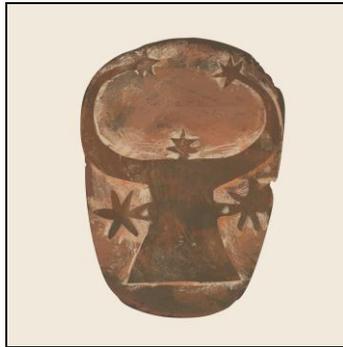


Fig. 4.2. Predynastic Slate Palette³⁰⁹



Fig. 4.3. Hathor, Menkaure, Nome Goddess³¹⁰

Although most often appearing in the Per-wer in its most simple, classic form,³¹¹ variations of her headdress can also occur with the addition of small elements (Fig. 4.4), such as a pendant uraeus³¹² or the throne sign in the name of Isis.³¹³ A smaller version of the horns and disk can also serve as the female emblem in other composite crowns.³¹⁴

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 Domm 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 *w3d.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.

				
Horns and disk on low modius; vulture headdress and tripartite wig	Horns and disk with throne sign atop disk on low modius; vulture headdress and tripartite wig	Horns and disk with pendant uraeus on low modius; vulture headdress and tripartite wig	Horns and disk on low modius; tripartite wig	Horns and disk on low modius of uraeii; tripartite wig with entwined-uraeus seshed band
Worn by Hathor (10) and Isis (1)	Worn by Isis (2)	Worn by Hathor (1)	Worn by Hathor (1)	Worn by Isis (1)

Fig. 4.4. Variations of Horns and Disk in the Per-wer Sanctuary³¹⁵

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.³¹⁶ 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.³¹⁷

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.³¹⁸ 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 titulary³¹⁹ and an epithet designating her as *Twny.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

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, *di=i snd.t=k phr m t3.wy nrw=k m-ht hr.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 *3s.t wr.t mw.t-ntr nb.t B.t-di hr(y.t)-ib Twn.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.³²⁰ 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.³²¹ 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;³²² she wears her characteristic double crown.³²³ 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.

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.

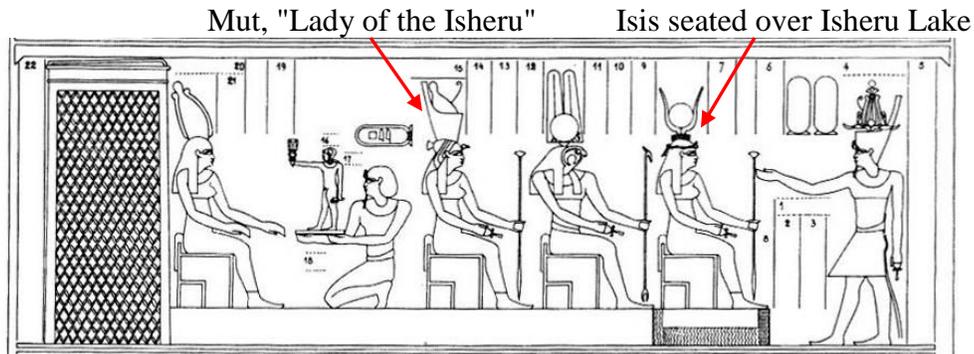


Fig. 4.5. 3rd Register, West Wall, Per-wer Sanctuary, D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

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.

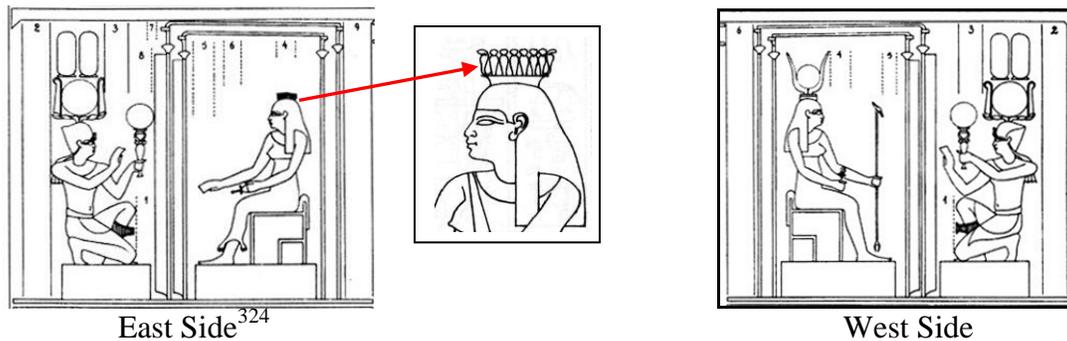


Fig. 4.6. Symmetrical mirror offerings in the 3rd register of the S. Wall, D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

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 uraeii, thus visually representing her epithet, *nb.t i'r.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

³²⁴ Enlarged detail from Mariette, D II, pl. 67.

³²⁵ See Husson, *Miroir*, 38; Bénédite, *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 uraeii. 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

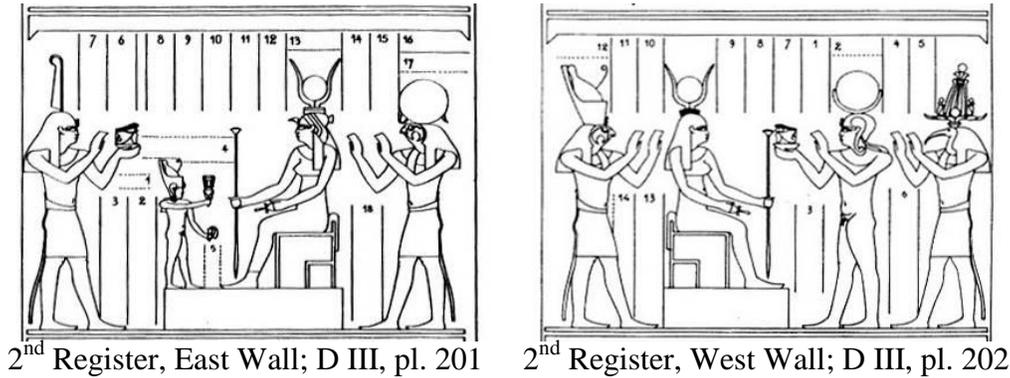


Fig. 4.7. Udjat Offering Scenes on the Lateral Walls of the Southern Niche, © IFAO

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 (*3tf*) 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).

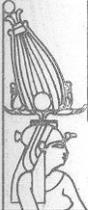
				
Rush crown, 2 ostrich feathers, 4 disks, 2 uraei, ram's horns	Rush crown framed by 2 ostrich feathers, 2 uraei with disks, ram's horns with central disk; vulture headdress and tripartite wig	Rush crown framed by 2 ostrich feather, 2 uraei with disks, ram's horns with central disk; short wig, seshed band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

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

Attested since the 4th Dynasty, it belongs to the cosmic ruler Ra,³³⁰ who may wear it himself³³¹ or bestow it upon other gods who act as his deputies, such as Osiris,³³² Herishef,³³³ or Thoth.³³⁴ As the pre-eminent crown of Osiris, it is a visible emblem of his legitimate rule and authority; it represents his rule over earth³³⁵ as well as the Netherworld.³³⁶ 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 Nb-dr, it n=s hnm=t im=f sd3d3 hfty.w n snd.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; Goebis, 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 Goebis, 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 *3tfw* of Ra. See Hornung, Totenbuch, 104-106; 369.

³³⁴ Goebis, Crowns, 374.

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

³³⁶ The deceased, taking over this symbol as part of his own insignia, identifies with the god of the dawn (*hd-t3*) at the prow of the solar barque. See Goebis, 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 uraei, 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 *ib n R^c shtp 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.

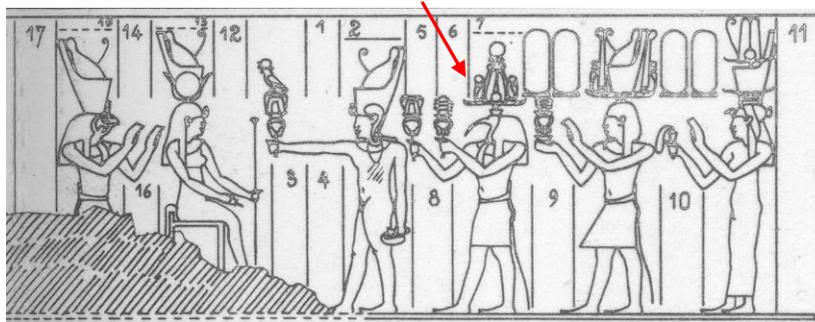


Fig. 4.9. West Side of Lintel, Entrance of Per-wer; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

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 *nb Hmnw shtp ntr.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.

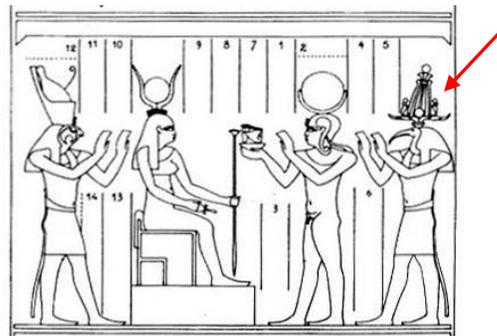


Fig. 4.10. 2nd Register, West Wall of Southern Niche; D III, pl. 202, © IFAO

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

³³⁸ The arched sistrum (*shm*) (Fig. 5.15) and the naos, or *bhn*, sistrum (*sšš.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.

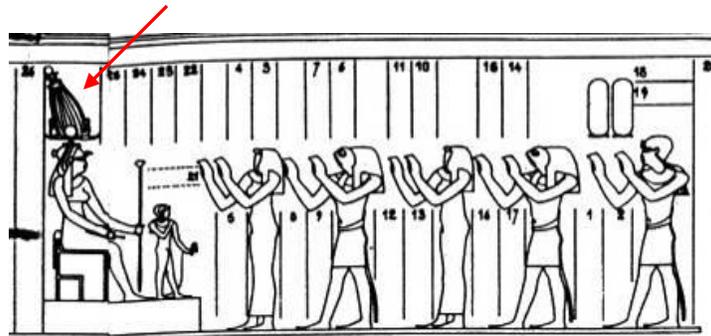


Fig. 4.11. West Side of Outer Entrance, Below Bandeau of Frieze; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

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 k3 hr '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,

³³⁹ Because Thoth represents the moon, which can sometimes appear in the early evening (the liminal phase between day and night), he plays an important role as the link between the spheres of day (Ra), evening (Atum), and night (Osiris), acting as Ra's mediator to transfer the kingship between these sovereigns. See Goebis, *Crowns*, 69.

³⁴⁰ In 4.4.3.

³⁴¹ CT 1028, in de Buck (=CT VII, 251u). Goebis, *Crowns*, 146, notes that this epithet alludes to the moon, with the horns of a bull being equated with its crescent. See also Derchain, *Dieux lunaires*, 20.

³⁴² We will discuss her roles, and this particular scene, in more detail in 5.2.1 and 5.2.6.

³⁴³ See Fig. 5.76 and Section 5.5.3.

³⁴⁴ Note that in theory, this crown could also be considered a variation of the white crown. However, since the white crown as worn by the King usually fits closely around the head, I classify the present crown as a variation of the Atef.

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.

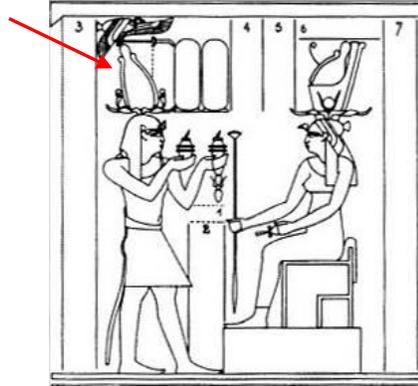


Fig. 4.12. 1st Scene, 2nd Register, East Wall; D III, pl 180, © IFAO

One of the names of the white crown is *ḥd.t*, meaning "white" or "bright one";³⁴⁵ *ḥd.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 *ḥr ḥd ḥm.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:

ḥp.t pw n Nb-dr, it n=s ḥnm=t im=f sd3d3 ḥfy.yw n snd.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 ḥr 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

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 ḥry 3tf mi Ḥr-3ḥ.ty Ḥr wr mrw.t mi it=f R^c*, "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 *ḥp.t*, "crown" is determined with the sign of the Atef:  Cf. Wb 3, 69,16.

Seth,³⁴⁸ 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 hnm i3b.t hr shd idb.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.³⁴⁹ 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.³⁵⁰ 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.

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 *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 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.³⁵¹ 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).

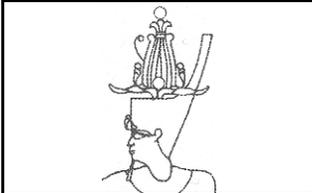
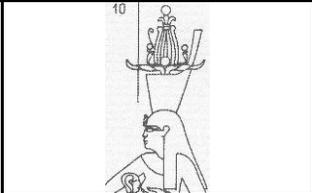
		
Red crown, Atef crown (rush crown framed with 2 ostrich feathers and topped with disk, 2 uraeii with disks, ram's horns with disk)	Red crown, Atef crown (rush crown framed with 2 ostrich feathers and topped with disk, 2 uraeii with disks, ram's horns with disk); tripartite wig	Red crown, Atef crown (rush crown framed with 2 ostrich feathers and topped with disk, ram's horns with disk); vulture headdress and tripartite wig
Worn by King (3)	Worn by Hathor (1)	Worn by Hathor (1)

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.³⁵² 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.³⁵³ The Atef- and red-crown components represent his authority over Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively;³⁵⁴ this composite crown became so closely associated with him that it can serve as the determinative of his name in Ptolemaic Egyptian.³⁵⁵

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. Yoyotte, 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-wer, 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).

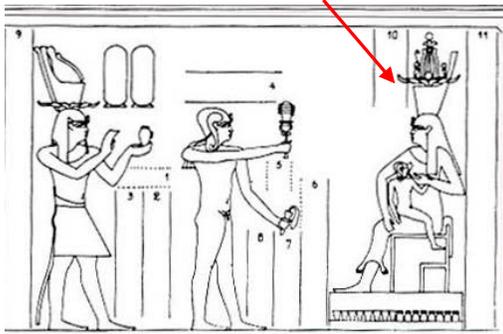


Fig. 4.14. East side, 3rd Reg., North Wall;
D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

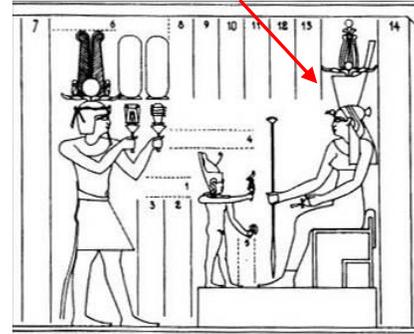


Fig. 4.15. 3rd Scene, 2nd Reg., East Wall;
D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

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.³⁵⁶ 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 the 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"³⁵⁷ (D III, 82,11). It is interesting that Hathor's crown in the *nms.t*-jar offering 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;³⁵⁸ 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-wer 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.

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.

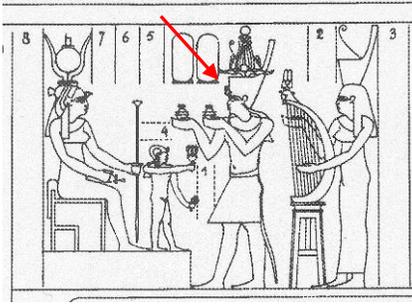


Fig. 4.16. W. Side, Lintel, North Wall;
D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

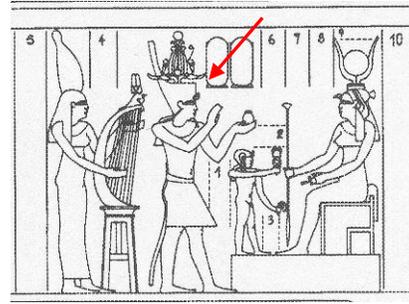


Fig. 4.17. East Side, Lintel, North Wall;
D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

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).

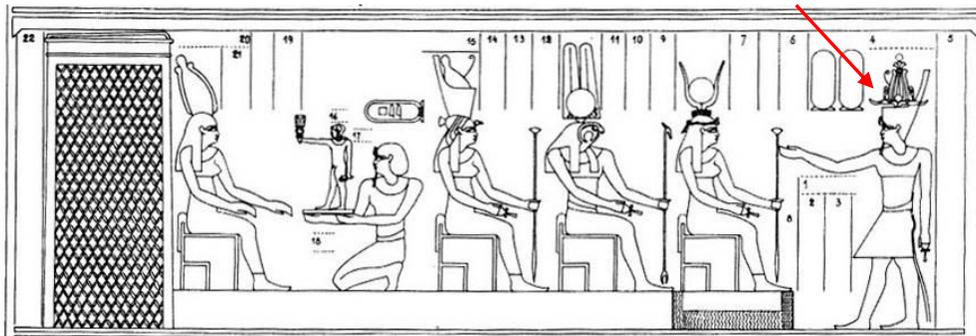


Fig. 4.18. 3rd Register, West Wall; D III, p. 190, © IFAO

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.³⁵⁹

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.

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,³⁶⁰ 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).³⁶¹ In the Per-wer, 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 studies³⁶² and inspired some lively debate.³⁶³ Although designed in the Ptolemaic Period, the crown has New Kingdom antecedents, beginning with Seti I and including Ramesses II and III.³⁶⁴ The earth god Geb is one of the few gods to wear it,³⁶⁵ when worn by a god or king, the crown lacks the feminine horns and disk.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁰ Dils, *Couronne d'Arsinoé*, 1307, labels the straight feathers on the Arsinoe crown as ostrich, rather than falcon, contra Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae*, 87, 94. I follow Vassilika 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 Arsinoe also appears in the staircase at Dendera (D VIII, pl. 793).

³⁶² Quaegebeur, *Ptolemaic Queens*, 1989; Dils, *Couronne d'Arsinoé*, 1998; see now Nilsson, *Arsinoë II*, 2010.

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 Θεοὶ 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 BCE. 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-wer) 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 Mammisi 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, *Arsinoë*, 284 n. 557, the earlier predecessor to the Arsinoë crown probably needs its own designation, rather than subsuming into the category of Arsinoë's female version, as in Dils' list. Nilsson calls it the "Ramesside Crown," thus avoiding the designation, "male variant of the crown of Arsinoë," despite the fact that kings other than Ramesses II and III wear it.



Fig. 4.19. Gold Oktadrachm of Arsinoe II³⁶⁷

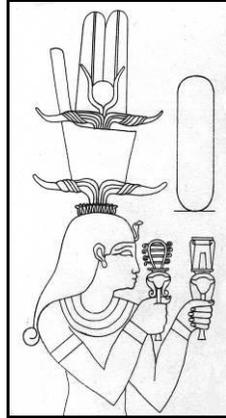


Fig. 4.20. Arsinoe Crown at Dendera³⁶⁸

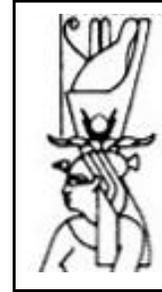


Fig. 4.21. Hathor's Hepty Crown D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

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,³⁶⁹ it may allude to the great agricultural projects undertaken during his reign in the Fayum, whose local god Sobek could be identified with Geb.³⁷⁰ Arsinoe's deification, which formed part of Ptolemy II's establishment of the Dynastic Cult,³⁷¹ also involved setting up her statues in temples throughout Egypt, with a priesthood appointed to maintain their offering cult.³⁷² Due to her identification with the beloved goddess Isis, Arsinoe II's worship was particularly popular among women.³⁷³

Individual components of her crown carry important symbolic meaning. The ram's horns, which often function merely as a structural support for additional components,³⁷⁴ may allude to

³⁶⁷ Gold oktadrachm of Arsinoe II, struck under Ptolemy II, ca. 253-252 BCE. Photo by permission of CNG Coins, at <www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=208347>, accessed 4-19-12.

³⁶⁸ Worn by the Queen in Staircase X (D VIII, pl. 793), © IFAO. The configuration of this example is the same as those in the Per-wer.

³⁶⁹ Arsinoe's identification with the goddess gave her epithets such as "the image of Isis," "daughter of Geb," and "Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Isis carries these epithets at Dendera: *s.t Gb*, "daughter of Geb" (D III, 2,6, in the Temple of the Sistrum, Chassinat's Chamber I); *nsw.yt-bi.ty.t*, "Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt" (D III, 79,14, in the Per-wer, on the west side of the base of the south wall, a scene in which the Queen also appears). Quaegebeur, *Ptolemaic Queens*, 45-48 and fig. 19, shows a colossal statue of Arsinoe II (Vatican 31) whose back-pillar inscription is "daughter of Geb" and "image of Isis." See also Buraselis, *Sibling Marriage*, 298.

³⁷⁰ Dils, *Couronne d'Arsinoé*, 1326-1327.

³⁷¹ The main purpose of Ptolemy II's "Dynastic Cult" was to establish his legitimacy as ruler of Egypt for both his Greek and his Egyptian subjects. His plan included deifying his parents and claiming descent from the Greek god, Dionysus, thereby not only making him a living, divine king, but also legitimizing his kingship by the connection with Alexander's royal house, which claimed descent from Heracles, Dionysus' son-in-law. Ptolemy II took on the traditional titulature of an Egyptian King, but added epithets like "brother-loving" (*Philadelphos*), also translating them for Egyptian inscriptions, to make the marriage to his sister more acceptable. Arsinoe II's deification was part of this process of legitimizing; by identifying her with an already-popular goddess, Isis, he increased the chances of its success. See Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 213-236.

³⁷² Statues placed in Greek temples were in Greek style; those placed in Egyptian temples wore the Crown of Arsinoe discussed in this section.

³⁷³ Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I, 237-246.

³⁷⁴ As noted by Derchain-Urtel, *Krone und Nebenformen*, 2, who suggests, however, that they subsequently carry no symbolic meaning.

Banebdjedet,³⁷⁵ the ram god of Mendes, for whom Arsinoe II served as a high priestess.³⁷⁶ 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.³⁷⁷ Furthermore, the ram itself symbolizes power, respect, and kingship; the sign of a ram's head is the ideogram for *šfy.t*, "dignity."³⁷⁸ The two feathers, equated with the two Divine Eyes,³⁷⁹ symbolize luminosity; they endow the wearer with a divine cosmic nature.³⁸⁰ 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.³⁸¹ The small horns-and-disk component, serving as a female emblem,³⁸² 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.³⁸³

	
Red crown, 2 falcon feathers, small horns and disk on ram's horns placed on platform of red crown, ram's horns at base of red crown; tripartite wig with entwined-uraeus seshed band	Red crown, 2 falcon feathers, small horns and disk on ram's horns placed on platform of red crown, ram's horns at base of red crown; vulture headdress and tripartite wig
Worn by Queen (1)	Worn by Queen (1)

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-bi.ty.t* name was (Banebdjedet), attested in a stela from Mendes, Zagazig 228 (=Herriat Raznah 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 Goebis, *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 Akhnesneferibe 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.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.

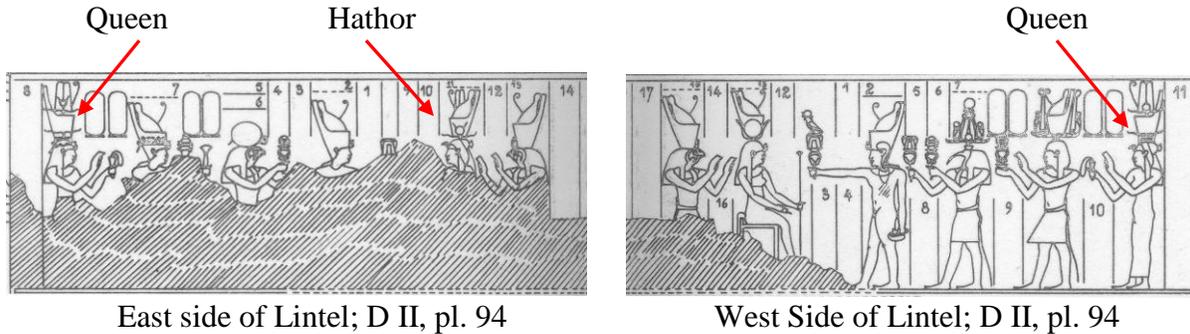


Fig. 4.23. Lintel on Outer Entrance of Per-wer Sanctuary, © IFAO

Her epithets in both scenes also emphasize rule over both regions: *ḥk3.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.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.³⁸⁶ We will examine Hathor's crown in more detail in 4.1.5, but here it is sufficient to note that it symbolizes kingship and the dignity of the goddess as a female king.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.

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.

³⁸⁵ Noted by Dils, *Couronne d'Arsinoë*, 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

³⁸⁶ As suggested by Nilsson, *Arsinoë*, 512.

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: *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.³⁸⁸ 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),³⁸⁹ 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.

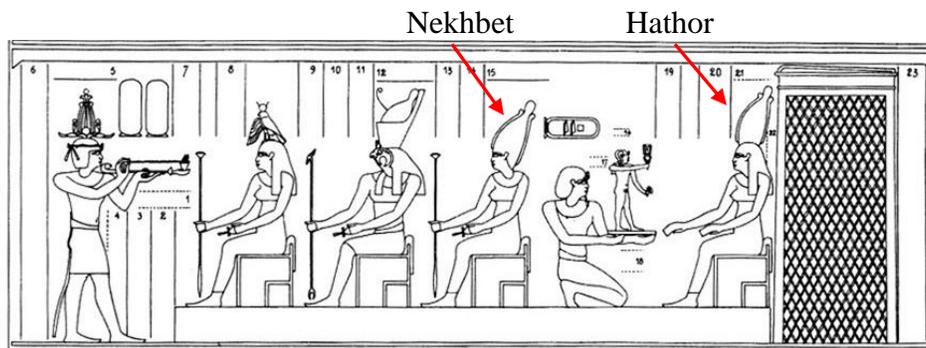


Fig. 4.24. 3rd Register, East Wall; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

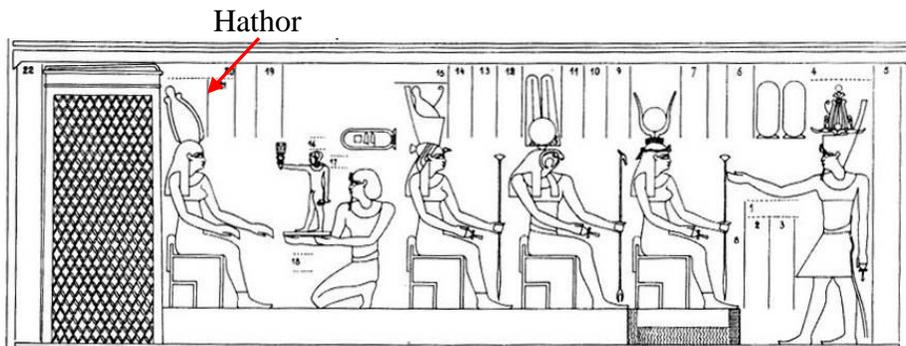


Fig. 4.25. 3rd Register, West Wall; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

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 1st 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).

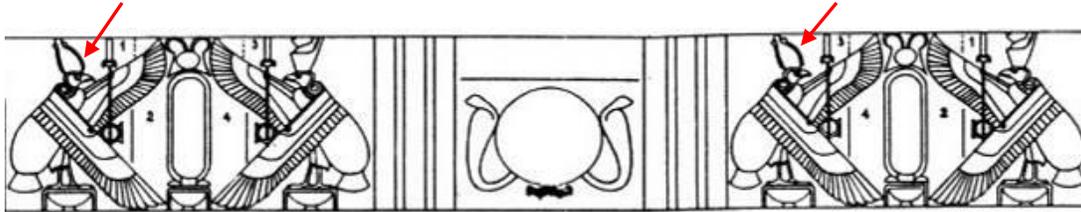


Fig. 4.26. Nekhbet wearing Similar Crown on Upper Cornice of the Per-wer's Outer Entrance D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

Although Nekhbet and Hathor both wear the crown in the incense offering scene in the 3rd 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.

	
White crown framed by 2 ostrich feathers; fits closely to head	White crown framed by 2 ostrich feathers; sits atop tripartite wig
Nekhbet (1)	Hathor (2)

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

³⁹⁰ PT 470 of Pepi I ((§910a-b): *rh* (P.) | *pn mw.t=f n hm* (P.) | *pn mw.t=f hd.t sšp.t wtt hry.t-ib Nhb nb.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 *md*-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 *šps.w nb.w*, "exotic provisions" (D III, 84,12), the products of foreign lands.³⁹² Hathor, speaking for all of the ancestor gods, states, *šsp=n šps.w=k*, "**We receive your exotic provisions**" (D III, 85,8). The polyptoton by metathesis between *šsp*, "receive," and *šps.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 *p3 šhm.ty* (lit., "the Two Powerful Ones") is the symbol of the union of Upper and Lower Egypt.³⁹³ 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.³⁹⁴ 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.³⁹⁵

(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 (*h3db*): 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.³⁹⁶ 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-wer, appearing in 22% (5) of the 45 ritual scenes.³⁹⁷ 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.³⁹⁸

		
Double crown with ostrich feather at back, 2 falcon feathers, ram's horns at base; divine tripartite wig	Double crown, 2 falcon feathers, small horns and disk on ram's horns at base; vulture headdress and tripartite wig	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
Horus Behdety (1)	Hathor (4)	Hathor (1)

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 Wabet³⁹⁹ at Dendera:

"Offering the *hp.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.⁴⁰⁰ The term, *hp.t*, written with the signs of the sunshade sign and the double crown,

³⁹⁶ Studies of the Hepty-crown include those of Derchain-Urtel, *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 *hp.t* as "couronne de fête." The general term for crown, *hp.t* (Wb III, 69,16, GR; PL 639-640), represents the extent of the King's rule; it is thus related to *hp.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 1st register of the Per-wer's south wall.

³⁹⁸ The texts call this additional ostrich feather the *nfr.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, *hptj*-Krone, 29.

³⁹⁹ D IV, pl. 307, 1st register of east wall of the Wabet (Chassinat's Chamber S). Another offering of the Hepty-crown also occurs in the 3rd scene, 1st register, south wall, of the 1st 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.⁴⁰¹ 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.⁴⁰² This term for "crown" thus represents the extent of the King's rule on earth.⁴⁰³

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.⁴⁰⁴ In her study of the Crown of Arsinoe, Nilsson explains the probable political motivation behind the creation of the crowns,⁴⁰⁵ 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.⁴⁰⁶

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 m3̣.t hnm.ti m t3̣, 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.

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.

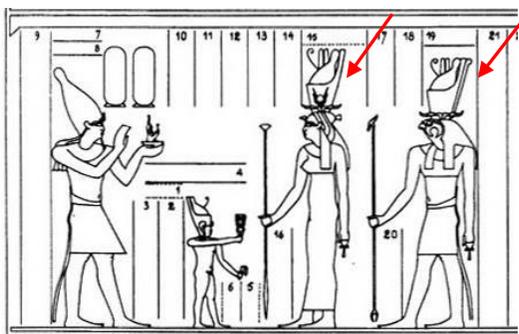


Fig. 4.28. East Side of 1st Register, South Wall; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

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.

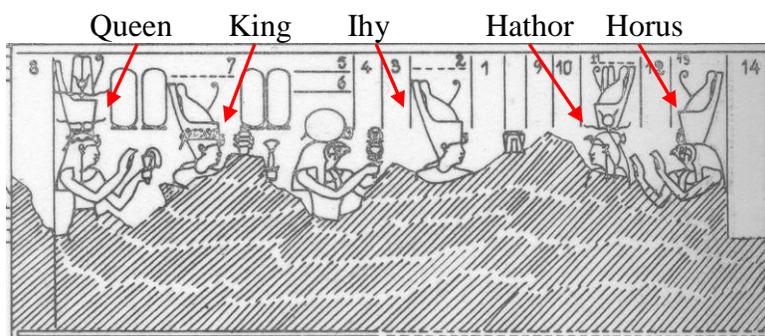


Fig. 4.29 East Side of Lintel, Outer Entrance of Per-wer; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

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.⁴⁰⁷ 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 Caesarion'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 Caesarion'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

⁴⁰⁷ The papyrus (*w3d*) forms a visual pun on his epithet, *w3d n Shm.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 Behdety 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 wall,⁴⁰⁹ 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

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.

⁴¹¹ Chassinat, D III, p. 202.

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.⁴¹³

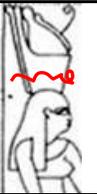
		
Double crown, 1 ostrich feather behind red crown, 1 ostrich feather on white crown, seshed band with entwined uraeus; vulture headdress and tripartite wig	Double crown, 1 ostrich feather behind red crown, 1 ostrich feather on white crown, <i>seshed band with entwined uraeus</i> (not in drawing, but in photo below); tripartite wig.	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
Isis (1)	Isis (1)	Hathor as Isis (1)

Fig. 4.30. Variations of the Royal Crown of Isis

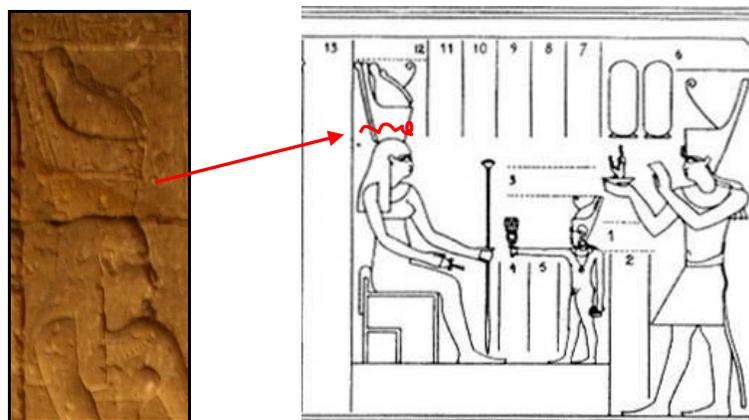


Fig. 4.31. West Side, 2nd Reg., S. Wall, Southern Niche; D III, pl. 202, © IFAO⁴¹⁴

A cult statue found in the sebakh within Dendera's temple enclosure⁴¹⁵ 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.⁴¹⁶

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,"⁴¹⁷ and "la couronne de fête de la déesse en tant que reine,"⁴¹⁸ 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."

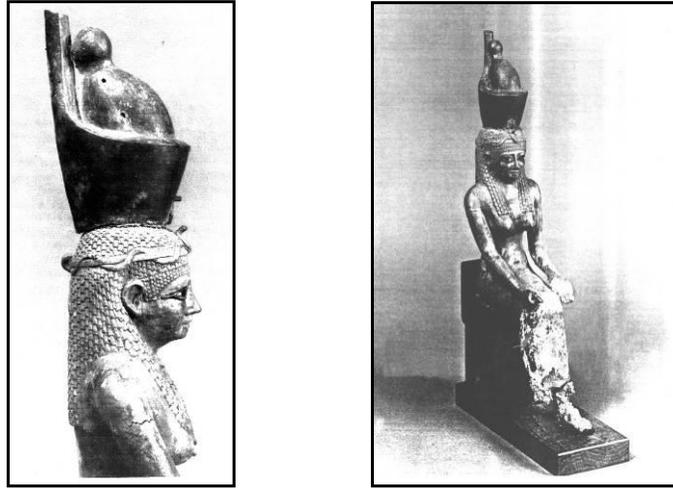


Fig. 4.32. Cult Statue of Isis from the Temple of Hathor at Dendera⁴¹⁹

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.⁴²⁰

ir.t hp.t dd mdw m-n=t sšd mdh.n=f h3.t=t hr.t-tp hnm.ti m wp.t=t

n.t stnw sns=snsn m h3.t=t šw.ty dmd r=gs=sn

"Wearing⁴²¹ the (royal) crown. Words to say: Take for yourself the seshed band.

It has encircled your forehead. The uraeus is united (*hnm*) with your head.

The red crown and the white crown—they join together (*snsn*) 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" (*hnm*, *snsn*, *dmd*), thus emphasizing the metaphorical union of the crown's components with the wearer, who

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 *h.t-mshn.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."

"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).

Leitz⁴²⁵ explains that the reference to the "Day of the Night of the Child in his Nest," plays on the double meaning of the word *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 *msi*, or "birth" of Isis.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.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 *msw.t R^c*, "birth of Ra," takes place at dawn, as the new-born sun god, the falcon, comes forth from his nest and rises at dawn.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."⁴²⁹ Such seshed bands, presented for New Year's, include inscriptions for "A beautiful year—a million and a hundred-thousand times."⁴³⁰ El-Kordy⁴³¹ suggests that the verb *sšd* is an active participle of the *s*-causative of *šd*, "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.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.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

⁴²⁵ Leitz, *Nacht des Kindes*, 136-157.

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.

⁴²⁷ Leitz, *Nacht des Kindes*, 138.

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).

⁴²⁹ Leitz, *Nacht des Kindes*, 156.

⁴³⁰ D II, 110, 15-16 and Cauville, *Dend Trad II*, pl. 30; Dumas, *Mammisis de Dendara*, 191,15 - 192,9 and pl. 68 (3rd register, east wall); LD II, 209, text (=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 103, Raum G'), cited in Leitz, *Nacht des Kindes*, 156.

⁴³¹ El-Kordy, *Bandeau*, 125-133.

⁴³² El-Kordy, *Bandeau*, 131.

⁴³³ Wilson, PL 935.

goddesses often wear seshed bands around their heads;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;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).

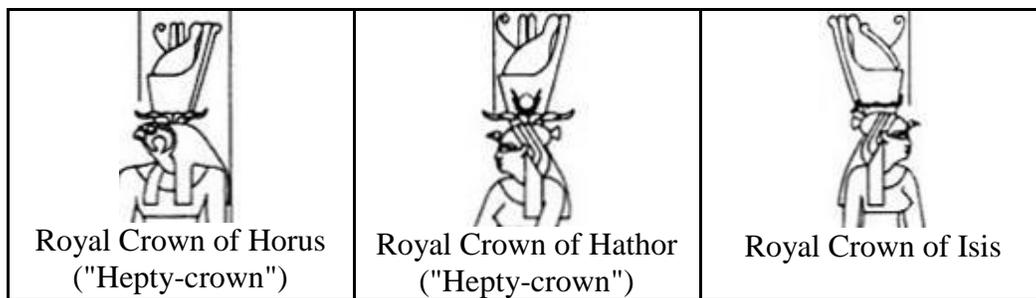


Fig. 4.34. Comparison of the Royal Crowns of Horus, Hathor, and Isis

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;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.

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).

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

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,⁴³⁷ 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.

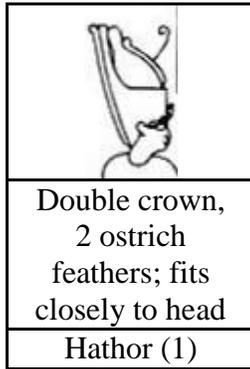


Fig. 4.35. Hathor the Menit

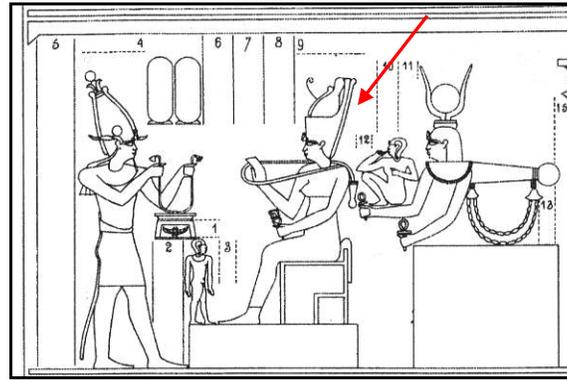


Fig. 4.36. 3rd Reg., S. Wall, Temple of Menit;
D III, pl. 219, © IFAO

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."⁴³⁸ 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 powers⁴³⁹ to protect Osiris from his enemies.⁴⁴⁰ 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.⁴⁴¹ However, although allusions to Isis exist, the crown clearly belongs to Hathor; the uraeus-entwined seshed 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

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, Contrepoints, 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, Contrepoints, 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 Tw.n.t šps.t wsr.t ḥ3 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.⁴⁴² The accompanying epithets in these scenes led Preys to name the form of Hathor wearing this crown as "la Navigatrice,"⁴⁴³ which I follow here. A closer look at these epithets and the associated offerings of their scenes helps to clarify its meaning.

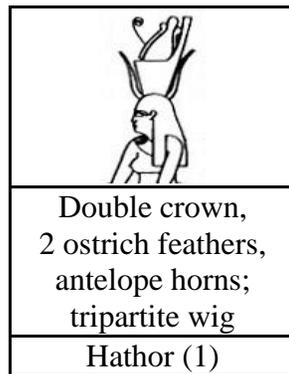


Fig. 4.37. "Hathor the Navigator"

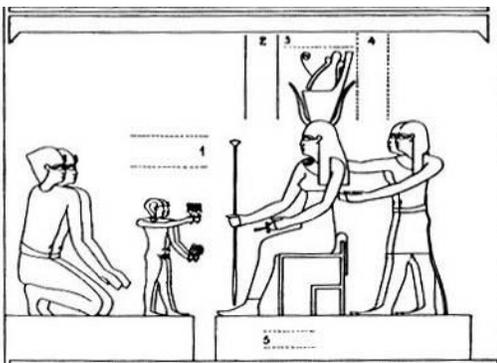


Fig. 4.38. 1st Reg., E. Wall, S. Niche;
D III, pl. 201, © IFAO



Fig. 4.39. Satet at Elephantine⁴⁴⁴

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."

⁴⁴³ Preys, *Catalogue d'Hathor*, 125.

⁴⁴⁴ Photo by Duncan Sprott, 2008.

In the Southern Niche of the Per-wer, Hathor bears the epithets, *H.t-ḥr nb.t Twn.t imy(.t) wi3=s*, "Hathor, Lady of Iunet, who is in her barque" (D III, 94,1), as well as *nbw ʕ3.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: *ḥr(y.t)-ib wi3=s*, "who resides in her barque" (D I, 50,6).⁴⁴⁵ In addition, she is characterized as *s3.t Ir-t3 km3 m ḥʕw=f ḥpr ḥr=f m ḥ3.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,⁴⁴⁶ where she is again called *s3.t Ir-t3 km3 m ḥʕw=f*, "daughter of Ir-ta, who created his body" (D IX, 74,16-17). However, following her epithet, *ḥr(y.t)-ib wi3=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).⁴⁴⁷

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).⁴⁴⁸ Satet, whose name has connections with the root *sti*, "shoot," or "pour out,"⁴⁴⁹ defends the southern border with her bow and arrow, as well as *sti*, "pouring out" the inundation from its origin in Elephantine.⁴⁵⁰ This mythical source is the *sti*, or "leg" of Osiris,⁴⁵¹ 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.⁴⁵² 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.⁴⁵³ 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.⁴⁵⁴ 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,

⁴⁴⁵ 1st scene, 3rd register of the east wall of the barque sanctuary (D I,49,18 – 50,9; pl. 51), where her epithet is *ḥr(y.t)-ib wi3*, "who resides in the barque" (D I, 50,3); *ḥr(y.t)-ib wi3=s*, "who resides in her barque" (D I, 50,6)

⁴⁴⁶ Chassinat's Chamber Z, 1st register, west side of south wall (D IX, 74-9 – 75,2; pl 849).

⁴⁴⁷ 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 proper left side of a chapel when there is a desire by the scribe to emphasize her Isiac connections. See Preys, Isis et Hathor, 351.

⁴⁴⁸ PT §§1114-1115.

⁴⁴⁹ Wb IV, 328,9 – 329,16; PL 955.

⁴⁵⁰ Valbelle, Satis, 136.

⁴⁵¹ See 5.2.3.

⁴⁵² Bonnet, RÄRG, 670-671.

⁴⁵³ Valbelle, Satet, 488.

⁴⁵⁴ Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 124-126, notes the connection of Hathor with Ir-ta and recognizes that crown contains antelope horns, but he does not mention the link to Satet or the inundation.

also have connections to our myth, because *imy(.t) 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.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 *nms.t*-jar of primordial water on the east side of the 3rd 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.⁴⁵⁶

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.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.⁴⁵⁸ Texts generally apply the term *šw.ty*, "double

feathers," to both types, distinguishing them only by the appropriate determinative,  (S9) or

 (S78B).⁴⁵⁹ We will now take a look at the variations of these crowns in the Per-wer, beginning with those having falcon feathers.

⁴⁵⁵ See 5.1.3.

⁴⁵⁶ We will discuss these scenes in more detail in Section 5.2.3.

⁴⁵⁷ Grumach-Shirun, *Federkrone*, 142.

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 Arsinoë crown and in the traditional Queen's (or "female") crown were ostrich feathers. Nilsson, *Arsinoë*, 259 n. 474, discusses the issue at length.

⁴⁵⁹ Abubakr, *Kronen*, 43, suggests that in the Ptolemaic Period, the texts use *šw.ty* for falcon feathers and *m3̣.t* for ostrich feathers. However, the texts at Edfu and Dendera seem to follow the older tradition, with *šw.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.

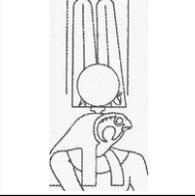
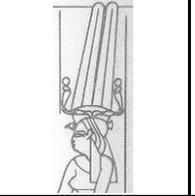
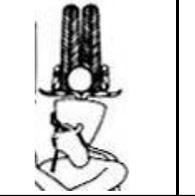
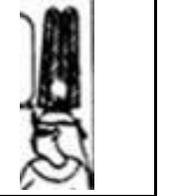
					
2 tall falcon feathers, disk; divine tripartite wig	2 tall falcon feathers, 2 uraei with disks on ram's horns; vulture headdress and tripartite wig	2 tall falcon feathers, sun disk, 2 uraei with sun disks on ram's horns; squared cap	2 tall falcon feathers, horns and disk; long wig with seshed band	2 falcon feathers (foreshortened by artist to fit scene), horns and disk; tripartite wig	2 tall falcon feathers, disk; long wig with seshed band
Harsomtut (3)	Hathor (1)	King (1)	Queen (1)	Queen (1)	Queen (1)

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.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.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;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.⁴⁶³

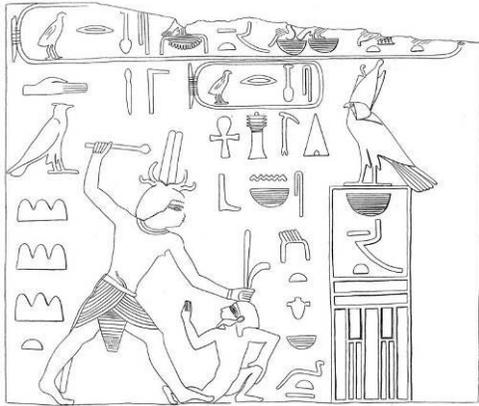


Fig. 4.41. Sneferu Smiting Enemy⁴⁶⁴

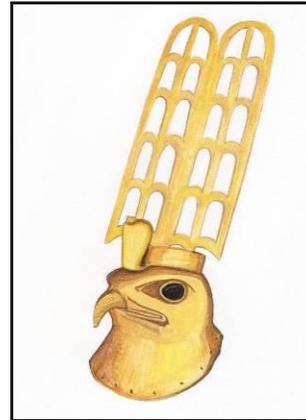


Fig. 4.42. Horus Falcon⁴⁶⁵

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;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 *hs*-vases of flood water. Harsomtus, standing behind her, wears his characteristic crown. His

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

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 Isiac-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 1st register of the south wall (Ma'at); in the 3rd register of the west wall (funerary offering).

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 3rd Dynasty, known as *hty.w mfk3.t*, "Terraces of Turquoise." MK rock inscriptions from the site refer to Hathor, to whom turquoise was sacred. See Mumford, *Wadi Maghara*, 875-876.

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

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:

s3-t3 wr pr m nhb ntr ntry [hpr] hnt [s3-t3] 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).

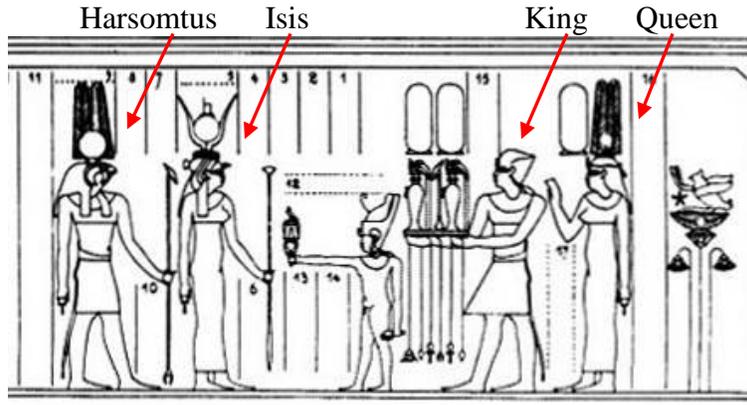


Fig. 4.43. West Side of Base, South Wall; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

Word and sign plays in the epithets emphasize important theological ideas. The sign play on *s3-t3 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 H3di*, "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 kingship, agree with her epithets, *hk3.t nb(.t) t3.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 t3.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-

⁴⁶⁷ The epithet, *s3-t3*, 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 headdresses 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).⁴⁷¹ Her distinctive crown includes a sun disk and tall falcon feathers⁴⁷² rising from a low modius on a vulture headdress, alluding to Mut, the consort of Amun.

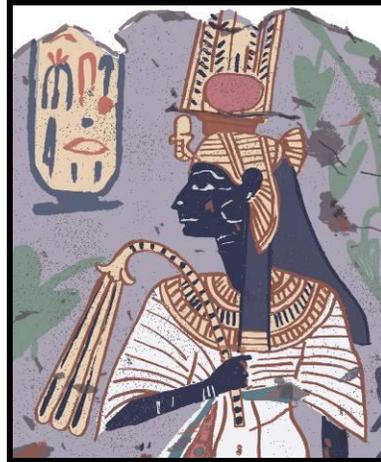
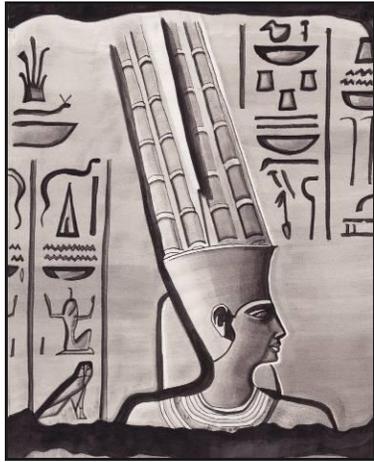


Fig. 4.44 Amun-Ra of Karnak⁴⁷³ Fig. 4.45 Ahmose-Nefertari⁴⁷⁴ Fig. 4.46. Nefertari⁴⁷⁵

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

⁴⁷¹ Ahmose I drove out the Asiatic Hyksos herdsmen from the Delta and founded the 18th Dynasty. By placing an immediate family member as God's Wife of Amun, he helped consolidate his control over the newly reunited country and promoted the cult of Amun. His decree, made public in the Donation Stelae, generously endowed the estate of the God's Wife of Amun, establishing the rights of its income to her successors (her own daughter or daughter-in-law) in perpetuity, independent of any future king. See Harari, *Stèle de donation*, 139-201; Gitton, *Divines épouses*, 1984; Ayad, *God's Wives*, 6.

⁴⁷² Also worn by queens of the 13th Dynasty. See Macadam, *Royal Family*, 20-28.

⁴⁷³ Illustration by Caris Reid of granite block depicting Amun-Ra, from the Tenth Pylon at Karnak. See Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 410.

⁴⁷⁴ Ahmose-Nefertari, the first God's Wife of Amun and mother of Amenhotep I. Considered the traditional founders of the workmen's village at Deir el-Medina, Ahmose-Nefertari and Amenhotep I became posthumously deified and had a very popular cult lasting hundreds of years. This illustration by Rachel Domm of a fragment from the 20th Dynasty tomb of Kynebu (TT 113), now in the British Museum (EA 37994), attests the longevity of her cult. The color of her skin denotes rebirth.

⁴⁷⁵ Queen Nefertari, the Great Wife of Ramesses II, on the west wall, south side of Chamber G, in her tomb in the Valley of the Queens (QV 66). Image from the Yorck Project: 10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei, <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maler_der_Grabkammer_der_Nefertari_004-2.jpg>, accessed 4-22-12. Notice that the tall feathers in Nefertari's crown also "pierce" the sky-sign in the painting, as does Hathor's crown in the Ogdoad adoration scene on the outer entrance of the Per-wer. See 5.2.1.

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.⁴⁷⁶

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). Bryan⁴⁷⁷ 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. Amenirdis⁴⁷⁸

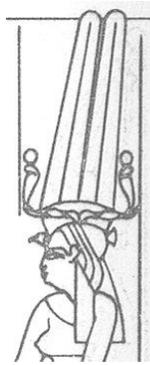


Fig. 4.48. Hathor in Per-wer

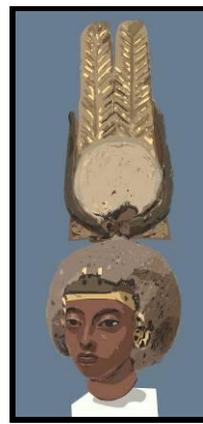


Fig. 4.49 Queen Tiye⁴⁷⁹



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."⁴⁸⁰ 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

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.

⁴⁷⁸ Amenirdis, a God's Wife of Amun, from her 26th Dynasty (Saite Period) tomb chapel at Medinet Habu. Photo by "JMCCI", <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Amenirdis_Med_Habou_1_c.jpg>, accessed 4-22-12. The God's Wives of Amun reached their height of political and religious power during this period, writing their names in cartouches and taking on royal iconography. See now Ayad, *God's Wives*, 2009.

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.⁴⁸¹ 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: *dfd=s ʿd.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).

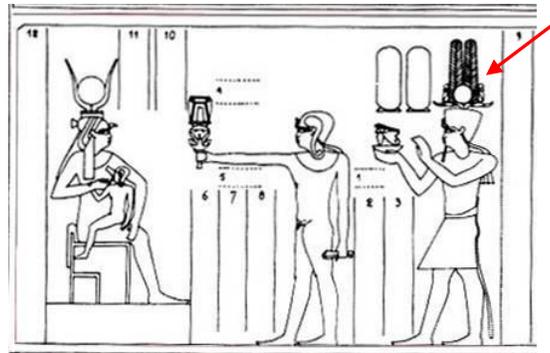


Fig. 4.51. West Side of 3rd Register, North Wall; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

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: Harsomtut, Hathor, the King, and the Queen. For Harsomtut, 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 Harsomtut, 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.

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 uraeii with sun disks, all of which sits atop a pair of ram's horns. In the Per-wer, 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-wer, 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

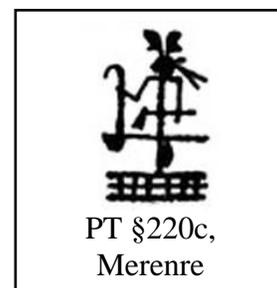
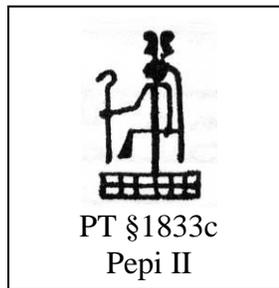
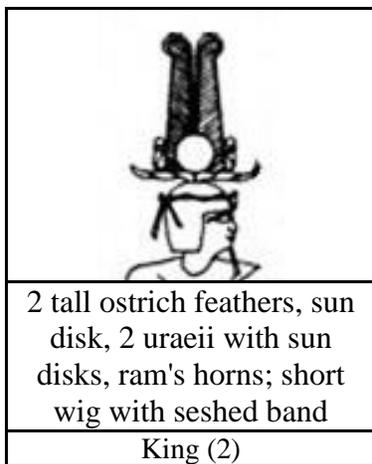


Fig. 4.52. Anedjty Crown in Per-wer

Fig. 4.53. Ideograms of Anedjty in the Pyramid Texts

His name, , *ʿnd.ti*, is a nisbe: "He of Anedjt," the Ninth Nome of Lower Egypt, which is also known as *Ddw* and by its later Greek name, Βουσιρίτης, or Βουδῆρις.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

⁴⁸² I follow Vassilika, Philae, 91, in transcribing his name as "Anedjty." Other spellings include "Anedjtj," in Abubakr, Kronen, 7; "Anedjti," in Nilsson, Arsinoë, 259, and Otto, Anedjti, 269-270; "Andjety," in Griffiths, Iside et Osiride, 269; "Andjeti," in Gardiner, Onomastica I, 179*; "Andjéty," in Favard-Meeke, 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, πουργιρι), "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, Ptahhotep, pl. 4, no. 22, which Griffiths 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).⁴⁸⁵ In these texts, the deceased king is equated with various gods, including *ꜥnd.ty hry-tp sp3.wt=f*, "Anedjty, the chief of his nomes" (PT §182), and *ꜥnd.ty is hnty sp3.wt i3b.t(w)t*, "as Anedjty who is foremost of the eastern nomes" (PT §220c).⁴⁸⁶ These factors have led some scholars to suggest that Anedjty may have originally been a deified shepherd chieftain.⁴⁸⁷

Osiris, already characterized in the Old Kingdom as *nb Ddw*, "Lord of Busiris,"⁴⁸⁸ 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.⁴⁸⁹ 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).



Fig. 4.54. Osiris-Anedjty at Abydos⁴⁹⁰



Fig. 4.55. Seti I at Abydos⁴⁹¹

The god Anedjty thus has funerary associations, due to his connections with Osiris,⁴⁹² 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

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.

⁴⁹⁰ Calverley and Gardiner, *Abydos I*, Vol. III, pl. 15. Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

⁴⁹¹ Calverley and Gardiner, *Abydos I*, Vol. III, pl. 36. Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

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 Hator. The text in the Royal Randzeile describes him as

hr ns.t=f m pr-wr m ity wr hk3 t3.wy...hr shtp 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.

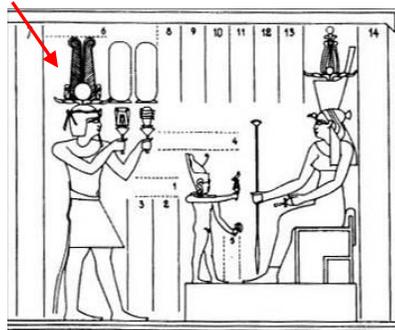


Fig.4.56. 3rd Scene, 2nd Reg., East Wall;
 D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

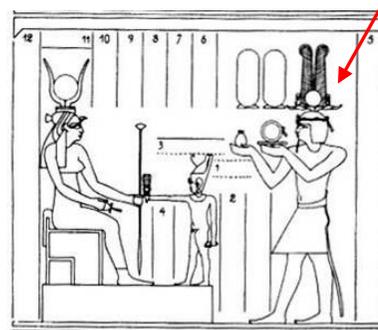


Fig. 4.57. 3rd Scene, 2nd Reg., West Wall;
 D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

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

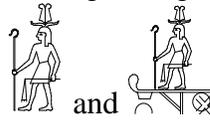
⁴⁹³ Griffiths, Osiris, 138.

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.

hr p=f m hry-tp t3.wy m h3-wr... hr bw.t snm n 'Ir.t-R^c sw mi Hr dr št3 n itn.t
 "upon his throne as Chief of the Two Lands in the Great Hall, hating the sadness of the Eye of
 Ra, for he is like Horus, who drives away impurity from the Atenet, who dispels evil"
 (D III, 82,4-5).

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 Aneđjty 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.⁴⁹⁵ Only in the text for the Nome of Aneđjty is she characterized as *rđi s3=s hr ns.t it=f*, "who places her son on the throne of his father" (D I, 125,12); the name of Aneđjty and the Nome of Aneđjt 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 Aneđjty crown thus also alludes to the King's role as heir and royal successor to Osiris.

Another reason for the scribal choice of the Aneđjty 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.⁴⁹⁶ 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 Aneđjty 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

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 internment" (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."⁴⁹⁷ 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;⁴⁹⁸ 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 chiasmic 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.⁴⁹⁹ 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.

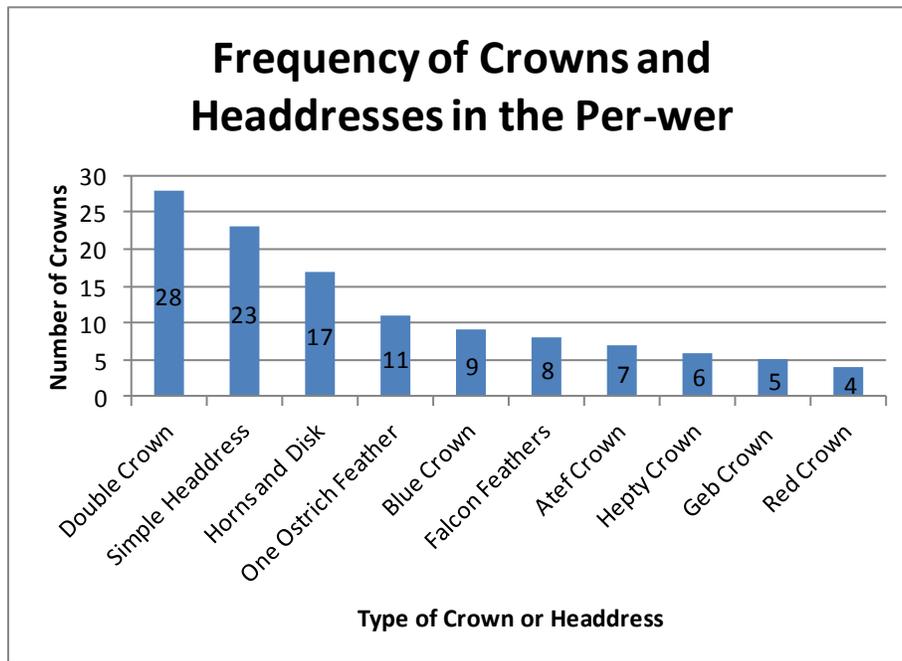


Fig. 4.58. Frequency of Crowns and Headdresses in the Per-wer

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 *w3d.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 Königkrone*, 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.⁵⁰⁶ The King and Hathor both wear the Geb-crown in contexts related to products of the earth, including the inundation.⁵⁰⁷

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.⁵⁰⁸ 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.⁵⁰⁹ 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 headdress on a figure. Further investigation then reveals whether the play links together two symmetrical scenes or adds important allusions.⁵¹⁰

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

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 west 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 uraeii, 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,⁵¹¹ 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.⁵¹²

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.⁵¹³ As the counterparts to Horus Behdety and Hathor, Isis and Harsomtut 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.⁵¹⁴ Except for a few examples of iconography play,⁵¹⁵ 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.⁵¹⁶

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 sistra 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 *mnw*-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.

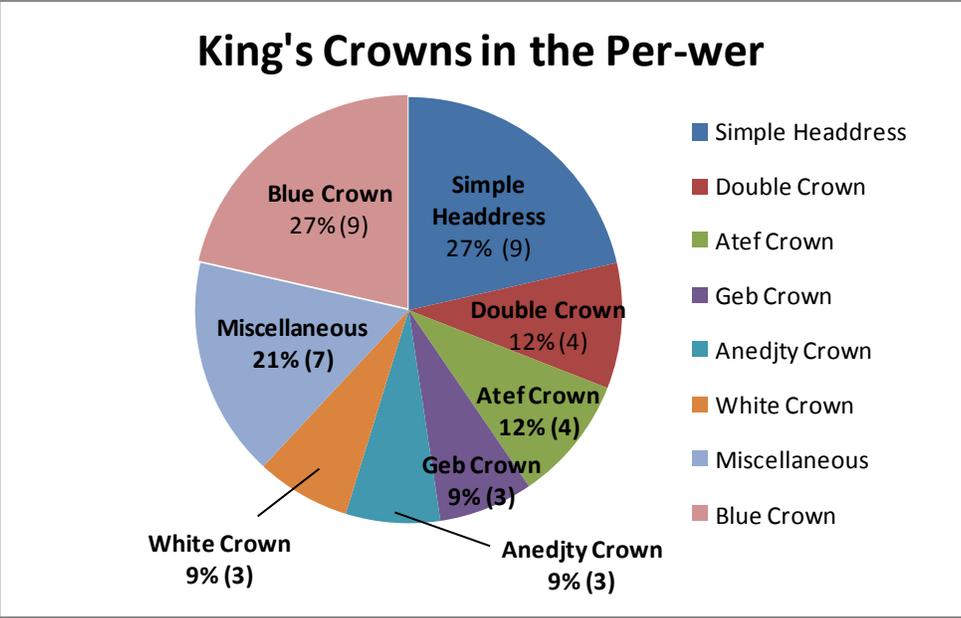


Fig. 4.59. King's Crowns in the Per-wer

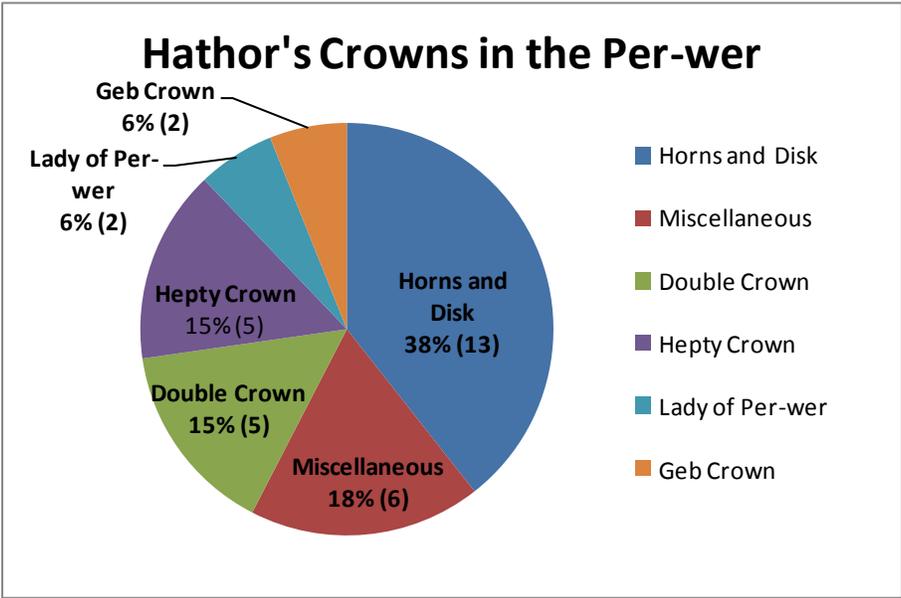
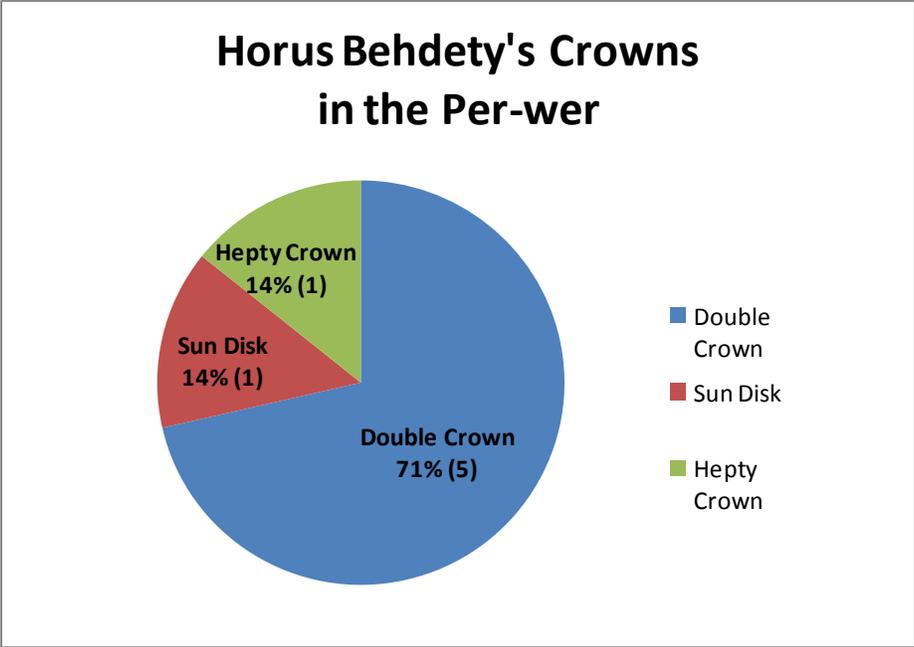
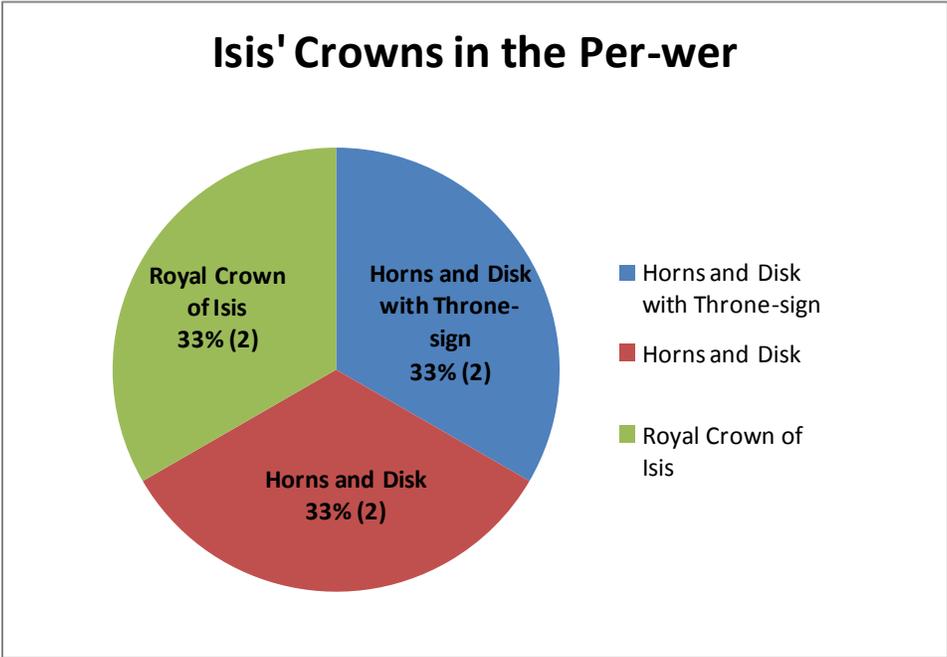


Fig. 4.60. Hathor's Crowns in the Per-wer



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



4.62. Isis' Crowns in the Per-wer

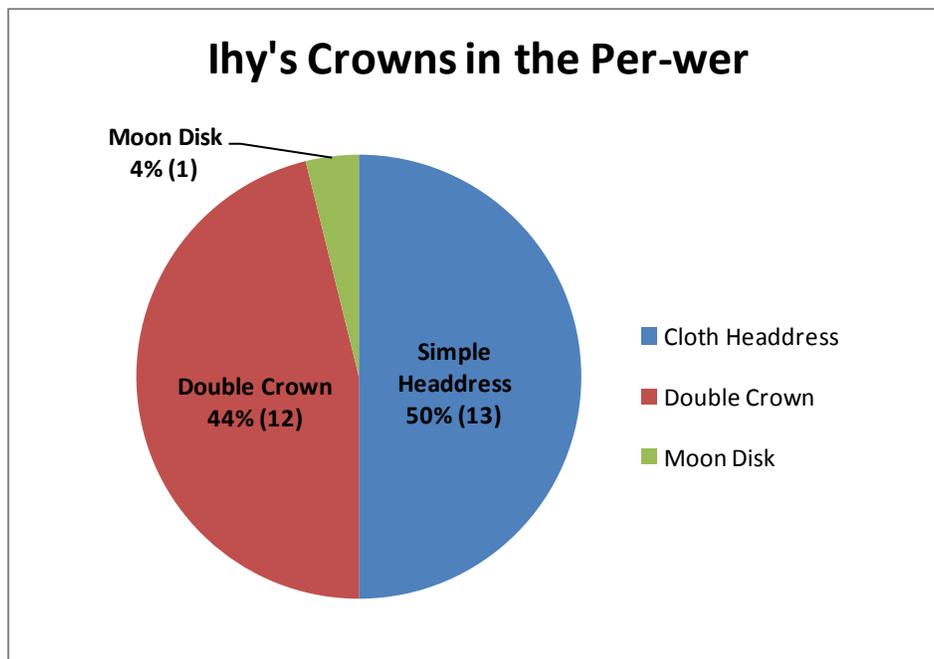


Fig. 4.63. Ihy's Crowns in the Per-wer

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.⁵¹⁷ Other scenes show two characters wearing the same type of crown, thus forging a link between them.⁵¹⁸ 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 chiasmic 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

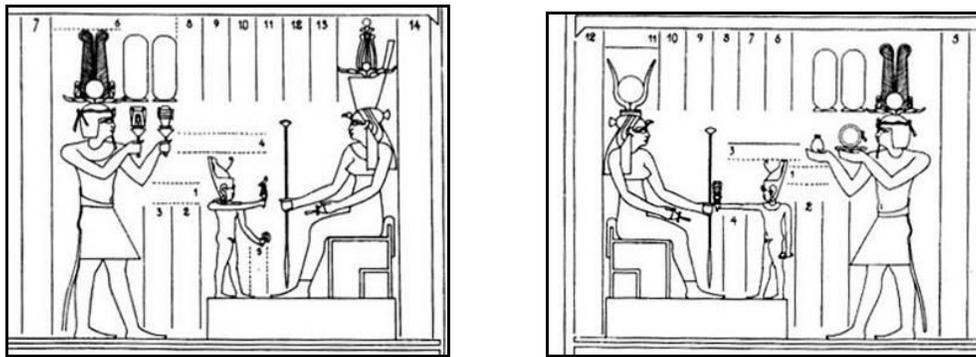
⁵¹⁷ E.g., the visual pun on the *w3d*-papyrus offered by the King, whose epithet is *w3d n Shm.t* (east side of lintel of the outer entrance of the Per-wer); the visual pun on *w3d.ty* offering made by the pendant uraeii on the King's pectoral, in the 1st register of the north wall; the visual pun on Hathor's epithet, "Lady of the uraeii," formed by her modius of uraeii.

⁵¹⁸ On the east side of the lintel of the outer entrance, the King wears the double crown, which is mimicked in the adult double crown worn by Ihy.

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 *mnw*-jar

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



E. Wall, 2nd Reg., 3rd Scene; D III, pl. 180 W. Wall, 2nd Reg., 3rd Scene; D III, pl. 190

Fig.4.64. Sistra and *mnw*-jar Offering Scenes in the Per-wer, © IFAO

Although the King wears the Anedjty crown⁵¹⁹ in both scenes, Hathor wears her signature horns-and-disk in the *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 ph3-ib nn 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 *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)⁵²⁰ clearly connects with her wearing of the Crown of Geb in the same scene.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁹ Discussed in 4.1.6.2.

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 1st register of its south wall, Hathor also receives the offering of the *mnw*-beverage and carries this epithet (D III, 111,10; pl. 204). See also Cauville, *Fêtes d'Hathor*, 55.

⁵²¹ Noted by Preys, *Catalogue d'Hathor*, 127-129.

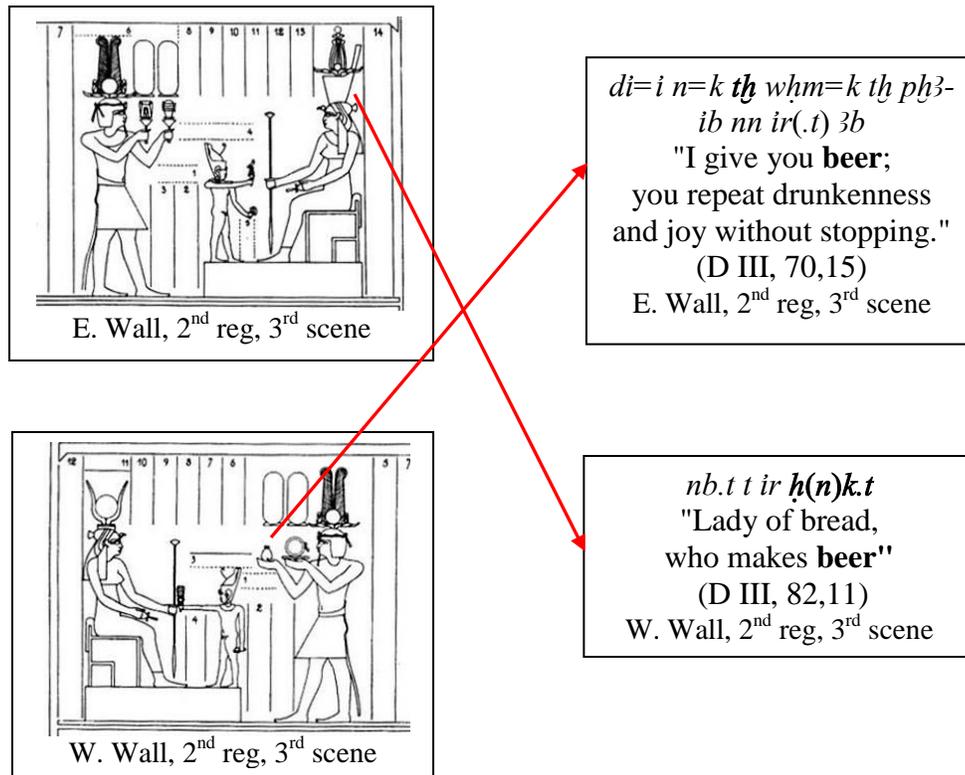


Fig. 4.65. Iconography/Epithet Play between the Sistra and *mnw*-jar Offering Scenes

In a chiasmic 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."

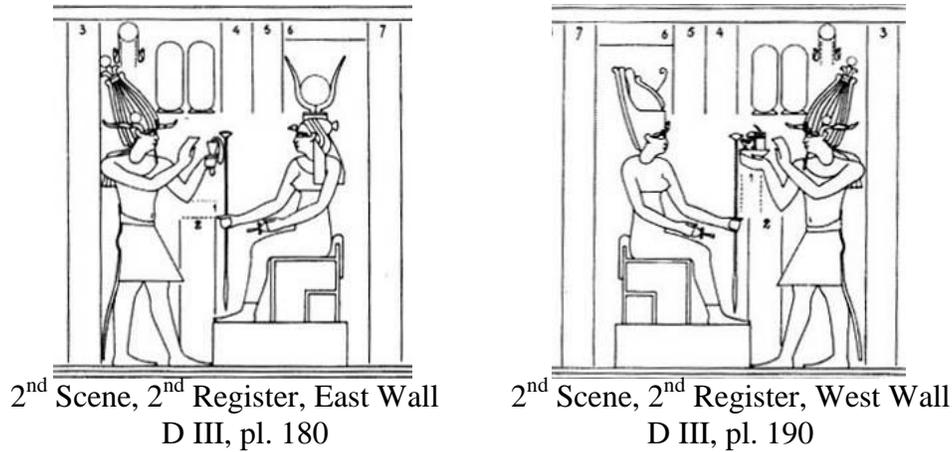


Fig. 4.66. Menit and Wensheb Offering Scenes in the Per-wer, © IFAO

This crown would thus be more appropriate for her to wear in the menit-offering scene, where she is specifically called *t3-mni.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.⁵²² 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 hftj.w=f*, "the Female Protector for her brother, who makes his protection against his enemies" (D III, 70,3-4).

In a chiasmic relationship similar to the one we observed in the previous example, Hathor's epithet, *t3-mni.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.

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.

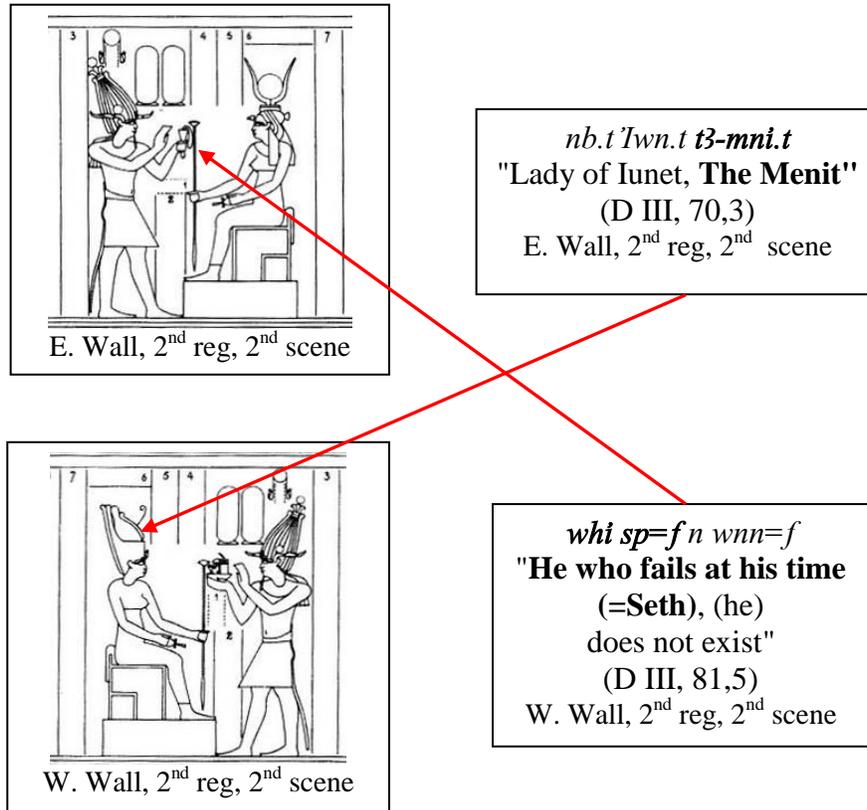


Fig. 4.67. Iconography/Epithet Plays in the Menit and Wensheb Offering Scenes

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,⁵²³ he now exchanges it for the sun disk of Ra. His statement, *dwn.n=i ̣.wy=i ḥ3 ḥr.t-tp m ḥd=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.

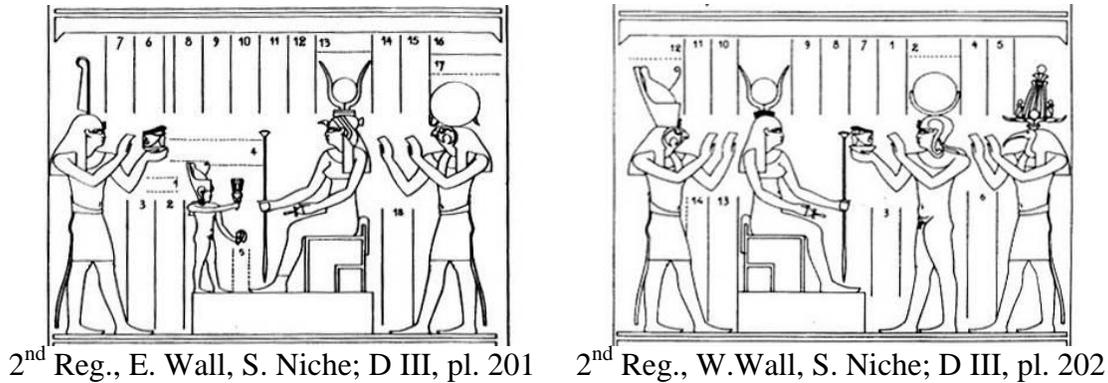
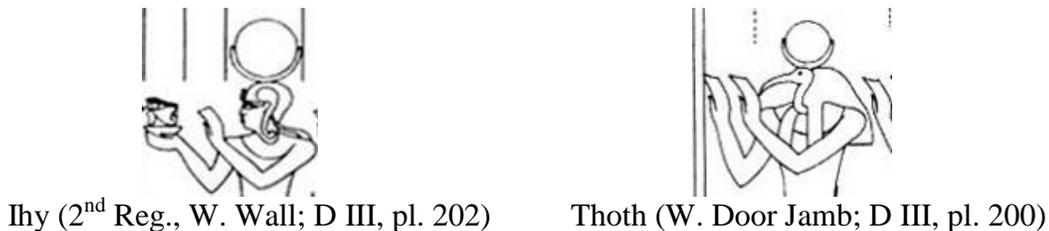


Fig. 4.68. Udjat-Offering Scenes in the Southern Niche, © IFAO

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.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).



Ihy (2nd Reg., W. Wall; D III, pl. 202) Thoth (W. Door Jamb; D III, pl. 200)

Fig. 4.69. Comparison of Lunar Disk worn by Ihy and Thoth in Southern Niche

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, *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, *nb.ty.t rhy.t*, "Mistress of Humankind," a designation of Isis.

⁵²³ Horus Behdety 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.

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.⁵²⁵ 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^c ds=f hnt pr-R^c*, "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).

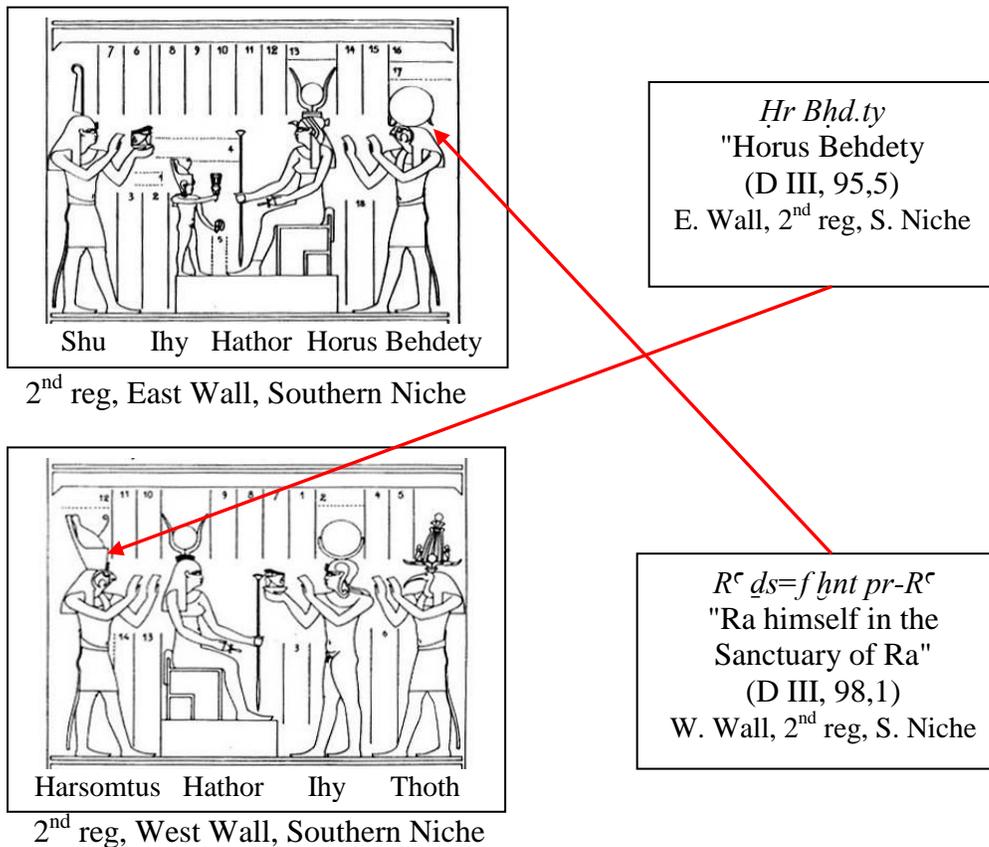


Fig. 4.70. Iconography-Epithet Plays in the Udjat Offering Scenes in the Southern Niche

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;⁵²⁶ others were created to fulfill political and religious strategies.⁵²⁷ 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,⁵²⁸ arranged high in the thickness of its south wall, contained a 2-meter-high gold statue of Hathor, the largest in the temple.

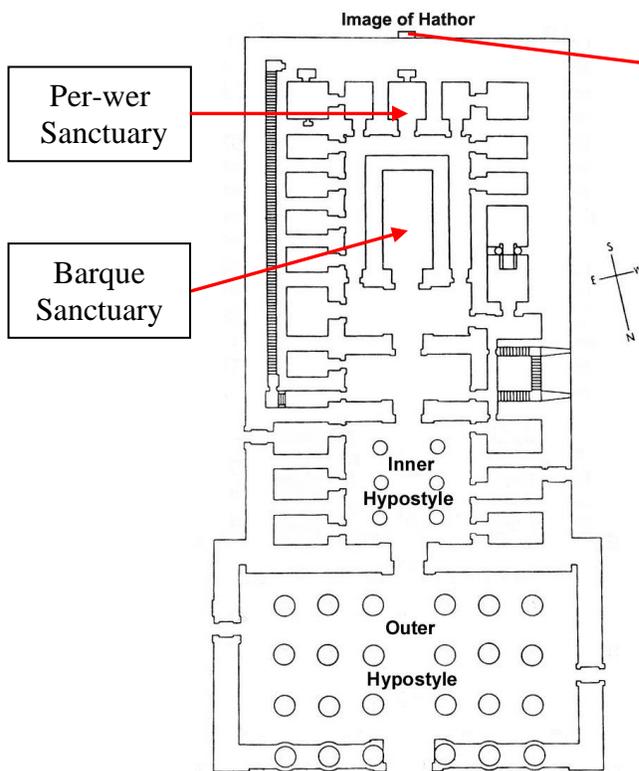


Fig. 5.1. Plan of the Temple of Hathor⁵³⁰

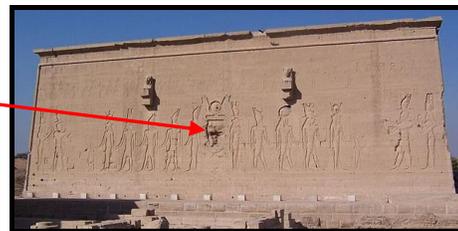


Fig. 5.2. Hathor Image on Rear Wall⁵²⁹



Fig. 5.3. Hathor Image on Rear Wall⁵³¹

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.

⁵²⁹ Photo at <<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:DenderaHathorTempleComplexQenaEgypt529-2007feb10PhotoByCsorfolyDaniel.jpg>>, by Daniel Csorfoly, accessed 4-14-12.

Directly behind this niche was a large, gold-plated head of Hathor⁵³² 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

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 $\overline{\text{Orn}} \triangleleft \square \square$, *šm(m)yt* (Wb IV, 472, 5-6). Cauville, *Inscriptions dédicatoires*, p. 101, suggests that the egg carries the value of *š* 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: *rw.ty hm=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.⁵⁴⁰ 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.

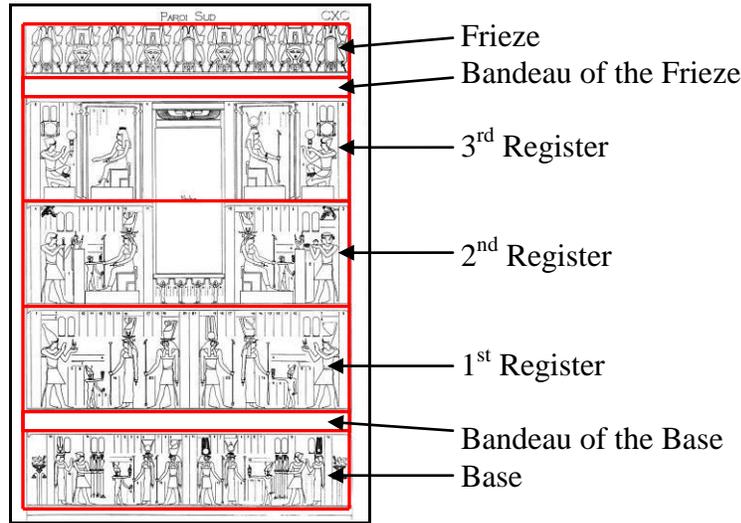


Fig. 5.4. Horizontal Decoration of a Typical Wall at Dendera; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

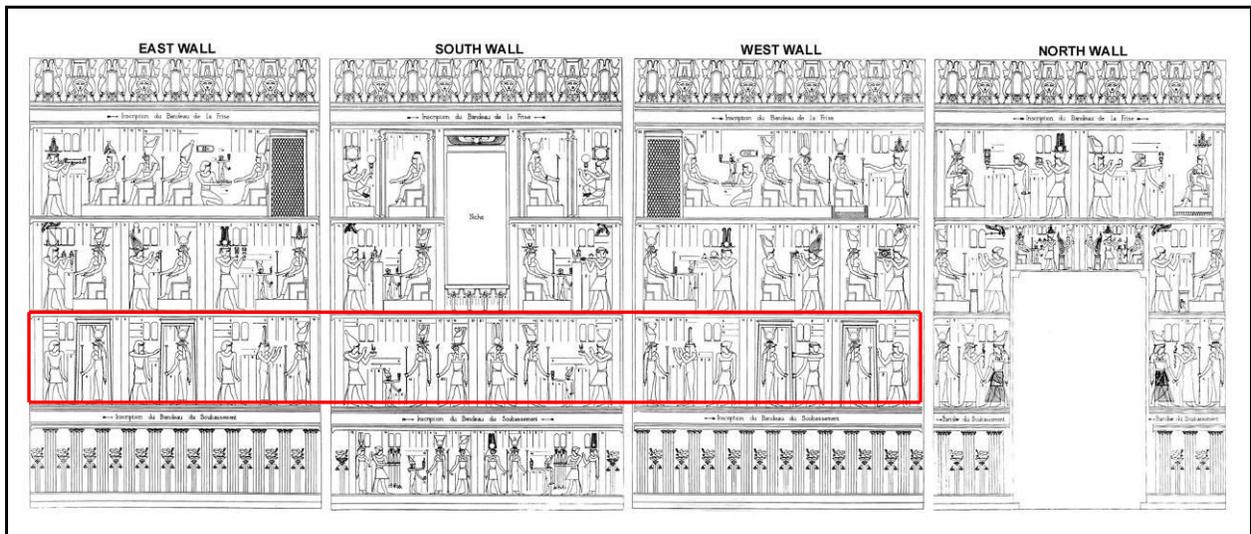


Fig. 5.5. 1st Reg. on East, South, and West Walls of Per-wer, after D III, pls. 180;190, © IFAO

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

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.⁵⁴¹ The daily temple rite serves as the foundation of the relationship between the Divine and mankind, whose intermediary and representative is the King.

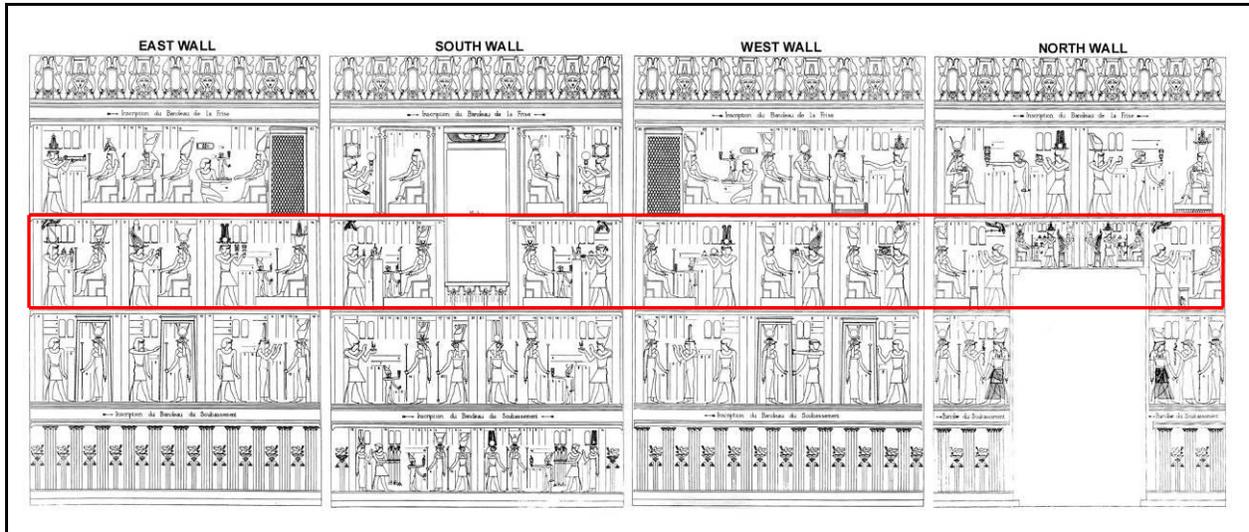


Fig. 5.6. 2nd Reg. on East, South, and West Walls of Per-wer, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

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.⁵⁴² Having entered into the presence of the goddess in the lower register (characterized in the texts as “opening the doors of heaven”⁵⁴³), the King in the 2nd register presents Hathor with her ten sacred objects. Among those, the *menit*, *wensheb*, *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.

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.

⁵⁴² See Binkowski, Geier und Falke, 83-89.

⁵⁴³ D III, 77,4; 77,5.

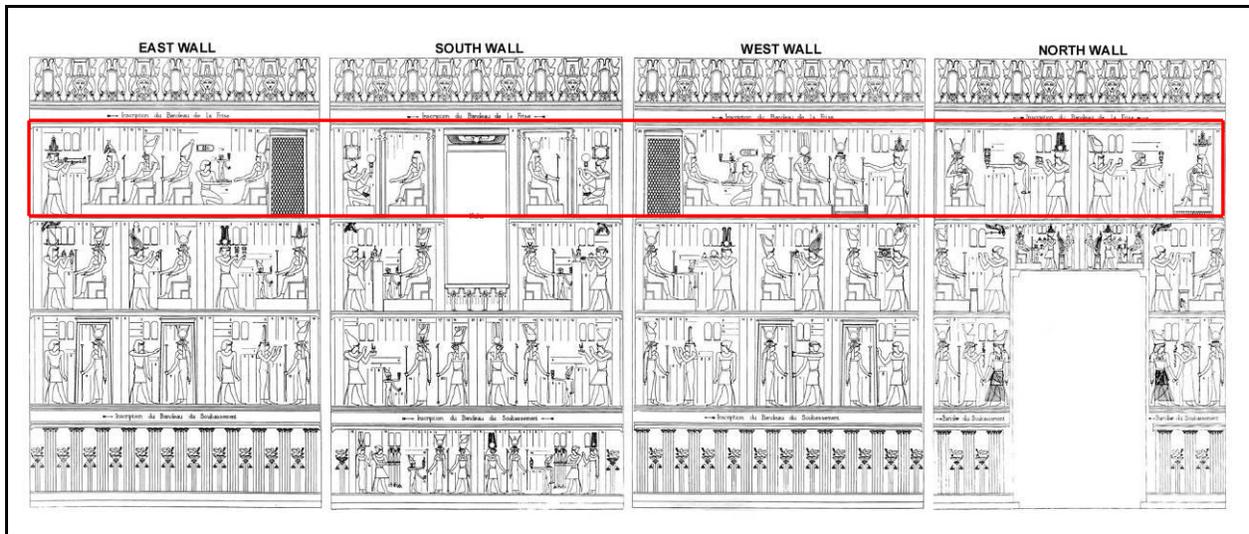


Fig. 5.7. 3rd Reg. on East, South, and West Walls of Per-wer, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

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)

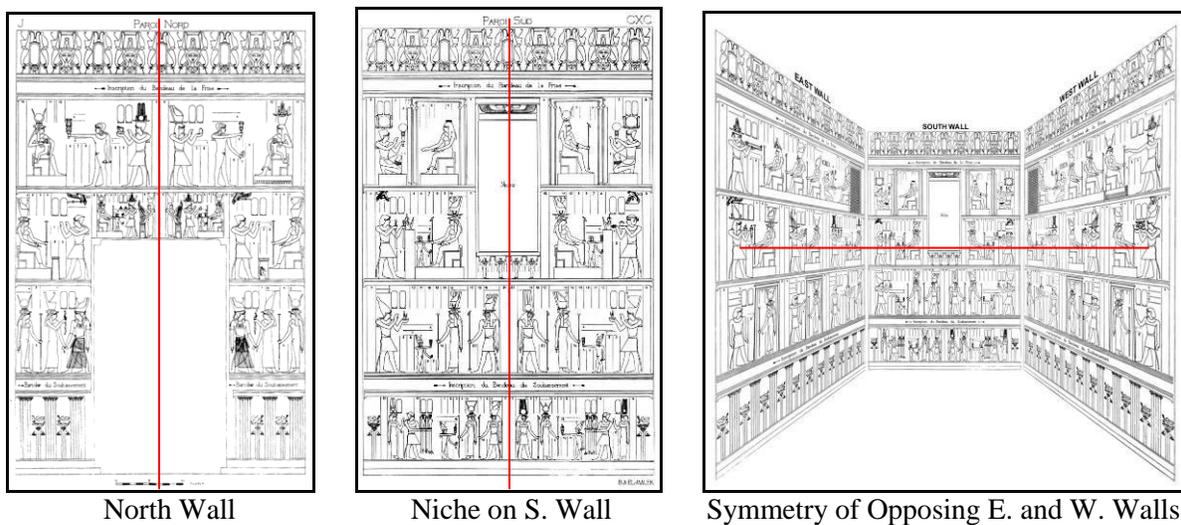


Fig. 5.8. Symmetry around a Central Axis, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

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).

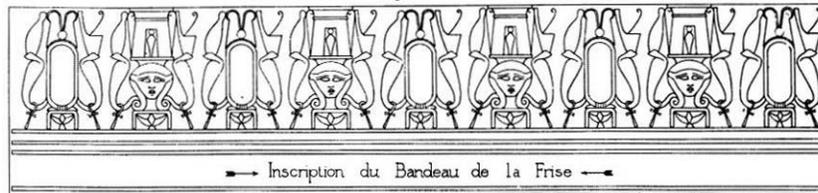


Fig. 5.9. Alternating Hathor-headed sistra and cartouches on the frieze; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

The Hathor-heads support  *bhn*, a pylon-like structure framed by two tendrils, whose central doorway contains a cobra,⁵⁴⁴ thus indicating that Hathor's form as the uraeus resides within it. The cartouches are surmounted by the *sw.ty*, the double ostrich feathers (alluding to

the two Eyes of Ra, the sun and the moon), and a sun disk:  (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 *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 four⁵⁴⁵ 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,⁵⁴⁶ 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&O39\l1.

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.⁵⁴⁷ 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.⁵⁴⁸ They extend all around the Mysterious Corridor, encompassing every day of the first six months of the year.⁵⁴⁹

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.⁵⁵⁰ Hathor's great festival commemorating the return of the Wandering Goddess lasted from the 19th of Tybi until the 4th of Mechir,⁵⁵¹ but a hint of the myth behind the festival is already apparent in the names of chronocrators for earlier days of the month.

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 Uraeii), 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, *Maitresse des seize*, 259-268; Richter, *Wandering Goddess*, 168-169; 174-175.

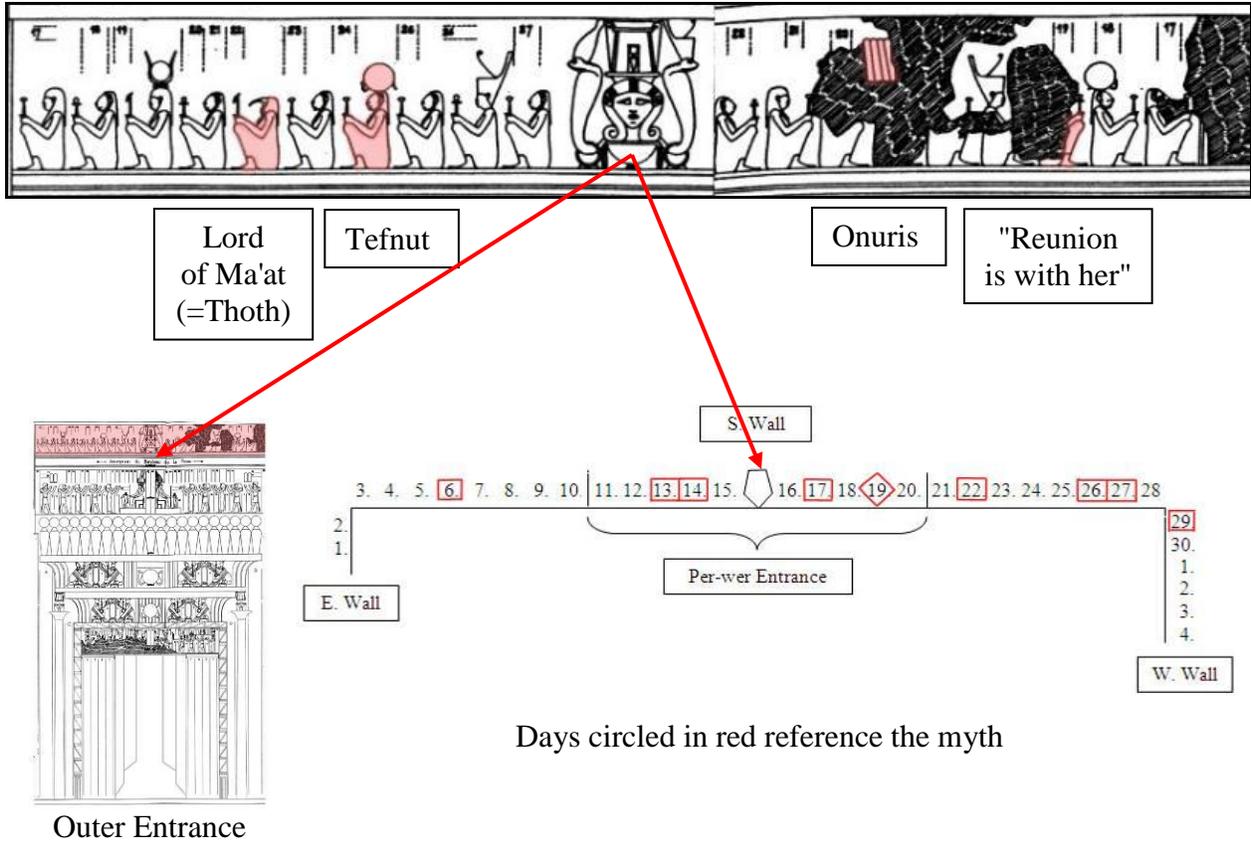


Fig. 5.10. Chronocrators on Outer Entrance of Per-wer after D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

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;⁵⁵² the chronocrator for the 13th of Tybi, located over the Per-wer entrance, is *Nb-mꜣꜥ.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,⁵⁵³ 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 =Gutbub, 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, Federkrone, 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 ,⁵⁵⁴ which both Leitz and Cauville transliterate as *Hns(.t)-Stt*.⁵⁵⁵ However, Leitz reads "She who traverses Asia," whereas Cauville, "She who traverses Nubia."⁵⁵⁶ 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,⁵⁵⁷ 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-ꜥ=s]*, "Reunion/uniting is with her," or perhaps, "She who is reunited,"⁵⁵⁸ alluding to Hathor-Tefnut, who returns to her father precisely on that day.⁵⁵⁹ 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,⁵⁶⁰ and both heaven and earth rejoice.⁵⁶¹ The text in the west column states,

wall of the Pronaos (D XV, 100, no. 27), is indeed *Šw* (Shu). In any event, both gods play important roles in the legend of the Distant Goddess; either interpretation would allude to the myth.

⁵⁵⁴ WinGlyph E128 and S22.

⁵⁵⁵ Leitz, LGG V, 760; Cauville, Dend Trad II, p. 614.

⁵⁵⁶ Note that Cauville's chronocrator list (Dend Trad II, p. 98) transliterates it as *Hns-Ššmt.t*, "Celle qui parcourt la Nubie," unlike her Index (Dend Trad II, p. 614), which has *Hns.t-Stt*, through with the same translation. The latter transliteration agrees better with her translation, suggesting that *Ššmt.t* may be a typographical error.

⁵⁵⁷ See excursus below (5.1.1.1) for a discussion of issues raised by scholars concerning its writing and translation.

⁵⁵⁸ For *Shn-m-ꜥ=s*, Leitz, LGG VI, 570b, suggests "Bei der das Umfassen ist (?)" ; Cauville, Dend Trad II, p. 614,

gives *Shn*[-...], "Celle qui est réunie [...]." I was able to restore the lacuna in D II, 61, no. 20, , by means

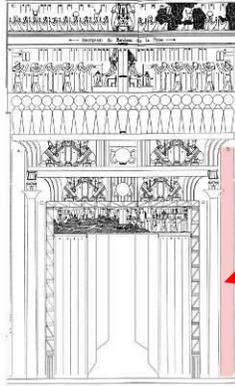
of the following parallel texts:  *Shn-m-ꜥ=s* (D XV, 100, no. 24) and , *Shn*[-m-ꜥ]=s

(D VII, 63, no. 38). An additional parallel is Leitz (LGG VI, 570):  *Shr.w-m-ꜥ=s*, "Plans are with her" (E XV, 48, no.19).

⁵⁵⁹ The importance of this date is also apparent in the architectural arrangement of the light shaft in the ceiling of the Per-wer, which allows the sun to stream into the sanctuary precisely at noon on the summer solstice, visually showing the return of the Right Eye of Ra on this day. The photograph taken in 2006, in Zignani, Enseignement, 56, pl. 2.32, strikingly illustrates this moment.

⁵⁶⁰ West side of door frame (Text B): *wp n=t Dhwtj w3.wt*, "Thoth opens the ways for you (f.);" (D III, 46,4).

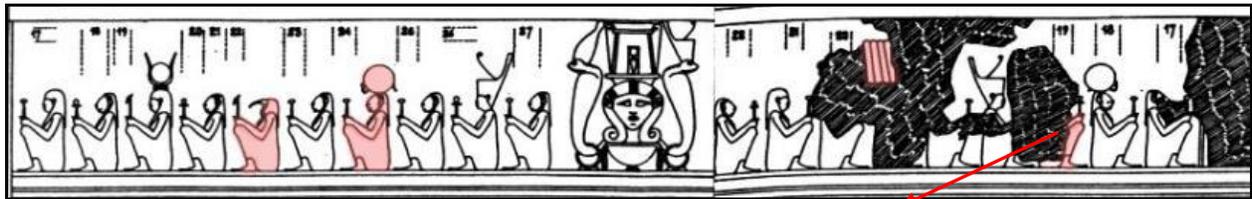
⁵⁶¹ East side of door frame (Text A): *nhm n=t p.t hr h3b3=s m pr=t m 3h.t sw3š tw(=t) t3 dr=f*, "The sky and the stars rejoice for you as you go forth from the horizon. The entire land praises you" (D III, 45,14-15).



shn <n>=t R^c m^c.wy=fy iw=t *shn.ti* m^ch šps
 "Ra **embraces** you with his arms;
 you **are installed** in the noble palace"
 (D III, 46,4-5).

Fig. 5.11. Outer Entrance of Per-wer; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

The polyptoton,⁵⁶² 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^c=s*, "Reunion is with her," the first day of the festival commemorating the return of the goddess (Fig. 5.12).⁵⁶³



Shn-[*m^c=s*]
 "Reunion [is with Her]" (D III, 61, no.20)

Fig. 5.12 Chronocrators on Outer Entrance of Per-wer; after D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

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.⁵⁶⁴ 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

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, Chronokratenliste Edfu, 153, notes that the assigning of chronocrators at Edfu to particular dates is not "willkürlich," and "jede Zuordnung wohlbegründet 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 and

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,  (S22), carries the phonetic values of *s*, *st*, *st̄*, and *Sšmt.t* and *Sty.t* (the goddesses, Shesmetet and Satet, respectively),⁵⁶⁵ leading to its use as a phonogram in the writing of    *Stt*, and its variation,   *Stt*,⁵⁶⁶ both of which can write "Asia," and "Sehel" (Gr. Σητις), the cataract island near Elephantine. Some scholars also translate both writings as "Nubia."⁵⁶⁷ Further ambiguity arises with the advent of a new sign in the LP,  (T58), a shield or animal skin with an arrow, which can also carry the values of *st*,⁵⁶⁸ *st̄*,⁵⁶⁹ and *sty*,⁵⁷⁰ allowing it to substitute for  (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,    *ir=s s3=s r NN*, "so that she turns (lit. places) her back to ,⁵⁷¹ employs the shoulder knot;      *rdi=s s3=s r NN*, "so that she might turn (lit. place) her back to ,⁵⁷² 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.

⁵⁶⁵ Kurth, EP I, 378, no. 40, and 386, n. 1.

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 *Hns-Sšmtt*, "Celle qui parcourt la Nubie," but in the Index (p. 614), the same chronocrator is *Hnst-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 *Št.t*, noting that it can denote either Nubia, Asia, or Sehel. In his subsequent work, *Die*

Onurislegende,⁵⁷⁴ he notes that the signs  (F29),  (T58), and  (S22) can be interchanged in the three toponyms, just as in the substantive, *stw.t*, "rays."⁵⁷⁵ Using examples from Dendera,⁵⁷⁶ he localizes *Št.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 *Št.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 *Št.t*, "Asien," and not *Šty*, "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 reading⁵⁸³ of *Šty*, "Nubien," is valid for most of the other passages.

I do not find Leitz's argument compelling for translating the term *Št.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 *Št.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 suggested⁵⁸⁴) 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 26th 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, *Sonnenaue*, 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.

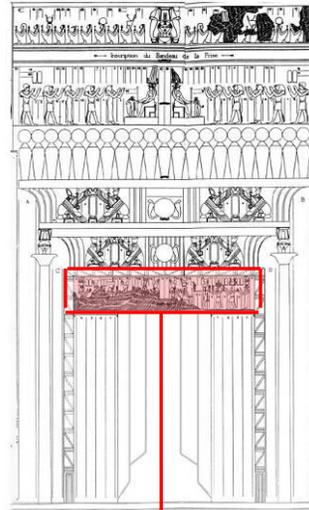
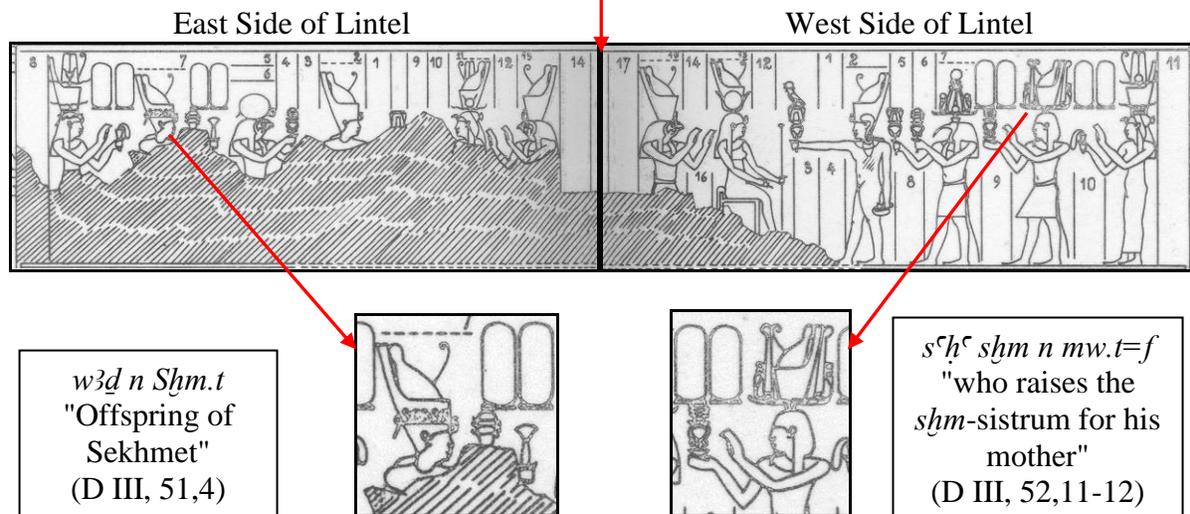


Fig. 5.13. Outer Entrance of Per-wer; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO



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

⁵⁸⁶ Goyon, *Conjunction*, 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 *shm*-sistrum are based on the same root, *shm*, meaning "power." In fact, in the parallel text of the symmetrical scene on the west side, the king's epithet is *sḥc shm n mw.t=f*, "who raises the *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 *shm* exists *between* the two scenes, in the epithets of the king.

Interestingly, the naos-sistrum⁵⁸⁸ 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 *sš.t* (Fig. 5.14), rather than the *shm*, the name reserved for the arched sistrum (Fig. 5.15).⁵⁸⁹ Thus, the image he is offering is truly the *shm*, the incarnation of the goddess, and not just a normal sistrum.⁵⁹⁰

Naos Sistrum



Fig. 5.14. *sš.t*-sistrum⁵⁹¹

Arched Sistrum



Fig. 5.15. *shm*-sistrum⁵⁹²

in the thicket of papyrus. As an Eye of Ra, Wadjet (=Sekhmet) could thus take on the maternal, protective aspects of Isis towards her son. An additional allusion lies in the *w3d* itself, as shown by a passage in the Demotic Myth of the Sun Eye: "Ra names the green stone, which one makes into the Eye, which is Sekhmet-Bast, in order to please and pacify her" (pLeiden I, 384,5, 3-6,11; Spiegelberg, *Mythus*, 22, 23). As Flessa, Schütze, 20, observes, this amulet can also take the form of a *w3d* (like the King's offering in the present scene), which then has the ability to calm Sekhmet's divine anger (with word play on *w3d*, since *sw3d* can mean "pacify," as well as "make healthy"). By means of his offering, with its allusions to health, pacification, and the King's role as Sekhmet's son, the offering not only appeases the angry goddess but also enables the rejuvenation of his own health. My thanks to Prof. Jacco Dieleman for calling my attention to Flessa's book and for the citation from the Myth of the Sun Eye.

⁵⁸⁷ The epithet, *w3d n Shm.t*, appears in the following sistrum-offering scenes: 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).

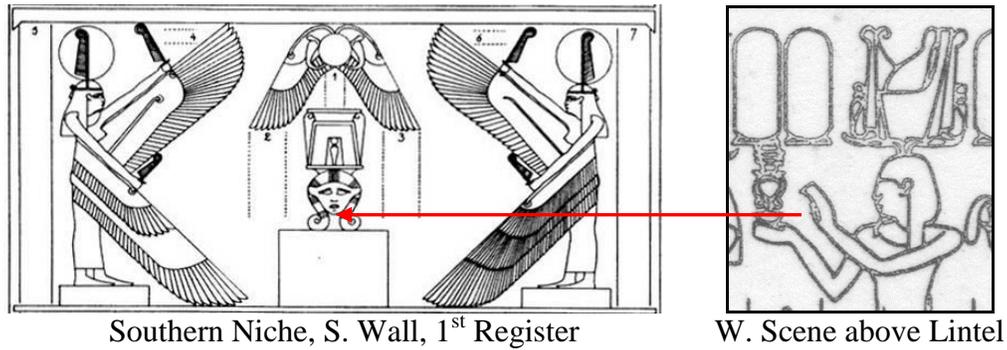
⁵⁸⁸ The top of this type of sistrum is sometimes referred to as the *bhn*. See Excursus 5.0.2.

⁵⁸⁹ Reynders, *Sistrum*, 1013-1026, discusses the use of the terms, *sš.t* and *shm*, suggesting that the onomatopoeic *sš.t* refers to both the naos and the arched sistrum, although the term *shm* probably also denotes the arched form. She proposes that the term *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 *sš.t* with the naos-sistrum and *shm* with the arched sistrum, e.g. D III, 70, 7-8, discussed below in the present section.

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.

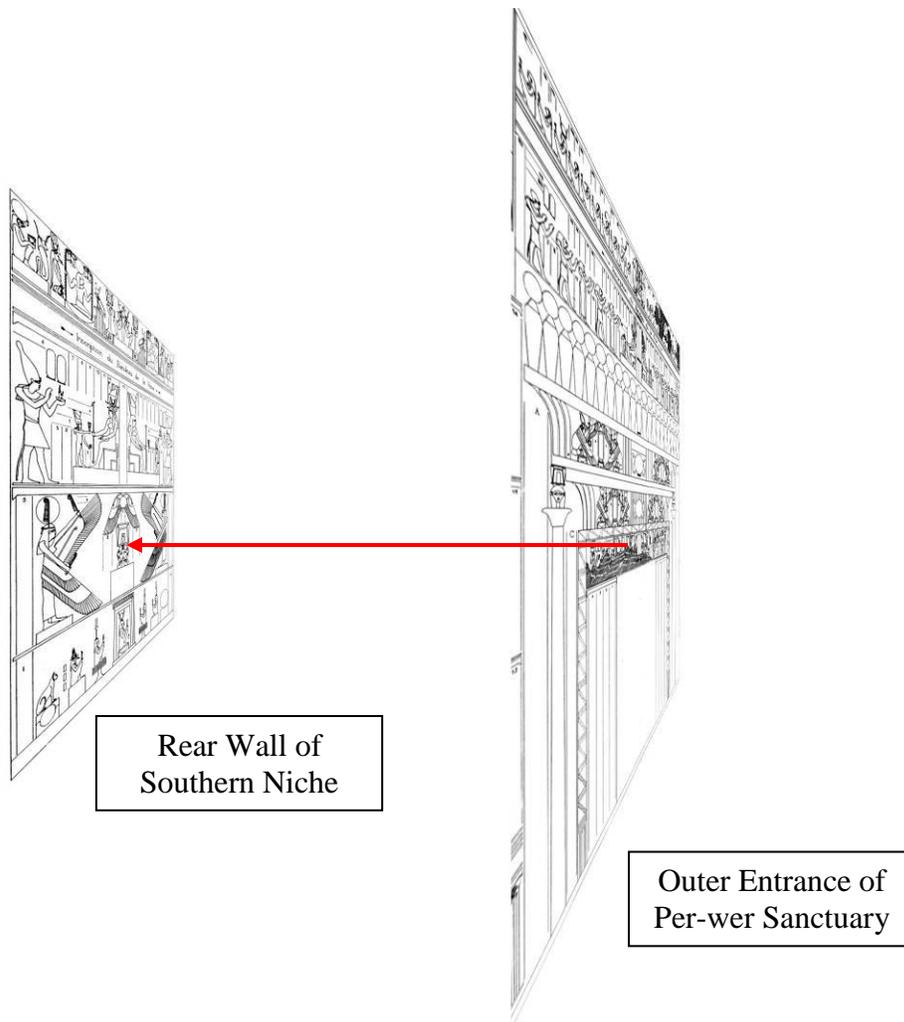
⁵⁹¹ Faience naos-type sistrum, Late Period, Dynasty 26, OIM 10718. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. See also Teeter and Johnson, *Life of Meresamun*, p. 30, fig. 23.

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).



Southern Niche, S. Wall, 1st Register

W. Scene above Lintel



Rear Wall of Southern Niche

Outer Entrance of Per-wer Sanctuary

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

⁵⁹² Bronze Sistrum, Rosicrucian Museum, RC 1765, 26th – 30th Dynasty. Top of loop has a reclining cat nursing two kittens. Photo by the author, 1991, courtesy of the Rosicrucian Museum, San Jose, CA.

Additionally, if one were to imagine that the walls are transparent (as often suggested by scholars, such as Gutbub,⁵⁹³ Cauville,⁵⁹⁴ and Derchain⁵⁹⁵), 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.⁵⁹⁶ Her epithet, *nb.t th* (D III, 58,8), can be translated as either "Lady of Beer," or "Lady of Drunkenness;"⁵⁹⁷ 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,⁵⁹⁸ thus linking to our myth. On the left, the king offers two jars of wine⁵⁹⁹ 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,⁶⁰⁰ 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"⁶⁰¹ and Senu,⁶⁰² two wine-producing areas of the Delta, and thus with his offerings of wine.

⁵⁹³ Gutbub, *Rémarques*, 123-136.

⁵⁹⁴ Cauville, *Dend Trad V-VI*, pp. 67-68.

⁵⁹⁵ Derchain, *Quadrifrons*, 16-18. Cf. Preys, *Complexes*, 466.

⁵⁹⁶ Cauville, *Ihy-Noun*, 108, notes that drink offered in the *mnw*-jar was a mixture of beer, wine, and aromatic herbs. The litany recited by the king on the occasion of the offering contains words unused since the OK. For a summary, see Yoyotte, *Religion*, 195-197; for a similar litany inscribed in the small temple of Hathor at Philae, see Morardet, *Philae*, 139-155. Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Trankopfer*, 115-117, connects the ritual of offering the *mnw*-jar with the Festival of Drunkenness celebrated on I Akhet 20. Cf. Budde, *Blitzen*, 105-112.

⁵⁹⁷ *Wb V*, 325,7-9.

⁵⁹⁸ The festival commemorating "the inebriety for Hathor," taking place on 20 Thoth (I Akhet 20) is attested since the Middle Kingdom, in a papyrus from Illahun. See Schott, *Festdaten*, 82, Nr. 27; cf. Grimm, *Festkalender*, 374.

⁵⁹⁹ The two wine jars in the relief, , are almost identical to the two jars in the logogram for *irp*, "wine":  (W21A), which appears in the title of the west scene of the lintel: *hnk irp n mw.t=f*, "Offering wine to his mother" (D III, 58,11).

⁶⁰⁰ Bedier, *Geb*, 170-171; 173-182; 206.

⁶⁰¹ *Wb I*, 78,12: name of the city of Buto in lower Egypt; its nisbe, *im.ty* (lit. "He of Imet") means "wine," reflecting its renown as a wine-producing region. A homonym of *im.t* is "pupil," which can refer to the pupil of the Divine Eye as well as to the eye of Apep (Wilson, *PL* 65-66). Although the reference to *im.t* (as "pupil") may create a connection with the *udjat* offering on the opposing wall, the word *im.t* as "pupil" is not used in D I-IV. However, there is aural and visual play on the homonym *im.t* ("child") in a "Striking of the Ball" scene in the Court of the New Year's Chapel (Chassinat's Chamber R), D IV, 193,12, because the ball is equated with the *im.t* ("pupil") of the eye of Apep. Wilson, *PL* 65-66, notes similar word play with the two meanings of *im.t* in E IV, 137,3: "the pupil of the eye/child is with you."

⁶⁰² Pelusium (Tell el-Farama), located NE of Delta in a wine production area. Hannig, *Ä-D* 1381; Baines and Malek, *Cultural Atlas*, 167.

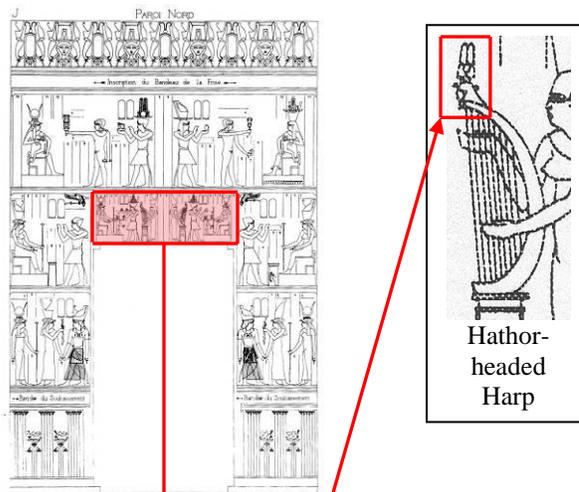
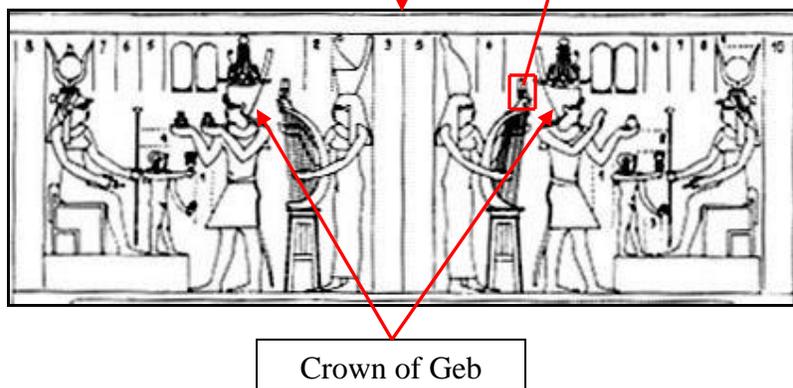


Fig. 5.17. North Wall of Per-wer; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO



Behind the king in each scene, one of two Meret⁶⁰³ goddesses plays the harp,⁶⁰⁴ 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.⁶⁰⁵ As a songstress, the goddess Meret has associations with Hathor, who restores order through music;⁶⁰⁶ each of the Meret goddesses carries an epithet meaning “Mistress of the Throat,”⁶⁰⁷ written with two different Egyptian words for “throat”: ꜥꜥꜥ⁶⁰⁸ and *hty.t*.⁶⁰⁹ Meret also became identified with Ma’at, who was considered the throat of

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 *bin.t*, 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 ꜥꜥꜥ: Wb I, 229,14.

⁶⁰⁹ *hty.t*: Wb III, 181,4-16.

the god through which he obtains air and food--the sustenance of life.⁶¹⁰ Furthermore, because the words  *mr.t* (singer),  *mr.t* (another word for throat), and  *M3'.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.⁶¹¹ 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).

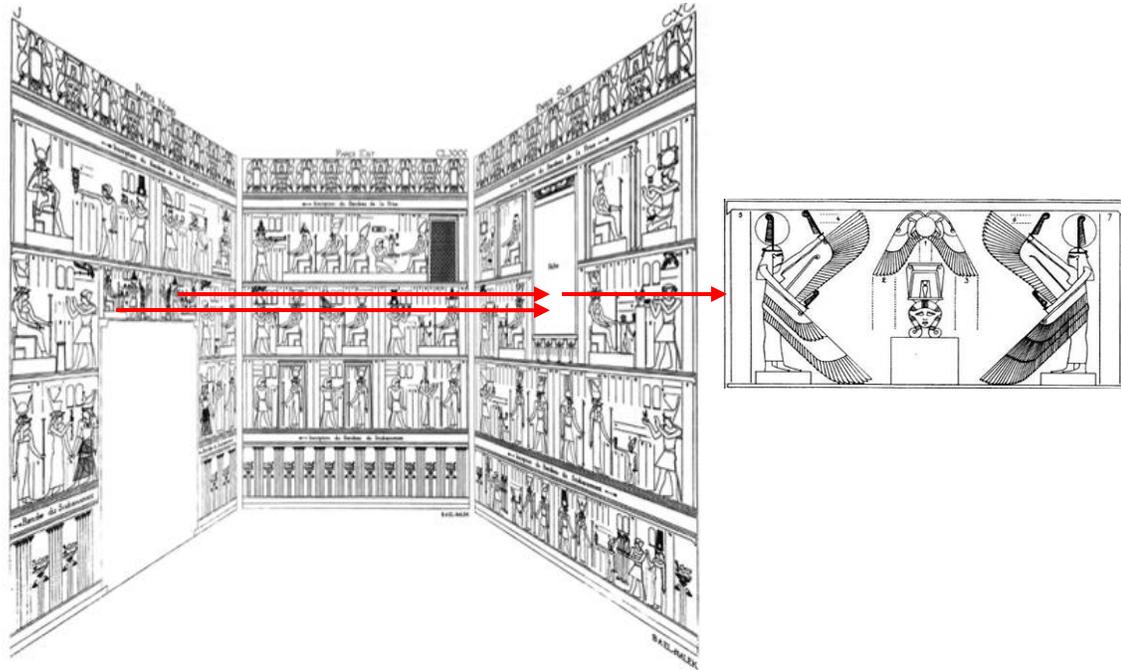


Fig. 5.18. Meret Goddesses on Lintel Link with Ma'at Images in Southern Niche, after D III, pls. 180 and 190, © IFAO

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).

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.

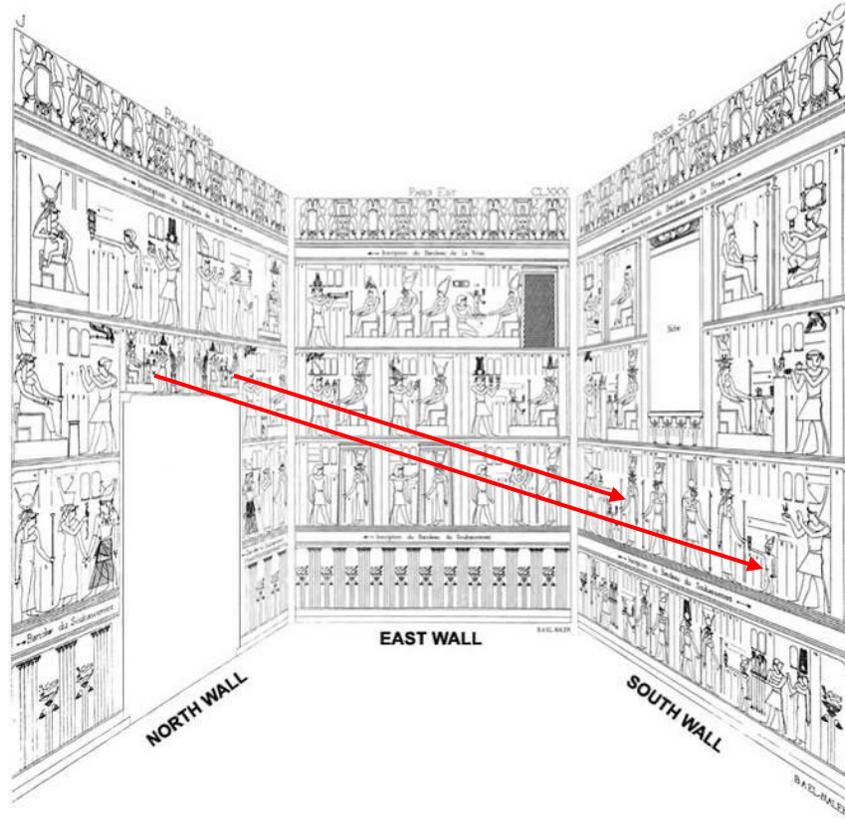
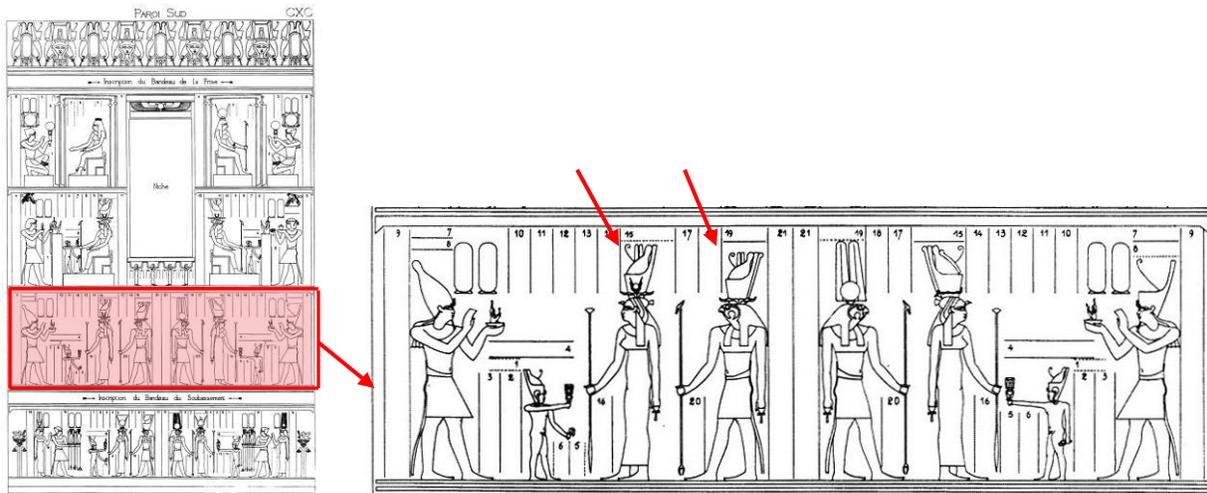


Fig. 5.19. Link between North Wall's Lintel and South Wall's Ma'at Offerings, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO



South Wall

Fig. 5.20. Offerings of Ma'at, S. Wall, 1st Reg.; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

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,



M3.t rn=t M3.t pw k3.tw r hm.t=t mr.t pw

"**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

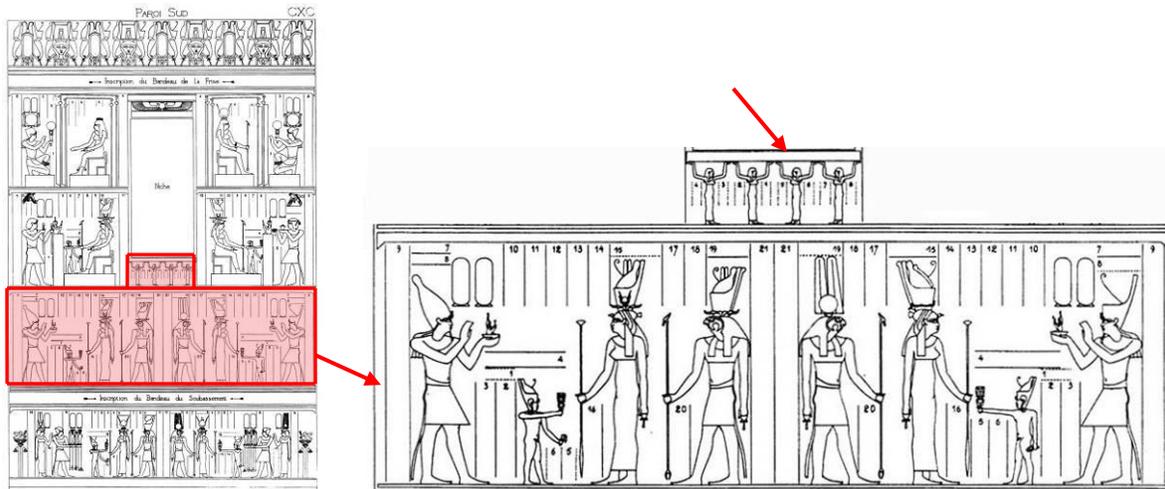


determinative. It is usually written , with the head and neck of a long-necked animal. However, by employing the sign of the Meret-goddess as the phonogram of her name, the ancient scribe can also allude to the divine songstress, thus adding another layer of meaning to the word play.

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



South Wall

Fig. 5.21. Offerings of Ma'at, S. Wall, 1st Reg.; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

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: *Tb.t Hy.t*; South: *Rsy.(t) ḥḥy.t*; West: *Imn.t F3y.t*; North: *Mh.t Tw3y.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.

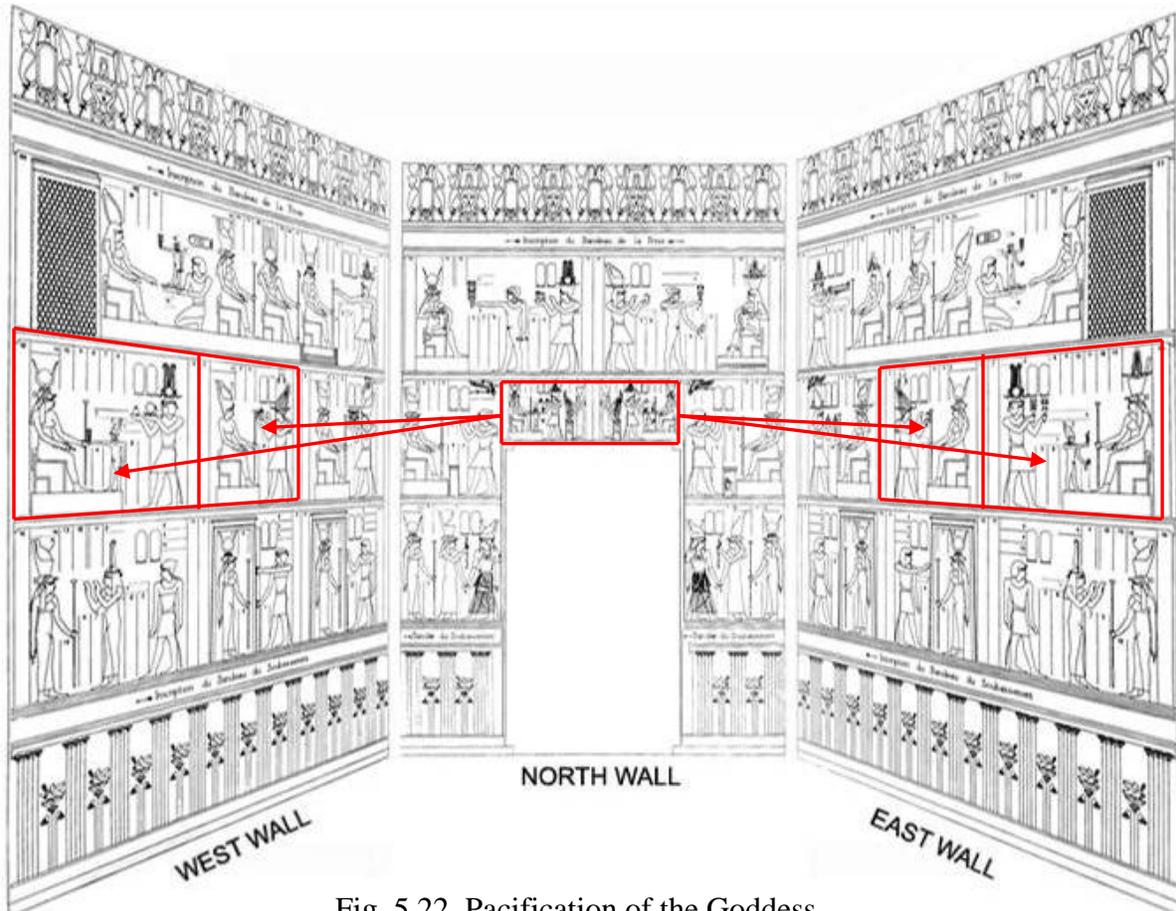


Fig. 5.22. Pacification of the Goddess,
after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

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 electrum⁶¹³ (Fig. 5.24).

⁶¹³ Electrum is a mixture of gold and silver. See Nicholson and Shaw, *Materials*, 162.

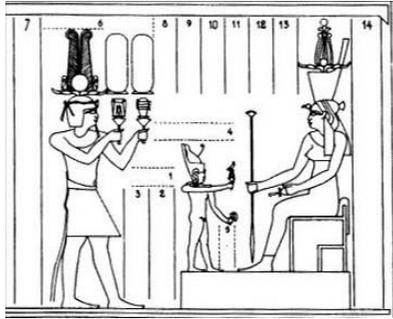


Fig. 5.23. E. Wall, 2nd Reg., 3rd Scene
Offering two sistra; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

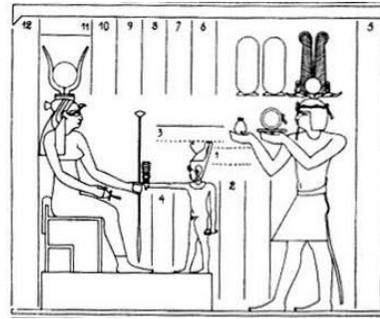


Fig. 5.24. W. Wall, 2nd Reg., 3rd Scene
Offering *mnw*-jar, circlet; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

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 Aneđjty 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:



*sš.t m wnm*y*=i šm m i*by*=i*
"The *sš.t*-sistrum is in my right hand,
the *šm*-sistrum is in 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, *sš.t*  (Y8) and *šm* , and the respective hands in which each is held:  *wnm*y** (right), and  *i*by** (left). He follows this description by stating,

⁶¹⁴ See 4.4.1.

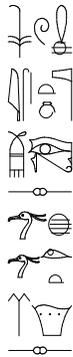
⁶¹⁵ As noted by Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 134.

⁶¹⁶ The Aneđjty 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.

Hathor's epithet, *ndty.t hr 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 hr hnk hm.t=s m ih.t=s shtp ib=s r^c 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,



sw mi 'Isdn ʿpr wd3.t s3h 3h.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 *3h*, "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, *3h.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

Barque Sanctuary); III, 153,9 (to Isis in Temple of the Menit); IV, 87,12 (to Isis in the Vestibule, Chamber O); V, 45,7-8 (to Isis in Crypt East 1).

⁶³⁵ In the Divine Randzeile, Hathor is *hr hw it=s*, "protecting her father" (D III, 70,5).

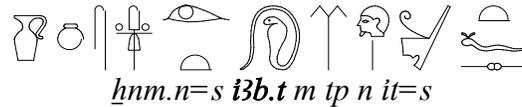
⁶³⁶ The royal crown of Isis consists of a double crown framed by two ostrich feathers, with the addition of a uraeus seshed band; it is usually placed higher on her head, e.g. in the 2nd register, west side of the south wall in the Perwer's Southern Niche. See discussion of this crown in Section 4.1.5.2.

⁶³⁷ 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.

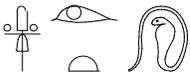
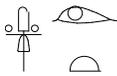
⁶³⁸ Altenmüller, Synkretismus, 241, suggests that Thoth as *'Isdn* (or *'Isds*) is a syncretization with Anubis, in the role of the judge at the weighing of the heart of the deceased. The epithet occurs as early as the CT (e.g. de Buck, CT III, 61b); Anubis commands Thoth to be in the "form" of Ra during the night (Faulkner, CT 347 = de Buck, CT IV, 380a) as the "nightly sun," i.e. the moon. See Goebis, 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,



"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



"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 Sonnenaug am Tag' (östl.) umreißen die Ewigkeit im stetigen Wechsel der Bewegungen, die doch letzten Endes Dauer und Stabilität ohne Unterbrechnung garantieren, an welchem das Königtum, materialisiert durch die Krönungsfedern *šwtj* als Kraft des Lichtes selbst, teilhat."⁶⁴⁰

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).⁶⁴¹ On the east side, the Royal Randzeile states, *sh̄tp=fib=t*

⁶⁴⁰ Derchain-Urtel, *hptj*-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 *šwtj* 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, *ḥtp ḥr=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.⁶⁴²

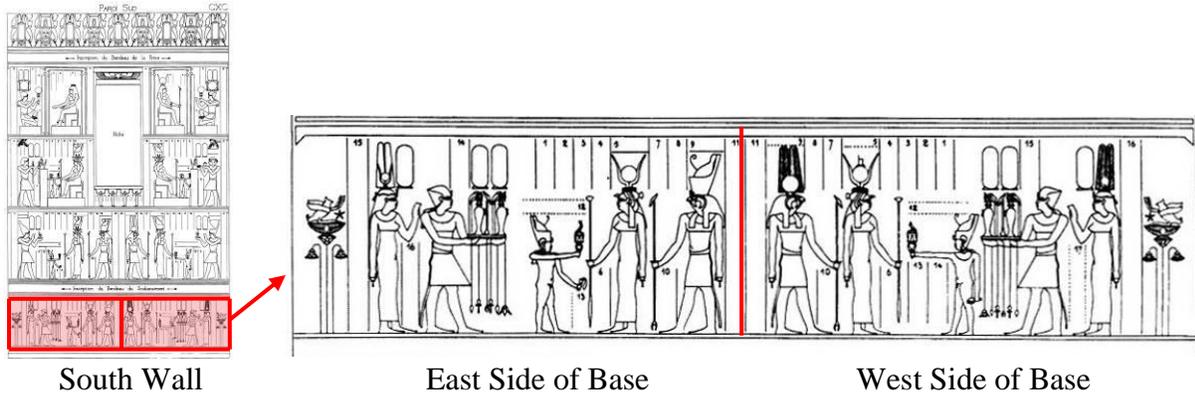


Fig. 5.27. Base of the South Wall; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

As we will see in our discussion of Hathor as primordial goddess (5.5.3), the two scenes at the base of the south wall also connect with the offering of the *nms.t*-jar of primordial water in the 3rd 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).⁶⁴³ Again, the texts mention Hathor's purification by the water. The title of the scene states, *ḥtp=t ḥr pr(.t) m nwn*, "You are pacified with what comes forth from the Nun" (D III, 71,17); in the Divine Randzeile, Hathor says, *sw^cb=i ḥ^cw=i [m] mw-rnp*, "I purify my body [with] the water of youth" (D III, 72,8).

⁶⁴² D III, 75, 5-6: *sš.t=i m wnmy=i sn=i n=t nšn mni.t m i3b(=i) ḥr dr [mn.t]*,* "The *sš.t*-sistrum is in my right hand. I make rage pass away from you. The **menit-necklace** is in (my) left hand, driving away **evil**." The close homophones of *mnit/mn.t* emphasize the power of the *menit* (*mnit*) to drive away evil (*mn.t*).

⁶⁴³ 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.

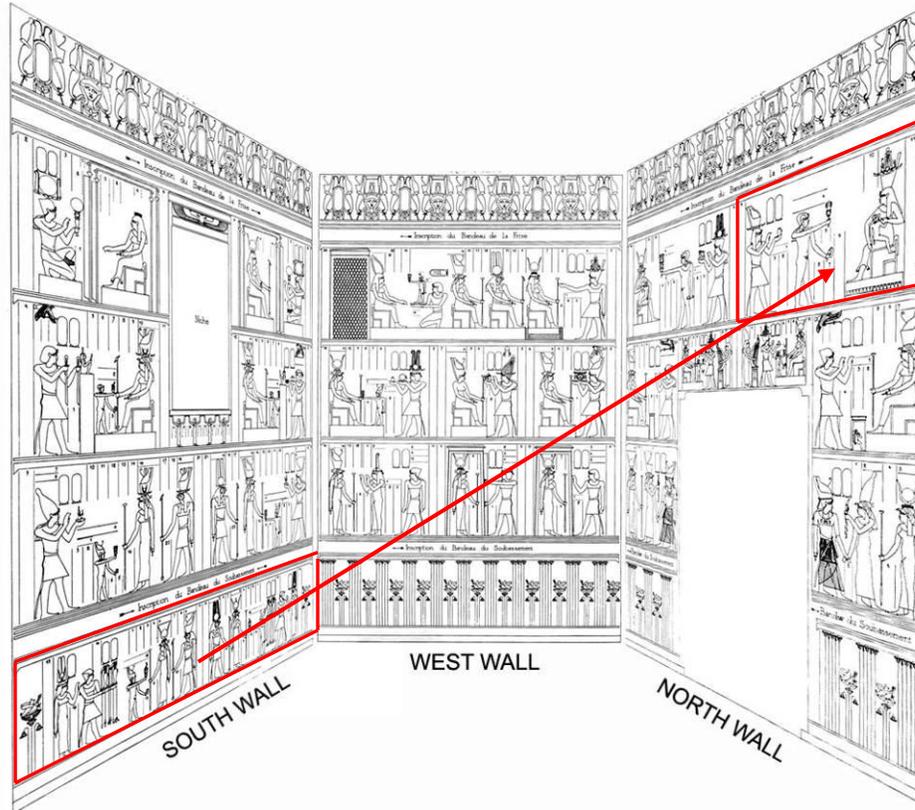


Fig. 5.28. Theme of the Purification and Pacification, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

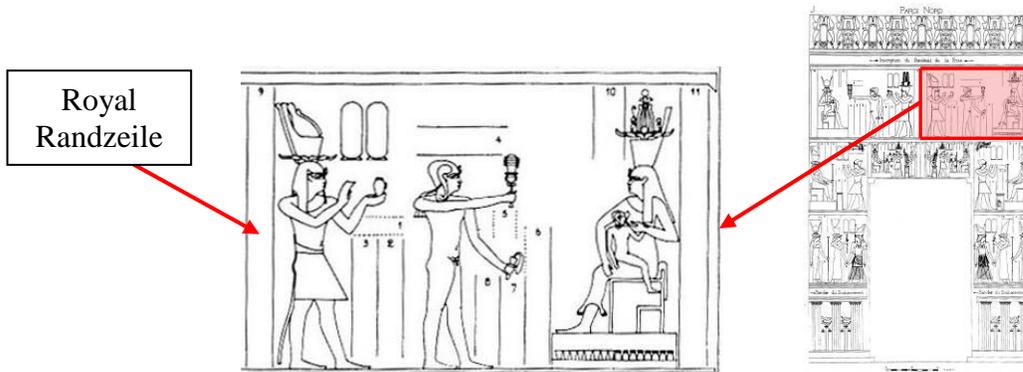
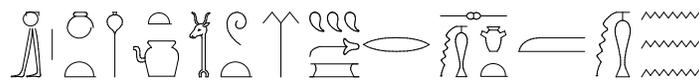


Fig. 5.29. N.Wall, 3rd Reg., E. Scene; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO North Wall

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.



in=i n=t ḥd.t ḥn^c.ti m ḥ^cpy r skbh ib=t m kbh.w

"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:  (W 25), the walking *nw*-jar, the ideogram for the verb *ini*, "bring";  (W24), the *nw*-jar, the ideogram for the preposition, *n*, "to";  (W70), the *nms.t*-jar, serving as a determinative for *hd.t*, "vessel";  (D26B), the spewing mouth, the phonogram for *p*, in *hꜥpy* (inundation water);  (N36), the pool of water, the determinative for *hꜥpy*. Although either sign would allude to water or vessels, by choosing  (W24) the *nw*-jar, rather than the water sign  (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 *hs*-jar, in *skbh*, "to refresh" and *kbhw*, "libation water"; it also emphasizes the purificatory and refreshing qualities of the water with the polyptoton on the root *kbh*, "to cool," first in the *s*-causative verb, *skbh*, "to make cool, refresh," and then in the plural substantive, *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.⁶⁴⁴ The Distant Goddess would thus be rejuvenated, purified, and pacified, and thus in a proper state to return to her sanctuary in the temple.

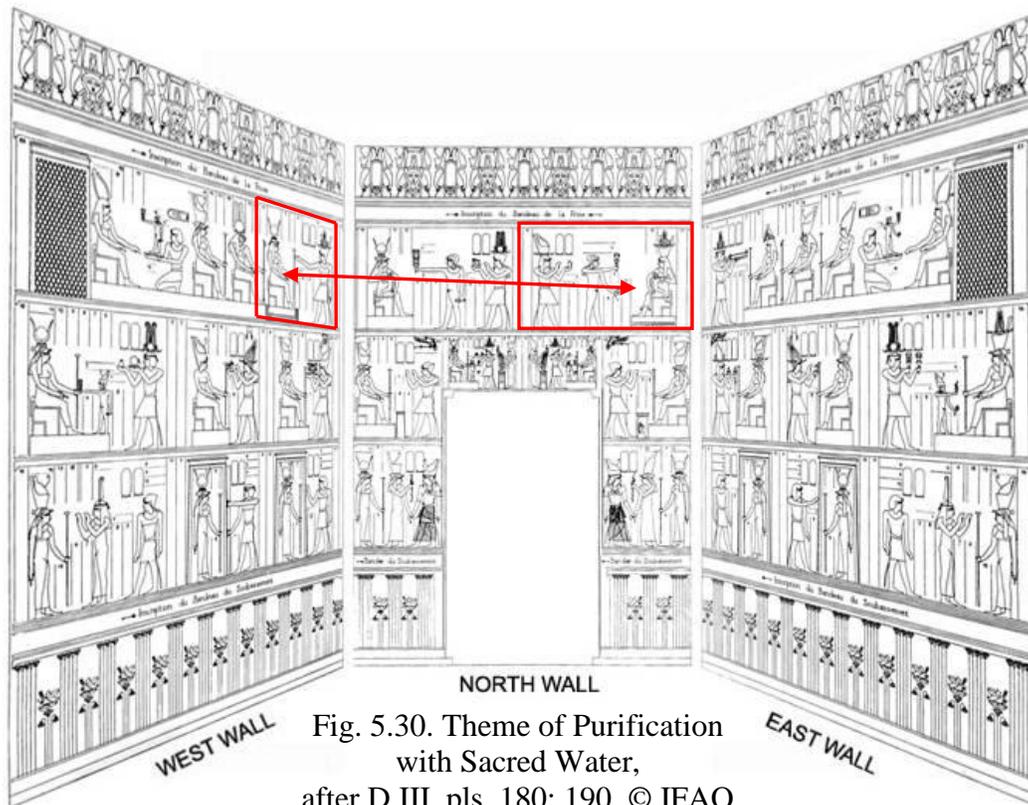


Fig. 5.30. Theme of Purification with Sacred Water, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

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.⁶⁴⁵

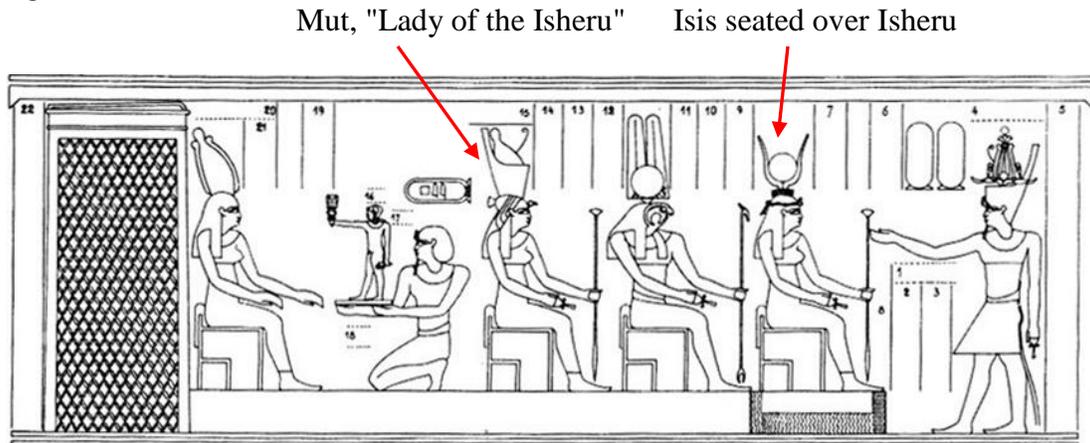


Fig. 5.31. 3rd Register, West Wall; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

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, *nb(t) išrw*, "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).



Fig. 5.32. Isheru Lake, Temple of Mut, Karnak⁶⁴⁶

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, *šs.t wr.t* ...

⁶⁴⁵ Richter, *Wandering Goddess*, 172-174. See also discussion of *šd.t-rnp.t*, "pestilence of the year," in Flessa, Schütze, 22-31; Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, 134-135; 213-214.

⁶⁴⁶ Photo courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum Mut Expedition.

snḏm.t m iṣrw nty m šnw=s s3b sš hnt wi3=s, "Isis the Great...is seated (or "pacified") in the isheru that is around her, who crosses the lake within her barque."⁶⁴⁷ 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 ʿ.wy=f(y) m pḥr=s*, "her father Nun, his arms embracing her."⁶⁴⁸ Furthermore, the text of Mut in the scene on the west wall of the Perwer characterizes her as *bḥ pr-nbw.t m thḥw.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 *bḥ*.⁶⁴⁹ 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, Ihy pacifies Hathor's ka—the embodiment of the goddess—with the sistrum and menit-necklace, because she is *ʿIr.t-Rḥ ḥnw.t ntr.wt mḥ dhnt n(.t) Rḥ 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 Aneḏjty crown, this time atop a square cap, offers Hathor the Udjat—the whole, healthy Eye.

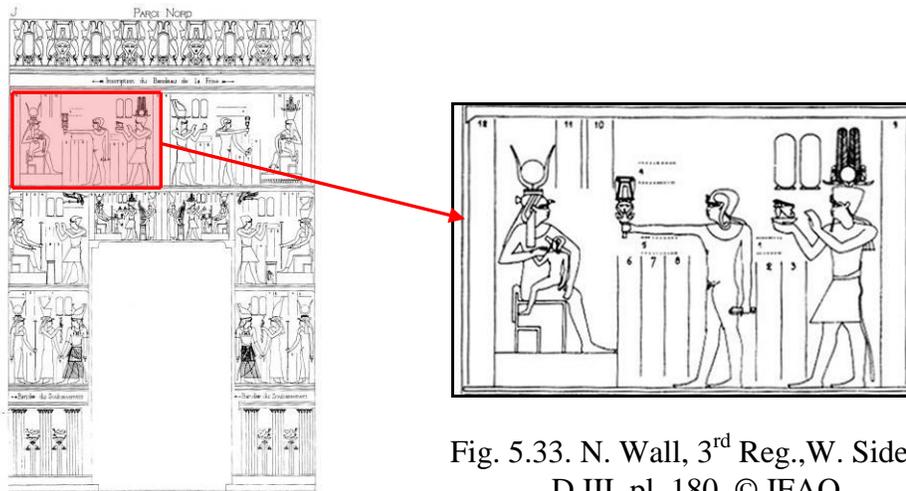


Fig. 5.33. N. Wall, 3rd Reg., W. Side; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

North Wall of Per-wer

⁶⁴⁷ D V, 147,1-2; pl. 438.

⁶⁴⁸ Richter, *Wandering Goddess*, 174 n. 128. The festival calendar in the Ptolemaic Gateway to the Mut Precinct at Karnak recounts her festive reception in Egypt, with *Nwn ḥr dw3=s šw ḥr w3š k3=s*, "Nun extolling her and Shu paying homage to her ka," in Sauneron, *Porte Ptolémaïque*, pl. 9, line 26, cited in Smith, *Primaevial Ocean*, 203 and n. 659.

⁶⁴⁹ We will examine this aural and visual play in more detail in 5.3.3, in the section on the King's maintenance of the funerary cult for the deceased ancestor gods.

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



"Lady of **the Udjat-Eyes**, **the (Divine) Eye**, of the Pupil of the **Udjat Eye**" (D III, 84,2),

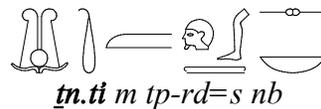
The visual emphasis on eyes is immediately apparent, with the four-fold repetition of the eye-

sign,  (D10A). It appears as two symmetrically opposed ideograms in the dual substantive, *wd3.ty*, "the two Udjat Eyes," as the determinative for *ntr.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 *ntr.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.⁶⁵⁰ He continues his address by describing his offering:



"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.⁶⁵¹ 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,"⁶⁵² 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



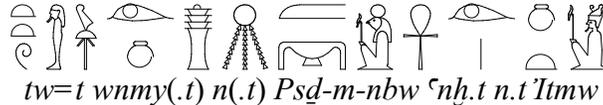
"**distinguished** in all its ritual" (D III, 84,2),

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:

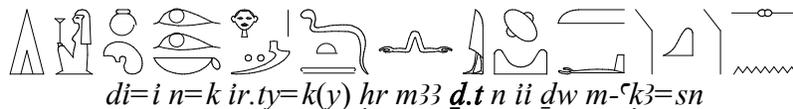


tw=t wnmy(.t) n(.t) Psd-m-nbw ʿnh.t n.t Itmw
 "for you are the Right Eye of He Who Shines Like Gold, the Living Eye of Atum."
 (D III, 84,2-3)

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.⁶⁵³ It is the male counterpart of Hathor's frequent designation, *Wbn.t-m-nbw*, "She who shines like gold,"⁶⁵⁴ 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 *ʿnh.t*, derived from the root *ʿnh*, "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 *wd3*, "healthy," the Udjat can give health; being *ʿnh*, "living," the Living Eye can give life. In addition, the Eye is *3h*, "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=i n=k ir.ty=k(y) hr m33 d.t n ii dw m-ʿk3=sn
 "I give you your eyes (with the ability of) seeing **d.t-eternity**.
 Evil will not come⁶⁵⁵ 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*).



di=i n=k ir.ty=k(y) hr m33 nhh n(n) igp m hr=k

"I give you your eyes (with the ability) to see **nhh-eternity**, without clouds in your face" (D III, 84,6).

The mention of the two complementary aspects of eternity, *nhh* and *d.t*, is particularly significant, because together they represent the idea of "temporal stability without end."⁶⁵⁶ Hathor commands both aspects, shown by her epithet, *ity.t n.t nhh hr d.t*, "Female Sovereign of *nhh*-eternity and *d.t*-eternity" (D II, 68,5), thus allowing her to offer them to the king. The concept of *nhh* is equated with Ra and the morning sun; *d.t*, with Osiris and the evening sun.⁶⁵⁷ In fact, there is such a strong identification between the two gods with these aspects of time, that the ideogram for Ra can represent *nhh*, and the ideogram for Osiris, *d.t*.⁶⁵⁸ Assmann⁶⁵⁹ 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."⁶⁶⁰

This ability to "step out" of time is exemplified by the sun god, who usually carries the epithet, *nb nhh*, "King of *nhh*-eternity" (D VI, 93,11);⁶⁶¹ his Netherworldly counterpart, Osiris, bearing the epithet, *hk3 n d.t*, "Ruler of *d.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.⁶⁶² 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,⁶⁶³ not only rejuvenates the sun god, but

⁶⁵⁶ Wilson, PL 1250.

⁶⁵⁷ Assmann, *Zeit und Ewigkeit*, 44.

⁶⁵⁸  as *nhh* (E IV, 12,1);  as *d.t* (E IV, 18,8). Harsomtus appears as the falcon rising in the horizon,  (N92), for *nhh* (D III, 62,6; 79,13, 172,3; D VI, 108,3; D VII, 9,5; D VIII, 62,4); Osiris as a mummy within the

mehen-snake,  (I32), for *d.t* (D II, 152,7; X, 396,15; XI, 143,5).

⁶⁵⁹ Assmann, *Ewigkeit*, 47-54, esp. 49-50.

⁶⁶⁰ Assmann, *Ewigkeit*, 50.

⁶⁶¹ Ra carries the epithet *hk3 d.t* when syncretized as Ra-Somtus (D VI, 107,8). It seems (at least at Dendera) that in order to have mastery over the *d.t*-aspect of eternity, the deity must have a connection with a Netherworldly state of being. Thus, Osiris (D VI, 42,8), Ptah (D VI, 91,2), Harsomtus (D II, 193,12), Hathor (D II, 68,5), Harsiesis (D II, 23,11), and Isis (D II, 110,16) can all carry epithets designating them as ruler/sovereign/lord of *d.t*.

⁶⁶² Assmann, *Ewigkeit*, 50.

⁶⁶³ Richter, *Amduat*, 83-90.

also joins together *nḥḥ* 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 nḥḥ ḥk3 d.t*, "Ruler of *nḥḥ* 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.

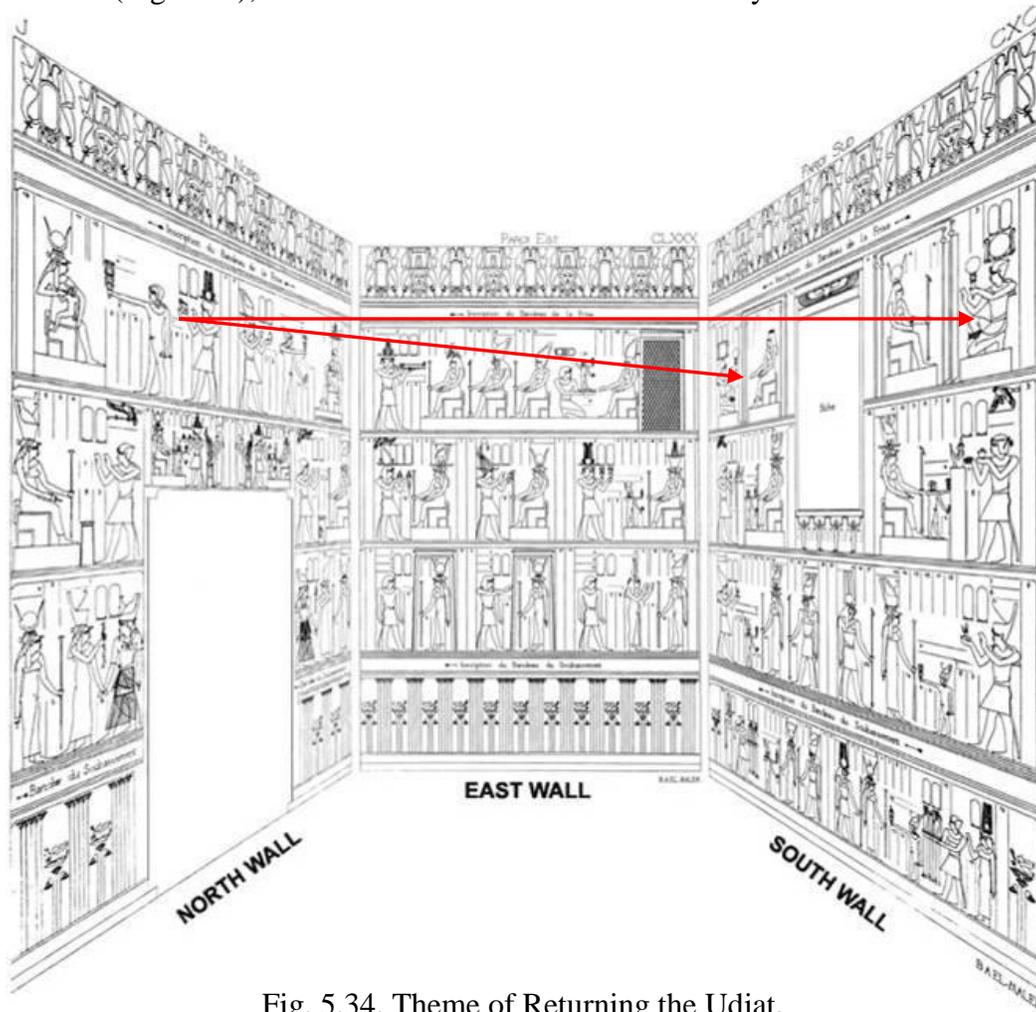


Fig. 5.34. Theme of Returning the Udjat, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

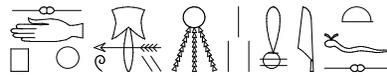
⁶⁶⁴ Assmann, *Ewigkeit*, 50, describing the role of Amun.

⁶⁶⁵ At Edfu, Horus gives the king a similar offering: *ptr nḥḥ m hrw dg3 n d.t m grḥ*, "seeing *nḥḥ* 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 *nḥḥ* as , 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



sšp(.t) stw.t mi it=s

"Luminous One (f.) of Rays⁶⁶⁷ like her father" (D III, 74,2).

The streaming rays  (N8A) in the ideogram for *stw(.t)*, "rays," combined with the sign of the hand,  (D46D) in *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 *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 *hnmw-*

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).

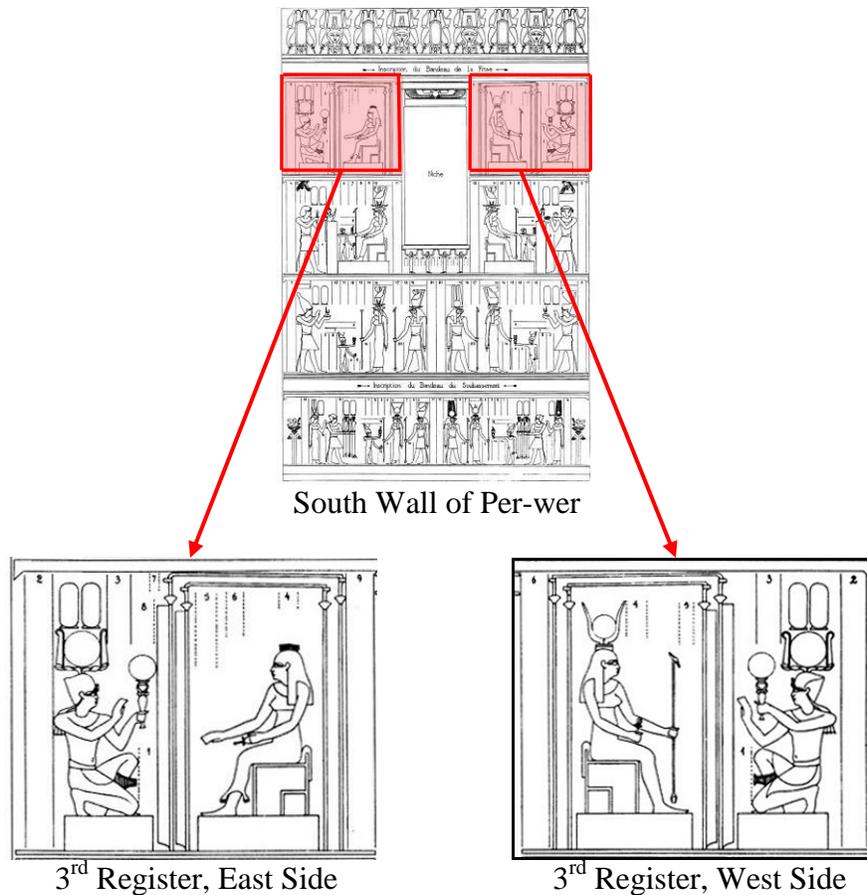


Fig. 5.35. Symmetrical Mirror Offering Scenes on South Wall; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

In the east scene, words referring to "throne" also employ the hand-sign: in the east scene,

Hathor is seated on a gold   *bḥdw*,⁶⁷⁰ "throne" (D III, 74,6); in the west scene, the king

is the "good ruler upon the   *tnt3.t*,⁶⁷¹ "throne dais" (D III, 74,6). Furthermore, at the final moment when the goddess accepts the king's offering of the mirror, she states,

*šsp.n=i ḥnh wn tp ʿ=k hnm stw.t=f ḥʿw=[i]**
"I have received⁶⁷² the mirror that was on your hand,
 its light united with (i.e. reflects) my⁶⁷³ body" (D III, 74,6-7),

⁶⁷⁰ Wb I, 470,3-5; PL 325-326.

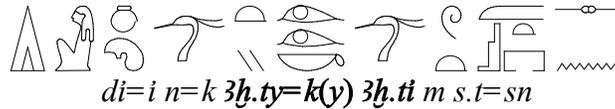
⁶⁷¹ Wb V, 384,14 – 385,9. Kuhlmann, Thron, 76 n. 4, suggests that it is a loan word, with the original word perhaps meaning "mound," or something similar. Wilson, PL 1168, notes that its form as a throne dais with a single staircase may represent the primeval mound.

⁶⁷² The sign  (W13) is a scribal error (noted by Chassinat, D III, 74,6) and should be replaced with  (W24).

with the verb *šsp*, "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, *ḥnh*, "mirror," is "life"; it has direct bearing on the expression, *hnm stw.t=f ḥw=[i]*. In the context of the mirror offering, *hnm* 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:



I give you your **two Effective Eyes**, **effective** in their place" (D III, 74,7),

The polyptoton on the root *3h*, "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:



"I give you **the two (Healthy) Eyes** fast in their place" (D III, 86,4).

There is even a little sign-play in the text, with the writing of the *wd3.ty* with the two symmetrical eyes—quite appropriate, since the scene deals with eyes and sight!

⁶⁷³ The 2nd f. s. suffix pronoun = *t*, seems to be an error, which should be replaced by =*i*, "my," as suggested by Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 144-145.

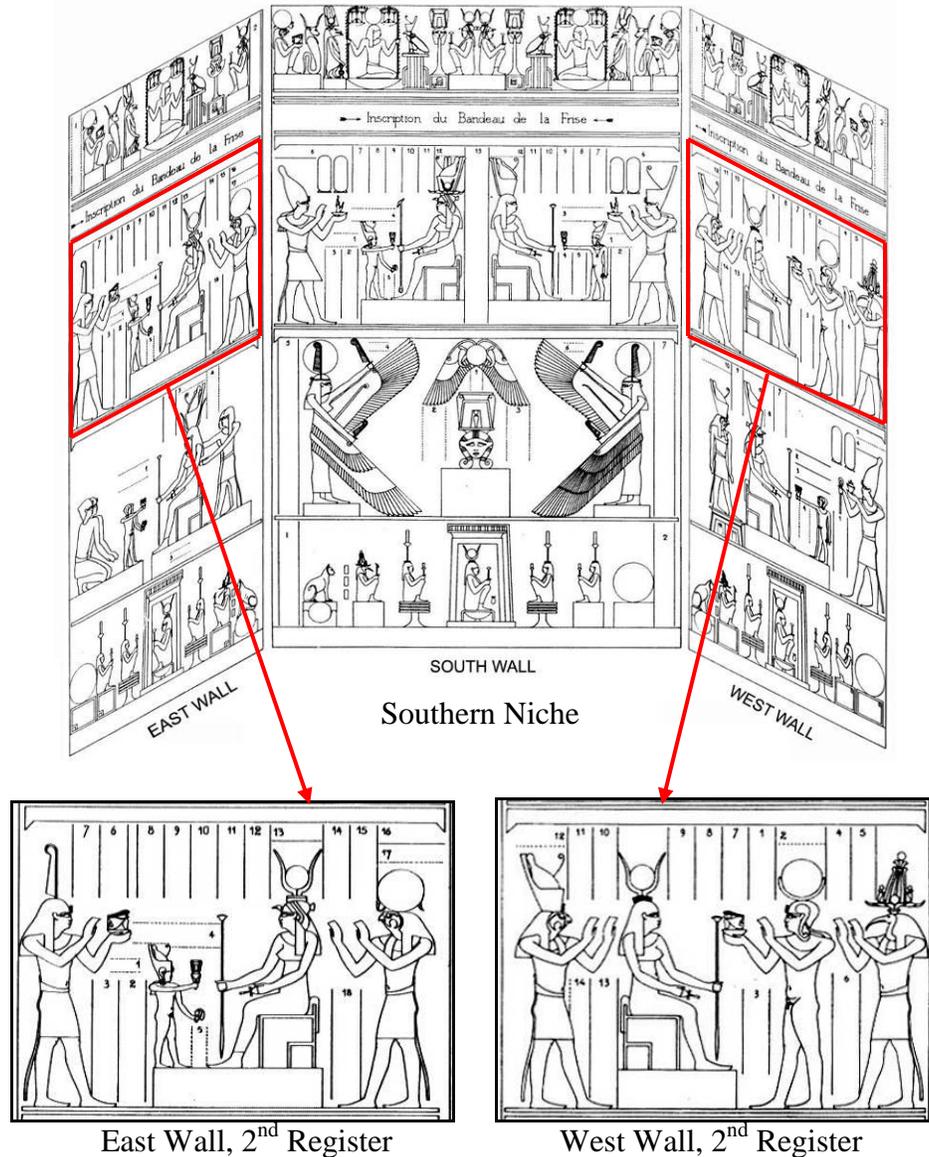


Fig. 5.36. Symmetrical Udjat Offering Scenes on East and West Walls of Southern Niche, after D III, pls. 201; 202, © IFAO

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, *Tr.t R^c...nḥ.t n.t Itm psd hr wp.t n.t it=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, *dwn.n=i^c.wy=i ḥ3 hr.t-tp m ḥd=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, *R^c ds=f hnt pr-R^c di=i^c.wy=i ḥ3 R^cy.t hnw.t t3.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 *wḏ3.t* (healthy Eye); the *3ḥ.t* (shining/effective Eye); the *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.

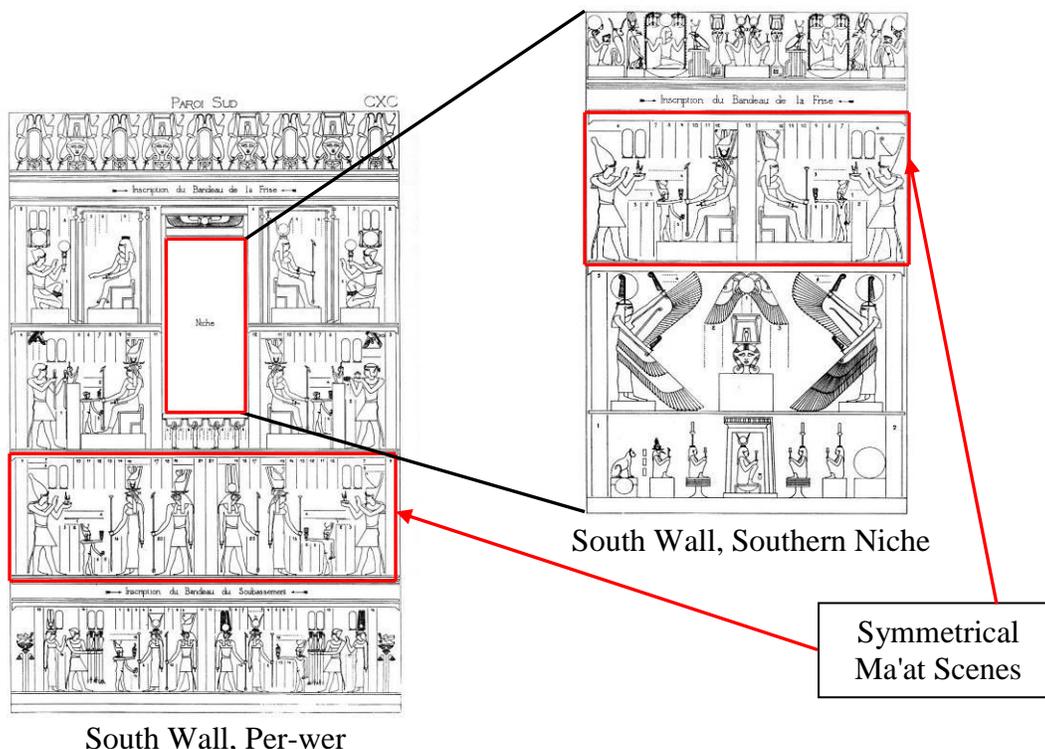
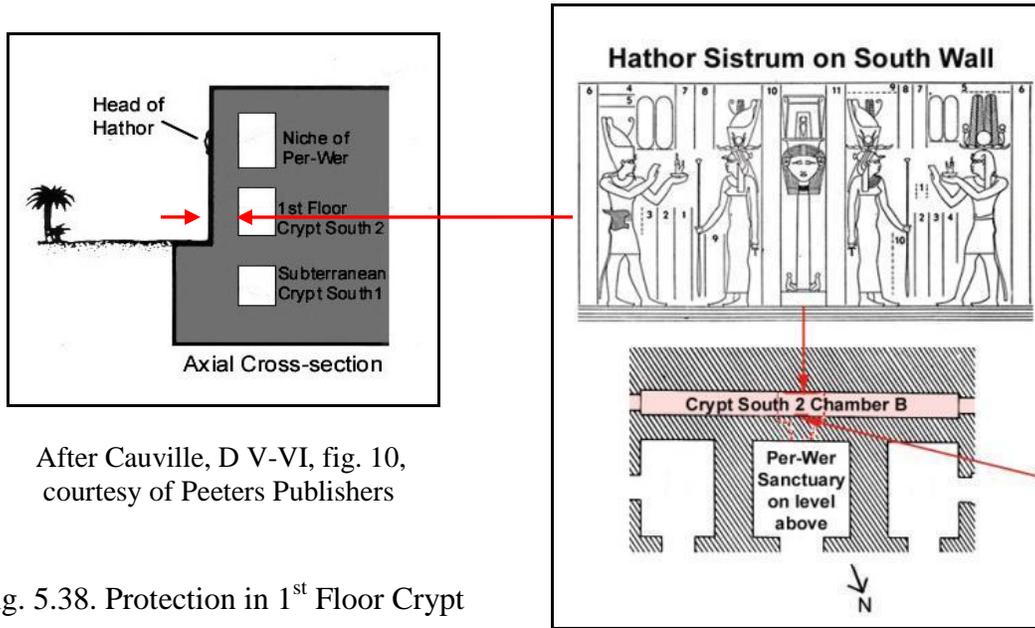


Fig. 5.37. Ma'at Surrounds Hathor's Central Image on Four Sides; D III, pls. 190; 202, © IFAO

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=i wsh m3̣.t m t3 m rk=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.



After Cauville, D V-VI, fig. 10,
courtesy of Peeters Publishers

Fig. 5.38. Protection in 1st Floor Crypt

After D V, pl. 317; VI, pl. 461, © IFAO

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* nw 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

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 *šhm*-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.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.

⁶⁷⁵ Further discussion of the King's role appears in the third part of this chapter, in Section 5.3.

Scenes Relating to Myth

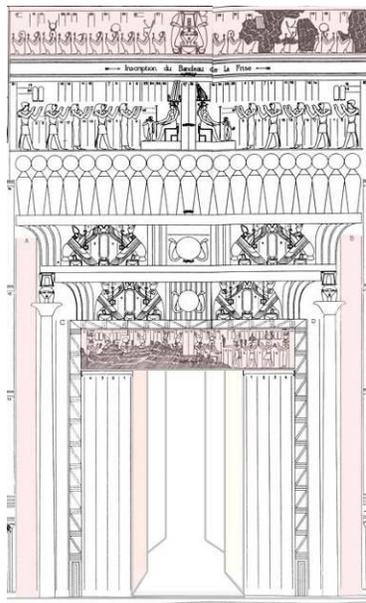


Fig. 5.39. Outer Entrance, after D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

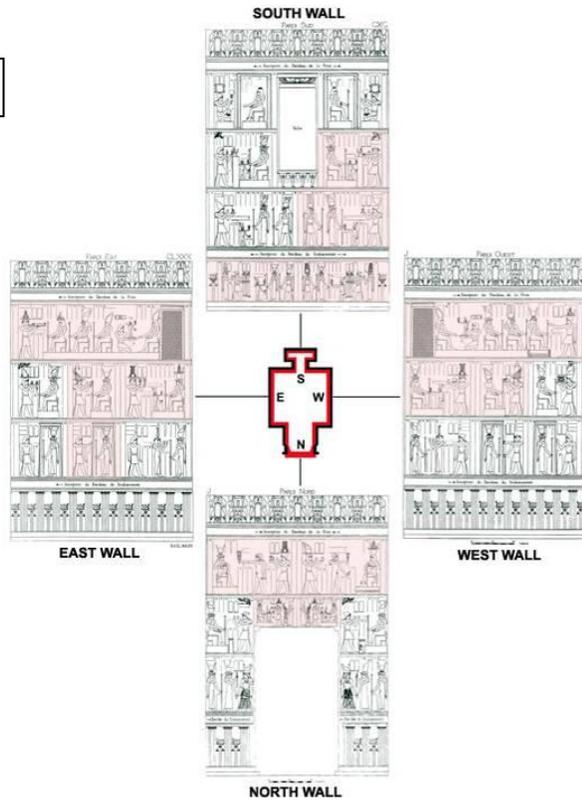


Fig. 5.40. Scenes in Per-wer, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

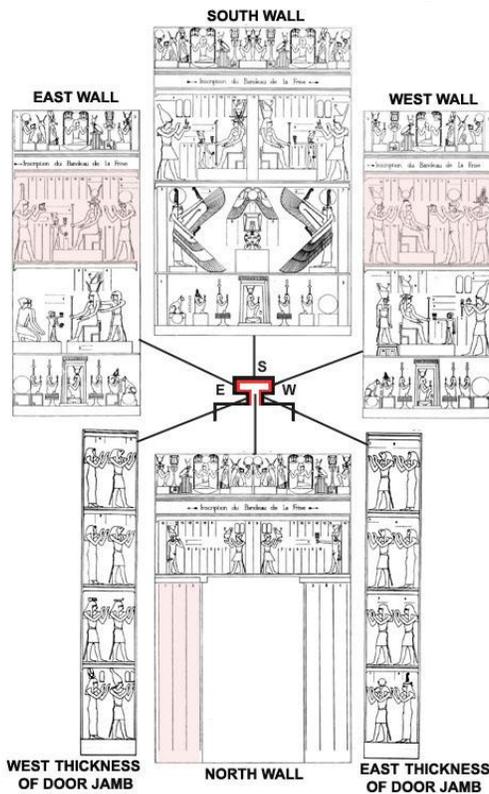


Fig. 4.41. Scenes in Southern Niche, after D III, pls. 201; 202, © IFAO

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 emphasize 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 scenes⁶⁷⁶ containing the four pairs of elemental deities of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad,⁶⁷⁷ followed by the king (Fig. 5.42). Hands raised in adoration, they face the enthroned goddess, her son Ihy standing before her.⁶⁷⁸ 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).⁶⁷⁹ 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."⁶⁸⁰

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 *Hmnw*, "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.

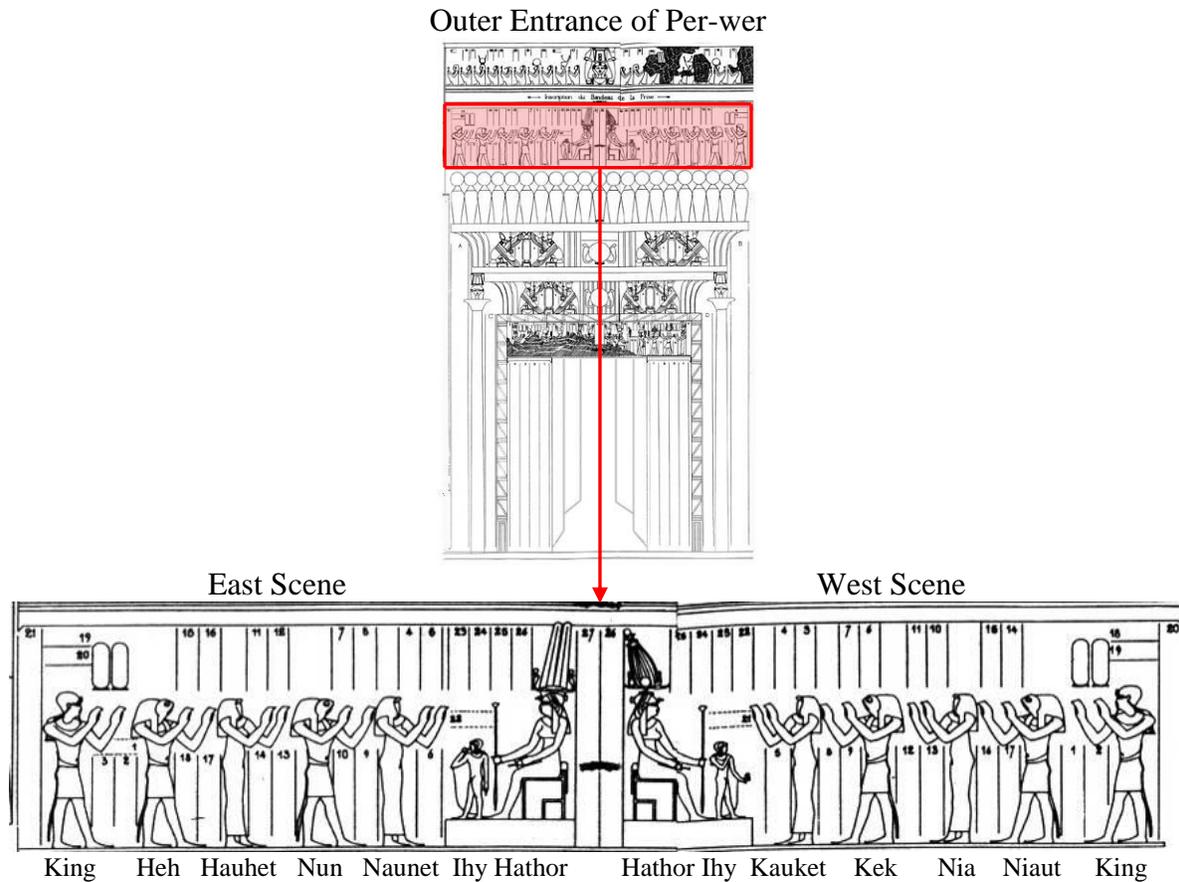


Fig. 5.42. Adoration by King and Ogdoad on Outer Entrance of Per-wer; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

In this lofty space on the wall,⁶⁸¹ 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),⁶⁸² 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.⁶⁸³

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.

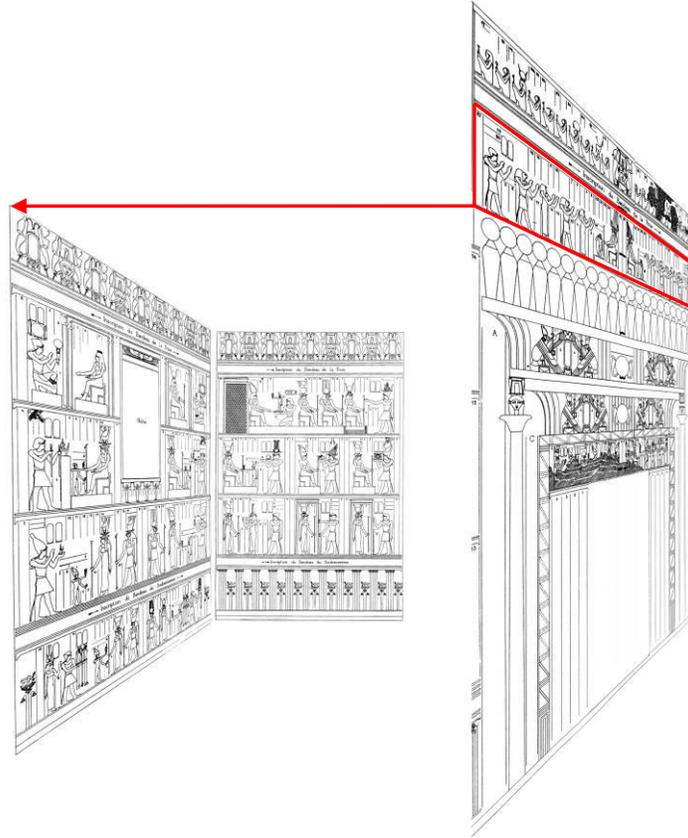


Fig. 5.43. Adoration of Ogdoad on Outer Façade, Located Higher than Ceiling of Per-wer, after D II, pl. 94; D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

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 uraei 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.⁶⁸⁴ 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,



sw3š.n=i k3=t r k3 n p.t

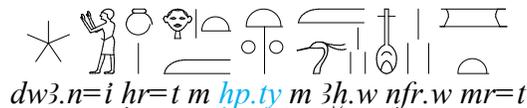
"I have praised your **Ka** to the **height** of heaven" (D III, 48,15-16),

thus linking to the image of Hathor's tall crown (and her associated exalted status), rising into the

⁶⁸⁴ Budde, Doppelfederkrone, 63-64.

Hathor's tall crown also carries solar connotations. It appears in only two places in Dendera's main temple,⁶⁹¹ the second being an udjat offering scene on the south wall of the Throne of Ra.⁶⁹² The accompanying text in that scene specifies Hathor's roles, describing her as *wnmy.t n.t R^c psd m dw3 h3y hr-nb m hddw.t=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 hnm i3b.t hr shd 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 chamber⁶⁹³ 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.⁶⁹⁴

A subtle allusion to these two Divine Eyes also occurs in our Ogdoad scene in the speech of Naunet, in which she addresses Hathor:



"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  *hp.ty*, written with the sunshade and two disks,⁶⁹⁵ 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 *w3.ty*, the two Udjat Eyes, can see as far as the *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 *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

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, *hnmw.t sw.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 Harsomtut in the chamber called, *W^cr.t-hpr-h3.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-wer. 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 ; Cauville (Dend Trad III, p. 108) is uncertain in her transliteration as *hp.ty*. Wb III, 69,11-15, shows that *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 *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 *ʿ3.t m p.t ḥk3.t m ʿ3*, "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.⁶⁹⁶ Assmann clearly explains this relationship between the creator and the world:

"Die Beziehung von Gott und Welt wird als eine Beziehung der Herrschaft gedacht. Die anderen Götter gehören zur Welt hinzu. Sie empfangen wie alle anderen Lebewesen ihr Leben und ihren Lebensunterhalt von Gott, ihrem Schöpfer, von dem alles Geschaffene abhängig ist. In dieser totalen Abhängigkeit manifestiert sich die Herrschaft des Schöpfers über sein Geschöpf sowie der Zusammenhang alles Seienden. Dieser Zusammenhang ist vertikal gedacht: als hierarchische Abhängigkeit von der Spitze, die Gott bildet als die eine Quelle allen Lebens."⁶⁹⁷

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 créé."

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.

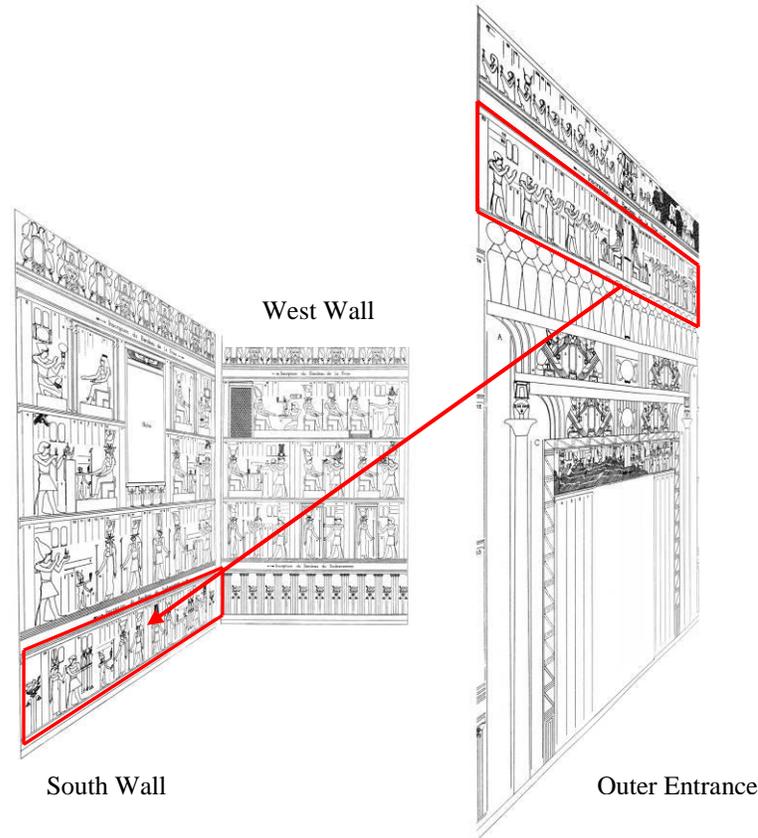
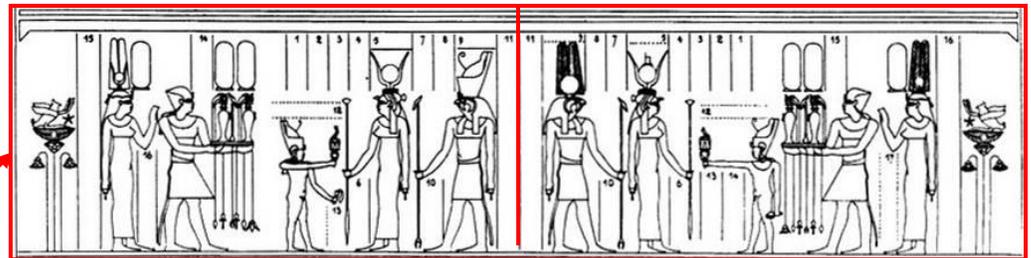
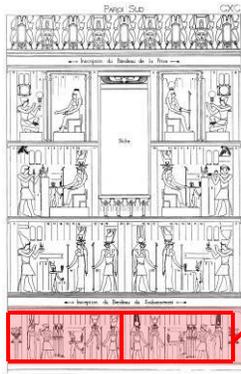


Fig. 5.44. Theme of Primordial Creator of Land and Water, after D II, pl. 94; D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO



South Wall; D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

East Side of Base

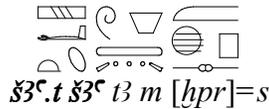
West Side of Base

In these two symmetrical scenes, the King, followed by the Queen,⁶⁹⁸ offers jars filled with primordial water: *nms.t*-jars to Hathor on the east side,⁶⁹⁹ and *hs*-jars to Isis on the west.

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.

⁶⁹⁹ Although the text accompanying the scene on the east side of the south wall specifies that the king is offering *nms.t*-jars, *in=f n=t nms.ty hn^c.ti m nwn*, "He brings you two *nms.t*-jars filled with primordial water" (D III, 63,7),

temples.⁷⁰⁶ 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.⁷⁰⁷ As the daughter (or "Eye")⁷⁰⁸ of a chthonic god, Hathor thus possesses creative power related to the earth and its products.⁷⁰⁹ A text in the 2nd register of the east wall of the Southern Niche confirms this ability, describing her as



"The Female Creator who created the earth (or "land") when she came into being⁷¹⁰
(D III, 95,3).

The epithet, *š3ꜥ.t*, which can be translated as "She who begins," "Female Creator," or "Primordial Goddess," derives from the third-weak verb, *š3ꜥ*, meaning "begin, initiate, create (in the beginning)."⁷¹¹ The polyptoton on the root, *š3ꜥ*, first as a feminine active participle used as the substantive, *š3ꜥ.t* ("Female Creator"), followed by the feminine active participle used in a participial phrase, *š3ꜥ t3* ("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.⁷¹² In the form of a primeval snake, Mut carries epithets similar to those of Hathor: *hpr(.t) m h3.t*, "who came into being at the beginning,"⁷¹³ *bs(.t) m Nwn hnꜥ Ir-t3*, "who burst forth from Nun together with Irta,"⁷¹⁴ and *š3ꜥ(.t) hpr m 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 3.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 *iri*, "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 *s3.t tpy.t n.t it=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 Opet 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.

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:



"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  *Hꜥpy* (Hapy), both depicting liquid spewing forth, emphasizes the coming forth of the flood water from its mythical source in the two caverns at Elephantine;⁷²³ the phallus sign in particular alludes to fertility, an important result of Egypt's annual inundation. Secondly, the writing of *tꜣh.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, *tꜣh.t* is usually written with the tusk of an elephant,  (F18), which carries the phonetic value of *h*.⁷²⁴ 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 *tꜣh.t*, Hapy's cavern.⁷²⁵ 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).

3ty.t n t3-ḥr-ndb=f, "Father and mother of the gods and humans, wet-nurse of the whole land" (E IV, 268,17). He thus shares the epithet, "Father of the Gods," with the god Nun, as noted in Bonnet, RÄRG, 525-526. See also de Buck, Hapj, 1-22.

⁷²² In the speech of Hathor, east side of the base of the South Wall of the Per-wer.

⁷²³ In the *pr-nsr*, "Sanctuary of the Flame," the cult chamber west of the Per-wer (Chassinat's Chamber M), Hathor's epithet, *nb.t ḳr.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, *ibḥ*, "tooth," can serve as the phonogram for *bḥ* or *h*, via the consonantal principle (Fairman, Alphabetic Signs, p. 235, no. 236). The thorn sign may be mimicking the shape of  (N21\3), the tongue of land, which itself can substitute for  (F18), the tusk of an elephant, in the writing of the word *tꜣh.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.

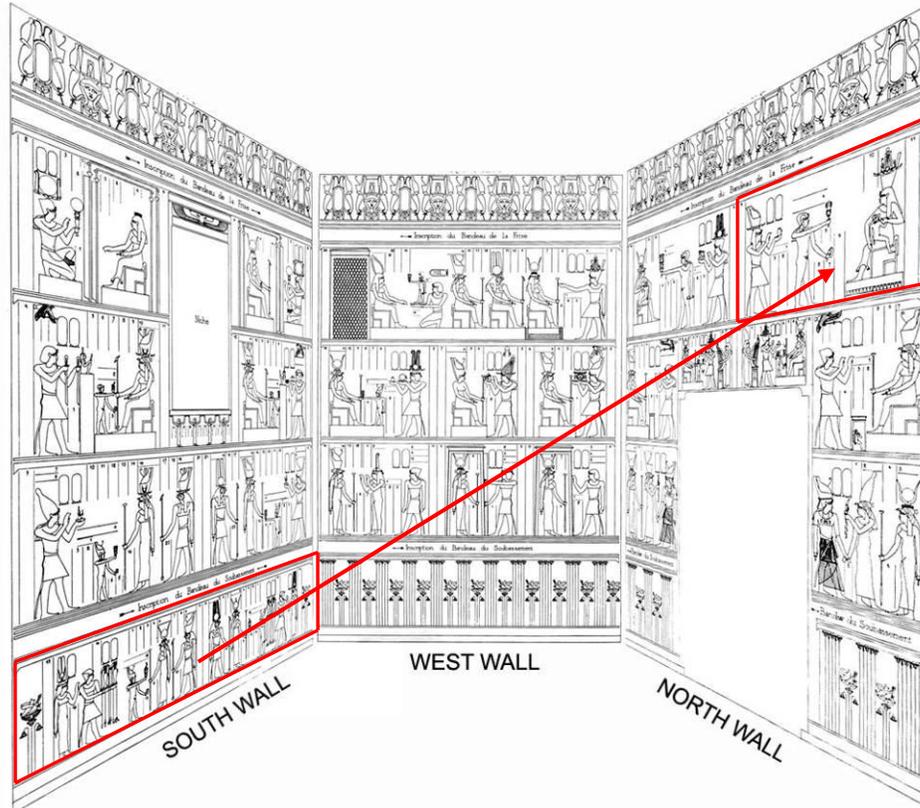


Fig. 5.45. Theme of the Inundation, after D III, pls. 180 and 190, © IFAO

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.⁷²⁶

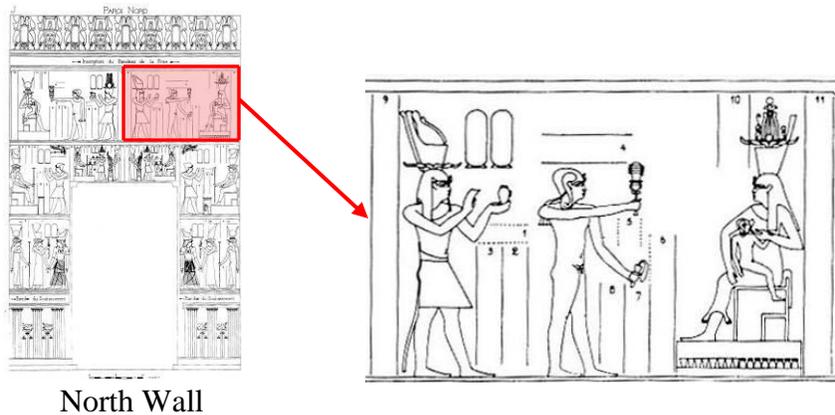
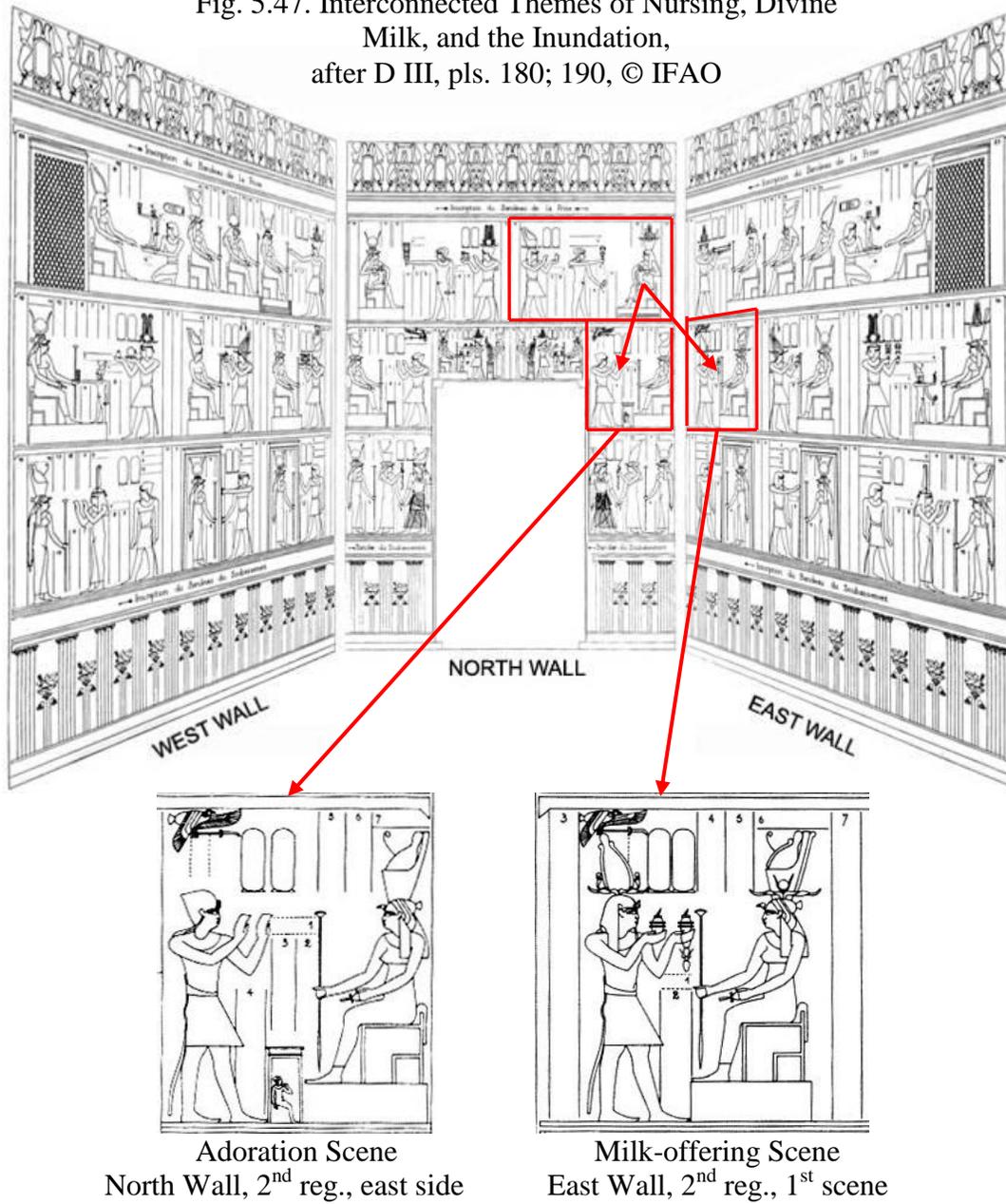


Fig. 5.46. North Wall, 3rd Register, East Scene; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

⁷²⁶ 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 1 (D V, pl. 438); on the south wall of the Per Nu (D II, pl. 142).

Fig. 5.47. Interconnected Themes of Nursing, Divine Milk, and the Inundation, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

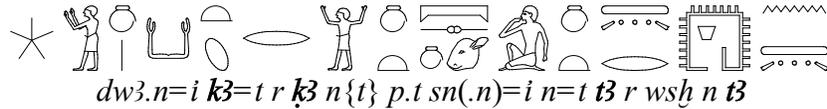


More importantly, because the divine milk can also be equated with the inundation,⁷⁵⁵ which Hathor also causes to flow forth, her image as a nursing mother shows she not only rejuvenates and sustains her son (i.e. the King), but also, by extension, provides nourishment for both the human and divine worlds.

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

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:



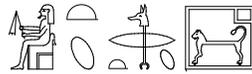
"I have praised your **Ka** to the **height** of heaven, I have kissed **the earth** for you to (the extent of) the breadth of **the earth**." (D III, 68,11-12)

The antanaclasis on the close homophones of *k3* (the "embodiment" of Hathor) and *k3* ("height"), together with the repetition of the substantive, *t3* ("earth") in the verbal expression *sn-t3* ("kiss the earth," i.e. "ground"), as well as in *wsh n t3* ("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: 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

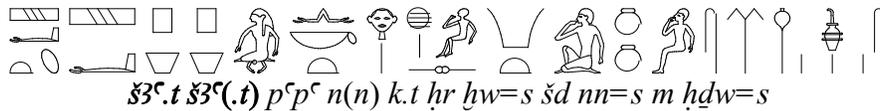


šps.t wsr.t hnt h.t-nmi.t

"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:



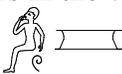
⁷⁵⁶ Wb. II, 266,2-5; LP; GR; the verb (*nm*, "sleep") and later noun (*nmi.t*, "bed, bier") may originate from an earlier term, *mnm.t* (Wb II, 80,13-14). Compare with  *pr-msy.t*, "Sanctuary of the Bier," another name of "mammisi," which appears in a merit offering in the 4th register of the south wall 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).

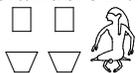
The antanaclasis on the root *š3ʿ*, "initiate; create," which we saw earlier in the offering of primordial water, again emphasizes Hathor's primacy as creator goddess. In that scene, the statement emphasized Hathor's creation of the land. Here, the imagery of nursing her child with her milk can also be understood as emphasizing her creation of the inundation. In fact, a subtle

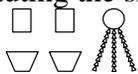
allusion to the inundation appears in the writing of *nn*, "child": , recalling the writing of

the primeval waters of the Nun, , which we encountered earlier,⁷⁵⁸ 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 *ʿnh-w3s*, "life and power"⁷⁵⁹ to sustain and rejuvenate the living King, while *hr šd ntr.w*, "nourishing the gods,"⁷⁶⁰ and *hr sʿnh hr.w*, "making everyone live."⁷⁶¹ 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,⁷⁶² but also to her sustenance of the divine and the human worlds.⁷⁶³

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,  *pʿpʿ*, means "be born," by substituting the sign of the birthing mother with the

sign of sun rays as the determinative, it becomes  *pʿpʿ*, "shine." Aurally, the phrase, *š3ʿ.t š3ʿ(.t) pʿpʿ*, could thus also be understood as "Female Creator, who was the first to shine." The verb *pʿpʿ* ("shine") frequently refers to the shine of gold,⁷⁶⁴ recalling Hathor's well-known epithet as *nbw.t*, "The Golden One (f)." Wilson⁷⁶⁵ observes that *pʿpʿ* ("bear; be born") and *pʿpʿ* ("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."⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁵⁸ D III, 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.

⁷⁶¹ D III, 69,12-13.

⁷⁶² As we saw in the Ogdoad scene on the outer entrance.

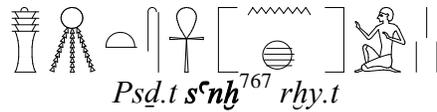
⁷⁶³ As we saw in the milk-offering scene.

⁷⁶⁴ For example, in the statement in the bandeau of the frieze on the Per-wer's outer entrance: *pr-wr n Ipy.t pʿpʿ m s3.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: *pʿpʿ m nbw, whʿ.ti m drwy*, "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. *pʿpʿ(.t) šww m-hnw pr Ip.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:



"The Shining One (f.) makes people live" (D III, 46,6).

The sun-rays sign, now appearing as the determinative in *Psd.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).

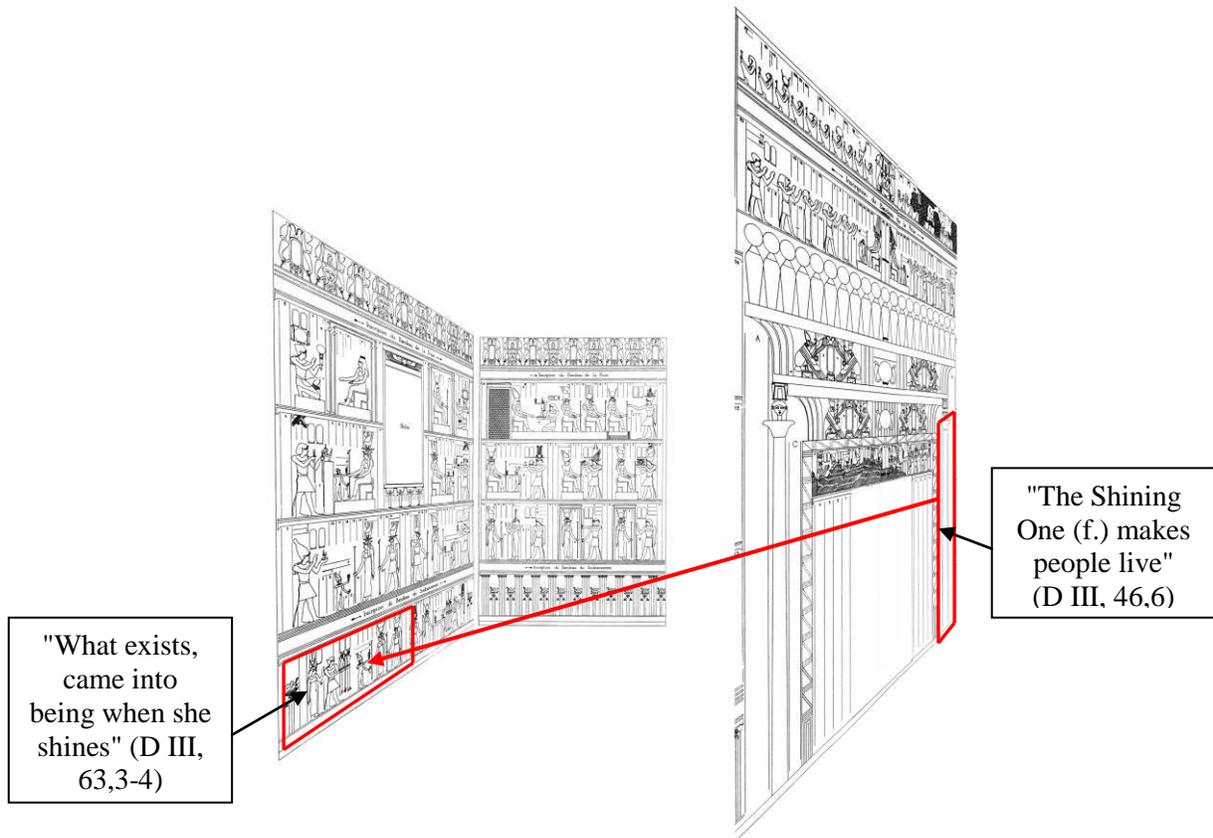
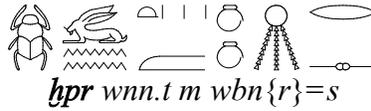


Fig. 5.48. Theme of Primordial Creator of Light, after D II, pl. 94; D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

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^c*, *nb.t p.t*, *ḥnw.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 i'r.wt*, "Lady of Uraeii" (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,



"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).

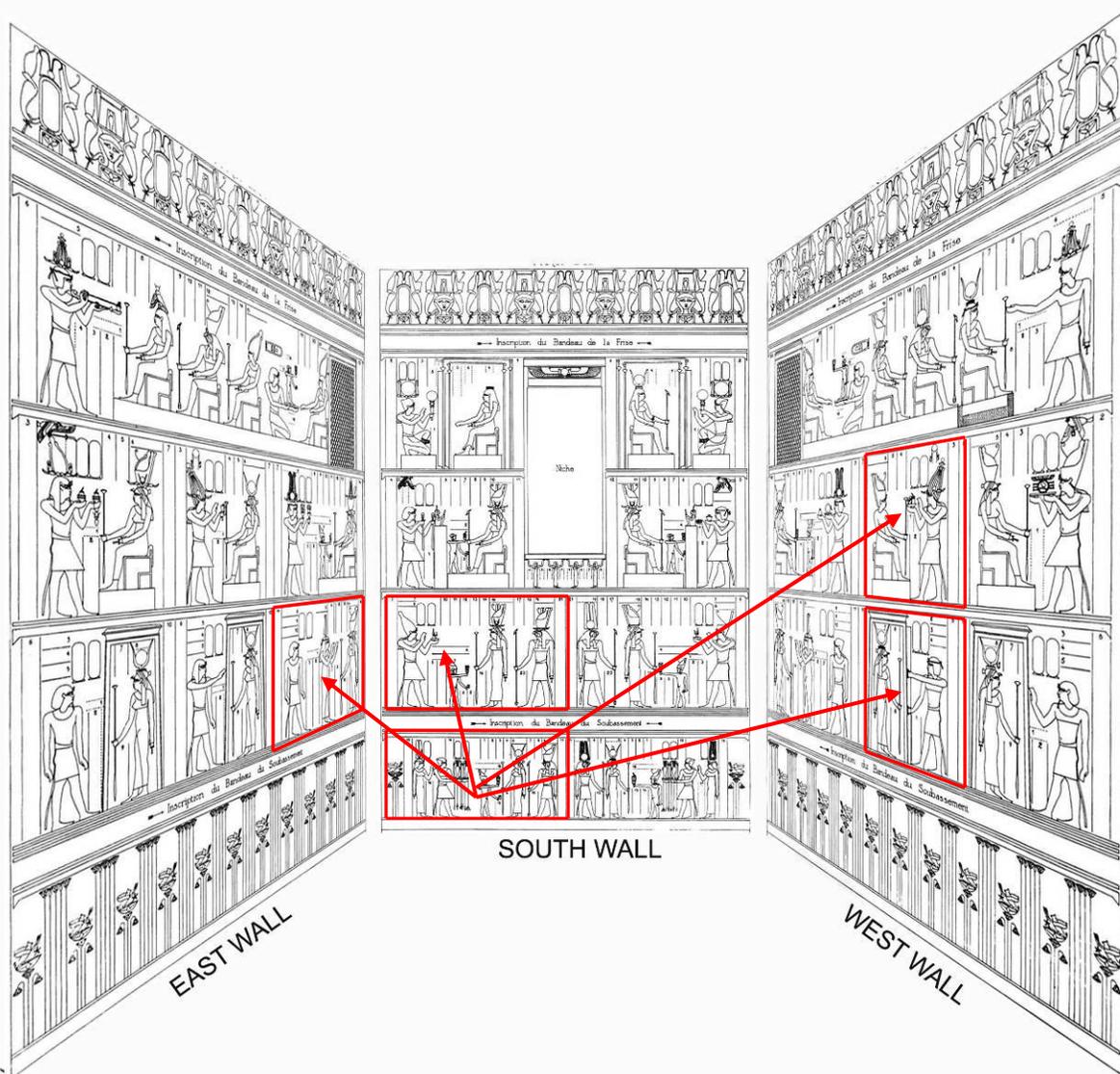


Fig. 5.49. Theme of Primordial Creator of Light and Life, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

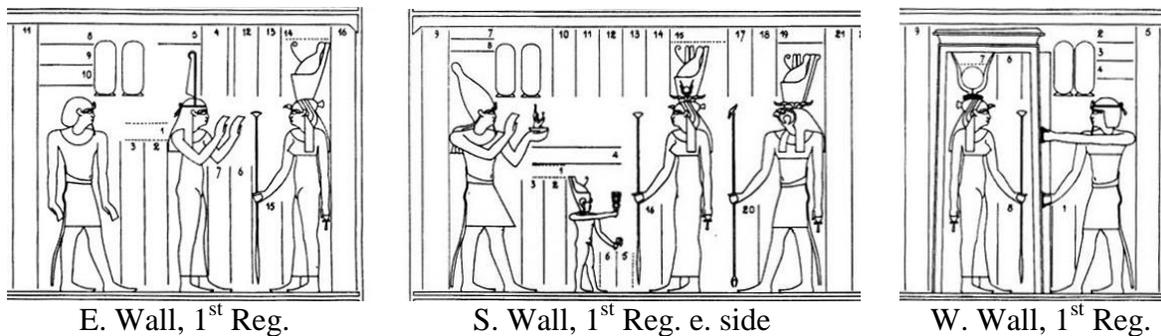


Fig. 5.50. Scenes from Daily Temple Rite Emphasizing Life from Hathor's Light, D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

On the east wall (Fig. 5.50), the adoration scene explicitly states the result of Hathor's life-giving rays:

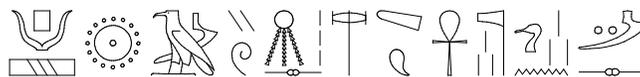


R^cy.t s3.t R^cItn.t m šn n Itn ... nḥ hr-nb n m33=s

"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^cy.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:



wpš m3w.t=s ndb nḥ ntr.w rmt n m33=s

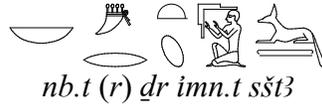
"her rays illuminate the (whole) earth, gods and people live in seeing her." (D III, 77,9)

The first instance of visual imagery in this statement exists in the verb,   *wpš*, 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

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

her epithet *ḥn.t*, "bright one," also alludes to the shining green powder, also called *ḥn.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



"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.

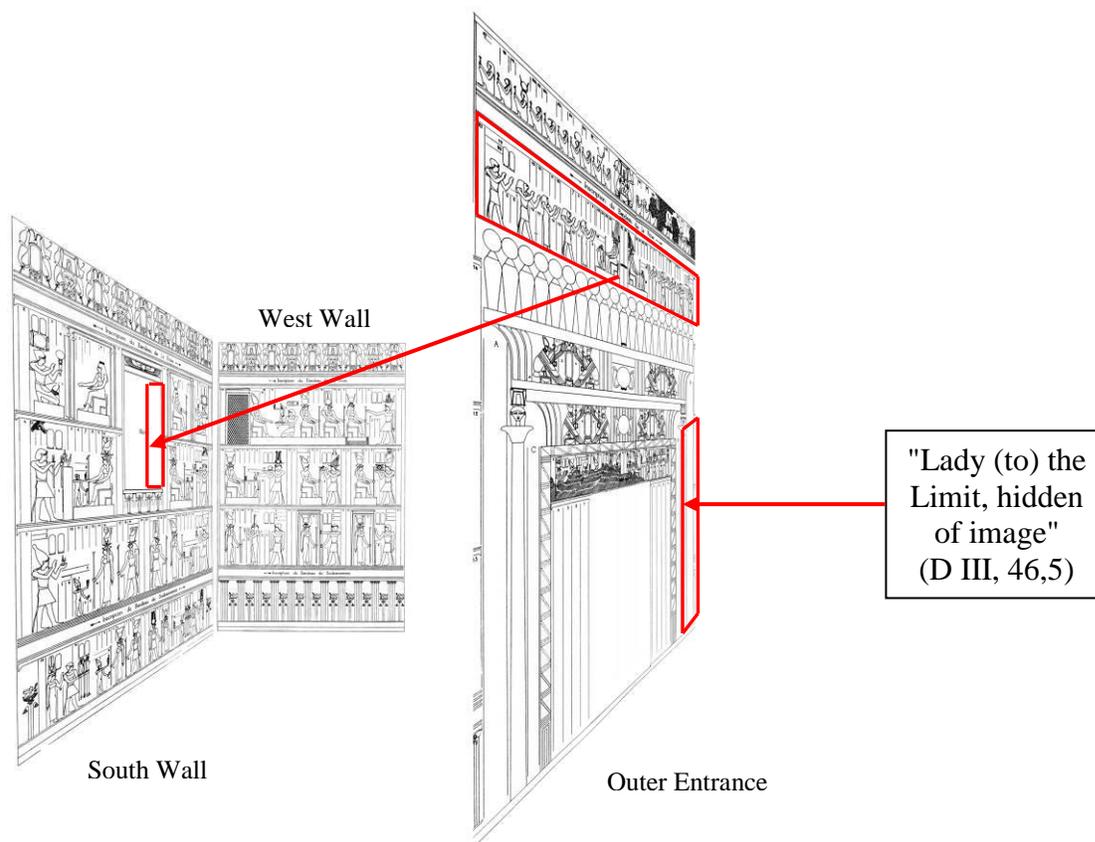


Fig. 5.51. Connection between Ogdoad Scenes on Outer Entrance and Southern Niche, after D II, pl. 94; D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

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/Hauhet⁷⁷⁹ (infinite space) and Amun/Amaunet (hiddenness) on the east jamb; Nia/Niaut⁷⁸⁰ (emptiness) and Kek/Kauket (darkness) on the west jamb. We recall that the gods included on the outer entrance were Naunet/Nun (primeval waters) and Hauhet/Heh (infinite space) 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.

and as the noun, "bright one," personifying one of the characteristics of the sun god.⁷⁹¹ Since Dynasty 21, *ṯhny* also refers to the Eye of Ra. Appropriately, *ṯhn.t*, "She who is bright," or "Bright One (f.)," is also an epithet of Hathor.⁷⁹²

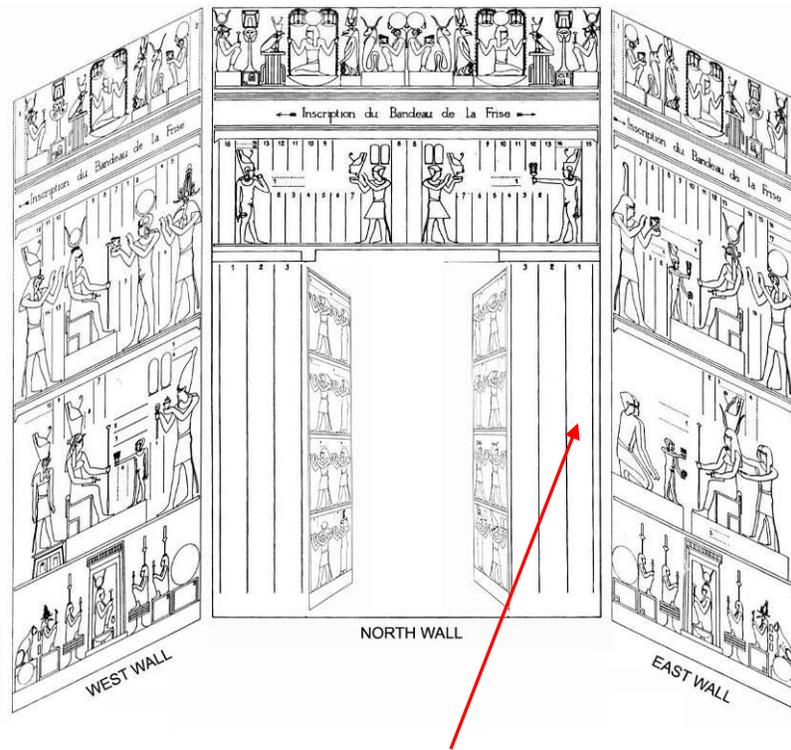


Fig. 5.52. Location of text on east montant of Southern Niche (D III, 90,10 – 91,1), after D III, pls. 200-202, © IFAO

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 *ṯhn* can also mean "be joyful"⁷⁹³—a perfect description of Hathor, as the pacified, returning goddess, *nb.t ṯhn*, "Lady of Joy."

Hathor, as well as the associate gods of the temple,⁷⁹⁴ possessed multiple statues. When the statues were participating in ritual appearances, the bas of the gods did not inhabit their

⁷⁹⁰ Wb V, 393,12; GR.

⁷⁹¹ Wb V, 393,24. Attested since PT; frequently used in GR as a transitive verb meaning, "illuminate."

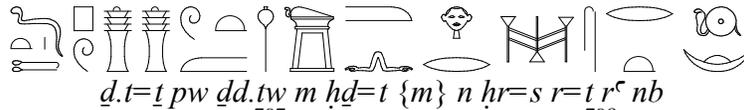
⁷⁹² Wb V, 394,1-2; GR. In the Per-wer, *ṯhn.t hr*, "Bright One (f.) of Face," meaning "happy," mostly applies to

Hathor (D III, 63,13; 68,2; 70,18;81,11), but also to Isis (D III, 79,14): The Bright One (f.):

⁷⁹³ Wb V, 392,12-16; GR.

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,⁷⁹⁵ equated with the Duat, or Netherworld.⁷⁹⁶ 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:



"It is your body (that is) installed⁷⁹⁷ in your shrine. It is not⁷⁹⁸ 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.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 creation⁸⁰⁰ 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.⁸⁰¹

resides at Dendera); Osiris (Osiris Wennefer, the Great God, who resides at Iunet). Cf. "Ennead of Dendera," listed by Preys, n. 1441.

⁷⁹⁵ The ka-statues of the deities seem to have been stored in East Crypt 1 at Dendera. See Cauville, *Dend Trad V-VI*, pp. 21-28; Waitkus, *Krypten*, 254-255.

⁷⁹⁶ Statues of deities would be awakened and reborn by means of a procession to the roof, where the *hnm itn* ("Union with the Sun Disk") ritual would take place. See Waitkus, *Krypten*, 268-269. Assmann, *Theologie und Frömmigkeit*, 55-56, sees the forerunner of this ritual in the Opening of the Mouth ceremonies carried out for the mummy in the forecourt of the tomb complex, where it was "united with the sun" before being interred.

⁷⁹⁷ Kurth, *EP II*, §198 notes that a nominal sentence with *pw* is more explicit than a nominal sentence without *pw*. The present expression is an A *pw* nominal sentence followed by a verbal clause introduced by a stative. This construction (which is uncommon in the Per-wer's texts) thus strongly emphasizes the subject. For a translation into German, Kurth recommends adding *denn, ja nämlich, wahrlich*, or translating, "*Es ist so, daß...*"

⁷⁹⁸  (Aa13) is a scribal error and should be omitted.

⁷⁹⁹ We will examine wall reliefs depicting this statue in the next section.

⁸⁰⁰ This imagery forms part of the idea that the temple as a microcosm of the universe, with the island of creation at its heart. This place of residence for the principal deity is called the *s.t wr.t*, "Great Seat"; at Dendera, Hathor is thus *hry.t s.t wr.t*, "Female Chief of the Great Seat" (D III, 80,9). See Shafer, *Rituals*, 7-8. See also Section 1.4 on Ptolemaic temples.

⁸⁰¹ This situation can be compared with the importance of hiding and protecting the *d.t* of Osiris, so that Ra can join with it during the fifth hour of the Amduat in the dark, hidden cave of Sokar. The pre-creation energy preserved in the cave acts as the catalyst that unites Ra and Osiris; the resulting renewal of the sun allows Ra to rise again at dawn. See Richter, *Amduat*, 86-87.

Southern Niche

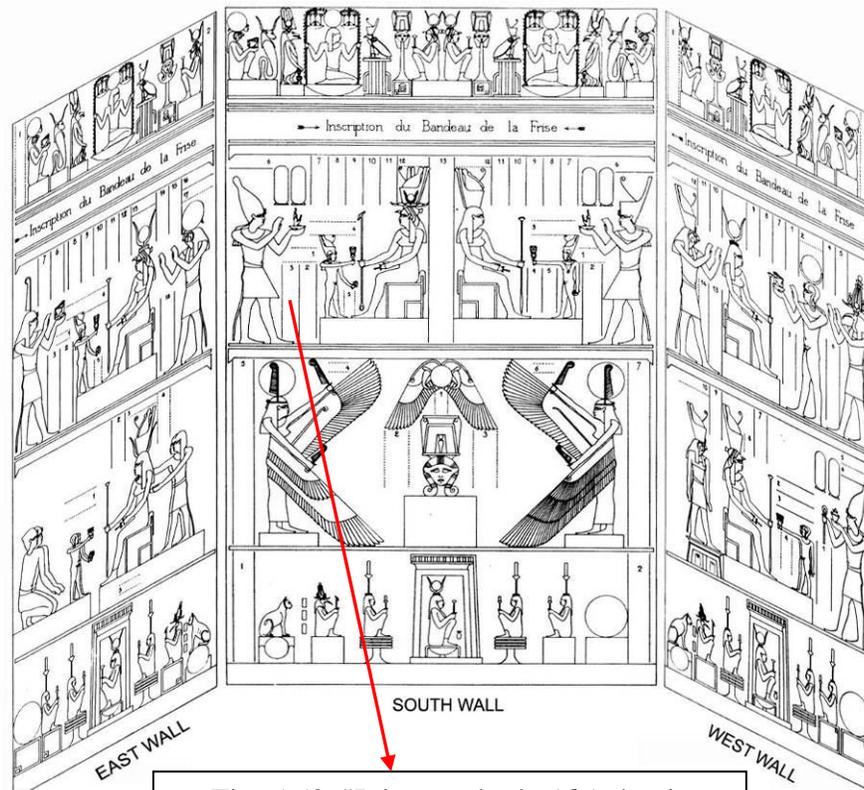


Fig. 5.53. "It is your body (*d.t*) that is installed in your shrine. It is not far from you every day." (D III, 95,11); after D III, pls. 201; 202, © IFAO

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 chiasmic 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).

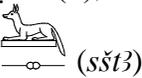
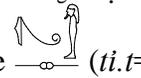
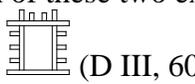
Bandeau of the Frieze - east side	Bandeau of the Frieze - west side
<i>hn=s hr bs=s hnt hm=s</i> , "She alights on her image  (<i>bs=s</i>) in her sanctuary." (D III, 61,6-7) [i.e. her statue]	<i>sndm=s hr sšm=s hr s3.t</i> , "She alights upon her image  (<i>sšm</i>) on the wall." (D III, 62,5-6) [image on wall]
Bandeau of the Base - east side	Bandeau of the Base - west side
<i>hn=s hr sš3=s ht hr s3(.t)</i> , "She alights on her (secret) image  (<i>sš3</i>) engraved on the wall" (D III, 60,2) [image on wall]	<i>hnm=s ti.t=s hnt h.t=sš3.t</i> , "She unites with her image  (<i>ti.t=s</i>) in the Temple of the Sistrum (=Dendera)." (D III, 60,8) [i.e. her statue]

Fig. 5.54. Chiastic Relationship between Bandeaux of the Frieze and Base

	<i>bs=s</i>	(D III, 61,6-7)
	<i>sšm=s</i>	(D III, 62,6)
	<i>sš3=s</i>	(D III, 60,2)
	<i>ti.t=s</i>	(D III, 60,8)

Fig. 5.55. Words Meaning "Image" in the Bandeaux

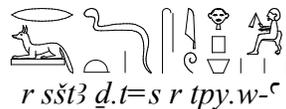
Whereas the expressions designating her image as *bs* or *ti.t* specify that it is "in her sanctuary," those designating it as *sšm* or *sš3* indicate that it is "on the wall" or "engraved on the wall." More importantly, although there are many images of Hathor engraved on the walls of the Per-wer and in the niche, the statement, "on the wall," in each of these two expressions render it in the singular, as *s3.t*,⁸⁰² "wall":  (D III, 62,6);  (D III, 60,2); Although

⁸⁰² The writing of *s3.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 *s3.t* as plural,⁸⁰³ 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.⁸⁰⁴ 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, *sšḫ*, is the causative of *šḫ*, "to be secret, hidden, mysterious; it thus means, "make secret," "hide," or "conceal."⁸⁰⁵ A secret image, such as the cult statue of a deity, is also called a *sšḫ*,⁸⁰⁶ 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).⁸⁰⁷

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.⁸⁰⁸ 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

⁸⁰³ Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 128-129 (D III, 62,56), using *s3wt* ("walls"): "elle s'installe sur son image (placée) sur les parois"; idem, Dend Trad III, pp. 126-127 (D III, 60,2), again using *s3wt*: "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 *šḫ*: Wb IV, 551,3 – 553,5; PL 1034. *sšḫ*: 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 *šḫ.t/šḫ(.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.⁸⁰⁹ 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.

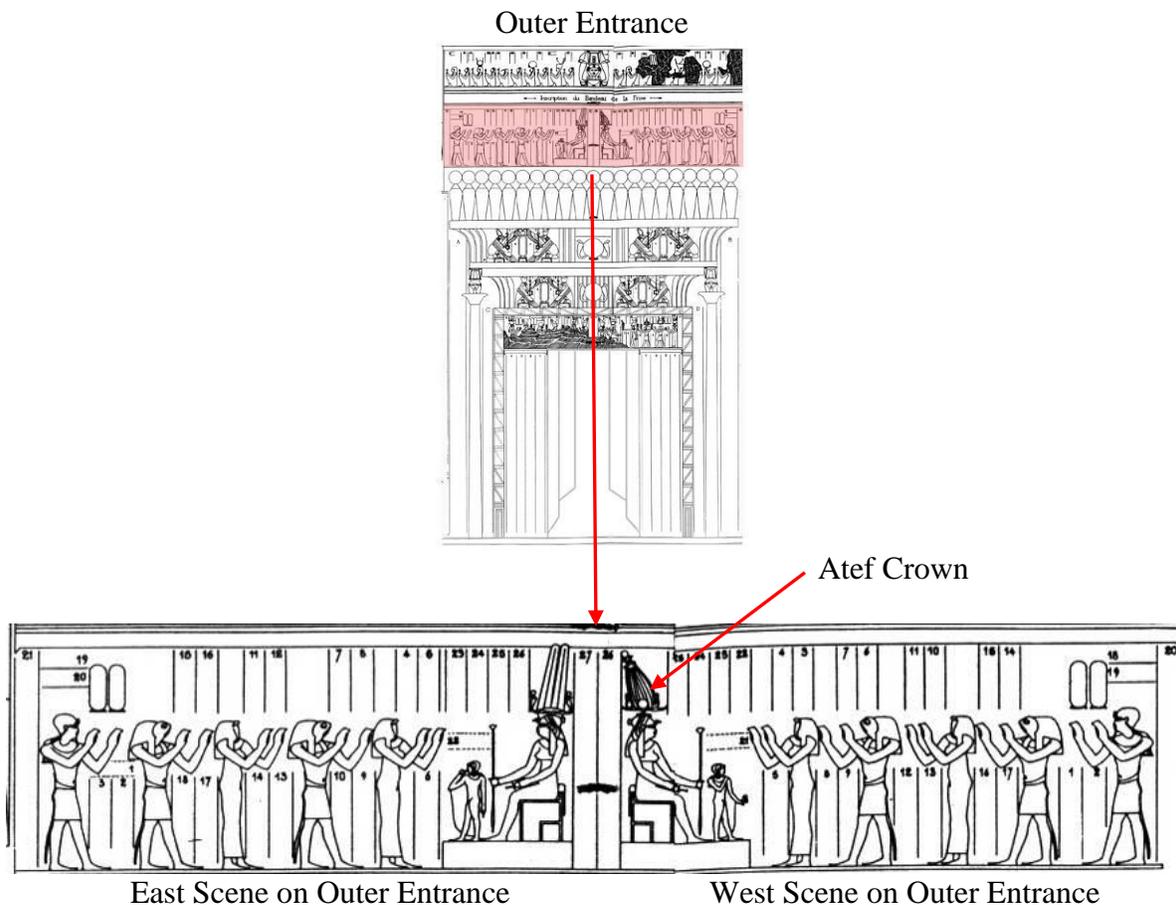


Fig. 5.56. Adoration Scene of King and Ogdoad on Outer Entrance of Per-wer; D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

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

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.⁸¹⁰ 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).

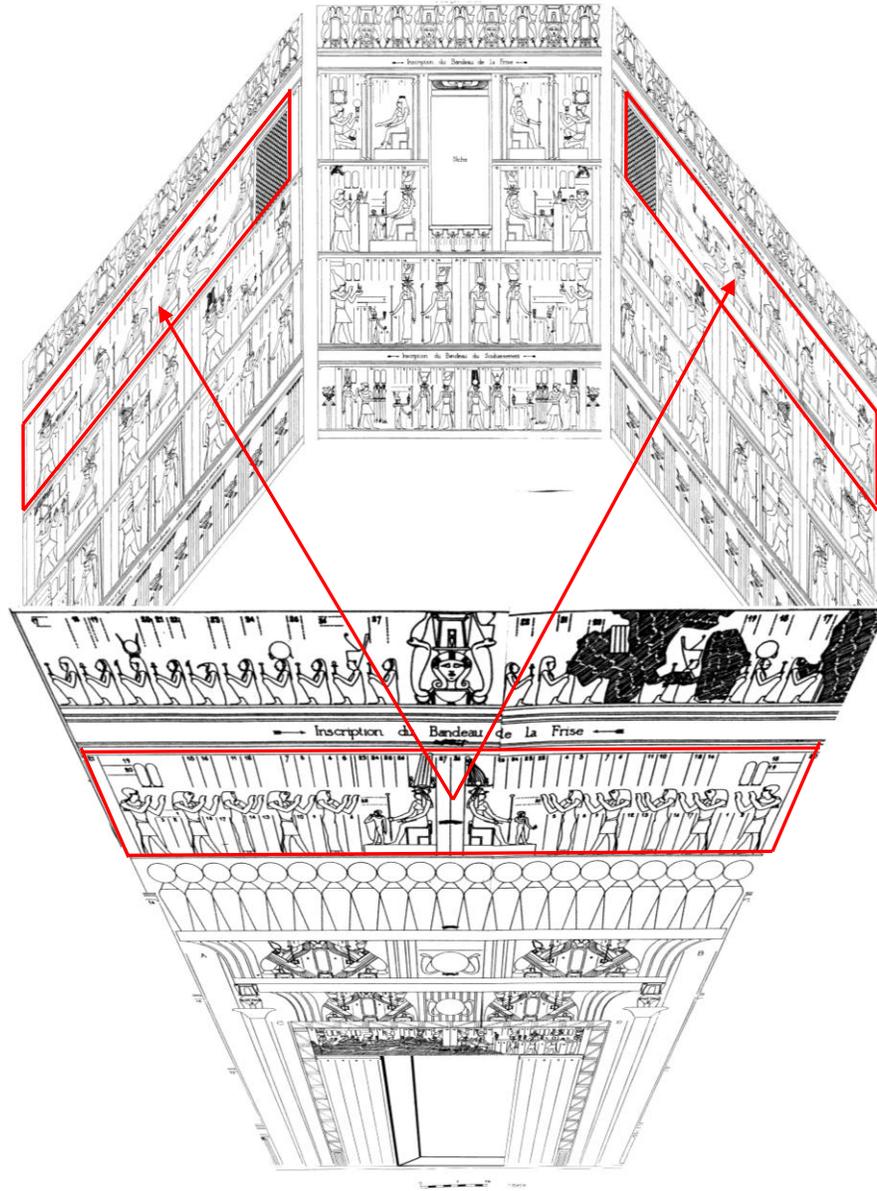
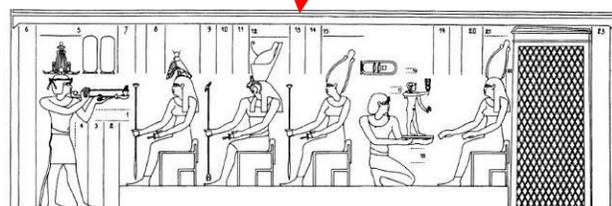
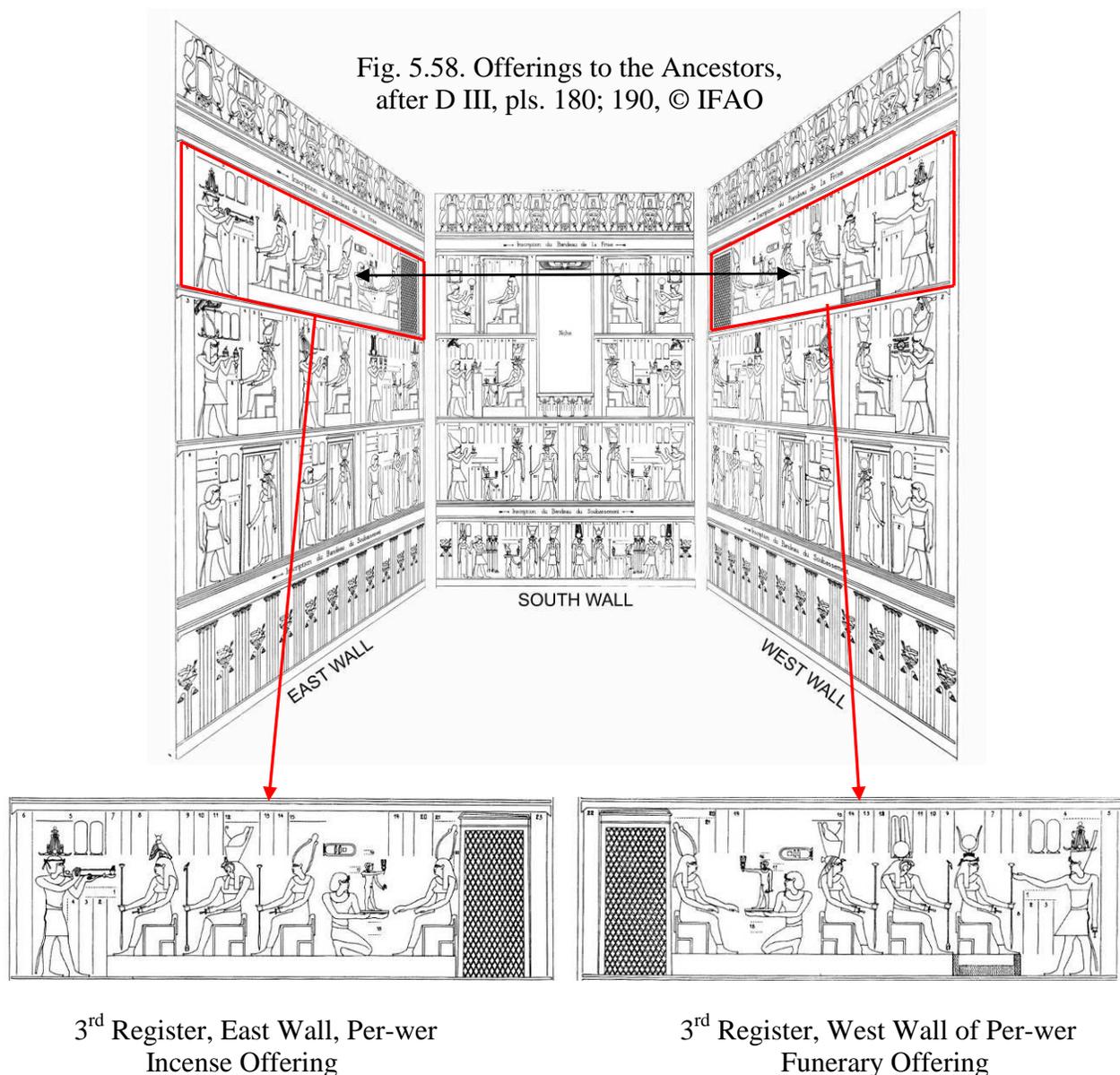


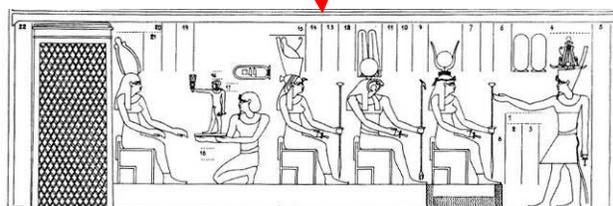
Fig. 5.57. Theme of Ancestor Gods, after D II, pl. 94; D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

⁸¹⁰ Preys, Catalogue d'Hathor, 129.

Fig. 5.58. Offerings to the Ancestors,
after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO



3rd Register, East Wall, Per-wer
Incense Offering



3rd Register, West Wall of Per-wer
Funerary Offering

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-ḥr nb.t pr-wr*, "Hathor, Lady of the Per-wer," its height, 4 cubits (2.10 m) and its material, *nbw*, "gold" (D III,

73,9-10; D III, 85,7).⁸¹¹ In both texts, the ideogram,⁸¹² , 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.⁸¹³ 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,⁸¹⁴ and is depicted wearing the same crown in the scene on the east wall.

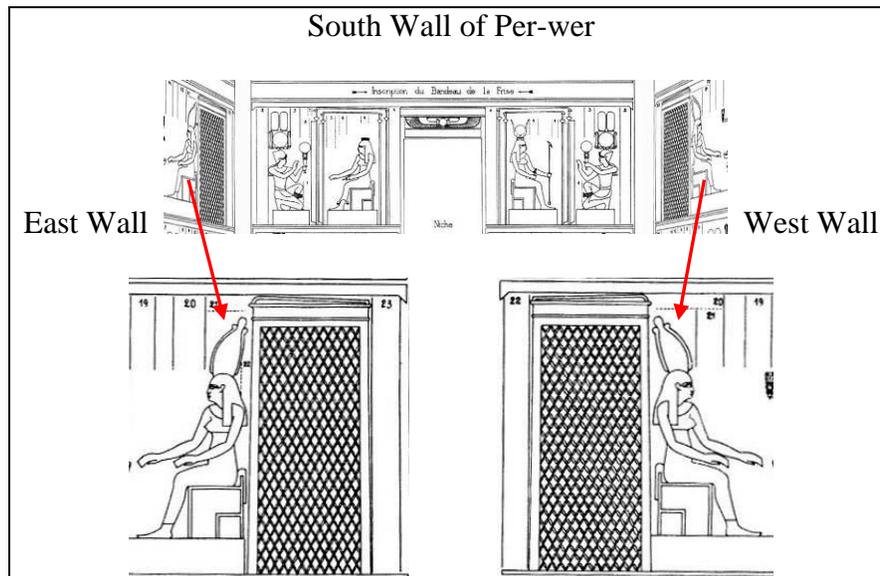


Fig. 5.59. Hathor's 4-cubit-high statue, represented as if she were facing outwards from the Southern Niche; after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

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, *itn m nbw, ht mrh k3 mh 1 šsp 3 db° 1*, "sun disk in gold, plated wood, 1 cubit, 3 palms, 1 finger" (76.9 cm) (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 m), so it could not have accommodated the 4-cubit-high (= 2.10 m) statue of Hathor. Dumas, *Mammisi de Nectanébo*, 171, suggests that the measurements for the Hathor statue are incorrect, and that *k3 mh 4*, "height: 4 cubits," should be corrected to read *k3 mh 1 šsp 3*, "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 *ḥtp-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 I⁸¹⁵ 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).

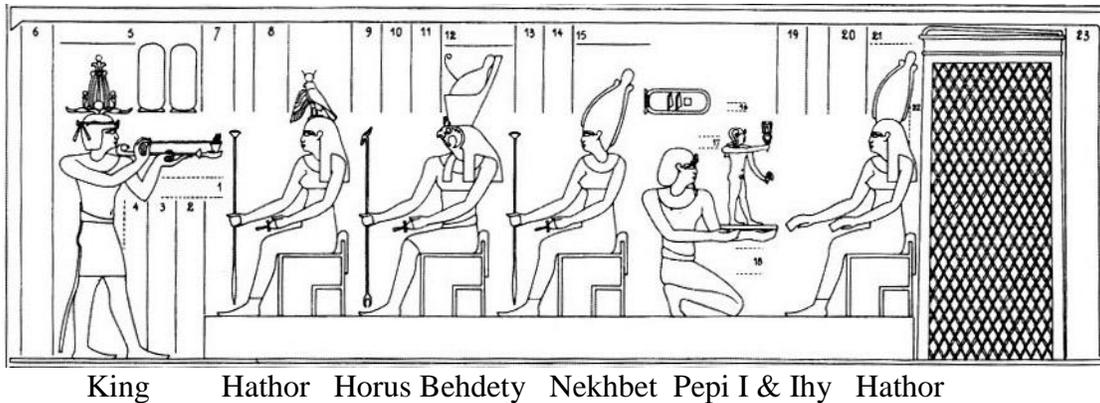


Fig. 5.60. Incense Offering, 3rd Register, East Wall, Per-wer; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

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,⁸¹⁶ offering their fragrance to the gods seated before him. He says,



ii sntr sntr=f ḥ^cw=t pd pd.n=f tpy.w-^c=t

"The incense comes, it censens your (f.s.) body.

The incense, it has censed your (f.s.) ancestors." (D III, 72,11-12)

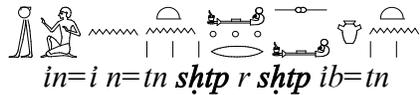
The alliteration on the roots, *sntr* and *pd*, both meaning "to cense," arrests the listener's attention, calling attention to the King's action. The words stand out, first as substantives (incense) and then as verbs (censes; has censed).⁸¹⁷ The variation on the root created by each repetition makes 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

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, *3ḥ ikr* Stelae, pl. XII, A49.

⁸¹⁷ *sntr=f* as a perfective *sdm=f*, "it censens," 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:



"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 *sh̄tp*: "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.

⁸¹⁸ PT 200 (§116a-d): *ind̄ hr=k sn̄tr ind̄ hr=k sn-n̄tr...pd̄ tw m rn=k pd̄*, "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.



Fig. 5.61. Ba-spirit in Tomb of Irynefer TT 290, Deir el-Medina, 19th Dynasty⁸²²

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  *tpy.w-^c*, whose literal

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 *s3.t Ir-t3*, "Daughter of Irta" (D III, 63,3).

⁸²⁶ *s3.t Nwn*, "Daughter of Nun" (D III, 63,3).

⁸²⁷ *Im.t s3.t Im*, "Temet, Daughter of Atum" (D III, 100,15); *s3.t=f Ir.t-R^c*, "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 *Iwnw* (Heliopolis) was sometimes replaced with *Iwn.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 *t3 n Im*, "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,"⁸²⁸ or  *dr.ty.w*, "those at the limit,"⁸²⁹ referring to the "limit," or "end," of time. Other terms emphasize their powers, like  *shm.w*, "(divine) powers"⁸³⁰ and  *k3.w*, "(divine) kas,"⁸³¹ or  *b3.w ʿnh.w* ("living bas").⁸³² 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.⁸³³ Finally, they can be characterized as the emanations of either Ra or Atum as their creator, being called  *ms.w Rʿ*, "children of Ra,"⁸³⁴ or *ms.w ʿtm*, "children of Atum."⁸³⁵ Texts at Dendera list the names of the "dead gods" of both Dendera and Edfu.⁸³⁶ 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 ʿnh.w m ʿtm-n-ʿtm dr.ty.w ntry.w m ʿtm-rr hpr ds=sn m ʿhʿ.w (i)pn nfrw wʿ nb m dsr s.t
 "The living bas in the Land of Atum (=Dendera), the divine forefathers in Tarer (=Dendera), who created themselves as these⁸³⁷ good ʿhʿ-snakes, each one in the sacred place" (D V, 33,7-8).

⁸²⁸ Wb V, 283,12; PL 1139-1140: *tpy.w-ʿ* 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-ʿ*, 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, *šps* ("noble"), as in *shm.w šps.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 ʿnh.w*, "living kas" (D III, 60,2), esp. in the epithet of the King: *hnt k3.w ʿnh.w d.t*, 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 ʿnh.w m ʿtm-n-ʿtm dr.ty.w ntry.w m ʿtm-rr hpr ds=sn m ʿhʿ.w ipnw nfrw wʿ nb m dsr s.t*, "The living bas in the Land of Atum (=Dendera), the divine ancestors in Tarer, who came into being themselves 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, *Knepf*, 254-255.

⁸³⁴ D V,16,12. See also E V, 175,10-11; E VIII, 160,10.

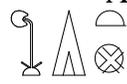
⁸³⁵ D II, 47,3.

⁸³⁶ At Dendera, there are ten dead gods, listed on the exterior lintel of Passage E'-H' (D XI, 107,20 – 108,5): *k3(?)-ʿ3-n-Bhd.t* (human-headed); *Hr.w* (falcon-headed); *Wr.w* (human-headed); *ʿ3.w* (falcon-headed); *Hnt-h3-di* (human-headed); *D.wt* (bull-headed); *Šps.w hnt* (human-headed); *Dw3.t š3* (jackal-headed); *Hh* (crocodile-headed); *Ndm-ʿnh* (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  , Waitkus, *Krypten*, 66, n. 24, omits the *p*-stool and reads *m*, translating it as the preposition, "in": *m ʿhʿ n(=m) nfrw*, "als ʿhʿ-Schlange in Vollkommenheit"; Cauville, *Dend Trad V-VI*, pp. 116-117, reads *ipnw*, translating it as a plural demonstrative pronoun, "ces": *m ʿhʿ ipnw nfrw*, "sous (la forme de) ces beaux serpents." Allen, *Middle*

Egyptian, 5.10, notes the older m. pl. demonstrative pronoun:  *jpw*, "these, those," which appears after the noun and is used mostly in religious texts. Reading  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.⁸³⁸ According to the Theban tradition, after the first emanations of the primeval serpent Kematef⁸³⁹ 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.⁸⁴⁰ 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.⁸⁴¹ Known as the Decade Festival⁸⁴² and thus carried out once every Egyptian week,⁸⁴³ 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  *H3di*, "Khadi,"⁸⁴⁴ situated at present-day Naga el-Guzariya across the Nile from

However, Junker, GdD, 44, notes the the existence at Dendera of the m. pl. demonstrative pronoun,  *ipn*, which I have chosen to employ as the reading, switching the two signs as in Cauville's interpretation.

⁸³⁸ Cauville, *Dend Trad V-VI*, p. 65, characterizes the traditions at Dendera as a vast "crucible," combining influences from Heliopolis, Memphis, and Thebes. Klotz, *Kneph*, 312, shows convincingly how the Theban priests incorporated elements of the three major cosmogonies (Heliopolis, Memphis, and Hermopolis) and reshaped them to reflect their local pantheon, centered around Amun. It would therefore seem more likely that this amalgamation of traditions, taking place at Thebes, was exported to Dendera and Edfu, where it was again adapted to fit the local gods. Examples of Theban influence at Dendera include the equating of the following gods at Dendera with their Theban counterparts: Hathor = Amaunet; Ra = Amun-Ra, king of the gods, who is in Thebes; Harsomtus = Ra or as a primeval serpent similar to Kematef; Horus of Edfu = Shu. Texts equating Hathor with Amaunet appear in the crypts: D VI, 156,3-4: *ir H.t-hr nty m s.t tn nb.t Twn.t Tfn.t s3.t R' Imn.t pw*, "As for Hathor, who is in this place: the Lady of Iunet, Tefnut, Daughter of Ra, she is Amaunet," cited in Kockelmann, *Toponymen*, 102-103. Klotz (*Kneph*, 90) notes that Amaunet was the "primeval mother par excellence," and *mw.t mw.wt iwt.t snw=s*, "mother of mothers without her peer" (text in Clère, *Porte*, pl. 48; =Urk VIII, 100b); at Dendera, Hathor carries similar epithets: *mw.t mw.wt*, "the mother of mothers" (D III, 133,13); *nbw.t m mw.t mw.wt*, "The Golden One as the mother of mothers" (D V, 155,4); *mw.t mw.wt hry.t-ib Ntry.t*, "mother of mothers who resides at Dendera" (D VI, 152,9).

⁸³⁹ The first textual evidence of Amun manifesting himself as a serpent appears in Thebes during the Ptolemaic Period, in which he appears as Kematef at Medinet Habu and is described as "the father of the fathers of the Ogdoad." See Sethe, *Amun*, §§38; 108.

⁸⁴⁰ The most thorough and insightful explanation of the various theological threads that combine to form the Theban tradition behind the celebration of the Decade Festival is in Klotz, *Kneph*, 242-259.

⁸⁴¹ Bell, *Royal Ka*, 290.

⁸⁴² See Doresse, *Décade 1*; idem, *Décade 2*; idem, *Décade 3*. Klotz, *Kneph*, 572-573, notes that the periodicity of Amenemopet's trips to Djeme with the gods' offerings appears to have astronomical implications. The time of his arrival at Djeme, at the end of the decade, was "precisely when a decan star would die and enter the Netherworld," quoting Pap. Carlsberg I, 3,26, which states, "just as one (star) dies/sets, so does another come alive/rise every ten days." See also von Lieven, *Nutbuch*, 71, 150, 402.

⁸⁴³ The ancient Egyptian week consisted of ten days, with four weeks in a month and four months in each of three seasons: Akhet (Inundation); Peret (Emergence, or Winter); Shomu (Harvest, or Summer).

⁸⁴⁴ See Chassinat, *Khoiak I*, 279; E I, 339,3; Dumas, *Temple d'Hathor*, 12-14. Alliot, *Culte I*, 254-256, discusses Khadi and the etymology of its name.

Dendera. Both Horus and Harsomtus carry the title, *nb Ḥ3di*, "Lord of Khadi,"⁸⁴⁵ suggesting their participation in its funerary cult. Harsomtus, in particular, presents offerings to the deceased ancestor gods during three annual festivals,⁸⁴⁶ 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 wr m p.t m mskt.t nb snd.t m s.t=f <m> mḥnd.t nb-(r)-ḏr m Iwnw tn ḏ.t=f m tnn it ntr.w
 "The great serpent in the sky in the day barque, the lord of fear in his place⁸⁴⁷ <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 (*tn ḏ.t=f m tnn*, "whose body **is raised up** as **He Who 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 wr*, "great serpent," alludes to his primordial status as the snake who came forth from a lotus at Creation.⁸⁴⁸ 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 mḏ w3ḥ-ḥ.t n s3=f Wsir sšm pr.t-ḥrw n b3.w ḥnh.w m ḥtp.w m k3.w ḥr ḏf3.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.

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 Ḥ3di*.

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 *wḏ3.t-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 *ḏ3ḏ3*-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 ḥnh*, " 'He who emerges from the lotus' as a living ba" (D V, 141,1-2); *b3 ḥnh 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-Rḥ*, 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.

and animals on earth, but also the *k3.w ʿnh.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:⁸⁵⁴ the Return of the Wandering Goddess, celebrated at Dendera during the month of Tybi;⁸⁵⁵ the Festival of the Beautiful Reunion in the month of Epiphi,⁸⁵⁶ when she travels to Edfu to visit her consort Horus.⁸⁵⁷ During the festival in Tybi,⁸⁵⁸ after making the ceremonial navigations in her barque on the sacred lake, Hathor proceeds with her "divine court"⁸⁵⁹ to the hypostyle hall, followed by a libation carried out by Harsomtus "for those who are in Khadi."⁸⁶⁰ 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:

sšm=s pr.t-ħrw n Wsir m s.t=f
ntr.w ʿ3.w ms.w R^c k^ch=s n k3=s(n) m k3.w ħr dβ.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)

In the text, her gesture of *k^ch-dr.t*, "extending the arm," for the food offerings indicates that Hathor is the officiant of the ritual.⁸⁶¹ 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


spr=s r Bhd.t ħr ms.w R^c nhs=sn ħr s.t=sn n ii[=s] ħy ʿ3 wr r-ħn^c=s mit.t r sfsf 3w=sn

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 *ms.w R^c* (children of Ra), the deceased primeval gods. Egberts translates "der sehr grosse Erhabene," which accompanied her, as the Horus Harpoon.

⁸⁵⁵ 19-12 Tybi and 28 Tybi – 4 Mechir (= I Peret 19-21 and I Peret 28 – II Peret 4).

⁸⁵⁶ III Shomu, New Moon.

⁸⁵⁷ Alliot, *Culte II*, 443-560; E V, 230 – 236,4; Favard-Meeks, *Behbeit*, 422-423.

⁸⁵⁸ See Richter, *Wandering Goddess*, 174-175.

⁸⁵⁹ The associate gods of Dendera. See **n. 794** above.

⁸⁶⁰ D IX, 202,4-9; Cauville, *Fêtes d'Hathor*, 9.

⁸⁶¹ PL 1049; E III, 75,13, pl. 57. It is similar to the *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 *nis dbh-ntr.w*, as "calling out the menu of the offering," a ritual in the daily service that takes place before the *ħtp-di-nsw.t* offering. See also Cauville, *Osiris*, 157 n. 1. There does not seem to be significant difference in the depiction of the *nis*- and *k^ch*-gestures. The King performs a similar gesture in his offering of the *ħtp-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-ḥr nb.t Iwn.t t3 mni.t Ir.t-R^c ḥry(.t)-ib Bḥd.t ḥnt r Msn tp tr=s n rnp.t 3bd 3 šmw <hrw>
in.tw=s Nbw, k3 mḥ 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 *t3 mni.t Ir.t-R^c m T3-rr*, "the Menit, Eye of Ra in Tarer,"⁸⁶⁸ who does not travel to Edfu, the designation, *t3 mni.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 Khoiak, 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 *ἱερός γάμος* 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, would seem to support Altenmüller's suggestion. See Alliot, *Culte I*, 246 n. 5; Cauville, *Panthéon d'Edfou*, 7.

⁸⁶³ Waitkus, *Krypten*, 186 n. 1, and Egberts, *Praxis und System*, 18-19, suggest that the *ḥy 3 wr* may designate the Horus Harpoon.

⁸⁶⁴ Wb III, 112,1-4: *r-ḥn^c=s*, "with her"; following Kurth, E VII, p. 48 (E VII, 27,4).

⁸⁶⁵ Waitkus, *Besuchsfesten*, 158-169, connects this text with another journey of Hathor to Edfu during the month of Paophi, contra Alliot, *Culte I*, 444, who sees it as part of the festival in Epiphi. See Cauville, *Fêtes d'Hathor*, 8; 104-107, and Kurth, *Treffpunkt*, 156-179. Grimm, *Festkalender*, 376-377, notes separate festivals during the month of Paophi at Dendera and Edfu, but with no indication of a voyage by Hathor to Edfu. In any event, the text in E VII, 27,3-4, describes Hathor's maintenance of the ancestor cult at Edfu.

⁸⁶⁶ 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 Ogdoad on the arrival of Amun of Luxor: "the Inert-ones comes alive from beholding their father. See Clère, *Porte*, pl. 64 (= Urk VIII, 87b).

⁸⁶⁷ "Hathor the Menit, Eye of Ra who resides in Behedet" appears as a woman wearing the horns and disk with the addition of a rearing cobra in D V, pl. 323, west wall, the fourth seated deity. However, an image of Hathor with the same epithets, appearing in the Throne of Ra (Chassinat's Chamber N), D IV, pl. 250, south wall, 3rd register, shows her with the usual horns and disk without the cobra. Cf. "Hathor the Menit, the Eye of Ra in Tarer," who wears the double crown with ostrich feathers, shown in D III, pl. 219, 3rd register, east side.

⁸⁶⁸ 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.

⁸⁶⁹ In the menit offering scene discussed in Section 5.1.2, in which Hathor the Menit protects "her brother" Osiris.

revivifying power.⁸⁷⁰ Barguet⁸⁷¹ 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.⁸⁷² 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,⁸⁷³ 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."⁸⁷⁴ 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.⁸⁷⁵ Furthermore, Horus of Edfu is equated with Kematef himself.⁸⁷⁶ 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.⁸⁷⁷

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 Cherpion 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 ntr 3 nb p.t* (59,4) *ini=f n<=k> [ih.t] <nfr(.t)> nb(.t) <k3w> špsw hr ms n k3=k r<=nb <ntk Km-3.t=f> iri nn* (59,5) *r 3w hpr pr(.t) nb(.t) im=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.⁸⁷⁸ 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.⁸⁷⁹ 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.⁸⁸⁰

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 *db3-dmd*, 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.ti hr shm.w wr.w mi 3h.t hr itn*, "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 *š3̣.t š3̣(.t) irw thn(.t) hprw r tpy.w-ᶜ*, "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 censuring 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.⁸⁸¹ 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: Temet⁸⁸² (the female Atum); the daughter of Atum;⁸⁸³ a member of the Ogdoad (as Amaunet);⁸⁸⁴ and as the Ogdoad's solar child,⁸⁸⁵ Rayt or Atenet⁸⁸⁶ (the female counterpart of Ra). Hathor, together with Harsomtus, can be also equated with the first emanations of the Kematef: Hathor as the fiery female uraeus, and Harsomtus as the earth snake, the equivalent of Irta. 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

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^c ḥnw.t t3.wy'Im.t s3.t'Im*, "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 *ḥ.t-w^cb* (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, *ḥwn.t mnḥ.t n.t'Im*, "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 Ḥ.t-ḥr nt.t m s.t tn nb.t'Iwn.t Tfn.t s3.t R^c Imn.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 iw.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.t mw.wt*, "The Golden One (f.) as the Mother of Mothers" (D V, 155,4); *mw.t mw.wt ḥry.t-ib Ntry.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 *itn.t sn.w(t) n(t) itn*, "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 representations⁸⁸⁷ 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 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

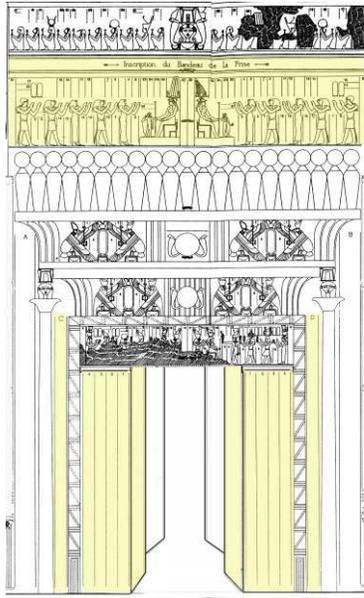


Fig. 5.63. Outer Entrance
after D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

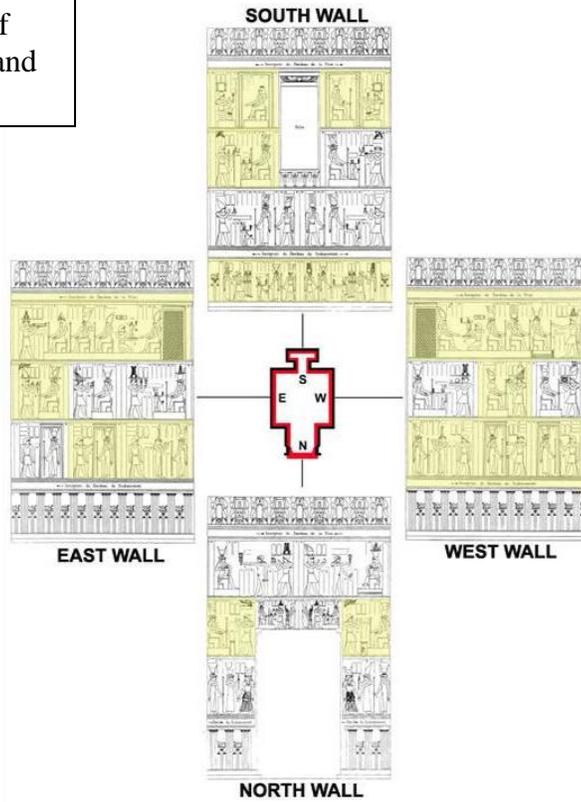


Fig. 5.64. Scenes in Per-wer,
after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

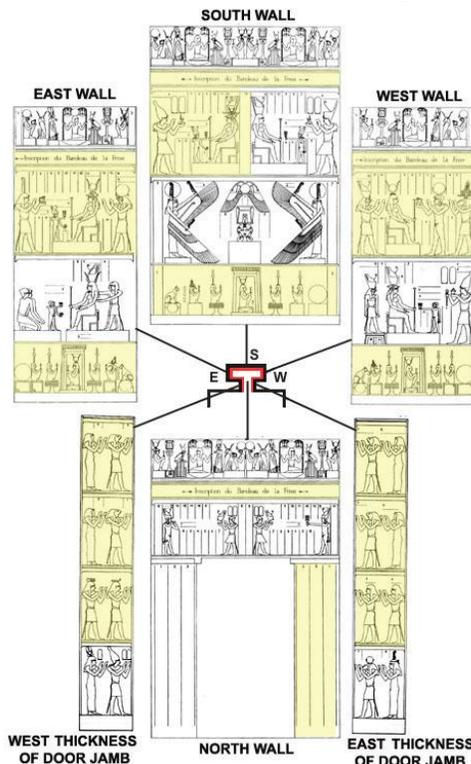


Fig. 6.65. Scenes in Southern Niche, after D III, pls. 201-202, © IFAO

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.⁸⁸⁸ 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;⁸⁸⁹ the king could also trace his genealogy back to the creator god Atum, as the earthly incarnation of the falcon god Horus⁸⁹⁰ 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.⁸⁹¹ 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,⁸⁹²
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.⁸⁹³

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

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 *ntr nfr*, "the good god," in contrast to a divinity of the divine pantheons, known as *ntr ʕ*, "the great god." Examples in the Per-wer: king as *ntr nfr* (D III, 64,7; 65,9; 66,12; 67,12; 76,8; 77,4; 78,6; 79,6); gods as *ntr ʕ* include Ihy (D III, 51,12; 89,5; 89,7), Harsomtut (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 nhḥ hnꜥ 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.⁸⁹⁴ 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-wer, 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-wer, 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-wer, 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:

hf.n=s mnw pn nfr ir n=s nsw.t-bity () | di=s n=f rnp.wt n.t'Itmw hr shm.ty
 She has seen this beautiful monument that the King of Upper and Lower Egypt () | made for her. She gives him the years of Atum, under⁸⁹⁵ 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.

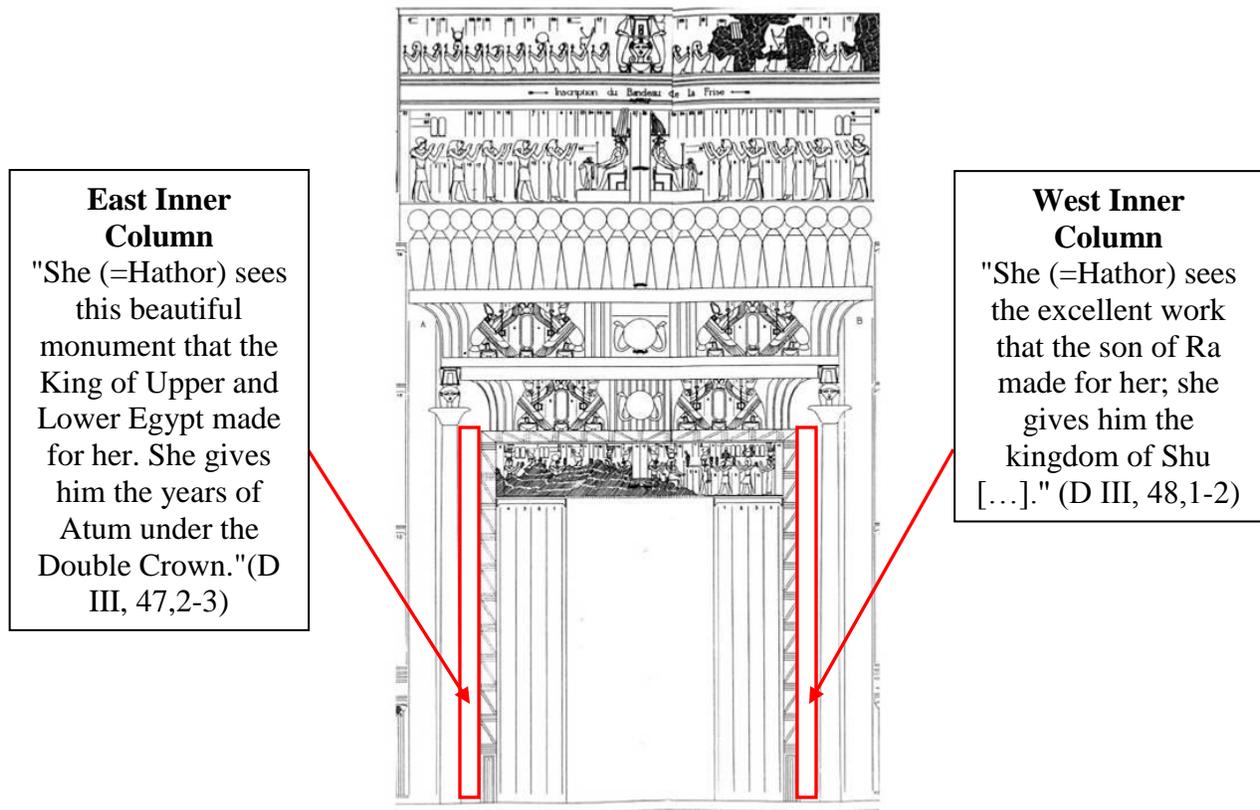


Fig. 5.66. Outer Entrance of Per-wer; after D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

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:

m33=s k3.t mnḥ.t ir n=s s3 R^c ()|di=s n=f nswy.t n.t Šw [... 4 squares ...]

"She sees the excellent work that the son of Ra made for her. She gives him the kingship of Shu [... 4 squares ...]." (D III, 48,1-2).

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.

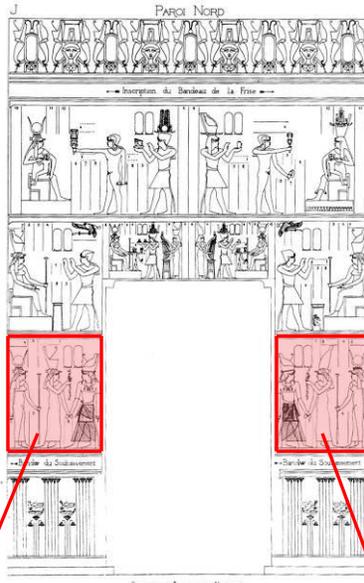
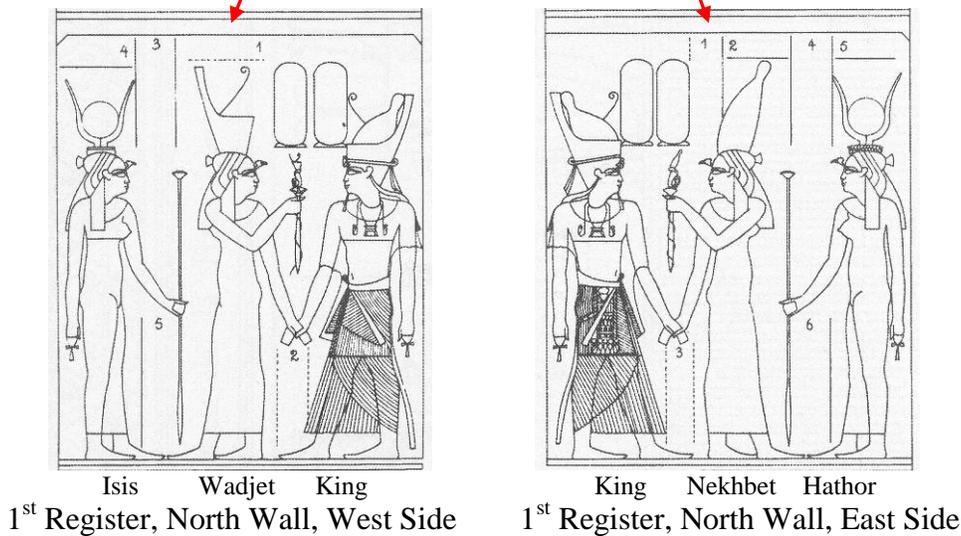


Fig. 5.67. North Wall of Per-wer; D II, pl. 180, © IFAO



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.⁸⁹⁶ Its connection with rebirth and regeneration⁸⁹⁷ 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

⁸⁹⁶ Goyon, *Confirmation*, p. 55 (I, line 15): "Faire approcher le diadème-*sšd*: 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 a 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 uraeii: the cobra-headed Nekhbet and the vulture-headed Wadjet.⁸⁹⁸ 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



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-Horakhty 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 uraeii, we turn to a text in the 1st Chamber East,⁸⁹⁹ in an offering of the *w3d.ty* to Harsomtus⁹⁰⁰ by the king. In the title of the scene, the



ideograms for *w3d.ty*, ,⁹⁰¹ are the identical uraeus-scepters presented to the king on the North Wall of the Per-wer. The text describes him as

hr nd ntr.ty hr m3wy mr.ty hr shtp h3.t=f m wr.ty
sw mi hr nb h4.t n.t mdh tp=f m wr.ty-hk3w

"protecting the Eyes, renewing the Eyes, decorating⁹⁰² his forehead with the Uraeii, for he is like Horus, Lord of the White and the Red Crowns, who girds⁹⁰³ his head with the Two Uraeii" (D II, 79,9-10).

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 *w^cr.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):

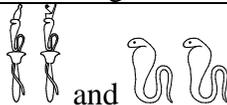
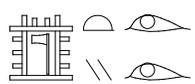
Signs	Transliteration	Translation	Verbal Root
 and 	<i>w3d.ty</i> ⁹⁰⁴	Two Uraeii	<i>w3d</i> , "be green"
	<i>ntr.ty</i> ⁹⁰⁵	Two (divine) Eyes	<i>ntr</i> , "be divine"
	<i>mr.ty</i> ⁹⁰⁶	Two Eyes	<i>mrt</i> , "throat"
	<i>wr.ty</i> ⁹⁰⁷	Two Eyes (lit. "Two Great Ones")	<i>wr</i> , "be great"
	<i>wr.ty-ḥk3w</i> ⁹⁰⁸	Two Uraeii (lit. "Great of Magic" Goddesses)	<i>wr</i> , "be great"; <i>ḥk3</i> , "magic"

Fig. 5.68. Table of Terms for Eyes and Uraeii in D II, 79,9-10

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 *w3d.ty* in the symmetrical scenes on the north wall of the Per-wer. The dual substantive, *w3d.ty*, derives from the root, *w3d* "to be green, fresh"; it connects not only with the papyrus (*w3d*) and the verdant green of the Delta, but also with the name of that area's goddess, *W3d.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 *M3̣.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 *ḥk3.w* ("magic") to the epithet, it becomes the *wr.ty-ḥk3w*, "Great of Magic Goddesses," showing that

⁹⁰⁴ *w3d.ty*, lit., "the two of the *w3d*-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 446.

⁹⁰⁷ *wr.ty*, lit., "the two great ones (f.)," Wb I, 332,1-2, PT; PL 246.

⁹⁰⁸ *wr.t-ḥk3w*, 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* uraeii,⁹¹⁰ each facing a cardinal direction: two are called *ntr.ty*; two are *w3d.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.⁹¹¹ The intertwining of so many allusions thus makes the goddesses' offering of the two uraeii 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  (S100A) accompanied by two pendant uraeii. The amulet's name, *wḏ3* (derived from the root *wḏ3*, "be whole, healthy"), indicates its function of bringing well-being and protection to the wearer. By hanging around the king's neck, the two uraeii 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 *wḏ3 w3d.ty*, "the protection of the Two Uraei," which is also a polyptoton on *wḏ3/w3d* (by metathesis), emphasizing the well-being that the uraeii provide for the king.

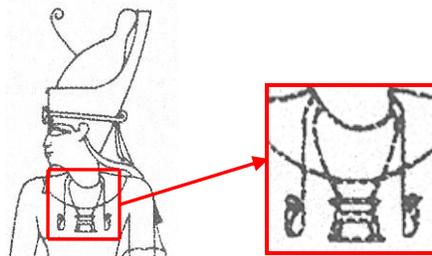


Fig. 5.69. King's Pectoral Forms a Visual Pun; after D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

Homonyms of the two roots provide additional allusions. The *wḏ3.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, *w3d*, which can also mean "offspring," appears in the King's epithet, *w3d n W3d.t*, "offspring of Wadjet."⁹¹² Itself a polyptoton on the root *w3d*, the expression highlights this protective aspect while connecting the King with the goddess of Lower Egypt who presents him with one of the *w3d.ty*. The King's pectoral thus visually represents the offering of the Two Uraei and its associated protection, given to him in the two symmetrical scenes.

The offering of the two uraeii 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

⁹¹⁰ 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.

⁹¹¹ Derchain, Hathor Quadrifrons, *passim*.

⁹¹² In D III, 23,2, in the *h.t-shm*, "Temple of the Sistrum," the SE Rear Chamber (Chassinat's Chamber I). The king also carries the epithet, *w3d n Shm.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).

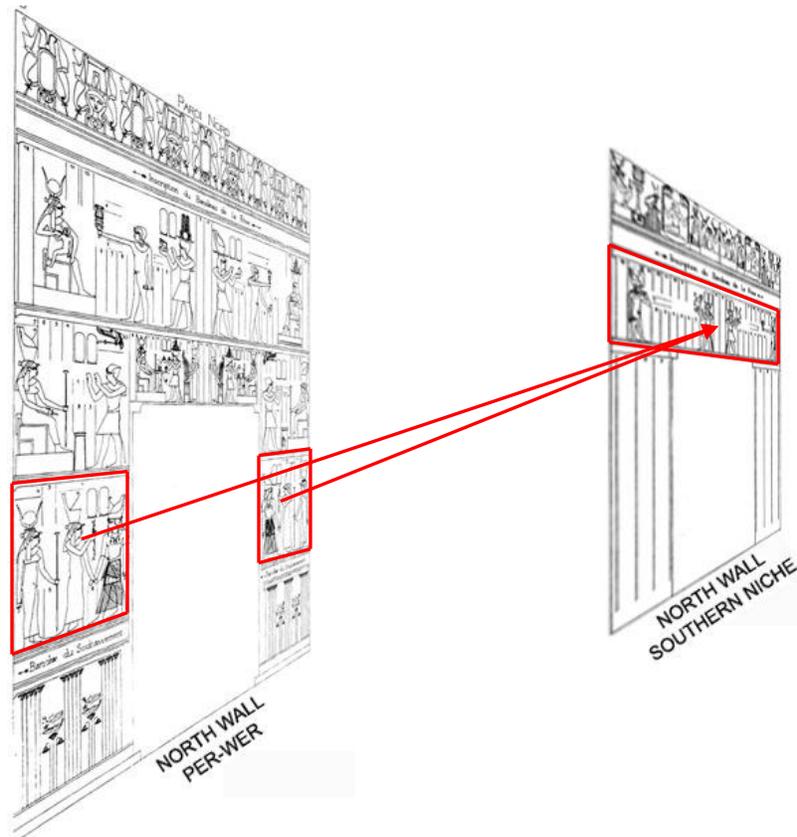


Fig. 5.70. Theme of the King's Legitimacy, after D III, pls. 180; 201, © IFAO

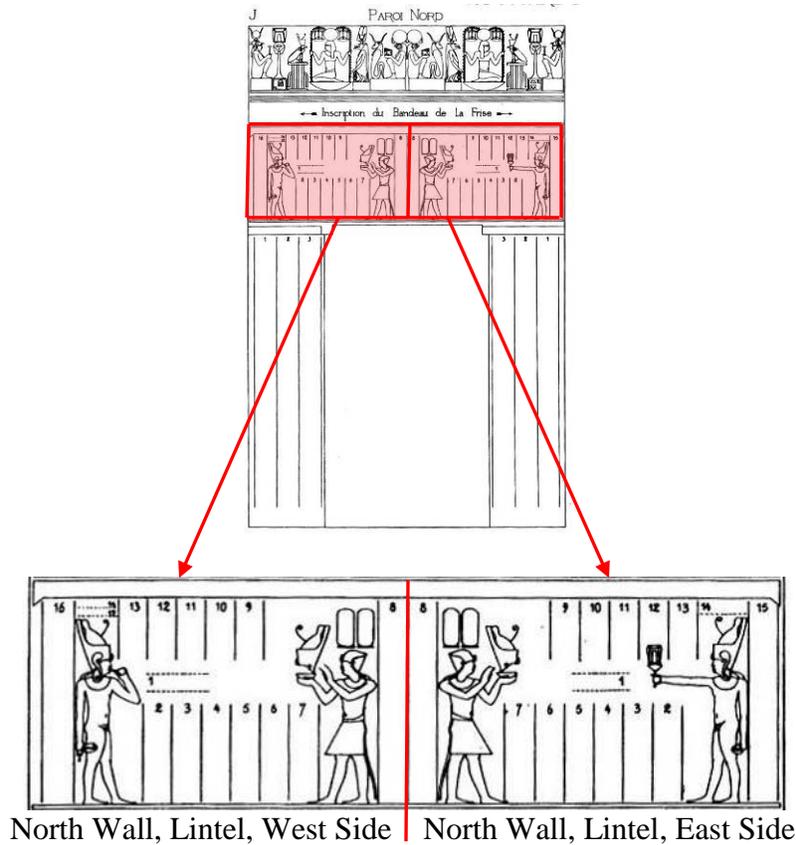


Fig. 5.71. Symmetrical Scenes on Lintel of N. Wall of S. Niche; D II, pl. 201, © IFAO

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.⁹¹³ For words having alternate spellings, the scribe made a deliberate choice to employ signs depicting royal regalia:⁹¹⁴ *dmd*, "unite," written with ram's horns (a component of composite crowns),  (F107),⁹¹⁵ instead of  (S23);⁹¹⁶ the 2nd singular masculine suffix pronoun, =*k*, written with the king's bag wig:  (S56)⁹¹⁷ instead of  (V31).⁹¹⁸ For geographical areas, the scribe also chose spellings with crowns: *šm^c*, "Upper

⁹¹³ For example, words for crowns include *šm.ty*, "double crown" (D III, 88,18; 89,8; 89,9; 89,12); *šm^c=s*, "southern crown" (D III, 89,1; 89,13); *mḥw=s*, "northern crown" (D III,89,1; 89,13); *nfr.t*, "white crown" (D III, 89,14); *ḥd.t*, "white crown" (D III, 89,2); *n.t*, "red crown" (D III, 89,2; 89,14); *ḥp.t*, "crown" (D III, 89,9); *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.

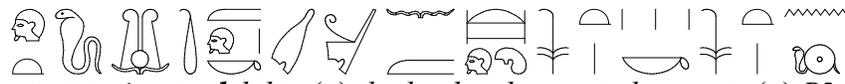
⁹¹⁶ D III, 182,2; D X, 248,7.

⁹¹⁷ D III, 88,18; 89,2; 89,5.

⁹¹⁸ D III, 63,18.

Egypt," with  (S50)⁹¹⁹ instead of  (M159)⁹²⁰ or  (M140B);⁹²¹ *mḥw*, "Lower Egypt," with  (S50)⁹²² instead of  (M15)⁹²³ or  (M139B),⁹²⁴ 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,



tp.t ṯn.ti m tp=k ḥd.t n(.t) dmd m hn=k nswy.t=k nswy.t n(.t) R^c

"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,



ii.ti m ḥtp nsw.t šm^c ity bi.ty mḥw

"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 *šm^c*, "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 *mḥw*, "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 t3 pn hr nfr.w=s

"I give you this land, possessing its⁹²⁵ **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,"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 hp.t ʿpr.ti 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, *ʿpr.ti 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 *ʿpr ʿnh.t n nb=s*, "equips the Eye for its owner."⁹²⁷ The Eye thereby became the *wd3.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 2nd register of the east wall (Fig. 5.72).

⁹²⁵ Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 167, notes that the feminine suffix pronoun, =s, is an error, because it refers to the m. s. substantive, *t3*, "land." (Perhaps the scribe was thinking of *Km.t*, the feminine substantive for "Egypt"?)

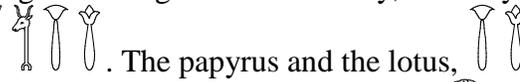
⁹²⁶ Wb II, 262,5:  *nfr*, "crown of Upper Egypt"; Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 167, translates the phrase in D III, 89,9, as "ses (sic) belles couronnes." Note that it can also appear with the feminine ending: *nfr.t* (Wb II, 262,6; D III, 89,14).

⁹²⁷ D III, 65,9, in the scene of "releasing the bolt," in the daily temple ritual, 1st register, east wall, 2nd 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.

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 Uraei, 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.

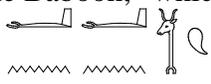
The first epithet, *nb sš*, "Lord of Writing," designates the King as the son of the inventor of the sacred script, thus alluding to the command of ritual texts and their proper performance. The second, *nbi n ʕm-t3.wy*, "created by He Who Knows the Two Lands," refers to Thoth's extensive knowledge and 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, , represent Lower and Upper Egypt, 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 ʕm, "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 M3ʕ.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 sʕm=i m thn=s*, "It (=Ma'at) is my bread, I swallow its brightness."⁹³⁵ Therefore, the king's epithet, *nbi n ʕm-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 ʕn in *iwʕ n ʕnʕn*, "Heir of the Baboon," which highlights it aurally, ʕnʕn holds an additional layer of meaning. Its homonym, , again written with the long-necked animal, but with the added flesh determinative, also

⁹³² WinGlyph F11A, similar to Gardiner Sign List F11.

⁹³³ Fairman, *Alphabetic Signs*, 101.

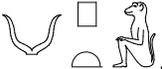
⁹³⁴ The same concept is at work in the Late Period practice of pouring water over a Horus cippus, a stela depicting the child god standing on crocodiles and inscribed with healing magical texts. The patient would drink the water in the hope of a cure. See Ritner, *Mechanics*, 31-32 n. 144, for the standard 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.

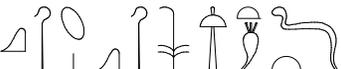
means "throat."⁹³⁷ Like other words for "swallow" or "throat," it can metaphorically mean the throat by which one eats or swallows Ma'at⁹³⁸; similar associations exist with *mr.t*, as we saw earlier in the lintel scenes on the North Wall of the Per-wer. As in the example in the symmetrical column on 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.⁹³⁹ Sometimes

written with the determinative of a seated baboon, , *wpw* can also be translated as "messenger,"⁹⁴⁰ agreeing well with Thoth's epithet as "Herald of Ra in Heaven."⁹⁴¹ 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


hkb s3 hkb nws.t mnh bnr dd.t

"**Ruler**, son of **the ruler**, excellent king, sweet one of speech." (D III, 49,10).

The repetition of *hkb* 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:

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 $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗} \text{𓆘} \text{𓆙} \text{𓆚} \text{𓆛} \text{𓆜} \text{𓆝} \text{𓆞} \text{𓆟} \text{𓆠} \text{𓆡} \text{𓆢} \text{𓆣} \text{𓆤} \text{𓆥} \text{𓆦} \text{𓆧} \text{𓆨} \text{𓆩} \text{𓆪} \text{𓆫} \text{𓆬} \text{𓆭} \text{𓆮} \text{𓆯} \text{𓆰} \text{𓆱} \text{𓆲} \text{𓆳} \text{𓆴} \text{𓆵} \text{𓆶} \text{𓆷} \text{𓆸} \text{𓆹} \text{𓆺} \text{𓆻} \text{𓆼} \text{𓆽} \text{𓆾} \text{𓆿} \text{𓇀} \text{𓇁} \text{𓇂} \text{𓇃} \text{𓇄} \text{𓇅} \text{𓇆} \text{𓇇} \text{𓇈} \text{𓇉} \text{𓇊} \text{𓇋} \text{𓇌} \text{𓇍} \text{𓇎} \text{𓇏} \text{𓇐} \text{𓇑} \text{𓇒} \text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘} \text{𓇙} \text{𓇚} \text{𓇛} \text{𓇜} \text{𓇝} \text{𓇞} \text{𓇟} \text{𓇠} \text{𓇡} \text{𓇢} \text{𓇣} \text{𓇤} \text{𓇥} \text{𓇦} \text{𓇧} \text{𓇨} \text{𓇩} \text{𓇪} \text{𓇫} \text{𓇬} \text{𓇭} \text{𓇮} \text{𓇯} 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w^cb-Ihy 3h r3 spd d3is.w mnh tpy.w-r3

"Wab-Ihy priest, effective one of speech, **clever one of (magical) utterances**, excellent one of (magical) utterances" (D III, 50,14-15).

Each phrase holds a wealth of meaning and allusions. The title, *w^cb-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, *w^cb-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 *3h*, written with the crested ibis, means "be bright, shining" or "be effective"; the texts play on the alternate meanings. Ritner⁹⁴⁷ observes that *3h* is a fundamental property of spoken magic, translating *3h 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 *3h 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 d3is.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 hr*, "sharp of face" in battle,⁹⁴⁹ where alertness is crucial. The word *d3is.w*, "utterances," or "spoken words," derives from one of the seven manifestations of the primordial cow, Mehetweret, representing the seven creative words (*d3is.w*) that brought the world into existence.⁹⁵⁰

⁹⁴² The son of Hathor and Horus of Edfu at Dendera. Hoenes, Ihy, 125, notes that although Ihy is translated as "musician," and Ihy is usually depicted holding the sistra and menit, making music for his mother Hathor, the word may actually mean "calf," deriving from *ih*, "bull."

⁹⁴³ Reflected in his two manifestations of Ihy-Nun and Ihy-Wab. See Cauville, Ihy-Noun, 108-112.

⁹⁴⁴ Hoenes, Ihy, 126; CT IV, 182n.

⁹⁴⁵ Hoenes, Ihy, 126; CT IV, 161f; cf. CT I, 236h-237a, and PT 307a.

⁹⁴⁶ The subtle connection of the King's epithet to Hu and Sia creates an additional link between this scene and the Ogdoad adoration scenes on the thicknesses of the door of the Southern Niche. We will be examining the latter scenes later in this section.

⁹⁴⁷ Ritner, *Mechanics*, 31, 35; 46.

⁹⁴⁸ Dümichen, 1981, pls. 133 and 189 (=Porter and Moss 1939, p. 78), cited in Ritner, *Mechanics*, 36. See now Cauville, D XIII, 273,13-15.

⁹⁴⁹ E IV, 57,16; V, 151,14-15, cited in PL 832.

⁹⁵⁰ Esna III, 33,9, cited in Rochholz, *Schöpfung*, 43 n. 218. Ritner, *Mechanics*, 46-47, with refs to secondary literature. The seven *d3is.w* are attested as early as CT 407; 691; later in BoD 71. Cf. Rochholz, *Schöpfung*, 42-44. Ritner, *Mechanics*, 47 and n. 223, who notes that they are attested as early as CT Spell 407: *r3 n ts.wt 7 nw Mh.t-wr.t*, "Spell of the 7 Utterances of Mehet-weret." Ritner, *Mechanics*, 47, suggests that it is incorrect to translate the older *ts*, "saying," as "knot." However, the expression "untying a knot," can also mean "deciphering a difficult

The *d3is.w* are closely associated with Thoth; as Ritner shows in a text from Esna, they contain not only creative but also protective power.⁹⁵¹ The word *spd*, meaning "sharp" is always spelled with the thorn-sign. However, *d3is.w*, which often appears with the thorn-sign, can also be spelled without it.⁹⁵² Therefore, the scribe probably made a deliberate choice to write both words with the thorn sign, thus creating visual alliteration.⁹⁵³ By so doing, he alludes to the "cleverness" inherent in the *d3is.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-r3*, "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 *3ḥ* (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."⁹⁵⁴

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).

passage," and thus has relevance for multi-layered, magically effective utterances. See Parkinson, *Dream and Knot*, 78.

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 *d3is.w* in D I-IV shows two examples in which *d3is.w* is spelled without the thorn-sign: D I, 6,17:  *d3is.w stp.w*, "choice spells"; D II, 32,7:  *spd d3is.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 *d3is.w*. It would be a case of attraction if the writing of *d3isw* 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."

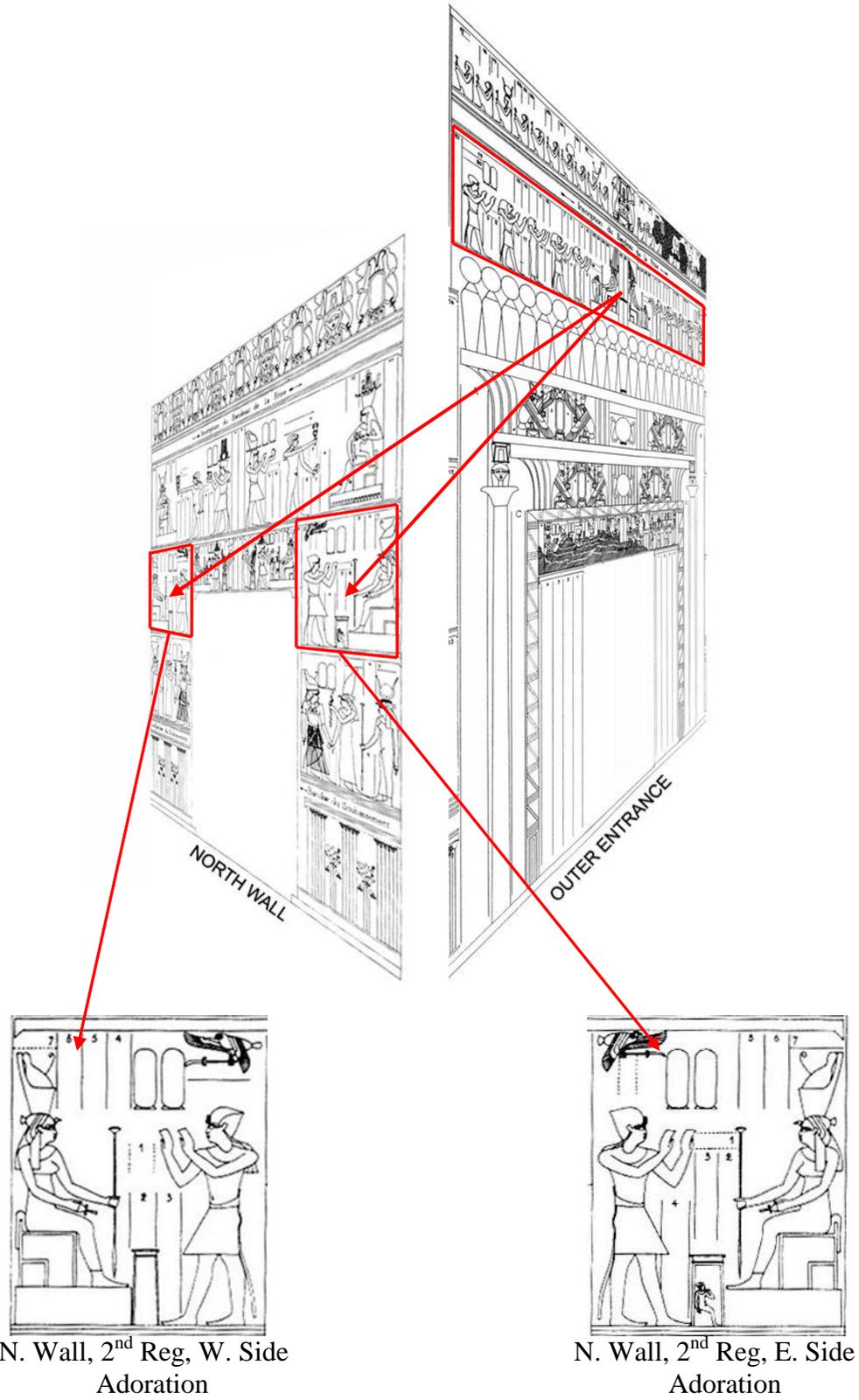
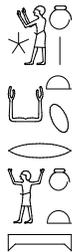


Fig. 5.74. Connection between Adoration Scenes of Outer Entrance and North Wall of Per-wer, after D II, pl. 94; D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

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.

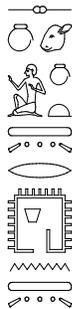
Echoing Nun's words in the east Ogdoad scene on the outer entrance, the King in the east scene of the North Wall offers his adoration to the goddess:⁹⁵⁵



dw3.n=i k3=t r k3 n p.t
 I have praised your **Ka** to the **height** of heaven"
 (D III, 68,11-12).

Just like the speech of Nun, the antanaclasis on the close homophones of *k3* and *k3* ("ka," and "height," respectively) emphasize the roots and the height to which his praise extends. The raised arms of the determinative of *k3* mimic the arms of the *k3*-sign above it; the arrangement of the text in a column accentuates the vertical direction of the praise.

The King continues his adoration, saying,



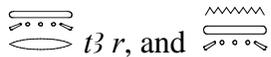
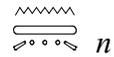
sn=i n=t t3 r wsh n t3
 "I kiss **the earth** for you to the breadth of **the earth**"
 (D III, 68,12).

"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, , serves as the determinative. Here, it is omitted, perhaps so as not to interfere with the symmetrical arrangement of the horizontal signs,

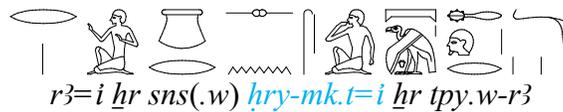
⁹⁵⁵ I have displayed the text of each of the following examples in a column, as in the original relief, because the visual the arrangement of signs in the column has bearing on the interpretation.

⁹⁵⁶ The expression is usually translated, "I have kissed the ground for you, to the breadth of the earth." I have translated *t3* both times as "earth" in order to replicate the repetition of the Egyptian.

 *t3 r*, and  *n t3*, which frame and highlight the square ideogram,  *wsh*, "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 wsh 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 *wsh*, 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.

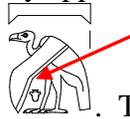
The King also declares his capability of delivering the proper magical utterances:



"my mouth possessing the prayers,⁹⁵⁷ **my**⁹⁵⁸ **heart** possessing the (magical) utterances" (D III, 68,13).

The word used for heart, *hry-mk.t*,⁹⁵⁹ is particularly interesting. Its origin goes back to the Pyramid Texts,⁹⁶⁰ 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,⁹⁶¹



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.⁹⁶² 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, =*i* appears 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.

which we saw earlier.⁹⁶³ A further allusion exists in the connection between heart and utterance, recalling the Creator God in the Memphite Cosmogony, who conceived (*si3*) an idea in his heart and expressed it in an utterance (*hw*), thus causing it to come into being.⁹⁶⁴ Interestingly, the primeval god Heh makes the identical statement in the Ogdoad adoration scene on the outer entrance,⁹⁶⁵ 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.⁹⁶⁶ 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) km3 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 *mk.t*, "protection") appears more striking in the column of the original relief⁹⁶⁷ than in the line of text in Chassinat's publication, where the size of the vulture-signs is unequal.⁹⁶⁸ 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

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 *dg3* (to perceive) represents total sight, as in *di.n=i n=k m33 nb n' Itn dgi nb n' Twn=hr^c*, "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: *dw3.n=i m hr<=t> r3=i hr sns.w hry-mk.t(=i) hr tpy.w-r3*, "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.

⁹⁶⁸ D III, 80,6.

father Ra⁹⁶⁹), linking with the king's expression in the symmetrical scene, stating that his magical utterances are *hry-mk.t*, in the "right place," protected in his heart.

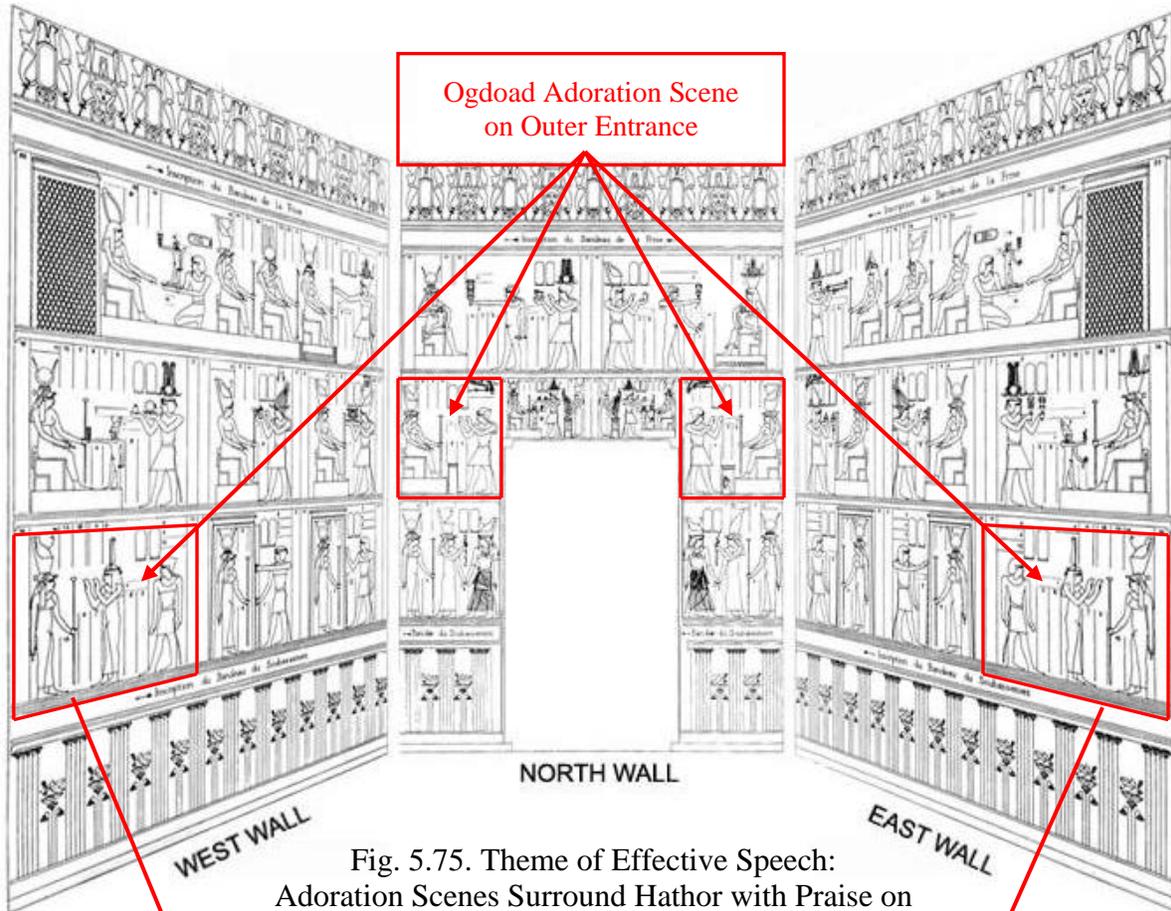
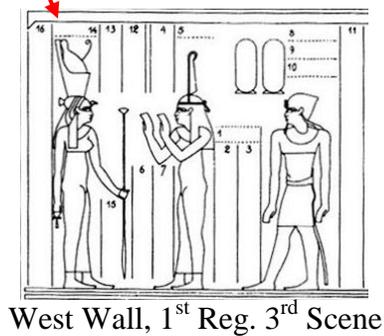
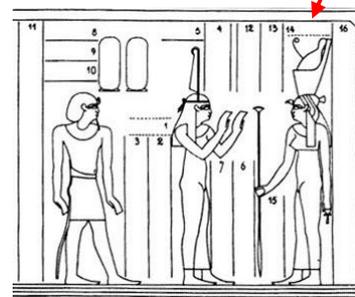


Fig. 5.75. Theme of Effective Speech: Adoration Scenes Surround Hathor with Praise on Three Sides; image after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO



West Wall, 1st Reg. 3rd Scene



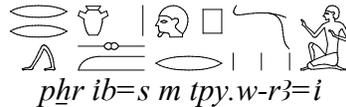
East Wall, 1st Reg. 3rd Scene

⁹⁶⁹ The masculine singular perfective active participle, *km3*, "the one who created," 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.

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^c n 'm-t3.wy*, "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"⁹⁷⁰ (=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 kf3.t n(.t) k3=s*, "I have brightened the dignity of her ka," a multi-layered expression filled with aural and visual allusions, discussed earlier.⁹⁷¹ Having presented such a complex expression of praise, the King notes that Hathor is pleased, saying



"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,"⁹⁷² itself has magical implications. In Demotic, the verb, *phr*,⁹⁷³ and its Coptic descendent, ^Bϰαχϰϰ,⁹⁷⁴ mean "to enchant"; its origin lies in rituals of encirclement that define, purify, and protect a sacred space.⁹⁷⁵ 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 *hk3*, "rule."⁹⁷⁶ As Rayt, 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 (*hk3*) also depends on her magic (*hk3*). Conversely, one could say that the king's clever, multi-layered

⁹⁷⁰ Under the name, *'Isdn/Isds*, Thoth is syncretized with Anubis, as early as de Buck, CT III, 61b, noted by Goebis, 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."

⁹⁷⁴ Boharic. Crum, Coptic Dictionary, 282b; Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 131: "charm, bewitch."

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.

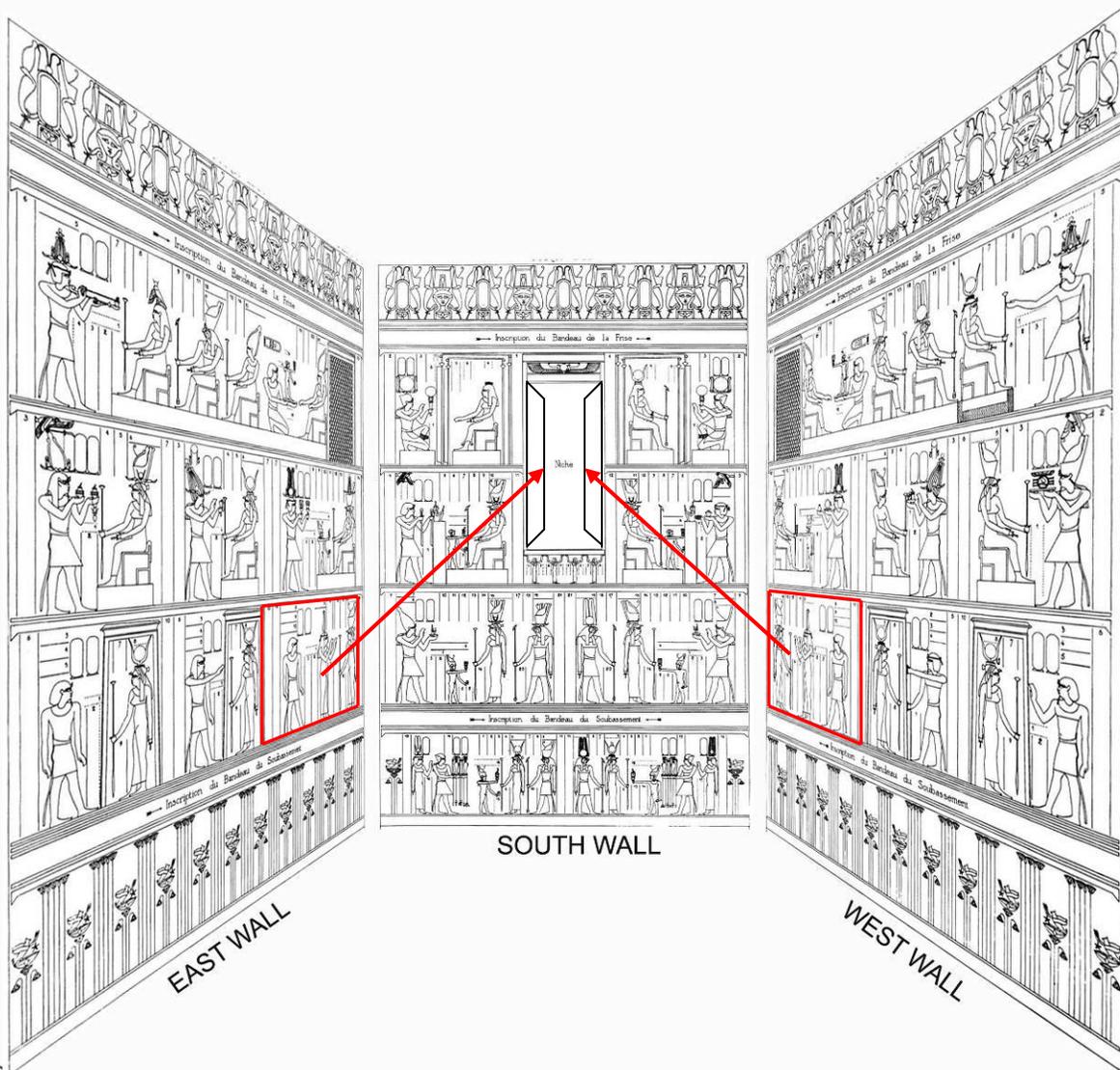


Fig. 5.76. Theme of Effective Speech, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

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).

Southern Niche

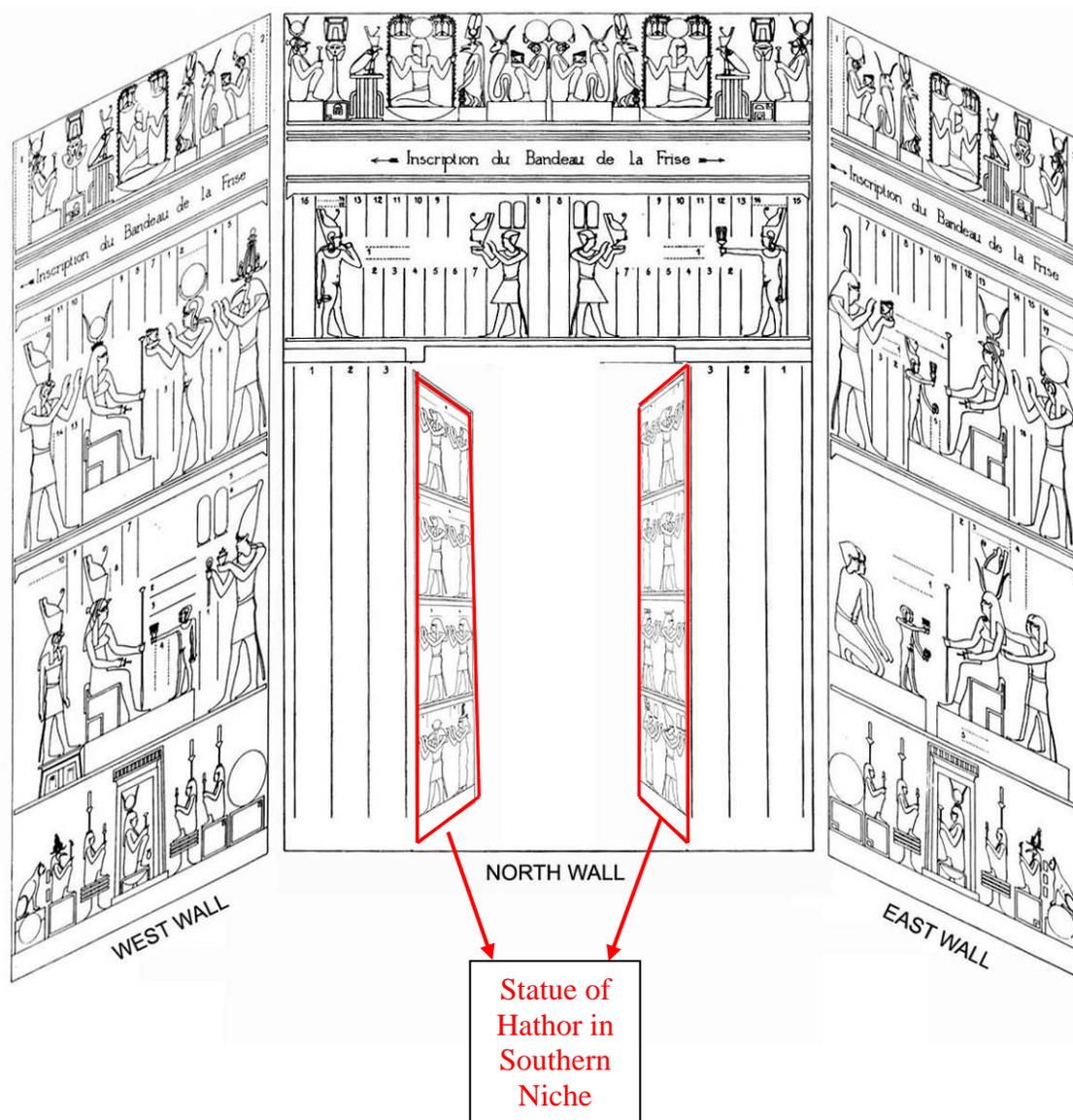


Fig. 5.77. Praise of Ogdoad directed towards Hathor's Statue in S. Niche, after D III, pls. 200-202, © IFAO

However, on the lowest register of east jamb we find the figures of the king and the queen,⁹⁸¹ 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.⁹⁸²

⁹⁸¹ 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.

⁹⁸² 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*,

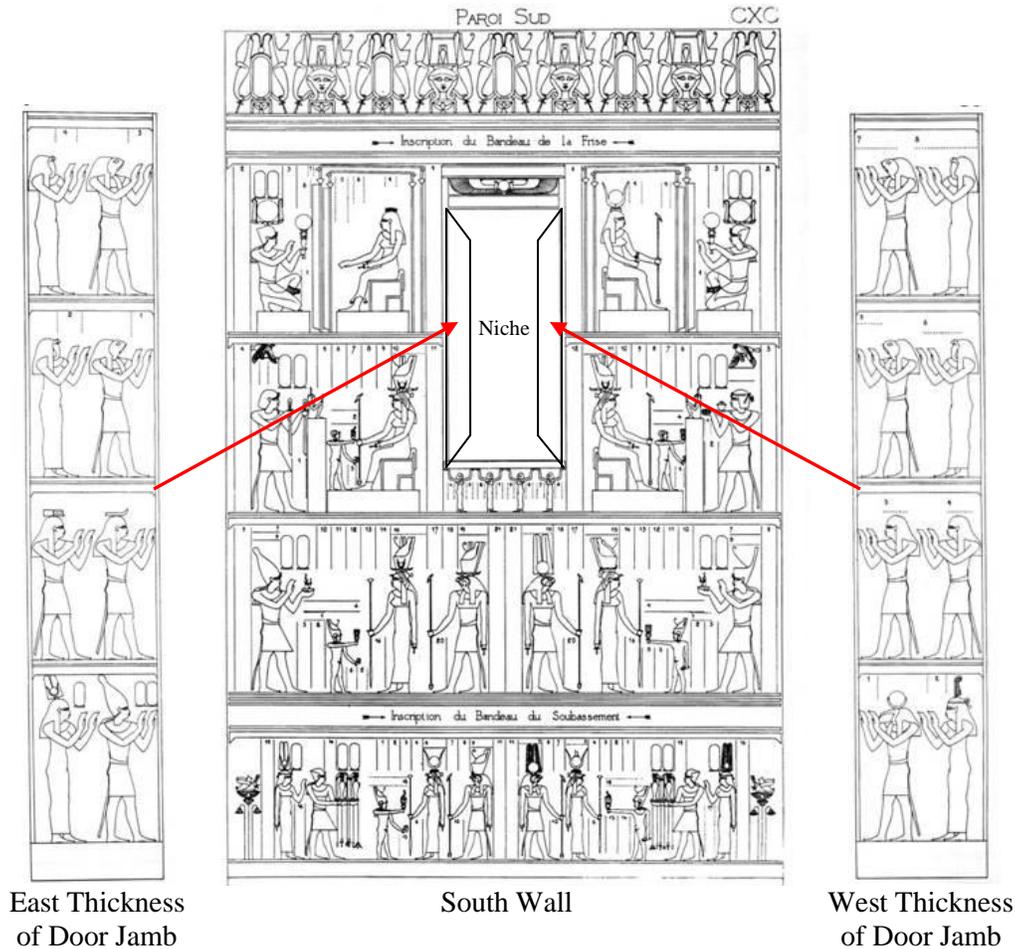


Fig. 5.78. Thicknesses of Door Jambs of Entrance to S. Niche, after D III, pls. 190; 200, © IFAO

The appearance of Hu and Sia recall the hymn in the outer entrance,⁹⁸³ 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

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.

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."⁹⁸⁴ 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,⁹⁸⁵ the other emphasizing the spoken word⁹⁸⁶—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.⁹⁸⁷ 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.

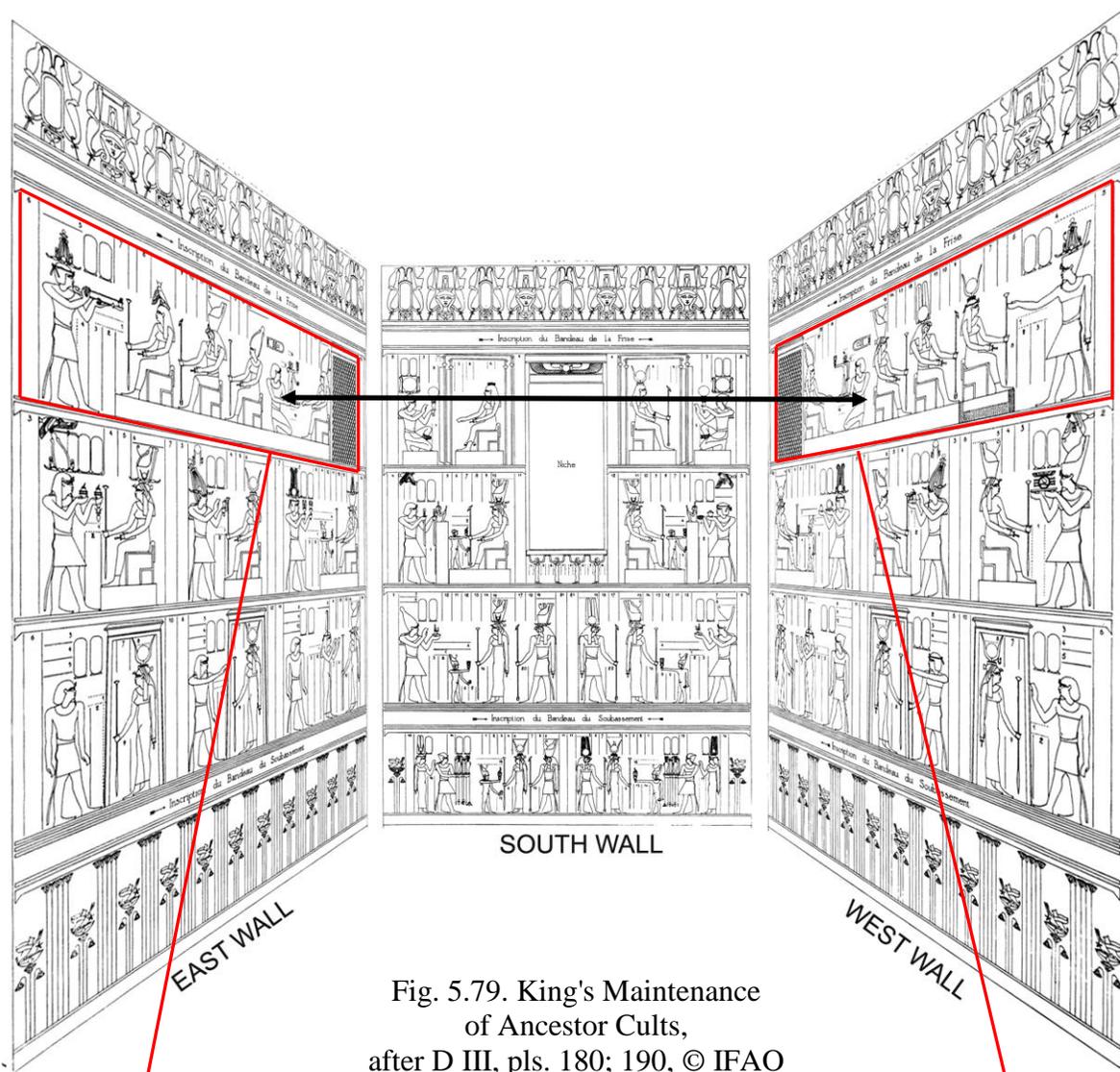
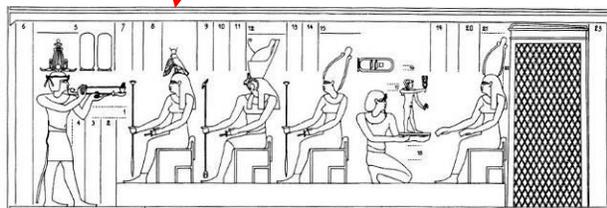
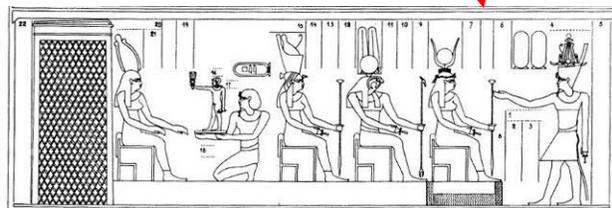


Fig. 5.79. King's Maintenance of Ancestor Cults, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO



3rd Register, East Wall, Per-wer Incense Offering

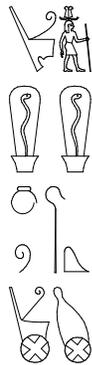


3rd Register, West Wall of Per-wer Funerary Offering

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: *k3* (soul; provisions),⁹⁹² *šps* (noble; riches),⁹⁹³ and *h̄tp* (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 d3is.w*, "clever of (magical) utterances," and *mn̄h tpy.w-r3*, "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: *šsp ʿnh r-p^c.t ntr.w iw^c n Psd.t ʿ3.t*, "Living Image and Hereditary Prince of the Gods, Heir of the Great Ennead" (D III, 84,12-13). The epithet, *r-p^c.t ntr.w*, "Hereditary Prince," belongs to Geb, the father of Osiris, thus showing that the king is his legitimate descendent. His epithet, *iw^c n Psd.t ʿ3.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



ity n itr.ty hk3 n šm^c m̄hw
 "Sovereign of the Two Sanctuaries,
 Ruler of the South and the North"
 (D III, 85,8).

⁹⁸⁸ *ii sntr sntr=f*, "the incense comes, it censures your (f.s.) body" (D III, 72,11-12); *sntr r sntr s.t=tn*, "incense, in order to censure your (pl) place" (D III, 72,17).

⁹⁸⁹ *pd pd.n=f tpy.w-ʿt*, "the incense, it has censured your (pl.) body" (D III, 72,12).

⁹⁹⁰ *fn̄d=tn m sty=f...ii sty=s r=tn*, "your (pl.) nose breathes its perfume...its perfume comes to you" (D III, 72,13-14).

⁹⁹¹ *sh̄tp r sh̄tp ib=tn*, "incense in order to pacify your (pl.) heart" (D III, 72,17).

⁹⁹² *k3 nb k3.w*, "Ka-spirit, Lord of Provisions" (D III, 85,2).

⁹⁹³ *šm.w šps.w nb.w šps(.w)*, "noble (divine) powers, lords of riches" (D III, 84,13).

⁹⁹⁴ *h̄tp ib=n m h̄tp.w=k*, "Our hearts are satisfied with your offerings" (D III, 85,8-9).

⁹⁹⁵ D III, 50,14.

⁹⁹⁶ Hathor: *dī=i n=k wr̄r.t mn̄.ti m tp=k hr rdi.t nrw=k r h̄fy.w=k*, "I give you the Upper Egyptian crown, fast on your head, causing fear of you to your enemies" (D III, 73,1).

⁹⁹⁷ Nekhbet says that the King is *s3 dm3.t-pd.t šd n š3.t m N̄hn*, "son of She binds the bows together (=Nekhbet), nourished by the Vulture in Nekhen (=Hierakonpolis)" (D III, 73,12).

The statement consists almost entirely of ideograms related to kingship and the Two Lands. The

first sign,  (A311), consisting of a man wearing two ostrich feathers on ram's horns and carrying the staff of office, represents *ity*, "sovereign"; the crown (minus the sun disk) recalls the Aneđjty crown of the King, which associates the wearer with Osiris and kingship.⁹⁹⁸ Each of the elements of the dual substantive, *itr.ty*, the "Two Sanctuaries" of Upper and Lower Egypt,⁹⁹⁹

depicts a sacred serpent,  (O196),¹⁰⁰⁰ representing the divine being dwelling within it. Below the crook, the ubiquitous part of the King's regalia and the phonogram for *ḥk3*, "ruler," are the geographical areas of the South and the North, *šmꜥ* and *mḥw*, represented by their respective crowns placed over the city-sign.¹⁰⁰¹ 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,¹⁰⁰² with his prestige placed in the hearts of his people.¹⁰⁰³ An allusion to this prosperity appears in the west scene in the speech of Isis, who sits atop her isheru lake,¹⁰⁰⁴



"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 *bꜥḥ*, "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, *bꜥḥ*, consisting of the benu-bird perched over the primeval mound rising out of the Nun.¹⁰⁰⁵ 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.

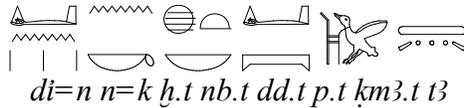
¹⁰⁰² Hathor: *đi=i n=k mnḳb mn ḥr nfr.w=k ḥr-nb (ḥr) nhm n=k*, "I give to you (that) the (cool) palace is enduring, possessing your good things, everyone rejoicing for you" (D III, 73,9); Isis: *đi=i n=<k> 3ḥ.t ḥr ms.t n=k iḥ.t=s šnꜥ bꜥḥ m nfr.w*, "I give you the field, producing for you its products, the storehouse flooded with good things" (D III, 84,16).

¹⁰⁰³ Hathor: *đi=i šfy.t=k m ib.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, *nb.t išrw*, "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, *h.t nb.t dd.t p.t km3.t t3*, "all things that heaven gives and the earth produces," comes directly from the standard funerary offering formula for the dead.¹⁰⁰⁶ 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.¹⁰⁰⁷ The key speech for our understanding of the present scene belongs to Harsomtut, who promises the King, *hwn(=i) h^c=k m rnp r^c nb swd3=i d3mw=k m pr=k*, "(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,



"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.¹⁰⁰⁸ 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.

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 representations¹⁰⁰⁹ 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**.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Not including the frieze and the base of the Southern Niche.

Scenes Related to King as Intermediary in the Per-wer

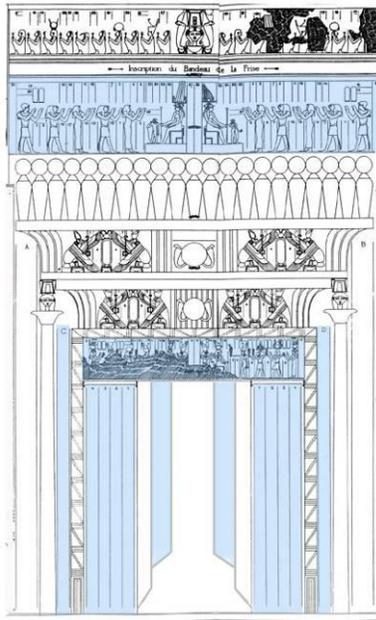


Fig. 5.80. Outer Entrance, Per-wer, after D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

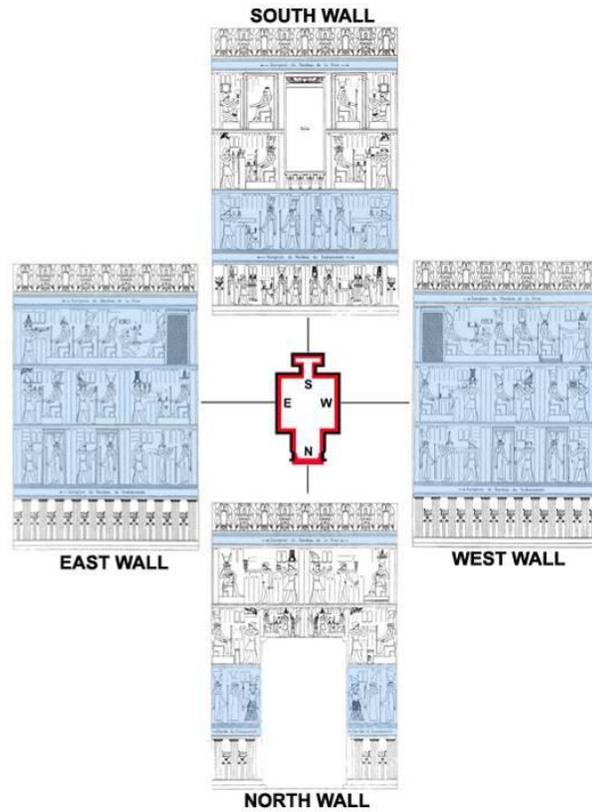


Fig. 5.81. Scenes in Per-wer, after D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

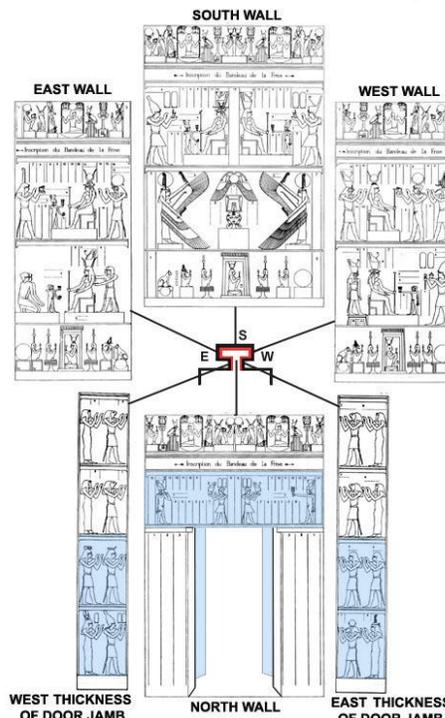


Fig. 5.82. Scenes in Southern Niche; after D III, pls. 201-202, © IFAO

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.

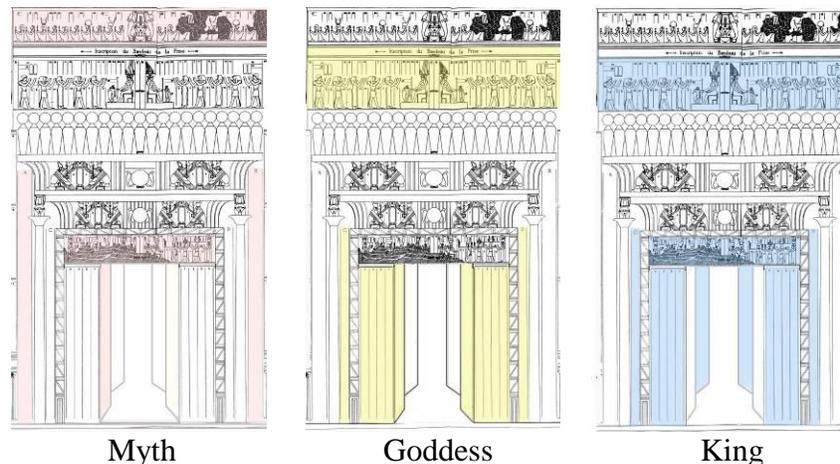


Fig. 5.83. The Three Themes on Outer Entrance of Per-wer Sanctuary, after D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

The overlap is especially noticeable in the montants and the Ogdoad adoration scene.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, *k3/k3* (ka/height) and *r^c* (sun), emphasizing the height of their praise as well as Hathor's solar nature.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

¹⁰¹⁰ Discussed in 5.2.1 (Hathor as Ruler of Heaven and Earth) and 5.3.2 (King's Effectiveness of Speech).

¹⁰¹¹ *k3/k3* (ka/height): D III, 48,15-16; *r^cy.t/r^c.w* (Female Sun/suns): D III, 49,17.

repetition of the *spd*-sign emphasizing the idea that his speech is "clever."¹⁰¹² 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,"¹⁰¹³ 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,"¹⁰¹⁴ and the "kingship of Shu,"¹⁰¹⁵ 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.¹⁰¹⁶ 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.¹⁰¹⁷ Overhead, in the symmetrical scenes of the lintel, Thoth and Ra-Horakhty are again present, shaking the sistra as she returns.¹⁰¹⁸

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.¹⁰¹⁹ 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 Uraeii, their associated protection, and the King's rule over the Two Lands.¹⁰²⁰

¹⁰¹² Visual repetition of meaning in Thoth's epithet, *ꜥm-ḥ.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.

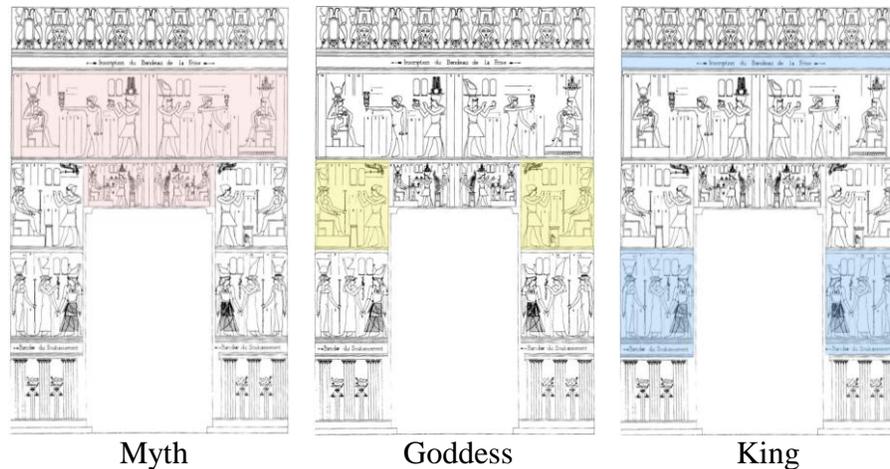


Fig. 5.84. The Three Themes on North Wall of Per-wer Sanctuary, after D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

The adoration scenes in the 2nd 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 *š3ʿ*, "first," referring to Hathor as a primordial goddess.¹⁰²¹ Sign plays visually represent the surrounding of Hathor's ka with praise,¹⁰²² as well as the protection of the King's heart, in which he safely holds the sacred utterances that please the goddess.¹⁰²³

Allusions to the myth occur in the four symmetrical scenes of the 3rd register and the lintel. In the 3rd 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 scene¹⁰²⁴ and qualities of the primordial water in the east.¹⁰²⁵ Below, on the lintel, the important offerings of wine and the *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.

¹⁰²¹ D III, 68,12.

¹⁰²² D III, 68,11-12.

¹⁰²³ D III, 68,13.

¹⁰²⁴ D III, 82,12 – 84,6. Polyptotons on the roots *ntr* (divine), *wḏ3* (udjat), and *3h* (effective); visual pun on *tnti* (raised/Anedjty crown); many sign plays involving eyes.

¹⁰²⁵ D III, 71,16 – 72,8. Polyptotons on *kḥh* (refresh), *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 1st register, he carries out the steps of the daily temple ritual; in the 2nd, 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 3rd, he presents incense as an offering to the deceased royal and divine ancestors.

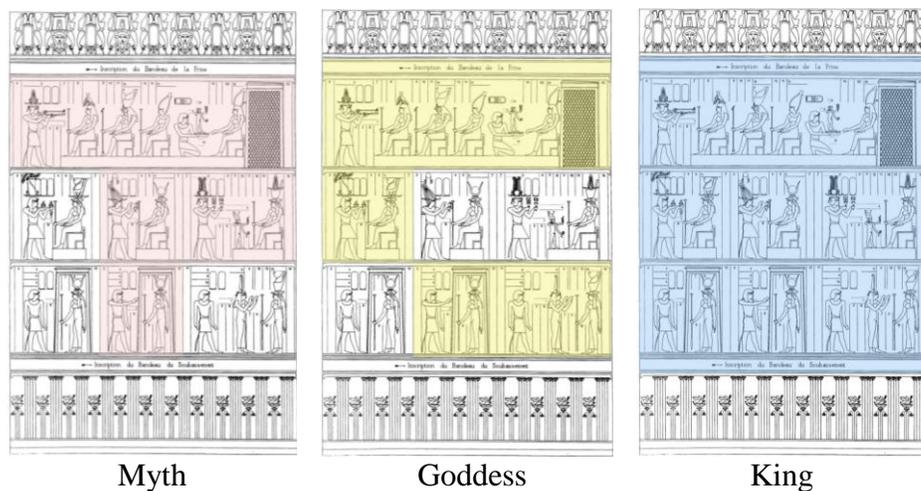


Fig. 5.85. The Three Themes on East Wall of Per-wer Sanctuary, after D III, pl. 180, © IFAO

On the east wall, the first scene from the daily temple rite emphasizes the King's lineage as a purity priest and his "measured steps"¹⁰²⁹ in performing the ritual, with aural emphasis appearing on the roots, *twr* (pure)¹⁰³⁰ and *dsr* (sacred).¹⁰³¹ The aural emphasis on the latter root also intertwines with a visual play, in Hathor's epithet of *dsr.t* (sacred one).¹⁰³² As the King releases the bolt in the second scene, he states that he is the Heart of Ra, equating him with Thoth,¹⁰³³ who makes the Eye effective. The mention of the Sun Eye brings in the theme of Hathor as a solar goddess, with word plays on roots like *3h* (shining/effective) and *psd*

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-šnb.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.

(Ennead/shine). References to Thoth and the return of the Eye¹⁰³⁴ 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^c* (sun) and *itr* (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,¹⁰³⁵ and the intertwining of aural and visual plays on the idea of brightening the dignity of Hathor's ka and exalting her perfection.¹⁰³⁶

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;¹⁰³⁷ in the second, the merit offering, he is like Horus destroying Seth, who can be equated with the merit'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 merit and the sistra, 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,¹⁰³⁸ 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."¹⁰³⁹

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-pd.t šd n š3.t m Nhn*, "son of She Who Binds the Bows Together,¹⁰⁴⁰ nourished by the Vulture in Nekhen," thus calling him her son.¹⁰⁴¹ The identification of Hathor as a primordial goddess derives from her unusual falcon-headaddress, 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.¹⁰⁴² 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 Byblos¹⁰⁴³

¹⁰³⁴ D III, 65,8-9: The King is *snn n Hb in wd3.t n nb=s rdi 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 Borchartd, 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), *itn* (sun disk), and *3h.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.

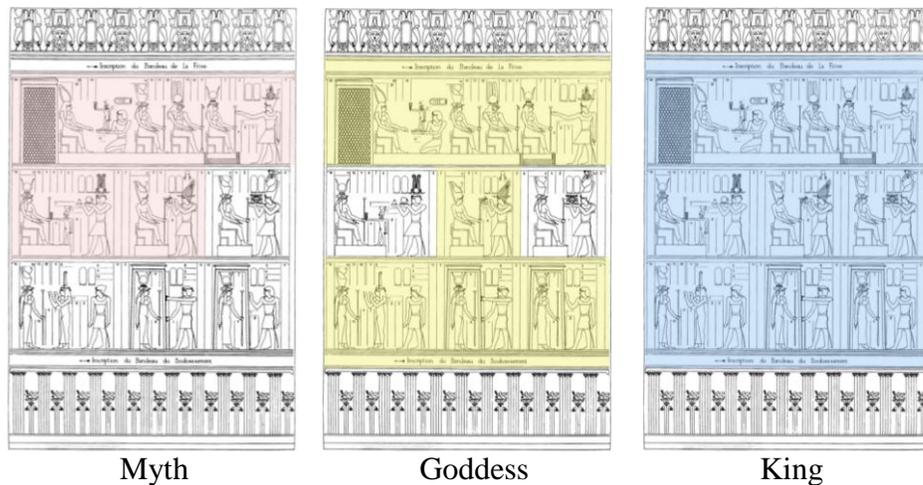


Fig. 5.86. The Three Themes on West Wall of Per-wer Sanctuary, after D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

influence of Egyptian settlers. Since the Roman general Pompey added Syria and Phoenicia to the Roman Empire in 64 BCE, any reference to Hathor's "giving Byblos" to the King in Dendera's texts must be due to her religious influence in the area and does not reflect the political reality. See Helck, *Byblos*, 889-891.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Cf. Bartel, *Fortziehen der Riegel*, 55-81.

¹⁰⁴⁵ D III, 76,13: *nswy.t-bi.ty.t 3h.ty.t h^c m 3h.t*, "Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Horizon-Dweller (f.) who appears in the horizon."

¹⁰⁴⁶ D III, 76,8: *r-p^c.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.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 *sšp* (light/chapel). Symmetrical arrangements on the signs for ʕ3.wy (doors) also emphasize the King's action in thus "opening the light in her chapel."¹⁰⁴⁹ The final scene in the series of the daily temple rite episodes in the 1st 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.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.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 *mnw*-jar and wensheb, connect with the myth. In the first scene, the presentation of the *h3db*, the symbol of rule over the earth, the King takes on the role of Horus who seized the Two Lands.¹⁰⁵² In the offering of the wensheb, he is naturally equated with Thoth, the Lord of Time.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.. The offering of the *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,¹⁰⁵⁴ a multitude of polyptotons emphasize roots such as *3h* (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 power¹⁰⁵⁵ and add multiple allusions to her other epithets.¹⁰⁵⁶

Moving up to the 3rd 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 Geb¹⁰⁵⁷ 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: *k3* (divine kas/food), *šps* (noble powers/riches), *df3* (provisions), ʕnh (life), *hṭp* (satisfy). In return for his offering, the gods promise to maintain Egypt, with a play on the two meanings of *b3k* (maintain/Egypt). The image of Isis seated over the Isheru Lake, as well as Mut's related epithet,¹⁰⁵⁸ connects with the myth. Although not expressly stated, Hathor again

¹⁰⁴⁸ D III, 77,5: *s3 šm3-m3ʕ.t*, "son of He who unites with Ma'at" (Thoth); *smn n r-pʕ.t ntr.w*, "image of the Hereditary Prince of the Gods" (Geb).

¹⁰⁴⁹ D III, 77,8: *wn.n=i sšp m sšp.t=k*, "I have opened the light in your chapel."

¹⁰⁵⁰ D III, 77,12: *r3=i hr sns.w hry-mk.t=i hr tpy.w-r3=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.

¹⁰⁵¹ D III, 78,11: *pr.(t) m r3=s hpr hr=ʕ*, "what goes forth from her mouth comes into being at once," discussed in Section 5.3.2.

¹⁰⁵² D III, 80,17: *sw mi Hr it.n=f t3.wy*, "He is like Horus, he has seized the Two Lands."

¹⁰⁵³ D III, 81,8: *sw mi Isdn ʕpr wd3.t*, "He is like Isden (=Thoth), who provisions the udjat."

¹⁰⁵⁴ D III, 82,5: *sw mi Hr dr šB n itn.t rwi sdbw*, "He is like Horus who drives away impurity from the Female Sun Disk (i.e. Atenet), who dispels evil."

¹⁰⁵⁵ D III, 81,16.

¹⁰⁵⁶ D III, 82,7-8, with visual plays on six epithets.

¹⁰⁵⁷ D III, 84,12.

¹⁰⁵⁸ D III, 85,3: *nb.t išrw*, "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 Hathor¹⁰⁵⁹ and beloved of Isis.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;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.¹⁰⁶² The text emphasizes the root *hpr*, "become," in descriptions of Hathor as primordial goddess who brings the world into existence.¹⁰⁶³ Visual plays highlight characteristics of the water: child-signs alluding to rejuvenation;¹⁰⁶⁴ leg-signs alluding to the leg of Osiris, the mythical source of the inundation.¹⁰⁶⁵

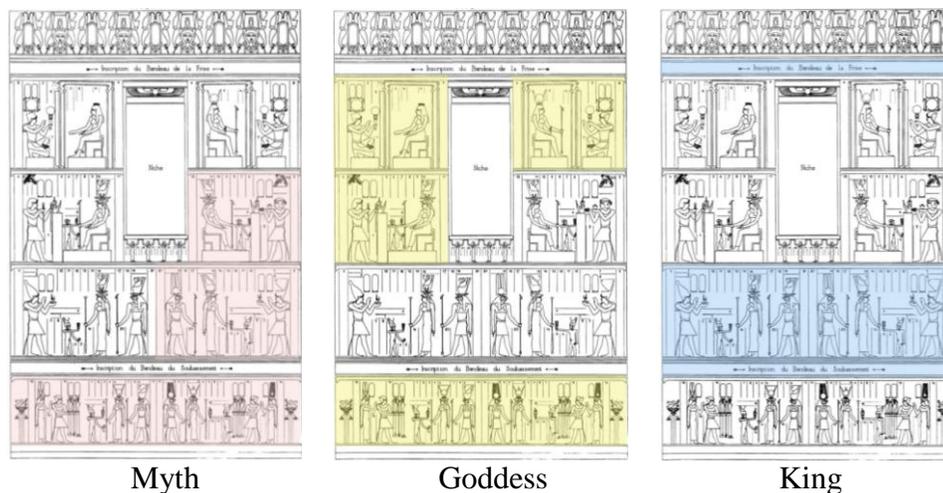


Fig. 5.87. The Three Themes on South Wall of Per-wer Sanctuary, after D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

In the 1st register, the two symmetrical offerings of Ma'at appropriately equate the King with Thoth¹⁰⁶⁶, who carries the epithet, "Lord of Ma'at." In return for the King's offering, Hathor

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: *in=f n=t nms.ty hn^c.ti m nwn sh^tp=f ib=t m mw-rnp*, "He brings you the two *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 *hpr* in the east scene (D III, 74,12 – 75,11).

¹⁰⁶⁴ D III, 63,5: *thy-nwn*, "Ihy-nun"; D III, 63,5: *mw-rnp*, "water of rejuvenation."

¹⁰⁶⁵ D III, 71,18, discussed in 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."¹⁰⁶⁷ The mention of Thoth, as well as the statement that Ihy's pacifies her heart with the sistrum¹⁰⁶⁸ connects to the myth. There are multiple plays on sound and meaning between Ma'at and *mr.t* (throat), as discussed earlier.¹⁰⁶⁹ Visual plays appear in the epithets of Thoth, Harsomtut 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.¹⁰⁷⁰ Traditionally, the white cloth symbolizes the strength of the Eye of Horus.¹⁰⁷¹ 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.¹⁰⁷² 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,¹⁰⁷³ she "unites" with the fragrance in her chapel.¹⁰⁷⁴

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 *3h* (effective/shining), designating the Eyes of Hathor's reciprocal gift to the King. However, there are many visual plays, on the signs writing *sšp.t* (luminous one), and emphasis on hand-signs in *bhdw* (throne), *int3.t* (throne dais), and *šsp* (receive), perhaps emphasizing the offering that was on the "hand" of the king.¹⁰⁷⁵ 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

¹⁰⁶⁷ D III, 68,3: *di=i n=k m3^c.t m ib=k r ir.t s n ntr.w d.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 3bh m hd=s*, "she unites with the fragrance in her chapel."

¹⁰⁷⁵ D III, 74,2; 74,4; 74,7. Discussed in 5.1.4.

maintenance of Ma'at.¹⁰⁷⁶ 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 *wḏ3* (udjat/healthy); *3h* (Eye, effective/shining); *š3ꜥ* (primordial/create); and *ḥd* (shrine/light).¹⁰⁷⁷ Sign plays visually emphasize eyes (*wḏ3.ty*).¹⁰⁷⁸ 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."¹⁰⁷⁹

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."¹⁰⁸⁰ On the west wall, Thoth greets the goddess, Ihy returns the Eye, and Harsomtus is called, "Ra himself in the Sanctuary of Ra."¹⁰⁸¹

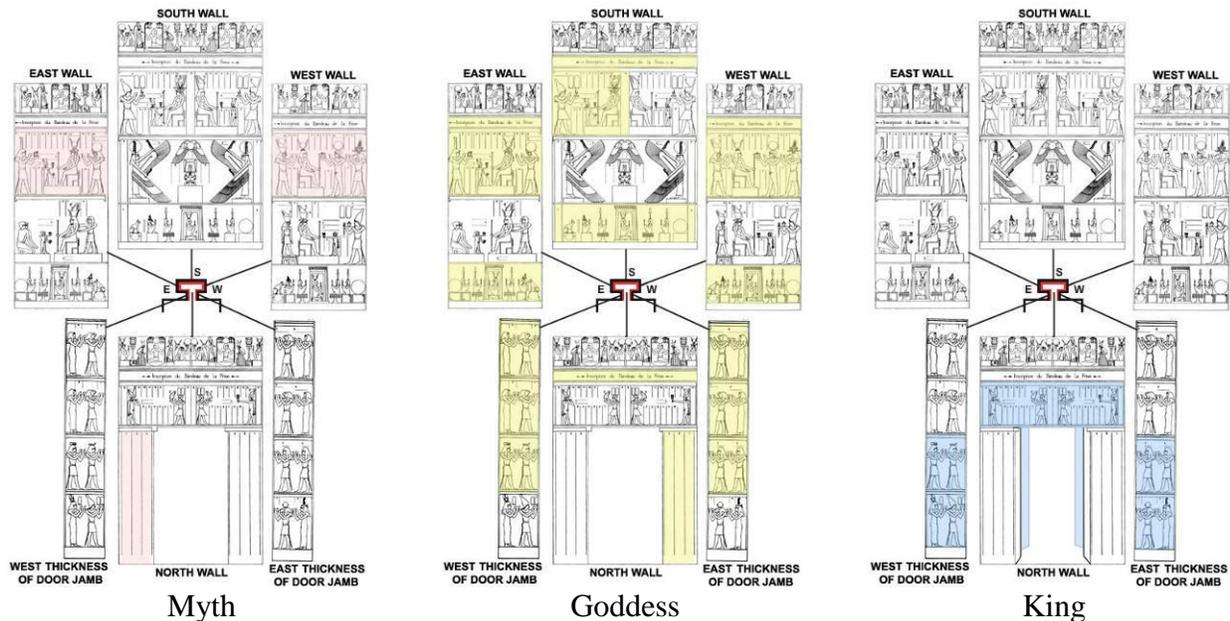


Fig. 5.88. The Three Themes in the Southern Niche of the Per-wer Sanctuary, after D III, pl. 200-201, © IFAO

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 *wḏ3*: D III, 94,14-15; *3h*: 94,15; *š3ꜥ*: 95,3;

¹⁰⁷⁸ *wḏ3.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.¹⁰⁸² 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

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-wer and of the Southern Niche. The goddess Ma'at also accompanies the King as he adores Hathor on the Per-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,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-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 naos within the Per-wer is not only the mound of creation, but Hathor herself is also the Creator.

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-ḥr*, "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 *Ir.t-R^c* (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. *ḥnt*, derived from the preposition meaning "at the head of," is translated as "foremost one"; if feminine, "(f.)" is added, e.g., *ḥnty.t Twm.t*, "Foremost one (f.) of Iunet" (D III, 50,12).

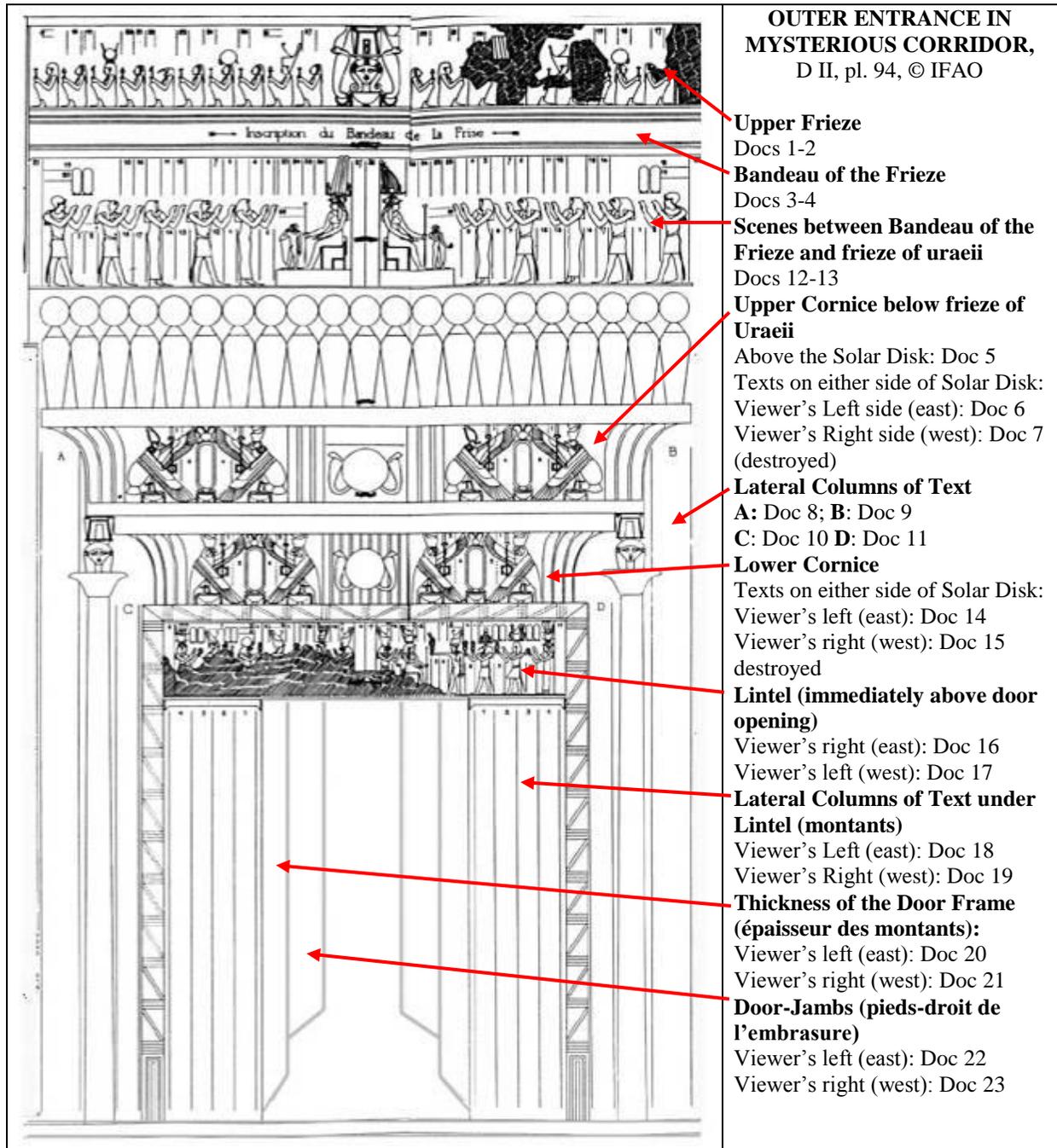
In order to convey more meaning and allusions, some words are transcribed into English, rather than translated. For example, the male and female sun disks, *Tn* and *itn.t* are always given as Aten and Atenet; the male and female suns, *R^c* and *R^cy.t*, as Ra and Rayt. Occasionally, the words will 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*, *Bd.t-di*, *T3rr*, *K3b-B.wy*, and *Ntry.t*, are given as "Iunet," "Iatdi," "Tarer," and "Qab-Tawy," and "Netjeryt,"

respectively, to maintain their distinctions.¹⁰⁸⁴ "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, *d.t* and *nḥḥ*, are translated as "*d.t*-eternity" and "*nḥḥ*-eternity," rather than the more traditional (and imprecise), "forever," and "eternally."

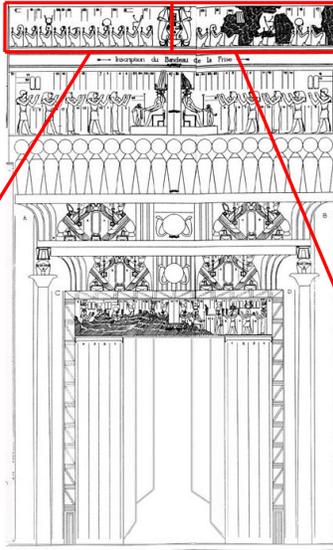
The male and female titles, *ḥm* and *ḥm.t*, are translated as "Incarnation," rather than "Majesty," in order to convey the idea that the deity is manifest in the physical vehicle of the statue of the god or the body of the living King. The term, "King," the office-holder on earth carrying the Ka of the Living Horus, is always capitalized.

¹⁰⁸⁴ 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: *Nbw.t m-ḥnt pr-Nbw.t*, "The Golden One (f.) in the Sanctuary of the Golden One (f.)" (D III, 72,5); *rmn.n=i 3ḥ.t r-tp pr-3ḥ.t*, "I carry the 3ḥ.t (cow) to the House of the 3ḥ.t (cow)" (D VII, 181,2).

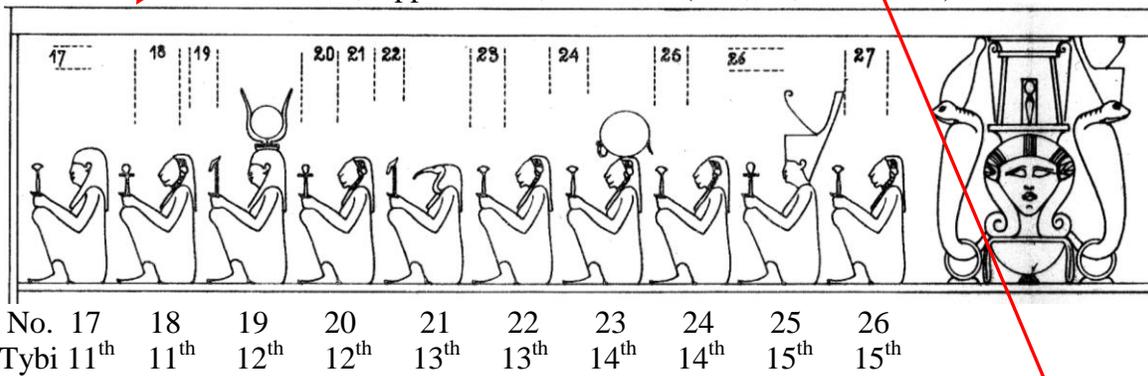
7.1 Outer Entrance



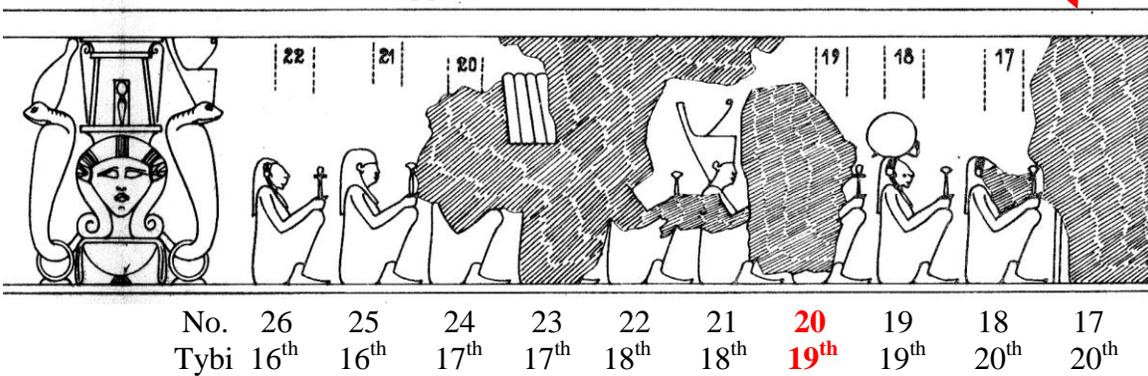
Outer Entrance, Upper Frieze



Outer Entrance, Upper Frieze, East Side (D II, 31, nos. 17-26)¹⁰⁸⁵



Outer Entrance, Upper Frieze, West Side (D II, 61, nos. 17-22)



¹⁰⁸⁵ 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. 17-26¹⁰⁸⁶

Translation	Transliteration
EAST WALL	EAST WALL
61. Osiris [1 st Tybi]	61. <i>Wsir</i>
62. Hathor [1 st Tybi]	62. <i>H.t-hr</i>
63. She who is hidden/secret ¹⁰⁸⁷ [2 nd Tybi]	63. <i>Št3.t</i>
64. Sole one (f.) (=uraeus) [2 nd Tybi]	64. <i>W^c.t</i>
SOUTH WALL	SOUTH WALL
1. Sopdu [3 rd Tybi]	1. <i>Spdw</i>
2. She possesses her face [3 rd Tybi]	2. <i>Tw-n=s-hr=s</i>
3. Herishef (lit. He who is upon his lake) [4 th Tybi]	3. <i>Hry-š=f</i>
4. Lady of her mother [4 th Tybi]	4. <i>Nb.t-mw.t=s</i>
5. She of the <i>wrr.t</i> -Crown [5 th Tybi]	5. <i>Wrr.t</i>
6. Lady of sweetness [5 th Tybi]	6. <i>Nb.t-bnr.t</i>
7. Neith [6 th Tybi]	7. <i>N.t</i>
8. Beloved of Her Father [6th Tybi]	8. <i>Mry.t-it=s</i>
9. Lord of Mesen (=Edfu) [7 th Tybi]	9. <i>Nb-Msn</i>
10. Lady of Keben (=Byblos) [7 th Tybi]	10. <i>Nb.t-Kbn</i>
11. Isis [8 th Tybi]	11. <i>3s.t</i>
12. She who leads the goddesses [8 th Tybi]	12. <i>Hrp(.t)-ntr.wt</i>
13. Ra-Horakhty [9th Tybi]	13. <i>R^c-Hr-3h.ty</i>
14. Lady of Khemnis [9 th Tybi]	14. <i>Nb.t-3h-bi.t</i>
15. Lady of heaven [10 th Tybi]	15. <i>Nb.t-p.t</i>
16. She who creates her perfection [10 th Tybi]	16. <i>Wtt.t-nfrw=s</i>
17. Wadjet¹⁰⁸⁸ [11th Tybi]	17. <i>W3d.t</i>
18. Whose power exists¹⁰⁸⁹ [11th Tybi]	18. <i>Wnn-b3.w=s</i>
19. Lady of Imau¹⁰⁹⁰ [12th Tybi]	19. <i>Nb.t-Im3w</i>
20. Ka of the Great one (f.) [12th Tybi]	20. <i>K3-wr.t</i>

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 *Št3.t* is identical with *Št3.t-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 *W3dyt*, 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 (*W3d.t*) and the word for a columned hall in a temple (*w3dy.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 *b3w* as "fame," "power," and "will." Cauville, Dend Trad II, p. 56, translates *b3w* as "numen"; Leitz, LGG II, 375, translates it as "Macht."

¹⁰⁹⁰ Seated woman wearing horns-and-disk headdress and holding a *w3s*-scepter. The word, *Im3w*, can designate one of two toponyms: Imau or Momemphis (now Kom el-Hisn and al-Tud); Hannig Ä-D, 1304, determined with three tree-signs); *Im3*, Ima, or Yam, a region in Nubia near Kerma (Wb I, 81,8; Hannig Ä-D, 1304). Leitz, LGG VIII, 355: *Nbt-Im3w*, "Die Herrin von Kom el-Hisn"; *Nbt-Im3w-mhwt-Nt*, "Die Herrin von Kom el-Hisn im tempel der Neith"; *Nbt-Im33w*, "Die Herrin von *Im33w* (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 *im3w* having meanings that relate to Hathor include *im3w*, "the radiance of the sun" (Wb I, 80,9; since NK), and *im3w*, "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-m3^c.t
22. Lady of heads owing to her Ka (power) [13th Tybi]	22. Nb.t-tp.w-m-k3=s
23. Tefnut¹⁰⁹¹ [14th Tybi]	23. Tfn.t
24. Lady of the eastern mountains¹⁰⁹² [14th Tybi]	24. Nb.t-b3hw
25. Neith¹⁰⁹³ [15th Tybi]	25. N.t
26. She who is sublime with rejoicing¹⁰⁹⁴ [15th Tybi]	26. Dsr(.t)-hnw

Doc 2 – Upper Frieze, West Side: D II, 61, nos. 17-22¹⁰⁹⁵

Translation	Transliteration
26. She who is beautiful to see¹⁰⁹⁶ [16th Tybi]	26. Nfr.t-m33
25. Nut [16th Tybi]	25. Nw.t
24. She who gives what she wants¹⁰⁹⁷ [17th Tybi]	24. Di.t-mr(=s)
23. [Onuris]¹⁰⁹⁸ [17th Tybi]	23. [In-hr.t]
22. [Naunet] [18th Tybi]	22. [Nn.t]
21. [Mut] [18th Tybi]	21. [Mw.t]
20. [With her] is the reunion¹⁰⁹⁹ [19th Tybi]	20. Shn-[m-^c=s]
19. [She of the unguent (?)]¹¹⁰⁰ [19th Tybi]	19. [Md.t(?)]
18. She who is joyous¹¹⁰¹ [20th Tybi]	18. (Imy.t)-hy
17. [He who is unique (?)]¹¹⁰² [20th Tybi]	17. [W^c (?)]
16. Whose Ka is in her heart [21st Tybi]	16. K3=s-m-ib=s

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), *b3h* 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 ank.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Seated lion-headed woman holding papyrus scepter.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Entries in red are located directly over the entrance to the Per-wer 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 *shn* can also mean "install," as in *iw=t shn.ti m ḥ šps* (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 , which Cauville, Dend Trad II, pp. 98-99, transliterates as *ihy.t* (La Joyeuse). Cf. Wb I, 117,15 – 118,1, which gives *ihy* as a substantive, with *ir ihy*

meaning "to rejoice"; Wb II, 483,1-13 gives *hy* as the verb, "rejoice." Both entries use  (A28) as a determinative, but not as an ideogram.

¹¹⁰² Parallel Text: D XV, 100, no. 21.

15. Wadjet [21 st Tybi]	15. <i>W3d.t</i>
14. Lady of the account [22 nd Tybi]	14. <i>Nb.t-Ipy.t</i>
13. Onuris [22rd Tybi]	13. <i>In-ḥr.t</i>
12. She who is green of field ¹¹⁰³ [23 rd Tybi]	12. <i>W3d.t-sh.t</i>
11. Iah (=Moon) [23 rd Tybi]	11. <i>I3ḥ</i>
10. [Lady of light] ¹¹⁰⁴ [24 th Tybi]	10. [<i>Nb.t-šsp</i>]
9. Amun-Ra [24 th Tybi]	9. <i>Imn-R^c</i>
8. Shining Eye [25 th Tybi]	8. <i>3ḥ.t</i>
7. Montu [25 th Tybi]	7. <i>Mntw</i>
6. She who traverses Nubia¹¹⁰⁵ [26th Tybi]	6. <i>Ḥns.t-Štt</i>
5. Wadjet [26 th Tybi]	5. <i>W3d.t</i>
4. She who is wide of stride [27th Tybi]	4. <i>Pd.t-nmt.t</i>
3. Khonsu ¹¹⁰⁶ [27 th Tybi]	3. <i>Ḥnsw</i>
2. Whose silence does not exist [28 th Tybi]	2. <i>N-gr=s</i>
1. Anubis [28 th Tybi]	1. <i>Inpw</i>
WEST WALL	WEST WALL
64. She of the palace [29 th Tybi]	64. <i>Mnḳb.t</i>
63. Onuris [29th Tybi]	63. <i>In-ḥr.t</i>
62. Lady of the sanctuaries (?) [30 th Tybi]	62. <i>Nb.t-pr.w (?)</i>
61. [Sokar] [30 th Tybi]	61. [<i>Skr</i>]
60. Lady of white limestone [1 st Mechir]	60. <i>Nb.t-inr-ḥd</i>
59. Sekhmet [1 st Mechir]	59. <i>Šḥm.t</i>
58. Lady of trembling [2 nd Mechir]	58. <i>Nb.t-sd3w</i>
57. Sekhmet [2 nd Mechir]	57. <i>Šḥm.t</i>
56. Lady of the son of Ra [3 rd Mechir]	56. <i>Nb.t-s3-R^c</i>
55. Osiris [3 rd Mechir]	55. <i>Wsir</i>
54. Swift (f.) of the pillar ¹¹⁰⁷ (?) [4 th Mechir]	54. <i>Ḥ3ḥ.t-iwn</i>
53. Hathor, Lady of Iunet ¹¹⁰⁸ [4 th Mechir]	53. <i>H.t-ḥr-nb.t-Iwn.t</i>

¹¹⁰³ Parallel text in D XV, 99, 16: *W3dy.t*. There may be confusion between the double reed-leaf of Wadjet and the three reed leaves used to spell *sh.t*, "fields."

¹¹⁰⁴ The epithet *nb sšp* (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); Harsomtut (D VI, 127,4); Horus (D VI, 58,2).

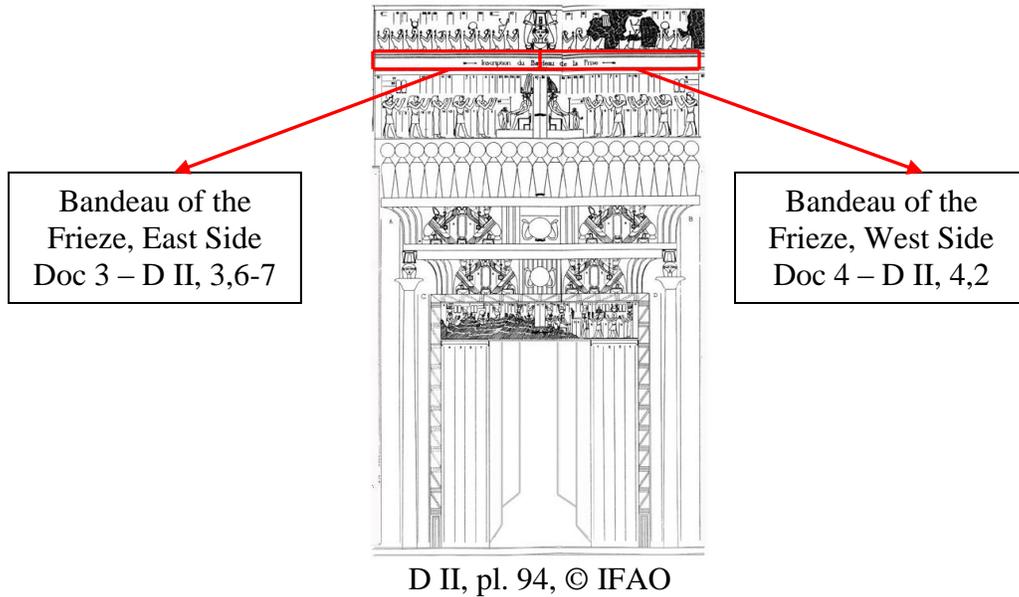
¹¹⁰⁵ See discussion in Excursus, 5.0.1.1.

¹¹⁰⁶ Parallel text: D XV, 99, no. 3: *Ḥnsw m W3s.t* (Khonsu in Thebes).

¹¹⁰⁷ The adjective *ḥ3ḥ* appears in epithets of gods who move or strike quickly (PL 705): Horus is *ḥ3ḥ-nmt.t*, "swift of steps" (E I, 76,3); Horus-Behdety is *ḥ3ḥ-msw*, "swift of births" (E I, 239,7; Wb III, 233,11); Isis-Hathor is *ḥ3ḥ b3w*, "swift of Ba-power," or "swift and mighty" (E I, 306,1; Wb III, 233,12).

¹¹⁰⁸ The most well-known and oldest name of Dendera, attested since the 4th Dynasty. Bonnet, RÄRG, 155, suggests that *Iwn.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 *Iwnw* (Heliopolis), as attested by texts at Dendera, e.g. "Hathor, for whom one made *Iwn.t* in place of *Iwnw* (Heliopolis)," as noted by Junker, *Sechs Teile*, 103. Murray, *Temples*, 53, derives the name, Dendera (Tentyra), from the phrase, *ḥ3ḥ-ntr.t*, "The (female) pillar of the goddess." However, Kockelmann, *Toponymen*, 54, gives the correct transcription as *Iwn.t-ḥ3ḥ-ntr.t*, "Iunet of the goddess" (D VI, 168,8 = No. 111). It would seem more likely that "Tentyra" derives from *ḥ3ḥ-ntr.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."

Outer Entrance, Bandeau of Frieze



Doc 3 – Bandeau of the Frieze, East Side: D II, 3, 6-7

Translation	Transliteration
<p>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</p>	<p>3,6 <i>pr-Nbw.t n Nbw.t nbi m nbw Nbw.t ntr.w wbn m-hnt=f</i> <i>pr-wr n Ipy.t 3,7 p^cp^c m s3.wy psd. t psd.ti m-k3b=f</i></p>

¹¹⁰⁹ 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-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: *nb*, but *nbw* when referring to the ore; Kurth, *E VII*, 306,13, *nb*; Wilson, *PL* 503-504, *nbw*; Cauville, *D I-XV*, *nbw*; Preys, *Complexes*, 621, *nbw*; Kockelmann, *Toponymen*, 75-76: *nwb*, which comes closest to the Coptic, **NOYB** (Crum, 221b). I follow Wilson, Cauville, and Preys in transliterating it as *nbw*.

¹¹¹⁰ Preys, *Complexes*, 246-248, discusses the many epithets of Hathor (and her counterpart, Isis) that include the element, *nbw*, "gold."

¹¹¹¹ I have chosen to translate *nbi* as "gilded," rather than "plated," in order to replicate in English the alliteration and polyptoton of the Egyptian (*nbi m nbw*): "gilded with gold." The verb, *nbi*, "to fashion, work, make," may be connected etymologically with *nbw*, "gold." Wilson, *PL* 502, notes that *nbi* derives from the older term, *nbi*, meaning "to melt (metal)." See *Wb II*, 236, 6-9. Because the gold determinative is present in both *nbi* and *nbw*, they may both derive from the root *nb* (gold).

¹¹¹²  *psd.t* derives from *psd*, "to shine"; it denotes the (shining) uraeus when determined by  (I64).

¹¹¹³ The preposition *m-k3b*, 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.

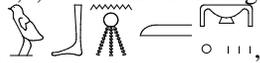
Doc 4 – Bandeau of the Frieze, West Side: D II, 4,2-3

Translation	Transliteration
<p>4,2 The Sanctuary of the Golden One (f.)¹¹¹⁴ is for <u>the Golden One (f.)</u> of the gods, plated in gold.¹¹¹⁵ <u>She who shines like gold</u>¹¹¹⁶ 4,3 shines¹¹¹⁷ in it (=the sanctuary), (which) resembles¹¹¹⁸ seeing (it) (=the sanctuary) the horizon of heaven. She enters [...2 squares...] all.</p>	<p>4,2 <i>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 k=s [... 2 squares...] nb.w⁷</i></p>

¹¹¹⁴ 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-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: *nb*, but *nbw* when referring to the ore; Kurth, E VII, 306,13, *nb*; Wilson, PL 503-504, *nbw*; Cauville, D I-XV, *nbw*; Preys, Complexes, 621, *nbw*; Kockelmann, Toponymen, 75-76: *nwb*, 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).

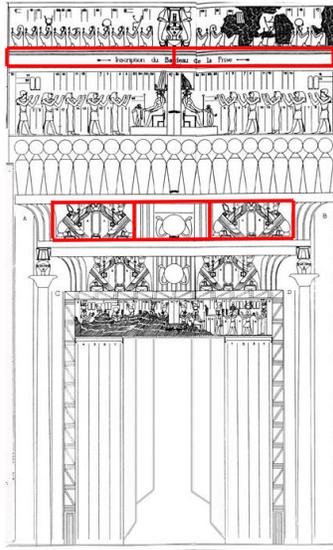
¹¹¹⁶ The consensus among scholars is that the expression, , should be considered a participial phrase beginning with a feminine singular perfective active participle, thus *wbn.t m nbw*, which can be translated as "She who shines like gold." Nuances of translation exist as follows: Cauville, Dend Trad 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 "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.

¹¹¹⁷ The intransitive verb *wbn* can be either a participle, "who shines" or a stative, "(in a state of) shining." In both cases, the participial phrase, *wbn.t m nbw*, can function as the nominal subject of the stative of *wbn*.

¹¹¹⁸ Wb 257,14-17: the expression, *tw.t + r*, "be like, resemble," used in the LP and GR, replaced the earlier *tw.t + n*.

Outer Entrance, Upper Cornice

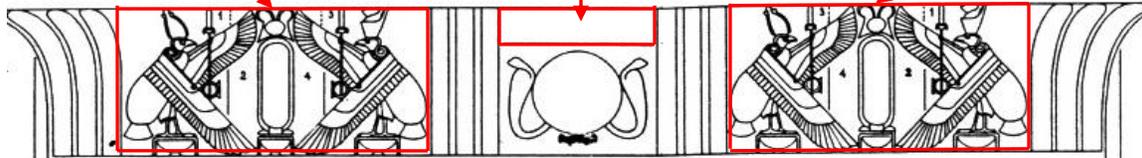


D II, pl. 94, © IFAO

Upper Cornice East of
Winged Disk
Doc 6 – D III, 45, 8-9

Upper Cornice Above
Winged Disk
Doc 5 – D III, 45,6

Upper Cornice West
of Winged Disk
Doc 7 – D III, 45,10



Doc 5 – Upper Cornice above Winged Disk: D III, 45,6

Translation	Transliteration
45,6 Dappled One of Plumage, ¹¹¹⁹ who goes forth from the horizon. Dappled One of Plumage, who appears ¹¹²⁰ in the sky. ¹¹²¹	45,6 <i>s3b šw.t pr m 3h.t</i> <i>s3b šw.t wbn m nn.t</i>

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

Translation	Transliteration
<p>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</p>	<p>45,8 <i>Nḥb.t ḥd.t Nḥn ḥwn.t t3-šm^c</i> 45,9 <i>W3dy.t nb.t P ḥnw.t Dp</i></p>

Doc 7 – Upper Cornice West of Winged Disk: D III, 45,10 (destroyed)

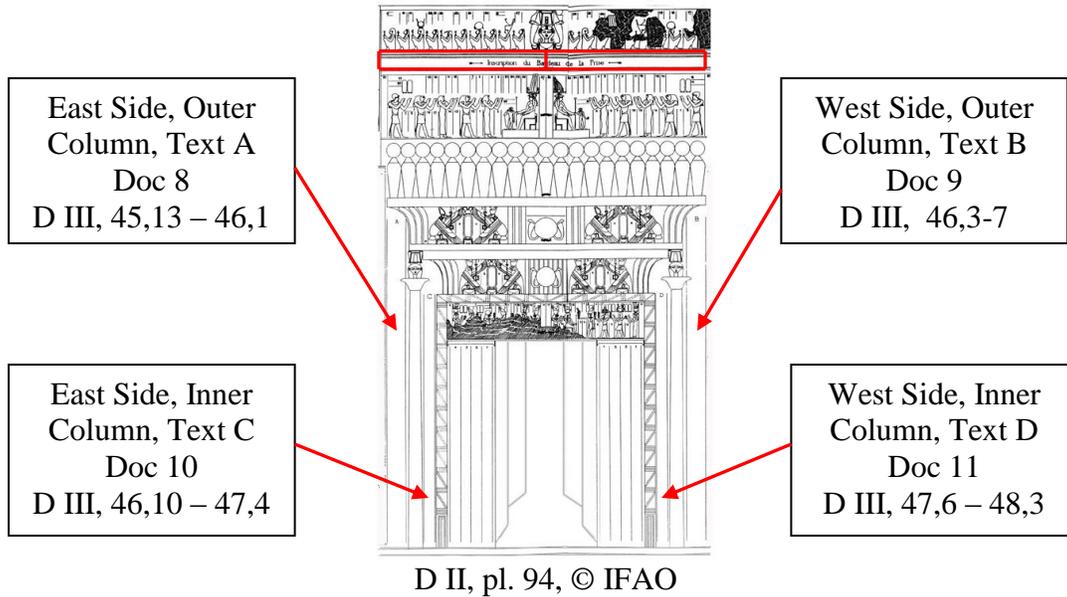
¹¹²² The vulture representing Nekhbet in this scene wears the white crown of Upper Egypt, flanked by two ostrich feathers, recalling the crown of Hathor of the Per-wer, in her form as Nekhbet. See discussion in **4.1.4**.

¹¹²³ Wb III, 211,3-7. The term, *ḥd.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



Doc 8 – Door Frame, East Side, Outer Column, Text A: D III, 45,13 – 46,1

Translation	Transliteration
<p>45,13 Words to say: How beautiful is your face! You appear in¹¹²⁶ your sanctuary, <u>Hathor</u>, <u>the Great</u> (f.), <u>Lady of Iunet</u>, <u>Eye of Ra</u>. You come forth (in procession), <u>Lady of Light</u>¹¹²⁷ who repels the darkness. You have 45,14 brightened¹¹²⁸ the Two Lands with your beauty.¹¹²⁹ Ra himself is praising you, making adoration before your beautiful face. The gods are making adoration for you. The goddesses are making jubilation¹¹³⁰ for you.</p>	<p>45,13 <i>dd mdw nfr.wy hr=t h^c=t m pr=t H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t Ir.t-R^c pr=t r-h3 nb(.t) sšp hsr kkw šhd.n=t 45,14 t3.wy m nfrw=t R^c ds=f hr sw3š=t hr ir(.t) i3w m hr=t nfr ntr.w hr ir(.t) n=t i3w ntr.wt hr ir.t n=t hnw nhm n=t 45,15 p.t hr h3b3=s m pr=t m 3h.t sw3š tw(=t) t3 dr=f r{t}-r3-^c wbn</i></p>

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 htp n itn*.

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: *nfr.w* 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,  (A8), 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

<p>The sky and¹¹³¹ the stars¹¹³² are rejoicing for you 45,15 as you go forth from the horizon. The entire land praises you¹¹³³ as far as¹¹³⁴ the rising and the setting¹¹³⁵ of¹¹³⁶ the Aten. Millions open their arms for you, hundreds of thousands¹¹³⁷ 46,1 kiss the ground for you. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt () <has come> before you, <u>Hathor, Lady of Iunet</u>. He makes this beautiful festival for you. He repeats it annually,¹¹³⁸ for <u>d.t</u>-eternity.</p>	<p><i>h̄tp n itn wn n=t h̄h.w gʒb.ty=sn sn n=t 46,1 h̄fn.w tʒ {in}<ii>.n nsw.t-bi.ty () h̄r=t H.t-hr nb.t 'Iwn.t ir=f n=t h̄b pn nfr wh̄m=f sw n-nr(.t) r d.t</i></p>
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Doc 9 – Door Frame, West Side, Outer Column, Text B: D III, 46,3-7

Translation	Transliteration
<p>46,3 Words to say: the Uraeus¹¹³⁹ appears within the temple, she <shines>¹¹⁴⁰ upon the brow of [her] father.¹¹⁴¹ You walk in the place of your desire. You run¹¹⁴² towards all the gods who abide¹¹⁴³ in 46,4 the palace, your Ka behind you,¹¹⁴⁴ Hu and Sia in your</p>	<p>46,3 <i>dd mdw h̄c wr.t m-h̄nt ʒh.t <wbn>=s h̄r wp.t n.t it[=s] nmt=t m s.t-ib=t ph̄rr=t r ntr.w nb(.w) dd m 46,4 ḥ kʒ=t m-h̄t=t Hw Siʒ m šmsw=t wp n=t Dh̄wty wʒ.wt</i></p>

III, 59,5), employing  as the determinative for *hnw*. See Dominicus, Gesten, 61-65; 87; Abb. 14, with reliefs depicting the gesture.

¹¹³¹ Wb III, 131,25. *h̄r* coordinates two substantives, *p.t*, "heaven," and *h̄ʒbʒ=s*, "stars," having a closer connection than *h̄n^c*.

¹¹³² The expression, *h̄ʒbʒ=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 *h̄ʒbʒ(w)=s* as a collective term for the decanal stars, cited in Goebis, Crowns, 17 n. 24.

¹¹³³ Following Kurth EP II, §31, for 2nd f. s. dependent pronoun. Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 104, transliterates as *tw*.

¹¹³⁴ Wb III, 394,1-7. Wilson, PL 570, notes  becomes *r* due to phonetic change. Junker, GrD §239, p. 173-174, translates *r-rʒ-c* 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.

¹¹³⁵ Coordination of two similar verbs: Kurth, EP II, §184.

¹¹³⁶ Dissimilation of *m* to genitival-*n*, as discussed above in **n. 1121**.

¹¹³⁷ *h̄fn.w*, "hundreds of thousands":  | |, written with the sign of a frog (I7).

¹¹³⁸ *n-nrt*, "annually," "year by year," following Blackman and Fairman, Myth of Horus, 23-25; Kurth, E VIII, 4,3.

¹¹³⁹ 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, *h̄r wp.t n.t it[=s]*, "on the brow of [her] father," suggests that a translation of "uraeus" is appropriate.

¹¹⁴⁰ Restoration of missing <*wbn*> follows Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 104-105.

¹¹⁴¹ Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 329, restores *s*-bolt (O34) beneath *f*-viper (I9).

¹¹⁴² Wb I, 541,2-10: *ph̄rr* 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 *ph̄rr* 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.

¹¹⁴³ 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.

¹¹⁴⁴ The phrase, "your Ka behind you," recalls the image of the king with his *kʒ* standing behind him, which appears in the painted scene in the well shaft of the NK Theban tomb of Amenhotep III, KV 22.

following.¹¹⁴⁵ 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,¹¹⁴⁶ Hidden One (f.) of image, who drives away evil from the Lord of the shrine,¹¹⁴⁷ who wears¹¹⁴⁸ the double crown¹¹⁴⁹ in the Per-wer, who brightens 46,6 the Atef-wearer¹¹⁵⁰ 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 *d.t*-eternity. The Uraeus¹¹⁵¹ of the First Primordial God,¹¹⁵² you protect Horus ()|. He is Ra, from whom you have come forth.

shn <n=> t R^c m^c.wy=f(y)
*iw=t shn.ti m^ch 46,5 šps h^c=t m-
hnt 3h.t tw=t nb.t (r) dr imn.t sšt3
h^csr dw hr nb k3r wts shm.ty m pr-
wr shd 46,6 3tf.ty m {m} wbn.t iw
nfr.w=t hr R^c Psd.t s^c[nh] rmt iw
3h.t m w3d r s.wt hb.(w)t n.t 46,7
d.t wr.t n.t p3w.ty tpy hw=t Hr ()|
ntf R^c pr.n=t im=f*

Doc 10 – Door Frame, East Side, Inner Column, Text C: D III, 46,10 – 47,4

Translation	Transliteration
46,10 The doors of the heaven of the Beautiful One (f.)	46,10 3.wy p.t n.(t) ^c n.t rw.ty

¹¹⁴⁵ It is not clear to me why the scribe chose to write *šms*-sign  (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.

¹¹⁴⁶ Hathor's epithet, *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, *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.

¹¹⁴⁸ Lit. "lifts up." See PL 272-273.

¹¹⁴⁹ Wb IV, 250,10 – 251,10:  (S5) *shm.ty*, as the ideogram for "double crown" since 18th Dynasty, contra Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 107, who instead transliterates as *h^cw*, although in Dend fonds, 192, she notes that this sign can be transliterated as *p3 shmty* or *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 *h^c.w*, "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 Goebes, 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 *wr.t* as "uraeus" rather than "great one." However, because *p3w.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, *p3w.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: *hs n=t R^c r shry ib=s shtp tw p3w.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 copper¹¹⁵⁵ 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 **shines**¹¹⁵⁹ in her sanctuary like Ra **who shines** in the sky. She has seen **47,3** 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 One¹¹⁶⁰ of the living (divine) **47,4** Kas, for *d.t*-eternity.

hm=s m hknw m inr hđ nfr n ʕnw pʕpʕ m nbw, whʕ.ti m drwy 47,1 đsr.ti m k3.t n.t Tnn ʕ3.wy=f(y) m ʕš nfr n Hnty-š nb.ti m bi3 Stt wn 47,2 ʕ3.wy ʕh wts hđ šps wpš t3.wy m hđđw.t H.t-ħr nb.t Twn.t wbn.ti m pr=s mi Rʕ wbn m nn.t hf.n=s 47,3 mnw pn nfr ir n=s nsw.t-bi.ty ()| di=s n=f rnp.wt n.t Itm ħr šhm.ty iw=f m Bik mn ħr srħ hnty k3.w 47,4 ʕnh.w d.t

¹¹⁵³ Wb. I, 191, 1:  *ʕnw*, although in the present text, it is written  with the painted eye (D138), and thus alluding to Hathor's epithet of  *ʕn.t*, "Beautiful one," appearing at the beginning of this text (D III, 46,10). GG, p. 451, notes that *ʕ(i)nw*, 'Ainu, is the quarry at modern Tura, from which *inr hđ nfr n ʕnw*, "fine white (lime)stone of 'Ainu" was obtained.

¹¹⁵⁴ Wb III, 310,13; PL 740: *Hnty-š* is a mountainous region in Lebanon renowned for its forests of pine and cedar. Brugsch, Geog Inscript 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  (N34). PL 306 notes that the spelling  means "copper" in all periods, contra Cauville Dend Trad III, p. 107, who translates the word as "bronze." Faulkner, CDME, 169,

 transliterates *ʕ ʕ ʕ* as "*hmt* (?) copper."

¹¹⁵⁶ Wb IV, 348,3-5: *Št.t*, the old designation for the lands NE of Egypt, "Asia." However, cf. discussion in **5.1.1.1**.

¹¹⁵⁷ *hđ* 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 *hđ*, 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, *hđđw.t* is mostly written *hđđwy*, as here in line 47,2. Nevertheless, Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 106, and PL 698, transliterate this writing as *hđđw.t*.

¹¹⁵⁹ Wb I, 292,9 – 294,3: *wbn* can mean "rise," "appear," and "shine."

¹¹⁶⁰ 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 *hnty.t Twn.t*, "Foremost one (f.) of Iunet" (D III, 50,12); the King is *hnty k3.w ʕnh.w*, "Foremost one of the Living (divine) Kas." (D III, 47,3-4).

Doc 11 – Door Frame, West Side, Inner Column, Text D: D III, 47,6 – 48,3

Translation	Transliteration
<p>47,6 The doors of the heaven of Rayt,¹¹⁶¹ framing her chapel in joy, are in beautiful limestone¹¹⁶² of Tura,¹¹⁶³ completed in its requirements,¹¹⁶⁴ <shining¹¹⁶⁵> 47,7 in gold, <provided¹¹⁶⁶> by the handiwork¹¹⁶⁷ of Shu, its door leaves in real cedar of the best wood of Lebanon,¹¹⁶⁸ plated in beautiful gold. Opening 48,1 the doors of the shrine,¹¹⁶⁹ carrying the noble chapel, filling the land with dust of gold,¹¹⁷⁰ Hathor, Foremost One (f.) of Iunet, who illuminates her sanctuary [as] the Female horizon-dweller¹¹⁷¹ 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,¹¹⁷² Foremost One of the living 48,3 (divine) Kas,¹¹⁷³ eternally.</p>	<p>47,6 ʕ3.wy p.t n(.t) Rʕy.t h3 h3y.t=s m hʕw.t m inr hḏ nfr R3-3w hts m irw=f <pʕpʕ.ti> 47,7 m nbw <ʕpr>.ti m r3-ʕ.wy Šw ʕnh.wy=f(y) m ʕš m3ʕ n tp-ht mk sk¹¹⁷⁴ m nbw nfr sš 48,1 ʕ3.wy šsp.t rmni hḏ šps mh t3 m nkr nbw H.t-hr hnty.t Iwn.t psd pr=s [m] 3h<.ty.t> hn.t 3h.t m33=s 48,2 k3.t mnh.t ir n=s s3 Rʕ () di=s n=f nswy.t n(.t) Šw [... 4 squares...] mn hnty k3.w 48,3 ʕnh.w d.t</p>

¹¹⁶¹ Rayt (*Rʕy.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.

¹¹⁶² Limestone is *inr hḏ*, lit. "white stone."

¹¹⁶³ Wb II, 393,12; Gr. τροία; Hannig, Ä-D, 1357: Ancient *R3-3w*, 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 ʕnw, "Ainu."

¹¹⁶⁴ 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. *ʕpr m irw=f* (D I, 107,15). Additionally, the word, *hts*, often written with the seal-determinative (S20), carries in it the sense of concealing, thus alluding to the secluded, secret nature of Hathor's sanctuary at Dendera. See Wilson, PL 690-691.

¹¹⁶⁵ Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 329, corrects the signs in D III, 47,6, to , transliterating as *pʕpʕ.ti*.

¹¹⁶⁶ In line 47,7, the doubtful sign should be  (Aa20), transliterated *ʕpr*, "bestow, equip, provide," as suggested by Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 106.

¹¹⁶⁷ Following the transliteration in Wb II, 395. Cf. PL 572, which transliterates it as *r-ʕwy*.

¹¹⁶⁸ Wb V, 266,14: *tp*, meaning "best of Lebanon"; thus, *tp-ht*, "best wood of Lebanon."

¹¹⁶⁹ Wb IV, 535,10-16; PL 1030: *šsp.t*, "room, chamber." Cf. *sšp.t*, "heaven, sky" (Wb IV, 284,7; GR), a homophone by metathesis, thus creating a subtle allusion to Hathor's shrine as "heaven."

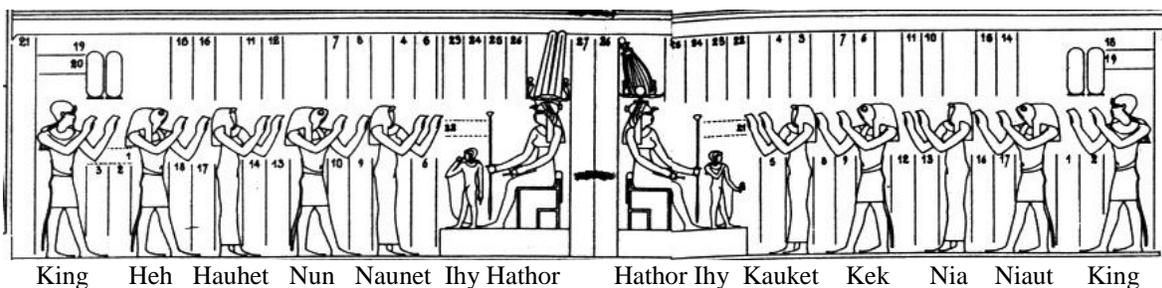
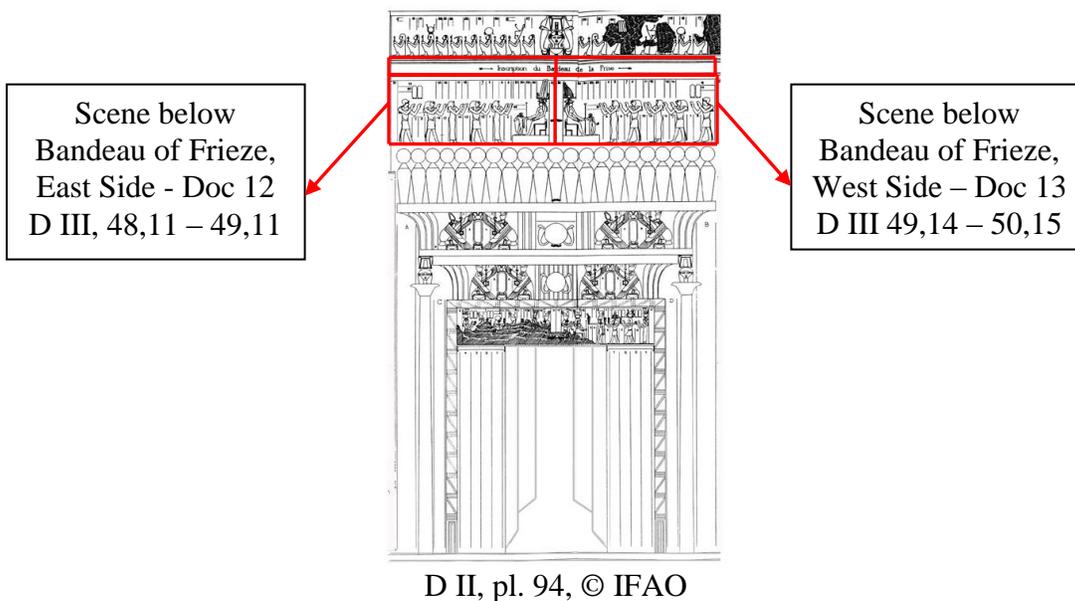
¹¹⁷⁰ Allusion to the ritual of *sti thn.t*, which took place towards the end of the agricultural year on the first day of the month of Epiphi. Green powder, made sparkling by the addition of gold, was sprinkled on the ground in front of Hathor's statue, which went out in procession. The whole earth "sparkled with her radiance" (*thn t3 dr=f<m> ʕhw=t*), thus guaranteeing the agricultural cycle. See Goyon, Répandre l'or, 85-100. Wb II, 117,5, notes that *mh t3 m nkr nbw*, "fill the land with gold dust," refers to sunbeams.

¹¹⁷¹ Chassinat (D III, 48 n. 1) states that both Dümichen and Mariette saw a  in the upper part of the lacuna,

suggesting a restoration of , for the word *3h.tyt*: , contra Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 106, who transliterates it as *3h.ty*. Note that *3h.t* can also mean temple, giving the additional allusion that Hathor illuminates her temple just as she illuminates the horizon in her role as *3h.ty.t*.

¹¹⁷² Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 107, translates "installé."

Outer Entrance, Scenes below Bandeau of Frieze



Adoration of the King and Ogdoad on Outer Entrance of Per-wer Sanctuary

¹¹⁷³ The *k3.w ʿnh.w*, "living (divine) kas," are the ancestral gods. See discussion in 5.2.6.

¹¹⁷⁴ 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

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND DESCRIPTION 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. NAUNET 48,13 Naunet,¹¹⁷⁸ who pays homage to <u>Hathor, Lady of Iunet.</u> 48,14 I have adored your face at the extreme limits¹¹⁷⁹ with the beautiful spells that you love. NUN 48,15 Nun,¹¹⁸⁰ who pays homage to <u>Hathor, Lady of the Temple of Purification.</u>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. HAUHET 48,17 Hauhet,¹¹⁸² who pays homage to <u>Hathor, Lady of Iunet.</u> I have made homage to your Incarnation</p>	<p>TITLE AND DESCRIPTION 48,11 <i>dw3 ntr dd mdw nd hr=t šps.t</i> 48,12 <i>hk3.t hnw.t ntr.wt Sš3.t wr.t nb.t sš</i> NAUNET 48,13 <i>Nwn.t di i3w n H.t-hr nb.t Twn.t</i> 48,14 <i>dw3.n=i hr=t m hp.ty m 3h.w nfr.w mr=t</i> NUN 48,15 <i>Nwn di i3w n H.t-hr nb.t h.t-^cbw sw3š.n=i</i> 48,16 <i>k3=t r k3 n p.t swr.n=i b3w=t r ntr.w</i> HAUHET 48,17 <i>Hh.t di i3w n H.t-hr nb.t Twn.t hfn.n=i</i></p>

¹¹⁷⁵ The *dw3-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 *dw3* 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  (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. Nounet 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 Ναῦνι. 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, "*hp.ty?*"; Chassinat has "sic" next to the signs. However, Wilson, PL 639, notes that *hpty* 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 , the logogram for *hp.ty* in the present text.

¹¹⁸⁰ *Nwn*, "Nun" (Coptic ΝΟΥΝ; 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 ΝΟΥΝ (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 (*h.t-^cbw*) 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 *Hh.t*, "Hauhet" (Fr. Hehit; 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.

48,18 in the sacred chapel. I make your Ka content with the sacred texts.¹¹⁸³

HEH

49,1 Heh,¹¹⁸⁴ who pays homage to Hathor, Lady of Iunet. I have praised to your face, **49,2** my mouth possessing the praises, **my heart** possessing the (magical) utterances.¹¹⁸⁵

KING

49,3 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt () | son of Ra () | son of the Lord of Writing,¹¹⁸⁶ **49,4** created by the One who knows the Two Lands.¹¹⁸⁷ **BEHIND HIM:** All protection and life are behind him, like Ra, for *d.t*-eternity. **49,5** Words to say: I have come before you, the **Female horizon-dweller in the horizon**, Mistress of Writing, Female ruler of books,¹¹⁸⁸ for you are the Beautiful One (f.) of face, Mistress of Love. The goddesses live **49,6** 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 **49,9** 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. **49,11** I make your Ka great among the living ones.

hm.t=t 48,18 m ti.t dsr.t shr=i k3=t m sp-n-si3

HEH

49,1 *Hh di i3w n H.t-hr nb.t Iwn.t dw3.n=i m hr<=t> 49,2 r3=i hr sns(.w) hry-mk.t(=i) hr tpy.w-r3*

KING

49,3 *nsw.t-bi.ty () | s3 R^c () | s3 nb s3*
49,4 *nbi n m-t3.wy BEHIND HIM: s3 nḥ w3s nb ḥ3=f mi R^c d.t 49,5 dd mdw ii.n=i hr=t 3ḥ.tyt m 3ḥ.t nb(.t) s3 ḥk3.t md3.wt twt n.t hr nb.t mrw.t nḥ ntr.wt 49,6 n m33 hr=s*

IHY

49,7 *Thy wr s3 H.t-hr*

HATHOR

49,8 *dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t Tr.t-R^c nb.t p.t ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w S33.t 49,9 wr.t nb.t pr-md3.t dw3 ntr.w (r) rdi.t n=s i3w.*

DIVINE RANDZEILE

49,10 *dd mdw ii.ti m ḥtp ḥk3 s3 ḥk3 nws.t mnḥ bnr dd.t ndb.n=i ns.w<=k> 3ḥ m ib=i 49,11 swr k3=k ḥnt nḥ.w*

¹¹⁸³ Wb IV, 300,2-21; PT; PL 795. Lit., "deeds of Sia," or "acts of perception." *si3*, meaning "perception," is an action of the heart and is complementary to *ḥw*, the spoken manifestation of that which is perceived. Both *ḥw* and *si3* 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, 57,5-6: *3ḥ.w=k nn sw m sp-n-si3=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.

¹¹⁸⁴ *Hh*, "Heh" (Coptic **ⲭⲁⲒ**; Fr. Hehou; Ger. Heh), the personification of infinite space; one of the eight primeval gods of the Hermopolitan cosmogony. See Wb III, 152,11; Altenmüller, Achtheit, 56; Sethe, Amun, §128.

¹¹⁸⁵ Wb V, 287,4-12, esp. 11: spells, recited utterances. Ritner, Mechanics, 42, notes that *tp-r3* (Coptic, **ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ**) literally means, "(what is) on the mouth"; it can be translated as either "spells" or "magic." To include this connotation, I translate *tpy.w-r3* as "(magical) utterances."

¹¹⁸⁶ Kurth, Thot, 506-507; Boylan, Thoth, 99.

¹¹⁸⁷ 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, Thot, 506; Boylan, Thoth, 103;183.

¹¹⁸⁸ I.e. scrolls. Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 109, translates *md3.wt* as "des rituels." However, Kurth, in a passage from Edfu referring to Seshat, translates *ḥk3.t md3.wt* as "Herrin der Bücher" (Edfou VII, 287, 1-2), and *md3.wt wr.wt nt iḥt ntr* as "the illustrious books of the ritual" (Edfou VII, 298,17).

NIAU

50,5 Niau,¹²⁰⁰ who pays homage to Hathor, Lady of Iunet. I pay homage to you **50,6** to the height of heaven, (I) kiss the ground as far as the breadth of the earth.¹²⁰¹

KING

50,7 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ()|, son of Ra ()|, heir of the Baboon¹²⁰² **50,8** engendered by the Judge¹²⁰³ **BEHIND HIM:** All protection and life are behind him, like Ra, for *d.t*-eternity. **50,9** [Words to say:] [I] have come before [you], Aten[et], Lady of the horizon, [...8 squares...] **50,10** without (another) except for her. The gods and goddesses adore her on account of the greatness of her Ba-power.

IHY

50,11 Ihy the great, son of Hathor

HATHOR

50,12 Words to say by Hathor, Foremost One (f.)¹²⁰⁴ of Iunet, Powerful One (f.), Mistress of the gods and goddesses, the Great One (f.) of heaven, Female ruler **50,13** on earth, the gods rejoice for her when she appears.

DIVINE RANDZEILE

50,14 Words to say: Welcome in peace, *w^cb-Ihy* priest, Effective of Speech, **Effective One of (magical) utterances**, Excellent of (magical) utterances. I hear

NIAU

50,5 *Niw di i3w n H.t-hr nb.t Iwn.t di=i n=t i3w 50,6 r k3 n p.t sn t3(=i) r wsh n t3*

KING

50,7 *nsw.t bi.ty ()| s3 R^c ()| iw^c n n^cn 50,8 wtt n wpw* **BEHIND HIM:** *s3 n^h w3s nb h3=f mi R^c d.t 50,9 [dd mdw] ii.n[=i] hr[=t] itn[.t] nb(.t) 3h.t [...8 squares...] 50,10 n hr-hw=s dw3 sy ntr.w ntr.wt m 3 n b3w=s*

IHY

50,11 *Thy wr s3 H.t-hr*

HATHOR

50,12 *dd mdw in H.t-hr hnty.t Iwn.t wsr.t hnw.t ntr.w ntr.wt 3.t m p.t hk3.t 50,13 m t3 nhm n=s ntr.w m h^c=s*

DIVINE RANDZEILE

50,14 *dd mdw ii.ti m htp w^cb-Thy 3h r3 spd d3is.w*

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, 57,5-6: *3h.w=k nn sw m sp-n-si3=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 *Niw*, "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 I, 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 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.

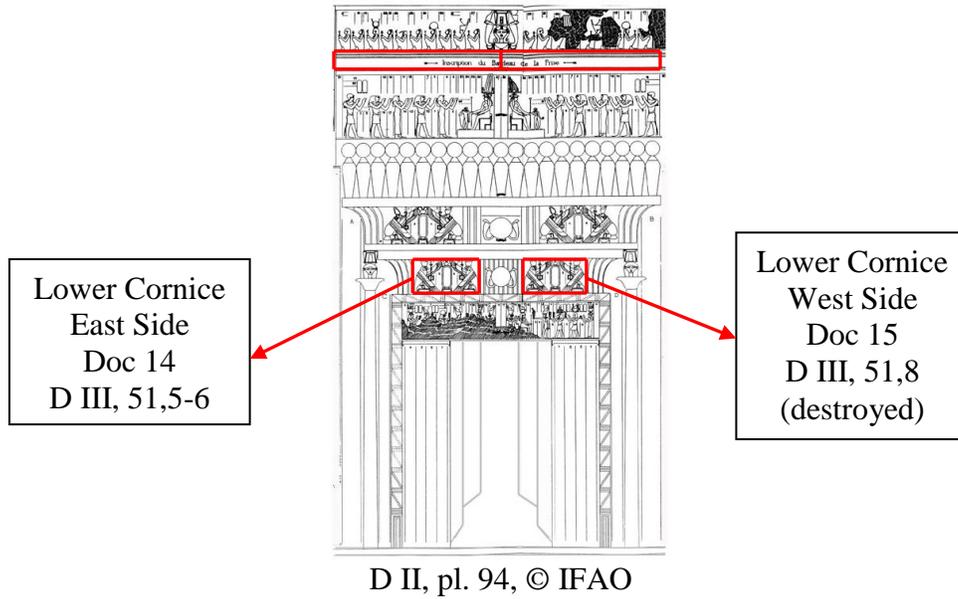
¹²⁰³ Stadler, Weiser, 333-334, notes the role of Thoth as judge and lawyer, who helps the deceased gain justice and always maintains a sense of fairness. Thoth is not the only god who is a judge; he exercises this role alongside other judiciary divinities, e.g., in the conflict between Horus and Seth.

¹²⁰⁴ Prepositional nisbe (an adjective made from a preposition), derived from *hnt*, "at the head of"; translated as "foremost." In this epithet, the nisbe functions as a substantive, "foremost one." Hathor is often described as *hnty.t Iwn.t*, "Foremost One (f.) of Iunet" (D III, 50,12); the King is *hnty k3.w n^h.w*, "Foremost One of the Living (divine) Kas." (D III, 47,3-4).

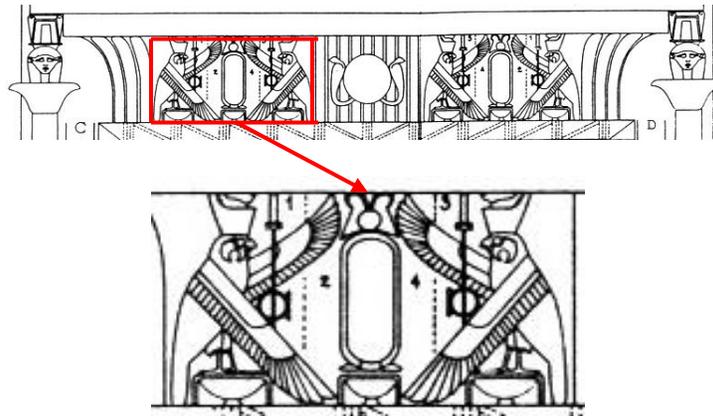
what you say, **50,15** beautifully and in peace. I protect
your body every day.

*mnh tpy.w-r3 ndb=i dd.t=k **50,15**
nfr m htp mk(=i) h^c=k r^c nb*

Outer Entrance, Lower Cornice



Doc 14 – Lower Cornice, East Side: D III, 51,5-6



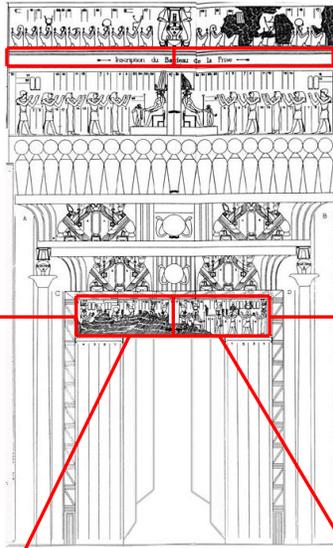
Translation	Transliteration
51,5 Behdety, ¹²⁰⁵ the Great God, Lord of Heaven ¹²⁰⁶	51,5 <i>Bḥd.ty ntr ʕ3 nb p.t</i>
51,6 Behdety, the Great God, Lord of Heaven	51,6 <i>Bḥd.ty ntr ʕ3 nb p.t</i>

Doc 15 – Lower Cornice, West Side: D III, 51,8 (destroyed)

¹²⁰⁵ *Bḥd.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.

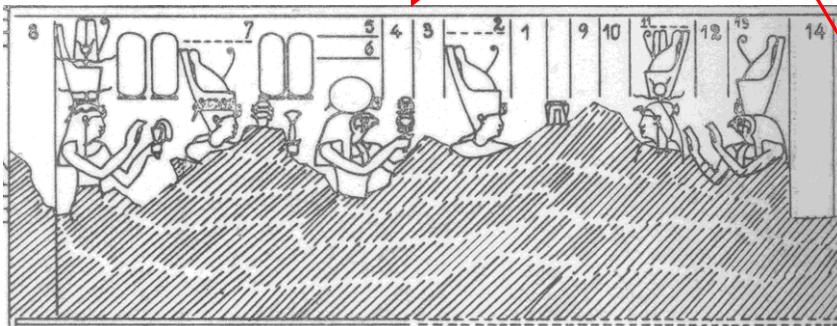
Outer Entrance, Lintel



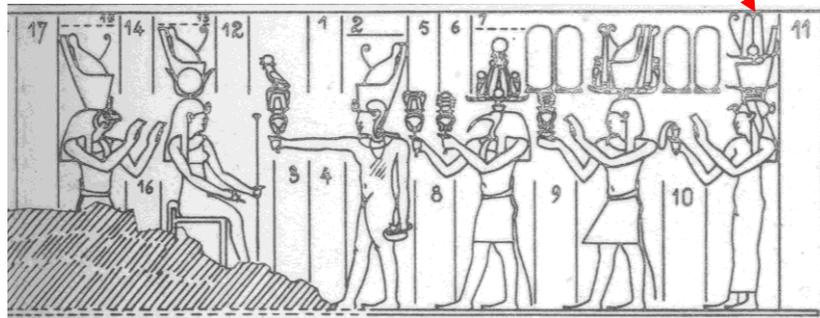
Lintel, East Side
 Doc 16
 D III, 51,12 – 52,4

Lintel, West Side
 Doc 17
 D III, 52,7 – 53,3

D II, pl. 94, © IFAO



Doc 16 - Outer Entrance, Lintel, East Side



Doc 17 - Outer Entrance, Lintel, West Side

Doc 16 – Lintel, East Side: D III, 51,12 – 52,4

Translation	Transliteration
<p>(NO TITLE) IHY 51,12 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor, the Great God. RA-HORAKHTY 51,13 Words to say by Ra-Horakhty, the Great God who resides in¹²⁰⁷ Iunet, the (divine) Noble Power, who pacifies the the Golden One (f.) of the gods. KING 51,14 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () , son of Ra () , Offspring of Sekhmet,¹²⁰⁸ son of 51,15 Hathor.¹²⁰⁹ BEHIND HIM: Protection. QUEEN 51,16 The Female Ruler¹²¹⁰ () , Lady of the Two Lands () . ROYAL RANDZEILE 51,17 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt () is on his throne, pacifying the heart of his mother. [...6 squares...] 51,18 [...4 squares...]</p> <p>HATHOR 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. HORUS OF EDFU 52,3 Words to say by Horus Beh[dety] [...5 squares...]</p> <p>DIVINE RANDZEILE 52,4 Is [...3 squares...] her sanctuary, filling heaven and earth with her good things,¹²¹¹ she is [...7 squares...]</p>	<p>(NO TITLE) IHY 51,12 <i>Thy wr s3 H.t-hr p3 ntr 3</i> RA-HORAKHTY 51,13 <i>dd mdw in R^c-Hr-3h.ty ntr 3 hry-ib Tw.n.t shm šps šhṭp Nbw.t ntr.w</i> KING 51,14 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () w3d n Shm.t s3 51,15 H.t-hr</i> BEHIND HIM: <i>s3</i> QUEEN 51,16 <i>hk3.t () nb(.t) t3.wy () </i> ROYAL RANDZEILE 51,17 <i>wnn nsw.t-bi.ty () hr ns.t=f hr šhṭp ib n mw.t=f</i> [...6 squares...] 51,18 [...4 squares...] HATHOR 52,1 <i>dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb(.t) Tw.n[.t] Ir.t-R^c nb(.t) p.t hnw.t ntr.w 52,2 nb(.w){nb.t}</i> HORUS OF EDFU 52,3 <i>dd mdw in Hr Bh[d.ty] [...5 squares...]</i> DIVINE RANDZEILE 52,4 <i>wnn [...3 squares...] hm=s hr mh p.t t3 m nfr.w=s sy m [...7 squares...]</i></p>

¹²⁰⁷ 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 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 *hk3.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."

Doc 17 – Lintel, West Side: D III, 52,7 – 53,3

Translation	Transliteration
<p>(NO TITLE)</p> <p>IHY 52,7 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor,¹²¹² Ra himself: I have played the <i>sšš.t</i>-sistrum before your beautiful face [...]. 52,8 I satisfy your Ka with the menit-necklace in my hands.</p> <p>THOTH 52,9 Words to say by Thoth the twice great, Lord of Hermopolis, the Heart of Ra,¹²¹³ who pacifies the Lady of Iunet: Playing the <i>sšš.t</i>-sistrum and the <i>šhm</i>-sistrum. Words to say.</p> <p>KING 52,11 King of Upper and Lower Egypt (), son of Ra, who raises the <i>šhm</i>-sistrum for 52,12 his mother. BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him like Ra for <i>d.t</i>-eternity.</p> <p>QUEEN 52,13 The Female Ruler (), Lady of the Two Lands (). Take for yourself 52,14 the menit-necklace of gold and faience.</p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE 52,15 The son of Ra () is upon his throne, making bright¹²¹⁴ the face of his mistress, for he is like Ihy who plays the <i>sšš.t</i>-sistrum for 52,16 his mother, who pacifies her Ka with what she loves.</p> <p>HATHOR 52,17 Words to say by Hathor, Foremost One (f.) of Iunet, Rayt¹²¹⁵ the Great, Lady of the Two Lands</p>	<p>(NO TITLE)</p> <p>IHY 52,7 <i>Thy wr s3 H.t-ḥr R^c ds=f ir.n=i sšš.t m ḥr=t nfr [...] 52,8 <i>šhtp=i k3=t m mni.t m ʕ.w[y]=i</i></i></p> <p>THOTH 52,9 <i>dd in Dhwtj ʕ3 ʕ3 nb Hmnw ib n R^c šhtp nb[.t] Twn.t ir(.t) sšš.t</i> 52,10 <i>šhm dd mdw</i></p> <p>KING 52,11 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () s^ʕḥ^c šhm n</i> 52,12 <i>mw.t=f</i> BEHIND HIM: <i>s3 ʕnh w3s nb ḥ3=f mi R^c d.t</i></p> <p>QUEEN 52,13 <i>ḥk3.t () nb(.t) t3.wy () m-n=t</i> 52,14 <i>mni.t n<.t> nbw ḥr ṯhn.t</i></p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE 52,15 <i>wnn s3 R^c () ḥr p=f ḥr ṯhn ḥr n ḥnw.t=f sw mi Thy ir sšš.t n</i> 52,16 <i>mw.t=f šhtp k3=s m mr=s</i></p> <p>HATHOR 52,17 <i>dd in H.t-ḥr ḥnty.t Twn.t R^cy.t wr.t nb(.t) t3.wy</i></p>

¹²¹² In contrast to the parallel phrase in the symmetrical scene, which writes *H.t-ḥr* with  (O10), it is here

written with  (I62), thus allowing the scribe to 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: *ib n R^c*, "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 *ṯhn*, "make bright," creates a connection with the previous speech of the Queen, who indicates that the menit is made of *ṯhn.t*, "faience"; the epithet, *ṯhn.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 *ṯhn*, 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 (*R^cy.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.

HORUS OF EDFU

53,1 Words to say by Horus Behdety, [the Great God],
 Lord of Heaven: [I] have praised [...2 squares...] **53,2**
 [...2 squares...]

DIVINE RANDZEILE

53,3 Is [...] shines in [...4 squares...]
 all, for she is [...4-1/2 squares...]

HORUS OF EDFU

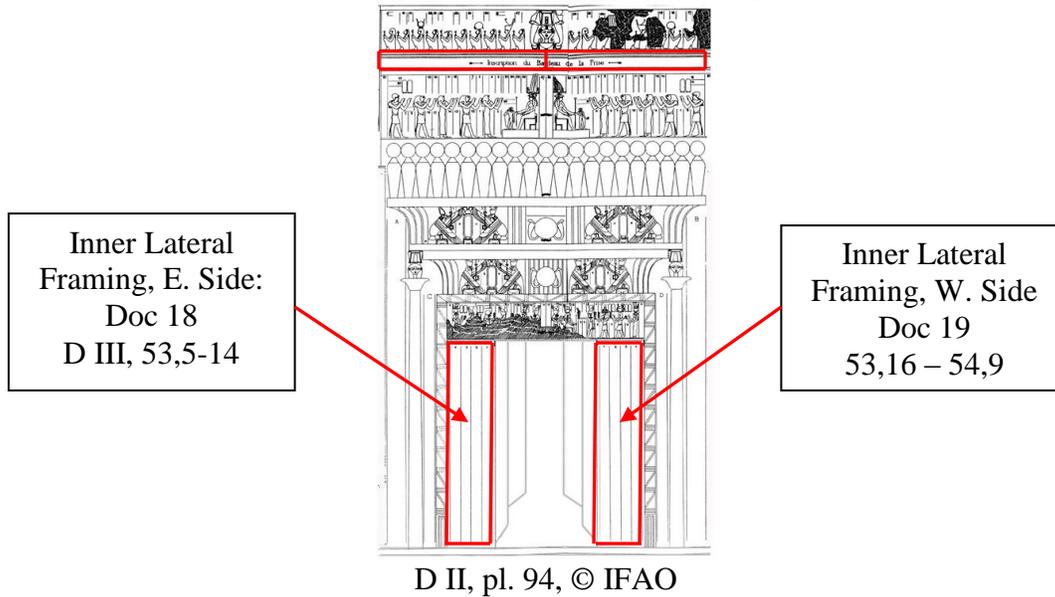
53,1 *dd mdw in Hr Bhd.ty [ntr ʕ3]*
nb p.t dw3.n[=i] [...2 squares...]

53,2 [...2 squares...]

DIVINE RANDZEILE

53,3 *wnn* [...] *wbn m* [...4
 squares...] *nb.w sy m* [...4-1/2
 squares...]

Outer Entrance, Inner Framing



Doc 18 – Inner Lateral Framing, East Side: D III, 53,5-14

Translation	Transliteration
<p>53,5 [...18 squares...] for your Ka, 53,6 received, praised, and desired,¹²¹⁶ Hathor, Lady of Iunet,¹²¹⁷ our Beautiful Mistress.¹²¹⁸ Be very satisfied, be content with the great offering that your son made for you, King of Upper and Lower Egypt (), 53,7 your beloved, [...15 squares...] the Throne of Horus¹²¹⁹ Behdety. 53,8 You alight in the noble great house in joy. Protect them,¹²²⁰ preserve them (=the offerings), arrange them, establish them. Come, inundate them with food offerings 53,9 and supplies [...14 squares...]. 53,10 Come, make them firm for <i>nḥh-</i> and <i>d.t-</i> eternity, our Beautiful Mistress. You are doing¹²²¹ well for Iunet, Iatdi,¹²²² the Throne of Horus,</p>	<p>53,5 [...18 squares...] <i>n k3=t</i> 53,6 <i>šsp(.w) ḥs(.w) mr(.w) Ḥ.t- hr nb.t Iwn.t t3y=n ḥnw.t nfr.t</i> <i>ḥtp sp sn.nw hrw ḥr ʿ3b.t ir n=t</i> <i>s3=t nsw.t-bi.ty ()</i> 53,7 <i>mry=t</i> [...15 squares...] <i>Wts.t-Ḥr</i> <i>Bḥd.t</i> 53,8 <i>ḥn=t pr ʿ3 šps m</i> <i>ḥʿw.t ḥw st mk st ts st grg st mi</i> <i>bḥ=w m k3.w</i> 53,9 <i>df3.w</i> [...14 squares...] 53,10 <i>iw mi mn=w</i> <i>r nḥḥ d.t t3y=n ḥnw.t nfr.t iw=t</i> <i>(hr) ir(.t) nfr r Iwn.t t3t-di Wts.t-</i></p>

¹²¹⁶ Plural endings on the passive participles (*šsp.w*, *ḥs.w*, *mr.w*) refer to offerings presented by the king to Hathor, following 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 ḥnw.t nfr.t*, "Our beautiful mistress," is highlighted in red.

¹²¹⁹ *wts.t-ḥr*, "Throne of Horus," is the nome of Edfu, attested since the 5th Dynasty in the sun temple of Niuserre; 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.

¹²²⁰ Following EP II, §56a: 3rd person plural dependent pronoun, *st*: ⲥⲓⲓⲓ, used often as a direct object. Note: Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 114, transliterates as *swt*.

¹²²¹ 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,

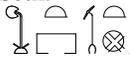
Behdet,¹²²³ **53,11** the Hall [of Thebes],¹²²⁴ Khadi,¹²²⁵ Shabet,¹²²⁶ and all of the temples in which they are [...7 squares...]. **53,12** The sky is **established**, the earth is **established**, the people (?) are **established**, [...] their young men **53,13** are all their artisans. The enemies among them fall under your massacre according to what your Incarnation¹²²⁷ ordered concerning it, **53,14** **our Beautiful Mistress**.

Hr Bhd.t 53,11 H3-[W3s.t] H3di Š3b.t r3.w-pr.w nb.w imy.tw=sn [...7 squares...] 53,12 [s]mn p.t smn t3, smn rmt (?) [...]
d3mw=sn 53,13 m hmw=sn nb.w t3r.w im=sn hr n šcy.t=t m wdt hm[=t] hr=s 53,14 t3y=n hnw.t nfr.t

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 "Tarar"), 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 *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.

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 *š3b.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

Translation	Transliteration
<p>53,16 You are giving life to your¹²²⁸ <i>hm-ntr</i> priests,¹²²⁹ god's fathers,¹²³⁰ <i>w^cb</i>-priests¹²³¹ and lector priests.¹²³² Your list of property 54,1 in its entirety is fixed without perishing for <i>nḥḥ</i>-eternity and <i>d.t</i>-eternity,¹²³³ our¹²³⁴ 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 pure 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 ebb¹²³⁵ and prevent the flood¹²³⁶ from filling it. 54,4</p>	<p>53,16 <i>iw=t (hr) di.(t) ḥnh n (t)ḥy=t hm.w-ntr it.w-ntr w^cb.w hry.w-ḥb.(t) ḥy=t imy.t-pr 54,1 r-dr=s w3ḥ nn sk r nḥḥ d.t ḥy<=n> ḥnw.t nfr.t iw=t (hr) ir.(t) nfr r ntr nb ntr.t nb.(t) n.t 54,2 ḥ3^c r(?) šn n 3ḥ.ty m pt t3 ḥy=n ḥnw.t nfr.t iw=t (hr) in.(t) ḥ^cpy m-ḥd r tr=f iw=f nfr iw=f w^cb 54,3 r ḥb nb r di.t biḥ=f t3.wy iw=t (hr) di.t ir t3 p.t mhy.t m-s3=f r shnty=f r tm di.t ḥn^c sw hym 54,4 iw=t (hr) di.t ir n3 ḥn.wt r3-ḥ^cw.t dny.w ḥ3.t=f r tm di.t šsp sw w3d-wr iw=t (hr) di.t šsp sw w3d-wr</i></p>

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^cb*. Helck, Priester, 1089, cites the biography of the high priest, *B3k-n-Hnsw* (Plantikow-Münster, Inschrift, 117-135), which notes that the *it.w-ntr* walked ahead of processions sprinkling water (to purify the way).

¹²³¹ Attested from OK through GR, *w^cb* is the third-ranked class of priests, below *hm-ntr* and *it-ntr*, according to Meeks, Donations, 654 n. 178. The title derives from *w^cb*, "to be pure," *w^cb*-priests had 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.

¹²³² *hry-ḥb.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 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 πτεροφόροι, due to the two large feathers worn on their heads. See also Haring, Divine Households, 4-5; Wb III, 395,4-10 (*hrj-ḥb*); Meeks, An Lex 78.3235 (*hry-ḥbt*); CDME 167 (*hry-ḥbt*); Erichsen, Glossar, 388 (*hr-ḥb*). Gardiner, Onomastica I, 55*, notes that the second word in the compound (*hry-ḥb(t)*) is feminine, but the *-t* ending is almost always omitted.

¹²³³ See 5.1.4 for discussion of *nḥḥ*-eternity and *d.t*-eternity.

¹²³⁴ Inscription erroneously has *tḥy=t* instead of *tḥy=n*, as corrected by Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 116.

¹²³⁵ *shn.ty*, lit. "to cause to go south," perhaps meaning, "to bring to the front."

¹²³⁶ The word *hym* , "flood, wave." See Erichsen, Glossar, 268; *hjm*; Crum, 674a: 20EIM, pl. 2IMH; Example: *i p3 im m-ir hjm* "O Sea, do not make waves!" cited in ÄZ 49 (1911): 35; Wb II, 481, 11-12: *h3nw*, waves,

You are causing the streams of water (in the canals)¹²³⁷ and the mouths (of the Delta rivers) to make dykes (at) its (=the inundation) meeting, in order that the Great Green¹²³⁸ does not receive it (too soon). You are causing the Great Green to receive it in **54,5** its time, its course not having stood still, **our** Beautiful Mistress. You are giving (?) the field in its time, bright¹²³⁹ 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 **54,7** 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.

*r 54,5 sw=f n ḥḥ.n nmt.t=f t3y=n
ḥnw.t nfr.t iw=t (ḥr) di.t (?) t3 šḥ.t r
nw=s is ṯḥn.ti m pr.t=s nb.t 54,6
iw=w dd3 iw=w nfr.t iw=w wḥb(.t)
ikr(.t) sp sn.nw iw=t (ḥr) di.t sk3=w
sy m ndm=ib iw=t (ḥr) di.t ḥw3.w sy
m 54,7 ndm-ib iw=t (ḥr) nḥm=s r
šnn.w nb.w nw p.t ḥb.w nb.w nw t3
iw=t (ḥr) di.t ḥrp s.t n.t s3 Rḥ () | r
n3y 54,8 ḥtp.w ḥw3.w wr.w iw=t (ḥr)
di.t=w n dr.t=f m dit nfr iw=t (ḥr)
di.t n=f ḥpš nḥt nḥš ir šḥr.w rnp.wt
ḥw3.wt iw=t (ḥr) di.t n=f 54,9 n3
wr.w nw t3 nb ḥ3s.wt nb.wt hnn.w
sp sn.w iw mdw=f ḥr tp=sn*

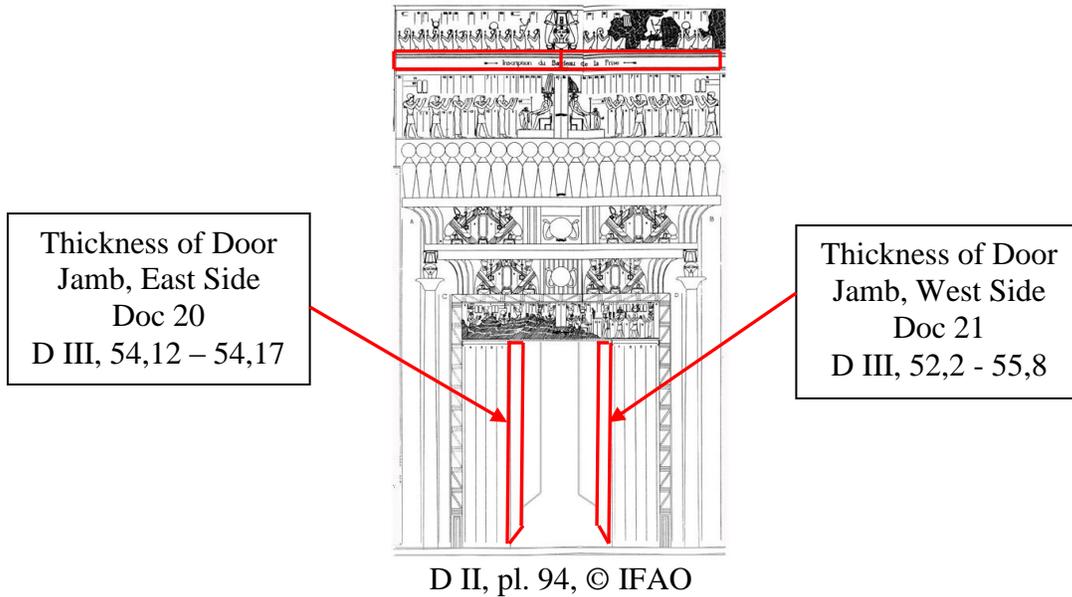
flood (of sea or other waters); with the article *p3*. Cauville translates this line as, “pour empêcher que les vagues marines l’avalent en son moment” (in order to prevent the sea waves from swallowing it in its time).

¹²³⁷ Small streams of water, coursing through the dry fields, would be the first noticeable effect of the inundation. Wilson, PL, 659, suggests choosing *ḥnt* rather than *drt* or *sspt* when it alliterates better with other elements of the sentence, as it does in our phrase: *n3 ḥn.wt r3-ḥḥw.t*: the streams (and) the mouths (of the Delta rivers).

¹²³⁸ Wb I, 269,12-19: *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.

¹²³⁹ The characterization of the fields as *ṯḥn.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, *ṯḥn.t*, also alludes to Hathor’s epithet, *ṯḥn.t*, “Bright One (f.),” which agrees well with her responsibility for the fertility of the fields.

Outer Entrance, Thickness of Jamb



Doc 20 – Thickness of Door Jamb, East Side: D III, 54,12 – 54,17

Translation	Transliteration
<p>54,12 [... 12 squares...] 54,13 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 54,14 [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 54,15 Great Lady, Lady of the noble ladies, the Beautiful One (f.) is beautiful¹²⁴⁰ in seeing her. How joyful to see her! How sweet to follow her! How beautiful is what she places in the heart! 54,16 The gods rejoice in her, the Ihy-children¹²⁴¹ make music for her, the goddesses are praising her Ka, the Great One</p>	<p>54,12 [... 12 squares...] 54,13 <i>wr nrw m tpy.w-t3 nb.w nb m3^c.t ir mnw m 'Iwn.t nswt-bity nb t3.wy () mry</i> 54,14 [<i>H.t-hr wr.t nb.t 'Iwn.t 'Ir.t R^c</i>] <i>nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w wr(.t) mr(w.t) hnw.t hm.wt nfr.t hr m hns.wt šps.t</i> 54,15 <i>wr.t nb.t šps.wt 'n.t 'n.ti n m33=s mfk ptr=s ndm.wy šms=s nfr.wy p3 di=s m ib</i> 54,16 <i>hn n=s ntr.w ihy n=s Thy.w ntr.wt hr dw3 k3=s</i></p>

¹²⁴⁰ The transliteration and translation of the phrase in line 54,15 is ambiguous, because *'n.tw* (one turns) can also be read as *'n.ti* (stative meaning “be beautiful”). However, the use of the eye with makeup (D138) as the determinative suggests the stative *'n.ti*, 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.ti n m33=s*, as “The Beautiful One is beautiful when seeing her.” GG §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.ti* 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 *Ihyw*, 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 *Ihyw*-priests are playing castanets: the first with the caption, “*Ihyw* of the Golden One, Mistress of Dendera”; the second with “the *Ihyw* 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 .	<i>wr.t n(.t) p.t shd t3.wy m st.wt=s itn.t mh t3 m 54,17 nkr nbw it=s R^c ˁ.wy=f(y) h3 hm.t=s shkr sy Tnn m hkr.w=s</i>
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Doc 21 – Thickness of Door Jamb, West Side: D III, 52,2 – 55,8

Translation	Transliteration
55,2 The Good God [lives], ¹²⁴³ Great One of the Two Uraeii , 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 Iunet, son of Ra, Lord of Crowns (), 55,4 beloved of 55,5 Isis the Great, Mother of the God, the Eye of Ra, Lady 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	55,2 [<i>ˁnh</i>] <i>ntr nfr wr w3d.ty ˁh^c hr ns.t=f m stp-s3 nsw.t mnh h^c.tw n 55,3 m33=f wr šfy.t hr hr.w nb(.w) hnty n R^c ir mnw m Twn.t s3 R^c nb h^cw () 55,4 mry 55,5 3s.t wr.t mw.t ntr ir.t R^c nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb(.w) p^cp^c.n sy mw.t=s r t3 m B.t-di m hrw grh 55,6 nhn m sš=f w^c.t pw hnw.t ntr.w ntr.wt n(n) ntr m sn(.t) r=s Spd.t m p.t hk3.t n(.t) h3b3=s</i>

¹²⁴² Wb II, 117,5, notes that *mh t3 m nkr nbw*, "fill the land with gold dust," refers to sunbeams. It is an allusion to the ritual of *sti thn.t*, which took place towards the end of the agricultural year on the first day of the month of Epiphi. 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 t3 dr=f<m> ˁhw=t*), thus guaranteeing the agricultural cycle. See Goyon, *Répondre l'or*, 85-100.

¹²⁴³ Following Cauville, *Dend Trad III*, p. 118, who inserts a missing *ˁnh* at the beginning of the line. The standard phrase, *ˁnh 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 *w3d.ty*, "the Two Uraeii," 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 *w3d.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 *w3d.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. *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, *L'Hymne à la Crue du Nil*, Leiden, 1986, 92-93, suggests that *mysterium tremendum* perhaps best evokes the underlying emotional response to the *šfy.t* of a god or king.

¹²⁴⁶ 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.

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.

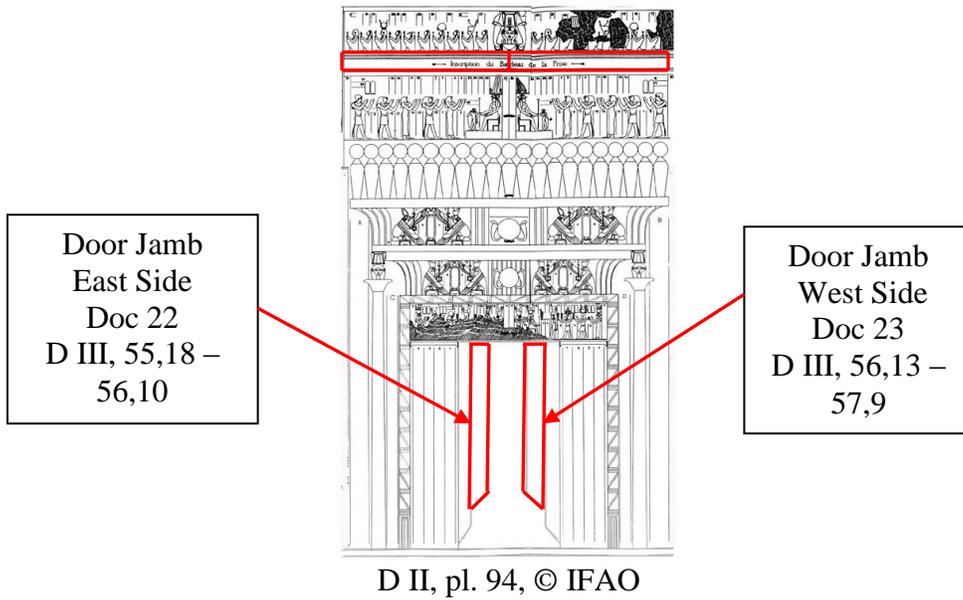
sky, the Female Ruler of the stars, who decrees words in the circuit of the sun disk. **55,7** It is the **Noble Lady** within the **Sanctuary of the noble lady**, the Beautiful **Noblewoman** in the Sanctuary of the **Noblewoman**.¹²⁴⁸ This goddess is the Female Sovereign more than the ancestors. The Female Ruler, no one comes after her, the Female King **55,8** of Upper Egypt, the Female King of Lower Egypt, the Female Ba in **the west and the east**.¹²⁴⁹

*wḏ mdw m šn n itn 55,7 šps.t pw
m-ḥnt pr-šps.t rpy.t ḥn.t n(.t) pr-
rpy.t ntr.t tn ity.t r tpy.w-ḥ ḥk3.t n
ii hr-s3=s nswy.t 55,8 n(.t) t3-šmḥ
bi.ty.t n(.t) t3-mḥw B3.t m imn.t.t
t3b.t.t*

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



Doc 22 – Door Jamb, East Side: D III, 55,11 – 56,10

Translation	Transliteration
55,18 The Good God lives, ¹²⁵⁰ the Purifier-priest, ¹²⁵¹ nourished ¹²⁵² by the Beautiful One (f.), ¹²⁵³ who adores his mistress with what she loves, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt () , beloved of Hathor the Great, 55,19 Lady of Iunet.	55,18 <i>ʿnh ntr nfr ʿb šd n ʿn.t sw3š ḥnw.t=f m mr=s nsw.t-bi.ty () mry Ḥ.t-ḥr wr.t 55,19 nb(.t) Iwn.t</i>

¹²⁵⁰ 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.

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 *Iwn-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-ntr*. 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 *šd*, "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 *šd nn=s m ḥdw=s*, "who nourishes her child with her milk."

¹²⁵³ Correction in line 55,18: determinative of *ʿn.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 seal¹²⁵⁵ 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 doors¹²⁵⁶ 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 Harsomtus, the Great God who resides¹²⁵⁹ 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 gold¹²⁶⁰ **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.

55,20 *ᶚnh ntr nfr swd3 iwnn sfh ḥtm r m33 Nbw.t s3 Rᶜ ()| mry Ihy wr s3 55,21 H.t-ḥr*

56,1 *ᶚnh ntr nfr skr ʕ3.wy ḥ.wt wp ᶚnh.wy n pr-wr nsw.t-bi.ty ()| mry H.t-ḥr nb.t Iwn.t 56,2 t3- mni.t*

56,3 *ᶚnh ntr nfr id n Ḥᶜpy twr s3 twr s3 Rᶜ ()| mry Ḥr-sm3-t3.wy ntr ʕ3 ḥry-ib Iwn.t.*

56,4 *ᶚnh ntr nfr wtṯ n Šw ʕk3 rd.wy m s.wt št3.wt nsw.t-bi.ty ()| mry H.t-ḥr nb.t Iwn.t Ir.t-Rᶜ*

56,5 *dd mdw i3w n=ṯ Nbw.t nb(.t) Iwn.t šps.t wsr.t ḥnt pr-šps.t Wbn.t-m-nbw 56,6 ḥnt ḥ.t-sš.t Itn.t m t3-n-Itmw sw3š=i ḥm.t=t m 3b.t ib=t šn=i sᶜḥ=t m sp-n-si3 56,7 sk3=i k3=t r k3 n p.t dw3=i smn=t r r3-ᶜ st.wt itn mi=t m 56,8 ḥtp šm=t m ḥknw ndm ib=t ḥr ndb sns(.w), 56,9 H.t-ḥr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t Ir.t-Rᶜ*

56,8 *nb.t p.t ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w*

56,9 *ḥr.t-tp wr.t nb.t pr-wr ḥtp ḥr=t nfr n s3=ṯ mry=ṯ nsw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy ()| 56,10 d.t*

¹²⁵⁴ The GR spelling has the *t*-loaf; Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 118, transliterates as *iwnnt*. However, Wb. I, 55,12-13, includes the GR writing but transliterates only as *iwnn*, as does Wilson, PL 54.

¹²⁵⁵ *sfh ḥtm*, "loosens the seal," recalls the scene from the daily temple rite of *sfh dbᶜ*, "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 ʕ3.wy*, "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 ʕ3.wy nn.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 s3 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: *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.

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

Translation	Transliteration
<p>56,13 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.</p> <p>57,1 The Good God lives, who preserves the Two Sanctuaries,¹²⁶⁴ who pulls the (door) bolt¹²⁶⁵ in order to see (his) mistress, son of Ra () beloved of Har[somtus] the child, son of Hathor.</p> <p>57,2 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.</p> <p>57,3 The Good God lives, [...5 squares...the son of Ra¹²⁶⁷] () beloved of Horus Behdety, the Great God, Lord of heaven.</p> <p>57,4 The Good God lives, the overseer of the <i>hm-ntr</i>-priests of the Mighty One (f.), Measured of steps¹²⁶⁸ in</p>	<p>56,13 <i>ḥnh ntr nfr ḥry-sšt3 ḥb n Nbwt ph3-ib ikr dbḥ.w nsw.t-bi.ty</i> () <i>mry Ḥ.t-ḥr nb.t Twn.t Ir.t-Rḥ nb(.t) p.t</i></p> <p>57,1 <i>ḥnh ntr nfr ḥn itr.ty st3 idr r m33 ḥnw.t(=f) s3 Rḥ</i> () <i>mry Ḥr[sm3-t3.wy] p3 ḥrd s3 Ḥ.t-ḥr</i></p> <p>57,2 <i>ḥnh ntr nfr wn ḥ.wy p.t sš sb3.w nw ḥ.t-sšḥ.t nsw.t-bi.ty</i> () <i>mry 3s.t wr.t mw.t-ntr</i></p> <p>57,3 <i>ḥnh ntr nfr [...5 squares... s3 Rḥ]</i> () <i>mry Ḥr Bḥd.ty ntr ḥ nb p.t</i></p> <p>57,4 <i>ḥnh ntr nfr mr ḥm.w-ntr n wsr.t kb nmt.t m</i></p>

¹²⁶² Wb IV, 298,22 – 299,13; Erichsen, Glossar, 321; PL 666: *ḥry-sšt3*, 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. DuQuesne, Master of Secrets, 25-38.

¹²⁶³ Wb I, 542,16-18; 18th Dyn., *ph3-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 3rd scene of the 2nd register, east wall of the Per-wer (D III, 70,15). In both cases, the idea of *ph3-ib* seems to imply the joy and heightened state of perception when encountering the Divine.

¹²⁶⁴ *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-šmḥ.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.

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 ḥ.wy p.t*, "open 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 ḥ.wy nn.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.

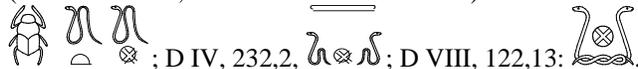
¹²⁶⁷ Following Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 120, who restores *s3 Rḥ* in the last square of the lacuna in D III, 57,3.

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 Dumas, *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 ḥndw*, "going up the steps," in the 1st register, east wall of the Per-wer, in which the King states, *ḥs=i ḥndw n Nbwt 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. **57,5** 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 **57,7** your statue with **the formulas of Sia** and with the (magical) utterances for your manifestation. May you come in joy. May you walk in **57,8** 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.

bw dsr nsw.t-bl.ty ()| mry H.t-hr nb.t'Iwn.t'Ir.t-R^c
57,5 *dd mdw i3w n=t'Itn.t m T3-rr šps.t hnt h-šps.t hr.t-tp n.t 3h.ty*
57,6 *m-hnt pr-nbw.t ity.t m-hnt T3.t-di sk3=i d.t=t r sndm ib=t swr=i b3w=t r ntr.w nb.w nis=i*
57,7 *n sm=t m šsr.w nw Si3 m d3is.w 3h.w n hprw=t mi=t m h^cw.t nm.t=t m* **57,8** *3w.t-ib hntš hm.t=t m nfrw=t* **57,9** *H.t-hr wr.t nb.t'Iwn.t'Ir.t-R^c* **57,8** *nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w šps.t wsr.t* **57,9** *hnt h.t-sš.t htp hr=t nfr n s3=t mry=t s3 R^c nb h^cw ()| d.t*

¹²⁶⁹ *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). Myśliwiec, Atum, 52, suggests that when written as a rebus with serpents, Tarer alludes to *T3-n-Itm* ("Land of Atum," another name of Dendera) and Atum's form as a primeval snake. Examples include D III, 57,5,

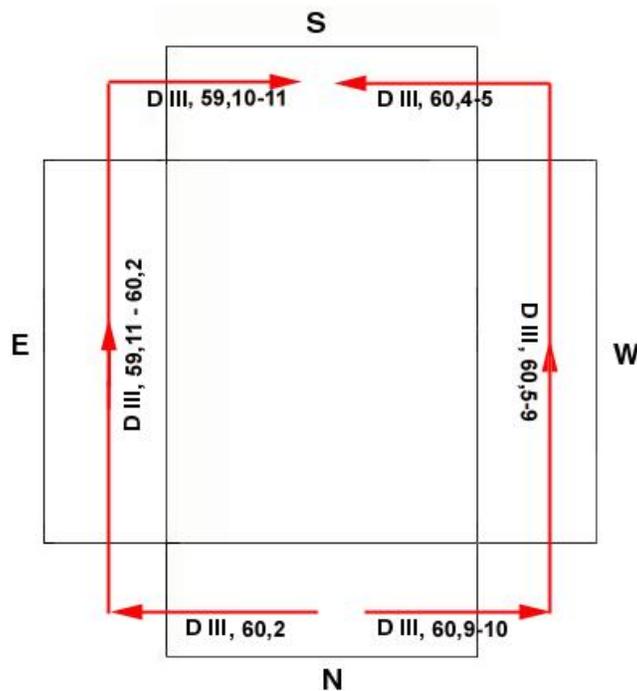


¹²⁷⁰ Iatdi, one of the three main names of Dendera (together with "Iunet" and "Tarer"), is particularly associated with the small sanctuary located directly south of the main Temple of Hathor, considered to be the birthplace of the goddess Isis. See Kockelmann, Toponymen, 60-64.

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 1st register; the bandeau of the frieze, above the 3rd 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.¹²⁷¹ 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.

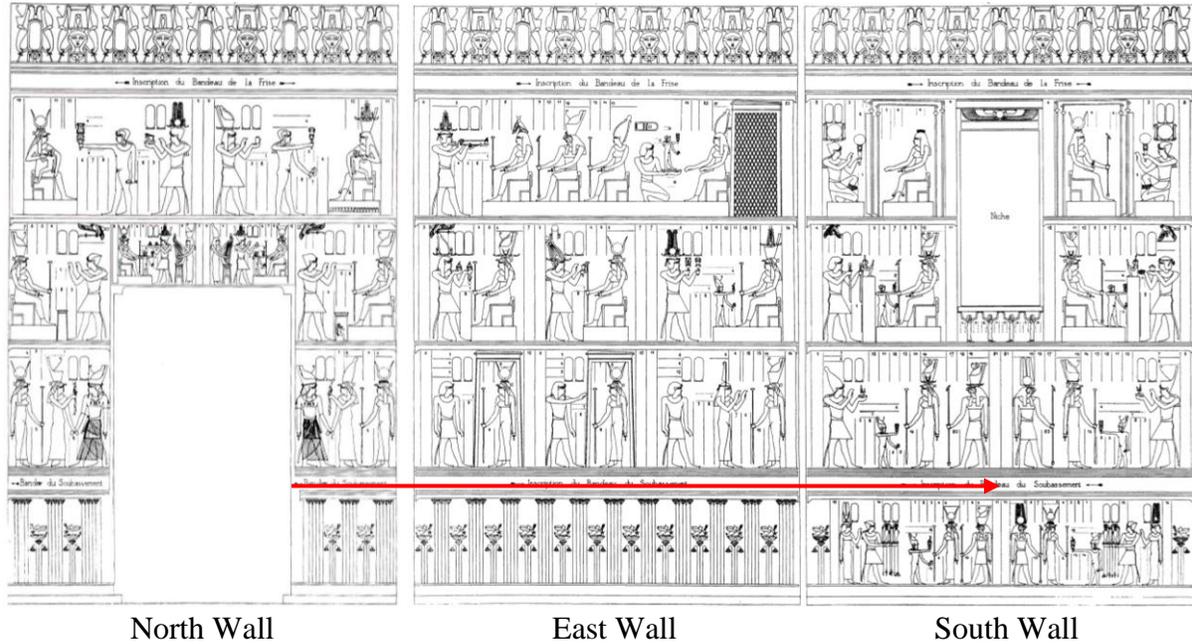
Bandeau of the Base



Layout of the Bandeau of the Base, East and West Sides
Hieroglyphs face the same direction as the arrows.

¹²⁷¹ In the case of the bandeau of the base, it ends on either side of the door opening.

Bandeau of the Base in the Per-wer, East Side
D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO



Doc 24 – Bandeau of the Base, East Side: D III, 59,10 – 60,2

Translation	Transliteration
<p>SOUTH WALL 59,10 The Good God lives,¹²⁷² son of <u>Hathor</u>, 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 <u>Hathor the Great, Lady of Lunet</u>,¹²⁷⁵ <u>Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods</u>. He has built the Per-wer</p>	<p>SOUTH WALL 59,10 <i>ʕnh ntr nfr s3 H.t-hr iw^c n ʕpy hry ntr.w nsw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy () mry 59,11 H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t Tr.t-R^c nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w hws.n=f pr-wr</i></p>

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 *Iwn.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 *Mri=s-ʕnh* III at Giza. See Kockelmann, *Toponymen*, 53-59; Fischer, *Dendera*, 23.

EAST WALL

for her Incarnation¹²⁷⁶ as a joy in an excellent work of¹²⁷⁷ *nḥḥ*-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 hall¹²⁸⁰ of the Female Sovereign in Iatdi,¹²⁸¹ completed as a beautiful monument. It is founded¹²⁸² 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) image¹²⁸⁴ engraved on the wall.¹²⁸⁵

NORTH WALL

She rejoices in¹²⁸⁶ seeing her city. She increases **the royalty of the King** on his throne, Foremost One¹²⁸⁷ of the Living (divine) Kas,¹²⁸⁸ for *d.t*-eternity.

EAST WALL

n ḥm.t=s m ḥ^cw(.t) m k3.t mnḥ.t n.t nḥḥ r mk(.t) 59,12 km3.ty n k3=s m-k3b=f r sšt3 d.t=s r tpy.w-^c s^cḥ^c.n=f sh-ntr n ity(.t) m T3.t-di ḥts m mnw nfr snṯ.tw=f m-ḥb 60,1 sps.tw=f m ḥ^cw.t ^crḳ.tw=f m ndm-ib pr-Šps.t n Šps.t šsp=s sw m ḥtp wnf n(n) nšn hr=s 60,2 hni=s hr sšt3=s ḥt hr s3.t

NORTH WALL

ḥntš=s [n] m33 niw.t=s swr=s nswy.t n(.t) ns.w.t hr ns.t=f ḥnty k3.w ^cnḥ.w d.t

¹²⁷⁶ GR spelling  (C9D) with seated goddess wearing horns and disk headdress and holding  (U36), the club phonogram for *hm*.

¹²⁷⁷ Wb II, 301,4 gives *n nḥḥ*, "for eternity," but spelled simply with the preposition *n*; Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp.

126-127, transliterates \triangle as *n*, "pour" (l'étérité). However, the *t*-loaf in *n.t* suggests that the phrase is genitival.

¹²⁷⁸ The preposition *m-k3b*, 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  *sh-ntr* (Wb III, 465,1-13), denoting the temple sanctuary since Dyn 18; it refers to individual temple rooms in GR. Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 126-127, transliterates it as *sh*, "sanctuaire."

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 *sdm=f* of *snṯi*, "to found." The looped rope  (V5A, used as the ideogram for *snṯ* 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 Interpreted as the stative, "being in a state of rejoicing."

¹²⁸⁴ In the GR, the word *sšt3* 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.

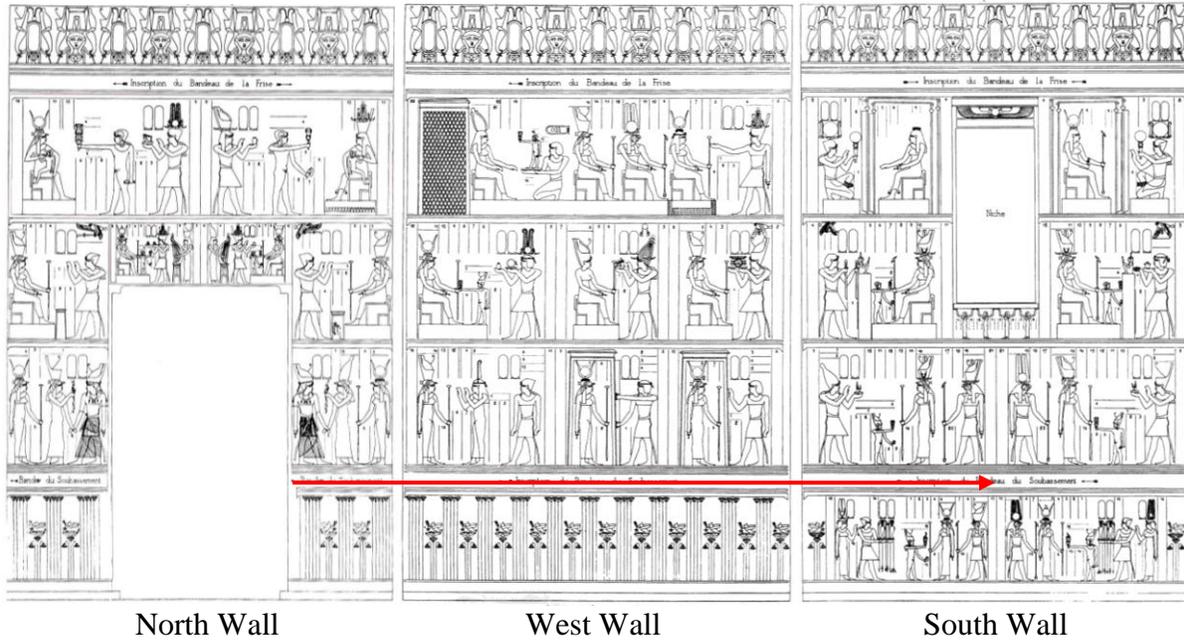
¹²⁸⁵ Wb IV, 14,4-14, which notes that in LP and GR, it also appears without the *t*-loaf. My translation of  as singular *s3.t* is contra Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 126-127, who translates it as *s3wt*, "les parois," even though there is no indication in the signs that it is plural. See discussion in 5.2.5.

¹²⁸⁶ Cauville Dend Trad III, p. 329, restores *n*,  (S3), in the lacuna in line 60,2.

¹²⁸⁷ Prepositional nisbe (an adjective made from a preposition), derived from *ḥnt*, "at the head of"; translated as "foremost." In this epithet, the nisbe functions as a substantive, "foremost one." Hathor is often described as *ḥnty.t Iwn.t*, "Foremost One (f.) of Iunet" (D III, 50,12); the King is *ḥnty k3.w ^cnḥ.w*, "Foremost One of the Living (divine) Kas." (D III, 47,3-4).

¹²⁸⁸ The *k3.w ^cnḥ.w*, "living kas," are ancestor gods, discussed in 5.2.6.

Bandeau of the Base, West Side
D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO



Doc 25 – Bandeau of the Base, W. Side: D III, 60,4 – 60,9

Translation	Transliteration
<p>SOUTH WALL 60,4 The Good God lives, child of Iunyt,¹²⁸⁹ the eldest son of Sematawy, son of Ra, Lord of Crowns () beloved of 60,5 Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Lady of humankind,¹²⁹⁰ Mistress of the Two Lands. He has completed</p> <p>WEST WALL the Per-wer of the Noble Lady in Iunet as a beautiful work of eternity in order to protect the images 60,6 of</p>	<p>SOUTH WALL 60,4 <i>ʿnh ntr nfr nn n Iwny.t s3 smsw n Sm3-t3.wy s3 R^c nb h^c.w () mry</i> 60,5 <i>H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t nb.ty.t rhy.t hnw.t t3.wy ʿrk.n=f</i></p> <p>WEST WALL <i>pr-wr n Šps.t m Iwn.t m k3.t nfr.t n.t d.t r hw.t šsp.w</i> 60,6 <i>n hm.t=s m-hnt=f r dsr bs n Psd.t=s r swr</i></p>

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.

¹²⁹⁰ 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 *hnty.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 image¹²⁹¹ of her Ennead,¹²⁹² in order to make her Bas great in the presence of all the ancestor gods,¹²⁹³ because¹²⁹⁴ great **60,7** is her name in the heart¹²⁹⁵ of her father.¹²⁹⁶ **Her chapel** is completed in **very great**¹²⁹⁷ **jubilation**, rejoicing,¹²⁹⁸ dancing, and rejoicing (in) the Sanctuary of the **Beautiful One** for the **Beautiful Mistress**.¹²⁹⁹ She enters it **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 **60,9** (divine) Kas, for *d.t*-eternity.

b3.w=s hr dr.ty.w tm.w dr wr 60,7
rn=s hr ntry n it=s hts.tw 3y.t=s
m 3y sp sn.nw nhm ib3 hntš pr-
ʕn.t n hnw.t ʕn.t ʕk=s sw 60,8 m
htp thn.ti m d.t=s r ntr.w

NORTH WALL

hnms=s ti.t=s hnt h.t=sšš.t
3w=ib hm.t=s n m33 pr=s
s3=s nsw.t tp srh n k3[=f] hnty
k3.w 60,9 ʕnh.w d.t

¹²⁹¹Wb I, 474,1-4. Wilson, PL 331, notes that *bs* is the image or cult statue of a god, derived from the MK *bsw*, which, like *sš3*, denotes something secret that must be kept away from ordinary eyes. See Sethe, Lesestücke MK, 70,17.

¹²⁹²Preys, 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; 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.

¹²⁹³The  *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 *dr*, "boundary, limit," because they exist at the "limit" or "end" of time.

¹²⁹⁴Wb V, 593,11: *dr* functions as a conjunction before a verbal or nominal clause since MK.

¹²⁹⁵Wb II, 365,5-7; PL 559:  *ntry* is the heart of the Creator God; it can also designate the heart of the King.

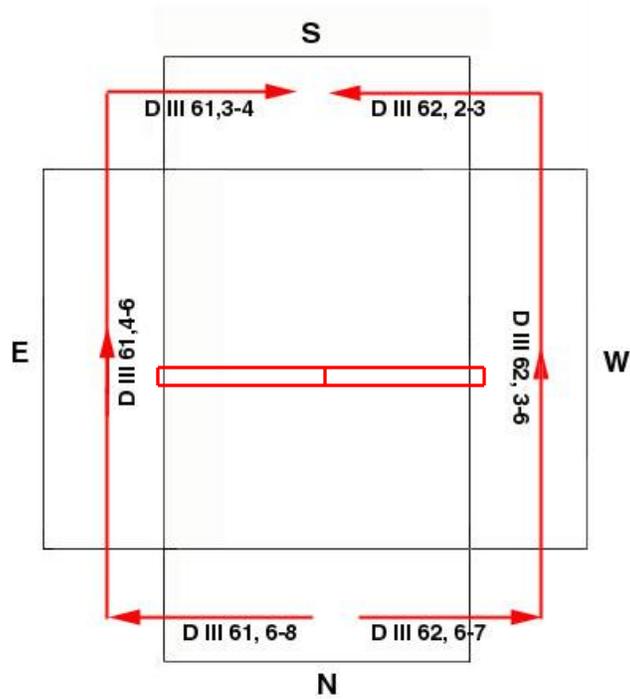
¹²⁹⁶Wb I, 141,10-19: it, "father," written with  (W10), a vase with bread, attested since OK.

¹²⁹⁷Written *3y sp sn.nw*, lit., "jubilation, jubilation," or translated as "very great jubilation."

¹²⁹⁸Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 127, translates as "tambourine." I prefer to read *nhm* as the verb, "rejoice," following PL 530, though perhaps it could be interpreted as "rejoicing with tambourine."

¹²⁹⁹Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 126-127, transliterates  as simply *ʕn.t*, "la Belle." The glyphs, however, suggest *hnw.t ʕn.t*.

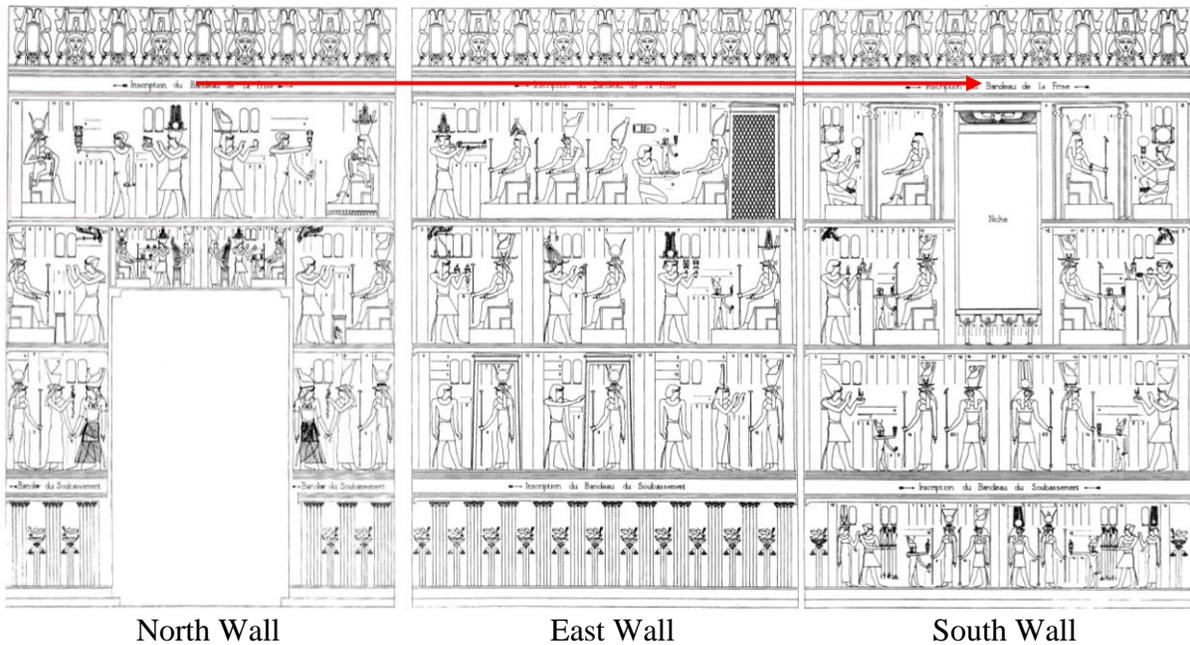
Bandeau of the Frieze



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



Doc 26 – Bandeau of the Frieze, E. Side: D III, 61,3-8

Translation	Transliteration
<p>SOUTH WALL 61,3 The Good¹³⁰⁰ God lives, son of <u>Hathor</u>, Excellent heir of Behdety,¹³⁰¹ King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands () , beloved of 61,4 <u>Hathor the Great</u>, <u>Lady of Iunet</u>, <u>Eye of Ra</u>, <u>Lady of Heaven</u>, <u>Mistress of all the gods</u>.¹³⁰² He has completed</p> <p>EAST WALL the Temple of the Sistrum for the Golden One (f.), Lady of Iunet, without its likeness in <u>the Two Shrines</u>,¹³⁰³ the great images engraved in it, 61,5 chiseled excellently by the work of sculptors,¹³⁰⁴ adorned in gold illuminated with painting,¹³⁰⁵ more luminous¹³⁰⁶ to see (it) than the heaven of Ra. 61,6 <u>The Shining One</u> (f.) shines in the sky before her city, the temple of her Ka since the beginning.¹³⁰⁷ She flies as <u>the Female Falcon</u>, the Shining One (f.)¹³⁰⁸ of brightness.</p> <p>NORTH WALL She alights on 61,7 her image in her sanctuary. She praises Ra for her city in joy.¹³⁰⁹ It is established for an infinity of years. She has rewarded the One of the Two Ladies for the work of his hands, 61,8 at the head of the Living (divine) Kas eternally.</p>	<p>SOUTH WALL 61,3 <i>ʿnh ntr nfr s3 Ht-hr iw^c mnḥ n Bhd.ty nsw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy () mry</i> 61,4 <i>H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Twn.t Tr.t-R^c nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w ḥts.n=f</i></p> <p>EAST WALL <i>ḥ.t sšš.t n Nbw.t nb.t Twn.t n mitt=s m itr.ty šm.w wr.w sphr m-ḥnt=s</i> 61,5 <i>ʒḥ^c r mnḥ m k3.t gnw.ty.w šḥkr.ti m nbw p^cp^c.ti m drwy ʒḥ mʒʒ=s r nn.t n.t R^c</i> 61,6 <i>psḏ Psḏ(.t) m p.t m-^ck3 niw.t=s ʒḥ.t n.t k3=s dr bʒḥ ḥd=s m bik.t tḥn(.t) msh^c</i></p> <p>NORTH WALL <i>ḥn=s ḥr</i> 61,7 <i>bs=s ḥnt ḥm=s ḥs=s R^c r niw.t=s m pr-m-kd sdd=s m ḥḥ n rnp.wt fk3.n=s nb.ty ḥr rʒ-^cwy=f(y)</i> 61,8 <i>ḥnt k3.w ʿnh.w d.t</i></p>

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 *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.

¹³⁰² Writing faces east, away from the naos.

¹³⁰³ *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^c.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.

¹³⁰⁴ CDME 290; PL 1102.

¹³⁰⁵ Wb V, 601,5-7.

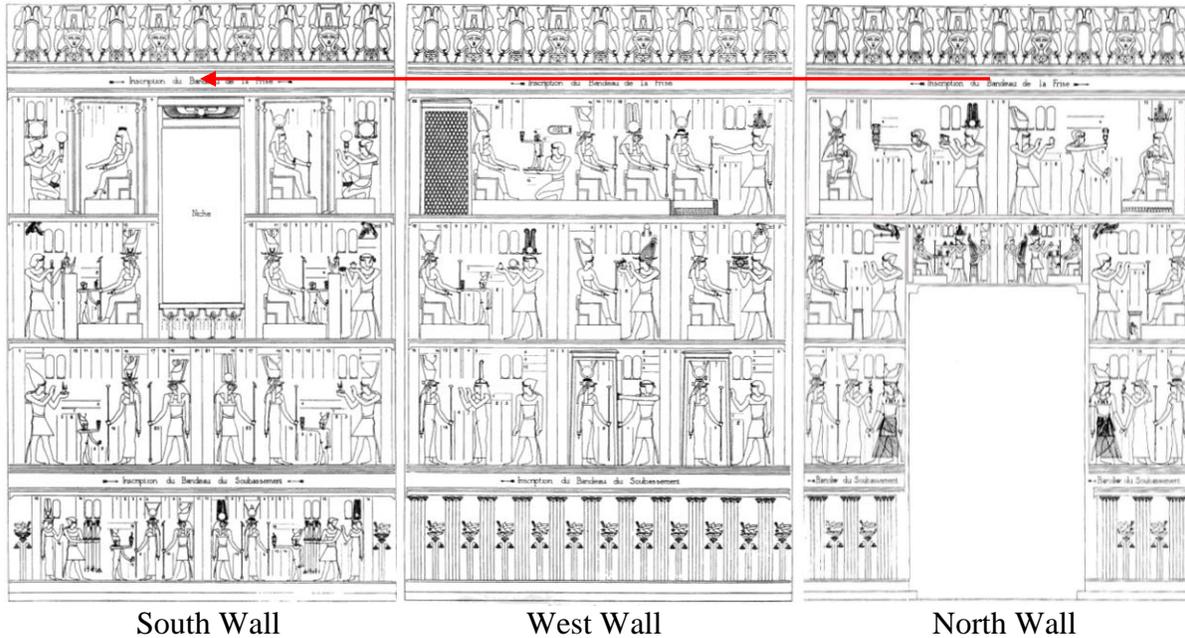
¹³⁰⁶ *ʒḥ*, with the polyvalent connotation of being shining, luminous, effective, magnificent. See Friedman, *Root Meaning ʒḥ*, 39-46.

¹³⁰⁷ This statement alludes to the great antiquity of Hathor's cult center at Dendera.

¹³⁰⁸ Wb V, 393,23-26: *tḥn*, "das Glänzen, der Glanz," as a characteristic and an epithet of the sun god. As a solar goddess, Hathor is thus the feminine counterpart, *tḥn.t*. Cf. PL 1170.

¹³⁰⁹ Wb V, 77,9-11; PL 1071: *pr-m-kd*, "to rejoice," "joy."

Bandeau of the Frieze, West Side
D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO



Doc 27 - Bandeau of the Frieze, W. Side: D III, 62,2-7

Translation	Transliteration
<p>SOUTH WALL 62,2 The Good¹³¹⁰ God lives, son of the Powerful Noble Lady,¹³¹¹ the Living image¹³¹² of Somtus, son of Ra, Lord of crowns, () beloved of 62,3 Isis the Great, Mother of the god,¹³¹³ Lady of Iatdi who resides¹³¹⁴ in Iunet. He has finished</p>	<p>SOUTH WALL 62,2 <i>ḥnh ntr nfr s3 šhm-šps.t šsp-ḥnh n Sm3-T3.wy s3 Rḥ nb ḥw ()</i> <i>mry 62,3 3s.t wr.t mw.t ntr nb.t ʿB.t-di hry.t-ib ʿIwn.t ʿrk.n=f</i></p>

¹³¹⁰ *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.

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 refer 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; PL 1028-1029. *šsp-ḥnh* 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 *šsp-ḥnh* can appear in parallel to the epithet, *snn=ḥr*, "image of Horus," in reference to the King. See also Hornung, Mensch als Bild, 142,

¹³¹³ The epithet,  *mw.t-ntr*, "mother of the god," features honorific transposition of *ntr*, the falcon on standard.

¹³¹⁴ 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.

WEST WALL

the Per-wer for the Female Sovereign in the Sanctuary of the One (f.) who knows,¹³¹⁵ without its equal¹³¹⁶ in the Two Palaces.¹³¹⁷ The images of the gods are inscribed in it, carved **62,4** excellently¹³¹⁸ by the hand of Tenen,¹³¹⁹ plated in gold, decorated with pigments. It resembles the pure sky. Iunyt¹³²⁰ **62,5** shines in the sky at the prow of the **barque**, in the sight of¹³²¹ the place where she was born.¹³²² She flies as the noble vulture,¹³²³ turquoise of appearance. She alights **62,6** upon her image

NORTH WALL

on the wall. She thanks the god for her city until the **end of time**.¹³²⁴ She is installed until the end of *nḥḥ*-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*-eternity.

WEST WALL

pr-wr n ity(.t) m pr-rḥ.t n sn.nw=f
m Is.ty šsp.w nw ntr.w sš.ti m-ḥnt=f
ḥt 62,4 r-mnh m-ḥ Inn ḥt m s3.wy
whḥ.ti m ti.t nḥr=s r ḥr.t wḥb.t wbn
62,5 *Twny.t m p.t m ḥ3.t wi3 m-sty-n*
s.t pḥpḥ.tw=s ḥ=s m š3.t šps.t
mšk.t ḥḥw sndm=s 62,6 ḥr sšm=s

NORTH WALL

ḥr s3.wt dw3-ntr=s r niw.t=s r ḥnty
3w smn=s r km nḥḥ 62,7 swr=s ity
ḥr mnw ir.n=f ḥnty k3.w ḥnh.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, *sš=i ḥr ḥndw r=tp Pr-rḥ.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 *rḥ-sw* as an epithet of Thoth since the 19th Dynasty, meaning, "the One who knows himself" (PL 590). In the present context, with reference to Isis, the epithet *rḥ.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, DG I, 106.

¹³¹⁸ PL 434: *r-mnh*, adverb meaning "excellently."

¹³¹⁹ The name of *T3-tnn* (Tatenen; Tenen) means "the risen earth," from the verb, *tni*, "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 dédicatoires, 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-sti-n* is lit., "in the sight of"; it means "before," "in the presence of." See Junker, GrD §226, p. 166.

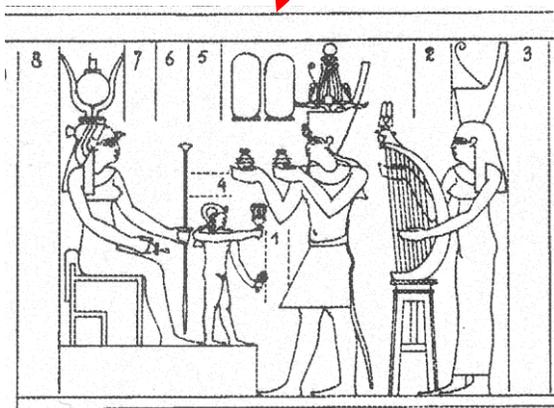
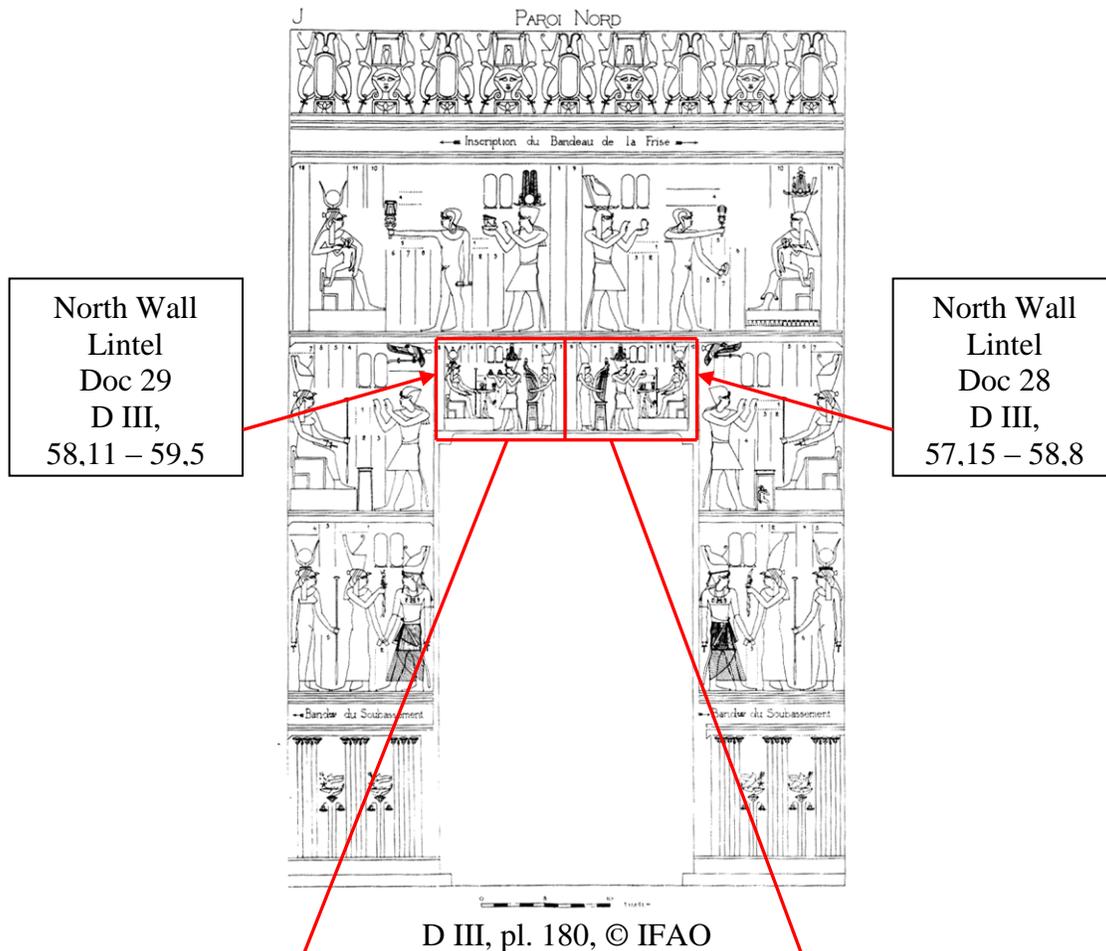
¹³²² The word *pḥpḥ* means "shine" as well as "born"; PL 346 notes that the shining of the sun is also its birth.

¹³²³ *š3.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 *š3.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 *š3.t* at Edfu is associated with El Kab, especially when emphasizing it as an incense-producing area.

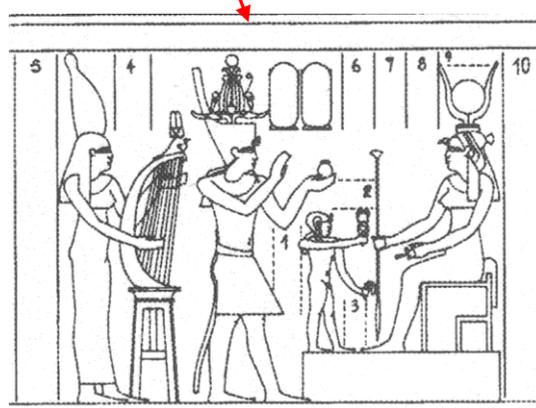
¹³²⁴ *ḥn.ty* (Wb III, 106,1-10) carries within it the idea of an infinite limit of time and space. PL 661 notes that the road determinative in some spellings of *ḥn.ty* implies something with two sides or boundaries—metaphorical for past and future; there may be a semantic link with the word *ḥn.ty* (horns), with the distance between the tips of the horns symbolizing spatial and temporal spans. Note the parallelism between *ḥnty 3w*, "end of time," and *km nḥḥ*, "end of eternity (or cyclical time)," in D III, 62,6.

7.3 North Wall of the Per-wer

North Wall, Lintel



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

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE 57,15 Presenting the <i>mnw</i>-jar¹³²⁵ to Hathor. IHY 58,1 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor. Playing the sistrum for his mother. KING 58,2 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () , son of Ra () BEHIND HIM: 58,3 All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for <i>d.t</i>-eternity. MERET OF THE SOUTH 58,4 Meret of the South,¹³²⁶ Mistress of the Throat. ROYAL RANDZEILE 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. HATHOR 58,7 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet,</p>	<p>TITLE 57,15 <i>ms p3 mnw n H.t-hr</i> IHY 58,1 <i>Thy wr s3 H.t-hr ir(.t) sšš.t n mw.t=f</i> KING 58,2 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () </i> BEHIND HIM: 58,3 <i>s3 nḥ w3s nb ḥ3=f mi R^c d.t</i> MERET OF THE SOUTH 58,4 <i>Mr.t šm^c ḥnw.t šš^cš</i> ROYAL RANDZEILE 58,5 <i>wnn nsw.t-bi.ty () ḥr bkr=f hr šhtp ḥnw.t=f m dsrw sw mi Thy 58,6 ir iḥy n mw.t=f ḥntš mw.t=f n m33=f</i> HATHOR 58,7 <i>dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb(.t) Iwn.t</i></p>

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, *ḥnk ḥ(n)k.t dd mdw nfr.wy nm, wnw r p3 mnw šbšb tḥ r tp-ḥsb b3ḥ n k3=t r nw n mrr=t ḥntš ib=t r^c 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 *ḥnk/ḥ(n)k.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: *nfr.wy m ḥ.t=f pr m imy.w ḥ.t=f nb(.t) bnr.wy bnrw=f ndm.wy mw=f ḥ^cw nb.w r tp-ḥsb*, "How lovely it is in its contents (*ḥ.t*), supplied with all its ingredients (*wndw*), how sweet is its sweetness, how pleasant is its liquid, all its spices (*ḥ3w*) are exactly calculated (*tp-ḥsb*)" (E IV, 348,7-8). The polyptoton, here on the root *bnr* (*bnr.wy/bnrw=f*), emphasizes the drink's sweetness.

¹³²⁶ Wb II, 107,2-6: Attested since the OK as one of two songstresses: *Mr.t šm^c* (Meret of Upper Egypt) and *Mr.t mḥw* (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 *m3^c.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 *dsr.t* 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 *dsrw* (a drink) and *dšrw* (a vessel). As a ritual offering at Dendera, it is interesting that *dsrw* (beer) is homophonic with *dsrw*, "sacredness."

<p>Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, Lady of Drunkenness¹³²⁸ (or, "beer"), Lady of Myrrh,¹³²⁹ Lady of Music, the Mistress 58,8 who ties¹³³⁰ the headband.</p> <p>DIVINE RANDZEILE</p> <p>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.</p>	<p><i>Ir.t-R^c nb(.t) p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w nb.t th nb(.t) ntyw nb(.t) hs.t hnw.t 58,8 ts m3h</i></p> <p>DIVINE RANDZEILE</p> <p><i>wnn Ir.t-R^c m-hnt pr-wr hr rdi(.t) hs.t mrw.t sy m nb(.t) th nb(.t) 3w.t-<ib> whm.tw nwh n hm.t=s</i></p>
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Doc 29 – Lintel, West Side: D III, 58,11 – 59,5

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE 58,11 Offering wine to his mother.</p> <p>KING 58,12 King of Upper and Lower Egypt (), son of Ra () BEHIND HIM: 58,13 All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for <i>d.t</i>-eternity.</p> <p>MERET OF THE NORTH 58,14 Meret of the North, Mistress of the Throat</p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE 59,1 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt () is upon his throne, gladdening the heart of his mistress, for he is Lord of Imet¹³³³ and Senu,¹³³⁴ 59,2 who</p>	<p>TITLE 58,11 <i>hmk irp n mw.t=f</i></p> <p>KING 58,12 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () </i> BEHIND HIM: 58,13 <i>s3 nḥ w3s nb h3=f mi R^c d.t</i></p> <p>MERET OF THE NORTH 58,14 <i>Mr.t mhḥ hnw.t hty.t</i></p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE 59,1 <i>wnn nsw.t-bi.ty () hr ns.t=f hr wnf ib n hnw.t=f sw m nb Im.t Snw</i> 59,2 <i>hb inw m t3.wy h3s.wt</i></p>

¹³²⁸ Wb V, 325,7-9; GR: *th* 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,  (A31B), carries the value *n*, meaning, "turn away," "go back." In Ptolemaic, with the addition of three grain signs, it writes  *ntyw* (myrrh). Myrrh is the fragrant gum resin from the *Commiphora* tree, originating in Punt and the God's Land (i.e. Arabia, Somalia, and Ethiopia). Interestingly, it can also be written with an eye: , 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, *ts*, "fix, tie on, attach," occurs in texts accompanying rituals of tying on *wsh*-collars, *w3.t*- and *s3w*-amulets, and *m3h* (also transliterated as *mḥ*) garlands; the act of tying thus has ritual significance. *ts* 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 *hs.t* and *mrw.t* often appear as a pair (D III, 22,7; 131,14; 136,4), and in the compound ideogram:  (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." *3w.t-ib* (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

collects¹³³⁵ tribute in the Two Lands and the foreign lands.

IHY

59,3 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor.¹³³⁶

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 Iuny¹³³⁷ is rejoicing¹³³⁸ in her chapel,¹³³⁹ making glad¹³⁴⁰ her heart with its beauties, for she is the **Mistress**, the **Lady of Gladness**,¹³⁴¹ **Lady of Jubilation**,¹³⁴² **Lady of Joy** every day.

IHY

59,3 *Thy wr s3 H.t-ḥr*

ISIS

59,4 *dd mdw in 3s.t wr.t mw.t-ntr
nb.t ʔB.t-di ḥr(y.t)-ib ʔwn.t nb(.t) ḥb
ḥnw.t 3w(.t)-ib*

DIVINE RANDZEILE

59,5 *wnn ʔwny.t ḥꜥ{f}.t<i> m
ḥ3y.t=s ḥr ḥntš ib=s m nfr.w=s sy m
ḥnw.t nb(.t) hy nb(.t) ḥnw nb(.t) ḥntš
rꜥ nb*

Nabasha, Tell Bedawi, and Tell Far'un in the Delta, located SE of Tanis and NE of Qantir; site of the Ramesside temple of Wadjet, a temple built by Amasis, and 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 *ʔmty*. Wilson, PL 65, notes that *im.t* 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 *Im.t* in the present text may create a connection with the udjat offering on the opposing wall (due to the homonym, *im.t*, "pupil" of the Eye), the word *im.t* as "pupil" does not appear in D I-IV. However, there is word play (and a visual pun) on *im.t*, "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 *im.t*, "the pupil of the eye or child is with you," in E IV, 137,3.

¹³³⁴ Pelusium (Tell el-Farama), located NE of the Delta near the Mediterranean Sea in a wine production area. Hannig Ä-D, 1381; Baines and Malek, Cultural Atlas, 167.

¹³³⁵ Use of  (U104) crescent moon for *ḥb* (Wb I, 91,16: *ḥb inw*; III, 252,1-5; *ḥbi*, "collect (tribute)") is frequent in GR. It is especially appropriate in the Per-wer due to the role of Thoth (who is associated with the moon and its phases), who "assembles" the parts of the *wḏ3.t*-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."

¹³³⁶ 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.

¹³³⁷ 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 Iuny, a form of Osiris at Edfu.

¹³³⁸ The erroneous  should be replaced with , to form  to form the proper Ptolemaic stative ending of *ḥꜥ.ti*, "being in a state of rejoicing."

¹³³⁹ Wb III, 16,3-5: *ḥ3y.t* is a room in a shrine, sanctuary, or temple. Its homonym, *ḥ3y.t* (D III, 91,2) means "luminous one." A close homophone is *ḥ3y.t*, the designation for the roof kiosk at Dendera, where the *ḥnm itn* (union with the sun disk) ritual takes place on New Year's Day.

¹³⁴⁰ Wb IV, 256,17 – 257,1: causative of *ḥntš*, "make glad, please," especially the heart of a god by means of an offering.

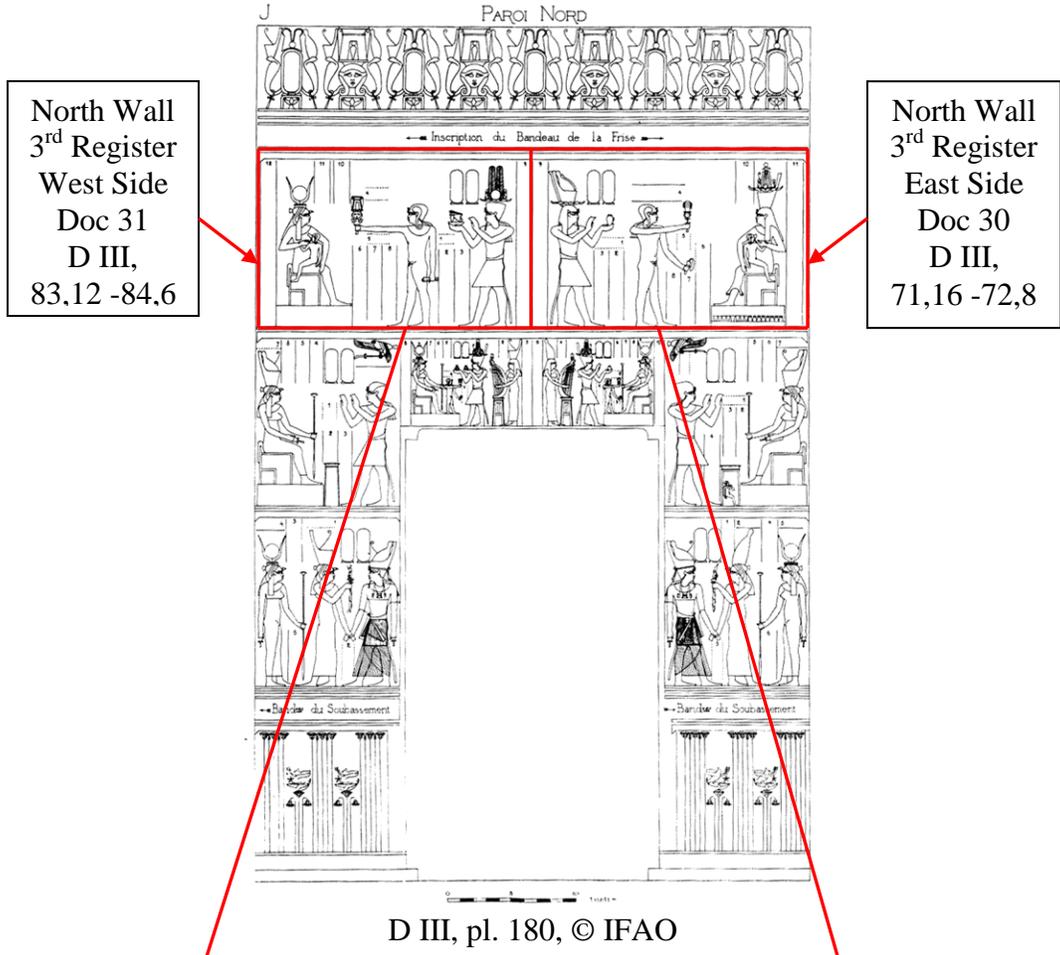
¹³⁴¹ Wb II, 483,1-13; MK: *hy* means "gladness, joy"; *nb.t hy* (lady of joy) is a frequent epithet of Hathor at Dendera, held by Isis in this wine offering scene. Wilson, PL 601, notes that at Edfu, the determinative used to write *hy* is a man with hand to mouth, representing emotion, but at Dendera, it is a man dancing (as here, in D III, 59,5), "suggesting a more active expression of joy."

¹³⁴² *nb.t ḥnw*, "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  (A8), seen also in textual representations (D III, 91,8) of the

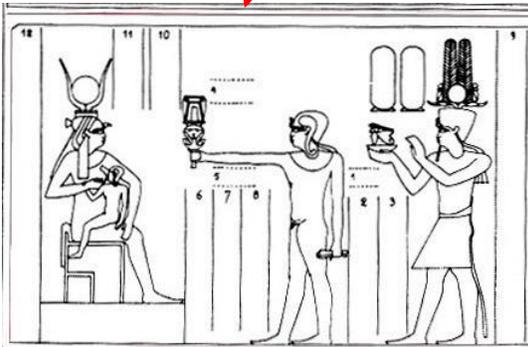
Souls of Pe  (C21) and the Souls of Nekhen  (C40).

North Wall, 3rd Register

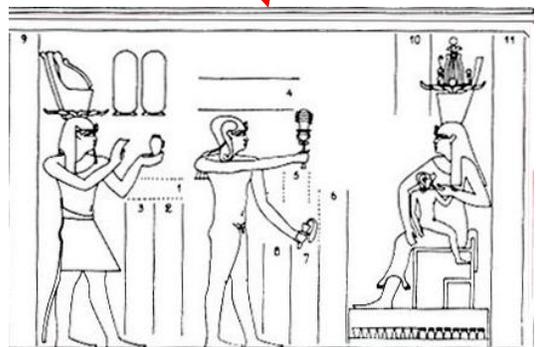


North Wall
3rd Register
West Side
Doc 31
D III,
83,12 -84,6

North Wall
3rd Register
East Side
Doc 30
D III,
71,16 -72,8



Doc 31 – North Wall, 3rd Register, W. Side



Doc 30 – North Wall, 3rd Register, E. Side

Doc 30 – North Wall, 3rd Register, East Side: D III, 71,16 – 72,8

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 71,16 Greeting¹³⁴³ with the <i>nms.t</i>-vessel.¹³⁴⁴ Words to say: Take for yourself 71,17 the libation vessel.¹³⁴⁵ I offer¹³⁴⁶ you the <i>nms.t</i>-vessel. You are satisfied with what comes forth¹³⁴⁷ from the Nun (primordial waters). 71,18 I greet you with what emerges¹³⁴⁸ from the leg (<i>sty</i>). Your heart rejoices with what appears¹³⁴⁹ from the leg (<i>w^cr.t</i>).¹³⁵⁰</p> <p>HORUS 72,1 Horus as Ihy, he has equipped him(self)¹³⁵¹ with his ornaments. Gold. Height: 1 cubit. 72,2 The <i>šhm</i>-sistrum¹³⁵² is in my right hand, it has caused your anger to pass away.¹³⁵³ The menit-necklace is in my left hand, driving away your rage, Noble and Powerful Lady in the Temple of the Sistrum,¹³⁵⁴ the</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 71,16 <i>nd-ḥr m nms.t dd mdw m-n=t</i> 71,17 <i>špsy ḥb3=i n=t nms.t ḥtp=t ḥr pr(.t) m nwn</i> 71,18 <i>nd=i ḥr=t m bs(.t) m sty ḥntš ib=t m wbn(.t) m w^cr(.t)</i></p> <p>HORUS 72,1 <i>Ḥr m Ihy ḥpr.n=f sw m ḥkr.w=f nbw k3 mḥ l</i> 72,2 <i>šhm m wnmy=i sš.n=f nšn=t mni.t m i3b.t=i ḥr dr dndn=t šps.t wsr.t ḥnt ḥ.t-sšš.t itn.t wbn m nn.t wr.t</i> 72,3 <i>mrw.t</i></p>

¹³⁴³ Wb II, 372,8-23: *ind-ḥr*, lit. "ask the face," used in the formula at the beginning of a festival speech. Wilson, PL 564, notes that the true form of *nd* is written with the prothetic *i* (*ind*); it appears as a formal greeting for gods and the King, used from PT through GR. Alliot, *Culte I*, 109 n. 3, observes that the ritual can also be performed with other vessels, e.g., the *dšr.t*,  (W11A). Cf. PL 519-520.

¹³⁴⁴ Greeting with the *nms.t*-vessel, attested since PT (§1140), in which four *nms.t*-jars (for the four cardinal directions) are used to purify the body and restore lost fluids of the deceased King. A ritual for temple gods is *phr ḥ3 tp sp-fdw m ifd.t nms.t n.t mw*, "going around four times with four *nms.t*-jars of water" (E III, 336,3-7). See PL 520.

¹³⁴⁵ *špsy* designates both a libation base and a container for relics of Osiris in the LP. Its choice as the libation vase in the offering of primordial water in this scene is particularly appropriate, because the Nile's inundation is said to come forth from the "leg of Osiris," a relic kept at Elephantine. See du Buisson, *Noms et Signes*, 118.

¹³⁴⁶ Wilson, PL 145-146, notes that *ḥb3*, written here as *ḥb*, does not introduce ritual offerings, but is rather an archaic survival providing an alternate word for "to offer." See also Wb I, 177,2-3.

¹³⁴⁷ *pr(.t)* is the feminine singular perfective active participle of the 3rd weak verb, *pri*, "come forth."

¹³⁴⁸ *bs(.t)* is the f. s. perfective active participle of the 3rd weak verb, *bsi*, "emerge."

¹³⁴⁹ *wbn(.t)* is the f. s. perfective active participle of the tri-literal verb *wbn*, "appear," "rise," or "shine."

¹³⁵⁰ The terms for the sacred leg of Osiris, *sty* and *w^cr.t*, sometimes refer to the flood in Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively. See Beinlich, *Osirisreliquien*, 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*, puns with *sti*, "pour out (water)," as well as the nome that is the source of the inundation, *B-sti*, "land of the bow" or "land of the *sti*-mineral." Interestingly, the scribe does not exploit the possibility for puns on *sti* in this text.

¹³⁵¹ 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 her (=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.

¹³⁵² Following Cauville (*Dend Trad III*, p. 1), I read *šhm* for the arched sistrum and *sšš.t* for the naos-sistrum, as was the practice during the LP and GR. During the NK, the reading was the opposite. See Reynders, *Sistrum*, 1013-1026.

¹³⁵³ The transitive use of the verb *sš*, "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, , can also be used for the verb *sni*, "pass by; cause to pass away," which interchanges with *sš* in the same formulas. See Wb III, 454. Note that Cauville, *Dend Trad III*, p. 142, transliterates the verb in this passage as *sn*.

¹³⁵⁴ The *ḥ.t-sšš.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.

Atenet¹³⁵⁵ 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

72,4 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () | son of Ra () |

ROYAL RANDZEILE

I have come **72,5** before you, Female Ba¹³⁵⁶ among the (divine) Powers, Noble Lady in the Temple of Purification.¹³⁵⁷ I bring you the *ḥd.t*-vessel filled with Hapy (=inundation water) in order to refresh your heart with the libation water, for you¹³⁵⁸ are the Golden One (f.) within the Sanctuary of the Golden One (f.), **72,6** who brings Hapy in his canals.¹³⁵⁹ **BEHIND HIM:** All protection, life, and dominion are behind him like Ra, for *d.t*-eternity.

HATHOR

72,7 Hathor, Lady of Iunet. Gold. Height: 1 cubit.

DIVINE RANDZEILE

72,8 Words to say: Welcome in peace, heir of Ra, **Divine Seed of Atum!** I have received¹³⁶⁰ your libation that came forth from the Nun. I purify my body [with] the water of youth. I cause that the inundation comes¹³⁶¹ to you at its season of the year,¹³⁶² at the beginning of the year, without end.

ḥnw.t ntr.w ntr.wt mh p.t t3 m nfr.w=s

KING

72,4 *nsw.t-bi.ty () | s3 R^c () |*

ROYAL RANDZEILE

dd mdw ii.n=i 72,5 ḥr=t b3.t r shm.w šps.t ḥnt ḥ.t^cbw in=i n=t ḥd.t ḥn^c.ti m ḥ^cpy r skbh ib=t m kbhw tw=t Nbw.t m-ḥnt pr-Nbw.t 72,6 in ḥ^cpy m ḥnw.t=f

BEHIND HIM: *s3 ḥnh w3s nb ḥ3=f mi R^c d.t*

HATHOR

72,7 *H.t-ḥr nb.t Iwn.t nbw k3 mh 1*

DIVINE RANDZEILE

72,8 *dd mdw ii.ti m ḥtp iw^c n R^c mw ntry n Itmw šsp.n=i kbhw=k pr m nwn sw^cb=i ḥ^cw=i [m] mw-rnp di=i ii n=k ḥ^cpy r tr=f n rnp.t tp-rnp.t n(n) 3b*

¹³⁵⁵ The *itn.t* is the female sun disk, the feminine counterpart of *itn*, "Aten," the sun disk.

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.

¹³⁵⁷ The "Temple of Purification" is the Temple of Hathor at Dendera (Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 520).

¹³⁵⁸ *twt* (*tw=t*) is the f.s. independent pronoun, whose form goes back to the PT of the OK, in which the 2nd and 3rd 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: .

¹³⁵⁹ The writing of  for *ḥn.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 *ḥn.t* as the translation, instead of *dr.t* or *šps.t*, when it alliterates better with other elements of the sentence, as in the present phrase: *in ḥ^cpy m ḥnw.t=f*, "who brings Hapy in his canals."

¹³⁶⁰ Note that *šsp*, "receive," is spelled with the same hand-sign used to spell *ḥnw.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.

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.

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, *rnp.t*. Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 380, citing Papyrus Lansing, 2.6, notes the Coptic **nei**, "time"; he interprets *nri* 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/rnp.t*) in parallel phrasing, or in a polyptoton with

Doc 31 – North Wall, 3rd Register, West Side: D III, 83,12 – 84,6

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 83,12 Offering the Udjat-Eye. Words to say: Take for yourself the Udjat-Eye, 83,13 the (divine) Eye, purified¹³⁶³ of pain, ennobled¹³⁶⁴ by the work of the Reckoner of tribute,¹³⁶⁵ 83,14 its white and its black¹³⁶⁶ 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 calm¹³⁶⁷ your heart with praises.¹³⁶⁸ I have pacified your Ka in the Sanctuary of the Noble Lady, the merit-necklace and the <i>sš.t</i>-sistrum in my hands, for you are the Eye of Ra, 83,17 Mistress of Goddesses, who adorns¹³⁶⁹ the brow¹³⁷⁰ of Ra with beauty. KING 84,1 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () , son of Ra () : ROYAL RANDZEILE Words to say: I have come 84,2 before you, Lady of the</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 83,12 <i>hnk wd3.t dd mdw m-n=t wd3.t 83,13 ntr.t ntr.ti r 3hw šps.ti m k3.t n(.t) Hsb-inw 83,14 hd=s km=s mn m s.t=sn dfd=s c.d.ti n(n) dw IHY 83,15 Thy nbw k3 mh l ihy.n=i m hr=t nfr Nbw.t 83,16 sfn(=i) ib=t m sns(.w) šhtp.n=i k3=t m-hnt pr-šps.t mni.t sš.t m c.wy=i tw=t [r]*=t Ir.t-Rc 83,17 hnw.t ntr.wt mh dh.n.t n(.t) Rc m nfrw KING 84,1 nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 Rc () ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>dd mdw ii.n=i 84,2 hr=t nb.t</i></i></p>

variations on the root *ntp*, as in the present example. See Blackman and Fairman, Myth of Horus, 23-25, for more discussion.

¹³⁶³ The sign in line 83,13,  (O124), serves as the determinative for   *ntr.t* (divine Eye), as well as

the ideogram *ntry* in  *ntry.ti* (stative of "divinized, purified"). Wb II, 363,1 – 364,18, esp. 364,15-18: *ntry* can serve as a transitive verb meaning, "be holy, divine," or "make holy" in the sense of purifying (from evil).

¹³⁶⁴ The adjective-verb *šps*, 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, *šps.ti*, could be read as either "provisioned" or "ennobled."

¹³⁶⁵ The Reckoner of Tribute, *Hsb-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."

¹³⁶⁶ *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."

¹³⁶⁷ Wb IV, 442,3-4, since MK. Wilson (PL 834) notes that *sfn* is analogous to *šhtp*, "make calm, pacify." It never appears with determinatives of "joy" words, such as the lotus, with only  (F63) to indicate emotion, suggesting that it is more likely to mean "make happy" rather than "rejoice."

¹³⁶⁸ Wb IV, 171,11-13; Dyn 18: praise, veneration, prayer, with reference to a god. Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 109, translates *sns.w* as "rituels" (D III, 49,2) and "prières" (D III, 49,10).

¹³⁶⁹ Wb II, 3-4: *mh*, lit., "fill," means "to decorate, adorn" the brow with (*m*) the diadem."

¹³⁷⁰ Wb V, 478,6; MK; often written without the *t*-loaf in GR. Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 158, transliterates as *dh.n*, despite the *t*-loaf that appears in the text.

Udjat-Eyes, the (divine) Eye of the pupil of the Udjat-Eye.¹³⁷¹ I bring you **the Effective-eye, effective** in its body,¹³⁷² **distinguished**¹³⁷³ in all its ritual,¹³⁷⁴ for you are the Right Eye of He who shines like gold,¹³⁷⁵ **84,3** the Living Eye of Atum.¹³⁷⁶ **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.¹³⁷⁷ Evil will not come¹³⁷⁸ into their presence.¹³⁷⁹ Hathor. Gold in **84,5** embossed work.¹³⁸⁰ Height: 3 palms.
DIVINE RANDZEILE
Words to say: Welcome in peace, Image of Isden,¹³⁸¹ **the Living image** of the heart of Ra!¹³⁸² **I have received the**

wḏ3.ty ntr.t n.t ḏfḏ-n-wḏ3.t in=i n=t 3h.t 3h.ti m d.t=s tn.ti m tp-rd=s nb tw=t wnmy(.t) n(.t) Psd-m-nbw 84,3 ḥ.t n.t Itmw
BEHIND HIM: *s3 ḥ w3s nb ḥ3=f mi Rḥ d.t*
HATHOR
84,4 *di=i n=k ir.ty=k(y) hr m33 d.t n ii dw m-ḥ3=s n H.t-hr nbw m 84,5 km3 k3 šsp 3*
DIVINE RANDZEILE
ḏḏ mdw ii.ti m ḥtp snn n Isdn šsp-ḥ n ib-n-Rḥ šsp.n=i wḏ3.t

¹³⁷¹ Wb V, 573,6 defines *ḏfḏ-n-wḏ3.t* as "Pupil of the Udjat-Eye," of the sun god, Horus, or of Hathor, as mother of the "pupil of the *wḏ3.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 wḏ3.ty ntr.t n.t ḏfḏ-n-wḏ3.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  (D10A): doubled symmetrically as the ideogram for *wḏ3.ty*; used as the determinative in *ntr.t*; serving as the ideogram for *wḏ3.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 *tni*, "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 *tni*, since its feathers are raised up high 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.

¹³⁷⁵ Wb I, 557,3, GR: "der in Gold (golden) strahlt," an epithet of the sun god Ra. See Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 440.

¹³⁷⁶ Wb. I, 205,7; PL 161. Epithet of Hathor; synonym for the *wḏ3.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 pseudoverbal 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 *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, chased 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 Rḥ*, "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-wer. 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 *nḥḥ*-eternity,¹³⁸⁴ without clouds in your
 face.¹³⁸⁵

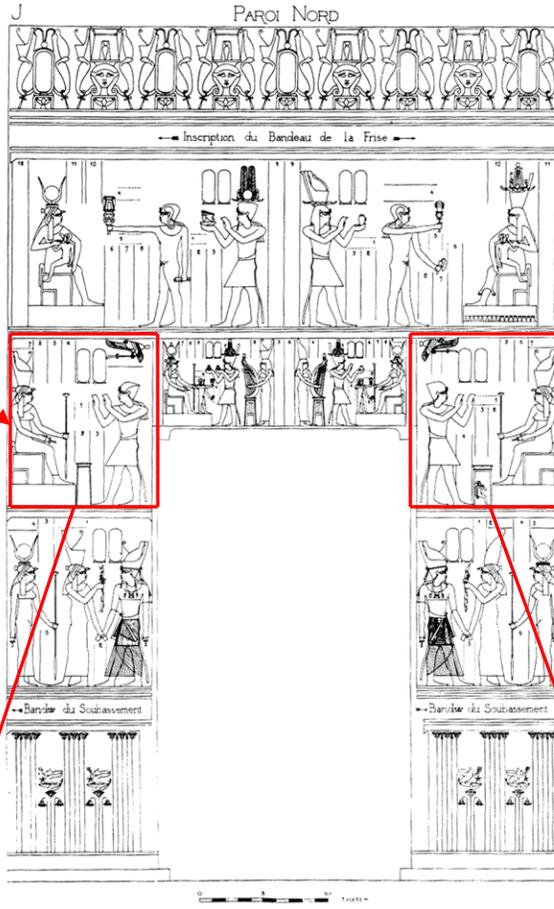
wḏ3.ti m d.t=s ip.ti 84,6 db3.ti
m iry.w=s di=i n=k ir.ty=k(y)
ḥr m33 nḥḥ n(n) igp m ḥr=k

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 (*wḏ3.t*) possesses.

¹³⁸⁴ See previous explanation for D III, 84,4 (n. 38). Parallel construction of lines 84,4 (*ḥr m33 d.t*) and 84,6 (*ḥr m33 nḥḥ*) include eternity in each of the dualities of Egyptian time: linear (*d.t*) and cyclical (*nḥḥ*). Hathor's gift to the King thus encompasses all of eternity. Harsomtus carries the epithet *nb nḥḥ* (Lord of *nḥḥ*-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 nḥḥ ḥk3 d.t* (Lord of *nḥḥ*-eternity, Ruler of *d.t*-eternity), in 3rd reg, 1st scene, S. Wall, Temple of the Sistrum (Chassinat's Chamber I), in the *ḥ.t sḥm* (Chassinat's Chamber I), in *ḥnḥ-w3s-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).

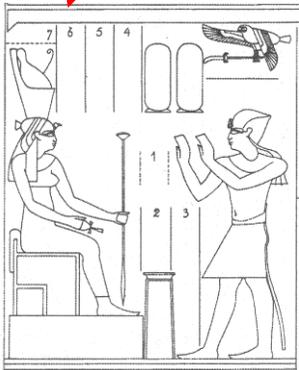
North Wall, 2nd Register



North Wall
2nd Register
West Side
Doc 33
D III,
80,4 – 80,10

North Wall
2nd Register
East Side
Doc 32
D III,
68,11 – 69,2

D III, pl. 180, © IFAO



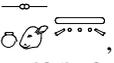
North Wall, 2nd Register, W. Side



North Wall, 2nd Register, E. Side

Doc 32 – North Wall, 2nd Register, East Side: D III, 68,11 – 69,2

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 68,11 Adoring the god. Words to say: I have praised 68,12 your Ka to the height of heaven, I have kissed the ground¹³⁸⁶ for you to (the extent of) the breadth of the earth, I have greeted you,¹³⁸⁷ 68,13 my mouth possessing the prayers,¹³⁸⁸ my heart¹³⁸⁹ possessing the utterances. 68,14 I praise¹³⁹⁰ your Incarnation in Qab- tawy,¹³⁹¹ Noble and Powerful Lady in the Temple of the Bier.¹³⁹²</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 68,11 <i>dw3 ntr dd mdw dw3.n=i</i> 68,12 <i>k3=t r k3 n{t} p.t sn(.n)=i</i> <i>n=t t3 r wsh n t3 nd.n=i hr=t</i> 68,13 <i>r3=i hr sns(.w) hry-mk.t=i</i> <i>hr tpy.w-r3</i> 68,14 <i>sw3š=i hm.t=t</i> <i>m K3b-t3.wy šps.t wsr.t hnt h.t-</i> <i>nmi.t</i></p>

¹³⁸⁶ The expression, *sn-b* (lit. "kiss the ground") , 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,  (A87A), in an "Adoring the God (*dw3-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,  (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, 3rd 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 *i*, the traditional spelling is *ind-hr*. As Wilson (PL 564) observes, "The true form of *nd* is written with the prothetic *i* 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, Anreden, 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.

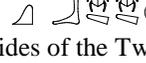
¹³⁸⁸ Wb IV, 171,11-13; Dyn 18: praise, veneration, prayer, with reference to a god. Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 109, translates *sns.w* as "rituels" (D III, 49,2) and "prières" (D III, 49,10).

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, . 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  (A30).

¹³⁹¹ 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.

¹³⁹² Wb II, 266,2-5; LP, GR. The term, *nmi.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-nmi.t* (Temple of the Bier), designates the mammisi at

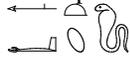
Dendera. Compare with *pr-msy.t*,  (Sanctuary of the Bier), another name for "mammisi," in a menit offering in the 4th register of the S. Wall of the Offering Hall (D VII, 92,1).

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 Creator**¹³⁹⁴ **who was first** to be born, **69,2** without another except for her,¹³⁹⁵ who nourishes¹³⁹⁶ her child with her white milk.¹³⁹⁷**KING****68,15** *nsw.t-bi.ty* ()| *s3 R^c* ()|**BEHIND HIM: 68,16** *s3 nḥ w3s nb ḥ3=f mi R^c d.t* **ABOVE HIM, VULTURE OF NEKHBT:***Nḥb.t 68,17 ḥd.t Nḥn***HATHOR****69,1** *dd mdw in Ḥ.t-ḥr nb.t Twn.t Tr.t-R^c ḥr.t-tp n R^c ḥnt Twn.t š3^c.t š3^c p^cp^c 69,2 n(n) k.t ḥr ḥw=s šd nn=s m ḥdw=s*

¹³⁹³ Wb III, 141,9-11: Dyn 18, GR. Often written with the cobra determinative, *ḥr.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 *s3^c* (be first, create), *š3^c.t* is an epithet of Hathor, representing the goddess as the first female creator deity. It appears among Hathor's epithets in the Per-wer: *š3^c.t š3^c.t irw* (Primordial Goddess, secret one of form (D III, 92,5); *š3^c.t š3^c t3 m ḥpr=s* (Female Creator, who created the earth when she came into being, D III, 95,3). See PL 988-999.

¹³⁹⁵ Wb III, 216,3: *ḥr ḥ.w*, an epithet in the sense of being unique of its kind, usually of persons. PL 710: *n ky ḥr 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,  *w^c.t* (unique uraeus) 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, *šd* 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 *šd* 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, *ḥdw* (white milk), derives from *ḥd* (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

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 80,4 Adoring the god. Words to say: Greetings to you,¹³⁹⁸ 80,5 Noble Lady, my Mistress, whose divine power is greater than (that of) all the gods,¹³⁹⁹ you are called the Golden One (f.), Lady of Iunet, 80,6 Lady of Protection, protecting the one who created¹⁴⁰⁰ her. KING 80,7 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () , son of Ra () BEHIND HIM: 80,8 All protection, life, stability, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for <i>d.t</i>-eternity. ABOVE HIM, FALCON OF HORUS: Behdety, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, the Dappled One of plumage. HATHOR 80,9 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, She who is Highest¹⁴⁰¹ of the Great Seat,¹⁴⁰² Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, the First daughter 80,10 of her father Ra, who hears the prayers¹⁴⁰³ of everyone.¹⁴⁰⁴</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 80,4 <i>dw3 ntr dd mdw nd hr=t</i> 80,5 <i>šps.t hnw.t=i wr(.t) b3.w r ntr.w nb.w dd.tw [n]=t Nbw.t nb(.t) Iwn.t 80,6 nb(.t) mk.t hr mk(.t) km3 s(y)</i> KING 80,7 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () </i> BEHIND HIM: 80,8 <i>s3 εnh dd w3s h3=f mi R^c d.t ABOVE HIM, FALCON OF HORUS: Bhd.ty ntr ε nb p.t s3b šw.t</i> HATHOR 80,9 <i>dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb(.t) Iwn.t Ir.t-R^c hry(.t) s.t wr.t nb(.t) p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w s3.t tp(y.t)</i> 80,10 <i>n(.t) it=s R^c ndb nis n hr-nb</i></p>

¹³⁹⁸ Wb II, 372,8-10, "to greet someone," lit., "ask the face." Although the GR spelling appears without the prothetic *i*, the traditional spelling is *ind-hr*. As Wilson (PL 564) observes, "The true form of *nd* is written with the prothetic *i* 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, Großformeln, 915-917; Grapow, Wie sie 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.

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.

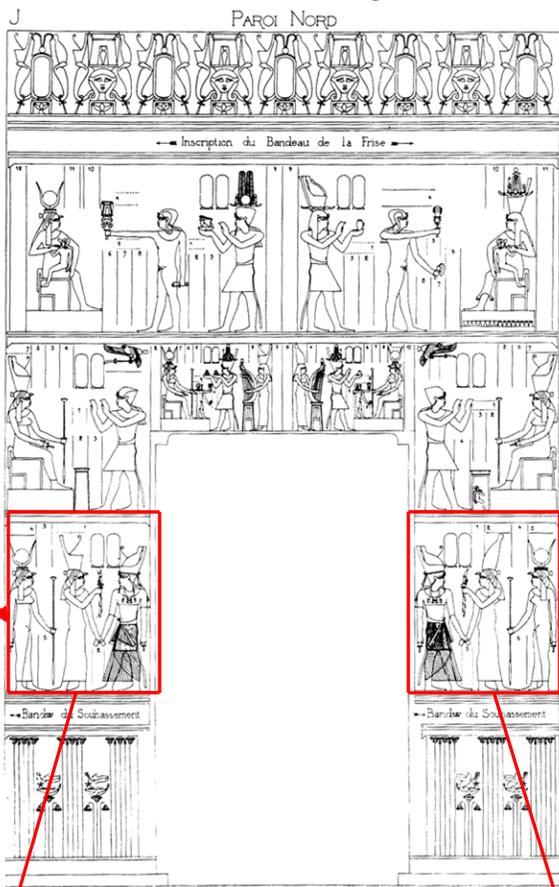
¹⁴⁰¹ Lit., "the highest"; can be translated as "Female Chief."

¹⁴⁰² Gabolde, Linteau tentyrite, 199-200 and n. 24, observes that the epithet, *hry s.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 *sdm nis* (hear a calling); *hrw nis n w3h-ih.t* (the sound of the invocation of the offering ritual). Compare with *sns(.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 piety. In the 1st floor Crypt South 2, Chamber B, a similar text on the west side of the south wall states that Hathor *sdm 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.

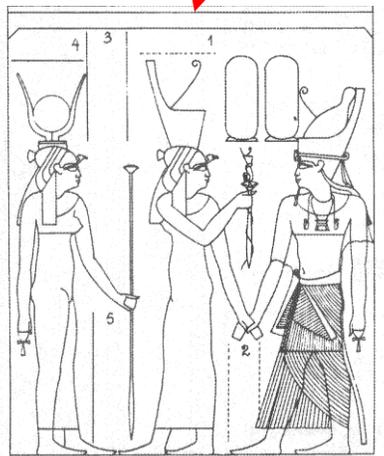
North Wall, 1st Register



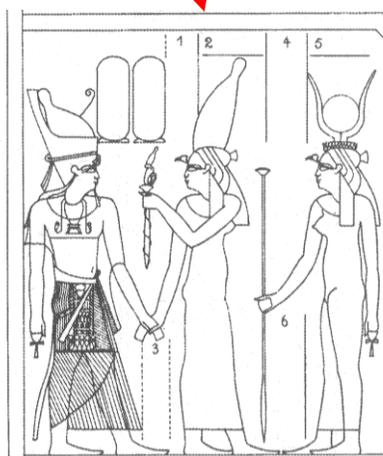
North Wall
1st Register
West Side
Doc 35
D III,
75.15 – 76.2

North Wall
1st Register
East Side
Doc 34
D III,
63.14-18

D III, pl. 180, © IFAO



North Wall, 1st Register, W. Side



North Wall, 1st Register, E. Side

Doc 34 – North Wall, 1st Register, East Side: D III, 63,14-18

Translation	Transliteration
<p>KING 63,14 King of Upper and Lower Egypt (), son of Ra () BEHIND HIM: Protection NEKHBET 63,15 Words to say by Nekhbet, White One (f.) of Nekhen,¹⁴⁰⁵ the Uraeus of all the gods. 63,16 Come in peace! You enter the Temple of the Sistrum.¹⁴⁰⁶ HATHOR 63,17 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 63,18 rejoices in seeing you.</p>	<p>KING 63,14 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c ()</i> BEHIND HIM: <i>s3</i> NEKHBET 63,15 <i>dd mdw in Nhb.t ḥd.t Nhn ḥr.t-tp n ntr.w nb.w</i> 63,16 <i>mi m ḥtp ʕk=k ḥ.t sš.t</i> HATHOR 63,17 <i>dd mdw in H.t-ḥr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t Ir.t-R^c nb(.t) p.t ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w ii.ti sp sn.nw s3=i mry=i ḥ^{cc}</i> 63,18 <i>ib=i n m33=k</i></p>

Doc 35 – North Wall, 1st Register, West Side: D III, 75,15 – 76,2

Translation	Transliteration
<p>KING 75,15 King of Upper and Lower Egypt (), son of Ra () BEHIND HIM: Protection WADJET 75,16 Wadjet, Lady of Pe and Dep.¹⁴⁰⁷ Come in peace! You enter the Per-Wer. ISIS 76,1 Words to say by Isis the Great, Mother of the God, Lady of Iatdi¹⁴⁰⁸ who resides in Iunet. 76,2 Welcome! Welcome, young man of my Incarnation! My face brightens in seeing you.</p>	<p>KING 75,15 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c ()</i> BEHIND HIM: <i>s3</i> WADJET 75,16 <i>W3dy.t nb(.t) P Dp mi m ḥtp ʕk=k r pr-wr</i> ISIS 76,1 <i>dd mdw in 3s.t wr.t mw.t-ntr nb(.t) B.t-di ḥry(.t)-ib Iwn.t</i> 76,2 <i>ii.ti sp sn.nw ḥwn n ḥm(.t)=i ṯn ḥr=i n m33=k</i></p>

¹⁴⁰⁵ *ḥd.t Nhn*, "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.

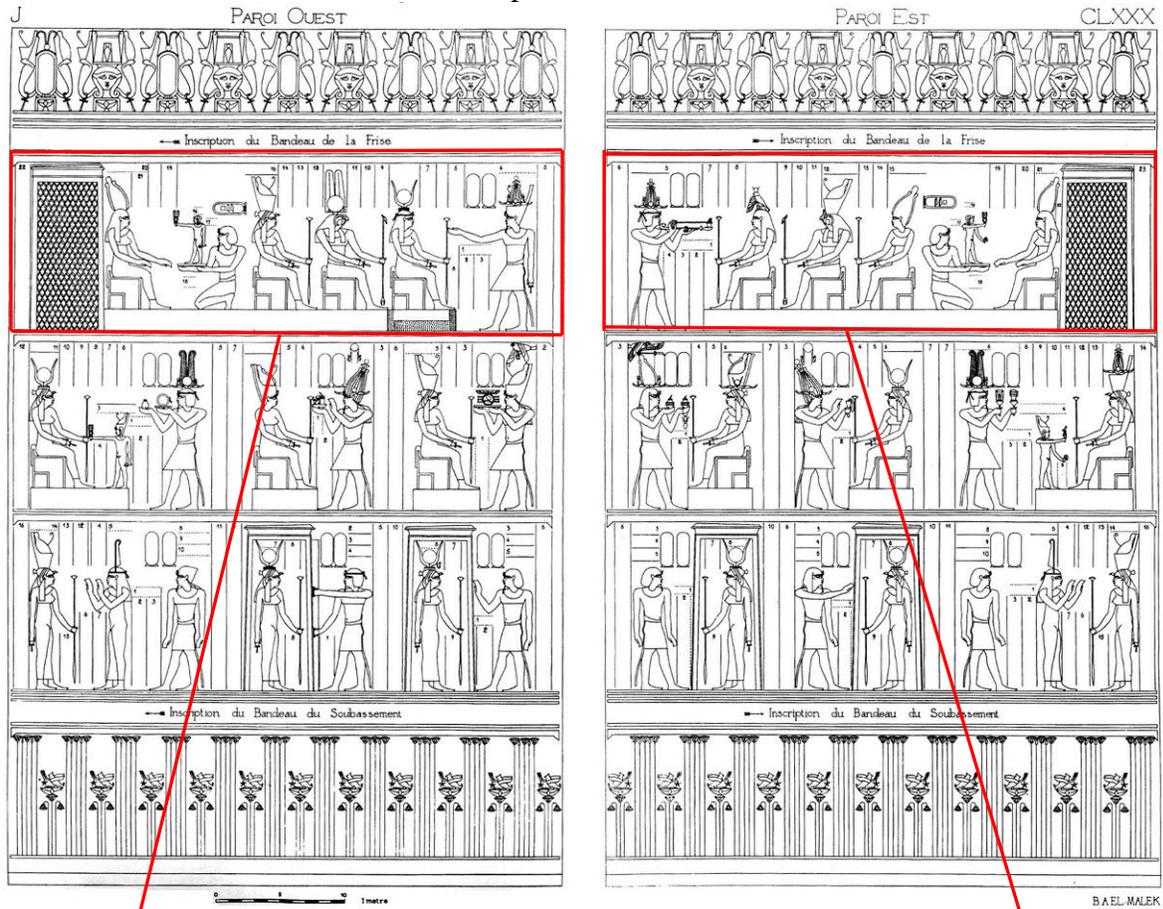
¹⁴⁰⁶ *ḥ.t sš.t* is here an alternate name for the Per-wer Sanctuary. Depending on the context, it can also designate the Rear SE Chapel (Chassinat's Chamber I; D III, 9,1; 97; 10,4), or the main Temple of Hathor at Dendera (D III, 1,15; 29,6; 64,6; 177,1).

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.

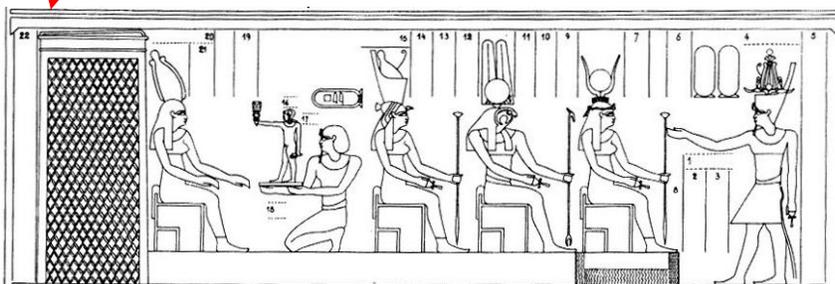
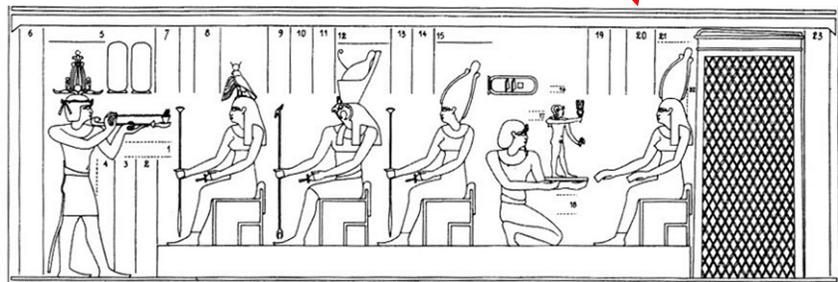
¹⁴⁰⁸ *B.t-di* means literally, "the mound of birth," which is the birthplace of Isis-Sothis. At Dendera, it is equated with the small temple located in the (geographic) southwest corner of the temple enclosure. See Leitz, Nacht des Kindes, 138.

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, 3rd Register: D III, 72,11 – 73,13

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 72,11 Doing the censng. 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 72,14 its perfume. Take for yourselves¹⁴⁰⁹ the Eye of Horus,¹⁴¹⁰ its perfume comes to you (pl.).</p> <p>KING 72,15 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt () , son of Ra () , the Censer-bearer,¹⁴¹¹ 72,16 who does the censng for his mother.</p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE Words to say: I have come before you (pl.), (divine) Powers in Iunet, Noble (divine) Kas,¹⁴¹² Lords of the God's Land.¹⁴¹³ I bring to you 72,17 incense¹⁴¹⁴ in order to pacify your (pl.) heart, incense in order to cense your place(s), for you (pl.)¹⁴¹⁵ are the Ennead¹⁴¹⁶ of the Land of Atum,¹⁴¹⁷ who follow their heart(s) in the Valley of</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 72,11 <i>ir(.t) sntr dd mdw ii</i> 72,12 <i>sntr sntr=f h^cw=t pd pd.n=f tpy.w-^c=t</i> 72,13 <i>hms nfr r hnm.ty=tn nšp fnd=tn m</i> 72,14 <i>sty=f m-n=tn Ir.t-Hr ii sty=s r=tn</i></p> <p>KING 72,15 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () mr s.t-<i>hnt</i> 72,16 <i>ir sntr n mw.t=f</i></i></p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>dd mdw ii.n=i hr=tn šm.w m Twn.t k3.w šps.w nb(.w) t3-ntr in=i n=tn 72,17</i> <i>šhtp r šhtp ib=tn sntr r sntr s.t=tn tw=t Psd.t m t3 n Itm šms ib=sn m in(.t) ntyw</i> BEHIND HIM:</p>

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  (S42\1). I follow Allen's suggested transliteration, *m-n=k*.

¹⁴¹⁰ Writing of , "Horus," with the eye (D4) and road-with-bushes sign (N31F) alludes to the "distance" of the Distant Goddess, because *hri*, "be far away, distant" (Wb III, 145,1-19, esp. 1), is written with variations of this sign as its ideogram, e.g.  (N31) or  (N31F).

¹⁴¹¹ *mr* (from Middle Egyptian *imy-r3*) *s.t-hnt* (lit., "overseer of the foremost place") is a designation for censer-bearer (Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 577).

¹⁴¹² *šm.w*, "(divine) powers" and *k3.w šps.w*, "noble (divine) Kas," are designations for ancestor gods. See discussion in 5.2.6.

¹⁴¹³ *t3-ntr*, "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, Rucherarm, 15-31.

¹⁴¹⁵ *tw=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 *t3 n Itm*, "Land of Atum," refers to Dendera—both the temple enclosure and the main temple within it. The association of Hathor of Dendera (*Twn.t*) with Atum of Heliopolis (*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.

Myrrh.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,¹⁴¹⁹ fast¹⁴²⁰ 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 Behdety,¹⁴²¹ the Great God, Lord of Heaven, the Dappled One of Plumage, who goes forth from the horizon, the Divine Falcon,¹⁴²² Chief of

73,4 Punt, who follows his heart¹⁴²³ in the Valley of Myrrh, the one and only,¹⁴²⁴ he who does not have his equal,¹⁴²⁵ all that **comes into being, comes into being** in him.

NEKHBET

73,5 Words to say by Nekhbet, the White One (f.) of Nekhen, Outstretched of Arm,¹⁴²⁶ Lady of Fag,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.¹⁴²⁸

STATUE OF PEPI I, ABOVE IMAGE OF IHY

73,7 Gold

72,18 *s3 ʕnh w3s nb h3=f mi Rʕ d.t*

HATHOR

73,1 *di=i n=k wrr.t mn.ti m tp=k hr rdi.t nrw=k r hfty.w=k*

73,2 *H.t-hr k3 mh 1 dbʕ 1*

HORUS OF EDFU

73,3 *dd mdw in Hr Bhd.ty ntr ʕ3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3h.t Bik ntry*

hry-tp 73,4 Pwn.t šms ib=f m

in.t ʕn.tyw wʕ wʕ.w iw.ty

*sn.nw=f hpr <hpr.t> * nb.t im=f*

NEKHBET

73,5 *dd mdw in Nhb.t hd.t Nhb 3w(.t)-ʕ nb.t Fʕg mhny.t m tp n*

ntr.w 73,6 nb.w šps.t hnt pr-

šps.t mh ʕ m nfr.w=s

STATUE OF PEPI I, ABOVE IMAGE OF IHY

73,7 *nbw*

¹⁴¹⁸ The writing of *ʕntyw*, "myrrh," with an eye (ooo, 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, *ʕn.t*, "beautiful one," written with the painted eye:  (D138). Junker, *Onurislegende*, 78, suggests that *in.t ʕntyw*, "Valley of Myrrh," is a poetic name for Punt.

¹⁴¹⁹ Wb I, 333,11-12; PT; PL 244: As the geminating form of *wr.t*, meaning literally, "der größte werdende," thus implying the domination of Upper over Lower Egypt when designating the white crown of Upper Egypt. Since the 19th Dynasty, *wrr.t* can also designate the double crown. Abubakr, *Kronen*, 30-31; 53.

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.

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 worshipped 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.

¹⁴²² The bowl of burning incense  (R7), employed as the phonogram, *b*, in  *Bik*, "Falcon," alludes to the censuring by the King in this scene, as noted to me by Emily Cole, private conversation, November 14, 2011.

¹⁴²³ I.e. "is content."

¹⁴²⁴ *wʕ wʕ.w*, lit., "the unique one of the unique ones."

¹⁴²⁵ Lit., "he who (there is) not his second," with *iw.ty* being the masculine singular relative adjective, meaning "(there is) not." See Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §12.9.

¹⁴²⁶ I.e. "generous." The expression *3w.t-ib* can also mean myrrh (Wb I, 5,1; LP), as suggested by Emily Cole, private conversation, November 14, 2011.

¹⁴²⁷ Wb I, 576,7: *fʕg*; Hannig, A-D, 1341: *fʕgt* (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."

¹⁴²⁸ *nfr.w=s* can also be translated as "her perfection."

KING**73,8** (Pepi)|. Gold. Height: 1 cubit.**HATHOR****73,9** I cause for you that the (cool) palace¹⁴²⁹ is enduring, possessing your beauties, everyone is rejoicing¹⁴³⁰ for you.Hathor, Lady of the Per-wer, **73,10** height: 4 cubits. Gold.**NAOS****73,11** Height: 2 cubits, 2 palms, 2 fingers; Width: 2 cubits, 2 palms, 2 fingers**DIVINE RANDZEILE****73,12** Words to say: Welcome in peace, son of She who binds together the bows,¹⁴³¹ whom the Vulture in Nekhen¹⁴³² has nourished. We receive **the incense** in order **to cense 73,13** our statues. Our body rejoices with the incense. We give you Byblos,¹⁴³³ possessing what is in it, and the Land of God,¹⁴³⁴ possessing what comes forth from it.**KING****73,8** (P(p)y)| nbw k3 mh l**HATHOR****73,9** di=i n=k mnkb mn hr
nfr.w=k hr-nb nhm n=k H.t-hr
nb.t pr-wr **73,10** k3 mh 4 nbw**NAOS****73,11** k3 mh 2 šsp 2 db^c 2 wsh
mh 2 šsp 2 db^c 2**DIVINE RANDZEILE****73,12** dd mdw ii.ti m htp s3
dm3(.t)-pd(.wt) šd.n š3.t m Nhn
šsp=n sntr r sntr snn=n **73,13**
hntš h^cw=n m mnwr di=n n=k
Kbny hr imy(.t)=f T3-ntr hr
pr(.t) im=f

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)-pd.wt, "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

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 84,9 Doing the funerary offering. Words to say: 84,10 The funerary offering, I have placed¹⁴³⁵ (it) for your (pl.) Ka with all good and pure things.¹⁴³⁶ Thousands¹⁴³⁷ (of them) 84,11 are before you (pl.) of all things good, pure, pleasant, and sweet. KING 84,12 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () son of Ra () Living Image, Hereditary prince 84,13 of the gods,¹⁴³⁸ heir of the Great Ennead.¹⁴³⁹ ROYAL RANDZEILE 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.) 84,14 thousands of bread, meat, and beer in order to supply your place of provisions, for you (pl.) are the Ennead¹⁴⁴¹ of the Land of Atum,¹⁴⁴² who give life to the living. BEHIND HIM: All</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 84,9 <i>ir(.t) ḥtp-di-nsw.t dd mdw</i> 84,10 <i>ḥtp-di-nsw.t wd.n=i n</i> <i>k3=tn m bw-nfr nb twr ḥ3w</i> 84,11 <i>hr=tn m ḥ.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) w^cb(.t)</i> <i>ndm(.t) bnr(.t)</i> KING 84,12 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () </i> <i>šsp-ḥnh r-p^c.t</i> 84,13 <i>ntr.w iw^c n</i> <i>Psd.t ʕ3.t</i> ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>dd mdw ii.n=i hr=tn k3.w nb(.w)</i> <i>k3w šhm.w šps.w nb.w šps(.w)</i> <i>in=i n=tn</i> 84,14 <i>ḥ3.w m t iw^f</i> <i>ḥ(n)k.t r sḏḏ s.t=tn m ḏḏw tw=t</i> <i>Psd.t n(.t) t3 n ʔtm wd ḥnh n</i> <i>ḥnh.w</i> BEHIND HIM: s3</p>

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 *ḥ3w* is a true pun, because it not only means "thousands" but also "incense." The powdered dry "leaves" (*ḥ3w*) 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^c.t ntrw*, "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, RÄRG, 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 ʕ3.t*, "the Great Ennead."

¹⁴⁴⁰ Wb IV, 453,1-8: also the produce of foreign lands, exotic things. It can also be transliterated as *špsw*, 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; Harsomtut, the Great God who resides in Iunet; Ihy the Great, son of Hathor; Harsomtut the Child, son of Hathor; Hathor, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Chief of the Great Seat; Hathor, Lady of Iunet, the Menit; Harsomtut, 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 *B n ʔtm*, "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 (*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 *ʔtm.t s3.t ʔtm*, "Temet, daughter of Atum" (D III, 101,15), *wd3.t n.t ʔtm*, "the Udjat-Eye of Atum" (D III, 97,16), and *ḥnh.t n.t ʔtm*, "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,¹⁴⁴³ the Great God who resides¹⁴⁴⁴ in Iunet, Divine Falcon on the serekh, **85,2** Ka-spirit,¹⁴⁴⁵ 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 floods¹⁴⁴⁶ the sanctuary of the Golden One with joy.¹⁴⁴⁷

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 terror¹⁴⁴⁸ in the hearts of the people, the gods are (in a state of) rejoicing¹⁴⁴⁹ in

84,15 *ḥnh w3s nb ḥ3=f mi Rḥ d.t*

ISIS

84,16 *dī=i n=<k> 3ḥ.t ḥr ms.t n=k ḥ.t=s šnḥ bḥ m nfr.w 3s.t nbw* **84,17** *nfr k3 mḥ 1 išrw=s m kd=s nb*

HARSOMTUS

85,1 *dd mdw in Hr-sm3-t3.wy nb Ḥ3di ntr 3 ḥry-ib 'Iwn.t bik ntry ḥry srḥ* **85,2** *K3 nb k3.w rdi iḥ.t n šhm.w sšm ḥnh n ḥnh.w*

MUT

85,3 *dd mdw in Mw.t wr.t nb(.t) išrw 'Ir.t-Rḥ nb.t p.t ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w* **85,4** *šps.t wsr.t ḥnt pr-šps.t bḥ pr-Nbw.t m thhw.t*

STATUE OF PEPI I, ABOVE IMAGE OF IHY

85,5 *nbw*

KING

85,6 (*P<p>y*)| *nbw k3 mḥ 1*

HATHOR

85,7 *dī=i šfy.t=k m ib.w rmt.t ntr.w ḥḥ n m33=k Ḥ.t-ḥr nb.t pr-*

¹⁴⁴³ Kockelmann, Toponymen, 208, defines *Ḥ3di* (Khadi), the present-day el-Gozireiya 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-šw.ty-ḥnty Ḥ3-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: *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.

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 *bḥ* 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. *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

seeing you. Hathor, Lady of the Per-wer, height: 4 cubits. Gold.

DIVINE RANDZEILE

85,8 Words to say: Welcome in peace, **Sovereign of the Two Sanctuaries,**¹⁴⁵⁰ **Ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt.**

We receive your exotic provisions of bread, meat, and beer. Our hearts **are satisfied with 85,9** your **offerings.**

We give to you all the things that heaven gives and the earth produces.¹⁴⁵¹ **We make Egypt bright**¹⁴⁵² in your time.

wr k3 mh 4 nbw

DIVINE RANDZEILE

85,8 *dd mdw ii.ti m htp ity n*

itr.ty hḳ3 n sm^c mh^w šsp=ⁿ

šps.w=k m t3 iw^f h(n)ḳ.t htp

ib=ⁿ m 85,9 htp.w=k

di=ⁿ n=k h.t nb.t dd.t p.t ḳm3.t t3

b3ḳ=ⁿ B3ḳ.t m rk=k

Plas, *Crue du Nil*, 92-93, suggests that *mysterium tremendum* perhaps best evokes the underlying emotional response to the *šf:t* of a god or king.

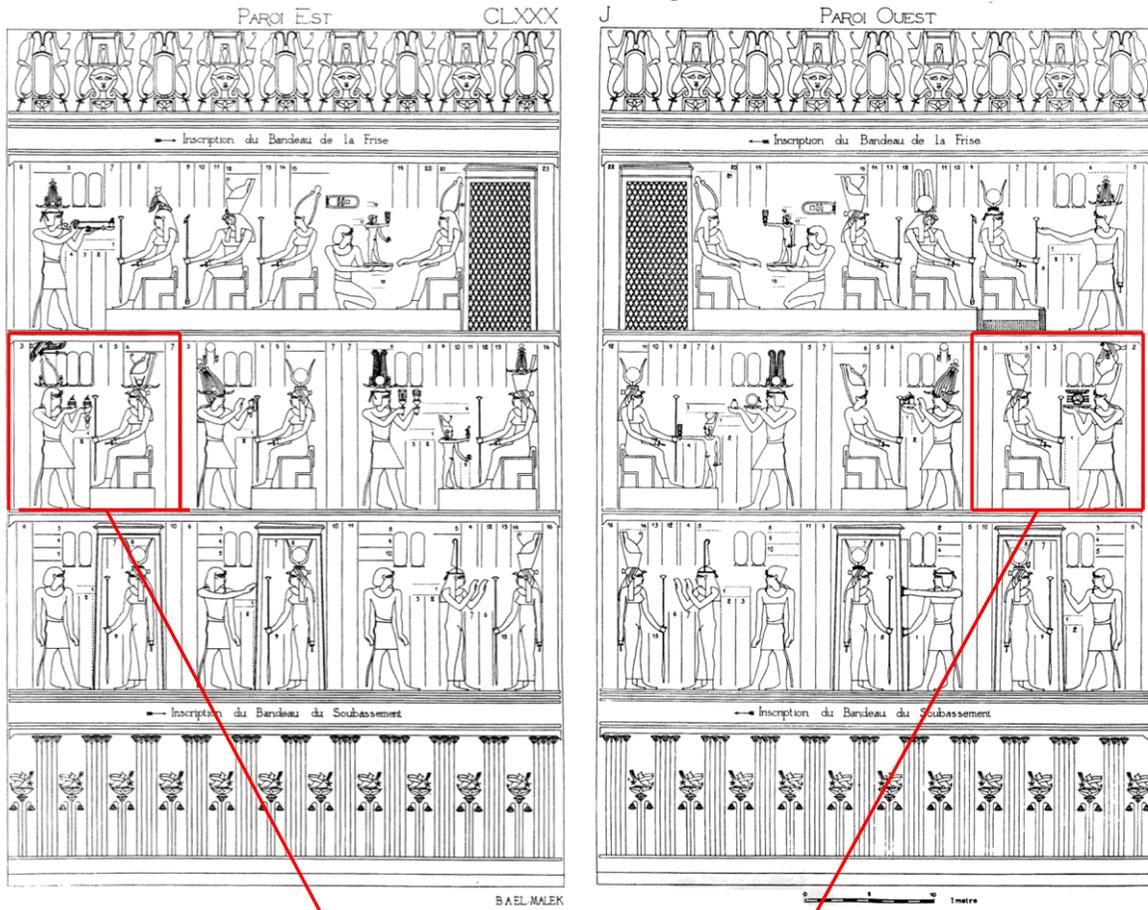
¹⁴⁴⁹ *h^{cc}* is the stative, thus the gods are "in a state of rejoicing."

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 *b3ḳ*, "be bright, clear," thus making Egypt bright, well, and fertile. See PL 303-304.

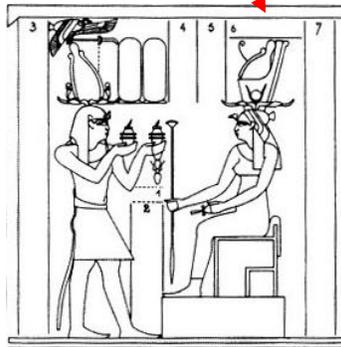
East and West Walls, 2nd Register, 1st Scene



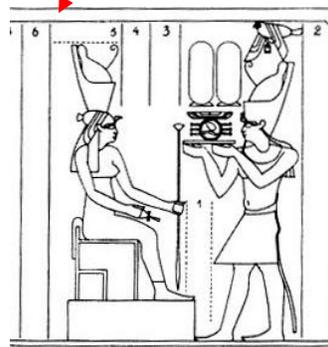
D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

Doc 38
D III, 69,5-13

Doc 39
D III, 80,13 – 81,2



East Wall, 2nd Register, 1st Scene



West Wall, 2nd Register, 1st Scene

Doc 38 – East Wall, 2nd Register, 1st Scene: D III, 69,5-13

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 69,5 Offering milk. Words to say: this milk¹⁴⁵³ 69,6 that I have presented before you,¹⁴⁵⁴ your inundation¹⁴⁵⁵ is in them, they are pure.¹⁴⁵⁶ KING 69,7 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () , son of Ra () . ROYAL RANDZEILE The son of Ra 69,8 () is upon his throne,¹⁴⁵⁷ as the great king, Ruler of the Herd,¹⁴⁵⁸ offering white milk (<i>ḥḏw</i>), presenting¹⁴⁵⁹ sweet milk (<i>bnrw</i>), giving milk (<i>ʕnh-w3s</i>) to the Eye of Ra, 69,9 for he is like Anubis, Sovereign of the milk cows,¹⁴⁶⁰ heir of him, of the Overseer¹⁴⁶¹ of the Storeroom.¹⁴⁶² BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for <i>d.t</i>-eternity. ABOVE HIM: 69,10 Wadjet, Lady of Pe and Dep.</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 69,5 <i>ḥnk irt.t dd mdw ʕnh-w3s</i> 69,6 <i>nn ms.n=i m ḥr=t bḥ=t im=sn iw=w wḥb</i>. KING 69,7 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 Rḥ () </i> ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>wnn s3 Rḥ 69,8 () ḥr ḥdmw=f m nsw.t wr ḥk3 mnmn.t ḥr ḥnk ḥḏw ḥr siḥr bnrw ḥr rdi(.t) ʕnh-w3s n Ir.t-Rḥ 69,9 sw mi Inpw ity n wšb.w(t) iwḥ im=f n mr šnw.t</i> BEHIND HIM: <i>s3 ʕnh w3s nb ḥ3=f mi Rḥ d.t</i> ABOVE HIM: 69,10 <i>W3d.t nb(.t) P Dp</i></p>

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 (*ʕnh-w3s*) 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-ḥr*, before + suffix (lit. "in the face of")

¹⁴⁵⁵ The ideogram for *bḥ*, "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; 18th Dynasty: derives from the Semitic loanword: 𐤎𐤍𐤏. Wilson, PL 609, notes that in GR texts it was a "block throne." See Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 15; Černý, *Naunakhte*, 39 n. 1.

¹⁴⁵⁸ The writing of *mnmn.t*, "herd," is by rebus with the menit counterpoise,  *mn<mni.t*, plus the cow determinative.

¹⁴⁵⁹ The writing of the *s*-causative verb *siḥr* (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; Mammisi d'Edfou, 87,9-10; 146,2; Mammisis de Dendara, 32. His title, *ity n wšb.wt*, "Sovereign of the Milk-cows," alludes to Isis, who has the epithet *wšb.t*, "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); Thoht replaces the head of the *wšb.t* 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, *iwḥ mr-šnw.t*, heir (i.e. son) of the overseer of the storeroom implies his control of the agricultural produce of the entire land. The *šnw.t* 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.

<p>HATHOR 69,11 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Isis the Great, Mother of the Falcon,¹⁴⁶³ Beautiful young 69,12 girl,¹⁴⁶⁴ 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, 69,13 making the people (lit. faces) live, rejuvenating her child¹⁴⁶⁵ with her sweet milk, for she is the Beautiful Feline,¹⁴⁶⁶ Sweet One (f.) of love, who protects the body of her <i>Thy</i>-priests.¹⁴⁶⁷</p>	<p>HATHOR 69,11 <i>dd mdw in H,t-hr wr.t nb.t Twn.t Ir.t-R^c 3s.t wr.t mw.t n.t Bik, hwn.t 69,12 nfr.t bnr.t bnrw šd.t ntr.w m h_dw=s</i> DIVINE RANDZEILE <i>wnn Ir.t-R^c wsr.ti m Twn.t m 3h.t mnh.t m ntr.w hr šd.t t3 pn 69,13 hr s^cnh hr.w hr srnp nn=s m bnrw=s sy m hwn.t nfr.t bnr.t mrw.t ^cd h^cw n Thy.w=s</i></p>
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Doc 39 – West Wall, 2nd Register, 1st Scene: D III, 80,13 – 81,2

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE 80,13 Presenting the <i>h3db</i> to his mother, the Powerful One. KING 80,14 King of Upper and Lower Egypt (), son of Ra () ROYAL RANDZEILE 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),¹⁴⁶⁸ for he is like Horus. He has</p>	<p>TITLE 80,13 <i>ms p3 h3db n mw.t=f wsr.t</i> KING 80,14 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () </i> ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>wnn s3 R^c 80,15 () hr hmr=f m h3 n šn n t3 hr shtp hnw.t=f swr s3=s hr rdi(.t) nrw=s m 80,16 idb.w Hr sw mi Hr it.n=f t3.wy šm^c mh_w hr mw n hm=f</i></p>

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 *hs3.t* cow and born of the *wšb.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."

seized the Two Lands. Upper and Lower Egypt are upon the water¹⁴⁶⁹ 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 protects¹⁴⁷² Egypt to its totality,¹⁴⁷³ who decrees words in the circuit of the Aten.

BEHIND HIM: *s3 ʕnh w3s nb h3=f 80,17 mi Rʕ d.t*

HATHOR

80,18 *dd mdw in H.t-hr nb.t Twn.t Ir.t-Rʕ nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w 3s.t wr.t mw.t n.t Bik 81,1 ity.t m šn n itn*

DIVINE RANDZEILE

wnn nb(.t) t3.wy wbn.ti m iwnn.t=s hnt sp3.t-pw-n.t-Hr hr s3h s3 Wsir hr srnp 81,2 nn=s hr rr s3=s m s.t-3b(.t)=s sy m hwn.t nfr.t hn.t B3k.t r 3w=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."

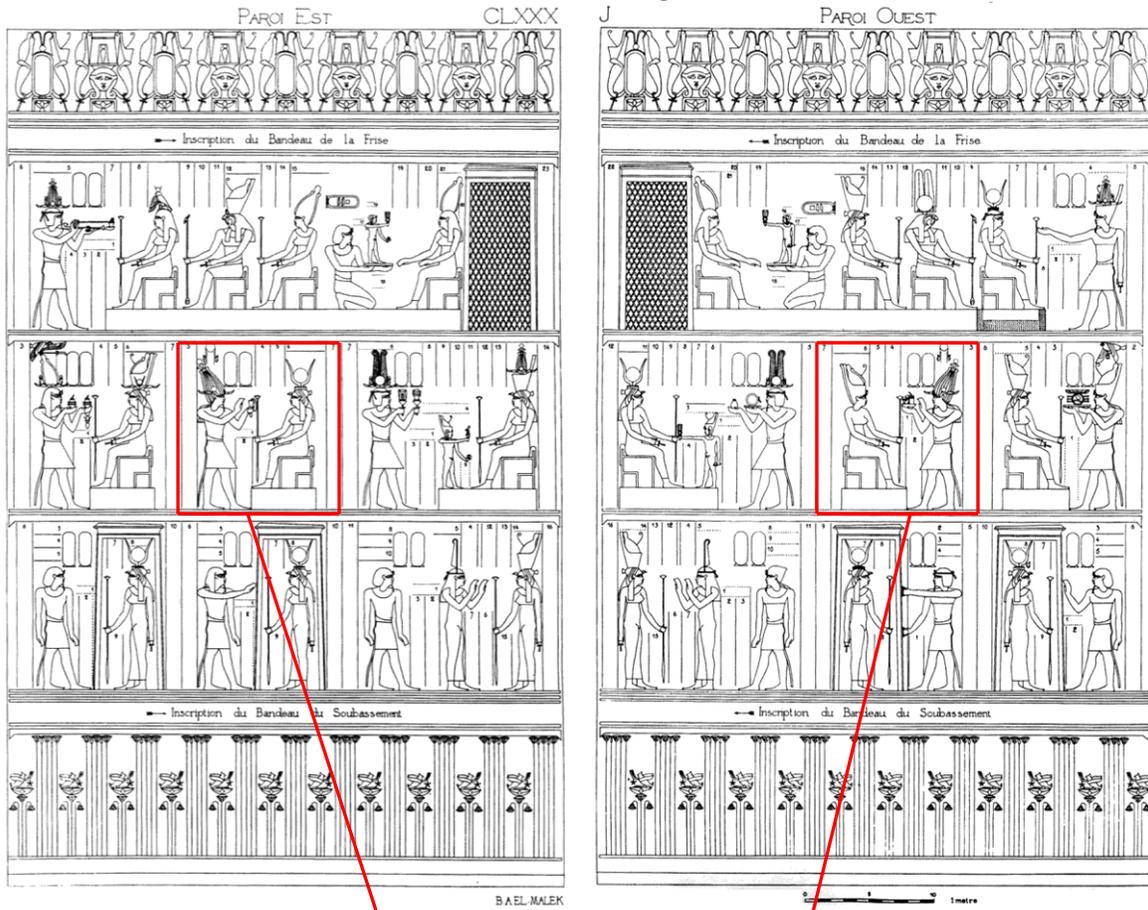
¹⁴⁷⁰ *itn*, "Aten," is the male sun disk; one of Hathor's frequent epithets at Dendera is Atenet, "the Female Sun Disk"; examples in the Per-wer include the following: D III, 54,16; 56,6; 57,5; 66,2; 67,3; 68,3; 71,10; 74,1; 76,12; 78,11; 82,5; 82,8; 85,14; 95,17.

¹⁴⁷¹ Perhaps a reference to Dendera. Cauville, *Dend Trad III*, p. 587, is uncertain of its meaning.

¹⁴⁷² Wb III, 101,7-11. *hn.t* is the f. s. perfective active participle of *hn*, "protect."

¹⁴⁷³ Lit., "in its length."

East and West Walls, 2nd Register, 2nd Scene



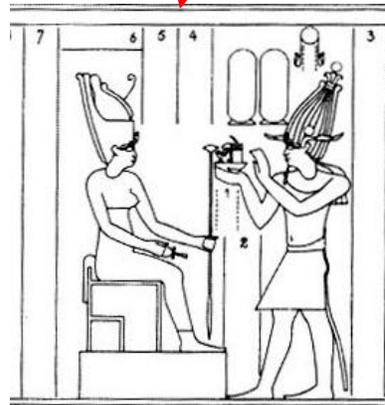
D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

Doc 40
D III,
69,15 –
70,5



East Wall, 2nd Register, 2nd Scene

Doc 41
D III,
81,4-12



West Wall, 2nd Register, 2nd Scene

Doc 40 – East Wall, 2nd Register, 2nd Scene: D III, 69,15 – 70,5

Translation	Transliteration
<p>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.</p> <p>KING 69,17 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () , son of Ra () </p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE The King of Upper and Lower Egypt 69,18 () is upon his throne, in strength¹⁴⁷⁵ in the Temple of the Menit, destroying¹⁴⁷⁶ the Coward,¹⁴⁷⁷ slaughtering 70,1 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 <i>d.t</i>-eternity. SOLAR DISK ABOVE HIM: Behdety, the Great god, Lord of heaven.</p> <p>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.</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 69,15 <i>hnk mni.t dd mdw m-n=t mni.t 69,16 Nbw.t nb.t mni.t htp ib=t hr m33 ir(.t).n=i</i></p> <p>KING 69,17 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () </i></p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>wnn nsw.t-bi.ty 69,18 () hr bkr=f m tnr hnt h.t-mni.t hr hd Hm.ty hr inin 70,1 Nhs hr hbhb H^cr.ty sw mi Hr hnk hm.t=s m h.t=s shtp ib=s r^c nb</i> BEHIND HIM: 70,2 <i>s3 n^h w3s nb h3=f mi R^c d.t</i> SOLAR DISK ABOVE HIM: <i>Bhd.ty ntr 3 nb p.t</i></p> <p>HATHOR 70,3 <i>dd mdw in H.t-hr nb.t Iwn.t B-mni.t Ir.t-R^c nfr.t m rn(.w)=s nb.w 3h.t wsr.t ndty.t 70,4 hr sn=s ir nh(.t)=f r hfty.w=f</i></p>

¹⁴⁷⁴ Hathor can appear in the form of a menit necklace, as shown in Crypt South 1, Chamber B, North Wall (D V, pl. 424). The menit holds the power of renewal, thus fitting well with themes of temple foundation, the New Year, and the birth of the divine child, as noted by Kurth, Pepi I, 10.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Wb V, 382,6 – 383,15. Wilson, PL 1168, notes that *tnr* 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  *tnr* 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 *h* and *h* (highlighted in red), which emphasizes the destruction of Seth.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Te Velde, Seth, 44, suggests that *hm.ty* means "effeminate one" as a derogatory term for Seth.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Wb II, 287,14-16; 18th Dynasty, GR. *Nhs*, "Watchful One," possibly derives from the verb, *nhsi*, "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, *Nhs* denotes Seth in his manifestation as an animal.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Wb III, 244,2-7; 18th Dynasty, LP, GR. *H^cr.ty*, "Angry One" derives from the verb *h^cr*, "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, *h.t-hr m sp.t nb.t*, "Hathor in all of the nomes." The phrase, "in all of her nomes," 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-shm* (Temple of the Sistrum, Chassinat's Chamber I;

DIVINE RANDZEILE

70,5 The Lady of Gladness is within the Temple of the Menit, the Lady of Joy in her places, protecting¹⁴⁸² 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.

DIVINE RANDZEILE

70,5 *wnn nb.t hy m-hnt ḥ.t-mni.t nb(.t) ḥ^cw.t m s.wt=s ḥr ḥw.t it=s ḥr swr šfy.t=s ḥr rdi.t nrw=s m ntr.w sy m nb(.t) ṯḥḥw.t ḥnw.t n.t ḥpg nb(.t) nwh ḥnw.t 3w(.t)-ib*

Doc 41 – West Wall, 2nd Register, 2nd Scene: D III, 81,4-12

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 81,4 Offering the wensheb. Words to say: The Udjat-Eye, being healthy, 81,5 the Shining one (f.),¹⁴⁸³ being shining, He who fails at his time,¹⁴⁸⁴ he does not exist. KING 81,6 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () , son of Ra () ROYAL RANDZEILE The King of Upper and Lower Egypt 81,7 () is upon his throne, complete¹⁴⁸⁵ in his form as Ruler of the Two Lands, perfecting Tayet,¹⁴⁸⁶ making healthy the Eye (of light), making live 81,8 the Uraeus,¹⁴⁸⁷ for he is like Isden,¹⁴⁸⁸ who provisions the Udjat-Eye, who makes</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 81,4 <i>ḥnk wnšb dd mdw wd3.t wd3.ti 81,5 wbn.t wbn.ti whi sp=f n wnn=f</i> KING 81,6 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () </i> ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>wnn nsw.t-bi.ty 81,7 () ḥr p=f twt m irw=f n ḥk3 t3.wy ḥr twt T3y.t ḥr snb sty ḥr s^cnh 81,8 Sšm.t-rmt sw mi Isdn ^cpr wd3.t s3ḥ 3ḥ.t m dbḥ.w=s</i> BEHIND HIM:</p>

D III, 6,6; 6,7; 29,10); *ḥ.t-w^cb* (Temple of Purification, Chassinat's Chamber K; D III, 123,2); and *ḥ.t-mni.t* (Temple of the Menit, Chassinat's Chamber L, D III, 135,1; 154,5).

¹⁴⁸² Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 138, reads *ḥr ḥwt*, presumably taking the *t*-loaf of *it* ("father") as also serving as the ending of the infinitive.

¹⁴⁸³ Wb I, 294,5; GR. An epithet of Hathor, the feminine counterpart of *wbn*, "Shining One," an epithet of the sun god, Ra. See Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 404; Wb I, 294,4, the latter listed under *wbnj*.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Wb I, 339,15: *whi sp=f*, lit., "He who fails at his time," an epithet of Seth in GR, complementing the King or Horus, "who does not fail," as noted by Wilson, PL 248. 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.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Wb V, 258,9; implying that nothing is lacking. This epithet recalls the Udjat-Eye and the necessity of restoring all of its parts.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Although principally a goddess of weaving, Tayet can take the form of the uraeus. Thus, the "perfecting" of Tayet (using the verb *twt*, 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.

¹⁴⁸⁷ 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).

¹⁴⁸⁸ 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.

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, ¹⁴⁸⁹ Lady of Protection, she has united with **81,11** the Uraeus ¹⁴⁹⁰ on **the head** of her father.

DIVINE RANDZEILE

The Uraeus ¹⁴⁹¹ 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 ¹⁴⁹² this land with her shining eyes.

81,9 *s3 ʕnh w3s nb h3=f mi Rʕ d.t*
SOLAR DISK ABOVE HIM:
Bhd.ty ntr ʕ3 nb p.t

HATHOR

81,10 *dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb.t*
Iwn.t Ir.t-Rʕ nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w
nb.w snh.t nb.t mk.t hnm.n=s

81,11 *ib.t m tp n it=s*

DIVINE RANDZEILE

wnn hr.t-tp m-hnt h.t-wnšb thn.t
hr m iwnn.t=s mr=s hr hnm ib.t

81,12 *hr šhd idb.w hr sšm t3.wy m*
nfr.w=s sy m nb.t ʕnh bnr.t mrw.t
wpš t3 pn m 3h.ty=s(y)

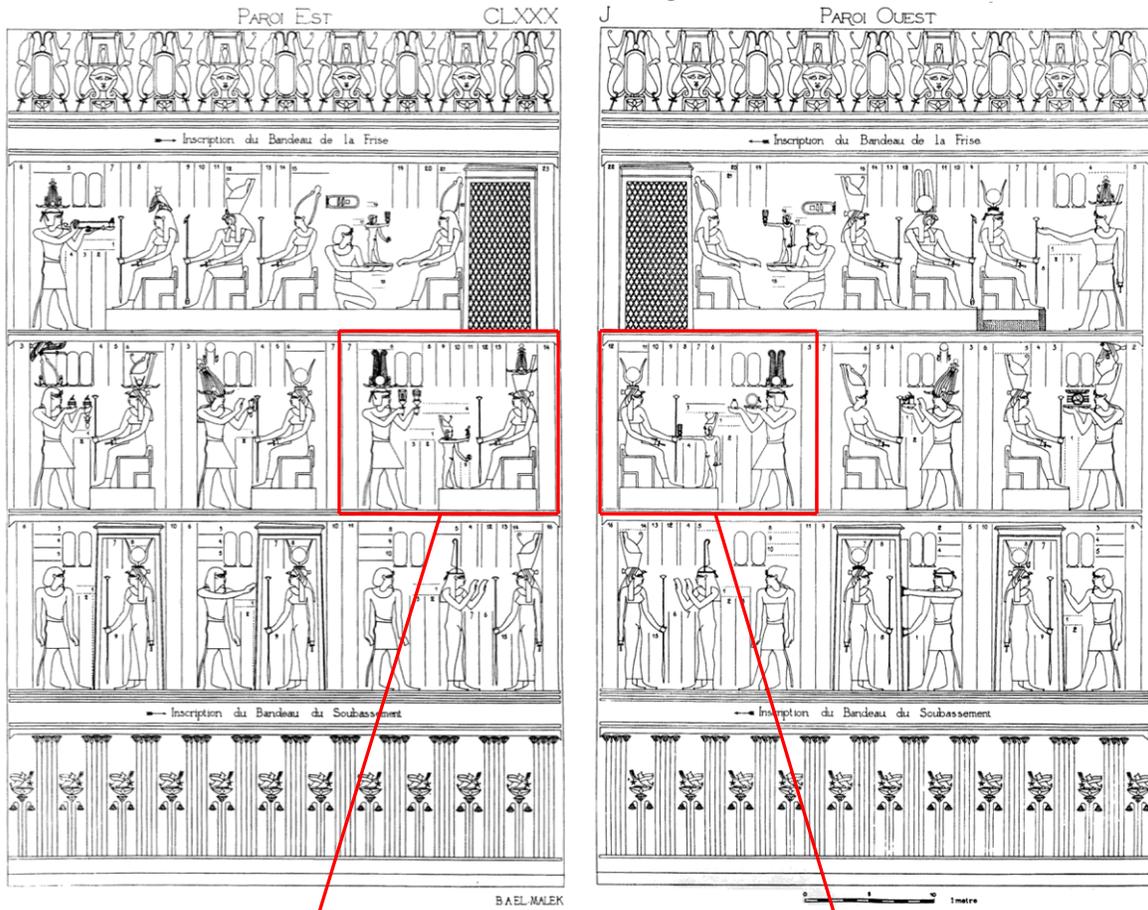
¹⁴⁸⁹ Wb IV, 167,13; GR, "epithet of Hathor." It is probably derived from *snhi*, "to take inventory, registration." Although not written with the sign of the right angle, 𓂏 (O38), as in the verb, *nhi*, "protect," there seems to be a subtle allusion to protection, because the following epithet of Hathor 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 *ib.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.

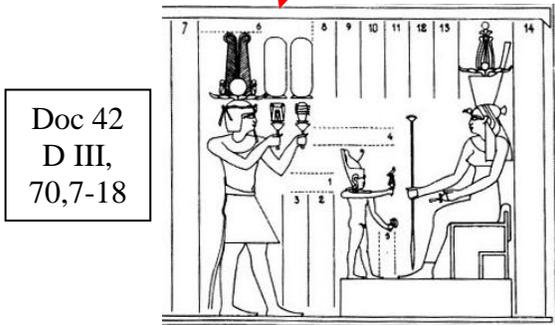
¹⁴⁹¹ There is a subtle play between the end of Hathor's speech, in which she is said to be *ib.t m tp n it=s*, "the Uraeus on the head of her father" (D III, 81,11) and the first line of the Divine Randzeile, *wnn hr.t-tp m-hnt h.t-wnšb*, "the Uraeus (lit. She Who is on the Head) is within the Temple of the Wensheb" (D III, 81,11), thus emphasizing Hathor's role as the uraeus on Ra's brow. Interestingly, these two epithets are combined in the offering of the *mnw*-vase in the 2nd register, 3rd scene of the west wall, in D III, 82,10: *hr.t-tp m tp n it=s*, "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, 𓂏 (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.

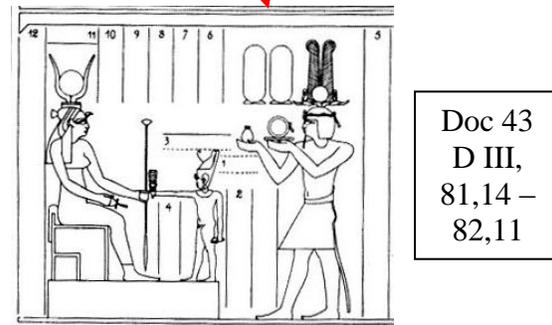
East and West Walls, 2nd Register, 3rd Scene



D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO



East Wall, 2nd Register, 3rd Scene



West Wall, 2nd Register, 3rd Scene

Doc 42 – East Wall, 2nd Register, 3rd Scene: D III, 70, 7-18

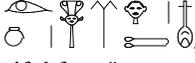
Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 70,7 Playing the <i>sš.t</i>- and the <i>šhm</i>-sistra. Words to say: the <i>sš.t</i>-sistrum 70,8 is in my right hand, the <i>šhm</i>-sistrum is in my left hand. I am Horus, offspring of Sekhmet.¹⁴⁹³ I praise (<i>swšš</i>) 70,9 your Ka in Qab-tawy.¹⁴⁹⁴ I have satisfied your beautiful face.¹⁴⁹⁵ IHY 70,10 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor, child¹⁴⁹⁶ of the Golden one (f.), Lady of Iunet. I have played¹⁴⁹⁷ the <i>sš.t</i>-sistrum before your beautiful face. KING 70,11 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt (), son of Ra (), Ihy of the Golden One (f.), 70,12 who makes music for his mistress. ROYAL RANDZEILE The son of Ra () is upon his throne in the Per-wer Sanctuary as the Great Sovereign who rules the Two Lands,¹⁴⁹⁸ 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. BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, 70,14 like Ra, for <i>d.t</i>-eternity.</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 70,7 <i>ir(.t) sš.t šhm dd mdw</i> <i>sš(.t) 70,8 m wnmy=i šhm m</i> <i>i3by=i ink Hr w3d n Šhm.t swšš=i</i> 70,9 <i>k3=t m K3b-t3.wy htp.n=i</i> <i>hr=t nfr</i> IHY 70,10 <i>Thy wr s3 H.t-hr nn n Nbw.t</i> <i>nb.t Twn.t ir.n=i sš.t m hr=t nfr</i> KING 70,11 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () Thy</i> <i>n Nbw.t 70,12 ir ihy n hnw.t=f</i> ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>wnn s3 R^c () hr ns.t=f m pr-wr m</i> <i>ity wr hk3 t3.wy hr swšš hm.t=s hr</i> <i>dw3 70,13 k3=s hr shtp ib=s m</i> <i>mr=s sw mi Thy ir ihy n hnw.t=f</i> <i>sfn hm.t=s n m33 hr=f</i> BEHIND HIM: <i>s3 ʕnh w3s nb</i> <i>h3=f 70,14 mi R^c d.t</i></p>

¹⁴⁹³ For discussion of the epithet, *Hr w3d n Šhm.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 *nw* or *nn*, suggesting that in Ptolemaic it was probably read *nn*, due to the long tradition of its use in the name of Herakleopolis. However, Fischer, Ehnasaya, 423-425, maintains that there is no clear evidence for *nn* 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 Tawfik, Priest Stela, 135 n. 1.

¹⁴⁹⁷ The signs in D III, 70,10, , suggest a translation of *ir.n=i sš.t m hr=t nfr*, "I have played the *sš.t*-sistrum before your beautiful face," contra Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 138-139, who gives *irt sš.t m hr.t nfr*, "jouer du sistre devant ton beau visage."

¹⁴⁹⁸ *hk3 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.

<p>HATHOR 70,15 I give you beer,¹⁴⁹⁹ you repeat drunkenness and joy (lit. openness of heart) without stopping.¹⁵⁰⁰ 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 <i>sš.t</i>-sistrum, Mistress of the <i>šm</i>-sistra,¹⁵⁰¹ Lady of Music, Lady of Gladness, Lady of Jubilation, 70,17 Lady of Joy, Mistress of the <i>ib3</i>-dance, Lady of Myrrh who ties the headband.¹⁵⁰²</p> <p>DIVINE RANDZEILE The Lady of Iunet is satisfied/rests in Iunet as Lady of the <i>sš.t</i>-sistrum, Mistress 70,18 of the <i>šm</i>-sistra,¹⁵⁰³ driving away¹⁵⁰⁴ 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.</p>	<p>HATHOR 70,15 <i>di=i n=k th wḥm=k th ph3-ib nn ir(.t) 3b dd mdw in Ḥ.t-ḥr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t Ir.t-R^c nb.t p.t</i> 70,16 <i>ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w iw.t.t sn.nw=s m p.t t3 wr(.t) mrw.t ḥnw.t ḥm.wt nb.t sš.t ḥnw.t šm.w nb(.t) ḥs.t nb(.t) hy nb(.t) ḥ^cw.t</i> 70,17 <i>nb(.t) 3w(.t)-ib ḥnw.t ib3 nb(.t) n.tyw ts m3ḥ</i></p> <p>DIVINE RANDZEILE <i>wnn nb.t Iwn.t ḥtp.ti m Iwn.t m nb(.t) sš.t ḥnw.t</i> 70,18 <i>šm.w ḥr dr špt ḥr rw(.t) nšn ḥr ss[wn] ḥrst ḥ3w ḥr=s sy m thn.t ḥr bnr.t mrw.t ḥtp it=s n m33=s</i></p>
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Doc 43 – West Wall, 2nd Register, 3rd Scene: D III, 81,14 – 82,11

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 81,14 Presenting the <i>mnw</i>-vase. Words to say: the Effective/Shining one (f.) 81,15 in Iunet, your 3ḥw-</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 81,14 <i>ms p3 mnw dd mdw 3ḥ(.t)</i> 81,15 <i>m Iwn.t 3ḥ.w=t</i></p>

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 3b*, "sans interruption." I prefer *nn ir(.t) 3b* because the water-sign below the negative arms gives *nn*, followed by the infinitive *ir(.t)* with feminine *.t* unwritten, similar to D III, 82,7.

¹⁵⁰¹ *ḥnw.t šm.w*, "Mistress of the *šm*-sistra," creates a true pun with *šm.w*, "powers." The two phrases, *ḥnw.t ḥm.wt nb.t sš.t* and *ḥnw.t šm.w nb(.t) ḥs.t* (highlighted in red), stand in a chiasmic 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 m3ḥ* (D III, 58,8).

¹⁵⁰³ *ḥnw.t šm.w*, "Mistress of the *šm*-sistra" (D III, 70, 17-18), which appears above in D III, 70,16, is repeated here, again with a true pun on *šm.w*, "powers."

¹⁵⁰⁴ Wb V, 473,12; PT. Wilson, PL 1202-1203, notes that *dr*, "to drive away, repel," often written with the sign δ , as in the present example, δ , is not the determinative of the word but rather the phonogram for *dr*. It may have been confused with δ (M31A), the sign for *rwḏ*, 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 Ba¹⁵⁰⁵ 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 *sš.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 *ib3*-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 headband¹⁵⁰⁸ 82,10 of electrum.¹⁵⁰⁹

3h.ti nfr.t nfr.wy 81,16 *nfr.w=t b3.t r šhm.w h3h.t b3.w spd.t hk3w* 81,17 *nb.t pr-wr hnw.t pr-nsr*

HARSOMTUS THE CHILD

82,1 *Hr-sm3-t3.wy p3 hrd s3 H.t-hr sfi šps n Ir.t-Rc* 82,2 *ir.n=i sš.t m hr=t nfr šhtp ib=t m mr=t*

KING

82,3 *nsw.t-bi.ty ()| s3 Rc ()|*

ROYAL RANDZEILE

wnn s3 Rc 82,4 ()| *hr p=f m hry-tp t3.wy m h3-wr hr i'(t) c.wy hr wcb dbc.w hr bw.t snm n* 82,5 *Ir.t-Rc sw mi Hr dr št3 n itn.t rwi sdb.w whc hbn.t* **BEHIND HIM:** *s3 cnh w3s nb h3=f mi* 82,6 *Rc d.t*

HATHOR

82,7 *di=i n=k ib=k htp hr mk.t=f hntš nn ir.(t) 3b dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t* 82,8 *nb.(t) Twn.t Ir.t-Rc nb.(t) pt. hnw.t ntr.w nb.w mhny.t wr.t hnt s.t-thn.t itn.t Nbw.t* 82,9 *nb.(t) ihy nb.(t) hb nb.(t) ršw.t hnw.t ib3 htp=s ir.tw n hm.t=s w.c.t wr.t hnt s.t-nfr.t hnw.t nb.t w3h* 82,10 *n dc m*

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 *b3t*, a symbol of Hathor. Cf. Fischer, Bat, 7-23.

¹⁵⁰⁶ *h3h-b3.w* (fem. *h3h.t-b3.w*) 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 3b*, "sans interruption." I prefer *nn ir.(t) 3b* 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 Khnumet from Dahshur, a cloisonné version made with gold, carnelian, 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 *dc m*, but other texts at Dendera specify the material as *nb* or *s3wy* (D III, 25,8-16). Wb V, 537,13, specifies *dc m* as lighter-colored gold, equated with the Greek χρυσός (gold). El-Kordy, Couronne d'or, 445-446, observes that by the GR, *dc m* was simply a synonym of *nb*; *s3wy* was

DIVINE RANDZEILE

The daughter of Ra is within the Place of Drunkenness (=Dendera), **the Uraeus** on the **head** of her father,¹⁵¹⁰ bestowing favors, increasing love, giving joy, **82,11** rejoicing. She is the Lady of the Two Lands, the Lady of bread who makes beer, Mistress of the headband of electrum.¹⁵¹¹

DIVINE RANDZEILE

*wnn s3.t R^c m-ḥnt s.t-th ḥr.t-tp m
tp n it=s ḥr rdi.t ḥs.wt ḥr swr
mrw.t ḥr rdi.t ḥ^{cc}w.t **82,11** ḥr ḥntš
sy m nb.t t3.wy nb.t t ir ḥ(n)k.t
ḥnw.t n.t w3ḥ n d^cm*

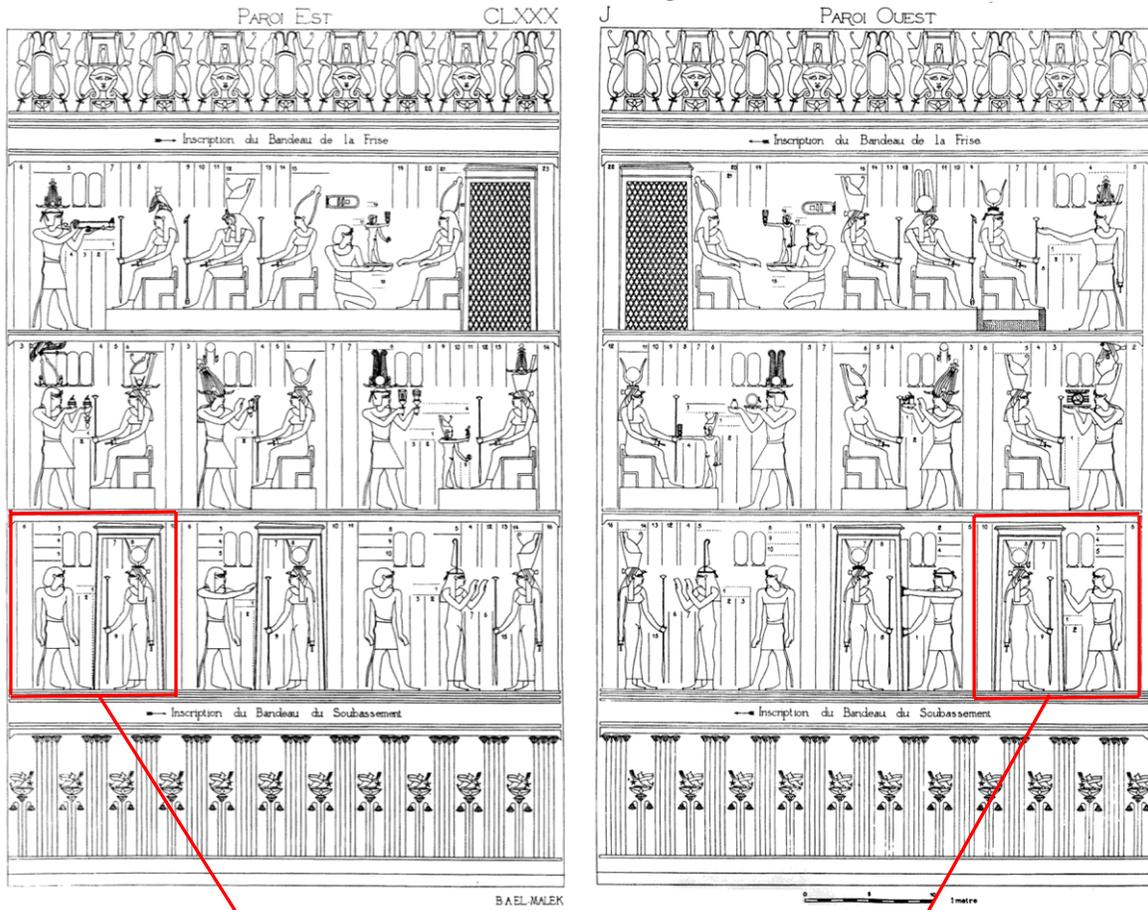
another material used to make the headband, being an inferior quality of gold, perhaps mixed with silver. Texts at Dendera mentioning a *w3ḥ n s3.wy* include D III, 25,8; 149,9, and 175,8. I follow Cauville's (Dend Trad III, p. 157) translation of *d^cm* as "electrum." Because *s3wy* originates in a region of Nubia called *ḥh* (Heh), the offering of the *w3ḥ* 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, *dī=i n=k Hh ḥr s3wy im=f*, "I give you Heh, possessing the gold that is in it" (D IV, 148,3),

with the toponym, Heh, written as . 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.

¹⁵¹⁰ The epithet, *ḥr.t-tp m tp n it=s*, "the Uraeus on the head of her father" (D III, 82,10), combines two epithets (*tp n it=s* and *ḥr.t-tp*) appearing successively in the adjacent wensheb-offering scene, thus linking the two scenes: *ib.t m tp n it=s*, "the Uraeus on the head of her father" (D III, 81,11) and *wnn ḥr.t-tp m-ḥnt ḥ.t-wnšb*, "the Uraeus (lit. She Who is on the Head) is within the Temple of the Wensheb" (D III, 81,11). The repetition of *tp* in the epithets emphasizes Hathor's role as the uraeus on her father's brow.

¹⁵¹¹ 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), *ḥnw.t n.t w3ḥ n d^cm*, "Mistress of the Cirlet of Electrum," as well as her epithet in her speech (D III, 82,9-10), *nb.t w3ḥ n d^cm*, "Lady of the Cirlet of Electrum," clearly refer to the King's offering of this crown.

East and West Walls, 1st Register, 1st Scene



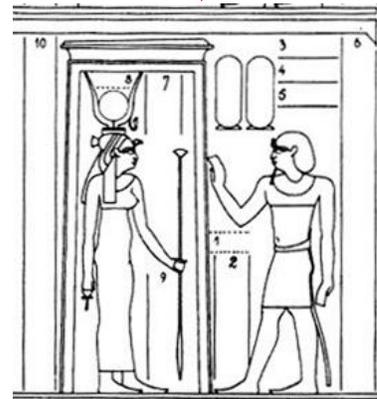
D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

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

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 64,3 Going up the stairs¹⁵¹² (of the shrine). Words <to say>:¹⁵¹³ I go up 64,4 upon the stairs of the Golden one (f.) with measured steps¹⁵¹⁴ in order to see 64,5 her Incarnation in her shrine.¹⁵¹⁵</p> <p>KING 64,6 King of Upper and Lower Egypt (), son of Ra (), Overseer of the <i>hm-ntr</i> priests¹⁵¹⁶ within 64,7 the Temple of the Sistrum,¹⁵¹⁷ the Purifier,¹⁵¹⁸ purified in his body.</p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE The Good God shall live, the hm-ntr priest, son of <a <i>hm-ntr</i> priest>, the Purifier, son of 64,8 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,¹⁵¹⁹ Lord of Crowns, 64,9 son of Ra ().</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 64,3 <i>pr r hndw dd</i> <<i>mdw</i>> <i>ts=i</i> 64,4 <i>r hndw n Nbw.t m kb nmt.t r m33</i> 64,5 <i>hm.t=s m hd=s</i></p> <p>KING 64,6 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () mr hm.w-ntr m-hnt</i> 64,7 <i>h.t-sšš.t twr twr m d.t=f</i></p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>nh ntr nfr hm-ntr s3 <hm-ntr> twr s3</i> 64,8 <i>twr wbn hr hndw m bw wr k bw dsr m dsr spr hr hnw.t r snfr ib=s nb h^c.w</i> 64,9 <i>s3 R^c () BEHIND HIM: s3 nh w3s nb h3=f mi R^c d.t</i></p>

¹⁵¹² Wb III, 314,4-15; PL 743. For a discussion of the beginning episodes of the daily temple ritual, see Guglielmi and Buroh, *Eingangsprüche*, 101-166; Moret, *Culte*, 31-56.

¹⁵¹³ Wb V, 618,9. The playful writing of *dd*, "to say," with a crouching baboon,  (E35), the manifestation of the god Thoth, or *Dhwtj*, retains the initial *d* of his name through the consonantal principle and is interpreted as *dd*. 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 *dd mdw*, "words to say." See Fairman, *Ptolemaic Signs*, 121.

¹⁵¹⁴ Wb V, 23,15-16; Late; GR. The phrase, *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, beherrschtem Schritt"; Alliot, *Culte I*, 242, "en marche lente," and Dumas, *Nout à Dendara*, 391, "marcher lentement."

¹⁵¹⁵ 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."

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 *h.t-sšš.t*, "Temple of the Sistrum," is the name given to the rear SE chapel at Dendera (Chassinat's chamber I; D II, 1-43); Crypt South 1, Chamber A. Cauville, *Dend Trad III*, p. 1, notes that the *sh-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, *h.t-sšš.t* is often used in parallel with *pr-wr* in the inscriptions in the Per-wer Sanctuary, e.g. on the door jambs of its entrance: *hr.t-tp wr.t nb.t pr-wr*, "Great Uraeus, Lady of the Per-wer" (east door jamb, D III, 56,10); *šps.t wsr.t hnt h.t-sšš.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.¹⁵²¹

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 shrine¹⁵²⁴ in her **sacred** sanctuary,¹⁵²⁵ Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet.

HATHOR

65,1 *dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Twn.t Ir.t-R^c nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w di=i n=k h^c m* **65,2** *hndw wr mi Hr hnt tnt3.t*

DIVINE RANDZEILE

nsw.t-bi.ty.t hk3.t m K3b-3.wy nfr(.t) hr shb(.t) mnd.ty šps.t wsr.t
65,3 *n rh d.t=s dsr.t hnt Psd.t htp m hd=s m iwnn=s dsr H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Twn.t*

Doc 45 – West Wall, 1st Register, 1st Scene: D III, 76,5-13

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 76,5 Pulling the (door) bolt.¹⁵²⁶ I have pulled 76,6 the (door) bolt of the shrine¹⁵²⁷ of your Incarnation. I release the seal¹⁵²⁸ in order to see your body.</p> <p>KING 76,7 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () son of Ra () </p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 76,5 <i>s3 idr s3.n=i</i> 76,6 <i>idr m hd n hm.t=t sfh=i db^c r m33 d.t=t</i></p> <p>KING 76,7 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () snn</i></p>

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, *mndt*.

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 *iwntt*. 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 *sfh db^c* 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 Ennead¹⁵³⁰ **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.

ḥnh n 76,8 r-p^c.t ntr.w sk3 šhm.w m s.t=sn

ROYAL RANDZEILE

ḥnh ntr nfr skr ʕ3.wy nn.t wn ʕ3.wy 3h.t n(.t) Nbw.t sš 76,9 pr Nbw.t r psd hm.t=t wbn psd.t=s m-ht=s sk3 k3=s hr s.t wr.t nb ḥ^cw nsw.t-bi.ty () **BEHIND HIM: 76,10** *s3 ḥnh w3s nb ḥ3=f mi R^c d.t*

HATHOR

76,11 *dd mdw in H.t-ḥr nb(.t) Twn.t ʔr.t-R^c nb.ty.t rhy.t ḥnw.t t3.wy di=i snd.t=k 76,12 phr m t3.wy nrw=k m-ht ḥr.w*

DIVINE RANDZEILE

76,13 *nswy.t-bi.ty.t 3h.ty.t ḥ^c m 3h.t ḥntš psd.t n m33=s itn.t twt=s r itn ḥ^c hr.w n m33 stw.t=s št3.t ḥprw r ntr.w ntr.wt H.t-ḥr wr.t nb.t Twn.t*

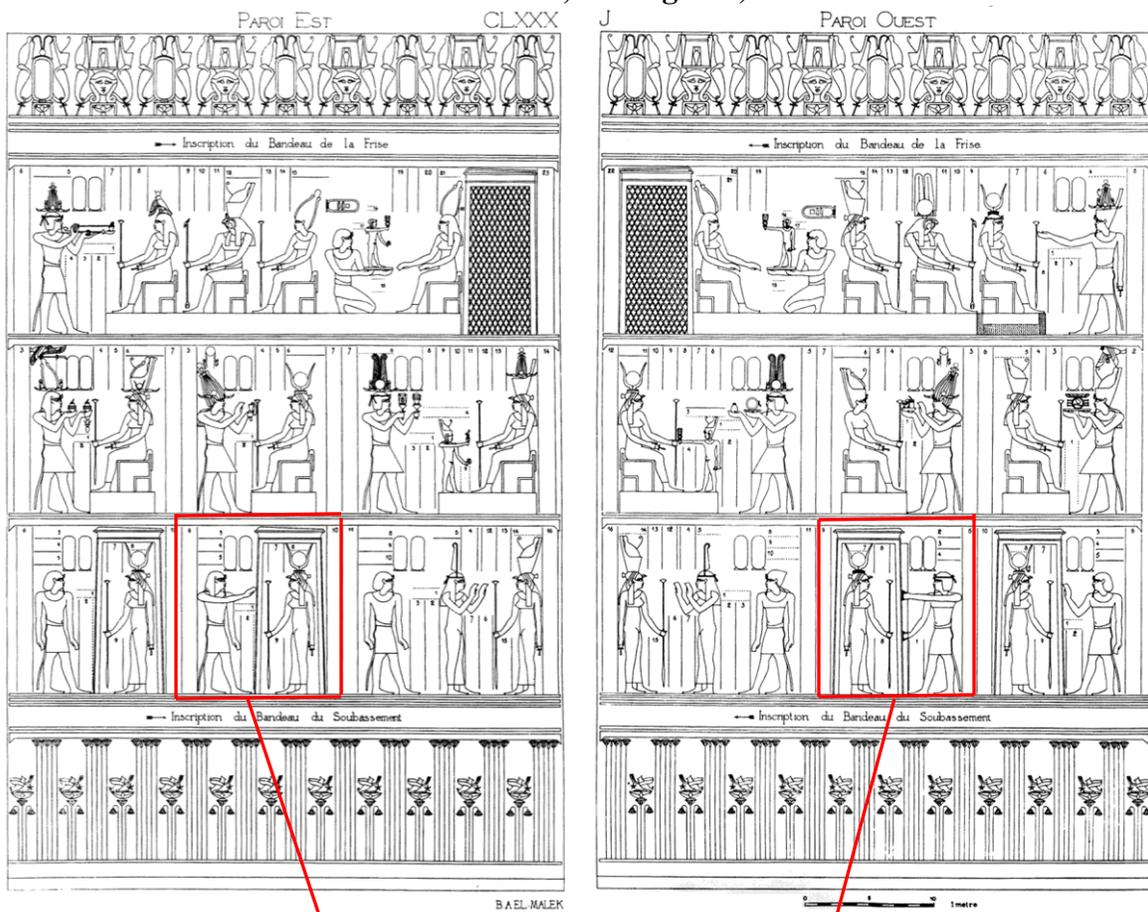
¹⁵²⁹ Wb II, 416,5: *r-p^c.t ntrw*, "Hereditary Prince of the Gods," is a title of the earth god Geb.

¹⁵³⁰ Preys, Hathor Protection, 353, defines the Ennead of Hathor at Dendera (on north montant of Staircase Chamber, D VI, 140,2-6) as follows: 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. Cf. Cauville's "pantheon of Dendera," in **n. 794**.

¹⁵³¹ 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 *ḥnty.t Twn.t*), or vice versa (with Isis carrying Hathor's epithets, e.g. *Nbw.t* or part of Hathor's great titulary).

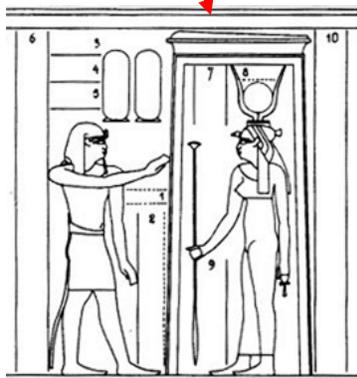
¹⁵³² Wilson, PL 878, suggests that dread of the king and gods in the land "is a tool used by the king and gods to subjugate people." See Vazquez-Presedo, Schreckens.

East and West Walls, 1st Register, 2nd Scene



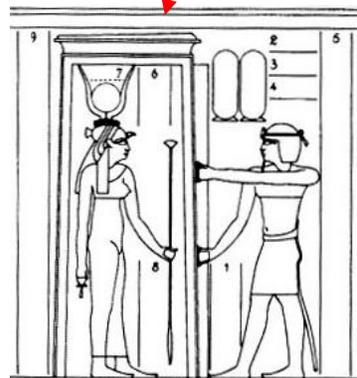
D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

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

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 65,5 Releasing the bolt (lit. removing the finger).¹⁵³³ 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.¹⁵³⁴ KING 65,8 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () , son of Ra, Image of the Ibis¹⁵³⁵ 65,9 who brings the Udjat-Eye to her lord, who places the Shining Eye at the place where it habitually is.¹⁵³⁶ ROYAL RANDZEILE The Good God lives, Image of Isden,¹⁵³⁷ 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,¹⁵³⁸ who makes the shining/effective Eyes shining/effective, Lord of crowns, King of Upper and Lower Egypt () BEHIND HIM: 65,11 All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for <i>d.t</i>- eternity. 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 terror¹⁵³⁹ of you.</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 65,5 <i>sfh db^c dd mdw</i> 65,6 <i>st3.n=i</i> <i>t3 sfh.n=i db^c ink ib</i> 65,7 <i>n R^c</i> KING 65,8 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () snn</i> <i>n Hb</i> 65,9 <i>in wd3.t n nb=s rdi 3h.t</i> <i>r s.t wnn=s</i> ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>nh ntr nfr iw^c n Isdn pr nh.t n</i> <i>nb=s nhm</i> 65,10 <i>Ir.t-Hr m-^c ir</i> <i>kn=s mh wd3.t m dbh.w=s sip</i> <i>sb(3)k.t s3h 3h.ty nb h^c.w nsw.t-</i> <i>bi.ty () </i> BEHIND HIM: 65,11 <i>s3 nh w3s nb h3=f mi R^c d.t</i> HATHOR 66,1 <i>dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb.t</i> <i>Iwn.t Ir.t-R^c nb.t p.t di=i n=k</i> <i>mnkb</i> 66,2 <i>mn hr nfr.w=k 3h.t-</i> <i>nb.wy hr sfy.t=k</i></p>

¹⁵³³ Cf. Moret, *Culte*, 42-43 (pBerlin, III,8).

¹⁵³⁴ Wb I, 59,16-17; GR: *ib n R^c*, "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 *sb3k.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.

<p>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 brightness¹⁵⁴⁰ is hidden¹⁵⁴¹ from the Ennead, who shines in the sky daily, Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet.</p>	<p>DIVINE RANDZEILE <i>nsw.t-bity.t itn.t</i> <i>hnt 3h.t thn(.t) ssm=s r tpy.w-t3</i> <i>nh.t 66,3 wr.t hn.ti m hd=s sst3.t</i> <i>msh^c r psd.t psd m nn.t m hrt-hrw</i> <i>H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t</i></p>
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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)

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE 77,2 Revealing (lit. opening) the face of the Golden One (f.) in her noble shrine.¹⁵⁴²</p> <p>KING 77,3 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () son of Ra () Ihy of the Golden One (f.), 77,4 who opens (reveals) the face of his mistress, who opens the doors of heaven of her sanctuary.</p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE 77,5 The Good God lives, son of He who unites with Ma'at (=Thoth), the Image of the Hereditary Prince of the gods,¹⁵⁴³ who unbolts 77,5 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 Ennead¹⁵⁴⁴ 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 <i>d.t</i>-eternity.</p>	<p>TITLE 77,2 wn hr n Nbw.t m hd=s šps</p> <p>KING 77,3 nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () Ihy n Nbw.t 77,4 wn hr n hnw.t=f sš 3.wy n p.t n pr=s</p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>nh ntr nfr s3 Sm3-m3^c.t snn n r-p^c.t ntr.w skr 77,5 3.wy Iwn.t r wbn Nbw.t wp 3.wy nn.t=s r pr=s psd Psd.t=s m hb=s nfr nb h^cw nsw.t=bi.ty ()</i> BEHIND HIM: 77,6 s3 nh w3s nb h3=f mi R^c d.t</p>

¹⁵⁴⁰ Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 132, transliterates as *šbt*.

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^c.t ntrw*, "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; 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. 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.¹⁵⁴⁶

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), **77,9 her rays illuminate the (whole) earth**, gods and people live in seeing her, Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet.

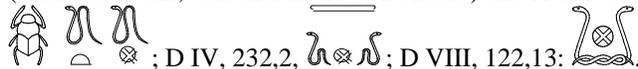
HATHOR

77,7 *dd in H,t-hr nb(.t) T3-rr Ir.t-R^c nb(.t) p.t wn.n=i sšp m šsp.t=k*
77,8 *dr.n=i kkw m pr=k*

DIVINE RANDZEILE

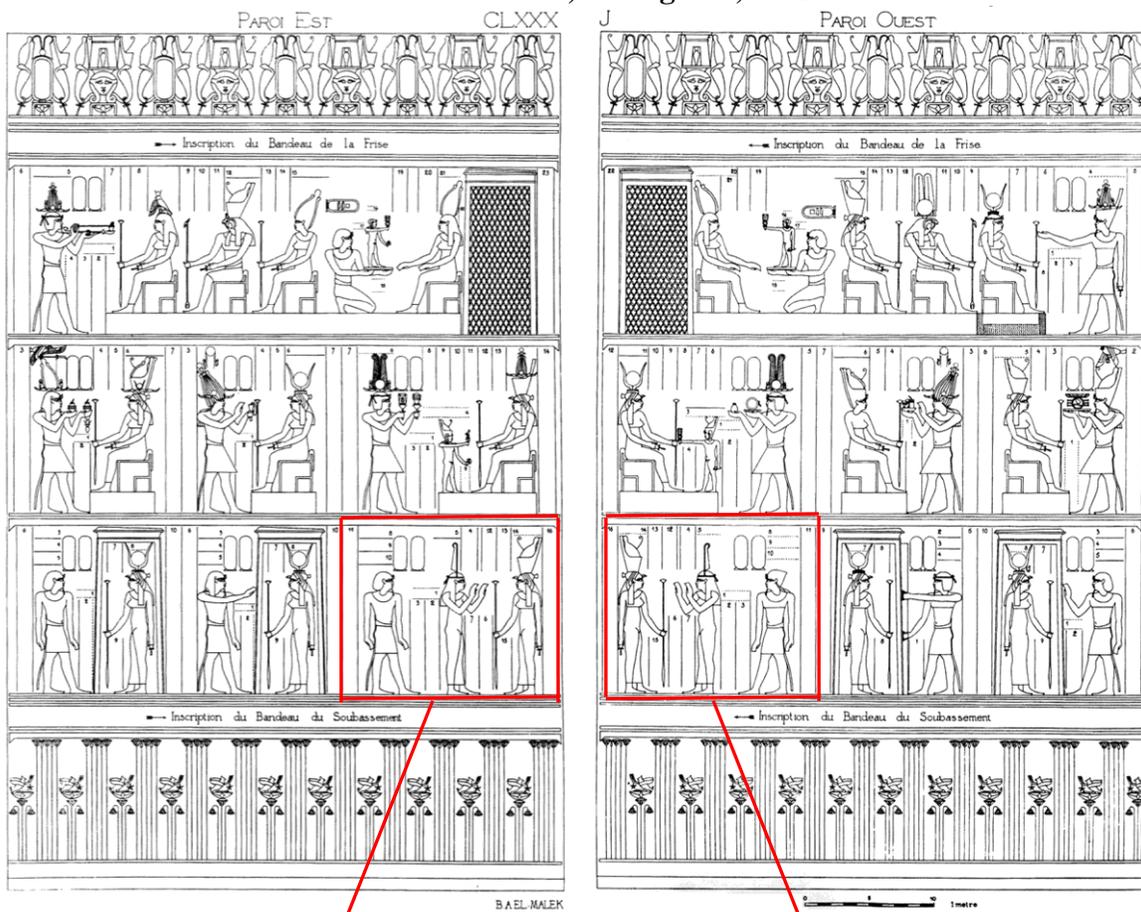
nswy.t-bi.ty.t R^cy.t m Di(.t)-mr(w).t n.t h^cw m t3-n-Itmw wbn m t3 mi psd-m-nbw **77,9** *wpš m3w.t=s ndb n^ch ntr.w rmt n m33=s H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Twn.t*

¹⁵⁴⁵ *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). Myśliwiec, Atum, 52, suggests that when written as a rebus with serpents, Tarer alludes to *T3-n-Itm* ("Land of Atum," another name of Dendera) and Atum's form as a primeval snake. Examples include D III, 57,5,



¹⁵⁴⁶ It is interesting that Hathor calls the Per-wer Sanctuary "your" (=King's) chapel, rather than "my" chapel.

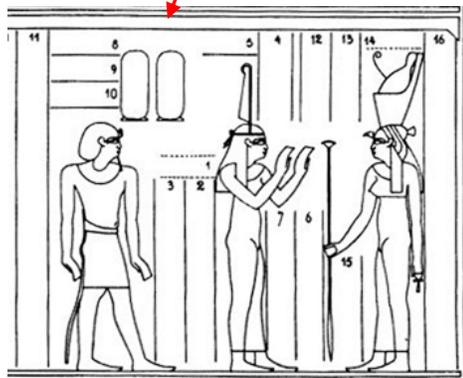
East and West Walls, 1st Register, 3rd Scene



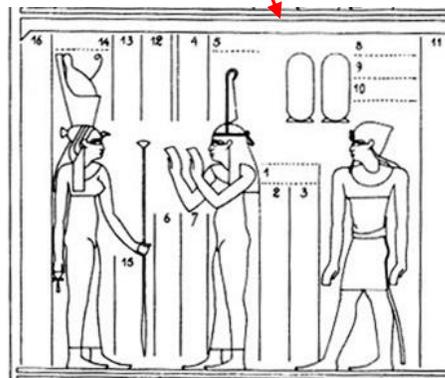
D III, pls. 180; 190, © IFAO

Doc 48
D III,
66,5-
67,3

Doc 49
D III,
77,11 –
78,12



East Wall, 1st Register, 3rd Scene



West Wall, 1st Register, 3rd Scene

Doc 48 – East Wall, 1st Register, 3rd Scene: D III, 66,5 – 67,3

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 66,5 Seeing the god.¹⁵⁴⁷ Words to say: I have perceived¹⁵⁴⁸ 66,6 the dread¹⁵⁴⁹ 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 rejoices¹⁵⁵⁰ 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 <i>d.t</i>-eternity. HATHOR 67,1 Words to say by Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet,</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 66,5 <i>m33 ntr dd mdw dg.n=i 66,6 <i>snd.t n.t Wbn.t-m-nbw sb3k.n=i kf3.t n(.t)</i> 66,7 <i>k3=s sk3.n=i nfrw=s r k3 n p.t phr</i> 66,8 <i>ib=s m tpy.w-r3=i</i> MA'AT 66,9 <i>dd mdw in M3c.t wr.t hnt h.t-M3c.t s3.t Rc hnt pr-sps.t</i> 66,10 <i>nfr.wy hr=t Nbw.t nb(.t) Iwn.t s3.t Rc hnt pr sps.t di=i n=t i3w r k3 n p.t sn-B(=i) r wsh n t3</i> KING 66,11 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 Rc () ti.t dsr(.t)</i> 66,12 <i>n nb.w twr m33 Nbw.t m cw wr</i> ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>nh ntr nfr iw c n cm-t3.wy m33 Nbw.t m</i> 66,13 <i>ti.t=s dsr(.t) bs r h m cw wr st m st=f n m33 ntr ck m htp pr m hntš nb cw s3 Rc</i> 66,14 () BEHIND HIM: <i>s3 nh w3s nb h3=f mi Rc d.t</i> HATHOR 67,1 <i>dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb(.t) Iwn.t</i></i></p>

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: *m33.n=i šfy.t n.t Bik-n-Nbw.t w3rh snd.t=f m hc=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 *phr-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: *cm-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, *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,¹⁵⁵³ 67,2 gods and men live to see her. I cause for you that men are praising the awe-inspired terror of you¹⁵⁵⁴ and women hasten in order to see you.

DIVINE RANDZEILE

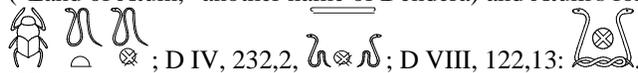
The Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Rayt**, daughter of **Ra, the Atenet 67,3** in the circuit of the sun disk, the Beautiful One (f.) who appears in Netjery (=Dendera) among her Ennead, everyone lives in seeing her . **One rises early in the morning** in order to adore her every single day, Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra.

*Ir.t-R^c nb(.t) p.t hnw.t ntr.w
nb(.w) š^c.t šps.t hnt t3-rr 67,2 ᵑnh
ntr.w rmt n m33=s di=i n=k t3.w
(hr) dw3 n šfy.t=k hm.wt hw=sn r
m33=k*

DIVINE RANDZEILE

*nsw.t-bi.ty.t R^cy.t s3.t R^cItn.t 67,3
m šn n Itn ᵑn.t h^cw m Ntry imytw
Psd.t=s ᵑnh hr-nb n m33=s dw3.tw
r dw3=s r^c-nb sp sn.nw H.t-hr
wr.t nb(.t) Twn.t Ir.t-R^c*

¹⁵⁵³T3-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 T3-n-Itm ("Land of Atum," another name of Dendera) and Atum's form as a primeval snake. Examples include D III, 57,5,



¹⁵⁵⁴Wb 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.

Doc 49 – West Wall, 1st Register, 3rd Scene: D III, 77,11 – 78,12

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 77,11 Adoring the god.¹⁵⁵⁵ 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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE The Good God lives, Equal of Isden,¹⁵⁵⁶ 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,¹⁵⁵⁷ the Lord of crowns, son of Ra () , 78,8 BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for <i>d.t</i>-eternity.</p> <p>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 78,10 Ba-power. I cause for you that the <i>p^c.t</i>-people are praising your Incarnation and the <i>rhy.t</i>-people are thanking the god for you.</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 77,11 <i>dw3 ntr dd mdw hf3.n=i</i> 77,12 <i>m hr=t r3=i hr sns.w hry-mk.t=i hr 78,1 tpy.w-r3=t dw3.n=i hm.t=t sk3.n=i nfrw=t 78,2 swr=i b3w=t r ntr.w ntr.wt</i></p> <p>MA'AT 78,3 <i>dd mdw in M3^c.t wr.t s3.t R^c m s.t R^c n^h ntr.w rmt n m33=s</i> 78,4 <i>nfr.wy hr=t s3.t R^c n pr-R^c sps.t hnt pr-sps.t ^c.wy=i m i3w m hr=t nfr sw3s=i hm.t m mrr.t=t</i></p> <p>KING 78,5 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () w^cb-Ihy 3h 78,6 r3 sd hb.t bnr ns hr nis hknw</i></p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE ^c<i>n^h ntr nfr sn.nw n Isden k3 ddw twt 78,7 hmw sk3 nfrw n Nbw.t nb.t Tw'n.t dw3-ntr n Wbn.t-m-nbw dw3 k3 n mw.t=f m rn(.w)=s nb.w nb.t h^cw s3 R^c () 78,8 BEHIND HIM: s3 n^h. w3s nb h3=f mi R^c d.t</i></p> <p>HATHOR 78,9 <i>dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Tw'n.t Ir.t-R^c nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w dw3 sy ntr.w ntr.wt n wr n 78,10 b3w=s di=i n=k p^c.t hr sw3s n hm=k rhy.t (hr) dw3 n=k ntr</i></p>

¹⁵⁵⁵ Cf. Moret, *Culte*, 67-68 (pBerlin, V, 3).

¹⁵⁵⁶ 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.

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.

DIVINE RANDZEILE

The Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
Seshat,¹⁵⁵⁸ **the Primordial One (f.) who invented**
78,11 writing,¹⁵⁵⁹ Lady of writing,¹⁵⁶⁰ 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.

DIVINE RANDZEILE

nsw.t-bi.ty.t Šš3.t š3^c.t š3^c 78,11
sp̄hr nb.t sš hk3(.t) md3.wt šps.t
wsr.t n k.t hr ḥw=s Itn.t psd m
nn.t pr(.t) m r3=s hpr hr-^c H.t-ḥr
wr.t nb.t Iwn.t

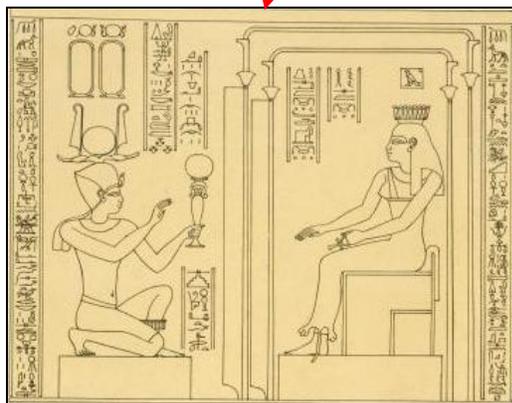
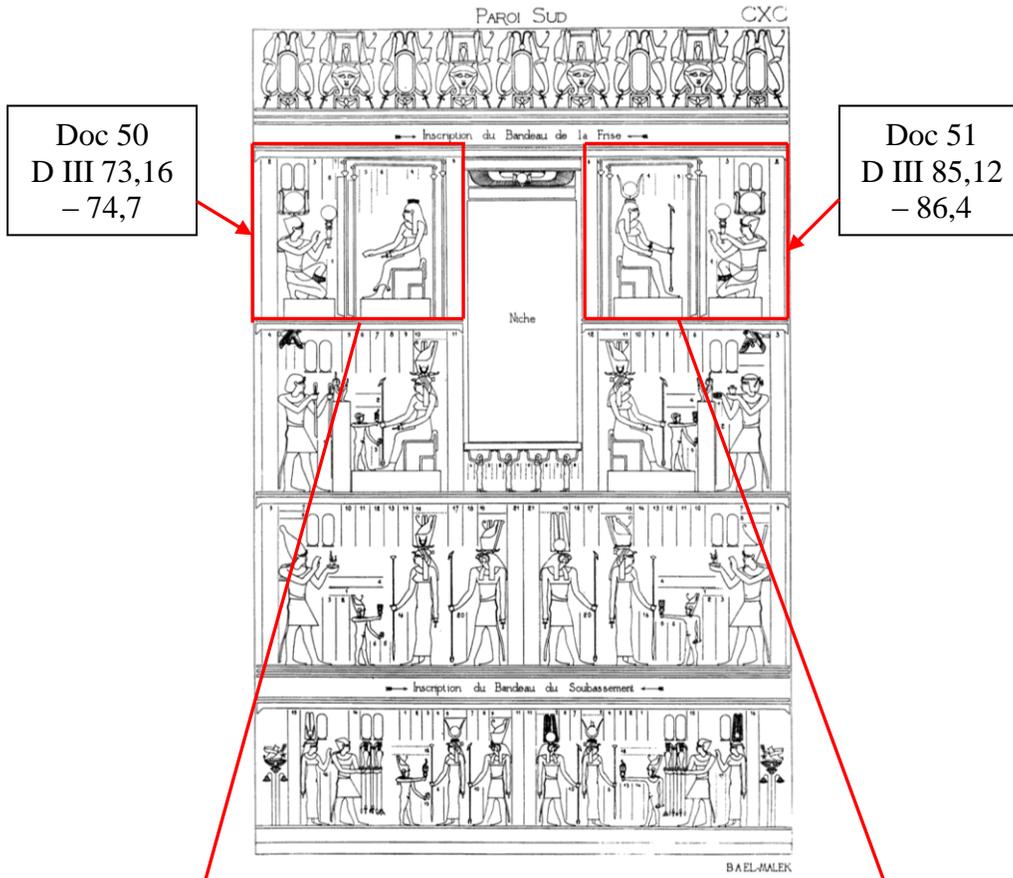
¹⁵⁵⁸ Assimilated with Seshat, Hathor takes on the role of Thoth's partner. See Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, 69; Budde, Seschat, 11 and n. 64. See also Klotz, Kneph, 160, who notes that as the partner of Khonsu and Khonsu-Thoth at Thebes, "Hathor within the Benenet" was also partially or directly assimilated 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, *sp̄hr*, "to write, inscribe," in GR refers to a variety of different types of inscriptions. Wilson, PL 830, notes that *sp̄hr* 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).

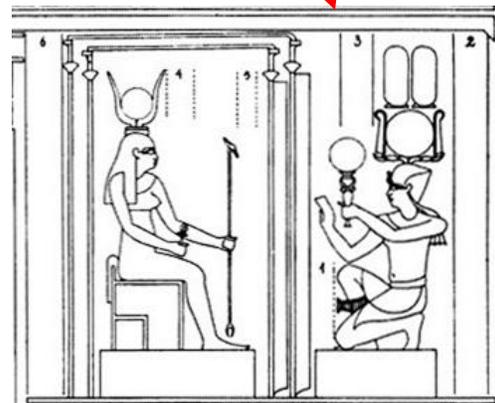
¹⁵⁶⁰ Wb III, 475,6 – 476,15; PT; also transliterated as *sh̄*. This word seems to have a more restricted context than *sp̄hr* (discussed in the previous footnote), referring to the writing of texts on papyrus, wooden boards, or temple walls (PL 920).

7.5 South Wall of Per-wer

South Wall, 3rd Register



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

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 73,16 Presenting the mirror¹⁵⁶¹ to his mother, the Powerful one (f.).</p> <p>KING 73,17 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt (), son of Ra ().</p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE Words to say: I have come¹⁵⁶² 74,1 before you, Atenet,¹⁵⁶³ Lady of the Horizon, Noble and Gentle Lady of the Heart of Ra,¹⁵⁶⁴ I bring to you the mirror¹⁵⁶⁵ that Henu fashioned,¹⁵⁶⁶ created by his own hands, for you are the Great one (f.), Lady of the Uraeii, 74,2 Luminous one (f.) of rays like her father. BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and power are behind him, like Ra, for <i>d.t</i>-eternity.</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 73,16 <i>si^cr wn(.t)-hr n mw.t=f wsr.t</i></p> <p>KING 73,17 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () </i></p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>dd mdw ii.n=i 74,1 hr=t Itn.t nb.t 3h.t šps.t im3.t ib n R^c in(=i) n=t nḥ nbi.n Hnw km3 m c.wy=f(y) ds=f tw=t wr.t nb.t i^cr.wt, 74,2 sšp(.t) stw.t mi it=s</i> BEHIND HIM: <i>s3 nḥ w3s nb ḥ3=f mi R^c d.t</i></p>

¹⁵⁶¹ 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 (37) notes that one ideogram 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* (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 *sgm.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 *Itn.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, *im.t*, is also another word for mirror, which is itself a symbol of the sun. See Husson, Miroir, 38; Bénédite, 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: *ib n R^c*, "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 *nḥ* for mirror is attested since the Old Kingdom, where it is called *nḥ m33 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 Ptah" (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 *hnw-*

barque,"  (P61B) (LGG 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: *dd.tw r=s st.n=f Skr. di-k hnw hr m-c hdt=f, phr=k inb.w m šmsw.t=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 Aufrière, *L'univers minéral*, 1991; P. Munro, *ZÄS* 95 (1969): 92-109; Piehl, *RecTrav* 3 (1882): 28.

<p>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</p>	<p>HATHOR 74,3 <i>ḏi=i ḥ^c ḥr-nb n m33=k mrw.t=k pḥr m ibw H.t-ḥr bi3 s^cm m nbw</i> 74,4 <i>bḥḏw nbw ḥ^c.w=s m nbw</i> NAOS 74,5 <i>ṣ š k3 mḥ 3 šsp 1 wsh mḥ 1 šsp 3 3w(.t) šsp 2</i> DIVINE RANDZEILE 74,6 <i>ḏḏ mdw ii.ti m ḥtp ntr nfr ṣ n ḥr ḥk3 nfr ḥnt tnt3(.t) šsp.n=i ṣ nḥ wn tp ṣ=k</i> 74,7 <i>hnm stw.t=f ḥ^cw=[i]* ḏi=i n=k 3ḥ.ty=k(y) 3ḥ.ti m s.t=sn, sb3k=i ḥ^cw=k r ḏw</i></p>
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Doc 51 – South Wall, 3rd Register, West Side: D III, 85,12 – 86,4

Translation	Transliteration
<p>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, Atenet,¹⁵⁷⁰ Lady of the Horizon, Noble and Gentle Lady of</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 85,12 <i>si^cr wn.t-ḥr n mw.t=f wsr.t</i> KING 85,13 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () </i> ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>ḏḏ mdw ii.n=i</i> 85,14 <i>ḥr=t Itn.t nb(.t) 3ḥ.t šps.t im3(.t) ib n R^c</i></p>

¹⁵⁶⁷ Literally, “I make clean your body from evil.” Interestingly, *sb3k* (“protect/make clean”) may be related to the word *sb3k.t* “eye” (the “clean” Eye, as opposed to the “whole” Eye, *wḏ3.t*). Note that the word used for “Egypt” in the 3rd Register of the west wall is *b3k.t*, spelled with the *wḏ3.t*-sign.

¹⁵⁶⁸ The term *wn.t-ḥr*, 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 ideogram of a mirror (used here) can be transliterated as either *wn-ḥr* or *wn.t-ḥr*; two ideograms as *wn.wy-ḥr* or *wn.ty-ḥr*, transliterating with the *t* only when it appears in the hieroglyphs. I have chosen to transliterate it here as *wn.t-ḥr*, following Wb. I, 313, and as well as the fuller writing in the parallel mirror-offering scene in the Per-wer, 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-ḥr*).

¹⁵⁶⁹ *sdm.n=f* here as perfect, following Kurth, EP II, §236, contra a translation as present tense. Cf. Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 145.

¹⁵⁷⁰ The *itn.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; Bénédite, 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 mirror¹⁵⁷¹ that Henu fashioned,¹⁵⁷² created by his own hands, for you are the Great One (f.), Lady **85,15** of the Uraeii, 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,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.

in=i n=t ʕnh nbi.n Hnw km3 m ʕwy=f(y) ds=f tw=t wr.t nb(.t)

85,15 *iʕr.wt sšp(.t) stw.t mi Rʕ*

BEHIND HIM: *s3 ʕnh w3s nb h3=f mi Rʕ d.t*

HATHOR

86,1 *dī=i mrw.t=k m ib.w t3.w*

hntš hm.wt n m33=k H.t-hr

nb(.t) Twn.t nbw ʕnh **86,2** *w3s m*

nbw ʕ3.t nb.t k3 šsp 6

DIVINE RANDZEILE

86,3 *dd mdw ii.ti m htp, snn n i3hw, id n iwn-hʕʕ šsp.n=i wn.t-*

hr m ʕwy hm=k m33=i nfr.w

86,4 *nw d.t=i dī=i n=k wd3.ty*

mn.ti m s.t=sn ʕd.ti n hb im=sn

¹⁵⁷¹ The term *ʕnh* for mirror is attested since the Old Kingdom, where it is called *ʕnh m33 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).

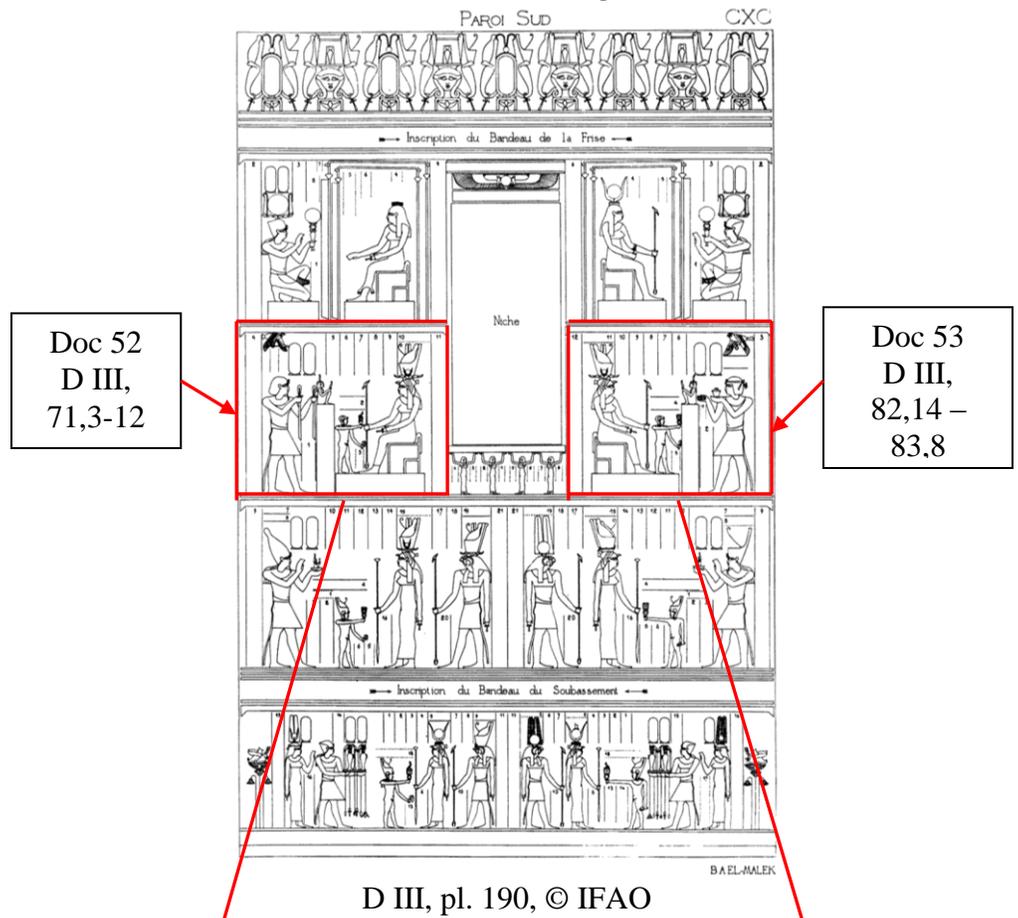
¹⁵⁷² According to LGG, 159-160, *Hnw* is the personified Sokar barque, often written ideographically, as it is here,



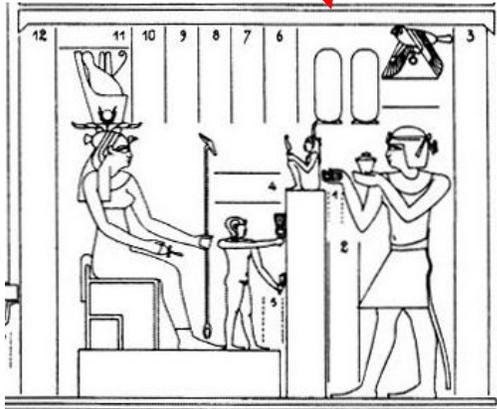
(P61B); it can also signify the god Sokar himself (PL 652). At Dendera, the king is called the son of Henu (in Room L, the *ht-mnit*, D III, 142,2). At Dendera, references to Henu frequently occur in offerings of the mirror, which he is said to create (D III, 17,7; 74,1; 141,12, 142,1; 151,14; 192,13; 192,16); he also fulfills this function at Kom Ombo (KO 492). See also Husson, *Miroir*, 206.

¹⁵⁷³ *T3hw* is sunlight, personified as the sun god Ra (Wb I, 33,4; PL 34).

South Wall, 2nd Register



South Wall, 2nd Register, East Side



South Wall, 2nd Register, West Side

Doc 52 – South Wall, 2nd Register, East Side: D III, 71,3-12

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 71,3 Offering cloth to his mother, the Powerful One (f.). IHY 71,4 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor: Playing the sistrum for his mother. KING 71,5 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () , son of Ra () . ROYAL RANDZEILE The King of Upper and Lower Egypt 71,6 () is upon his throne, illuminating the body with the nine-strand linen,¹⁵⁷⁴ clothing his mistress, covering her body, giving 71,7 the bright cloth to Rayt, for he is the one who conceals,¹⁵⁷⁵ excellent in his duty, tying on his mistress the bright white cloth. BEHIND HIM: All protection, 71,8 life, and power are behind him, like Ra, for <i>d.t</i>-eternity. ABOVE HIM: Nekhbet, the White one (f.) of Nekhen. HATHOR 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,¹⁵⁷⁶ 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. DIVINE RANDZEILE She who shines like gold shines in Iunet as the <Noble Lady>¹⁵⁷⁷ 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.</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 71,3 <i>hṅk mnḥ.t m mw.t=f wsr.t</i> IHY 71,4 <i>Thy wr s3 Ḥ.t-ḥr ir(.t) sšš.t n mw.t=f</i> KING 71,5 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 Rꜥ () </i> ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>wnn nsw.t-bi.ty 71,6 () ḥr ḥndw=f ḥr šḥd ḥꜥw m psd ḥr db3 ḥnw.t=f ḥr st3m ḥꜥw=s ḥr rdi.t</i> 71,7 <i>sšp.t n Rꜥy.t sw m ḥ3p ikr m irw=f ḥr rꜥ ḥnw.t=f m ḥd.t</i> BEHIND HIM: <i>s3 71,8 ḥnh w3s nb ḥ3=f mi Rꜥ d.t</i> ABOVE HIM: <i>Nḥb.t ḥd.t Nḥn</i> HATHOR 71,9 <i>dd mdw in Ḥ.t-ḥr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t ir.t-rꜥ nb.t p.t ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w M3ꜥ.t wr.t ꜥpr.t ḥkr.w</i> 71,10 <i>ṯḥn.t ḥꜥw m pr-W3dy.t ḥn.t nfr.t smnḥ-mnḥ.t Rꜥy.t nb.t rꜥ.w šps.t wsr.t n k.t ḥr ḥw=s itn.t 71,11 sšp t3.wy m ḥdd.wt=s</i> DIVINE RANDZEILE <i>wnn Wbn.t-m-nbw wbn.ti m Iwn.t m <šps.t> * ḥnt pr-šps.t ḥr 71,12 mk.t km3 sy ḥr dr ḥf.tyw=s ḥr rdi.t nrw=s m ntr.w sy m nb.t ḥꜥꜥ.wt ḥnw.t nb.t wnḥ nb.t M3ꜥ.t ṯḥn.t ḥkrw</i></p>

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 , which do not make sense here.

Doc 53 – South Wall, 2nd Register, West Side: D III, 82,14 – 83,8

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 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.</p> <p>KING 82,17 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () , son of Ra () .</p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE The King of Upper and Lower Egypt 83,1 () is upon his throne in the Great Sanctuary (i.e. Per-wer) as the Great lion and ruler of the Land of God, rejoicing the heart, clothing with perfume,¹⁵⁷⁹ giving the divine perfume to the uraeus, for he is like 83,2 Shesmu, Lord of the workshop, who brings the Eye of Horus equipped with its elements. BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and power are behind him, like Ra, <i>d.t</i>-eternity. ABOVE HIM: 83,3 Behdety, the Great God, Lord of heaven.</p> <p>IHY 83,4 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor. Playing the sistrum for his mother, the Powerful one (f.).</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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,</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 82,14 <i>ir(.t) md.t dd mdw m-n=t</i> 82,15 <i>ntyw nwd n Šsmw w3rh</i> <i>fnđ=t m 82,16 hnm=f</i></p> <p>KING 82,17 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () </i></p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>wnn nsw.t-bi.ty 83,1 () hr</i> <i>bhdw=f m pr-wr m rw wr hḳ3 t3-</i> <i>ntr hr snđm ib hr sm^cr id.t hr rdi.t</i> <i>id.t-ntr n hr.t-tp sw mi 83,2 Šsmw</i> <i>nb is in Ir.t-Hr ^cpr m iry.w=s</i></p> <p>BEHIND HIM: <i>s3 nḥ w3s nb</i> <i>h3=f mi R^c d.t</i> ABOVE HIM: 83,3 <i>Bhd.ty ntr 3 nb p.t</i></p> <p>IHY 83,4 <i>Ihy wr s3 H.t-hr ir(.t) sš.t n</i> <i>mw.t=f wsr.t</i></p> <p>HATHOR 83,5 <i>dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb.t</i> <i>Iwn.t Ir.t-R^c nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w</i> <i>nb.w šps.t wsr.t hnw.t t3-ntr 83,6</i> <i>šms ib=s m in.t ntyw ndm stī</i> <i>bnr.t mrw.t hnm=s 3bh m hđ=s</i> <i>M3^c.t wr.t 83,7 thn.t h^c.w itn.t wd</i> <i>st.wt mi it=s</i></p> <p>DIVINE RANDZEILE <i>wnn Ir.t-R^c psd m hr.t hr sšp p.t t3</i> <i>m nfrw=s hr 83,8 rdi.t 3w.t-ib hr</i> <i>rw.t h3w-ib hr nd it=s m-^c sbi</i></p>

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,  (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 iswy*, "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, Schesemu, 590-591.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Wb IV, 130,15 – 131,10. *sm^cr*, "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, *hr sm^cr id.t*, as "en train d'adoucir l'odeur."

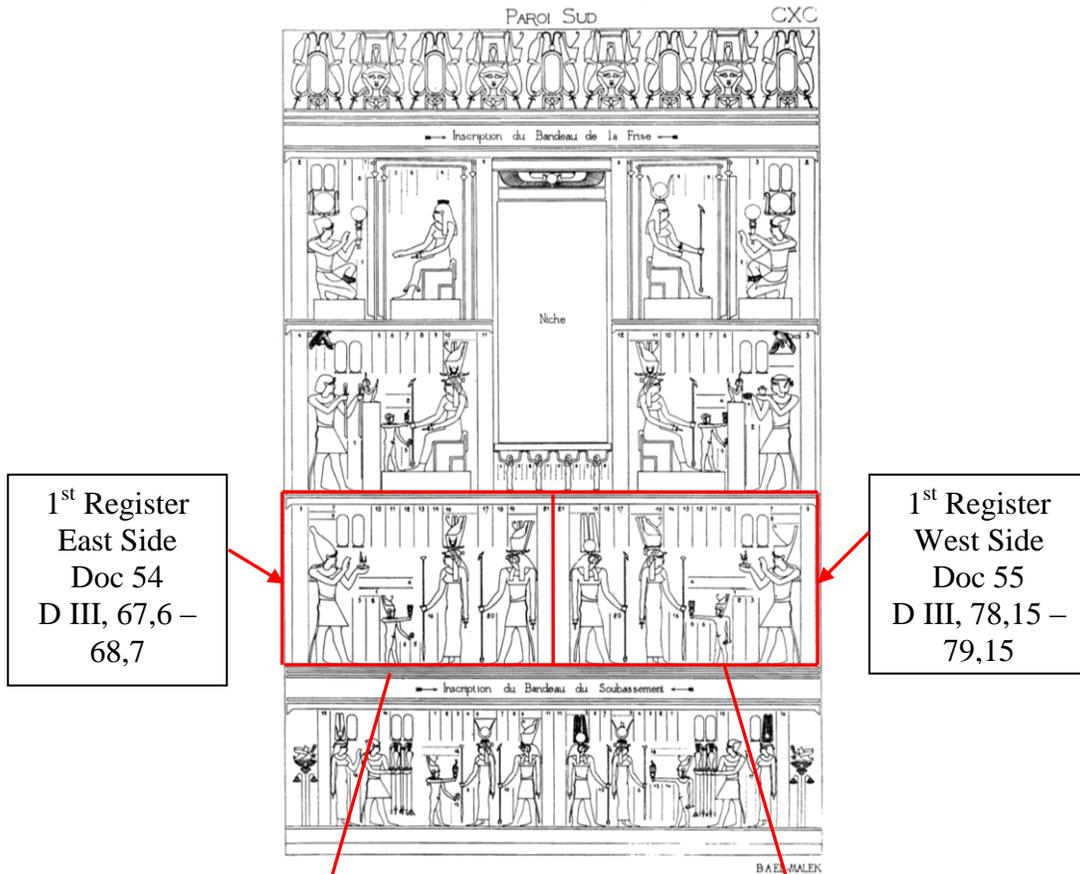
¹⁵⁸⁰ Alternatively, *nfr.w*, "good things."

for she is the Female Falcon, the Dappled One (f.) of
Plumage, Behdetyt,¹⁵⁸¹ Lady of Punt.

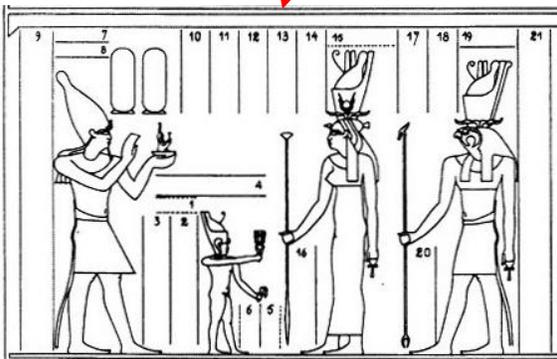
sy m bik.t ntry.t s3b.t šw.t Bhd.ty.t
nb.t Pwn.t

¹⁵⁸¹ *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.

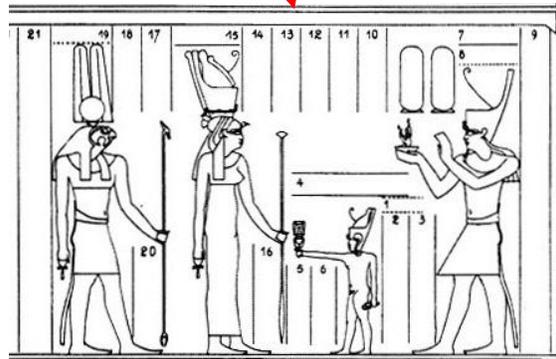
South Wall, 1st Register



D III, pl. 190, © IFAO



South Wall, 1st Register, East Side



South Wall, 1st Register, West Side

Doc 54 – South Wall, 1st Register, East Side: D III, 67,6 – 68,7

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 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 throat,¹⁵⁸² I have presented (it) 67,8 to your face. She is not far from you every day. IHY 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 sistrum before your beautiful face, Ma'at the Great in the Temple of the Sistrum (=Dendera). KING 67,11 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt () 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. ROYAL RANDZEILE 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 Hesperet,¹⁵⁸⁶ who does Ma'at (lit. the semen of the bull),¹⁵⁸⁷ who</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 67,6 <i>hnk m3^c.t m-n=t</i> 67,7 <i>m3^c.t M3^c.t rn=t M3^c.t pw k3.tw r hm.t=t</i> <i>mr.t pw si^cr.n=i</i> 67,8 <i>m hr=t n hr=s r=t r^c nb</i> IHY 67,9 <i>dd mdw in Thy wr s3 H.t-hr hy hntš.tw n m33=f ir.n=i</i> 67,10 <i>sšš.t m hr=t nfr M3^c.t wr.t hnt h.t-sšš.t</i> KING 67,11 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () ti.t dsr.t n.t ib-</i> 67,12 <i>n-R^c si^cr m3^c.t n nb.t m3^c.t</i> ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>ñh ntr nfr sn.nw n Isdn s3 smsw n ñm-ł.wy wpw ikr</i> 67,13 <i>n rdi.t hr gs smn hp.w mi Hnty-Hsr.t ir mtw.t-k3 sk3 (?) nfr.w nw T3-mry nb m3^c.t nsw.t-bi.ty ()</i></p>

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 Guglielmi, 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, *ñh 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.

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: *ñm-ł.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, Thot, 506; Boylan, Thoth, 103;183.

¹⁵⁸⁶ *Hnty-Hsr.t*, "Foremost One of Hesperet," 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 bnbn(.t) hn^c=f m sp-tpy*, "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,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 *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,¹⁵⁸⁹ Lady of the Per-wer, equipped with her regalia, Bright One (f.) of face among the Ennead, **68,3** the Very Beautiful One (f.) among the goddesses, the Atenet who fills the earth with gold dust,¹⁵⁹⁰ I place Ma'at for you in your heart, in order to do it (=what is right)¹⁵⁹¹ for the gods for *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 **68,5** of Atum, the Falcon satisfied with [Ma'at.]* 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, **68,7** Noble Lady, satisfied with Ma'at (lit. the semen of the bull), Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet.

BEHIND HIM: 67,14 *s3 ʕnh w3s nb h3=f mi Rʕ d.t*

HATHOR

68,1 *dd mdw in H.t-ḥr wr.t nb.t 'Twn.t 'Ir.t-Rʕ nb.t p.t ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w M3ʕ.t wr.t 68,2 s3.t Rʕ ḥnw.t ntr.wt šps.t wsr.t ḥnt ḥ.t-sšš.t 'Ipy.t nb.t Pr-wr ʕpr.t ḥkr.w ṯhn.t ḥr ḥnt Psd.t 68,3 ʕn.t nfr.t imy-tw ntr.wt 'Itn.t mh t3 m nkr nbw di=i n=k m3ʕ.t m ib=k r ir.t=s n ntr.w d.t*

HORUS OF EDFU

68,4 *dd in Hr Bhd.ty ntr ʕ3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t ntr ntry m t3 68,5 n 'Itmw šnb.ty ḥtp ḥr [m3ʕ.t]* di=i n=k m3ʕ.t ḥnm.ti m t3, n ḥpr grg m rnp.wt=k*

DIVINE RANDZEILE

68,6 *nswy.t-bi.ty.t Nbw.t nb.t 'Twn.t M3ʕ.t wr.t ḥnt ḥ.t-sšš.t šʕ.t pw n wn tw.t.n=s n ntr m sn.t r=s 68,7 šps.t ḥtp ḥr mtw.t-k3 H.t-ḥr wr.t nb.t 'Twn.t*

¹⁵⁸⁸ Lit. "the beloved land," referring to Egypt.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 360, identifies *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.

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 *ṯhn.t*-powder and gold dust. See Goyon, Répondre l'or, 85-100.

¹⁵⁹¹ Wb II, 20, 3-4; Cauville Dend Trad III, p. 137, translates, "afin de l'exercer pour les dieux éternellement."

Doc 55 – South Wall, 1st Register, West Side: D III, 78,15 – 79,15

Translation	Transliteration
<p>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)¹⁵⁹² belongs to your Ka in your chapel. You judge¹⁵⁹³ 79,2 this land in rectitude (=Ma'at). You collect the tribute from the four corners of heaven.</p> <p>HARSOMTUS THE CHILD 79,3 Words to say by Harsomtus the Child, son of Hathor, Beautiful child 79,4 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.</p> <p>KING 79,5 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt () , son of Ra () , heir of the Baboon,¹⁵⁹⁴ 79,6 engendered by the Judge,¹⁵⁹⁵ the Living flesh (i.e. son and successor) of the One who knows the Two Lands.¹⁵⁹⁶</p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE The Good God lives, son of the Lord of Hermopolis,¹⁵⁹⁷ Excellent heir of the Judge of the combatants,¹⁵⁹⁸ the Overseer of the city 79,7 who is impartial¹⁵⁹⁹ and devoid of wavering,¹⁶⁰⁰ who triumphs over inequity, who increases awe-inspired terror¹⁶⁰¹ (=Ma'at), the Lord of</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 78,15 <i>hnk m3^c.t dd mdw m-n=t m3^c.t, 79,1 M3^c.t m 'Iwn.t šfy.t hr k3=t hnt hm=t wp=t 79,2 t3 pn m tp-nfr hb=t inw m ifdw nw nn.t</i></p> <p>HARSOMTUS THE CHILD 79,3 <i>dd mdw in Hr-sm3-t3.wy p3 hrd s3 H.t-hr nhn 79,4 nfr n Nbw.t ir.n=i sšš.t m tp=t nfr r štp k3=t m ih.t hm.t=t</i></p> <p>KING 79,5 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () iw^c n ^cn 79,6 wtt n wpw h^cw-^cnh n ^cm-t3.wy</i></p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE ^cnh ntr nfr s3 nb Hmnw iw^c mnḥ n wp-rḥ.wy imy-r niw.t 79,7 n rdi.t hr gs šw m it-in bhḥn grg swr šfy.t nb m3^c.t nsw.t-bi.ty () BEHIND HIM: 79,8 <i>s3 ^cnh w3s nb ḥ3=f mi</i></p>

¹⁵⁹² 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 Nile*, 92-93, suggests that *mysterium tremendum* perhaps best evokes the underlying emotional response to the *šfy.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, Thot, 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: ^cm-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, Thot, 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 *šfy.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 *d.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 resides¹⁶⁰² 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 (*nḥm*) 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^c d.t

ISIS

79,9 *dd in 3s.t wr.t mw.t ntr nb.t*
T3.t-di ḥry.t-ib Ṭwn.t ity.t m šn n
itn 79,10 p^cp^c m Ṭwn.t m grḥ nḥn
m sš=f ḥk3.t ḥtp ḥr M3^c.t šps.t
wsr.t ḥnty.t ḥ-šps.t 79,11 wd
mdw n ntr.w ntr.wt di=i n=k t3 pn
ḥnm.ti m ḥḥ r nb ḥpr.ti m m3^c.t

HARSOMTUS

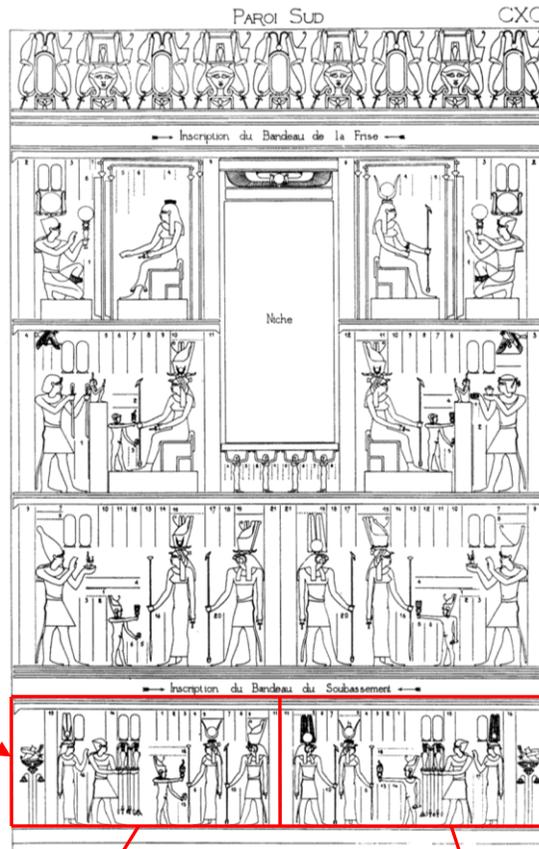
79,12 *dd mdw in Ḥr-sm3-t3.wy nb*
Ḥ3di ntr ḥry-ib Ṭwn.t Bik ntry
ḥr srḥ 79,13 nb nḥḥ ḥḥ m m3^c.t

DIVINE RANDZEILE

di=i n=k ḥr.w ḥngg n m33=k
t3.wy nḥm n=k 79,14 nsw.yt-
bi.ty.t ity.t n.t ity.w ḥk3.t ḥk3 ifd.w
nw nn.t šps.t wsr.t ḥnw.t ntr.wt ir
tp-nfr m šn n itn ṭḥn.t ḥr 79,15
hrw ḥr m3^c.t 3s.t wr.t mw.t ntr

¹⁶⁰² 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.

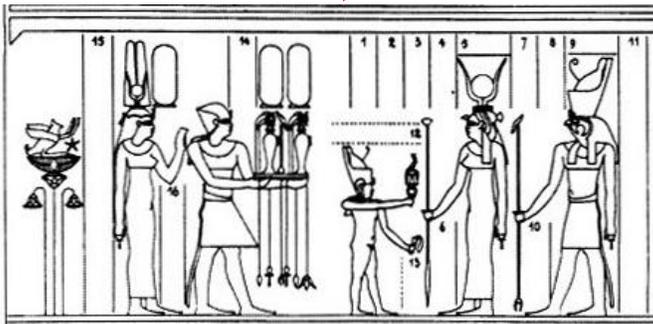
South Wall, Base



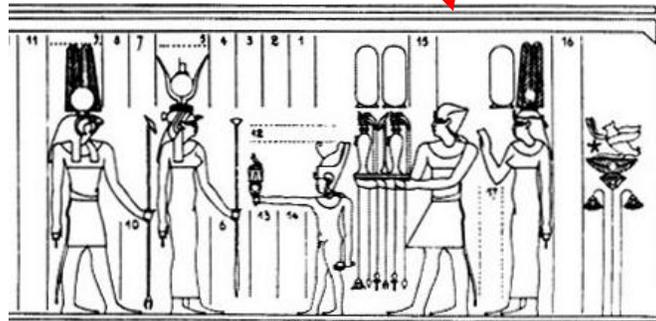
Base
East Side
Doc 56
D III, 62,12 –
63,10

Base
West Side
Doc 57
D III, 74,12 –
75,11

D III, pl. 190, © IFAO



South Wall, Base, East Side



South Wall, Base, West Side

Doc 56 – South Wall, Base, East Side: D III, 62,12 – 63,10

Translation	Transliteration
<p>(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.</p> <p>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 <i>rh.yt</i>-people live. I give you the primordial water, abundant at its time.</p> <p>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 with her father Nun; what exists, 63,4 came into being when she shines.</p> <p>IHY 63,5 Ihy-nun,¹⁶⁰³ son of Hathor: Playing¹⁶⁰⁴ the sistrum for his mother.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE He brings you (f.) the two <i>nms.t</i>-jars filled with</p>	<p>(NO TITLE) HATHOR 62,12 <i>dd in H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t Ir.t-R^c nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w šps.t</i> 62,13 <i>wsr.t hnt h.t-sšš.t thn(.t) hr hnt Psd.t hpr hnt hr it=s Nwn hpr ih.t nb.t m-ht hpr=s di=i n=k</i> 62,14 <i>H^cpy hr hw.t r nw=f</i></p> <p>HORUS OF EDFU 63,1 <i>dd in Hr Bhd.ty ntr 3 nb p.t R^c-Hr-3h.ty hnt s.t wr.t wbn</i> 63,2 <i>r s^cnh rhy.t di=i n=k nwn wr.ti r tr=f</i></p> <p>DIVINE RANDZEILE 63,3 <i>nsw.yt bi.ty.t wr.t m Iwn.t s3.t Ir-t3 hnt h.t-sšš.t hpr hnt hr it=s Nwn hpr wnn.t</i> 63,4 <i>m wbn{r}=s</i></p> <p>IHY 63,5 <i>Thy-nwn s3 H.t-hr ir(.t) sšš.t n mw.t=f</i></p> <p>KING 63,6 <i>ii.n nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () hr=t</i> 63,7 <i>H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t Ir.t-R^c</i></p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>in=f n=t nms.ty hn^c.ti m</i></p>

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.

<p>primordial water, it satisfies your heart with the water of rejuvenation, the Hereditary Princess is behind him,¹⁶⁰⁵ the <i>rhy.t</i>-people 63,8 are behind him. BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for <i>d.t</i>-eternity. QUEEN 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 63,10 your heart with the libations.</p>	<p><i>nwn sh̄tp=f ib=t m mw-rnp r-p^c.t r-ht=f rhy.t 63,8 hr s3=f hr rdi(.t) i3w n k3=t BEHIND HIM: s3 ^cnh w3s nb h3=f mi R^c d.t</i> QUEEN 63,9 <i>hk3.t nb(.t) t3.wy () šsp m-^c=f wt hm.t=t sh̄tp=f 63,10 ib=t m kbh.w</i></p>
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Doc 57 – South Wall, Base, West Side: D III, 74,12 – 75,11

Translation	Transliteration
<p>(NO TITLE) ISIS 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 74,13 in his cavern, who was put on earth upon the 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). HARSOMTUS 75,1 Words to say by Harsomtus, Lord of Khadi [the Great God]* in Iunet,¹⁶⁰⁶ the great snake (lit. "son of the earth") who came forth from the lotus,¹⁶⁰⁷ the Divine God 75,2 [who came into being]¹⁶⁰⁸ in the beginning,¹⁶⁰⁹ [the snake¹⁶¹⁰]* who came forth from the Nun: I give to you the flood water subsided.</p>	<p>(NO TITLE) ISIS 74,12 <i>dd in 3s.t wr.t mw.t ntr nb(.t) B.t-di hry(.t)-ib Twn.t Spd.t sty H^cpy 74,13 m tph.t=f di(.t) r t3 tp t3-n-Itmw in mw.t=s Nw.t m h.t-Nw.t di=i n=k kr.ty hr k3^c imy=f</i> HARSOMTUS 75,1 <i>dd mdw in Hr-Sm3-t3.wy nb H3di [ntr 3]* hry-ib Twn.t s3-t3 wr pr m nhb ntr ntry 75,2 [hpr] hnt [s3-t3]* pr m nwn di=i n=k nwy nn.ti</i></p>

¹⁶⁰⁵ *r-ht=f*, "behind him." Cf. *r-s3=f*, "behind him" in the following clause.

¹⁶⁰⁶ This string of epithets is well attested for Harsomtus at Dendera, allowing the insertion of *ntr 3* 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.

¹⁶⁰⁷ See Quaegebeur, Somtous l'Enfant, 113-121; Waitkus, Geburt des Harsomtus, 272-294.

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  (L1:D153).

¹⁶⁰⁹ This epithet refers to the origin of the gods. Parallel phrasing at Dendera suggests that the lacuna held the word *hpr*, in the epithet, *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 *ntr ntry* is attested for Horus (D III, 68,4); the phrase *hpr hnt* for Hathor (D III, 62,13; 63,3; 95,17).

¹⁶¹⁰ This lacuna may have held  *s3-t3* ("snake," lit. "son of the earth"), an epithet of Harsomtus as a primeval snake, (D III, 133,1: *Hr-sm3-t3.wy m s3-t3*, "Harsomtus is the snake"). Alternatively, it may be  *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). At Edfu, *s3-t3* has

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 flood¹⁶¹¹ **75,4** the Two Lands with what exists.

IHY

75,5 Ihy-wab,¹⁶¹² son of Hathor: **the sš.t-sistrum is in my right hand, I make pass away from you 75,6** rage, **the menit-necklace is in (my) left hand, driving away evil.**¹⁶¹³

KING

75,7 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt ()|, son of Ra ()| has come before you (f.), **75,8** Isis the Great, Mother of the god

ROYAL RANDZEILE

He brings you the *hs*-vases supplied with flood water¹⁶¹⁴ in order to refresh your heart with the flood water, the great one (f.) of the *hts*¹⁶¹⁵ **75,9** 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 **75,11** what comes forth from the Nun.

DIVINE RANDZEILE

75,3 *nswy.t-bi.ty.t ity.t n.t t3 p^cp^c.tw=s m B.t-di Spd.t wr.t sty H^cpy m tph.t=f r b^ch* **75,4** *t3.wy m wnn.t*

IHY

75,5 *Thy-w^cb s3 H.t-hr sš.t=i m wnm^y=i sn=i n=t* **75,6** *nšn mni.t m i3b(=i) hr dr [mn.t]**

KING

75,7 *ii.n nsw.t-bi.ty ()| s3 R^c ()| hr=t* **75,8** *s3.t wr.t mw.t ntr*

ROYAL RANDZEILE

in=f n=t hs.wt sdf3.ti m srf r skbh ib=t m nwy wr.t-hts **75,9** *m-ht=f rhy.t hr s3=s hr di(.t) i3w m hr=t* **BEHIND HIM:** *s3 εnh w3s nb h3=f mi R^c d.t*

QUEEN

75,10 *hk3.t nb(.t) t3.wy ()| šsp m-ε=f s3=t mry=t htp hr=t m* **75,11** *pr m nwn*

primordial connections, since the ancestral gods of Edfu are the *s3-b dsrw*, sacred snakes protecting the One dappled of plumage (=Horus Behdety) (E VII, 107,16); the cosmological god of Edfu has *s3-b* on his head (E VI, 186,5).

¹⁶¹¹ Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 146, transliterates the infinitive as *b^chy*.

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 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 the Southern Niche of the Per-wer (west wall, D III, 97,1-2), the most sacred part of the principal chapel of Hathor at Dendera.

¹⁶¹³ The scribal error, recognized as such by Chassinat (D III, 75,6), are , suggesting that the correct writing

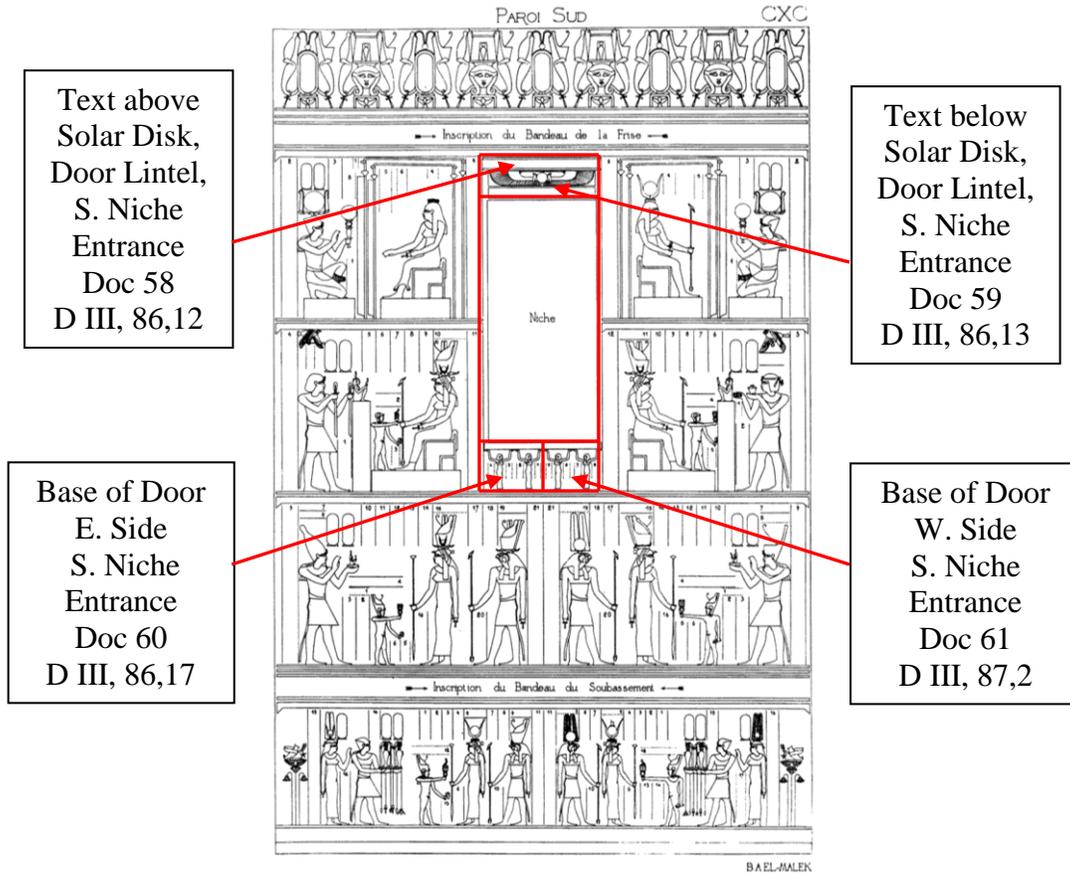
should have been , which appears in D X, 108,4, or perhaps simply, , correcting an erroneous top sign and the direction in which the pustule, , faces.

¹⁶¹⁴ The noun, *srf*, "flood water" (Wb IV, 197,11-13), derives from the verb *srf*, "to rest" (Wb IV, 197, 5-9), bringing to mind the image of water that comes to "rest" upon the land (as suggested by Wilson, PL 885).

¹⁶¹⁵ *wr.t-hts*, the title of a queen, applied also to goddesses in GR (Wb III, 202,9-12), translated as "Great One of the *hts*-scepter" by Troy, Queenship, 81. 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*  (Aa30) and may actually be part of a *hkr* frieze formalized as an offering, as suggested by Wilson, PL 691.

South Wall, Framing of Entrance to Southern Niche



Text above
Solar Disk,
Door Lintel,
S. Niche
Entrance
Doc 58
D III, 86,12

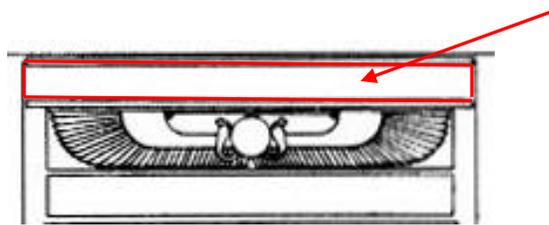
Text below
Solar Disk,
Door Lintel,
S. Niche
Entrance
Doc 59
D III, 86,13

Base of Door
E. Side
S. Niche
Entrance
Doc 60
D III, 86,17

Base of Door
W. Side
S. Niche
Entrance
Doc 61
D III, 87,2

D III, pl. 190, © IFAO

Doc 58 – South Wall, Text above Solar Disk: D III, 86, 12



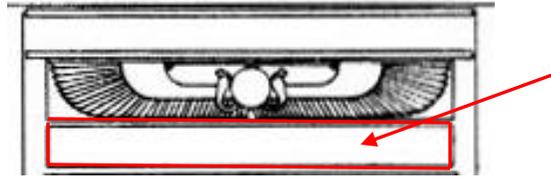
Translation

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.

Transliteration

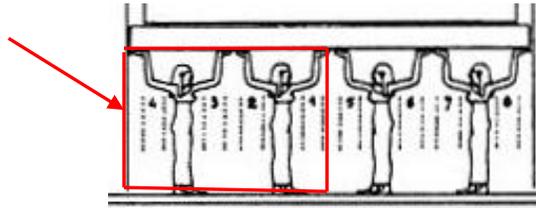
86,12 *Bḥd.ty nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t s3b
šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t nb Msn nṯr ʿ3 nb
p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t*

Doc 59 – South Wall, Text below Solar Disk: D III, 86,13



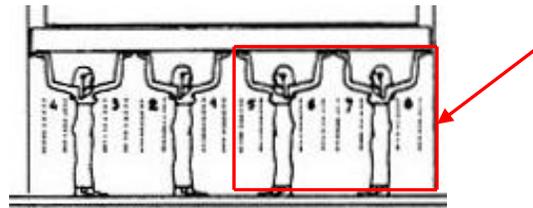
Translation	Transliteration
86,13 The great image of Horus Behdety, the Great God, Lord of heaven. The noble image of Horus Behdety, the Great God, Lord of heaven.	86,13 <i>sšḫ wr n Hr-Bḥd.ty ntr ʿ3 nb p.t sšḫ šps n Hr-Bḥd.ty ntr ʿ3 nb p.t</i>

Doc 60 – South Wall, Base of Door, East Side: D III, 86,17



Translation	Transliteration
86,17 East: She who carries. South: She who carries	86,17 <i>Iḫ.t.t Hy.t Rsy(.t) ʿḥy.t</i>

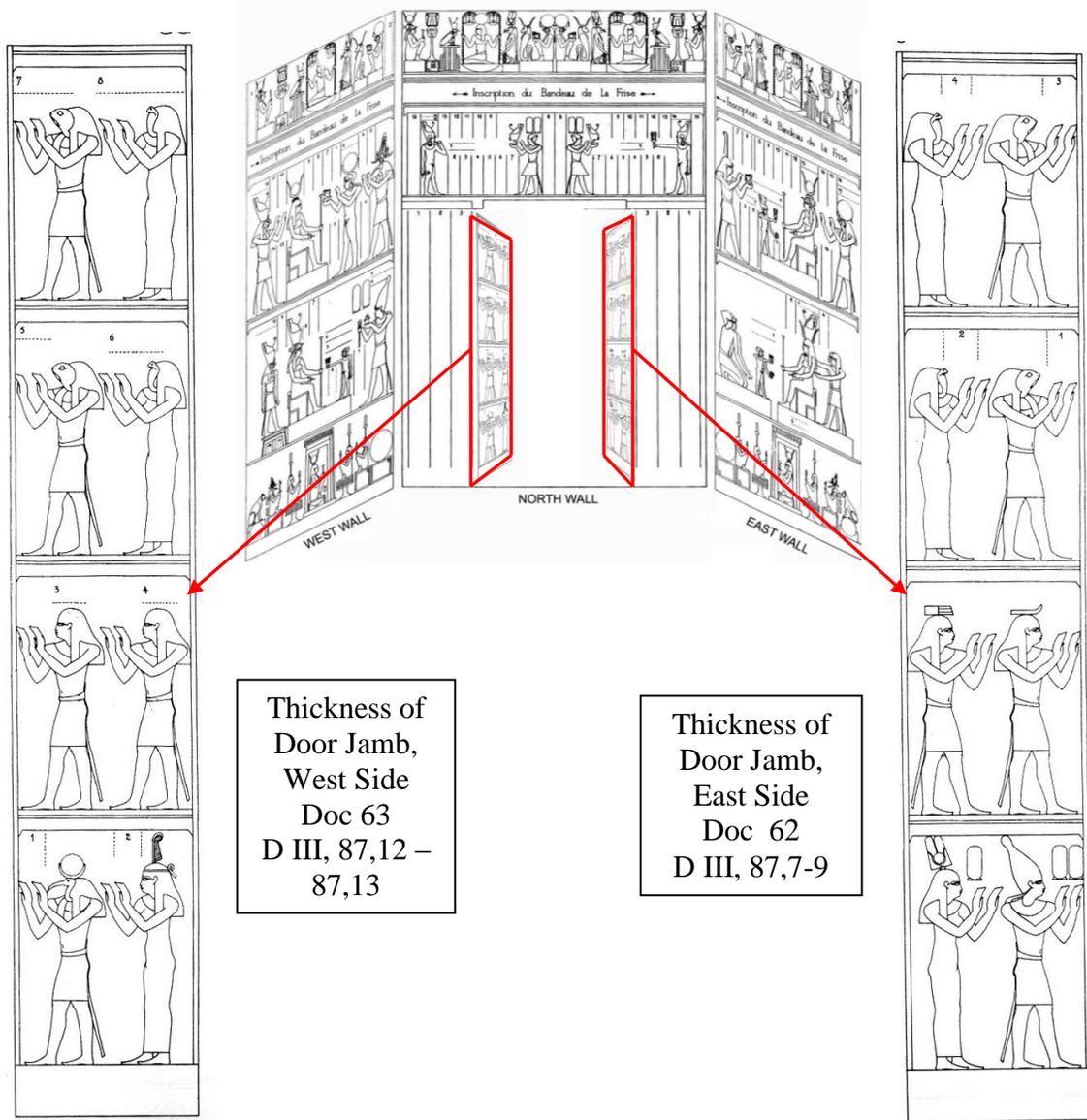
Doc 61 – South Wall, Base of Door, West Side: D III, 87,2



Translation	Transliteration
87,2 West: She who carries. North: She who carries	87,2 <i>Imn.t.t F3y.t Mḥ.t.t Tw3y.t</i>

7.6 Southern Niche

Thickness of Door Jambs, Southern Niche D III, pl. 190, © IFAO



Doc 62 – Southern Niche, Thickness of Door Jamb, East Side: D III, 87,7-9

For discussion of the figures depicted in Docs 62 and 63, see Section 5.3.2.

Translation	Transliteration
<p>87,7 FIRST REGISTER no. 1 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () son of Ra () no. 2 Female ruler () 87,8 SECOND REGISTER no. 1 [without caption] no. 2 [without caption] 87,9 THIRD REGISTER no. 1 Heh no. 2 Hauhet FOURTH REGISTER no. 1 Amun no. 2 Amaunet</p>	<p>87,7 FIRST REGISTER no. 1 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty</i> () <i>s3 R^c</i> () no. 2 <i>Hk3.t</i> () 87,8 SECOND REGISTER no. 1 [without caption] no. 2 [without caption] 87,9 THIRD REGISTER no. 1 <i>Hh</i> no. 2 <i>Hh.t</i> FOURTH REGISTER no. 1 <i>Imn</i> no. 2 <i>Imn.t</i></p>

Doc 63 – Southern Niche, Thickness of Door Jamb, W. Side: D III, 87,12-13

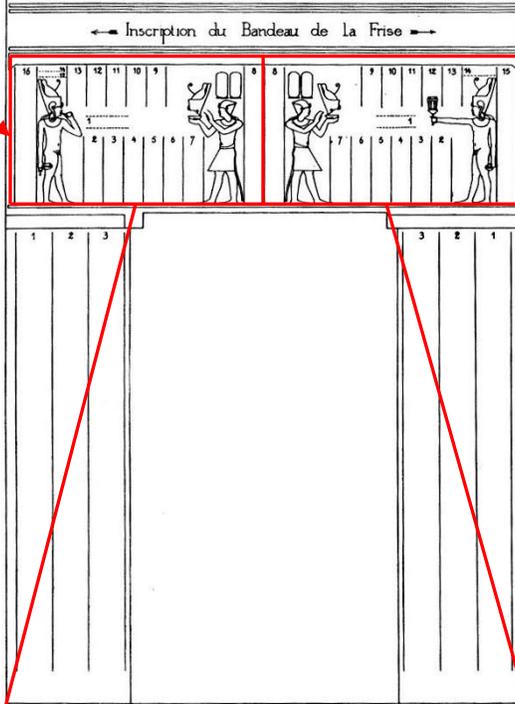
Translation	Transliteration
<p>87,12 FIRST REGISTER no. 1 Thoth no. 2 Ma'at SECOND REGISTER no. 1 Ir no. 2 Sedjem 87,13 THIRD REGISTER no. 1 Niau no. 2 Niaut FOURTH REGISTER no. 1 Kek no. 2 Kauket</p>	<p>87,12 FIRST REGISTER no. 1 <i>Dhwty</i> no. 2 <i>M3^c.t</i> SECOND REGISTER no. 1 <i>Ir</i> no. 2 <i>Sdm</i> 87,13 THIRD REGISTER no. 1 <i>Niw</i> no.2 <i>Niw.t</i> FOURTH REGISTER no. 1 <i>Kkw</i> no. 2 <i>Kk.t</i></p>

Southern Niche, North Wall, Lintel

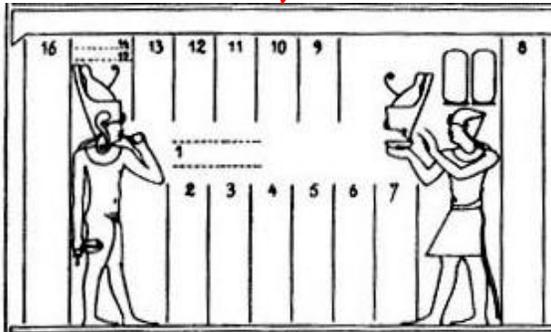


Lintel,
West Side
Doc 65
D III,
89,12 – 90,8

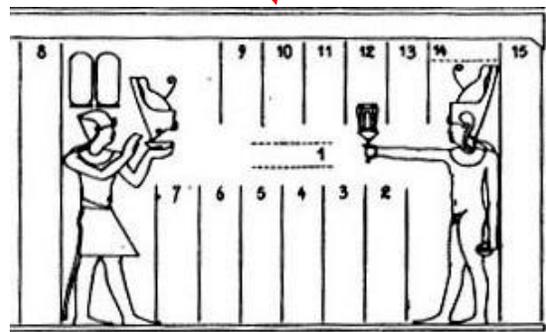
Lintel,
East Side
Doc 64
D III,
88,18 – 89,9



D III, pl. 201, © IFAO



Southern Niche, North Wall, Lintel, West Side



Southern Niche, North Wall, Lintel, East Side

Doc 64 – Southern Niche, North Wall, Lintel, East Side: D III, 88,18 – 89,9

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 88,18 Offering the double crown. Words to say: Take for yourself 89,1 the white crown of Upper Egypt¹⁶¹⁶ united with the red crown of Lower Egypt, the uraeus is distinguished¹⁶¹⁷ 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,¹⁶¹⁸ Lord of the <i>sšš.t</i>-sistrum, Ruler of the merit-necklace. BEHIND HIM: 89,6 all protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, <i>d.t</i>-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 terror¹⁶¹⁹ among 89,8 the gods, Lord to the Limit, Ruler of the Ennead,¹⁶²⁰ 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</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 88,18 <i>h̄nk šhm.ty dd mdw m-n=k</i> 89,1 <i>šm^c=s h̄nm.ti m m̄hw=s tp.t</i> <i>tn.ti m tp=k</i> 89,2 <i>hd.t n(.t) dmd</i> <i>m hn=k nswy.t=k nswy.t n(.t) R^c</i> <i>stwt.n=k</i> 89,3 <i>sn ntk nb=sn</i> <i>swr=sn šfy=k r šhm.w</i> KING 89,4 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () </i> ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>dd mdw ii.n=i</i> 89,5 <i>hr=k hi h̄nt</i> <i>Iwn.t in=i n=k hp.t 'pr.ti m irw=f</i> <i>tw=t ntr '3 'n h^cw m Ntry.t nb</i> <i>sšš.t h̄k3 mni.t</i> BEHIND HIM: 89,6 <i>s3 'nh w3s nb h3=f mi R^c d.t</i> IHY 89,7 <i>dd mdw in Ihy wr s3 H.t-hr</i> <i>p3 ntr '3 wbn 'nh.tw n m33=f spd</i> <i>irw '3 šfy.t h̄nt</i> 89,8 <i>ntr.w nb (r) dr</i> <i>h̄k3 Psd.t s3 šps sdy n Ir.t-R^c m̄h</i> <i>h3.t=f m šhm.ty</i> DIVINE RANDZEILE <i>dd mdw ii.ti m h̄tp</i> 89,9 <i>nsw.t šm^c</i> <i>ity bi.ty m̄hw šsp.n=i šhm.ty=k</i></p>

¹⁶¹⁶ 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.

¹⁶¹⁷ Lit., "raised up." See discussion of the verb *tni*, "raise up" in 5.1.4.

¹⁶¹⁸ *Ntry.t*, "the (female) Divine," or "Netjeryt," as a name for Dendera, created from the root *ntr*, "divine," carries allusions to its homonyms: heart (*ntri*, Wb II, 365,5-7; GR), censer (*ntri*, Wb II, 365,4; GR); natron (*ntri*, Wb II, 366,8-11; PT), beer (*ntri*, Wb II, 365,8); sacred Eyes (*ntr.ty*, Wb II, 366,16; PT), all of which relate to the daily temple rite or to Hathor as the Distant Goddess. The term, *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).

¹⁶¹⁹ 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.

¹⁶²⁰ Wb I, 559,2-14. Playful writing of the Ennead. See discussion in Beinlich, Osirisreliquien, 302-304.

your double crown, I shine in it. I give you this land,
possessing **its crowns/good things**.¹⁶²¹

wbn(=i) im=s di=i n=k t3 pn hr
nfr.w=s

¹⁶²¹ Wb II, 259,23; The word, *nfr.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

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE 89,12 Offering the double crown. Words to say: Take for yourself 89,13 the southern crown, you have seized the northern crown, you have received the Two Halves¹⁶²² (=Egypt) together,¹⁶²³ 89,14 you have seized the white crown, you have joined the red crown, the great crowns of Ra. 90,1 You have taken them upon the throne of your father in order to appear in glory with them as 90,2 King of Upper and Lower Egypt, thus the Lords of the Two Sanctuaries¹⁶²⁴ come in order to see you, and your awe-inspired terror¹⁶²⁵ goes around in the Two Lands.</p> <p>KING 90,3 King of Upper and Lower Egypt () son of Ra () </p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE Words to say: I have come 90,4 before you, child of Egypt (<i>Sn.w.t</i>). I have brought you southern and northern Egypt joined together, for you are the child among the Ennead, bright one of crowns. BEHIND HIM: All protection, 90,5 life and dominion are behind him, like Ra, for <i>d.t</i>-eternity.</p> <p>IHY 90,6 Words to say by Ihy the great, son of Hathor, Noble Child of the Eye of Ra, Beautiful lotus¹⁶²⁶ 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.</p> <p>DIVINE RANDZEILE Words to say: Welcome in peace, 90,8 Ruler in Egypt,</p>	<p>TITLE 89,12 <i>hnk šhm.ty dd mdw m-n=k</i> 89,13 <i>šm^c 3mm.n=k mh^w šsp.n=k</i> <i>psš.ty m bw-w^c</i> 89,14 <i>hf^c.n=k</i> <i>nfr.t inḳ.n=k n.t h^c.w ʕ3.w nw R^c</i> 90,1 <i>it.n=k sn hr s.t n.t it=k r</i> <i>h^c(.t) im=sn m</i> 90,2 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty ii</i> <i>sk nb.w itr.ty r m33=k šfy.t=k phr</i> <i>m B.wy</i></p> <p>KING 90,3 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () dd</i></p> <p>ROYAL RANDZEILE <i>mdw ii.n=i</i> 90,4 <i>hr=k sfy n</i> <i>Sn.w.t in.n=i n=k dmd m sp tw=t</i> <i>hy hnt Psd.t thn h^c.w</i> BEHIND HIM: <i>s3</i> 90,5 <i>ʕnh w3s nb h3=f</i> <i>mi R^c d.t</i></p> <p>IHY 90,6 <i>dd mdw in Thy wr s3 H.t-hr</i> <i>sfy šps n Tr.t-R^c nhb nfr n Nbw.t</i> 90,7 <i>snn ʕnh n Itmw hy n 3h.ty</i> <i>hntš.tw n m33=f nfr hr bnr mrw.t</i></p> <p>DIVINE RANDZEILE <i>dd mdw ii.ti m htp</i> 90,8 <i>hk3 hnt</i> <i>B3k.t</i></p>

¹⁶²² See discussion of *psš.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^c.t* for Upper Egypt, *itr.t-mh^c.t* for Lower Egypt. The two *itr.ty*, or shrine rows, thus designate Egypt as a whole. See also PL 123-124.

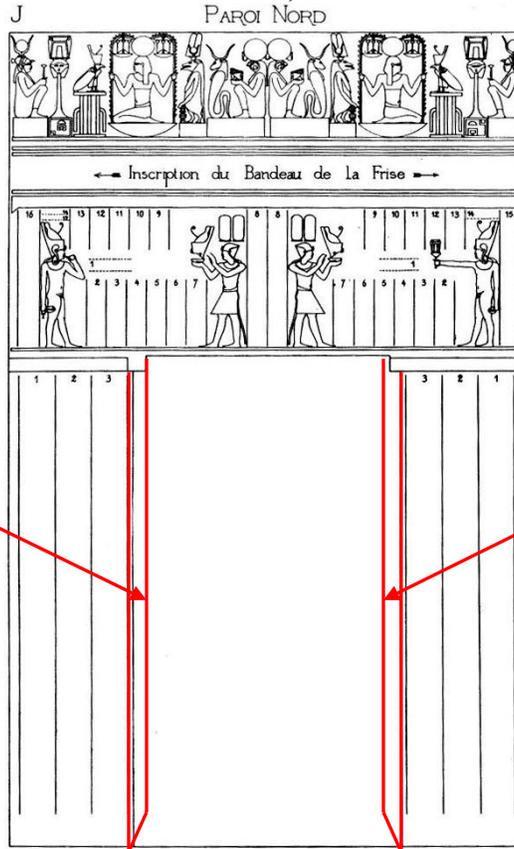
¹⁶²⁵ Wb IV, 457,2 – 459,7; PL 1004. *šfy.t*, "awesomeness; awe-inspired terror, fear, majesty," is regarded as a synonym of Ma'at in Ma'at offerings, due to its representation by the forepart (and thus throat) of the ram, because the word for throat (*mr.t*) is a close homonym of Ma'at, who was considered 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.

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.

*i*_t.*n*=*i* *h*_p.*t* *w**n* *m* ^{*c*}=*k* *p**s**d*(=*i*)
*i**m*=*s* *r*^{*c*} *n**b* *d**i*=*i* *n*<=*k*> *w**r**r*.*t* *m**n*
m *h*₃.*t*=*k*

Southern Niche, North Wall



D III, pl. 201, © IFAO

Doc 66 – Southern Niche, Door Jamb, East Side: D III, 88,1-5

Translation	Transliteration
88,1 The Good God lives, [...] of [...], the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (), beloved of Hathor, Lady of Iunet.	88,1 <i>ḥnḥ nṯr nfr [...] n [...] nsw.t-bi.ty () mry Ḥ.t-ḥr nb.t Tw̄n.t</i>
88,2 The Good God lives, born of the Powerful one (f.), son of Ra (), beloved of Harpocrates.	88,2 <i>ḥnḥ nṯr nfr msy n wsr.t s3 Rᶜ () mry Ḥr-p3 ḥrd</i>
88,3 The Good God lives, child of the Eye of Ra, King of Upper and Lower Egypt (), beloved of Ihy the Great, son of Hathor.	88,3 <i>ḥnḥ nṯr nfr hy n Ir.t-Rᶜ nsw.t-bi.ty () mry Iḥy wr s3 Ḥ.t-ḥr</i>
88,4 The Good God lives, heir of Ra, son of Ra () beloved of Harsomtus, Lord of Khadi.	88,4 <i>ḥnḥ nṯr nfr iwᶜ n Rᶜ s3 Rᶜ () mry Ḥr-Sm3-t3.wy nb Ḥ3di</i>
88,5 The Good God lives, nursed by the Golden One (f.), King of Upper and Lower Egypt () beloved of Hathor, Lady of Iunet.	88,5 <i>ḥnḥ nṯr nfr rr n Nbw.t nsw.t-bi.ty () mry Ḥ.t-ḥr nb.t Tw̄n.t</i>

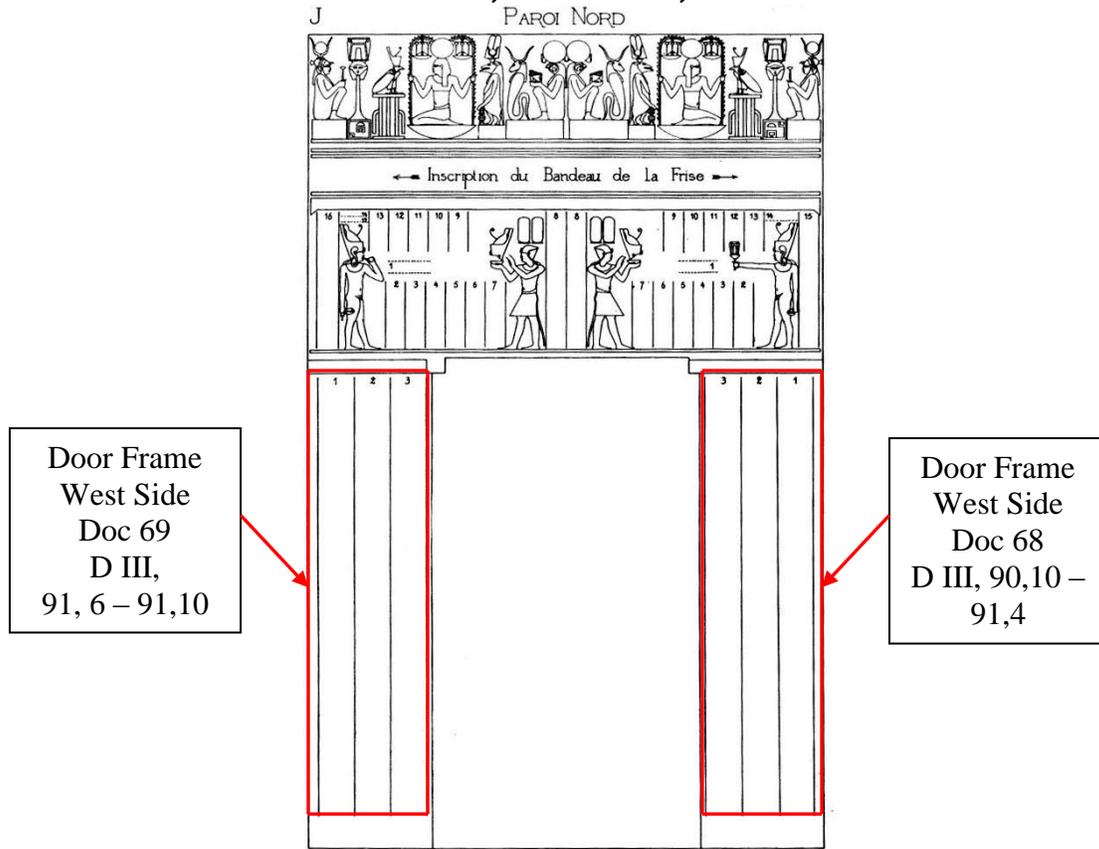
Doc 67 – Southern Niche, Door Jamb, West Side: D III, 88,8-12

Translation	Transliteration
88,8 The Good God lives, engendered by Isis, ¹⁶²⁷ the King of Upper and Lower Egypt () beloved of Isis the Great.	88,8 <i>ʕnh ntr nfr wtt n ʒs.t* nsw.t-bi.ty () mry ʒs.t wr.t</i>
88,9 The Good God lives, child of the Golden One (f.), son of Ra () , beloved of Ihy, son of Hathor.	88,9 <i>ʕnh ntr nfr hy n Nb.w.t sʒ Rʕ () mry Ihy sʒ H.t-ḥr</i>
88,10 The Good God lives, nursed by the uraeus, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt () beloved of Hathor, the Uraeus ¹⁶²⁸ of Ra.	88,10 <i>ʕnh ntr nfr rr n ḥr.t-tp nsw.t-bi.ty () mry H.t-ḥr mḥn(y).t n(.t) Rʕ</i>
88,11 The Good God lives, heir of Behdety , son of Ra () , beloved of Horus Behdety , the Great God, Lord of heaven.	88,11 <i>ʕnh ntr nfr iwʕ n Bḥd.ty sʒ Rʕ () mry Ḥr-Bḥd.ty ntr ʕʒ nb p.t</i>
88,12 The Good God lives, son of Hathor, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt () , beloved of Hathor, Lady of Iunet.	88,12 <i>ʕnh ntr nfr sʒ Ht-ḥr nsw.t-bi.ty () mry H.t-ḥr nb.t Iwn.t</i>

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 ʒs.t* or *wtt Iwny.t*.

¹⁶²⁸ The sign,  (I71), is the ideogram for *mḥn* and the abbreviation for *mḥny.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 *ḥr.t-tp*, "uraeus." The phonetic writing of the word as *mḥn(y).t* appears in D III, 82,8.

Southern Niche, North Wall, Door Frame



D III, pl. 201, © IFAO

Doc 68 – Southern Niche, North Wall, Door Frame, East Side: D III, 90,10 – 91,4

Translation	Transliteration
<p>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 (<i>m33</i>) her. The gods rejoice at seeing, Luminous One (f.) in the horizon, who</p>	<p>90,10 <i>dd mdw ind hr=t Ir.t-R^c ʕ3(.t) hpr.w [nb.t]* rn.w m-hṯ t3.wy thn(.t) msh^c m-hnt ntr.w n rh.tw 91,1 šsm=s šṯ3(.t) irw thn(.t) sšṯ3 wsr.t b3w hr it=s wr.t m p.t shḏ t3.wy m nfr.w=s ntr.t iwt.t sn.nw=s 91,2 nb(.t) mrw.t hntš.tw n m33=s tfn ntr.w n dg(.t)=s ḥ3y.t m 3ḥ.t ḥ3y t3.wy m st.wt=s itn.t 91,3 tpy.t n(.t)</i></p>

¹⁶²⁹ This epithet recalls *H.t-hr m sp.t nb.t*, "Hathor in all of the nomes," an epithet of Isis mentioned by Gutub, Hathor, 342. The phrase, "in all of her nomes," often appears after the list of the different names of Isis in the various sanctuaries. Gutub 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.

<p>illuminates the Two Lands with her rays, the Atenet 91,3 First daughter¹⁶³⁰ 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 Netjeryt,¹⁶³¹ 91,4 Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, your beautiful face is satisfied with the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ()</p>	<p><i>itn rpy(.t) nfr.t n k.t hr h_w=s n mit.t=s m ntr.wt n(.t) nfr.t n(.t) h^cw m Ntry.t 91,4 H.t-hr wr.t nb(.t) Twn.t htp hr=t nfr n nsw.t=bi.ty ()</i></p>
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Doc 69 – Southern Niche, North Wall, Door Frame, East Side: D III, 91,6-10

Translation	Transliteration
<p>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 91,7 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 91,8 rejoice for you, the sun and the moon adore you, the Souls of Pe and the Souls of Nekhen are making jubilation¹⁶³² for your Ka. Thoth the great is praising¹⁶³³ 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 benevolent¹⁶³⁵ to the son of Ra, 91,10 () .</p>	<p>91,6 <i>dd mdw ind hr=t ity.t m 3h.t nb(.t) dr hk3(.t) Psd.t i3w n=t m-hnw h šps.t hnw.t 91,7 šps.wt sw3š tw ntr.w t3.w dw3 tw ntr<.w>t hm.wt nfr.wy hr=t m pr-wr h^c R^c m hsf=t nhm n=t p.t 91,8 hr h3b3=s dw3 tw itn i^ch b3.w P b3.w Nhn (hr) ir.t hnw n k3=t Dhwtwy wr hr sw3š hm.t=t Psd.t R^c (hr) di(.t) i3w 91,9 n k3=t ntr.w h(p)r m nwn nb.w itr.ty (hr) di(.t) i3w n rn=t hr-nb hr hry.t=t H.t-hr nb(.t) T3-rr htp hr=t nfr n s3 R^c 91,10 ()</i></p>

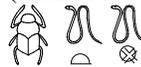
¹⁶³⁰ Wb V, 278,7-8.

¹⁶³¹ *Ntry.t*, "the (female) Divine," or "Netjeryt," as a name for Dendera, created from the root *ntr*, "divine," carries allusions to its homonyms: heart (*ntri*, Wb II, 365,5-7; GR), censor (*ntri*, Wb II, 365,4; GR); natron (*ntri*, Wb II, 366,8-11; PT), beer (*ntri*, Wb II, 365,8); sacred Eyes (*ntr.ty*, Wb II, 366,16; PT), all of which relate to the daily temple rite or to Hathor as the Distant Goddess. The term, *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).

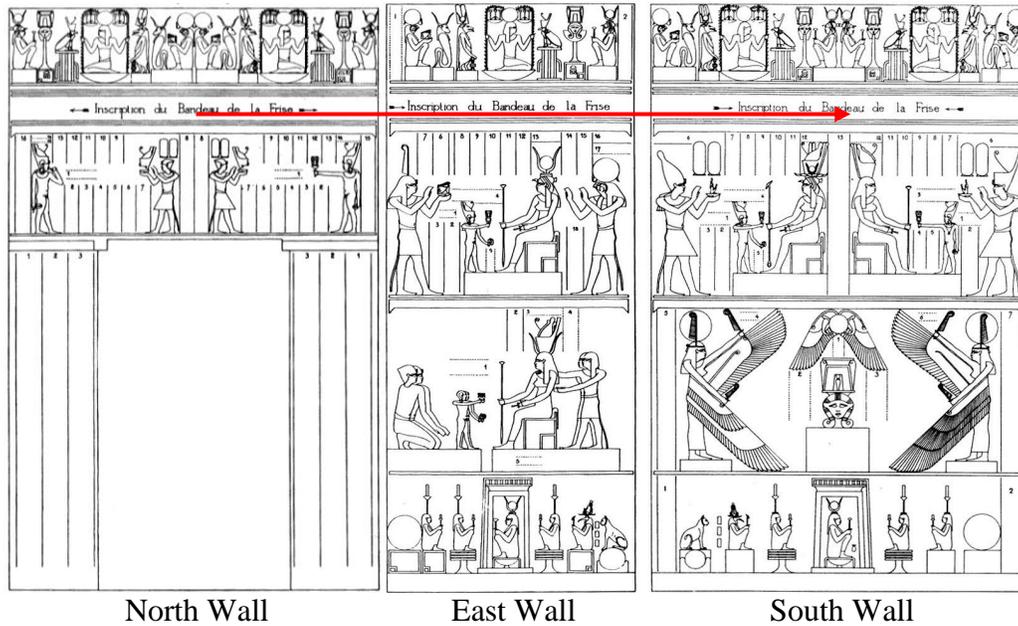
¹⁶³² *hnw*, illustrated by the stance of the figure in  (A8), which is a gesture of acclamation. See Dominicus, Gesten, 61-65.

¹⁶³³ Instead of the two flesh signs  in the verb *sw3š* ("to praise"), there should be two *w*-curls . The error is noted by Chassinat in D III, 91,8.

¹⁶³⁴ *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). Myśliwiec, Atum, 52, suggests that when written as a rebus with serpents, Tarer alludes to *T3-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: 

Southern Niche, Bandeau of the Frieze, East Side
D III, pls. 201; 202, © IFAO



Doc 70 – Southern Niche, Bandeau of Frieze, East Side: D III, 92,5-8

Translation	Transliteration
<p>SOUTH WALL 92,5 The Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rayt who reveals the interior,¹⁶³⁶ Female Ruler who rules the four corners of heaven, the Primordial One (f.), Secret One (f.)¹⁶³⁷ of image,</p> <p>EAST WALL Hidden One (f.) of form from the 92,6 ancestors, who fills the Heart of Ra¹⁶³⁸ when she shines.¹⁶³⁹ 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 <i>d.t</i>-eternity,</p>	<p>SOUTH WALL 92,5 <i>nswy.t-bi.ty.t R^cy.t wn-hnw hḳ3.t hḳ3 ifd.w nw nn(.t) š3^c.t št3(.t) irw</i></p> <p>EAST WALL <i>ihn(.t) hprw 92,6 r tpy.w-^c mḥ ib n R^c m wbn=s hwn.t mnḥ.t n.t Itmw, wsr.t-b3w hr it=s 3.t m3.ti m=hnw ḥ=t ns.t=t 92,7 pw n d.t</i></p>

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 (*R^cyt*) reveals the interior of the sanctuary with her shining appearance.

¹⁶³⁷ Alliteration of *š3/š(t)3*.

¹⁶³⁸ The epithet, *ib n R^c*, 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 Limit¹⁶⁴⁰ among the Ennead. Ra praises her with his own mouth. For a very great *nḥḥ*-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.

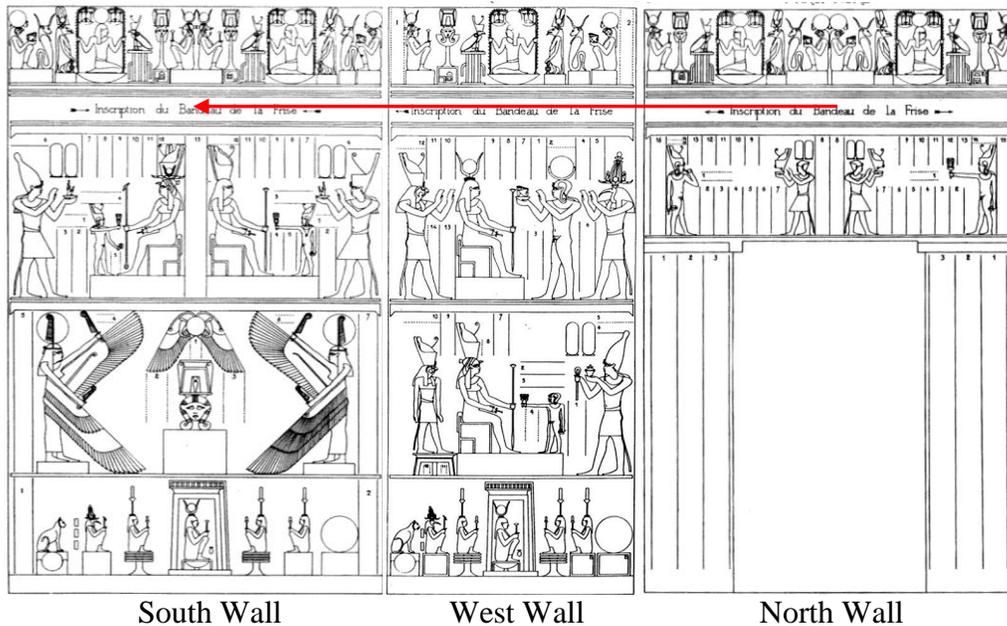
NORTH WALL

*nb(.t)-(r)-ḏr pw imy-tw Psd.t dw3
sy R^c m r3=f ḏs=f nḥḥ sp sn.nw
wbn.ti m pr=t Ḥ.t-ḥr nb.t Iwn.t
Ir.t-R^c ḥw s3=t mry=t 92,8 nsw.t-
bi.ty () | d.t*

¹⁶⁴⁰ The “limit” of the universe.

Southern Niche, Bandeau of the Frieze, West Side

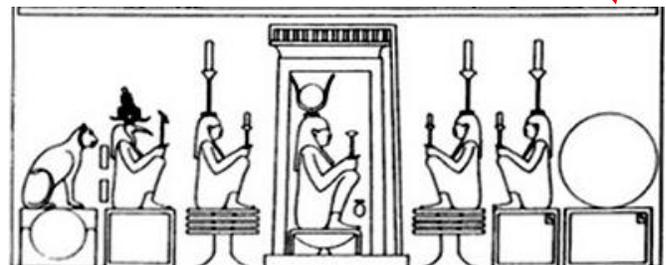
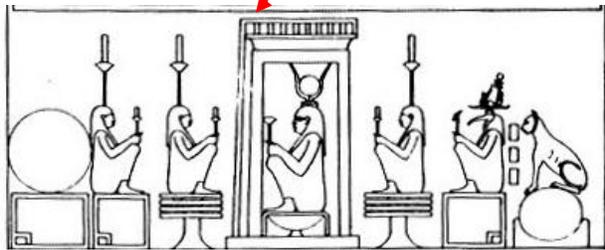
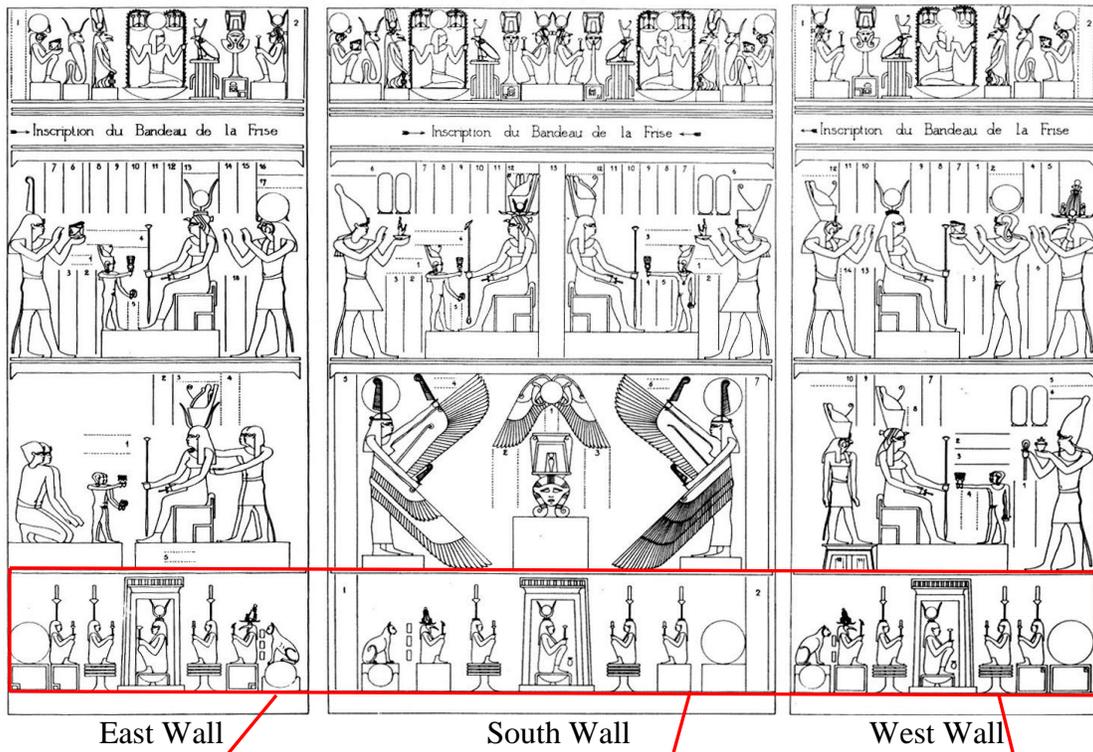
D III, pls. 201; 202, © IFAO



Doc 71 – Southern Niche, Bandeau of Frieze, West Side: D III, 92,10-13

Translation	Transliteration
<p>SOUTH WALL 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,</p> <p>WEST WALL 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.</p> <p>NORTH WALL Lady of the cities of the nomes, for a very great <i>d.t</i>-eternity, <i>d.t</i>-eternity, (you) shine in your sanctuary, Isis the Great, Mother of the God. Protect your beloved son, the son of Ra (), 92,13 for <i>d.t</i>-eternity.</p>	<p>SOUTH WALL 92,10 <i>nswy.t-bi.ty.t nswy.t n.t</i> <i>Snw.t R^cy.t r r3-^c st.wt itn ity.t</i> <i>n(.t) p.t hk3(.t) h3b3=s imn(.t)</i> <i>sšt3=s r 92,11 šhm.w</i></p> <p>WEST WALL <i>b3.t 3(.t) b3w m-ħnt ntr.w n ntr m</i> <i>sn(.t) r=s ti.t mnħ.t dd.ti m</i> <i>dry.t=s dw3 ntr.w r dw3=s r^c nb</i> <i>ntr.t w^c.t ħħ ħr 92,12 šms=s</i></p> <p>NORTH WALL <i>nb(.t) n(.t) niw.wt sp3.wt d.t sp-</i> <i>sn.nw psd m pr=t 3s.t wr.t mw.t</i> <i>ntr ħw s3=t mry=t s3 R^c () 92,13</i> <i>d.t</i></p>

Southern Niche, Base
 D III, pls. 201; 202, © IFAO

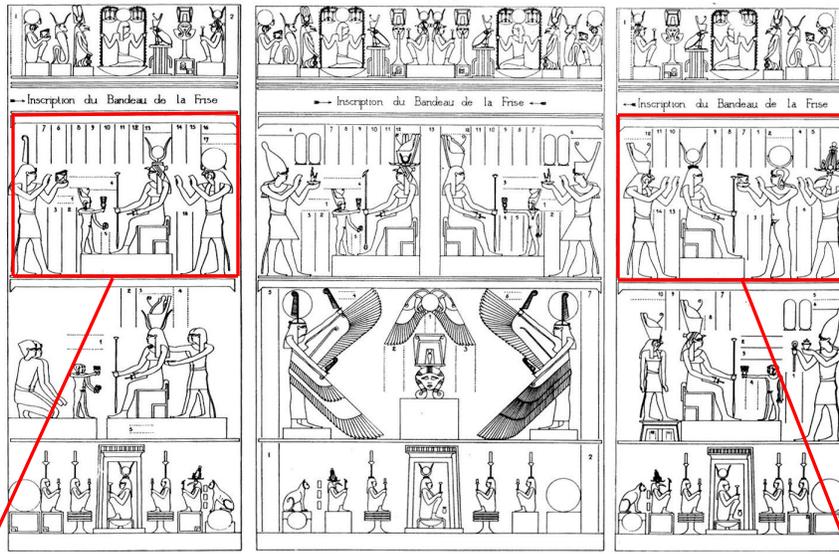


Southern Niche, Base
 Doc 72
 D III, 93,6; 93,9

Doc 72 – Southern Niche, Base, D III, 93, 6 and 9

Translation	Transliteration
<p>93,6 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.</p> <p>93,9 [repeated in ordinary writing in two columns, one on each side of south wall's base]</p>	<p>93,6 <i>pr-wr n Nbw.t dd.ti hr shm.w wr.w mi 3h.t hr itn</i></p> <p>93,9 [repeated in ordinary writing]</p>

Southern Niche, 2nd Register, East and West Walls



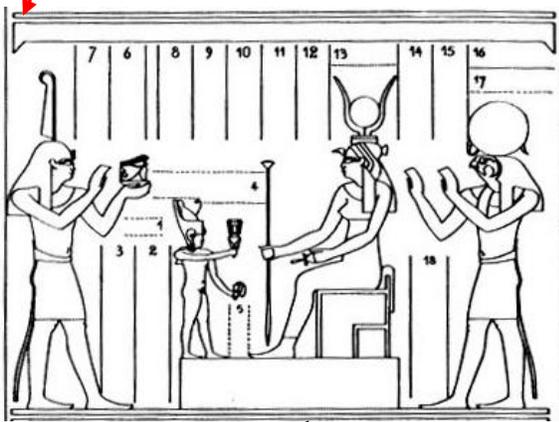
East Wall

South Wall

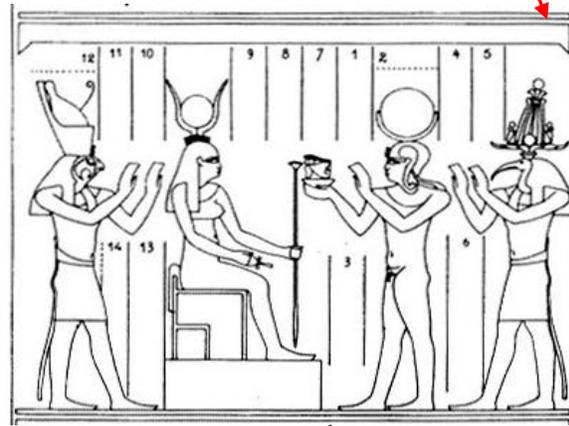
West Wall

2nd Register East Wall
 Doc 73
 D III, 94,14 – 95,7

2nd Register, West Wall
 Doc 74
 D III, 94,13 – 98,2



East Wall, 2nd Register



West Wall, 2nd Register

Doc 73 – Southern Niche, East Wall, 2nd Register: D III, 94,14 – 95,7

Translation	Transliteration
<p>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 3h.t-Eye, effective in its 3hw-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 <i>sš.t</i>-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, Horakhty 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.</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 94,14 <i>hṅk wd3.t dd mdw m-n=t wd3.t</i> 94,15 <i>wd3.ti m irw=s 3h.t 3h.ti m 3hw=s db3.ti m</i> 94,16 <i>tp-rd=s tn.ti m iry.w=s n wn dbhw m-rw.ty=s</i> IHY 94,17 <i>Thy wr s3 H.t-ḥr R^c ds=f ḥnt pr-R^c ir(.t) sš.t n mw.t=f wsr.t</i> SHU 95,1 <i>dd mdw in Šw s3 R^c {n s3 R^c t} [m s.t-R^c(?)]* nsw.t mnḥ ḥnty ntr.w</i> HATHOR 95,2 <i>dd mdw in H.t-ḥr wr.t nb.t Twn.t Ir.t-R^c nb.t p.t ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w nb.t wd3.ty šhb.t</i> 95,3 <i>mnd.ty ḥnt n.t Itm ipy.t psd ḥr wp.t n.t it=s š3^c.t š3^c t3 m [ḥpr]*=s ḥnw.t nfr.t nfr m33 sdy.t</i> 95,4 <i>ḥnt n.t d.t Ipy.t nb.t P itn.t nb.t 3h.t ti.t nfr.t mry.t R^c</i> HORUS OF EDFU 95,5 <i>dd mdw in Hr Bhd.ty ntr ḥ3 nb p.t Hr-3h.ty ḥnt Wts.t-Ḥr rdi ḥ3</i> 95,6 <i>ḥnw.t nb.t Twn.t m irw=f nfr n nb dr dwn.n=i ḥ3 ḥr.t-tp m ḥd=s mk(=i) k3=s ḥnt</i> 95,7 <i>k3.w</i></p>

Doc 74 – Southern Niche, West Wall, 2nd Register: D III, 97,13 – 98,2

Translation	Transliteration
<p>(NO TITLE)</p> <p>IHY</p> <p>97,13 Words to say by Ihy the Great, son of Hathor, Lord of the Two Udjat-Eyes,¹⁶⁴¹ Lord of the Cartouche:¹⁶⁴² I offer the Udjat-Eye 97,14 to his mother,¹⁶⁴³ the Powerful one (f.).</p> <p>THOTH</p> <p>97,15 Words to say by Thoth, the Thrice Great,¹⁶⁴⁴ Lord of Hermopolis, who pacifies the gods with his words: Hail to you, She who shines 97,16 like gold, the Udjat-Eye¹⁶⁴⁵ of Atum!</p> <p>HATHOR</p> <p>97,17 Words to say by Hathor, Lady of Tarer,¹⁶⁴⁶ Mistress of Humankind,¹⁶⁴⁷ Mistress of the Two Lands, the Shining</p>	<p>(NO TITLE)</p> <p>IHY</p> <p>97,13 <i>dd mdw in Thy wr s3 H.t- hr nb wd3.ty nb mnš hnk(=i) wd3.t 97,14 n mw.t=f wsr.t</i></p> <p>THOTH</p> <p>97,15 <i>dd mdw in Dhwtj 3 3 wr nb Hmnw shtp ntr.w m mdw=f nd hr=t wbn.t - 97,16 m-nbw wd3.t n.t Itmw</i></p> <p>HATHOR</p> <p>97,17 <i>dd mdw in H.t-hr nb.t T3- rr nb.ty.t rhy.t hnw.t t3.wy 3h.t m</i></p>

¹⁶⁴¹ There is some uncertainty in the translation of , which could be an epithet of either Ihy or Hathor in this sentence. Cauville (Dend Trad III, pp. 176-177) translates it as *nb w3d.ty* (Lord of the Two Udjat-Eyes), thus assigning it to Ihy. However, as *nb.t w3d.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 , 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 3 3 *wr* as "Thot dismégiste" (Thoth, the Twice Great). I am following Boylan, 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 *T3-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 God¹⁶⁴⁸ who resides¹⁶⁴⁹ 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** manifestation¹⁶⁵⁰ of Meh-**wer**.¹⁶⁵¹

p.t m-h3.t 97,18 wib wd3.t ntry.ti
m Ntry.t

HARSOMTUS

98,1 *dd mdw in Hr-sm3-t3.wy*
nb H3di ntr 3 hry-ib Twn.t R^c
ds=f hnt pr-R^c 98,2 di=i i^c.wy=i
h3 R^cy.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,



¹⁶⁴⁷ 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).

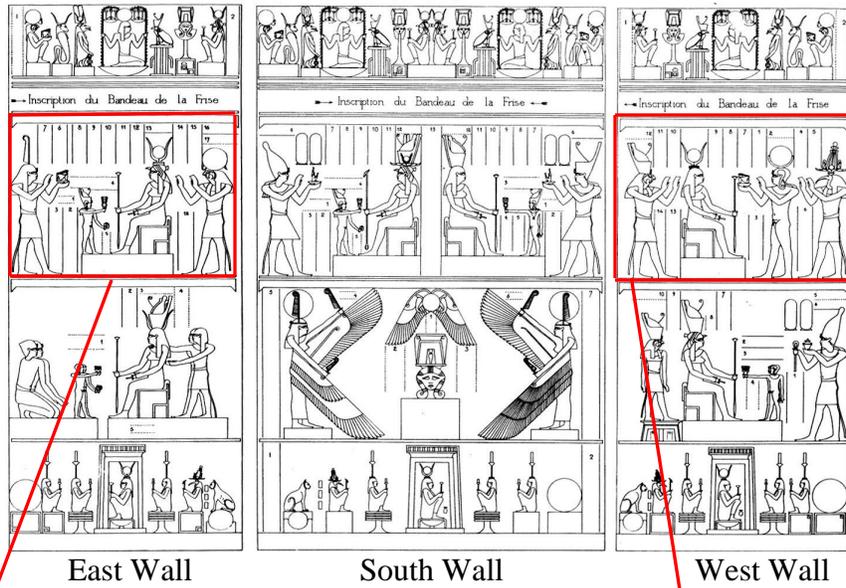
¹⁶⁴⁸ I am not entirely convinced that  (A239A) should be read as *ntr 3^c*, as suggested by Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 176-177. I would like to see further evidence of the reading (perhaps from other examples of this title, or the full spelling of the word). Another reference for this term is D VII, 14,16, cited in Cauville, Dend fonds, 22.

¹⁶⁴⁹ 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.

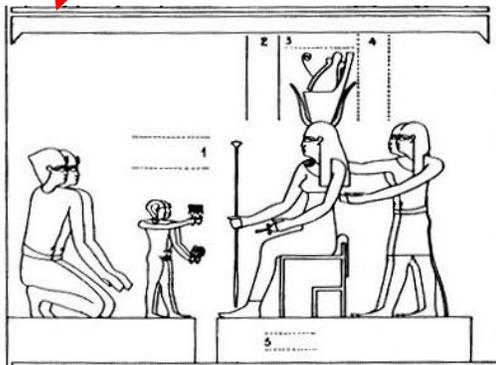
¹⁶⁵⁰ The spelling of *hprw*, which includes the flesh sign (F51B) in the original, is probably correct, despite Chassinat's indication of "(sic)." Wilson, PL 721, cites a similar spelling from Edfou IV, 13, 6-7.

¹⁶⁵¹ 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



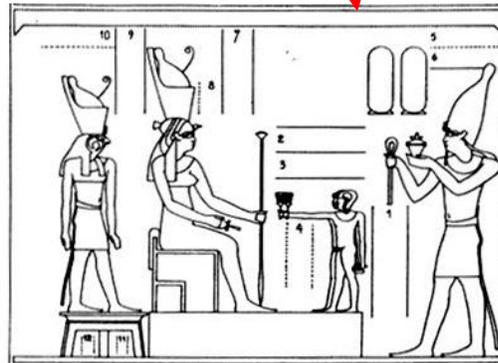
D III, pls. 201; 202, © IFAO



East Wall, 1st Register

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

Translation	Transliteration
<p>IHY 93,15 Ihy, electrum. HATHOR 94,1 Hathor, Lady of Iunet, who is in her barque.¹⁶⁵² Gold and every fine stone. TWO PERSONNAGES BEHIND HATHOR 94, 3 Black bronze, head and kilt in gold. ON BASE: 94,4 Base in electrum.</p>	<p>IHY 93,15 <i>Thy ḥd</i> HATHOR 94,1 <i>H.t-ḥr nb.t Tw̄n.t imy(.t) wi3=s nbw ʕ3.t nb.t</i> TWO PERSONNAGES BEHIND HATHOR 94, 3 <i>bi3 km, tp šndy.t m nbw</i> ON BASE: 94,4 <i>ḥ3s.t m ḥd</i></p>

Doc 76 – Southern Niche, West Wall, 1st Register: D III, 96,22 – 97,7

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE 96,22 Offering unguent and cloth to his mother, the Powerful One (f.). IHY #1 97,1 Ihy-nun in the Temple of Ihy. IHY #2 97,2 Ihy-w'ab in the Temple of Purification. Gold, height of each one of them: 1 cubit. KING 97,3 King of Upper and Lower Egypt (), son of Ra (), the equal of Shesmu 97,4 raised by Tayet. HATHOR 97,5 Hathor, Lady of <the Two Lands>, Lady of bread, who makes beer.¹⁶⁵³ Gold, height: 1 cubit.</p>	<p>TITLE 96,22 <i>ḥnk md̄.t mnḥ.t n mw.t=f wsr.t</i> IHY #1 97,1 <i>Thy-nwn ḥnt ḥ.t-Thy</i> IHY #2 97,2 <i>Thy-w^cb ḥnt ḥ.t-^cbw nbw k3 <n>* w^c im mḥ l</i> KING 97,3 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () snw n Šsmw</i> 97,4 <i>rr n T3y.t</i> HATHOR 97,5 <i>H.t-ḥr nb(.t) <t3.wy> nb(.t) t ir ḥ(n)k̄.t nbw k3 mḥ l</i></p>

¹⁶⁵² Hathor wears the same crown (double crown, two ostrich feathers framing white crown, one behind red crown; antelope horns), carrying a similar epithet *ḥry.t-ib wi3=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 *s3.t Ir-t3 km3 m ḥ^cw=f ḥpr ḥr=f m ḥ3.t*, "the Daughter of Ir-ta 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 db̄ 1*

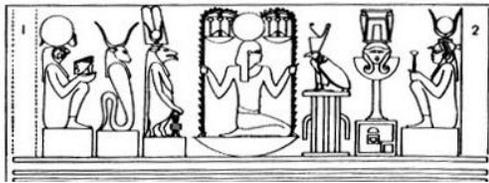
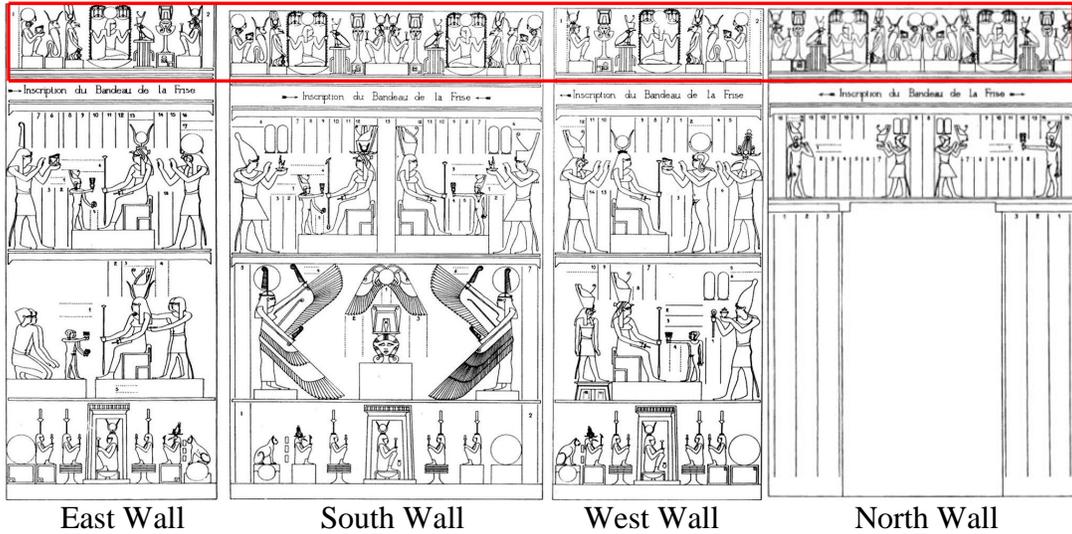
ON BASE:

97,7 *inr ḥd k3 mh 1 db̄ 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).

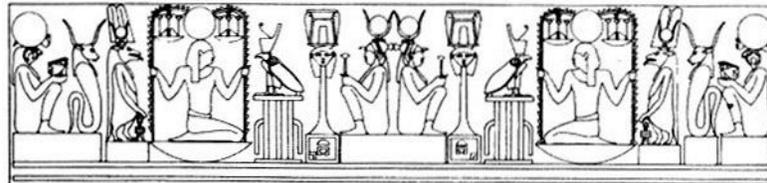
Southern Niche, Frieze D III, pls. 201; 202, © IFAO



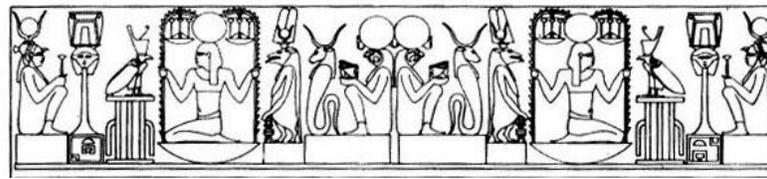
East Wall



West Wall



South Wall



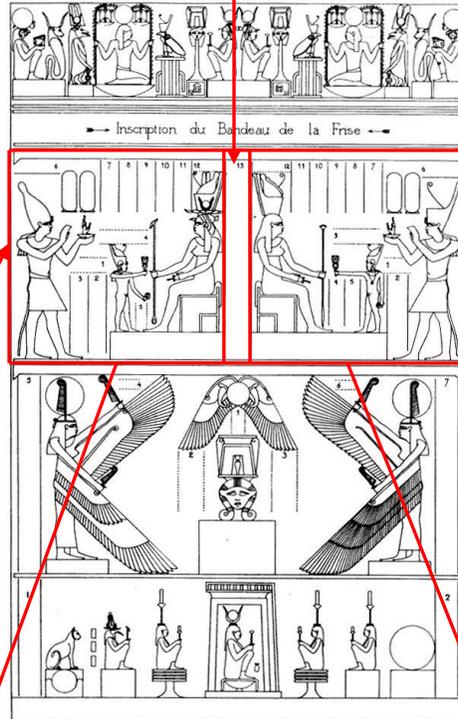
North Wall

Doc 77 – Southern Niche, South Wall, Frieze: D III, 96,10; 96,15

Translation	Transliteration
96,10 An infinity of festivals in the Temple of the Sistrum, Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra.	96,10 <i>Hḥ n ḥb.w m-ḥnt ḥ.t-sšš.t</i> <i>Ḥ.t-ḥr wr.t nb.t Twn.t Ir.t-R^c</i>

Southern Niche, South Wall, 2nd Register

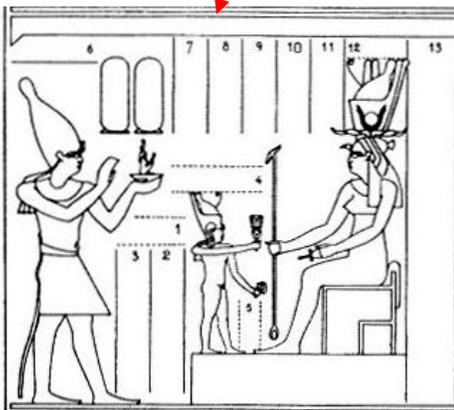
Text Column
in Common,
Docs 78 & 79
D III, 96,6



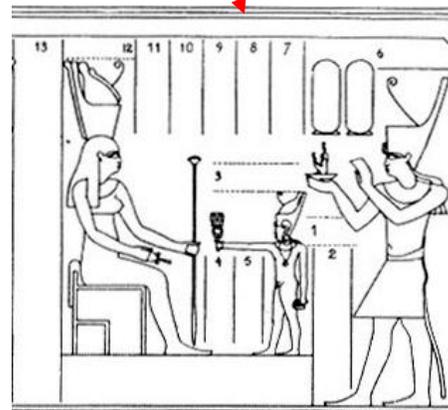
East Side
2nd Register
Doc 78
D III,
95,10-18

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

Translation	Transliteration
<p>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 say¹⁶⁵⁴ to your Incarnation, it is your body, installed in your shrine, 95,12 she is not far from you, every day.</p> <p>IHY 95,13 Ihy the Great, son of Hathor: playing the sistrum for his mother, the Powerful One (f.).</p> <p>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. BEHIND HIM: All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, <i>d.t</i>-eternity.</p> <p>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.) of the Hathors, the Atenet without (another) except 95,17 for her. She is the Primordial 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,¹⁶⁵⁵ the young woman, the Beautiful One (f.) of appearance. The gods <tremble>¹⁶⁵⁶ before the dread of her, Ipyt, Lady of Pe, 95,18 Protectress of her Father, Great One (f.)¹⁶⁵⁷ of (placing) dread among the gods.</p> <p>COLUMN IN COMMON¹⁶⁵⁸ WITH SYMMETRICAL SCENE: 96,6 Words to say: Great Lady, Beautiful One (f.) in</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 95,10 <i>hnk m3̣.t dd mdw m-n=t m3̣.t M3̣.t m Twn.t</i> 95,11 <i>M3̣.t pw (dd) k3̣.tw r hm.t=t d.t=t pw dd.ti m hd.t</i> 95,12 {m} <i>n hr=s r=t r^c nb</i></p> <p>IHY 95,13 <i>Thy wr s3̣ H.t-hr ir(.t) sš.t n mw.t=f wsr.t</i></p> <p>KING 95,14 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3̣ R^c () s3̣ Sm3̣-m3̣.t</i> 95,15 <i>iw^c n M3̣.t</i> BEHIND HIM: <i>s3̣ nḥ w3̣s nb ḥ3̣=f mi R^c d.t</i></p> <p>HATHOR 95,16 <i>dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Twn.t Ir.t-R^c M3̣.t wr.t hnt 3̣h.t-nhh tpy.t pw n.t H.t-hr.w R^cy.t n hr</i> 95,17 <i>hw=s š3̣.t pw š3̣ hp(r) hnt Itn.t mh t3̣ m nkr nbw s3̣.t Sfy sdy.t n.t h^cw <sd3̣d3̣> ntr.w m snd.t=s Ipy.t nb.t P 95,18 <i>ndty.t n.t it=s 3̣.t nrw m ntr.w</i></i></p> <p>COLUMN IN COMMON WITH SYMMETRICAL SCENE 96,6 <i>dd mdw rpy(.t) wr(.t)</i></p>

¹⁶⁵⁴ Following Allen, Middle Egyptian, 22.19, and taking the phrase (*dd*).*k3̣.tw* as *sdm.k3̣=f*.

¹⁶⁵⁵ The Child, *sfy*, is the solar god (Cauville, Dend Trad III, p. 588). It undoubtedly 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, *sd3̣*, "to tremble," and its reduplicated form, *sd3̣d3̣*, 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  (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.

Iunet, Noble and Divine Lady, Lady of the Sanctuary of the Golden One (f.) , the Feline, the Powers and the Lords of the Two Sanctuaries ¹⁶⁵⁹ who are united in Iatdi.	<i>nfr(.t) hnt 'Iwn.t šps.t ntry.t nb.t pr-Nbw.t hwn.t šhm.w nb.w itr.ty hnm hnt 'B.t-di</i>
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Doc 79 – Southern Niche South Wall, 2nd Register, West Side: D III, 98,5-13

Translation	Transliteration
<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 98,5 Offering Ma'at. Words to say: awe-inspired terror (=Ma'at)¹⁶⁶⁰ belongs to you, Mistress 98,6 and Lady of awe-inspired terror (=Ma'at), the satisfying of the god (=Ma'at) is satisfying your (f.) heart.</p> <p>HARSOMTUS THE CHILD 98,7 Harsomtus the child, son of Hathor: I have played the sistrum 98,8 in front of the face of the Lady of the Sistrum, I repel your anger, Powerful and Noble One (f.).</p> <p>KING 98,9 King of Upper and Lower Egypt (), son of Ra (), prince of <ma'at>, lord of ma'at. BEHIND HIM: 98,10 All protection, life, and dominion are behind him, like Ra, <i>d.t</i>-eternity.</p> <p>ISIS 98,11 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, 98,12 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, 98,13 the multitude acclaims her, who ordains commandments to the extent of the rays of the</p>	<p>TITLE AND FORMULA 98,5 <i>hnk m3^c.t dd mdw šfy.t hr=t hnw.t 98,6 nb(.t) šfy.t shtp ntr hr shtp ib=t</i></p> <p>HARSOMTUS THE CHILD 98,7 <i>Hr-sm3-t3.wy p3 hrd s3 H.t-hr ir.n=i sšš.t 98,8 m hr n nb.t sšš.t dr=i šhm=t Šhm-šps.t</i></p> <p>KING 98,9 <i>nsw.t-bi.ty () s3 R^c () sr n <m3^c.t> nb m3^c.t</i> BEHIND HIM: 98,10 <i>s3 ċnh w3s nb h3=f mi R^c d.t</i></p> <p>ISIS 98,11 <i>dd mdw in 3s.t wr.t mw.t ntr nb(.t) 'B.t-di hry.t-ib 'Iwn.t Tr.t-R^c nb(.t) p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w nb(.t) m3^c.t ċnh n m3^c.t</i> 98,12 <i>htp=s ir.tw=s n k3=s bh m 'Iwn.t m grh nhn m sš=f hb ċ3 n t3 dr=f ntr.t w^c.t nhm</i> 98,13 <i>n=s hhw wd mdw r-r3-^c st.wt itn</i></p>

¹⁶⁵⁹ *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^c.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.

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.

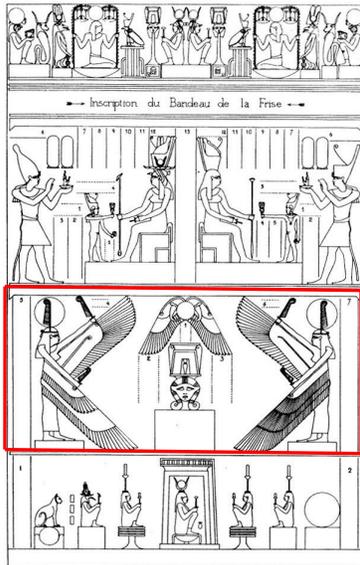
<p>Aten. COLUMN IN COMMON¹⁶⁶¹ WITH SYMMETRICAL SCENE: 96,6 Words to say: Great Lady, Beautiful One (f.) in Iunet, Noble and Divine Lady, Lady of the Sanctuary of the Golden One (f.), the Feline, the Powers and the Lords of the Two Sanctuaries¹⁶⁶² who are united in Iatdi.</p>	<p>COLUMN IN COMMON¹⁶⁶³ WITH SYMMETRICAL SCENE: 96,6 <i>dd mdw rpy(.t) wr(.t) nfr(.t) hnt Twn.t šps.t ntry.t nb.t pr-Nbw.t hwn.t šhm.w nb.w itr.ty hnm hnt T3.t-di</i></p>
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¹⁶⁶¹ 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.

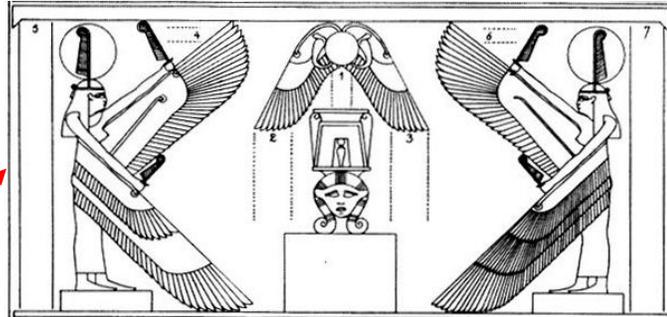
¹⁶⁶² *itr.ty*, "the Two Sanctuaries," written  (O196). Gardiner, Horus the Behdetite, 27-28, connects *itr.ty* with *itr.w*, "river channel," thus meaning a "line" or "row" of water. The *itr.ty* thus denote the two shrine rows on either side of the Sed Festival court: the *itr.t-šm.t* for Upper Egypt, *itr.t-mh.t* for Lower Egypt. The two *itr.ty*, or shrine rows, thus designate Egypt as a whole. See also PL 123-124.

¹⁶⁶³ 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.

Southern Niche, South Wall, 1st Register



Southern Niche, South Wall
D III, pl. 202, © IFAO



South Wall, 1st Register, Doc 80, D III, 94,7

Doc 80 – Southern Niche, South Wall, 1st Register: D III, 94,7

Translation	Transliteration
<p>94,7 Hathor, Lady of Iunet. Behdety, the Great God, Lord of Heaven. Lord of Mesen, the Great God, Lord of Heaven. 94,8 The divine dresser: I have enfolded in [...] Lady of (divine) Powers in protection, I protect your ka with all(?)¹⁶⁶⁴ protection. 94,9 The Protectress: I have extended my arms around your body with my wings, I surround the body of 94,10 your Incarnation.</p>	<p>94,7 <i>H.t-hr nb.t Tw̄n.t Bḥd.ty ntr ʿ3 nb p.t nb Msn ntr ʿ3 nb p.t</i> 94,8 <i>ḥbs.t-ntr sbḥ.n=i* n [...]</i> <i>nb.t šmw m ḥw.t mk=i k3=t m</i> <i>mk.t nb(.t)(?)</i> 94,9 <i>ḥwy.t</i> <i>dwn.n=i ʿ.wy=i ḥ3 d.t=t m</i> <i>dm3.ty=i inh=i ḥʿw n</i> 94,10 <i>ḥm.t=t</i></p>

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
FIP – 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 – Aegyptiaca 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 française 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)
CRIPPEL – Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille (Lille)
DAWB – Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Berlin)

DAWW – Denkschriften der kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse (Vienna)
DE – Discussions in Egyptology (Oxford)
DÖAWW – Denkschriften der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien (Vienna)
EEF – Egypt Exploration Fund (London)
FIFAO – Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Le Caire)
GOF – Göttinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe: Ägypten (Wiesbaden)
GM – Göttinger Miscellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologische Diskussion (Göttingen)
HÄB – Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (Hildesheim)
JAOS – Journal of the American Oriental Society (New Haven, Connecticut)
JARCE – Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Boston-New York-San Antonio)
JEOL – Jaarbericht van het vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap, Ex Orient Lux (Leyde)
JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago)
JSS – Journal of Semitic Studies (Manchester)
JSSEA – Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (Toronto)
KSG – Königtum, Staat, und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen (Wiesbaden)
LÄ – Lexikon der Ägyptologie (Wiesbaden)
LÄS – Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien (Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York)
MÄS – Münchner Ägyptologische Studien (Mainz)
MIFAO – Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Le Caire)
MMAF – Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française, IFAO (Le Caire)
MPSNB – Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien (Vienna)
MVÄG – Mitteilungen der vorasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig)
OBO – Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg-Göttingen)
OIMP – Oriental Institute Museum Publications (Chicago)
OIP – Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)
OLA – Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven).
OLZ – Orientalische Literaturzeitung: Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft vom Vorderen Orient und seine Beziehungen zum Kulturkreis des Mittelmeers (Leipzig)
ORA – Orientalische Religionen in der Antike: Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient (Leipzig-Heidelberg-Göttingen)
PÄ – Probleme der Ägyptologie (Leiden-New York-Köln)
PIFAO – Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Le Caire)
PSBA – Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (London)
RAPH - Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire (Le Caire)
RecTrav – Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris)
RevEg – Revue égyptologique (Paris)
SAGA – Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (Heidelberg)
SAK – Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur (Hamburg)
SAOC – Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization (Chicago)
SDAIK – Sonderschrift, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo (Mainz am Rhein)
Wb – Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache (Leipzig)

WVDOG – Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Berlin-Leipzig)
ZÄS – Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig-Berlin)

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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)

Doc No. Location	Text Ref	Location; Scene	Type	Example	Purpose
Exterior Entrance					
Doc 1 Entrance Frieze E. Side	D II, pl. 94	Chrono- crators for Tybi 11-15	none		
Doc 2 Entrance Frieze W. Side	D II, pl. 94	Chrono- crators for Tybi 16-20	none		
Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side	D II, 3,6; D II, pl. 94	Frieze East Side	Polyptoton on <i>nbw</i> (gold); imperfect pun on <i>nbi</i> (close homophone) See 2.5.3.	<i>pr-nbw.t n nbw.t nbi m nbw,</i> <i>nbw.t ntr.w wbn m-ḥnt=f</i> , "The sanctuary of the Golden One (is) for the Golden One, gilded with gold , the Golden One shines in it. <i>nbi</i> (gild) creates imperfect pun with <i>Nbw.t</i> and <i>nbw</i> . <i>Nbw.t</i> is repeated 3x.	Emphasizes gold: <i>nbw</i> (gold), <i>nbw.t</i> (golden one), <i>nbi</i> (gild).
Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side	D II, 3,7; D II, pl. 94	Frieze East Side	Polyptoton on <i>psd</i> (shine)	<i>psd.t psd.ti m-k3b=f</i> , "The shining (uraeus) shines in its (=Per-wer's) midst." Polyptoton on root <i>psd</i> (shine): f.s. active participle, with cobra determinative indicating shining (uraeus); stative <i>psd.ti</i> (shining).	Emphasizes Hathor's radiant nature.

Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side	D II, 3,7; D II, pl. 94	Frieze East Side	True pun on <i>m-k3b=f</i> (lit. "in its coils")	<i>psd.t psd.ti m-k3b=f</i> , The shining (uraeus) shines in its (= Per-wer's) midst . Prepositional phrase, <i>m-k3b=f</i> , (lit. "in its coils") alludes to Hathor's manifestation as uraeus.	Allusion to Hathor's manifestation as uraeus.
Doc 4 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze W. Side	D II, 4,2; D II, pl. 94	Frieze West Side	Repetition of <i>Nbw.t</i> (Golden One)	<i>pr-Nbw.t n Nbw.t ntr.w</i> The Sanctuary of the Golden One (=Dendera) is for the Golden One of the Gods	Emphasizes Hathor's epithet as the "Golden One."
Doc 4 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze W. Side	D II, 4,2; D II, pl. 94	Frieze West Side	Repetition of <i>nbw</i> (gold) over two cola	<i>...inh m nbw Wbn.t-m-nbw, wbn</i> <i>m-hnt=f</i> ...plated in gold , She Who Shines Like Gold shines in it.	Emphasizes that the Per-wer's decoration in gold mimics Hathor's radiance.
Doc 4 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze W. Side	D II, 4,2; D II, pl. 94	Frieze West Side	Polyptoton on <i>wbn</i>	<i>Wbn.t-m-nbw, wbn m-hnt=f</i> She Who Shines Like Gold shines in it.	Emphasizes Hathor's radiance.
Doc 5 Entrance Cornice Above Winged Disk	D III, 45,6; pl. 94		none		
Doc 6 Entrance Cornice E. Side	D III, 45,8-9; pl. 94		none		
Doc 7 Entrance Cornice W. Side	D III, 45,10; pl. 94		none		
Doc 8 Entrance E. Side Door Frame	D III, 45,13; D II, pl. 94; Mariette, D II, pl. 60a	Outer Column Text A	Antanaclasis on <i>pr=t</i> (with multiple meanings)	<i>h^c=t m pr=t...pr=t r-h?</i> You appear in your sanctuary... You go forth outside (in procession). Aural emphasis (repetition of <i>pr=t</i>), with different meanings shown visually:  your sanctuary  you go forth	Aural emphasis with visual meaning; emphasizes Hathor's procession from her sanctuary.
Doc 9 Entrance W. Side Door Frame	D III, 46,4-5; D II, pl. 94; Mariette, D II, pl.	Outer Column Text B	Polyptoton on <i>shn</i> , intensified by visual alliteration	 <i>shn <n=>t R^c m ^cwy=f(y) iw=t</i> <i>shn.ti m ^ch šps</i> Ra embraces you in his arms,	Emphasizes Hathor's embracing by Ra and her installation in

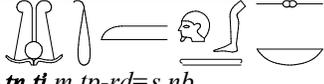
	60b		of embracing-arms sign (D32) See 5.1.1.	you are installed in the noble palace. Visual alliteration with the two embracing-arms ideograms (D32), used twice to represent the verb <i>shn</i> , but with a different meaning for each repetition.	the sanctuary.
Doc 10 Entrance E. Side Door Frame	D III, 47,2; D II, pl. 94; Mariette, D II, pl. 60d	Inner Column Text C	Polyptoton on <i>wbn</i>	<i>H.t-hr nb.t Twn.t wbn.ti m pr=s mi R^c wbn m nn.t</i> Hathor, Lady of Dendera shines/appears/rises in her sanctuary like Ra who shines/appears/rises in the sky.	Emphasizes Hathor's solar nature and compares her to Ra in the sky.
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	Alliteration on variation combinations of <i>sš/ss/sp/šp</i>	<i>sš^c wy šsp.t rmni hd šps</i> Opening the doors of the shrine , carrying the noble chapel	Emphasizes the words, "opening," "shrine," and "noble."
Doc 11 Entrance W. Side Door Frame	D III, 48,1; D II, pl. 94 Mariette, D II, pl. 60d	Inner column, Text D	Polyptoton on <i>šh</i> ; true pun on <i>šh.t</i>	<i>šh<.ty.> hn.t šh.t</i> the Horizon-dweller in the horizon The word <i>šh.t</i> (horizon) is a homophone for "temple." Spelled only with the horizon-sign  (N27), <i>šh.t</i> in this phrase is thus ambiguous and can allude to both meanings.	Equates Hathor's illumination of her temple with the illumination of the horizon.
Doc 12 Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze	D III, 48,15-16; D II, pl. 94	Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Nun	Antanaclasis of close homophones (<i>k3/k3</i>) See 5.2.1.	<i>swšš.n=i k3=t r k3 n p.t</i> I have praised your ka to the height of heaven Note: there is also a visual play on this phrase. See Doc 12 in Sign Play Table, 3.9.	Emphasizes that the King praises Hathor to the greatest extent.
Doc 12 Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze	D III, 49,5; D II, pl. 94	Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of the King	Polyptoton on <i>šh</i> ; true pun on <i>šh.t</i>	<i>ii.n=i hr=t, šh.ty.t m šh.t</i> I have come before you, Horizon-dweller (f.) in the Horizon <i>šh.t</i> can also mean "temple."	Emphasizes Hathor's solar nature, and her residence in horizon (i.e. her temple).
Doc 12 Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze	D III, 49,10; D II, pl. 94	Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Hathor	Repetition of <i>hk3</i> See 5.3.2.	<i>hk3 s3 hk3</i> Ruler, son of the ruler	Emphasizes the king's royal lineage.
Doc 13 Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze	D III, 49,17; D II, pl. 94	Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Kauket	Polyptoton on <i>r^c</i> See 5.2.1.	<i>R^cy.t hnw.t n(.t) r^c.w</i> Hail to you, Rayt, Mistress of Suns.	Emphasizes Hathor's solar nature and her primacy over the other "suns."

Doc 13 Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze	D III, 50,7-8; D II, pl. 94	Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of King	True pun on ꜥnꜥn See 5.2.2.	<i>iwꜥ n ꜥnꜥn wtꜥ n wpw</i> Heir of the Baboon (=Thoth), engendered by the Judge (=Thoth) <i>ꜥnꜥn</i> ("baboon") is homophonic with the word for "throat," thus alluding to the throat that eats or swallows Ma'at.	Makes allusion to Ma'at being inherent in the King.
Doc 14 Entrance Lower Cornice E. Side	D III, 51,5-6; D II, pl. 94		none		
Doc 15 Entrance Lower Cornice W. Side	destroyed		none		
Doc 16 Entrance E. Side Lintel	D III, 51,12-14 D II, pl. 94		none		
Doc 17 Entrance W. Side Lintel	D III, 52,13-14; D II, pl. 94 Also listed under Sign Play Also in Doc 40 (69,15)	(no title) sistra offering (Hathor); Queen's speech	Antanaclasis on close homophones (<i>m-n=t/ mni.t</i>)	 <i>m-n=t mni.t n(t) nbw</i> Take for yourself the menit- necklace of gold	Word and sign play emphasize the offering of the menit- necklace to Hathor by the Queen.
Doc 17 Entrance W. Side, Lintel	D III, 52,15; D II, pl. 94 center Also listed under Sign Play	(no title) sistra offering; Royal Randzeile	Antanaclasis on <i>hr</i> (face sign) with multiple meanings	 <i>wnn s3 Rꜥ () hr p=f hr thn hr n hnw.t=f</i> The son of Ra () is upon his throne, brightening the face of his mistress. Each <i>hr</i> has a different meaning: prep in prep. phrase (upon his throne); <i>hr</i> + inf. (brightening); substantive (face).	Repetition of face sign emphasizes meaning of sentence: king is brightening the <i>face</i> of Hathor.
Doc 18 Entrance E. Side Door Framing	D III, 53,12; D II, pl. 94	Text Column (montant)	Repetition of <i>smn</i> See 2.1.	<i>smn p.t smn t3, smn rmt</i> The sky is established , the earth is established , the people are established .	Repetition of the verb <i>smn</i> emphasizes that heaven, earth, and people are established.
Doc 19 Entrance W. Side Door	D III, 54, 2-3; D II, pl. 94	Text Column (montant)	Antanaclasis on close homophones	<i>iw=f wꜥb r ꜥb nb</i> It is pure of any impurity. Alliteration on ꜥb and turn of	Emphasizes the purity of the inundation water.

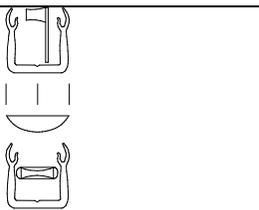
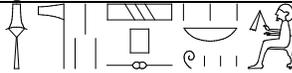
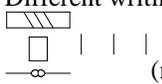
Framing				meaning from $w^c b$ (pure) to $^c b$ (impure) emphasizes the purity of the water.	
Doc 20 Entrance E. Side Thickness of door jamb	D III, 54,13	Text Column (montant)	Polyptoton on nb (all/lord) over two cola	$wr nrw m tpy.w-t3 nb.w nb m3^c.t$ Great One of Fear among all those on earth, lord of Ma'at	Repetition of nb emphasizes that the king creates fear in everyone on earth; he is lord of Ma'at.
Doc 20 Entrance E. Side Thickness of door jamb	D III, 54,14-15	Text Column (montant)	Polyptoton on $\check{s}ps$	$\check{s}ps.t wr.t nb.t \check{s}psw.t$ The noble and great lady, lady of the noble ladies	Emphasizes Hathor's nobility and her rule over the noble women.
Doc 20 Entrance E. Side Thickness of door jamb	D III, 54,15	Text Column (montant)	Polyptoton on $^c n$	$^c n.t ^c n.ti n m33=s$ The beautiful one is beautiful in seeing her	Emphasizes Hathor's beauty.
Doc 20 Entrance E. Side Thickness of door jamb	D III, 54,16	Text Column (montant)	Polyptoton on ihy	$ihy n=s ihyw$ The Ihy-children play music for you	Emphasizes music and its playing.
Doc 20 Entrance E. Side Thickness of door jamb	D III, 54,17	Text Column (épaisseur des montants)	Polyptoton on hhr	$shkr sy Tnn m hkrw=s$ Tenen adorns her with her adornments	Emphasizes Hathor's adornments.
Doc 21 Entrance W. Side Thickness of door jamb	D III, 55,6	Text Column (épaisseur des montants)	Polyptoton on ntr	$hnw.t ntr.w ntr.wt n ntr m snt r=s$ Mistress of the Gods and the Goddesses , no god is comparable to her	Emphasizes Hathor's rule over all the gods.
Doc 21 Entrance W. Side Thickness of door jamb	D III, 55,7	Text Column (épaisseur des montants)	Repetition of $\check{s}ps.t$	 $\check{s}ps.t pw m m-hnt pr-\check{s}ps.t$ The noble lady in the sanctuary of the noble lady [=Isis] Note use of different sign for each instance of $\check{s}ps.t$.	Emphasizes the epithet, "noble lady."
Doc 21 Entrance W. Side Thickness of door jamb	D III, 55,7	Text Column (épaisseur des montants)	Repetition of $rpy.t$	 $rpy.t ^c n.t m pr-rpy.t$ The beautiful noblewoman in the sanctuary of the noblewoman	Emphasizes the epithet, "noble woman."
Doc 22 Entrance	D III, 56,3;	Pied-droit de	Repetition of twr	$twr s3 twr$ The purifier , son of the purifier	Emphasizes the king's lineage as

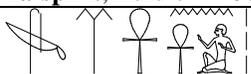
E. Side Door Jamb	IFAO photo no. 98-2224-25; Mariette, D II, pl. 60e	l'embrasure	See 2.1.		purifier-priest.
Doc 22 Entrance E. Side Door Jamb	D III, 56,5; IFAO photo no. 98-2224-25; Mariette, D II, pl. 60e	Pied-droit de l'embrasure	Repetition of <i>šps.t</i>	<i>šps.t wsr.t hnt pr-šps.t</i> the noble and powerful lady in the Sanctuary of the Noble Lady	Emphasizes Hathor's nobility.
Doc 22 Entrance E. Side Door Jamb	D III, 56,6; IFAO photo no. 98-2224-25; Mariette, D II, pl. 60e	Pied-droit de l'embrasure	Antanaclasis on close homophones (<i>šb.t/ib=t</i>)	<i>swš=i hm.t=t m šb.t ib=t</i> I adore Your Majesty with what your heart desires	Emphasizes what the goddess desires.
Doc 22 Entrance E. Side Door Jamb	D III, 56,7; IFAO photo no. 98-2224-25; Mariette, D II, pl. 60e Also listed in Sign Play	Pied-droit de l'embrasure	Polyptoton on close homophones (<i>k3/k3</i>) See 2.5.2.	 <i>šk3=i k3=t r k3 n p.t</i> I make high your ka to the height of heaven. Surrounding the word <i>k3</i> by signs of man raising arms reinforces the idea of raising the <i>k3</i> of the goddess in praise.	Emphasizes the height to which Hathor's ka is praised.
Doc 23 Entrance W. Side Door Jamb	D III, 57,5; IFAO photo no. 98-2222-23; Mariette, D II, pl. 60a	Pied-droit de l'embrasure	Repetition of <i>šps.t</i> See 2.1.	<i>šps.t hnt ḥ-šps.t</i> Noble Lady in the Palace of the Noble Lady	Emphasizes Hathor's nobility.
Per-wer Interior					
Doc 24 E. Side Bandeau of Base	D III, 60,1; pl. 184	East Wall	Repetition of <i>šps.t</i>	<i>pr-šps.t n šps.t</i> The Sanctuary of the Noble Lady is for the Noble Lady	Emphasizes Hathor's nobility.
Doc 25 W. Side	D III, 60,7; pl.	West Wall	Polyptoton on <i>ʿ3y</i>	<i>ḥts.tw ʿ3y.t=s m ʿ3y ʿ3y</i> (full writing of <i>ʿ3y sp sn.nw</i>)	Emphasizes jubilation on

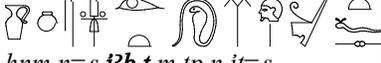
Bandeau of Base	185			Her chapel is completed in very great jubilation (lit. twice jubilation)	completion of the Per-wer.
Doc 25 W. Side Bandeau of Base	D III, 60,7; pl. 185	West Wall	Antanacsis on <i>ʕn</i>	<i>hntš pr-ʕn.t n hnw.t ʕn.t</i> rejoicing (in) the Sanctuary of the Beautiful One for the Beautiful Mistress. Shift in meaning of <i>ʕn</i> from substantive to adjective.	Emphasizes Hathor's beauty.
Doc 26 E. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 61,6; pl. 184; Mariette, D II, pl. 61a	East Wall	Polyptoton on <i>psd</i>	<i>psd Psd.t m p.t m-ʕkʒ niwt=s</i> The Shining One shines in the sky before her city.	Emphasizes Hathor's radiant quality.
Doc 27 W. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 62,2-7; pl. 185; Mariette, D II, pl. 61b	South, West, and North Walls	none		
North Wall					
Doc 28 N. Wall E. Side Lintel	D III, 58,5-6; pls. 180 and 181; Mariette, D II, pl. 66b	<i>mnw</i> -vase (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Antanacsis on <i>ihy</i> (Ihy/music) See 2.2.	 <i>sw mi Thy ir ihy n mw.t=f</i> He (=King) is like Ihy who makes music for his mother.	Emphasizes the king's role as Ihy, making music for his mother Hathor.
Doc 29 N. Wall W. Side Lintel	D III, 59,5; pl. 181; Mariette, D II, pl. 66a	Wine to his mother (Isis); Divine Randzeile (Isis)	Polyptoton on close homophones (<i>hnw/hnw</i>)	<i>hnw.t nb.t hy, nb.t hnw</i> Mistress and Lady of exultation, Lady of jubilation Wb. II 493; PL 606 (<i>hnw</i>)	Emphasizes Hathor's role in jubilation.
Doc 30 N. Wall E. Side 3 rd Reg.	D III, 72,5; pl. 184; Mariette, D II, pl. 66a	Greeting with <i>nmst</i> - jar (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Polyptoton on <i>kbh</i> See 5.1.3.	 <i>r skbh ib=t m kbhw</i> in order to refresh your heart with the libation water Wb IV, 305,14; PT (<i>skbh</i>)	Emphasizes the refreshing quality of libation water.
Doc 30 N. Wall E. Side 3 rd Reg.	D III, 72,5; pl. 184	Greeting with <i>nmst</i> - jar (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Repetition of <i>Nbw.t</i>	<i>tw=t Nbw.t m-hnt pr-Nbw.t</i> You are the Golden One in the sanctuary of the Golden One .	Emphasizes Hathor's epithet as the Golden One.
Doc 30 N. Wall E. Side 3 rd Reg.	D III, 72,5; pl. 184	Greeting with <i>nmst</i> - jar (Hathor);	Polyptoton on <i>rnp</i> See 5.2.3.	<i>hʕw=i [m] mw-rnp di=i ii n=k</i> <i>hʕpy r tr=f n rnp.t tp rnp.t n 3b</i> I purify my body [with] the water of youth , I cause that the	Emphasizes the rejuvenating qualities of the inundation

		Royal Randzeile		inundation might come to you in its time of the year , at the beginning of the year , without ceasing.	water, arriving at its proper time.
Doc 31 N. Wall W. Side 3 rd Reg.	D III, 83,13; pl. 185	Udjat offering (Hathor); title and formula	Polyptoton on <i>ntr</i>	<i>ntr.t ntr.ti r 3hw</i> The (divine) eye, purified of pain	Emphasizes the purity of the Divine Eye.
Doc 31 N. Wall W. Side 3 rd Reg.	D III, 84,2; pl. 185	Udjat offering (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Polyptoton on <i>wd3</i> See 5.1.4.	<i>nb.t wd3.ty ntr.t n.t dfd-n-wd3.t</i> Lady of the Udjat-eyes , the Divine Eye of the Pupil of the Eye	Emphasizes Hathor's connections to the Udjat and Pupil of the Eye.
Doc 31 N. Wall W. Side 3 rd Reg.	D III, 84,2; pl. 185	Udjat offering (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Polyptoton on <i>3h</i> See 5.1.4.	<i>in.n=i n=t 3h.t 3h.ti m d.t=s</i> I have brought to you the effective-eye, effective in its body (i.e. entirely).	Emphasizes the effectiveness of the Eye.
Doc 31 N. Wall W. Side 3 rd Reg.	D III, 84,2; pl. 185 Also listed in Word Play table.	Udjat offering (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	True pun (and visual pun) on <i>tni</i> See 5.1.4.	 <i>tn.ti m tp-rd=s nb</i> distinguished (lit. "raised up") in all its ritual The word <i>tni</i> , written with the sign of the double ostrich feather crown, describes the udjat as "raised up" (by the king's hand raised in offering it to Hathor); the word <i>tni</i> (as well as the ideogram used to write it) also designates the crown worn by the king in this scene.	Emphasizes the "raised up" quality of the Udjat and connects it with the king's high double feather crown (having associations with the Eye).
Doc 31 N. Wall W. Side 3 rd Reg.	D III, 84,5; pl. 185	Udjat offering (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>šsp</i> over two cola.	<i>snn n'Isdn šsp-^cnḥ n ib-n-R^c</i> <i>šsp.n=i wd3.t</i> image of Isden (=Thoth), the replica of the heart of Ra! I have received the udjat-eye, healthy in its body	Emphasizes that the king is the image of Thoth and Hathor has received the Healthy Eye.
Doc 31 N. Wall W. Side 3 rd Reg.	D III, 84,5; pl. 185	Udjat offering (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>wd3</i>	<i>šsp.n=i wd3.t wd3.ti m d.t=s</i> I have received the udjat-eye, healthy in its body	Emphasizes the healthiness of the Eye.
Doc 32 N. Wall E. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 68,11-12; pl. 31; IFAO photo no. 98-2211 Also listed	Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula	Polyptoton on close homophones (<i>k3/k3</i>) See 5.2.3; 5.3.2.	<i>dw3.n=i k3=t r k3 n p.t</i> I praise your ka to the height of heaven.	Emphasizes the height to which the king praises Hathor's Ka.

	in Sign Play				
Doc 32 N. Wall E. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 68,12; pl. 31; IFAO photo no. 98-2211	Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula	Repetition of <i>ḥ</i> See 5.2.3; 5.3.2.	<i>sn.n=i ḥ r wsh n ḥ</i> I have kissed the ground for you to (the extent of) the breath of the earth	Emphasizes the extent to which the king pays homage to Hathor.
Doc 32 N. Wall E. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 69,1-2; pl. 31; IFAO photo no. 98-2211	Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula	Polyptoton on <i>š3^c</i> See 5.2.3.	<i>š3^c.t š3^c(.t) p^cp^c n k.t ḥr ḥw=s</i> The Primordial One (f.), who was first to be born	Emphasizes the primacy of Hathor, as primordial goddess.
Doc 33 N. Wall W. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 80,5; pl. 183; IFAO photo no. 93-2210	Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula	Polyptoton on <i>nb</i> (all/golden one/lady) over two cola	<i>wr.t b3.w r ntr.w nb.w dd.tw [n]=t</i> nbw.t nb(.t) Twn.t ... greater than all the gods, you are called the Golden One, Lady of Iunet.	Emphasizes Hathor's greatness over all the gods and her epithet as the Golden One.
Doc 33 N. Wall W. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 80,6; pl. 183; IFAO photo no. 93-2210	Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula	Polyptoton on <i>mk</i> See 5.3.2.	<i>nb(.t) mk.t ḥr mk(.t) km3 s(y)</i> Lady of Protection, protecting the one who created her.	Emphasizes Hathor's protective qualities.
Doc 34 N. Wall E. side 1 st Reg.	D III, 63,14-18; pl. 182; IFAO photo no. 97-2221	no title (Nekhbet and Hathor welcome King)	none		
Doc 35 N. Wall W. Side 1 st Reg.	D III, 75,15- 76,2; pl.180; IFAO photo no. 98-2220	no title (Wadjet and Isis welcome King)	none		
E. and W. Walls					
Doc 36 E. Wall 3 rd Reg.	D III, 72,11-12; pls. 188- 189	Doing the censing; title and formula	Polyptoton on <i>ntr</i> See 5.2.6.	<i>ii sntr, sntr=f ḥ^cw=t</i> The incense comes, it censes (i.e. purifies) your body	Emphasizes purification with incense.
Doc 36 E. Wall 3 rd Reg.	D III, 72,11-12; pls. 188- 189	Doing the censing; title and formula	Polyptoton on <i>pḏ</i> See 5.2.6.	<i>pḏ pḏ.n=f tp.yw-^c=t</i> The incense, it has censed (lit. stretches/diffuses) your ancestors.	Emphasizes censing with incense.
Doc 36 E. Wall 3 rd Reg.	D III, 72,11-12; pls. 188- 189	Doing the censing; title and formula	Repetition of <i>sty</i> over two cola	<i>nšp fnd=tn m sty=f m-n=tn 'lr.t- Ḥr ii sty=s r=tn</i> Your (pl.) nose breathes its (m.s.) perfume . Take to	Emphasizes the incense's fragrance.

				<p>yourselves the Eye of Horus, its (f.s.) perfume comes to you (pl).</p>	
<p>Doc 36 E. Wall 3rd Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 72,17; pls. 188-189</p> <p>Also listed in Sign Play</p>	<p>Doing the censing; Royal Randzeile</p>	<p>Antanaclasis on <i>shṭp</i></p> <p>See 5.2.6.</p>	 <p><i>in=i n=tn shṭp r shṭp ib=tn</i></p> <p>I bring you incense in order to pacify/satisfy your (pl.) heart.</p> <p>The incense arm  (R42) used both times to spell <i>shṭp</i> (pacify) is the same type of ritual instrument held by the king in the scene. Its use in either word could have attracted the spelling of the other word.</p>	<p>Visually and aurally emphasizes the King's act of censing and its role in satisfying the gods.</p>
<p>Doc 36 E. Wall 3rd Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 72,17; pls. 188-189</p>	<p>Doing the censing; Royal Randzeile</p>	<p>Antanaclasis on <i>snṭr</i></p>	 <p><i>snṭr r snṭr st=tn</i></p> <p>(I bring) incense in order to cense your (pl.) places</p>	<p>Emphasizes censing with incense.</p>
<p>Doc 36 E. Wall 3rd Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 73,12-13; pls. 188-189</p>	<p>Doing the censing; Divine Randzeile</p>	<p>Antanaclasis on <i>snṭr</i></p> <p>See 2.2.</p>	 <p><i>šsp=n snṭr r snṭr snn=n</i></p> <p>We receive the incense in order to cense our statues</p>	<p>Emphasizes censing with incense.</p>
<p>Doc 37 W. Wall 3rd Reg</p>	<p>D III, 84,13; pls. 195-197</p> <p>Also listed in Sign Play</p>	<p>Funerary Offering; Royal Randzeile</p>	<p>Antanaclasis on <i>k3w</i></p>	 <p><i>k3.w nb(.w) k3.w</i></p> <p>divine powers, lords of provisions</p> <p>Aural and visual plays on <i>k3.w</i> (divine powers) and <i>k3w</i> (provisions).</p>	<p>Emphasizes the divine powers in charge of provisions (food).</p>
<p>Doc 37 W. Wall 3rd Reg</p>	<p>D III, 84,13; pls. 195-197</p>	<p>Funerary Offering; Royal Randzeile</p>	<p>Antanaclasis on <i>šps.w</i></p>	 <p><i>šm.w šps.w nb.w šps(.w)</i></p> <p>The noble powers, lords of riches/provisions</p> <p>Different writings,</p>  <p>(noble powers), and</p>  <p>(riches/provisions), distinguish the homonyms of <i>šps.w</i>.</p>	<p>Emphasizes the noble powers in charge of provisions.</p>
<p>Doc 37 W. Wall</p>	<p>D III, 84,14; pls.</p>	<p>Funerary Offering;</p>	<p>Polyptoton on <i>df3</i></p>	<p><i>r šdf3 s.t=tn m df3w</i></p> <p>in order to provision your (pl.)</p>	<p>Emphasizes the provisioning of</p>

3 rd Reg	195-197	Royal Randzeile		place(s) of provisions	the gods' places.
Doc 37 W. Wall 3 rd Reg	D III, 84,14; pls. 195-197	Funerary Offering; Royal Randzeile	Polyptoton on <i>ʿnh</i>	 <i>wd ʿnh n ʿnh.w</i> who ordains life to the living	Emphasizes the life-giving qualities of the Ennead of Atum
Doc 37 W. Wall 3 rd Reg	D III, 85,2; pls. 195-197	Funerary Offering; speech of Harsomtus	Polyptoton on <i>k3</i> See 5.2.6.	 <i>K3 nb k3.w</i> ka-spirit, Lord of Provisions	Emphasizes Harsomtus' role as Lord of Provisions.
Doc 37 W. Wall 3 rd Reg	D III, 85,2; pls. 195-197	Funerary Offering; speech of Harsomtus	Polyptoton on <i>ʿnh</i> See 5.2.6.	 <i>s3m ʿnh n ʿnh.w</i> who distributes life to the living	Emphasizes the ability of Harsomtus to provide sustenance to living beings.
Doc 37 W. Wall 3 rd Reg	D III, 85,8; pls. 195-197	Funerary Offering; speech of Mut	Polyptoton on <i>šps</i>	<i>šsp=n špsw=k m t iw f h(n)k.t</i> We receive your riches of bread, meat, and beer. Polyptoton functions by metathesis on <i>šsp</i> and <i>špsw</i> .	Emphasizes the reception of the offerings by the gods.
Doc 37 W. Wall 3 rd Reg	D III, 85,8-9; pls. 195- 197	Funerary Offering; Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>hṭp</i>	<i>hṭp ib=n m hṭp.w=k</i> Our heart(s) are satisfied with your offerings .	Emphasizes the satisfaction of the gods with the offerings.
Doc 37 W. Wall 3 rd Reg	D III, 85,9; pls. 195-197 Also listed in Sign Play	Funerary Offering; Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>b3k</i> See 5.3.3.	<i>b3k=n b3k.t m rk=k</i> We maintain in good condition Egypt in its time. The writing of Egypt with the udjat-eye sign (Wb I, 425,18) equates the land with the sacred Eye of the god.	Emphasizes that the gods' maintenance of Egypt.
Doc 38 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 69,12; IFAO photo no. 93-2202	Offering milk (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>bnr</i> See 5.2.3.	<i>bnr.t bnrw</i> whose milk is sweet Lit., "sweet one of (sweet) milk."	Emphasizes Hathor's sweet milk
Doc 38 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 69,13; IFAO photo no. 93-2202	Offering of milk (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>bnr</i> over two cola	<i>hr srnp nn=s m bnrw=s, sy m hwn.t nfr.t bnr.t mrw.t</i> Rejuvenating her child with her (sweet) milk , she is the beautiful feline whose love is sweet .	Emphasizes Hathor's sweet milk and love.
Doc 39 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, pl. 193; IFAO photo no. 98-2207	Offering <i>h3db</i> (Hathor)	none		
Doc 40 E. Wall 2 nd Reg.	D III, 69,15; IFAO	Offering menit (Hathor);	Antanaclasis on close homophones	 <i>m-n=t mni.t n(t).t nbw</i>	Word and sign play emphasize the Queen's

2 nd Scene	photo no. 98-2203 Also Doc 17 (52,13-14)	title and formula	(<i>m-n=t/ mni.t</i>) See 2.2.	Take for yourself the menit-necklace of gold Horizontal signs alternate with small round signs to create graphical opposition.	offering of menit-necklace to Hathor.
Doc 40 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 69,16; IFAO photo no. 98-2203	Offering menit (Hathor); title and formula	Antanaclasis on close homophones (<i>nbw.t/nb.t</i>)	<i>Nbw.t nb.t mni.t</i> The Golden One, Lady of the menit	Emphasizes Hathor's epithets of Golden One and Lady of Menit.
Doc 41 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 81,4; pl. 194; IFAO photo 98-2206	Offering wensheb (Hathor); title and formula	Polyptoton on <i>wḏ3</i>	<i>wḏ3.t wḏ3.ti</i> The Udjat Eye, being healthy	Emphasizes the health of the Udjat Eye.
Doc 41 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 81,5; pl. 194; IFAO photo 98-2206	Offering wensheb (Hathor); title and formula	Polyptoton on <i>wbn</i>	<i>wbn.t wbn.ti</i> The Shining One, being shiny	Emphasizes the radiance of the Udjat Eye.
Doc 41 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 81,7; pl. 194; IFAO photo 98-2206	Offering wensheb (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Antanaclasis on <i>twt</i> over two cola See 2.2.	<i>twt m irw=f n hk3 t3.wy hr twt T3y.t</i> Complete in his form as the ruler of the Two Lands, perfecting Tayet	Emphasizes the completeness and perfection of the King's form and action.
Doc 41 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 81,8; pl. 194; IFAO photo 98-2206	Offering wensheb (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Polyptoton on <i>3ḥ</i> See 5.1.2.	<i>s3ḥ 3ḥ.t m dbḥw=s</i> who makes effective the Udjat-Eye with its elements	Emphasizes the effectiveness of the Udjat Eye.
Doc 41 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 81,10-11; pl. 194; IFAO photo 98-2206	Offering wensheb (Hathor); Divine Randzeile	True pun on <i>i3b.t</i> See 5.1.2.	 <i>hnm.n=s i3b.t m tp n it=s</i> She has united with the uraeus on her father's brow. <i>i3b.t</i> is homophonic with "left Eye," connecting the uraeus with the Eye of Horus.	Subtle allusion to the left Eye of Horus, the moon (equated with Isis).
Doc 41 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 81,11; pl. 194; IFAO photo 98-2206	Offering wensheb (Hathor); Speech of Hathor and Divine Randzeile	Antanaclasis on <i>tp</i> over two cola	<i>i3b.t m tp n it=s... wnn hr.t-tp m-hnt h.t-wnšb</i> 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" (<i>hr.t-tp</i> , lit. "she who is on the head") is explained in the previous statement that the uraeus (<i>i3b.t</i>) is <i>m tp n it=s</i> , "on the head of her	Repetition and explanation emphasize that Hathor is the uraeus on the head of the sun god Ra.

				father."	
Doc 42 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 70,8; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204	Playing <i>sšš.t</i> and <i>šhm</i> -sistra (Hathor); title and formula	Polyptoton on <i>šhm</i> over two cola See 5.1.2.	<i>šhm m ỉ3by=i ink Hr w3d n Šhm.t</i> The <i>šhm</i>-sistrum is in my left hand. I am Horus, the offspring of Sekhmet	Emphasizes the king's role as son of Sekhmet, playing the sistrum.
Doc 42 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 70,11-12; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204	Playing <i>sšš.t</i> and <i>šhm</i> -sistra (Hathor); speech of King	Antanaclasis on <i>ihy</i>	<i>Thy n nbw.t ir ihy n hnw.t=f</i> The Ihy of the Golden One, who makes music for his Mistress	Emphasizes the King's role as Ihy, making music for Hathor.
Doc 42 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 70,13; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204	Playing <i>sšš.t</i> and <i>šhm</i> -sistra (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Antanaclasis on <i>ihy</i> See 2.2.	<i>sw mi Thy ir ihy n hnw.t=f</i> He is like Ihy who makes music for his Mistress.	Emphasizes King's role as Ihy, making music for Hathor.
Doc 42 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 70,15; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204	Playing <i>sšš.t</i> and <i>šhm</i> -sistra (Hathor); speech of Hathor	Antanaclasis on <i>th</i>	<i>di=i n=k th whm=k th</i> I give you beer ; you repeat drunkenness .	Emphasizes drunkenness through beer.
Doc 42 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 70,15; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204	Playing <i>sšš.t</i> and <i>šhm</i> -sistra (Hathor); speech of Hathor	Antanaclasis on close homophones (<i>ib/ib3</i>)	<i>nb(.t) 3w(.t)-ib hnw.t ib3</i> Lady of Joy (<i>3wt-ib</i>), Mistress of the ib3 -dance. The alliteration of <i>ib</i> in the two epithets suggests the equivalency of joy and the <i>ib3</i> -dance.	Subtle equation of "joy" and the <i>ib3</i> -dance, both of which occur in epithets of Hathor.
Doc 42 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 70,16; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204	Playing <i>sšš.t</i> and <i>šhm</i> -sistra (Hathor); speech of Hathor	True pun on <i>šhm.w</i>	<i>hnw.t šhm.w</i> Mistress of the <i>šhm</i> -sistra True pun on <i>šhm.w</i> , which can also be translated "powers."	Emphasis on Hathor's power manifested within the <i>šhm</i> - sistra.
Doc 42 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 70,17-18; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204	Playing <i>sšš.t</i> and <i>šhm</i> -sistra (Hathor); Divine Randzeile	True pun on <i>šhm.w</i>	<i>hnw.t šhm.w</i> Mistress of the <i>šhm</i> -sistra True pun on <i>šhm.w</i> , which can also be translated "powers."	Emphasis on Hathor's power manifested within the <i>šhm</i> - sistra.
Doc 43 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 81,14; IFAO photo no. 98-2205 Also listed in Sign Play	Offering <i>mnw</i> -vase (Hathor); title and formula	Polyptoton on <i>3h</i>	<i>3h.t m Ỉwn.t, 3hw=t 3h.t</i> Effective/Shining One (f.) in Iunet (=Dendera), your 3hw- power is effective Multiple meanings are embedded in the polyptotons. See more detailed analysis in Word Play chapter.	Emphasizes the shining effectiveness of Hathor's <i>3hw</i> - power.

Doc 43 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 81,15; IFAO photo no. 98-2205	Offering <i>mnw</i> -vase (Hathor); title and formula	Polyptoton on <i>nfr</i> See 2.3.	<i>Nfr.t nfr.wy nfrw=t</i> Beautiful One, how beautiful is your beauty/perfection!	Emphasizes Hathor's beauty and perfection.
Doc 43 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 81,16; IFAO photo no. 98-2205	Offering <i>mnw</i> -vase (Hathor); title and formula	Polyptoton on <i>b3</i> See 5.1.2.	<i>b3.t r shm.w h3ht b3.w</i> Female Ba among the (divine) powers, speedy one of (divine) power	Emphasizes Hathor's swift divine power.
Doc 43 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 82,10; IFAO photo no. 98-2205	Offering <i>mnw</i> -vase (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Repetition of <i>tp</i>	<i>hr.t-tp m tp n it=s</i> The uraeus on the head of her father The uraeus, <i>hr.t-tp</i> , is lit. "She who is on the head."	Emphasizes the place of the uraeus on the head of her father.
Doc 44 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 64,7; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; Mariette, D II, pl. 65a	Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); speech of King	Antanaclasis on <i>twr</i>	<i>twr twr m d.t=f</i> The purifier, purified in his body	Emphasizes King's purity.
Doc 44 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 64,7; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212;	Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); Royal Randzeile	Repetition of <i>hm-ntr</i> ; possible elipsis of <i>hm-ntr</i>	<i>hm-ntr s3 <hm-ntr></i> hm-ntr priest, son of a hm-ntr priest The first <i>hm-ntr</i> may do double duty, with the second (omitted) instance understood (elipsis).	Emphasizes King's purity.
Doc 44 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 64,7-8; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212;	Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); Royal Randzeile	Repetition of <i>twr</i>	<i>twr s3 twr</i> The purifier, son of a purifier	Emphasizes the king's unbroken lineage as purifier-priest.
Doc 44 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 64,8; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212;	Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); Royal Randzeile	Antanaclasis on <i>dsr</i>	<i>k bw dsr m dsr</i> who enters the sacred place in (state of) sacredness Antanaclasis on <i>dsr</i> , with first instance as adjective, the second as substantive.	Emphasizes the king's state of sanctity when entering the sacred shrine.
Doc 44 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 65,3; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212;	Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>dsr</i>	<i>dsr.t hnt Psd.t htp m hd=s m</i> <i>iwnn=s dsr</i> The sacred one among the Ennead, who rests in her naos in her sacred shrine	Emphasizes the sacred character of Hathor and her shrine.
Doc 45 W. Wall 1 st Reg.	D III, 76,9; pl. 191;	Pulling (door) bolt (Hathor's	Polyptoton on <i>psd</i> over two cola	<i>sš pr-nbw.t r psd hm.t=s, wbn</i> <i>Psd.t=s m-ht=s</i> who opens the sanctuary of the Golden One, in order to make	Emphasizes the radiance that emanates from

1 st Scene	IFAO photo no. 98-2217; Mariette, D II, pl. 64b	shrine); Royal Randzeile		radiant Her Majesty; her Ennead shines behind her. In reference to the King, who opens the sanctuary to reveal Hathor's (and her Ennead's) radiance.	the sanctuary when the King opens the doors, revealing the sacred statues of Hathor and her Ennead.
Doc 45 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 76,9; pl. 191; IFAO photo no. 98-2217; Mariette, D II, pl. 64b	Pulling (door) bolt (Hathor's shrine); Royal Randzeile	Polyptoton on close homophones (<i>k3/k3</i>)	<i>sk3 k3=s</i> who makes high her ka	Emphasizes the height to which the King praises Hathor.
Doc 45 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 76,12; pl. 191; IFAO photo no. 99-2217; Mariette, D II, pl. 64a Also listed in Sign Play	Pulling (door) bolt; Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>3h</i> ; true pun on <i>3h.t</i> See 2.4.	 <i>nswy.t-bi.ty.t 3h.ty.t h^c m 3h.t</i> the Horizon-Dweller (f.) who appears in the horizon (=temple) . Hathor's role as solar goddess (<i>3h.ty.t</i> , the horizon-dweller) is emphasized; a pun on <i>3h.t</i> equates the horizon with the temple.	Emphasizes Hathor's role as solar goddess; equates temple with horizon.
Doc 45 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 76,13; pl. 191; IFAO photo no. 99-2217; Mariette, D II, pl. 64a	Pulling (door) bolt; Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>itn</i>	<i>itn.t twt=s r itn</i> The solar feminine disk (Atenet)--it resembles the Aten	Emphasizes Hathor's role as a solar goddess.
Doc 46 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 65,10; pl. 187; IFAO photo no. 98-2213; Mariette, D II, pl. 65b	Unfastening the seal (Hathor's shrine); Royal Randzeile	Polyptoton on <i>3h</i>	<i>s3h 3h.ty</i> who makes the Two (Shining) Eye shining Multiple meanings of the root <i>3h</i> allow other interpretations: "who makes the Two (effective) Eyes "effective," "magically powerful," etc.	Emphasizes the King's role in making the two Divine Eyes magically effective.
Doc 46 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 66,3; pl. 187; IFAO photo no. 98-2213; Mariette, D II, pl. 65b	Unfastening the seal (Hathor's shrine); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>psd</i> over two cola	<i>št3.t msh^c r Psd.t, psd m nn.t m hr.t-hrw</i> whose image is hidden from the Ennead, who shines in the sky daily Play on two meanings of <i>psd</i> (nine; shine), in <i>Psd.t</i> (Ennead, "the Nine") and <i>psd</i> (shine).	Emphasizes that although Hathor's sacred image is hidden, she shines daily.

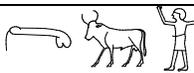
Doc 47 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 77,5; pl. 192; IFAO photo no. 98-2216; Mariette, D II, pl. 64a	Revealing face of the Golden One (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Polyptoton on <i>psd</i>	<i>psd Psd.t=s m hb=s nfr</i> her Ennead shines during her beautiful festival	Emphasizes the radiance from Hathor's Ennead.
Doc 47 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 77,7; pl. 192; IFAO photo no. 98-2216; Mariette, D II, pl. 64a	Revealing face of the Golden One (Hathor); speech of Hathor	Polyptoton on close homophones <i>sšp/šsp</i>	<i>wn.n=i sšp m šsp.t=k</i> I have opened the light in your chapel	Emphasizes the light emanating from Hathor's shrine.
Doc 47 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 77,8; pl. 192; IFAO photo no. 98-2216; Mariette, D II, pl. 64a	Revealing face of the Golden One	True pun on <i>di.t-mrw.t</i>	 <i>Rcy.t m Di(.t)-mr(w).t</i> Rayt in heaven The literal meaning, "She who gives love," for <i>Di(.t)-mr(w).t</i> , "heaven," 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.
Doc 48 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 66,6-7; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette, D II, pl. 63b	Seeing the god (Hathor); title and formula	Triple polyptoton on <i>k3</i> and on close homophone <i>k3</i> over two cola	<i>sb3k.n=i kf3.t n(.t) k3=s sk3.n=i</i> <i>nfrw=s r k3 n{.t} p.t</i> I have brightened the dignity of her Ka. I have exalted her perfection to the height of heaven.	Emphasizes the height to which the King praises Hathor.
Doc 48 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 66,9; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette, D II, pl. 63b	Seeing the god (Hathor); speech of Ma'at	Repetition of <i>M3^c.t</i>	<i>dd mdw in M3^c.t wr.t hnt h.t-M3^c.t</i> Words to say by Ma'at the great in the Temple of Ma'at	Emphasizes the goddess Ma'at.
Doc 48 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 66,10; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette, D II, pl. 63b	Seeing the god (Hathor); speech of Ma'at	Antanaclasis on close homophones (<i>nbw.t/nb.t</i>)	<i>nfr.wy hr=t Nbw.t nb(.t) Iwn.t</i> How beautiful is your face, Golden One (f.), Lady of Iunet (=Dendera)	Emphasizes Hathor's epithets as Golden One and Lady of Iunet.

Doc 48 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 66,13; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette, D II, pl. 63b	Seeing the god (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Antanaclasis on <i>št</i>	<i>št m št=f n m33-ntr</i> who clothes with his clothes of "seeing the god."	Emphasis on the king's act of clothing the divine statue.
Doc 48 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 67,2; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette, D II, pl. 63b	Seeing the god (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>r^c</i> See 5.2.4.	<i>R^cy.t s3.t R^c</i> The female sun , daughter of Ra .	Emphasizes Hathor's role as solar goddess.
Doc 48 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 67,2-3; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette, D II, pl. 63b	Seeing the god (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>itn</i> See 5.2.4.	<i>Itn.t m šn n Itn</i> the female sun disk in the circuit of the sun disk	Emphasizes Hathor's role as solar goddess.
Doc 48 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 67,2; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette, D II, pl. 63b	Seeing the god (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>dw3</i>	<i>dw3.tw r dw3=s r^c-nb sp sn.nw</i> one rises early in the morning in order to adore her every single day	Emphasizes the daily morning worship of Hathor.
Doc 49 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 78,6; IFAO photo no. 98-2215; Mariette, D II, pl. 63a	Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of King	Antanaclasis on close homophones (<i>ns/nis</i>)	<i>bnr ns hr nis hknw</i> Sweet of tongue, reciting the (hymns) of praise	Emphasizes King's action of praising Hathor with his sweet words of praise.
Doc 49 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 78,11; IFAO photo no. 98-2215; Mariette, D II, pl. 63a	Adoring the god (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>š3^c</i> ; alliteration on <i>š3</i> See 5.3.2.	<i>sš3.t š3^c.t š3^c sphr</i> Seshat, the Primordial One who initiated writing	Emphasizes Hathor's role as Seshat, who invented writing.
South Wall					
Doc 50 S. Wall 3 rd Reg E.Side	D III, 74,7; Mariette, D II, pl. 67a	Mirror offering (Hathor); Divine Randzeile	Polyptoton on <i>3h</i> See 5.1.4.	<i>di=i n=k 3h.ty=k(y) 3h.ti m s.t=sn</i> I give you your (whole, uninjured, divine) Eyes, effective in their place.	Emphasizes the uninjured, effective state of the Divine Eyes, which are

		(Hathor)			equated mirror of the offering.
Doc 51 S. Wall 3 rd Reg. W. Side	D III, 85,12 – 86,4		none		
Doc 52 S. Wall 2 nd Reg E. Side	D III, 71,6; pl. 190; IFAO photo no. 98-2208	Offering cloth to Hathor; Royal Randzeile	True pun on <i>psd</i> See 2.4.	<i>hr shd h^cw m psd</i> illuminating (<i>shd</i>) (her) body with the nine-strand linen (<i>psd</i>) The word for nine-stranded linen, <i>psd</i> , is a homonym for <i>psd</i> , light, thus creating a true pun and lending the secondary meaning, "illuminating the body with light," which alludes to the quality of the fine linen, called, <i>sšp.t</i> , "bright cloth," and <i>hd.t</i> , "bright white cloth" 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 <i>R^cy.t</i> , the female sun, mentioned at the end of the phrase (D III, 71,7).	Emphasizes the brightness of the cloth offering; secondary meaning of "illuminating with light" is especially appropriate for "the female sun."
Doc 52 S. Wall 2 nd Reg E. Side	D III, 71,6-7; 8; pl. 190; IFAO photo no. 98-2208	Offering cloth to Hathor; Royal Randzeile	Polyptoton on <i>hd</i> across several colons	<i>hr shd h^cw m psd...rk hnw.t=f m hd.t... Nhb.t hd.t Nhn</i> illuminating (<i>shd</i>) her body with the nine-strand linen (the "shining" cloth)...tying on his mistress the bright white cloth (<i>hd.t</i>)...Nekhet, White One of Nekhen. The play on the root <i>hd</i> , describing the king's action as well as his offering, emphasizes the shining quality of the cloth, while also connecting to the epithet of Nekhet, <i>hd.t</i> ("White One" of Nekhen), who as a vulture flies protectively over his head.	Emphasizes the shining quality of the white cloth being offered.
Doc 52 S. Wall 2 nd Reg E. Side	D III, 71,10; pl. 190; IFAO photo no. 98-2208	Offering cloth to Hathor; speech of Hathor	Polyptoton on <i>mnh</i> See 2.3.	<i>smnh-mnh.t</i> who makes excellent the cloth	Emphasizes that Hathor makes the cloth excellent (perhaps by imparting her radiance to it).
Doc 52 S. Wall 2 nd Reg	D III, 71,10	Offering cloth to Hathor;	Polyptoton on <i>r^c</i>	<i>R^cy.t nb.t r^c.w</i> the female sun , lady of (male) suns	Emphasizes Hathor's solar nature.

E. Side		speech of Hathor			
Doc 52 S. Wall 2 nd Reg E. Side	D III, 71,11; IFAO photo no. 98-2208	Offering cloth to Hathor; Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Polyptoton on <i>wbn</i>	<i>Wbn.t-m-nbw wbn.ti m Twn.t</i> The One Who Shines Like Gold shines in Dendera	Emphasizes Hathor's shining quality, which illuminates Dendera.
Doc 52 S. Wall 2 nd Reg E. Side	D III, 71,11; IFAO photo no. 98-2208	Offering cloth to Hathor; Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Repetition of <i>šps.t</i>	<i>wnn Wbn.t-m-nbw wbn.ti m Twn.t</i> <i>m <šps.t> * hnt pr-šps.t</i> The One Who Shines Like Gold shines in Dendera as the <noble lady> * ¹⁶⁶⁵ in the Sanctuary of the Noble Lady ,	Emphasizes Hathor's solar nature and her nobility within her sanctuary.
Doc 53 S. Wall 2 nd Reg W.Side	D III, 83,1; pl. 198; IFAO photo no. 98-2209	Preparing unguent (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Repetition of <i>wr</i>	<i>wnn nsw.t-bi.ty 83,1 () hr</i> <i>bhdw=f m pr-wr m rw wr hk3 t3-</i> <i>ntr</i> The King of Upper and Lower Egypt 83,1 () is upon his throne in the Great Sanctuary as the great lion and ruler of the Land of God Word play between Great Sanctuary (<i>pr-wr</i>) and the metaphor of Great Lion (<i>rw wr</i>) for the King.	Emphasizes the King's role as "Great Lion" in the Per-wer.
Doc 53 S. Wall 2 nd Reg W.Side	D III, 83,1; pl. 198; IFAO photo no. 98-2209	Preparing unguent (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Repetition of <i>id.t</i>	<i>hr sm^cr id.t hr rdi.t id.t-ntr n hr.t-</i> <i>tp</i> clothing with perfume , giving the divine perfume to the uraeus. Parallel phrasing (<i>hr</i> + inf.), with the object of the inf. in each case being perfume: <i>id.t</i> (perfume) or <i>id.t-ntr</i> (divine perfume):	Emphasizes the offering of perfume, whose divine scent makes it an appropriate offering for the goddess.
Doc 54 S. Wall E. Side 1 st Reg.	D III, 67,6-7; IFAO photo no. 98-2218; Mariette, D II, pl. 62a	Offering Ma'at; title and formula	Repetition of <i>m3^c.t</i> ; true pun between <i>m3^c.t</i> and <i>mr.t</i> See 5.1.2	<i>mn n=i m3^c.t m3^c.t rn=t m3^c.t</i> <i>pw k3.tw r hm.t=t mr.t pw</i> Take for yourself Ma'at, Ma'at is your name, it is Ma'at (that) one calls Your Majesty. It is the throat. The words <i>m3^c.t</i> and <i>mr.t</i> probably had similar pronunciation at this time.	Emphasizes the offering of Ma'at, equating it with the throat.
Doc 54 S. Wall E. Side 1 st Reg.	D III, 67,9-10; IFAO photo no. 98-2218;	Offering Ma'at; speech of Ihy	Repetition of <i>sšš.t</i> over two cola.	<i>ir.n=i sšš.t m hr=t nfr M3^c.t wr.t</i> <i>hnt h.t-sšš.t</i> I have played the sistrum before your face, Ma'at the Great in the Temple of the Sistrum (=Dendera).	Emphasizes Ihy's playing of the sistrum at Dendera.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Error noted by Cauville, Dend Trad III, pp. 140-141. The signs in Chassinat D III, 71,11 are  (H6 A4), which do not make sense here.

	Mariette, D II, pl. 62a				
Doc 54 S. Wall E. Side 1 st Reg.	D III, 67,12; IFAO photo no. 98-2218; Mariette, D II, pl. 62a	Offering Ma'at; speech of the King	Repetition of <i>m3^c.t</i>	<i>si^r m3^c.t n nb.t m3^c.t</i> who lifts up (i.e. offers) Ma'at to the Lady of Ma'at	Emphasizes the offering of Ma'at.
Doc 54 S. Wall E. Side 1 st Reg.	D III, 67,13; IFAO photo no. 98-2218; Mariette, D II, pl. 62a	Offering Ma'at; Royal Randzeile	Polyptoton on close homophones (<i>k3/k3</i>)	 <i>ir mtw.t-k3 sk3 (?) nfr.w nw T3- mry</i> who does Ma'at, which exalts the beauties of Ta-mery (lit. "beloved land"=Egypt). <i>mtw.t-k3</i> means lit., "seed of the bull" (PL 474-475).	Emphasizes that "doing Ma'at" increases the beauties of Egypt.
Doc 54 S. Wall E. Side 1 st Reg.	D III, 68,4-5; IFAO photo no. 98-2218; Mariette, D II, pl. 62a	Offering Ma'at; speech of Horus of Edfu	Polyptoton on <i>ntr</i>	 <i>ntr ntry m t3 n 'Itmw</i> The divine god in the Land of Atum	Emphasizes the divinity of Horus of Edfu.
Doc 54 S. Wall E. Side 1 st Reg.	D III, 68,6; IFAO photo no. 98-2218; Mariette, D II, pl. 62a	Offering Ma'at; Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Antanaclasis on close homophones (<i>Nbw.t/nb.t</i>)	<i>Nbw.t nb.t 'Iwn.t</i> The Golden One (f.), Lady of Iunet (=Dendera)	Emphasizes Hathor's epithets of Golden One and Lady of Dendera.
Doc 55 S. Wall W. Side 1 st Reg.	D III, 78,15 – 79,1; IFAO photo no. 99-2219; Mariette, D II, pl. 62b	Offering Ma'at; title and formula	Repetition of <i>m3^c.t</i>	<i>m-n=t m3^c.t, m3^c.t m iwn.t</i> Take for yourself Ma'at, Ma'at in Iunet (=Dendera)	Emphasizes the offering of Ma'at.
Doc 55 S. Wall W. Side 1 st Reg.	D III, 79,10; IFAO photo no. 99-2219; Mariette, D II, pl. 62b	Offering Ma'at; speech of Isis	Repetition of <i>sps.t</i>	<i>sps.t wsr.t hnty.t h-sps.t</i> the noble and powerful lady in the Palace of the Noble Lady	Emphasizes the nobility of Isis.

Doc 55 S. Wall W. Side 1 st Reg.	D III, 79,14; IFAO photo no. 99-2219; Mariette, D II, pl. 62b	Offering Ma'at; Divine Randzeile (Isis)	Polyptoton on <i>ity</i>	<i>ity.t n.t ity.w</i> the female sovereign of the sovereigns	Emphasizes the role of Isis as the female sovereign.
Doc 55 S. Wall W. Side 1 st Reg	D III, 79,14; IFAO photo no. 99-2219; Mariette, D II, pl. 62b	Offering Ma'at; Divine Randzeile (Isis)	Polyptoton on <i>hk3</i>	<i>hk3.t hk3 ifd.w nw nn.t</i> the female ruler who rules the four corners of heaven	Emphasizes role of Isis as sovereign of heaven.
Doc 56 S. Wall E. Side Lower Base	D III, 62,13	Primordial water in <i>nms.t</i> -jars; speech of Hathor	Repetition of <i>hpr</i> over two cola	<i>hpr hnt hr it=s Nwn hpr ih.t nb.t m-ht hpr=s</i> who came into being at the beginning with her father Nun. All things came into being after she came into being . The repetition of <i>hpr</i> emphasizes Hathor's origin in the Nun, thus lending added importance to the King's offering of primordial water.	Emphasizes Hathor's origin in the Nun.
Doc 56 S. Wall E. Side Lower Base	D III, 63,3-4	Primordial water in <i>nms.t</i> -jars; Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Repetition of <i>hpr</i> over two cola	<i>hpr hnt hr it=s Nwn hpr wnn.t m wbn{r}=s</i> who came into being with her father Nun; what exists, came into being when she shines.	Emphasizes Hathor's origin in the Nun; the creation of the world due to her radiance.
Doc 57 S. Wall W. Side Lower Base	D III, 74,13	Inundation water in <i>hs-</i> jars; speech of Isis	Repetition of <i>Nw.t</i>	<i>Nw.t m h.t-Nw.t</i> Nut in the temple of Nut	Emphasizes Nut, the mother of Isis.
Doc 57 S. Wall W. Side Lower Base	D III, 75,1-2	Inundation water in <i>hs-</i> jars; speech of Harsomtut	Polyptoton on <i>ntr</i>	<i>ntr ntry [hpr] hnt</i> The divine divinity who [came into being] at the beginning (lit. formerly--i.e. at the primordial time of the first creation)	Emphasizes Harsomtut as divine primeval god.
Doc 57 S. Wall W. Side Lower Base	D III, 75,6 Also listed in Sign Play	Inundation water in <i>hs-</i> jars; speech of Ihy	Antanacsis on close homophones (<i>mn.t/mn.t</i>) See 2.5.1 .	<i>mn.t m ibb(.i) hr dr [mn.t]*</i> The menit-necklace is in my left hand, driving away distress . The closeness in sound of menit to <i>mn.t</i> (evil) lends magical effectiveness to the menit against the negative force.	Emphasizes that the menit can drive away <i>mn.t</i> (distress).
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		
S. Niche N. Wall Interior Framing of Door					
Doc 64 E. Side Lintel	D III, 89,1; pl. 201; Mariette, D II, pl. 68b	Offering double crown; title and formula	Polyptoton on <i>tp</i> See 5.3.1.	<i>tp.t tn.ti m tp=k</i> The uraeus is distinguished on your head.	Emphasizes the uraeus on the head of the king.
Doc 64 E. Side Lintel	D III, 89,2; pl. 201; Mariette, D II, pl. 68b	Offering double crown; title and formula	Repetition of <i>nswy.t</i> See 5.3.1.	<i>nswy.t=k nswy.t n(.t) R^c</i> Your kingship is the kingship of Ra Balanced sentence with repetition of <i>nswy.t</i> , "kingship."	Emphasizes the divine kingship.
Doc 64 E. Side Lintel	D III, 89,9; pl. 201; Mariette, D II, pl. 68b	Offering double crown; Divine Randzeile	True pun on <i>nfr.w</i> See 5.3.1.	<i>di=i n=k B pn hr nfr.w=s</i> I give you this land, possessing its crowns/good things. Plays on two meanings of <i>nfr.w</i> : "crowns" (i.e. rule over Egypt – stated in Doc 65) and "good things" (Egypt's bounty), both of which Ihy gives as a return for the king's offering of the double crown.	Emphasizes Ihy's offering to the King of the rulership and the bounty of Egypt.

Doc 65 W. Side Lintel	D III, 89,12- 90,8; pl.201; Mariette, D II, pl. 68a	Offering of double crown	none		
Doc 66 E. Side Pied-droit	D III, 88,1-5	Horizontal lines of text	none		
Doc 67 W. Side Pied-droit	D III, 88,11	Horizontal lines of text	Repetition of <i>Bḥd.ty</i>	<i>iw^c n Bḥd.ty s3 R^c () mry Ḥr- Bḥd.ty</i> heir of the One of Edfu , son of Ra (), beloved of Horus of Edfu	Emphasizes the King's role as son and beloved of Horus of Edfu.
Doc 68 E. Side Montants	D III, 91,1; pl. 201	Text column	Polyptoton on <i>šṭ3</i>	<i>šṭ3(.t) irw thn(.t) sšṭ3</i> secret one (f.) of form, hidden one of image <i>sšṭ3</i> is the causative of <i>šṭ3</i> (CDME 248).	Emphasizes the secret, hidden form of Hathor's image.
Doc 68 E. Side Montants	D III, 91,2; pl. 201	Text column	Polyptoton on <i>ḥ3y</i> over two cola	<i>ḥ3y.t m 3ḥ.t, ḥ3y t3.wy m stw.t=s</i> The Shining One in the horizon, who lights up the land with her rays	Emphasizes Hathor's radiance.
Doc 68 E. Side Montants	D III, 91,2-3; pl. 201	Text column	Polyptoton on <i>itn</i>	<i>itn.t tpy.t n(.t) itn</i> Female sun disk , eldest (daughter) of the sun disk	Emphasizes Hathor's solar nature, and role as eldest the sun's eldest daughter.
Doc 68 E. Side Montants	D III, 91,3; pl. 201	Text	Repetition of <i>ḥn.t</i>	<i>ḥn.t nfr.t ḥn.t ḥ^cw m Ntry.t</i> The very beautiful one , whose apparition is beautiful in Netjeryt (=Dendera)	Emphasizes Hathor's beauty.
Doc 69 W. Side Montants	D III, 91,6-7; pl. 201	Text	Polyptoton on <i>šps</i>	<i>šps.t hnw.t šps.wt</i> The Noble Lady , Mistress of the Noble Ladies	Emphasizes Hathor's nobility.
S. Niche Walls					
Doc 70 Bandeau of Frieze E. Side	D III, 92,5; pl. 201-202	South Wall	Polyptoton on <i>ḥk3</i>	<i>ḥk3.t ḥk3 ifdw nw nn.t</i> The female ruler who rules the four corners of the sky.	Emphasizes Hathor's sovereignty over the entire sky.
Doc 71 Bandeau of Frieze W. Side	D III, 92,10; pl. 201-202	South Wall	Repetition of <i>nswy.t</i>	<i>nswy.t-bi.ty.t nswy.t n.t Snw.t</i> The female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the female King of Senut (=Egypt)	Emphasizes the rule of Isis over all of Egypt.
Doc 71 Bandeau of Frieze W. Side	D III, 92,11; pl. 201-202	West Wall	Polyptoton on <i>b3</i>	<i>b3.t 3.t b3w</i> The female Ba , great one of Bas (divine power) (among the gods)	Emphasizes the greatness of the Ba of Isis.

Doc 71 Bandeau of Frieze W. Side	D III, 92,11; pl. 201-202	West Wall	Polyptoton on <i>dw3</i>	<i>dw3 ntr.w r dw3=s r^c nb</i> The gods rise early in the morning in order to adore her every day.	Emphasizes the gods' praising of Isis.
Doc 72 Base	D III, pl. 201	Crypto-graphic inscription	none		
Doc 73 E. Wall 2 nd Reg.	D III, 94,14-15; D III, pl. 201	Udjat Offering	Polyptoton on <i>wd3</i> See 2.3, 2.7, 5.3.1.	<i>m-n=t wd3.t wd3.ti m ir.w=s</i> Take for yourself the Udjat-Eye, healthy in its form	Emphasizes the health of the Udjat Eye.
Doc 73 E. Wall 2 nd Reg.	D III, 94,15; pl. 201	Udjat Offering	Polyptoton on <i>3h</i> See 2.7.	<i>3h.t 3h.ti m 3hw=s</i> The Divine Eye, effective in its elements	Emphasizes the effectiveness of the Divine Eye.
Doc 73 E. Wall 2 nd Reg.	D III, 95,3; pl. 202	Udjat Offering	Polyptoton on <i>š3^c</i> See 5.2.2.	<i>š3^c.t š3^c t3 m hpr=s</i> The Primordial One (f.), who created the earth when she came into being	Emphasizes Hathor's role as female primordial Creator.
Doc 73 E. Wall 2 nd Reg.	D III, 95,3; pl. 202	Udjat Offering	Polyptoton on <i>nfr</i>	<i>hnw.t nfr.t nfr m33</i> The beautiful Mistress, beautiful to see	Emphasizes Hathor's beauty.
Doc 73 E. Wall 2 nd Reg.	D III, 95,6; pl. 202	Udjat Offering	True pun on <i>hd</i> (shrine/be bright) See 2.4.	<i>dwn.n=i^c wy=i h3 hr.t-tp m hd=s</i> I extend my arms around the uraeus in her shrine. The word <i>hd</i> (shrine) has an additional allusion because its homophone means, "be light, bright" (Wb III, 209,1-8; PT; GR; PL 696). The mental image of the uraeus in her <i>hd</i> also conjures up the idea of the bright light surrounding the fiery cobra. The two words, being written differently, are not homographs, but they are homophones; their aural ambiguity is thus exploited in the text, with the additional meaning, <i>hr.t-tp m hd=s</i> , "the uraeus in her light."	Emphasizes the light of the uraeus in her shrine.
Doc 73 E. Wall 2 nd Reg.	D III, 95,6; pl. 202	Udjat Offering	Polyptoton on <i>k3</i>	<i>mk(=i) k3=s hnt k3.w</i> I protect her Ka among the (divine) Kas .	Emphasizes Hathor's Ka, which must be protected.
Doc 74 W. Wall 2 nd Reg.	D III, 97,13; pl. 202	No title (Udjat Offering)	Polyptoton on <i>wd3</i>	<i>nb wd3.ty nb mnš: hnk=i wd3.t n mw.t=f wsr.t</i> The Lord of the Two Udjat Eyes , Lord of the Cartouche: I offer the Udjat Eye to his mother the Powerful One.	Emphasizes the King's legitimacy to offer the Udjat.
Doc 74 W. Wall 2 nd Reg.	D III, 97,18; pl.. 202	No title (Udjat Offering)	Polyptoton on <i>ntr</i>	<i>ntr.t ntry.ti m ntry.t</i> The Eye Goddess, divinized in the Divine (=Dendera)	Emphasizes Hathor's divinity as the

					Eye Goddess.
Doc 74 W. Wall 2 nd Reg.	D III, 98,2; pl. 202	No title (Udjat Offering)	Antanaclasis on <i>wr</i>	<i>m hprw(=i) wr n mh-wr</i> in (my) great manifestation of Mehwer (=Harsomtus)	Emphasizes that the manifest- ation of Harsomtus is expansive.
Doc 75 E. Wall 1 st Reg.	D III, 93,15 – 94,4; pl. 201	No title (statues)	none		
Doc 76 W. Wall 1 st Reg.	D III, 96,22 – 97,7 pl. 202	Offering unguent and cloth	none		
Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls	D III, 96,10; pls. 201-202	Crypto- graphic Inscription	none		
Doc 78 S. Wall E. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 95,10-11; pl. 202	Offering Ma'at; title and formula	Antanaclasis on <i>m3^c.t</i>	<i>m-n n=t m3^c.t, M3^c.t m iwn.t,</i> <i>M3^c.t pw k3.tw r hm.t=t</i> Take for yourself ma'at, Ma'at in Dendera, then one will say Ma'at to your Majesty Note: taking phrase (<i>dd.</i>) <i>k3.tw</i> as <i>sdm.k3=f</i> , following Allen, <i>Middle Egyptian</i> , 22.19)	Emphasizes Ma'at as both offering and goddess.
Doc 78 S. Wall E. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 95,14-15; pl. 202; speech of King	Offering Ma'at; speech of King	Antanaclasis on <i>m3^c.t</i>	<i>s3 Sm3-m3^c.t iw^c n M3^c.t</i> son of He who unites with Ma'at (=Thoth), heir of Ma'at	Emphasizes the King's relationship to Ma'at.
Doc 78 S. Wall E. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 95,17; pl. 202	Offering Ma'at; speech of Hathor	Polyptoton on <i>3^c</i>	<i>3^c.t pw 3^c hpr hnt</i> It is the Primordial Goddess, who first came into existence at the beginning.	Emphasizes that Ma'at came into being with the Creator.
Doc 78 S. Wall E. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 96,6; pl. 202	Offering Ma'at; column in common with sym- metrical scene	Polyptoton on <i>nb</i> and close homophones (<i>nb.t/Nbw.t</i>) over two cola	<i>nb.t pr-Nbw.t hwn.t shm.w nb.w</i> <i>itr.ty hnm hnt B.t-di</i> The lady of the Sanctuary of the Golden One , the feline, the Powers, lords of the Two Sanctuaries who are united in Iatdi (=Dendera)	Emphasizes the goddess, her sanctuary, and the gods of the Two Sanctuaries at Dendera.
Doc 79 S. Wall W. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 98,5-6; pl. 202	Offering Ma'at; title and formula	Repetition of <i>šfy.t</i>	<i>šfy.t hr=t, hnw.t nb.t šfy.t</i> The awesomeness (of Ma'at) is for you, Mistress and Lady of Awesomeness .	Emphasizes the awesomeness of Ma'at and its recipient.
Doc 79 S. Wall W. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 98,6; pl. 202	Offering Ma'at; title and formula	Repetition of <i>sh^tp</i>	<i>sh^tp n^r hr sh^tp ib=t</i> the satisfying of the god (=Ma'at) is satisfying your (f.) heart.	Emphasizes the satisfaction that the offering of Ma'at brings.
Doc 79 S. Wall W. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 98,7-8; pl. 202	Offering Ma'at; speech of Harsomtus	Repetition of <i>sšš.t</i>	<i>ir.n=i sšš.t m hr n nb.t sšš.t</i> I have played the sistrum in front of the face of the lady of the sistrum	Emphasizes playing the sistrum.

		the Child			
Doc 79 S. Wall W. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 98,8; pl. 202	Offering Ma'at; Speech of Harsomtus the Child	Polyptoton on <i>šhm</i>	<i>dr=i šhm.t. šhm-šps.t</i> I repel your (f.) fury (?) , Powerful-Noble One (f.)	Emphasizes the power of the angry goddess, who must be appeased.
Doc 79 S. Wall W. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 98,9; pl. 202	Offering Ma'at; speech of King	Repetition of <i>m3^c.t</i>	<i>sr n <m3^c.t> nb m3^c.t</i> prince of <ma'at> , lord of ma'at .	Emphasizes that the King abides by Ma'at.
Doc 79 S. Wall W. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 98,11; pl. 202	Offering Ma'at; speech of Isis	Repetition of <i>M3^ct</i>	<i>nb(.t) m3^c.t ḥnh n m3^c.t</i> lady of Ma'at , who lives on ma'at	Emphasizes the importance of Ma'at to the goddess.
Doc 80 S. Wall 1 st Reg.	D III, pl. 202	No title (protection)	Polyptoton on <i>mk</i>	<i>mk=i k3=t m mk.t</i> I protect your (f.) ka with protection	Emphasizes the protection of the goddess.

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

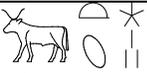
Repetition of same sign (not due to repetition of same word)
 Repetition of similar-shaped signs (horizontal, tall, etc.)
 Repetition of same sign-type (e.g. crowns, birds, etc.)

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

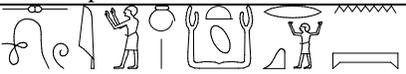
Aural and visual alliteration in same passage (only alliteration, not word play)
 Sign play plus word play (repetition/symmetry of signs + word play, e.g. polyptoton, antanaclasis, etc.)

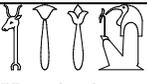
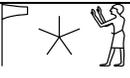
Doc No.	Text Ref	Location of Scene	Type	Example	Purpose
Exterior Entrance					
Doc 1 Entrance Frieze E. Side	D II, pl. 94	Chrono-crators for Tybi 11-15	none		
Doc 2 Entrance Frieze W. Side	D II, pl. 94	Chrono-crators for Tybi 16-20	none		
Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side	D II, 3,6	Frieze, East Side	Reversal	 <i>Nbw.t</i> <u>Golden One</u>	Allows Hathor's bovine form to look outward from the sanctuary
Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side	D II, 3,6	Frieze, East Side	Reversal	 <i>Nbw.t ntr.w</i> <u>Golden One of the Gods</u>	Allows Hathor's bovine form to look outward from the Sanctuary
Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau	D II, 3,6	Frieze, East Side	Repetition of gold sign	 <i>Pr-Nbw.t</i> <u>Sanctuary of the Golden One</u>	Emphasizes the golden radiance of Hathor

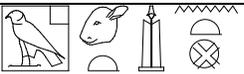
of Frieze E. Side			(S12A) in variations	 <i>nb, gilded</i> <i>nbw, gold</i>	
Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side	D II, 3,6-7	Frieze, East Side	Repetition of sun rays sign (N8A)	 <i>wbn, shine (D II, 3,6)</i> <i>pꜥpꜥ, shine (D II, 3,7)</i>  <i>psd.ti, is shining (D II, 3,7)</i>	Verbs meaning "shine" visually emphasizes the streaming radiance of Hathor as a solar goddess
Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side	D II, 3,6	Frieze, East Side	Repetition of bull sign (E1)	 <i>Nbwt, Golden One</i> <i>Nbwt ntr.w</i> Golden one of the gods	Emphasizes Hathor's bovine manifestation
Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side	D II, 3,6-7	Frieze, East Side	Repetition of cobra sign (I64)	 <i>ipy.t, uraeus (D III, 3,6)</i> <i>psd.t, the shining one (D III, 3,7)</i>	Emphasizes Hathor's manifestation as the uraeus on Ra's brow
Doc 3 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze E. Side	D II, 3,7	Frieze, East Side	Visual represent- ation of meaning with <i>f</i> - viper	 <i>m-k3b=f</i> in its midst (lit. in its coils) Note: there are multiple ways to write the suffix = <i>f</i> in Ptolemaic, so the viper is a deliberate choice.	Use of <i>f</i> -viper for m. s. pronoun is play on phrase "in its coils" and emphasizes Hathor's snake manifestation
Doc 4 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze W. Side	D II, 4,2	Frieze, West Side	Reversal	 <i>Nbwt ntr.w</i> Golden one of the gods	Allows Hathor's manifestation (bovine) to look outward from sanctuary
Doc 4 Entrance Bandeau of Frieze W. Side	D II, 4,2	Frieze, West Side	Reversal	 <i>Wbn.t-m-nbw</i> She who shines like gold	Emphasizes that Hathor's radiance is like gold; allows her manifestation (bovine) to look outward from sanctuary
Doc 5 Entrance Upper Cornice Above Winged Disk	D III, 45,6; pl. 94		none		

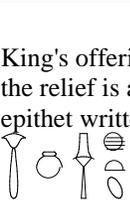
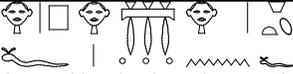
Doc 6 Entrance Upper Cornice E. Side	D III, 45,8-9; pl. 94		none		
Doc 7 Entrance Upper Cornice W. Side	D III, 45,10; pl. 94		none		
Doc 8 Entrance E. Side Door Frame	D III, 45,13	Outer Column Text A	Reversal	 <p><i>H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Twn.t Ir.t-Rc</i> Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Ra</p>	Allows Hathor's manifestations (falcon and horned cobra) to look outward from the sanctuary
Doc 8 Entrance E. Side Door Frame	D III, 46,1	Outer Column Text A	Playful writing (rebus); reversal	 <i>nb.t Twn.t</i> Lady of Iunet (=Dendera) The sign of a full bull or cow figure  (E 92) carries the value of <i>nb</i> or <i>nb(t)</i> . The uraeus  (I64) is one of Hathor's forms that dwells in Iunet (i.e. Dendera). A composite sign made from parts of both signs can thus carry both values, forming <i>nb.t</i> <i>Twn.t</i> . The resulting cow-headed snake thus alludes to the bovine and orphanian manifestations of the goddess.	Allows Hathor's cobra and cow manifestations to look outward from the sanctuary.
Doc 9 Entrance W. Side Door Frame	D III, 46,5 Compare with Doc 71 (92,10)	Outer Column Text B	Playful writing (rebus) See 5.2.5.	 <i>imn.t sst3</i> hidden (one) of image The word <i>ss3</i> 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 <i>ss3</i> (verb – conceal), so this writing doubly emphasizes the hiddenness of the image (e.g. it could also be translated as <i>imn.t sst3.t</i> - hidden one of hidden thing or hiddenness).	Emphasis on the hidden aspect of the goddess.
Doc 9 Entrance W. Side Door Frame	D III, 46,5-6; Mariette D II, pl. 60b	Outer Column Text B	Repetition of crown signs	<i>wts shm.ty m pr-wr shd 3f.ty m wbn.t</i> who wears the double crown in the Per-wer, who brightens the Atef- wearer (=Ra) as the Shining One (f.)	Repetition of crown signs emphasizes Hathor's rule over Egypt

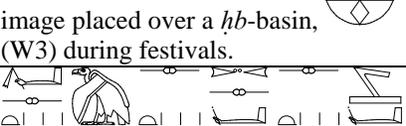
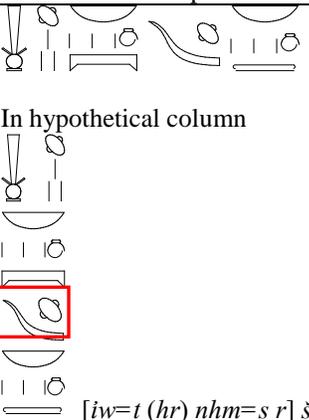
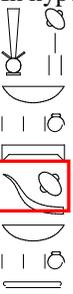
				 (S5) <i>sh̄m.ty</i> double crown (D III, 46,5)  (S1) <i>sh̄d</i> brighten (D III, 46,5)  (S186&F107) <i>ʒtf.ty</i> Atef-wearer (D III, 46,6)	(from the Per-wer); the word <i>sh̄d</i> alludes to her role as the shining uraeus on Ra's brow.
Doc 9 Entrance W. Side Door Frame	D III, 46,5-6; Mariette D II, pl. 60b	Outer Column Text B	Visual pun (rebus); writing of <i>sh̄d</i> by attraction to other crown signs	   <i>wts sh̄m.ty m pr-wr sh̄d ʒtf.ty m wbn.t</i> [who wears the double crown in the Per-wer], who brightens the Atef-wearer (=Ra) as the Shining One The use of attraction in spelling of the verb <i>sh̄d</i> (brighten) with the white crown, instead of the mace,  (D III, 91,1), brings multiple meanings to the sentence in which it appears. Its writing is influenced by the crown signs employed elsewhere in the sentence, e.g.  <i>sh̄m.ty</i> , double crown (S5), and  <i>ʒtf.ty</i> , 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 <i>sh̄d</i> 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 <i>Wbn.t</i> , 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.	Emphasizes the King's rulership by repetition of crowns; alludes to Hathor's shining appearance.
Doc 9 Entrance W. Side Door Frame	D III, 46,5-6; Mariette D II, pl. 60b	Outer Column Text B	Writing of <i>ʕnw</i> with painted eye by attraction to <i>ʕn.t</i>	    <i>ʕnw</i> , "limestone" is spelled with the painted eye (D138),	Links the beauty of the limestone used to build the sanctuary with beauty of the

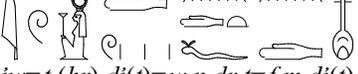
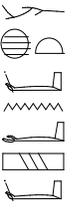
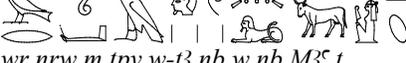
				 due to attraction with  <i>n.t</i> , an epithet of Hathor.	goddess who resides there
Doc 10 Entrance E. Side Door Frame	D III, 47,2; D II, pl. 94; Mariette, D II, pl. 60d	Inner Column Text C	none		
Doc 11 Entrance W. Side Door Frame	D III, 47,7 – 48,1; D II, pl. 94; Mariette, D II, pl. 60d	Inner column 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 <i>ntr</i> -sign in <i>dw3 ntr</i> 3.1.2	 <i>dw3 ntr</i> adoring the god	Reversal of <i>ntr</i> -flag allows the man to face the divine flag in worship, thus mimicking the action in the phrase, <i>dw3-ntr</i> .
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	 <i>hk3.t hnw.t ntr.wt</i> Female ruler, Mistress of Goddesses Symmetrical arrangement of signs around the cup-sign (W24).	Symmetrical arrangement of signs visually highlights the phrase
Doc 12 Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze	D III, 48,13	Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Naunet	Reversal	 <i>H.t-hr nb.t Twn.t</i> Hathor, Lady of Iunet	Allows Hathor's manifestation (falcon) to look outward from the sanctuary
Doc 12 Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze	D III, 48,15	Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Nun	Reversal	 <i>H.t-hr nb.t h.t-bw</i> Hathor, Lady of the Temple of Purification It is appropriate that in the speech of Nun (=waters of creation, which purify), Hathor's epithet is "Lady of the Temple of Purification."	Allows Hathor's manifestation (falcon) to look outward from the sanctuary.
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 See 5.2.1 .	 <i>sw33.n=i k3=t r k3 n p.t</i> I have praised your ka to the height of heaven. Signs of men with arms raised in praise surround the <i>k3</i> -sign of Hathor.	Men with arms raised in praise literally surround Hathor's ka with praise.

<p>Doc 12 Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze</p>	<p>D III, 48,17</p>	<p>Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Hauhet</p>	<p>Reversal</p>	 <p><i>H.t-hr nb.t Twn.t</i> Hathor, Lady of Iunet</p>	<p>Allows Hathor's manifestation (falcon) to look outward from the sanctuary</p>
<p>Doc 12 Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze</p>	<p>D III, 49,1</p>	<p>Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Heh</p>	<p>Reversal</p>	 <p><i>H.t-hr nb.t Twn.t</i> Hathor, Lady of Iunet</p>	<p>Allows Hathor's manifestation (falcon) to look outward from the sanctuary</p>
<p>Doc 12 Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze</p>	<p>D III, 49,2 Also in Doc 32 (68,13)</p>	<p>Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Heh</p>	<p>Visual represent- ation of meaning (in text) in <i>hry-mk.t</i> See 5.3.2 for similar phrase</p>	 <p><i>hry-mk.t(=i)</i> my heart Complete phrase: <i>hry-mk.t(=i) hr tpy.w-r3</i> my heart possessing the (sacred) utterances The word <i>hry-mk.t</i> is often applied to the heart, being "in the right place" (See Wb II, 161,9; Sethe, PT Kommentar, 286d; PL 665).</p>	<p>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.</p>
<p>Doc 12 Entrance E. Side below bandeau of frieze</p>	<p>D III, 49,4 Also in Doc 54 (67,12); Doc 55 (79,6)</p>	<p>Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of King</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus); repetition of similar- shaped signs See 5.3.2.</p>	 <p><i>m-t3.wy</i> 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 <i>m</i>, "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)</p>	<p>Emphasizes that the King is son of Thoth ("who knows the Two Lands")</p>
<p>Doc 13 Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze</p>	<p>D III, 49,14</p>	<p>Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula</p>	<p>Reversal See 3.1.2</p>	 <p><i>dw3 ntr</i> adoring the god</p>	<p>Reversal of <i>ntr</i>- flag allows the man to face the divine flag in worship, thus mimicking the action in the phrase, <i>dw3-ntr</i>.</p>

Doc 13 Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze	D III, 49, 15	Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula	Reversal	 <i>H.t-hr Hathor</i>	Allow Hathor's manifestation as the uraeus to look outward from the sanctuary.
Doc 13 Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze	D III, 49,16	Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Kauket	Reversal	 <i>H.t-hr nb.t Twn.t</i> Hathor, Lady of Iunet (=Dendera)	Allows Hathor's manifestation to look outward from the sanctuary.
Doc 13 Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze	D III, 50,1	Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Kek	Reversal	 <i>H.t-hr hnty.t Twn.t</i> Hathor, Foremost One (f.) of Iunet (=Dendera)	Allows Hathor's manifestation to look outward from sanctuary
Doc 13 Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze	D III, 50,3	Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Niaut	Reversal	 <i>H.t-hr nb.t T3-rr</i> Hathor, Lady of Tarer (=Dendera)	Allows Hathor's manifestation to look outward from sanctuary
Doc 13 Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze	D III, 50,5	Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Niau	Reversal	 <i>H.t-hr nb.t Twn.t</i> Hathor, Lady of Iunet (=Dendera)	Allows Hathor's manifestation to look outward from sanctuary
Doc 13 Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze	D III, 50,14	Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Hathor	Visual representa- tion of meaning	 <i>w'ab-ihy</i> w'ab-priest-musician	Visual represents the king's actions as purifying priest and musician playing the sistrum.
Doc 13 Entrance W. Side below bandeau of frieze	D III, 50,14	Adoring the god (Hathor); speech of Hathor	Repetition of <i>spd</i> - sign See 5.3.2.	 <i>spd d3is.w</i> clever of discourse	Emphasizes that king's "clever" speech is pleasing to the goddess (and magically effective).
Doc 14 Entrance Lower Cornice	D III, 51,5-6; D II, pl. 94		none		

E. Side					
Doc 15 Entrance Lower Cornice W. Side	destroyed		none		
Doc 16 Entrance E. Side Lintel	D III, 51,12-14; D II, pl. 94	(no title) sistra offering (Hathor); speech of King	Visual pun on <i>w3d</i> 5.1.2	 King's offering of <i>w3d</i> (papyrus) in the relief is a visual pun on the epithet written above his head:  <i>w3d n Shm.t</i> , "offspring (lit. offshoot) of Sekhmet."	Emphasizes the king's role as the offspring of Sekhmet by a visual pun.
Doc 17 Entrance W. Side Lintel	D III, 52,13-14 Also listed in Word Play	(no title) sistra offering (Hathor); Queen's speech	Graphical opposition (and word play on close homo- phones)	 <i>m-n=t mni.t n(.t) nbw</i> Take for yourself the menit-necklace of gold Three horizontal signs (similar- shaped ideograms) at top and small round signs at bottom create graphical opposition.	Emphasizes the offering of the menit-necklace to Hathor by the Queen
Doc 17 Entrance W. Side, Lintel	D III, 52,15 Also listed in Word Play	(no title) sistra offering; Royal Randzeile	Repetition of <i>hr</i> -sign (D2) with multiple meanings.	 <i>hr p=f hr thn hr n hnw.t=f</i> upon his throne, brightening the face of his mistress. Referencing the King, each instance of <i>hr</i> in this statement has a different meaning: preposition in a prepositional phrase (upon his throne); preposition in <i>hr</i> + inf. (brightening); substantive (face).	Repetition of face sign emphasizes that the face (of Hathor) is what the king is brightening.
Doc 17 Entrance W. Side Lintel	D III, 52,16; D II, pl. 94	(no title) sistra offering; Royal Randzeile	Writing of <i>shtp</i> by attraction to arm- sign in <i>mw.t</i> (across a colon)	 <i>mw.t=f shtp</i> Complete sentence: <i>sw mi Ihy ir sšš.t</i> <i>n mw.t=f shtp k3=s m mr(r.t)=s</i> He is like Ihy who plays the <i>sšš.t</i> - sistrum for his mother, who pacifies her Ka with what she loves. Attraction to forearm holding <i>nw</i> -jar in previous word <i>mw.t</i> influences the writing of <i>shtp</i> with the incense arm.	Emphasizes the act of offering (embedded pictorially in the Ptolemaic writing of <i>mw.t</i> , "mother"), which results in the pacification of the goddess.
Doc 18 Entrance E. Side Door Framing	D III, 53,6; D II, pl. 94	Text Column (montant)	Reversal	 <i>H.t-hr nb.t Twn.t</i> Hathor, Lady of Iunet The <i>nb</i> -basket for placed directly under the <i>H.t-hr</i> sign, recalls an	Allows Hathor's manifestation to look outward from the Sanctuary

				<p>image placed over a <i>hb</i>-basin, (W3) during festivals.</p> 	
<p>Doc 18 Entrance E. Side Door Framing</p>	<p>D III, 53,8; D II, pl. 94</p>	<p>Text Column (montant)</p>	<p>Graphical opposit- ion</p>	<p><i>hw st mk st ts st grg st</i> Protect them, preserve them, arrange them, and establish them.</p> <p>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.”</p> <p>The beating arm appears three times: in the ideogram <i>hw</i> at the beginning, and as the determinative in <i>ts</i> and <i>grg</i>. The word <i>st</i> (them), the 3rd per dependent pronoun that is the direct object of each imperative, appears together with the first imperative (<i>hw</i>) and then alternates with the successive verbs. Except for the protective vulture with outstretched wings (<i>mk</i>), 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 <i>mk</i> in the expression.</p>	<p>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.</p>
<p>Doc 19 Entrance W. Side Door Framing</p>	<p>D III, 54,7; D II, pl. 94</p>	<p>Text Column (montant)</p>	<p>Graphical opposit- ion</p>  <p>In hypothetical column</p>  <p><i>[iw=t (hr) nhm=s r] šnn.w</i> <i>nb.w nw p.t ʿb.w nb.w nw ʿ</i> [You (i.e. Hathor) are preserving it (the cultivated fields) from] all taints (<i>šnn.w</i>) of the sky and all impurities (<i>ʿb.w</i>) of the earth.</p> <p>The similarly-shaped groups on either side of <i>ʿb.w</i> (impurities) emphasizes this word in the text.</p>	<p>Emphasizes that Hathor will preserve the fields from all impurities of the sky and the earth, i.e. from anything that can harm them.</p>	

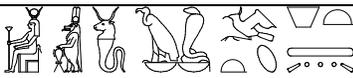
<p>Doc 19 Entrance W. Side Door Framing</p>	<p>D III, 54,8; D II, pl. 94</p>	<p>Text Column (montant)</p>	<p>Repetition of hand sign</p>	 <p><i>iw=t (hr) di(t)=w n dr.t=f m di(t) nfr</i> You are giving them back into his hand in a just return. (lit. you are giving them to his hand in a good giving).</p> <p>As part of the reciprocity of offerings, the King brings products of the harvest to the great offering tables, which the goddess accepts and returns to the King's hand as a "just return."</p>	<p>Repeated hand-signs emphasize the reciprocal process of giving: king gives produce of land to the goddess and in return she gives him a bountiful harvest for his land and people.</p>
<p>Doc 19 Entrance W. Side Door Framing</p>	<p>D III, 54,8; D II, pl. 94</p>	<p>Text Column (montant)</p>	<p>Repetition of arm signs</p>	 <p><i>nht n^cš</i> Power and fortitude</p> <p>Repetition of arm-signs in words of power.</p>	<p>Repetition of arm-signs emphasizes power and fortitude, which is the meaning carried in the phrase.</p>
<p>Doc 20 Entrance E. Side Thickness of door jamb</p>	<p>D III, 54,13</p>	<p>Text Column (montant)</p>	<p>Repetition of birds and mammals</p>	 <p><i>wr nrw m tpy.w-t3 nb.w nb M3^c.t</i> great one of fear among all those on earth, Lord of Ma'at</p> <p>Repetition of three birds in a row: <i>wr</i> (swallow, G36), <i>nrw</i> (head of vulture, H4), <i>m</i> (owl, G17); four different mammals: <i>tp</i> (head of man), <i>nb.w</i> (recumbent lion, E23), and <i>nb</i> (cow, E92), plus <i>M3^c.t</i> (seated woman, C10A).</p>	<p>Signs for different living beings (birds, mammals, man and woman) allude to the meaning of sentence: "all those on earth," not only showing the different living beings on earth, but also including Ma'at as their basis for harmony and balance.</p>
<p>Doc 21 Entrance W. Side Thickness of door jamb</p>	<p>D III, 55,7</p>	<p>Text Column (épaisseur des montants)</p>	<p>Writing of <i>ii</i> with jackal sign by attraction to <i>Imn.t.t</i> and <i>T3b.t.t</i></p>	<p>Writing of the verb <i>ii</i> (come) with the jackal sign,  due to writing of the toponyms in the continuation of the expression in D III, 55,8: <i>b3.t m imn.t.t i3b.t.t</i> (the female Ba in the west and the east) with jackal signs:</p>  <i>Imn.t.t</i> (west)  <i>T3b.t.t</i> (east)	<p>Use of walking jackals "west" and "east," connects back to previous statement that no one can come upon Isis by surprise ("come" with walking jackal sign); this statement</p>

				<p>The context is a phrase describing Isis (D III 55,7): <i>n ii hr-sʒ=s</i>, "no one comes after her" (lit. no one comes upon her back), i.e. takes her by surprise; the verb <i>ii</i>, "come" is written here with the walking jackal. At the end of the epithet string, in line 55,8, Isis is called, <i>bʒ.t m imnt.t iʒbt.t</i> (the female Ba 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</p> <p>standards for west  (R14B), and</p> <p>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).</p>	<p>applies to land of dead and land of living--no one, anywhere, takes the great goddess Isis by surprise!</p>
<p>Doc 22 Entrance E. Side Door Jamb</p>	<p>D III, 55,20 IFAO photo no. 98-2224-25 Mariette D II, pl. 60e; Also in Doc 66 (88,2)</p>	<p>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	<p> <i>sʒ R^c</i> son of Ra</p> <p>child sitting (on lap) with hand to mouth, wearing sun disk with uraeus on his head as composite ideogram, <i>sʒ R^c</i> (son of Ra)</p>	<p>Playful writing succinctly conveys epithet and draws attention to it.</p>
<p>Doc 22 Entrance E. Side Door Jamb</p>	<p>D III, 56,8; IFAO photo no. 98-2224-25; Mariette D II, pl. 60e</p>	<p>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</p>	<p>Repetition of bird and mammal signs for <i>ntr.w</i> and <i>nb.w</i></p> <p>See 3.3.3.</p>	<p></p> <p><i>ntr.w nb.w</i> all the gods</p> <p>Writing reflects the archaic practice of trifold repetition of signs to express plural, but with three <i>different</i> bird signs for <i>ntr.w</i>: falcon, ibis, benu-bird; three <i>different</i> signs for <i>nb.w</i>: cow, sphinx, <i>nb</i>-basket. The falcon represents Horus of Edfu or Hathor of Dendera (as female</p>	<p>Writing <i>ntr.w nb.w</i> (all the gods) with six different signs gives visual variety and alludes to the different manifestations of the divinities in the temple.</p>

				falcon); the ibis as Thoth; the benu-bird on the mound of creation as the naos in the temple.	
Doc 22 Entrance E. Side Door Jamb	D III, 56,9-8; IFAO photo no. 98-2224- 25; Mariette D II, pl. 60e	Pied-droit de l'embrasure	Reversal See 3.3.3	  <i>H.t-hr wr.t nb.t'Iwn.t'Ir.t-R^c nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w</i> Hathor the Great, lady of Iunet (=Dendera), Eye of Ra, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods	Allows Hathor's manifestation (and those of the gods depicted) to look outward from the Sanctuary
Doc 23 Entrance W. Side Door Jamb	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)	Pied-droit de l'embrasure	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>itr.ty</i> the Two Sanctuaries 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 <i>itr.t</i> (Wb I, 147,14).	Playful writing calls attention to the Two Sanctuaries
Doc 23 Entrance W. Side Door Jamb	D III, 57,5; IFAO photo no. 98-2222- 23; Mariette D II, pl. 60a	Pied-droit de l'embrasure	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>T3-rr</i> Tarer (=Dendera) Fairman (ASAE 43, 1943, 272) does not explain why the scarab beetle sign is read <i>t3</i> ; he suggests that it some kind of pun. Wilson (PL 1118) notes that the scarab beetle, living in burrows, has close affinities with the earth and may have come to symbolize it; its generative powers may have also symbolized the fertility of the earth. The serpent (I80A) carries the phonetic value <i>r</i> and may represent a primeval snake (e.g. Ogdoad).	Allusion to primeval snake in the writing of Dendera's name of Tarer.

<p>Doc 23 Entrance W. Side Door Jamb</p>	<p>D III, 57,7; IFAO photo no. 98-2222- 23; Mariette D II, p. 60a</p>	<p>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</p>	<p>Graphical opposition with chiasmus</p>	 <p><i>S3 m d3is.w</i> with the formulas of Sia and with the effective spells.</p> <p>The chiasmus between the <i>ntr</i>-sign and the <i>d3</i>-sign (of <i>d3is.w</i>) suggests the divine origin of the effective spells.</p>	<p>Repetition of groups emphasizes Sia's effective spells</p>
<p>Doc 23 Entrance W. Side Door Jamb</p>	<p>D III, 57,9-8; IFAO photo no. 98-2222- 23; Mariette D II, pl. 60a</p>	<p>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</p>	<p>Reversal</p>	  <p><i>H.t-hr wr.t nb.t 'Iwn.t 'Ir.t-R^c nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w šps.t wsr.t</i> Hathor the Great, lady of Iunet (=Dendera), Eye of Ra, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods, the noble and powerful lady</p>	<p>Allows Hathor's manifestation (and those of the gods depicted) to look outward from the Sanctuary</p>
<p>Doc 23 Entrance W. Side Door Jamb</p>	<p>D III, 57,8; IFAO photo no. 98-2222- 23; Mariette D II, pl. 60a</p>	<p>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p> <p>See 3.1.1.</p>	 <p><i>hnw.t</i> mistress</p> <p>The seated woman wears a cup, ∇ <i>hn.t</i>, on her head, thus allowing the sign to represent <i>hnw.t</i>, "mistress," by rebus.</p>	<p>Playful (and succinct) writing of "mistress" in Hathor's titulary.</p>
<p>Doc 23 Entrance W. Side Door Jamb</p>	<p>D III, 57,9-8; IFAO photo no. 98-2222- 23; Mariette D II, pl. 60a</p>	<p>Pied-droit de l'embrasure</p>	<p>Repetition of signs (falcons and cows)</p>	 <p><i>ntr.w nb.w</i> all the gods</p> <p>Archaic practice of trifold repetition to denote plural, here using three falcons on standards (alluding to Horus or Hathor) for <i>ntr.w</i>; three cows (=Hathor) for <i>nb.w</i>, since the cow sign can carry the value <i>nb</i>.</p>	<p>Allusion to Horus/Hathor as falcons and Hathor as cow</p>
<p>Per-wer Interior</p>					
<p>Doc 24 E. Side Bandeau of Base</p>	<p>D III, 59,10; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; 98-2213; Mariette D II, pl.</p>	<p>South Wall</p>	<p>Reversal</p> <p>See 3.2.1.</p>	 <p><i>s3 H.t-hr</i> son of Hathor</p> <p>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</p>	<p>Allows Hathor's manifestation to look outward from the center of the Per-wer's S. Wall, the location of the S. Niche.</p>

	61c			of the Per-wer's South Wall.	
Doc 24 E. Side Bandeau of Base	D III, 59,11; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; 98-2213; Mariette D II, pl. 61c	South Wall	Reversal	 <p><i>H.t-hr wr.t nb.t 'Iwn.t 'Ir.t-R^c nb.t p.t</i> <i>hnw.t ntr.w nb.w</i> Hathor the great, lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods.</p>	Allows Hathor's manifestations to look outward from the Sanctuary
Doc 24 E. Side Bandeau of Base	D III, 59,11; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; 98-2213; Mariette D II, pl. 61c Also in Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 26 (61,4); Doc 77, (96,10); for Isis, Doc 27 (62,3); Doc 71 (92,7)	South Wall	Playful writing (rebus)	 <p><i>H.t-hr wr.t</i> Hathor the Great</p> <p>Writing of <i>wr.t</i> by rebus with the image of the hippotamus goddess Taweret (losing the semantic value but keeping phonetic value; dropping the f.s. article <i>t</i>).</p>	Playful writing calls attention to the epithet "Hathor the Great."
Doc 24 E. Side Bandeau of Base	D III, 59,11; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; 98-2213; Mariette D II, pl. 61c. Also in Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 70 (92,7); Doc 77 (96,10)	South Wall	Playful writing (rebus); reversal See 3.1.1.	 <p><i>nb.t 'Iwn.t</i> Lady of Iunet (=Dendera)</p> <p>The sign of the cow  (E 92) carries the value of <i>nb</i> or <i>nb(.t)</i>; 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 <i>nb.t 'Iwn.t</i>. This cow-headed snake thus alludes to Hathor's bovine and orphidian manifestations.</p>	Composite of Hathor's cobra and cow manifestations calls attention to her epithet, "Lady of Dendera."

<p>Doc 25 W. Side Bandeau of Base</p>	<p>D III, 60,4; IFAO photo no. 97-2221; Mariette D II, pl. 61d</p> <p>See also Doc 42 (70,10); Doc 55 (79,3)</p>	<p>South Wall</p>	<p>Playful writing of <i>nn n</i>; repetition of <i>nw</i>-jars</p>	 <p><i>nn n Twny.t</i> child of Iunyt</p> <p>Playful writing places the genitival <i>n</i>, written with the <i>nw</i>-jar, under the child-sign, as if he is sitting on it.</p>	<p>Playful writing draws attention to the King's epithet, "child of Iunet."</p>
<p>Doc 25 W. Side Bandeau of Base</p>	<p>D III, 60,4; IFAO photo no. 97-2221; Mariette D II, pl. 61d</p> <p><i>s3 smsw</i> with rebus also in Doc 54 (67,12)</p>	<p>South Wall</p>	<p>Visual pun (rebus) on <i>smsw</i> and <i>sm3-t3.wy</i>; attraction of <i>sm3</i>- sign.</p>	 <p><i>s3 smsw n Sm3-t3.wy</i> the eldest son of Somtus</p> <p>The word <i>smsw</i> (eldest) is composed of a <i>sm3</i>-sign (phonogram for <i>sm</i> by the consonantal principle, in which <i>sm3</i> loses its semi-vowel of <i>3</i>, with only its strong consonants remaining) and the <i>sw.t</i> plant (the phonogram for <i>sw</i>, again by the consonantal principle, by the loss of its final <i>t</i>), held by the man. A composite ideogram (itself a playful writing; see Doc 27, D III, 62,2) then represents <i>Sm3-t3.wy</i> ("Uniter of the Two Lands," i.e. Somtus), consisting of the <i>sm3</i>-sign and the heraldic plants of U. and L. Egypt on either side. This <i>sm3</i> sign thus attracted the spelling of the previous word, <i>smsw</i>, allowing the formation of a visual pun.</p>	<p>Visual pun created by attraction calls attention to the King's role as eldest son of the god Somtus.</p>
<p>Doc 25 W. Side Bandeau of Base</p>	<p>D III, 60,5; IFAO photo no. 97-2221; Mariette D II, pl. 61d</p>	<p>South Wall</p>	<p>Reversal</p>	 <p><i>H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Twn.t nb.ty.t rhy.t hnw.t t3.wy</i> Hathor the Great, Lady of Dendera, Lady of the Rekhyt, Mistress of the Two Lands.</p>	<p>Allows Hathor's manifestations to look outward from the center of the sanctuary.</p>
<p>Doc 25 W. Side Bandeau of Base</p>	<p>D III, 60,5; IFAO photo no. 97-2221; Mariette D II, pl. 61d</p>	<p>South Wall</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</p>	 <p><i>H.t-hr wr.t</i> Hathor the Great</p> <p>Writing of <i>wr.t</i> by rebus with the image of the hippotamus goddess Taweret (losing the semantic value but keeping phonetic value; dropping the f.s. article <i>3</i>).</p>	<p>Playful writing calls attention to the epithet "Hathor the Great."</p>

	Also in Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 26 (61,4); Doc 77, (96,10); Isis: Doc 27 (62,3); Doc 71 (92,12)				
Doc 25 W. Side Bandeau of Base	D III, 60,5; IFAO photo no. 97-2221; Mariette D II, pl. 61d Also in Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 70 (92,7)	South Wall	Playful writing (rebus); reversal See 3.1.1.	 <i>nb.t'w'n.t</i> Lady of Iunet (=Dendera)  (E 92) The sign of the cow carries the value of <i>nb</i> or <i>nb(.t)</i> ; the  (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 <i>nb.t'w'n.t</i> . This cow-headed snake thus alludes to Hathor's bovine and orphidian manifestations.	Composite of Hathor's cobra and cow manifestations calls attention to her epithet, "Lady of Dendera."
Doc 25 W. Side of Bandeau of Base	D III, 60,5; IFAO photo no. 97-2221; Mariette D II, pl. 61d Also in Doc 45 (76,11); Doc 74 (97,7)	South Wall	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>nb.ty.t-rhy.t</i> Lady of the Rekhyt 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 <i>Nb.ty</i> , the two tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the <i>rhy.t</i> -bird, which stands for humans. The <i>nb.ty</i> element is made feminine by means of the <i>t</i> -loaf- and egg-signs at the end of the word.	Playful writing emphasizes Hathor's role as Lady of the Rekhyt which she takes over from Isis on west walls of the temple.
Doc 26 W. Side of Bandeau of Base	D III, 61,3 Also in Doc 27 (62,2)	South Wall	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>ntr nfr</i> the good god The word <i>ntr</i> appears in honorific transposition. The baboon with arms raised in adoration holds the value	Playful writing of <i>nfr</i> emphasizes the King's epithet, <i>ntr nfr</i> .

				<i>nfr</i> in Ptolemaic Egyptian. Note that this epithet is not put in reversal (even though <i>ntr</i> is an ideogram for "god"), because only the epithets of the goddess are put in reversal so they face outwards from the naos.	
Doc 26 W. Side of Bandeau of Base	D III, 61,3	South Wall	Reversal See 3.1.2.	 <i>ḥnh ntr nfr s3 H.t-hr</i> The Good God lives, son of Hathor	Allows Hathor's manifestations to look outward from the center of the Sanctuary.
Doc 26 E. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 61,3-4; Mariette D II, pl. 61a	South Wall	Reversal	 <i>H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Tw̄n.t Tr.t-Rc nb.t p.t ḥnw.t ntr.w nb.w</i> Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet, Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of All the Gods	Allows Hathor's manifestations to look outward from the center of the Sanctuary.
Doc 26 E. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 61,4; Mariette D II, pl. 61a Also in Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 77, (96,10); Isis: Doc 27 (62,3); Doc 71 (92,2)	South Wall	Playful writing (rebus); reversal	 <i>H.t-hr wr.t</i> Hathor the Great Writing of <i>wr.t</i> by rebus with the image of the hippotamus goddess Taweret (losing the semantic value but keeping phonetic value; dropping the f.s. article <i>t</i>).	Playful writing calls attention to the epithet "Hathor the Great."
Doc 26 E. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 61, 4; Mariette D II, pl. 61a Also in Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 70 (92,7)	South Wall	Playful writing (rebus); reversal See 3.1.1.	 <i>nb.t Tw̄n.t</i> Lady of Iunet (=Dendera)  (E 92) The sign of the cow carries the value of <i>nb</i> or <i>nb(.t)</i> ; the  (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 <i>nb.t Tw̄n.t</i> . This cow-headed snake thus alludes to Hathor's bovine and orphidian manifestations.	Composite of Hathor's cobra and cow manifestations calls attention to her epithet, "Lady of Dendera."

<p>Doc 26 E. Side Bandeau of Frieze</p>	<p>D III, 61, 4; Mariette D II, pl. 61a</p> <p>Also in Doc 70 (92,7)</p>	<p>South Wall</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</p> <p>See 3.1.1.</p>	<p> <i>ʿr.t-R^c</i> Eye of Ra</p> <p>The sun god Ra (C2B) holds the Divine Eye (<i>ʿr.t</i>) (D10), to form the composite ideogram, <i>ʿr.t-R^c</i>.</p>	<p>Playful writing calls attention to Hathor's frequent epithet, <i>ʿr.t-R^c</i>.</p>
<p>Doc 26 E. Side Bandeau of Frieze</p>	<p>D III, 61,4; Mariette D II, pl. 61a</p>	<p>South Wall</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</p>	<p> <i>nb.t p.t</i> Lady of Heaven</p> <p>Seated figure of Hathor, wearing horns-and-disk headdress and holding papyrus scepter, stands for <i>nb.t</i>, 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 <i>p.t</i> (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 <i>p.t t3</i>).</p>	<p>Horns and disk allude to Hathor; throne alludes to Isis; allows Hathor's manifestation to look out from the center of the Sanctuary.</p>
<p>Doc 26 E. Side Bandeau of Frieze</p>	<p>D III, 61,4; Mariette D II, pl. 61a</p>	<p>South Wall</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</p> <p>See 3.1.1.</p>	<p> <i>ḥnw.t</i> mistress</p> <p>The seated woman wears a cup, , <i>ḥn.t</i>, on her head, thus allowing the sign to represent <i>ḥnw.t</i>, "mistress," by rebus. (ref: Fairman, Ptolemaic Signs, 213; 290)</p>	<p>Playful (and succinct) writing of "mistress" in Hathor's titulary.</p>
<p>Doc 26 E. Side Bandeau of Frieze</p>	<p>D III, 61,4-3; Mariette D II, pl. 61a</p>	<p>South Wall</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</p> <p>See 3.1.1.</p>	<p> <i>ntr.w nb.w</i> all the gods</p> <p>Cow with star between horns is composite ideogram: cow = <i>nb(.t)</i>; star = <i>ntr</i>. 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.</p>	<p>Playful writing of <i>ntr.w nb.w</i> hearkens back to Predynastic imagery, emphasizes Hathor's role as celestial goddess.</p>
<p>Doc 26 E. Side Bandeau of Frieze</p>	<p>D III, 61, 4; Mariette D II, pl. 61a</p> <p>Also in Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 25</p>	<p>East Wall</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus); reversal</p> <p>See 3.1.1.</p>	<p> <i>nb.t ʿwn.t</i> Lady of Iunet (=Dendera)</p> <p>The sign of the cow  (E 92) carries the value of <i>nb</i> or <i>nb(.t)</i>; the uraeus  (I64) is one of the forms</p>	<p>Composite of Hathor's cobra and cow manifestations calls attention to her epithet, "Lady of Dendera."</p>

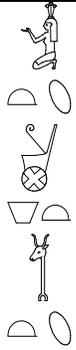
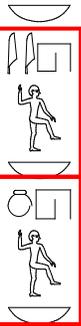
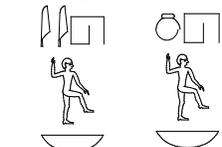
	(60,5); Doc 70 (92,7)			of Hathor dwelling in Iunet (=Dendera). A composite sign made from parts of both signs can thus carry both values, forming <i>nb.t Twn.t</i> . This cow-headed snake thus alludes to Hathor's bovine and orphidian manifestations.	
Doc 26 E. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 61,4; Mariette D II, pl. 61a Also in Doc 23 (57,1); Doc 65 (90,2)	East Wall	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>itr.ty</i> The Two Sanctuaries 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 <i>itr.t</i> (Wb I, 147,14).	Playful writing calls attention to the Two Sanctuaries
Doc 26 E. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 61,6; Mariette D II, pl. 61a	East Wall	Playful writing (rebus) See 5.2.5.	 <i>Bik.t</i> female falcon Falcon sign, with woman's head wearing horns-and-disk headdress, visually personifies Hathor as female falcon.	Hathoric headdress and female wig visually emphasizes Hathor's role as female falcon.
Doc 27 W. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 61,3 Also in Doc 26 (61,3)	South Wall	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>ntr nfr</i> the good god The word <i>ntr</i> appears in honorific transposition. The baboon with arms raised in adoration holds the value <i>nfr</i> in Ptolemaic Egyptian.	Playful writing of <i>nfr</i> emphasizes the King's epithet, <i>ntr nfr</i> .
Doc 27 W. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 62,2; Mariette D II, pl. 61b	South Wall	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>šsp-ḥ</i> living image Occurring in the following phrase: <i>šsp-ḥ n Sm3-t3.wy s3 Rḥ</i> the living image of Somtus, son of Ra 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 <i>s</i> and <i>š</i> .	Visually emphasizes that the king is the living image of the sun god (as sphinx)
Doc 27 W. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 62,2; Mariette D II, pl. 61b	South Wall	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>Sm3-t3.wy</i> Somtus (Sema-tawy), lit. "Uniter of the Two Lands Sign consists of the <i>sm3</i> sign with heraldic plants of Upper and Lower	Represents the Uniter of the Two Lands with visual shorthand.

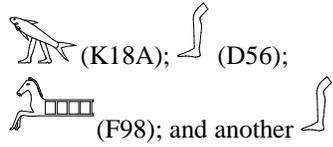
				Egypt, the sedge and the papyrus, on either side.	
Doc 27 W. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 62,3; Mariette D II, pl. 61b	South Wall	Reversal	 <i>ʒs.t wr.t mw.t-ntr nb.t ʔt.t-di hry(.t)-ib ʔwn.t</i> Isis the Great, Mother of God, Lady of Iatdi, in the midst of Iunet.	Allows Isis-Hathor's manifestations (and those of the gods of Dendera) to look outward from the center of the sanctuary.
Doc 27 W. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 62,3; Mariette D II, pl. 61b Also in Doc 71 (92,12); Hathor: Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 26 (61,4); Doc 77 (96,10)	South Wall	Playful writing (rebus); reversal	 <i>ʒs.t wr.t</i> Isis the Great Writing of <i>wr.t</i> by rebus with the image of the hippotamus goddess Taweret (losing the semantic value but keeping phonetic value; dropping the f.s. article <i>t</i>).	Playful writing calls attention to the epithet of "great" for the goddess.
Doc 27 W. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 62,3; Mariette D II, pl. 61b	South Wall	Playful writing (rebus); reversal	 <i>nb.t ʔt.t-di</i> Lady of Iatdi (=Dendera) Seated figure of Hathor, wearing horns-and-disk headdress and holding papyrus scepter, stands for <i>nb.t</i> , 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). <i>ʔt.t-di</i> is spelled the usual way, with phonograms spelling <i>i.t</i> and <i>di</i> .	Ideogram for Hathor is direct representation of the goddess.
Doc 27 W. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 62,2; Mariette D II, pl. 61b	South Wall	Playful writing (rebus); reversal	 <i>ʔwn.t</i> Dendera Composite ideogram with the three major divinities of Dendera on a standard: Osiris, Horus, and Hathor-Isis.	Composite ideogram for "Dendera" written with the images of the major divinities of Dendera.
Doc 27 W. Side Bandeau of Frieze	D III, 62,4-5; Mariette D II, pl.	West Wall	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>wiʒ</i> barque The complete sentence is <i>wbn ʔwny.t</i>	The sign for <i>wiʒ</i> visually represents the sun as it sails

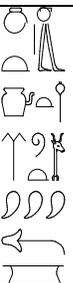
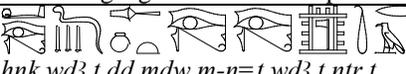
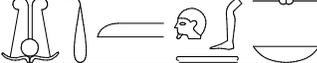
	61b			<i>m p.t m h3.t wi3</i> , "Iunyt shines in the sky at the prow of the barque." The sign for <i>wi3</i> is a visual representation of solar barque as it sails through the sky.	through the sky.
North Wall					
Doc 28 E. Side Lintel	D III, 58,6; pls. 180-181; Mariette D II, pl. 66a	<i>mnw</i> -vase (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Graphical opposit- ion over two cola	 <p>[<i>ir ihy</i>] <i>n mw.t=f hntš</i> <i>mw.t=f</i> [<i>n m33=f</i>] [who makes music] for his mother, his mother rejoices [at seeing him]</p> <p>Graphical opposition of the two repetitions of <i>mw.t=f</i>, each spelled with the arm holding <i>nw</i>-jar, and one or two small, short signs (t-loaf, or t-loaf + egg), and f-viper.</p>	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.
Doc 28 E. Side Lintel	D III, 58,7; pls. 180-181; Mariette D II, pl. 66a	<i>mnw</i> -vase (Hathor); speech of Hathor	Repetition of <i>nb</i> - signs	 <p><i>H.t-hr wr.t nb(.t) Twn.t</i> <i>Ir.t-R^c nb(.t) p.t hnw.t</i> <i>ntr.w nb.w nb.t th</i> <i>nb(.t) ntyw nb(.t) hs.t</i></p> <p>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</p> <p>Several other signs (e.g. recumbent cow, lion) could have been chosen for <i>nb.t</i>, so use of the repeated <i>nb</i>-signs seems deliberate.</p>	Visual emphasis on the <i>nb</i> -signs calls attention Hathor's epithets.
Doc 28 E. Side Lintel	D III, 58,8; pls. 180-181; Mariette D II, pl. 66a	<i>mnw</i> -vase (Hathor); Divine Randzeile	Writing of <i>ib</i> by attraction to wine jar in <i>th</i> See 3.5.	 <p><i>sy m nb(.t) th nb(.t) 3w.t- <ib> whm.tw nwh n</i> <i>hm.t=s</i> for she is the lady of drunkenness, the lady of joy (lit. wideness of heart), one repeats drunkenness for her Incarnation.</p>	Visual alliteration of repeated wine jars calls attention to the passage, highlights the idea that the wine takes over one's heart (i.e.

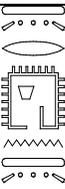
				<p>Writing of the wine-jar sign in <i>3h.t-ib</i>, "joy," rather than the heart-sign, though marked as an error by Chassinat, is probably attraction to the wine-jar sign in <i>ih</i>, "drunkenness." thus emphasizing that the wine takes over one's heart (i.e. mind) completely. Graphic opposition also present in alternation of wine jars with horizontal signs.</p>	<p>mind) completely.</p>
<p>Doc 29 W. Side Lintel</p>	<p>D III, 58,11; pl. 180-181; Mariette D II, pl. 66a</p> <p>Also in Doc 52 (71,3, cloth); Doc 74 (97,13-14, udjat)</p>	<p>Wine to his mother (Isis); title and formula</p>	<p>Repetition of arm with <i>nw</i>-jar in <i>hnk</i> and <i>mw.t</i></p> <p>See 3.3.1.</p>	 <p><i>hnk irp n mwt=f</i> Offering wine to his mother</p> <p>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 <i>nw</i>-jar,  (D39), functions as the ideogram for the verb <i>hnk</i> (to offer). In Ptolemaic, the same sign can also be the ideogram for the substantive <i>mw.t</i> (mother). The more traditional writing of <i>mw.t</i>, the vulture sign¹⁶⁶⁶  (G14), 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 <i>mw.t</i> with the same sign as <i>hnk</i>, 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."</p> <p>Interestingly, the same sign,  (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): <i>mw.t-ntr</i>: </p>	<p>Emphasizes the act of offering the wine.</p>

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.

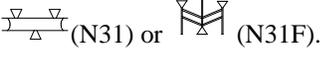
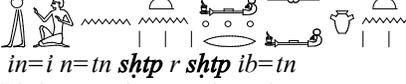
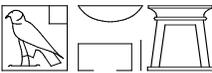
<p>Doc 29 W. Side Lintel</p>	<p>D III, 58,14; pl. 180-181; Mariette D II, pl. 66a</p>	<p>Wine to his mother (Isis); speech of Meret of the North</p>	<p>Graphical opposition</p>	 <p><i>Mr.t Mhw hnw.t hty.t</i> Meret of the North, Mistress of the Throat</p> <p>Note that in original text, the throat-sign (F11A) is rather foreshortened, suggesting that the scribe ran out of room at the end.</p> <p>Graphical opposition of similarly- shaped groups (3 tall signs alternating with 2 small signs)</p>	<p>Strong graphical opposition calls attention to the words, "Meret," "North," and "throat": the goddess and her domains of action in the scene.</p>
<p>Doc 29 W. Side Lintel</p>	<p>D III, 59,5; pl. 180-181; Mariette D II, pl. 66a</p>	<p>Wine to his mother (Isis); Divine Randzeile (Isis)</p>	<p>Graphical opposition and repetition of sign groups</p>	 <p><i>nb(.t) hy nb(.t) hnw</i> <i>nb(.t) hntš rꜥ nb</i> the lady of gladness, lady of jubilation, lady of joy every day.</p> <p>Two groups with similarly-shaped signs highlight them from the rest of the text:</p>  <p><i>hy</i> (gladness)</p>  <p><i>hnw</i> (jubilation).</p> <p>Both groups have small signs at the top (reed shelter and either two reed leaves or <i>nw</i>-jar) and the lively dancing man as the determinative. The <i>nb</i>-basket (an ideogram for <i>nb.t</i>, "lady," is underneath both of the dancing men:</p>  <p>so that the men almost look as if they are dancing on the <i>nb</i>-basket, which itself recalls the similar-shaped sign</p>	<p>Emphasizes Hathor's epithets as Lady of Gladness, Jubilation, and Joy, which come about as a result of the wine offering.</p>

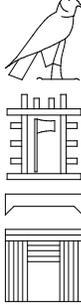
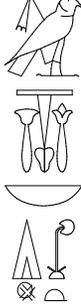
				<p>of the alabaster purification basin, called a <i>hb</i>-basin  (W3), which is the ideogram for "feast," or "festival"--thus alluding to the festival of drunkenness celebrated for the goddess. The two groups of signs, with the repetition of the dancing men catches the eye and emphasizes the gaiety and rejoicing taking place because of the wine-drinking. The following word, <i>hntš</i> (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 <i>both</i> arms raised in joy and they seem to be dancing more vigorously.</p>	
<p>Doc 30 E. Side 3rd Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 71,18; pl.184</p>	<p>Greeting with <i>nms.t</i>- jar (Hathor); title and formula</p>	<p>Repetition of leg- signs See 5.2.3.</p>	 <p><i>nd=i hr=<u>t</u> m bs(.t) m sty <u>hntš</u> ib=<u>t</u> m wbn m w^r.t</i> I offer you what emerges from the leg (<i>sty</i>), your heart rejoices with what appears from the leg (<i>w^r.t</i>).</p> <p>Each of the words (in bold blue font) above have a leg in one of their signs:</p>  <p>(K18A); (D56); (F98); and another (D56).</p> <p>The emphasis in this passage is on what "comes emerges from the leg" [of Osiris], i.e. the inundation. The word <i>bs</i> (emerge) usually has walking-legs determinatives, which is natural because the verb concerns motion. This particular ideogram is</p>	<p>Emphasizes the origin of the inundation from the leg of Osiris, the movement of the water and fish.</p>

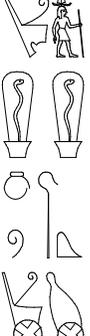
				<p>especially appropriate because it carries the idea of a fish in motion, which the fish would do in the waters of the emerging inundation. The "leg" of Osiris, called alternatively <i>sty</i> and <i>w^r.t</i>, naturally uses the leg-determinative. Interestingly, for "rejoice," the word <i>hntš</i> 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 <i>bs</i> and <i>hntš</i>, 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.</p>	
<p>Doc 30 E. Side 3rd Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 72,5; pl.184</p>	<p>Greeting with <i>nms.t</i>- jar (Hathor); Royal Randzeile</p>	<p>Graphical opposition See 5.1.3.</p>	 <p><i>in=i n=t ḥd.t ḥnᶜ.ti m ḥᶜpy</i> I bring to you the vessel (<i>ḥd.t</i>) filled with inundation water</p> <p>Tall signs are <i>in</i> (W25), <i>ḥd</i> (T3), <i>ḥnᶜ</i> (F11A), and <i>m</i> (Aa56) Alternating with pairs of short signs: <i>n=t</i> (W24:X1), <i>t</i>-loaf and vase-determinative (X1&W70), and <i>w</i>-curl and <i>t</i>-loaf (Z7:X1) The graphical opposition occurs by alternating signs of similar shape.</p>	<p>Graphical opposition highlights the topic of the scene, "I bring you the vessel filled with inundation water."</p>
<p>Doc 31 W. Side 3rd Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 83,12-13; pl. 185</p>	<p>Udjat offering (Hathor); title and formula</p>	<p>Repetition of eye sign</p>	 <p><i>ḥnk wd3.t dd mdw m-n=t wd3.t ntr.t ntr.ti r 3hw</i> Offering the udjat-eye. Words to say: Take for yourself the udjat-eye, the (divine) eye, purified of pain.</p>	<p>Emphasizes the offering of the Udjat-Eye.</p>
<p>Doc 31 W. Side</p>	<p>D III, 84,2; pl.</p>	<p>Udjat offering</p>	<p>Visual pun on <i>ḥni</i></p>		<p>Emphasizes the "raised up"</p>

3 rd Reg.	185	(Hathor); Royal Randzeile		<p><i>tn.ti m tp-rd=s nb</i> distinguished (lit. "raised up") in all its ritual</p> <p>The word <i>tni</i>, written with the sign of the double ostrich feather crown, describes the udjat as "raised up" (by the king's hand raised in offering it to Hathor); the word <i>tni</i> (as well as the ideogram used to write it) also designates the crown worn by the king in this scene.</p>	quality of the Udjat and connects it with the king's high double feather crown (having associations with the Eye).
Doc 31 W. Side 3 rd Reg.	D III, 84,2; pl. 185	Udjat offering (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Repetition of eye signs See 5.1.4.	 <p><i>nb.t wd3.ty ntr.t n.t dfd-n-wd3.t</i> Lady of the udjat-eyes, the divine Eye of the Pupil of the Eye</p>	Emphasizes Hathor's relationship to the Udjat Eyes and the sun god.
Doc 32 E. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 68,11-12; IFAO photo no. 98-2211 See also Doc 22 (56,7)	Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula Also in Word Play	Visual representation of meaning	 <p><i>dw3.n=i k3=t r k3 n p.t</i> I have praised your Ka to the height of heaven</p> <p>The signs of men praising,  (A30) and  (A28), standing on either side of the Ka of the goddess, create the visual image that she is surrounded with praise.</p>	Visual (and aural) emphasis on praise surrounding the Ka of the goddess.
Doc 32 E. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 68,12; IFAO photo no. 98-2211	Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula	Symmetrical arrangement of signs around a word	 <p><i>t3 r wsh n t3</i> the ground to the breadth of the earth</p> <p>Complete sentence: <i>sn.n=i n=t t3 r wsh n t3</i> I have kissed for you the ground to the breadth of the earth</p> <p>The symmetrical arrangement of horizontal signs, <i>t3 r</i> and <i>n t3</i>, frame and highlight the large, square sign for <i>wsh</i>, "breadth."</p>	Emphasizes the great extent to which the king pays honor to Hathor.
Doc 32 E. Side	D III, 68,13;	Adoring the god	Visual represent-		Placement of the heart-sign

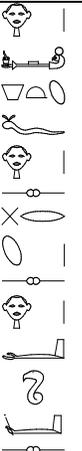
2 nd Reg.	IFAO photo 98-2211 Also in Doc 12 (49,2)	(Hathor); title and formula	ation of meaning See 5.3.2.	 <i>hry-mk.t=i</i> my heart Complete phrase: <i>hry-mk.t=i hr tpy.w-r3</i> my heart possessing the (sacred) utterances The word <i>hry-mk.t</i> is often applied to the heart, being "in the right place" (Wb II, 161,9; Sethe, <i>Pyr Komm</i> 286d; PL 665).	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.
Doc 32 E. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 68,14; IFAO photo 98-2211	Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula	Visual representation of meaning See 5.2.3.	 <i>h.t-nmi.t</i> Temple of the Bier (=Mammisi) The sign of a lion-bed within a temple enclosure represents the Mammisi, the birthplace of the child god.	Visually represents the mammisi.
Doc 33 N. Wall W. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 80,5; pl. 183; IFAO photo no. 93-2210 Also listed in Sign Play	Adoring the god (Hathor); title and formula	none		
Doc 34 E. side 1 st Reg.	D III, 63,14-18; pl. 182; IFAO photo no. 97-2221	no title (Nekhbet and Hathor welcome King)	none		
Doc 35 W. Side 1 st Reg.	D III, 75,15-76,2; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2220	no title (Wadjet and Isis welcome King)	none		
E. and W. Walls					
Doc 36 E. Wall 3 rd Reg.	D III, 72,14; pl. 188-189	Doing the censuring	Visual pun	 Writing of  , "Horus," with the eye (D4) and road-with-bushes sign (N31F) alludes to the distant Eye Goddess, because <i>hri</i> , "be far away, distant" (Wb III, 145,1-19, esp. 1), can also written with variations of the same sign as its ideogram, e.g.	The writing of the name of Horus alludes to the Distant Goddess.

				 (N31) or (N31F).	
Doc 36 E. Wall 3 rd Reg.	D III, 72,17; pl. 188-189 Also listed in Word Play	Doing the censing; speech of King	Repetition of incense- arm sign; visual representat ion of meaning See 5.2.6	 <i>in=i n=tn shtp r shtp ib=tn</i> I bring you incense in order to pacify/satisfy your (pl.) heart. Spelling of <i>shtp</i> (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 3 rd Reg.	D III, 73,10; pl. 188-189 (in horizontal line)	Doing the censing; speech of Hathor	Sym- metrical arrange- ment of two or more words	 <i>H.t-hr nb.t pr-wr</i> Hathor, Lady of the Per-wer In the original inscription (D III, pl. 189), <i>pr-wr</i> (O21B) has a rectangular shape, thus forming symmetry with <i>H.t-hr</i> (O10).	Symmetry highlight's Hathor's role as Lady of the Per- wer.
Doc 37 W. Wall 3 rd Reg	D III, 84,13; 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- clasis)	 <i>k3.w nb(.w) k3w</i> Divine powers, lords of nourishment Aural and visual plays on <i>k3.w</i> (divine powers) and <i>k3w</i> (nourishment).	Emphasis on the divine powers who are in charge of nourishment.
Doc 37 W. Wall 3 rd Reg	D III, 84,14; pl. 195; Mariette D II, 67b (in column)	Funerary Offering; Royal Randzeile	Sym- metrical arrange- ment of two or more words	 ~~~~~ <i>n(.t) t3 n'Itm</i> of the Land of Atum Complete sentence: <i>tw=t Psd.t n(.t) t3 n'Itm</i> You are the Ennead of the Land of Atum Omission of feminine ending of genitival <i>n.t</i> creates symmetry of the two water signs above and below the <i>t3</i> -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.

<p>Doc 37 W. Wall 3rd Reg</p>	<p>D III, 85,1; pl. 195; Mariette D II, 67b</p> <p>See also Doc 55 (79,12)</p>	<p>Funerary Offering; Royal Randzeile</p>	<p>Sym- metrical arrange- ment of signs in parallel texts</p>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: flex-start;"> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: left;"> <p><i>Bik ntry hry srh</i> divine falcon upon the serekh</p> <p><i>Hr-sm3-t3.wy nb</i> <i>H3di</i> Harsomtus, lord of Khadi</p> </div> </div> <p>The Horus falcon in the first column, adorned with the <i>nḥw</i> flagellum, a symbol of rulership, stands over plant motifs: the <i>sm3-t3.wy</i> motif – representing the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt (lotus for U.E. and papyrus for L.E.); followed by the <i>nb</i>-basket (lord) and the name of the place called <i>H3-di</i>--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).</p> <p>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 <i>hr</i>, upon <i>r</i>, meaning "above"); palace façade, the serekh symbol. The group (which itself has visual symmetry, because <i>ntry</i> and <i>srh</i> 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 <i>everything</i>!</p> <p>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</p>	<p>Columns relating to Harsomtus stand out due to their visual symmetry.</p>
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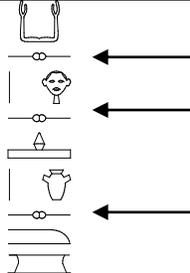
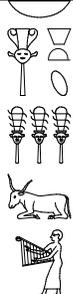
				fertility to the Two Lands in exchange for the king's offerings.	
Doc 37 W. Wall 3 rd Reg	D III, 85,2 pl. 195; Mariette D II, p. 67b	Funerary Offering; Speech of Harsomtus	Repetition of similar- shaped signs; visual represent- ation of meaning See 5.2.6.	 <i>K3 nb k3.w</i> The Ka-Spirit, Lord of Provisions The <i>k3</i> -arms with the serpent represents the primordial manifestation of Harsomtus; it plays visually with <i>k3.w</i> , "provisions," with the <i>k3</i> -arms "holding" a bread loaf.	Emphasizes the ability of the Ka of Harsomtus to provide food.
Doc 37 W. Wall 3 rd Reg	D III, 85,3-4; pl 195; Mariette D II, p. 67b	Funerary Offering; Speech of Mut	Repetition of bird- signs	 <i>Mw.t wr.t</i> Mut the Great  <i>ntr.w nb.w</i> all the gods  <i>bih</i> who floods	Columns relating to Mut stand out due to the repetition of bird signs.
Doc 37 W. Wall 3 rd Reg	D III, 85,8 pl. 195; Mariette D II, 67b	Funerary Offering; Royal Randzeile	Graphical opposition of <i>itr.ty</i> and <i>šm^c</i> <i>mḥw</i> See 5.3.3.	 <i>ity n itr.ty ḥk3 n šm^c mḥw</i> Sovereign of the Two Sanctuaries, Ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt. <i>Sovereign</i> – written with man wearing double-plumed headdress, carrying staff of office <i>Red crown (n.t)</i> – functions as genitival <i>n</i> by acrophony <i>Two Sanctuaries</i> – two primordial serpents in sanctuaries, alluding to the deities in residence. <i>Heka</i> – ruler – written with shepherd's crook <i>Shorthand for South and North of Egypt</i> , written with the respective crowns of each of the "Two Lands,"	Emphasis on the Two State Sanctuaries, and their regions of Upper and Lower Egypt, of which the king is sovereign and ruler.

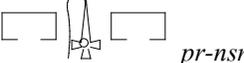
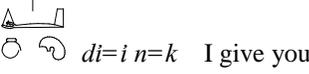
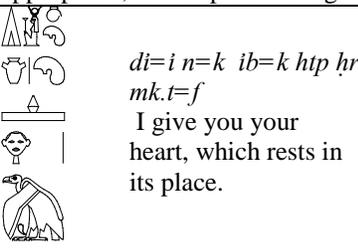
				placed on city-signs. The arrangement features an alternation between ruler signs (<i>ity</i> , red crown; heka-crook) and dual signs for the Two Lands (<i>itr.ty</i> with snakes; two crowns on city-signs). The idea of rule over the two lands is thus repeated twice, with different signs, but each group in a symmetrical arrangement.	
Doc 37 W. Wall 3 rd Reg	D III, 85,9; pl.198; Mariette D II, 67b Also part of Word Play	Funerary Offering; Divine Randzeile	Playful writing (rebus) See 5.3.3.	 <i>B3k.t</i> Egypt The writing of Egypt with the udjat-eye sign (Wb I, 425,18) equates the land with the sacred Eye of the god.	Playful writing of Egypt with Udjat eye, which visually equates the land with sacred Eye of the god.
Doc 38 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 69,5; IFAO photo no. 98-2202	Offering milk (Hathor); title and formula	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>dd mdw</i> Words to say Note that that mouth of the bird is open, as if he is "speaking."	Playful writing of <i>dd mdw</i> calls attention to the recitation.
Doc 38 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 69,5; 69,8; IFAO photo no. 98-2202 counted twice	Offering milk (Hathor); title and formula (69,5); speech of King (69,8)	Playful writing; visual represent- ation of meaning See 5.2.3.	 <i>nh-w3s</i> milk Ptolemaic designation for milk (Wb I, 204,1). In D III, 69,8, the text states, <i>nh-w3s n Tr.t R^c</i> (the milk of the Eye of Ra). Life and dominion come from Hathor's milk. Note also the formulaic text behind the king: <i>nh w3s nb h3=f</i> , "all life and dominion are behind him."	Emphasizes life-giving properties of milk
Doc 38 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 69,6; IFAO photo no. 93-2202	Offering milk (Hathor); title and formula	Playful writing (rebus) See 5.2.3.	 <i>b^h=t im=sn</i> Your inundation is in them (i.e. in the milk). Use of the boat to write the preposition <i>im</i> (from <i>imw</i> , "boat," by consonantal principle: Fairman, ASAE 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.	Equates Hathor's flowing milk with the inundation
Doc 38 E. Wall 2 nd Reg.	D III, 69,8; IFAO	Offering milk (Hathor);	Playful writing (rebus)		Allusion to Hathor's bovine manifestation

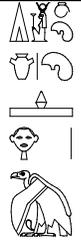
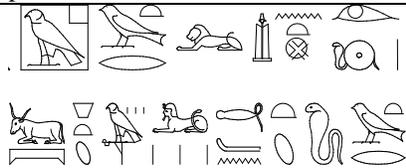
1 st Scene	photo no. 98-2202	Royal Randzeile		<p><i>hk3 mnmn.t</i> ruler of the herd</p> <p>The counterpoise serves as the phonogram for the sound <i>mn</i>, having dropped the weak consonants <i>i</i> and <i>t</i>, by means of the consonantal principle, from the word <i>mni.t</i>.</p> <p>Because the 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</p>	and her herd of sacred cows.
Doc 38 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 69,13; IFAO photo no. 98-2202	Offering milk (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Repetition of child-sign	 <p><i>hr srnp nn=s m bnrw=s</i> rejuvenating her child with her sweet milk</p> <p>Repetition of the child sign in <i>srnp</i> ("rejuvenating") and <i>nn</i> ("child") underlines the rejuvenating power of Hathor's milk.</p>	Emphasizes the rejuvenating aspect of Hathor's milk.
Doc 38 E. Wall 2 nd Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 69,13; IFAO photo no. 98-2202 Also in Doc 39 (81,2)	Offering milk (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Playful writing (rebus?)	 <p><i>hnw.t nfr.t</i> Beautiful young girl</p> <p>Use of cat-ideogram for <i>hnw.t</i> (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 <i>hnw.t</i> 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).</p>	Allusion to Hathor as the young lioness Tefnut in the Myth of the Sun Eye.
Doc 39 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 80,15; pl. 193; IFAO photo no. 98-2202	Offering <i>h3db</i> (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Graphical opposition	 <p><i>hr shtp hnw.t=f swr s3=s hr rdi(.t) nrw=s</i> satisfying his mistress, magnifying her son, placing the terror of her (in the Banks of Horus—i.e. Egypt)</p>	Emphasizes the actions of the king: satisfying Hathor, magnifying her son, and spreading the fear of her throughout Egypt

				Graphical opposition of horizontal signs with small round signs with determinative stroke highlight this passage visually.	
Doc 39 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 80,18; pl. 193; IFAO photo no. 98-2202	Offering <i>h3db</i> (Hathor); speech of Hathor	Attraction; repetition of cow signs	 <i>nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w</i> Lady of Heaven, Mistress of All the Gods Recumbent cow spelling <i>nb.w</i> takes its form by attraction to the previous use of the recumbent cow to spell <i>nb.t</i> . The two words, <i>nb.t</i> and <i>nb.w</i> can be spelled other ways (e.g. most commonly with the <i>nb</i> -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 2 nd Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 81,2; pl. 193; IFAO photo no. 98-2202	Offering <i>h3db</i> (Hathor); Divine Randzeile (Hathor)	Playful writing (rebus?)	 <i>hwn.t nfr.t</i> Beautiful young girl Use of cat-ideogram for <i>hwn.t</i> (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 <i>hwn.t</i> 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 2 nd Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 70,1; IFAO photo 98- 2203	Offering menit (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>Nhs</i> Seth The word may derive from the verb <i>nhsi</i> (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.

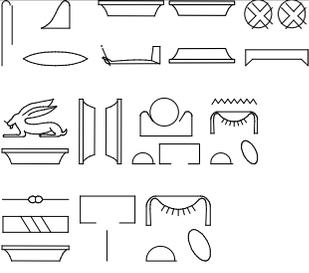
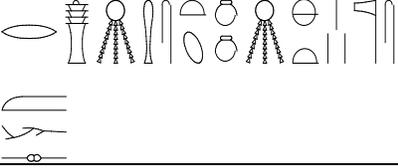
<p>Doc 41 W. Wall 2nd Reg. 2nd Scene</p>	<p>D III, 81,7; pl. 194; IFAO photo no. 98-2206</p>	<p>Offering wensheb (Hathor); Royal Randzeile</p>	<p>Graphical opposition</p>	 <p><i>tw t m irw=f n hk3 t3.wy</i> complete in his form as ruler of the Two Lands</p> <p>Alternation of groups with tall signs and horizontal signs emphasizes the phrase. The phrase relating to the King, <i>tw t m irw=f</i>, "complete in his form," alludes to the whole and healthy Udjat Eye, which is frequently referenced in this scene of offering the wensheb.</p>	<p>Emphasizes the phrase relating to the King while alluding to the Udjat Eye.</p>
<p>Doc 42 E. Wall 2nd Reg. 3rd Scene</p>	<p>D III, 70, 7-8; pl. 180 IFAO photo no. 98-2204</p>	<p>Playing <i>sš.t</i> and <i>šm</i>-sistra (Hathor); title and formula</p>	<p>Graphical opposition and sym- metrical arrange- ment of similar- shaped signs</p> <p>See 3.2.2; 5.1.2.</p>	 <p><i>sš.t m wnm y=i šm m i3by=i</i> The <i>sš.t</i>-sistrum is in my right hand; the <i>šm</i>-sistrum is in my left hand.</p> <p>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-<i>m</i>; 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 sistra spreads to the west and the east).</p>	<p>Emphasizes the that the king's offering of the two sistra is in his hands.</p>
<p>Doc 42 E. Wall 2nd Reg. 3rd Scene</p>	<p>D III, 70,9; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204</p>	<p>Playing <i>sš.t</i> and <i>šm</i>-sistra (Hathor), title and formula</p>	<p>Repetition of similar- shaped signs</p> <p>See 3.3.2.</p>	 <p>[<i>sw3š=i k3=t</i>] <i>m-phr t3.wy</i> (I praise your ka) all around the two lands</p> <p>The multiple horizontal lines suggest a maze, going around and around, and thus visually representing the king's travel throughout Egypt to praise Hathor.</p>	<p>Emphasizes king's journey around Egypt, praising Hathor throughout Egypt.</p>

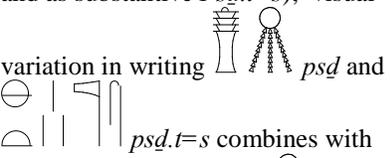
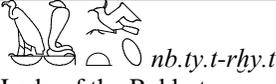
<p>Doc 42 E. Wall 2nd Reg. 3rd Scene</p>	<p>D III, 70,10; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204</p> <p>Similar to Doc 25 (60,4); Doc 55 (79,3)</p>	<p>Playing <i>sšš.t</i> and <i>šhm</i>-sistra (Hathor); speech of Ihy</p>	<p>Playful writing; repetition of <i>nw</i>-jars</p>	 <p><i>nn n Nbw.t</i> Child of the Golden One</p> <p>The genitival <i>n</i>, represented by the <i>nw</i>-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)</p>	<p>Playful writing draws attention to Ihy's epithet, "Child of the Golden One."</p>
<p>Doc 42 E. Wall 2nd Reg. 3rd Scene</p>	<p>D III, 70,13, pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204</p>	<p>Playing <i>sšš.t</i> and <i>šhm</i>-sistra (Hathor), Royal Randzeile</p>	<p>Graphical opposition and sym- metrical arrange- ment of signs in two or more words</p>	 <p><i>(hr dwš) kš=s hr štp ib=s</i> <i>m mr(r.t)=s</i> [adoring] her ka, pacifying her heart with what she loves</p> <p>The four-fold repetition of the sign  (O34) divides the intervening signs into three groups, but the most striking, because they are almost identical, are the first two groups:  and . The words in these two groups are <i>hr štp ib=s</i>, which are visually emphasized by the symmetrical arrangement of signs.</p>	<p>Emphasis on pacifying the heart of the goddess with what she loves.</p>
<p>Doc 42 E. Wall 2nd Reg. 3rd Scene</p>	<p>D III, 70,16; pl. 180; IFAO photo no. 98-2204</p>	<p>Playing <i>sšš.t</i> and <i>šhm</i>-sistra (Hathor), speech of Hathor</p>	<p>Repetition of same sign-type See 5.1.2.</p>	 <p><i>nb.t sšš.t hnw.t šhm.w</i> <i>nb.t hs.t</i> Lady of the <i>sšš.t</i>- sistrum, Mistress of the <i>šhm</i>-sistra, Lady of Singing</p> <p>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.</p>	<p>Emphasis on Hathor as Lady of various types of music</p>
<p>Doc 43 W. Wall 2nd Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 81,16; IFAO</p>	<p>Offering <i>mnw</i>-vase (Hathor),</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus);</p>	 <p><i>hšht bš.w</i> She who is speedy of (divine) power</p>	<p>Emphasis on Hathor's swift power.</p>

3 rd Scene	photo no. 98-2205 Also in Word Play	title and formula	possible attraction	Complete sentence: <i>b3.t r shm.w h3ht b3.w</i> Female Ba among the (divine) powers, she who is speedy of (divine) power Playful writing of "speedy" with a winged walking canine, whose wings are perhaps due to attraction to the <i>b3.w</i> -birds.	
Doc 43 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 81,17; IFAO photo no. 98-2205	Offering <i>mnw</i> -vase (Hathor), title and formula	Sym- metrical arrange- ment of signs in <i>pr-nsr</i>	 <i>pr-nsr</i> Sanctuary of the Flame	Visual emphasis on "Sanctuary of the Flame"
Doc 43 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 82,1; IFAO photo no. 98-2205	Offering <i>mnw</i> -vase (Hathor), speech of Harsomtus the Child	Repetition of child sign	 <i>Hr-Sm3-t3.wy p3 hrd s3 h.t-hr sfi šps</i> Harsomtus the child, son of Hathor, noble child Child sign (A17) is repeated twice in two synonyms for "child": as the ideogram in <i>hrd</i> and as the determinative in <i>sfi</i> .	Playful writing draws attention to Harsomtus' role as Hathor's child.
Doc 43 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 82,1; IFAO photo no. 98-2205 Also in Doc 55 (79,3); Doc 66 (88,2)	Offering <i>mnw</i> -vase (Hathor), speech of Harsomtus the Child	Playful writing of stool under child	 <i>hrd</i> Harsomtus the Child Stool of reed matting □ (Q3) in <i>p3</i> <i>hrd</i> is arranged so that the child appears to be sitting on it.	Playful writing succinctly conveys epithet and draws attention to it.
Doc 43 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 82,7; IFAO photo no. 98-2205	Offering <i>mnw</i> -vase (Hathor), speech of Hathor	Playful writing; visual represent- ation of meaning	 <i>di=i n=k</i> I give you Speech of Hathor (D III, 82,7) to the King uses the bag wig (S56) as the 2 nd m.s. suffix pronoun, which is appropriate, as it depicts his regalia.	Bag wig sign "personalizes" the suffix pronoun for the King.
Doc 43 W. Wall 2 nd Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 82,7; IFAO photo no. 98-2205	Offering <i>mnw</i> -vase (Hathor), speech of Hathor	Visual represent- ation of meaning	 <i>di=i n=k ib=k htp hr</i> <i>mk.t=f</i> I give you your heart, which rests in its place.	Visually shows the protective action of the vulture upon the "flesh" of the king's heart.

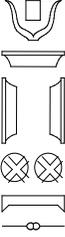
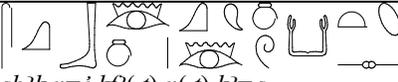
				<p>The original text shows the vulture with the flesh-sign placed under the</p>  <p>extended wing , which Chassinat reproduces (inaccurrately)</p>  <p>as , thus obscuring the visual pun.</p>	
<p>Doc 43 W. Wall 2nd Reg. 3rd Scene</p>	<p>D III, 82,7; IFAO photo no. 98-2205</p>	<p>Offering <i>mnw</i>-vase (Hathor), speech of Hathor</p>	<p>Visual represent- ation of meaning</p>	 <p><i>di=i n=k ib=k</i> <i>htp hr mk.t=f</i> I give you your heart, which rests in its place.</p> <p>The 2nd m.s. pronoun =<i>k</i> (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.</p>	<p>Bag wig sign "personalizes" the suffix pronoun for the King.</p>
<p>Doc 43 W. Wall 2nd Reg. 3rd Scene</p>	<p>D III, 82,7-8; IFAO photo no. 98-2205</p>	<p>Offering <i>mnw</i>-vase (Hathor), speech of Hathor</p>	<p>Repetition of same sign-type (living beings)</p>	 <p><i>dd mdw in H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Twn.t Ir.t- R^c nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w mnḥ.t wr.t</i></p> <p>Words to say by Hathor the great, lady of Lunet, Eye of Ra, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods, the great uraeus.</p> <p>The following living beings (or parts thereof) appear in this epithet-string: Hawk (<i>H.t-hr</i>) Swallow (<i>wr.t</i>) Lion (<i>nb.t</i>) Human Eye (<i>Ir.t</i>) Sun disk with uraeus (<i>R^c</i>) Cow (<i>nb.t</i>) Falcon (on standard) (<i>ntr.w</i>) Sphinx (<i>nb.w</i>) Uraeus (<i>mnḥ.t</i>)</p>	<p>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) .</p>

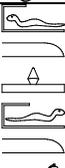
<p>Doc 44 E. Wall 1st reg 1st Scene</p>	<p>D III, 64,3; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; Mariette D II, pl. 65a</p>	<p>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine)</p>	<p>Playful writing; visual represent- ation of meaning</p>	 <i>pr r hdnw</i> Going up the steps (of the shrine) Playful writing of <i>pr</i> (go) with snake emerging from the shelter.	<p>Playful writing emphasizes the King's action of climbing the steps of the shrine.</p>
<p>Doc 44 E. Wall 1st reg 1st Scene</p>	<p>D III, 64,3; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; Mariette D II, pl. 65a Also (written more fully) in Doc 49 (77,11)</p>	<p>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); title and formula</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	 <i>dd (mdw)</i> Words (to say) Ptolemaic writing of <i>dd</i> is derived from <i>Dhwtj</i> (Thoth, represented by his form as a baboon), in which, according to the consonantal principle, only <i>d</i> 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 "effective speech." More fully written (with baboon holding <i>mdw</i> -sign) in Doc 49 (D III, 77,11)	<p>Allusion to the King's role as Thoth and the importance of effective speech by means of the playful writing on "words to say."</p>
<p>Doc 44 E. Wall 1st reg 1st Scene</p>	<p>D III, 64,8; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; Mariette D II, pl. 65a</p>	<p>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); Royal Randzeile</p>	<p>Playful writing; visual represent- ation of meaning</p>	 <i>k bw dsr</i> who enters the sacred place Playful writing of <i>k</i> (enter) with snake entering the shelter.	<p>Playful writing emphasizes the King's action in entering the sacred shrine.</p>
<p>Doc 44 E. Wall 1st reg 1st Scene</p>	<p>D III, 65,2; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; Mariette D II, pl. 65a</p>	<p>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); Divine Randzeile</p>	<p>Repetition of similar- shaped signs; visual pun</p>	 <i>m K3b-t.wy</i> (Female ruler) in Dendera Complete phrase: <i>hk3.t m K3b-t.wy</i> Female ruler in Dendera The use of <i>m K3b-t.wy</i> for "in Dendera" (lit. "in the coils of the Two Lands") alludes to Hathor's important manifestation at Dendera as the uraeus.	<p>Allusion to Hathor's manifestation as uraeus</p>
<p>Doc 44 E. Wall 1st reg 1st Scene</p>	<p>D III, 65,3; pl. 186; IFAO photo no. 98-2212; Mariette D II, pl. 65a</p>	<p>Ascending steps (Hathor's shrine); Divine Randzeile</p>	<p>Visual pun</p>	 <i>dsr(.t)</i> sacred one (f.) The jackal determinative in <i>dsr(.t)</i> alludes to Hathor's hidden nature, because the recumbent jackal (E15) is the ideogram for <i>sšb</i> (secret/hidden); the previous line	<p>Visual pun alludes to Hathor's hidden image</p>

				states, <i>n rḥ d.t=s</i> , "without (anyone) knowing her body."	
Doc 45 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 76,5; pl. 191; IFAO photo no. 99-2217; Mariette D II, pl. 64b.	Pulling the (door) bolt; title and formula	Playful writing (rebus)	 <p><i>stʒ idr</i> pulling the (door) bolt</p> <p>Ptolemaic writing of <i>stʒ</i> (pull, drag), with a jackal looking backwards, implying that one pulling a sled looks backward (PL 967). The seated baboon carries the value <i>i</i>, derived from acrophony from Isden, an epithet of Thoth (who can be depicted as a baboon). In this arrangement of signs, an additional allusion is made: the jackal appears to be looking back at the baboon ("Thoth") just as in processions, the bearers look back at the sacred cult statue being carried, out of respect.</p>	The writing alludes to Thoth and the respect accorded sacred cult statues in procession.
Doc 45 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 76,8; pl. 191; IFAO photo no. 99-2217; Mariette D II, pl. 64b.	Pulling (door) bolt; Royal Randzeile	Repetition of door- leaf signs	 <p><i>skr ʕ.wy nn.t wn ʕ.wy ʒh.t n.t</i> <i>Nbw.t sš pr-Nbw.t</i> who unbolts the door leaves of heaven, who opens the door leaves of the horizon (= temple) of the Golden One, who opens the Sanctuary of the Golden One</p> <p>Each phrase uses a different word for "open": <i>skr</i>, <i>wn</i>, and <i>sš</i>; each of these verbs uses the door-leaf sign as determinative. In addition, <i>ʕ.wy</i> (door leaves) is a dual noun, spelled with two door-leaf signs. Altogether, these three successive phrases contain seven door-leaf signs.</p>	Repetition of door-leaf sign visually emphasizes the action of opening the door, which is appropriate in this scene of "pulling the (door) bolt."
Doc 45 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 76,8; pl. 191; IFAO photo no. 99-2217; Mariette D II, pl.	Pulling (door) bolt; Royal Randzeile	Repetition of sun rays signs in two words.	<p>The sentence begins: <i>sš pr-Nbw.t</i> (who opens the sanctuary of the Golden One),</p> 	Emphasizes the radiance of the goddess and her Ennead, which shines forth when the King opens the shrine's doors.

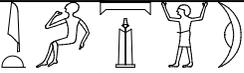
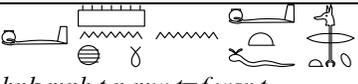
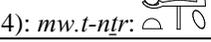
	64a Also listed in Word Play			<p><i>r psd hm.t=s wbn psd.t=s m-ht=s</i> in order that her Majesty might shine, her Ennead shines behind her</p> <p>Polyptoton on root <i>psd</i> (as verb <i>psd</i> and as substantive <i>Psd.t=s</i>); visual variation in writing  <i>psd</i> and <i>psd.t=s</i> combines with</p> <p>the visual alliteration of  (N8A) in the writing of <i>psd</i> (shine) and <i>wbn</i> (shine).</p> <p>The interweaving of these aural and visual connections creates a tapestry of sound and sight, calling attention radiance of the goddess filling the room when the King opens the doors of her naos.</p>	
Doc 45 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 1 st Scene	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)	Pulling (door) bolt; speech of Hathor	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>nb.ty.t-rhy.t</i> Lady of the Rekhyt 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 <i>Nb.ty</i> , the two tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the <i>rhy.t</i> -bird, which stands for humans. The <i>nb.ty</i> element is made feminine by means of the <i>t</i> -loaf- and egg-signs at the end of the word.	Playful writing emphasizes Hathor's role as Lady of the Rekhyt which she takes over from Isis on west walls of the temple.
Doc 45 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 1 st Scene	D III, 76,12; pl. 191; IFAO photo no. 99-2217; Mariette D II, pl. 64a Also listed in	Pulling (door) bolt; Divine Randzeile	Repetition of sign- type (sun disks)	 <i>nswy.t-bi.ty.t 3h.ty.t h' m 3h.t</i> Female King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Horizon-Dweller (f.) who appears in the horizon (=temple). Signs and the words in which sun disks appear:  (N6B): <i>nswy.t</i> (female king)	Emphasizes that Hathor is a solar goddess.

	Word Play			 (N27): <i>ʒh.ty.t</i> (horizon dweller); <i>ʒh.t</i> (horizon)  (N28): <i>h^c</i> (appear)	
Doc 46 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 65,10; pl. 187; IFAO photo no. 98-2213; Mariette D II, pl. 65b	Unfastening the seal	Playful writing	 <i>dbh.w</i> parts Making the Ujdat Eye complete, so that it 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, "Un Hymne à la lune croissante, <i>BIFAO</i> 82 (1982): 237-282, esp. 274).	Playful writing highlights the parts that the King restores to the Udjat Eye, making it whole again..
Doc 47 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 77,4, pl. 192; IFAO photo no. 98-2216; Mariette D II, pl. 64a	Revealing the face of the Golden One	Symmetrical arrangement of signs in two or more words	 <i>sš ʕ.wy p.t n pr=s</i> who opens the doors of heaven of her shrine 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 (<i>sš</i> , written with the door bolt, pool, and door-leaf); the world of the gods, <i>pt n pr=s</i> , "heaven of the shrine." The two doors thus lie at the intersection of the human and divine worlds.	Emphasis on the doors of the shrine as the intersection between the human and divine worlds.
Doc 47 W. Wall 1 st Reg. 2 nd Scene	D III, 77, 4-5, pl. 192; IFAO photo no. 98-2216; Mariette D II, pl. 64a	Revealing the face of the Golden One	Symmetrical arrangement of signs in two or more words See 3.2.1.	 <i>skr ʕ.wy Iwn.t</i> who unbolts the doors of Iunet (=Dendera) The two door-leaf signs are placed on either side of the two faces & 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:    .	Visually emphasizes Hathor's shrine, which is being opened.

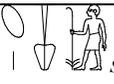
<p>Doc 47 W. Wall 1st Reg. 2nd Scene</p>	<p>D III, 77, 5; pl. 192; IFAO photo no. 98-2216; Mariette D II, pl. 64a</p>	<p>Revealing the face of the Golden One</p>	<p>Sym- metrical arrange- ment of signs in two or more words; sign play in parallel texts, D III, 77,9 See 3.2.1.</p>	 <p><i>wp ʕ3.wy nn.t=s</i> who opens the door-leaves of heaven of her shrine</p> <p>The <i>wp</i>-horns with the <i>p</i>-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 <i>nn.t</i> (heaven), bringing to mind the idea that Hathor's shrine is in heaven, in the world of the divine.</p>	<p>Visual imagery alludes to idea that Hathor's shrine is in heaven, the world of the divine.</p>
<p>Doc 47 W. Wall 1st Reg. 2nd Scene</p>	<p>D III, 77,9; pl. 192; IFAO photo no. 98-2216; Mariette D II, pl. 64a</p>	<p>Revealing the face of the Golden One</p>	<p>Repetition of sunlight signs; sign play in parallel texts: D III, 77,5 See 5.2.4.</p>	 <p><i>wpš m3w.t=s ndb</i> her rays illuminate the (whole) earth</p>	<p>Imagery of illumination emphasizes Hathor's ability to create light.</p>
<p>Doc 48 E. Wall 1st Reg. 3rd Scene</p>	<p>D III, 66,6-7; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette D II, pl. 63b</p>	<p>Seeing the god (Hathor); title and formula</p>	<p>Writing of <i>kʃ3.t</i> with painted eye by attraction to <i>sb3k</i> See 3.5.</p>	 <p><i>sb3k.n=i kʃ3(.t) n(.t) k3=s</i> I have brightened the dignity of her ka. The writing of <i>kʃ3.t</i> (dignity) with the painted eye, due to attraction with the previous word <i>sb3k</i> (brighten), alludes to Egypt (<i>b3k.t</i>, written with the painted eye), so that "brightening" Hathor's ka can be equated with "brightening" Egypt (i.e. keeping it in good condition). The eye sign also alludes to Hathor as the Beautiful One (<i>ʕn.t</i>, also written with painted eye). The use of eye signs in both words also alludes to "seeing the god"--the main context of this scene.</p>	<p>Signs carrying multiple meaning allude to Hathor's beauty, "seeing" the god, and maintaining Egypt. See Sign Play chapter for more discussion.</p>
<p>Doc 48 E. Wall 1st Reg. 3rd Scene</p>	<p>D III, 66,10; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette D II, pl.</p>	<p>Seeing the god (Hathor); speech of Ma'at to Hathor</p>	<p>Repetition of sign- type (men praising, jubilating, making obeisance)</p>	 <p><i>di=i n=i t3w r k3 n p.t sn-t3(=i) r wsh n t3</i> I give you praise to the height of heaven. I kiss the ground to the</p>	<p>Signs of praising, jubilating, and making obeisance combine to form a tableau</p>

	63b			breadth of the earth.	of activity in honoring Hathor.
Doc 48 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 66,10; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette D II, pl. 63b	Seeing the god (Hathor); speech of Ma'at to Hathor	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>B</i> earth, land Fairman suggests that the scarab beetle as <i>B</i> (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 (<i>hpr</i>), 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.	Playful writing of land.
Doc 48 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 66,13; IFAO photo no. 98-2214; Mariette D II, pl. 63b	Seeing the god (Hathor); Royal Randzeile	Sym- metrical arrange- ment of signs in two or more words See 3.2.1.	  <i>ꜥk m htp pr m hntš</i> who enters in peace, who exits in joy This text refers to the king, visiting the shrine of the goddess to perform the daily temple rite. The first sign (<i>ꜥk</i>) 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 <i>htp</i> sign, framed on either side by the opposition present in the directions of the snake- and <i>m</i> -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 <i>ꜥk</i> , with the snake coming <i>out</i> of the shelter instead of going <i>into</i> it, as noted by	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.

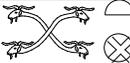
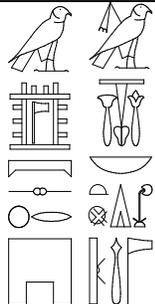
				Chassinat, D III, 66 n. 9]	
Doc 49 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 77,11; IFAO photo no. 98-2215; Mariette D II, pl. 63a	Seeing the god (Hathor); title and formula	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>dw3 ntr</i> Adoring the god Use of ibis-sign to represent <i>ntr</i> alludes to Thoth, master of eloquent speech—an important aspect of the King's recitations in this scene.	Allusion to Thoth, master of eloquent speech, which is an important aspect of the King's recitation before Hathor.
Doc 49 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 77,11; IFAO photo no. 98-2215; Mariette D II, pl. 63a Abbrev. writing in Doc 44 (64,3)	Seeing the god (Hathor); title and formula	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>dd mdw</i> Words to say Ptolemaic writing of <i>dd</i> is derived from <i>Dḥwty</i> (Thoth, represented by his form as a baboon), in which, according to the consonantal principle, only <i>d</i> 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 "effective speech." The <i>mdw</i> -sign held by the baboon completes the phrase.	Allusion to the King's role as Thoth and the importance of effective speech by means of the playful writing on "words to say."
Doc 49 E. Wall 1 st Reg. 3 rd Scene	D III, 78,6; IFAO photo no. 98-2215; Mariette D II, pl. 63a	Seeing the god (Hathor); Royal Randzeile Also in Doc 31, D III, 84,4	Sym- metrical arrange- ment of signs in a word.	 <i>ḳ3 ddw</i> exact of speech Symmetrical arrangement of signs emphasizes the word <i>ḳ3</i> , "exact," an important quality of the King's speech to Hathor.	Emphasis on the word, <i>ḳ3</i> (exact), an important quality of the king's speech before the goddess.
South Wall					
Doc 50 S. Wall E. Side 3 rd Reg	D III, 74,2-6; Mariette D II, pl. 67a	Presenting the Mirror; Royal Randzeile and speech of Hathor	Repetition of sign,  (D46D) See 5.1.4.	Repetition of less usual hand-sign  (D46D) in the following words: <i>sšp(.t)</i> (luminous one (f.) (74,2) <i>bḥdw</i> (throne) (74,4) <i>ṯnḫ(.t)</i> (throne dais) (74,6) <i>šsp</i> (receive) (74,6)	The hand-sign,  (D46D), connects Hathor's luminosity, the king's royalty, and her receiving of the offering <i>from his hand.</i>
Doc 50 S. Wall E. Side 3 rd Reg	D III, 73,17; Mariette D II, pl. 67a	Presenting the Mirror; Royal Randzeile	Visual represent- ation of meaning (rebus)	 <i>ii.n=i</i> I have come	Emphasizes the King's movement in approaching the goddess.

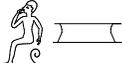
	Also in Doc 51 (85,13)			Playful use of walking jackal for <i>ii</i> (come), gives the visual impression of motion.	
Doc 51 S. Wall W. Side 3 rd Reg.	D III, 85,13; pl. 190; 199 Also in Doc 50 (73,17)	Presenting the Mirror; Royal Randzeile	Visual represent- ation of meaning (rebus)	 <i>ii.n=i</i> I have come Walking jackal for <i>ii</i> (come) gives visual impression of motion.	Emphasizes the King's movement in approaching the goddess.
Doc 51 S. Wall W. Side 3 rd Reg.	D III, 86,3; pl. 190; 199	Presenting the Mirror; Divine Randzeile	Rebus	 <i>id n iwn-h^{cc}</i> child of the moon The signs of <i>iwn-h^{cc}</i> (lit. "the column that rejoices") also write <i>T3h</i> (Iah, the name of the moon god) by rebus: <i>i<iwn + ^{cc}<h^{cc} + h<i3h</i>	Emphasizes the king's relationship with the moon (i.e. the Left Eye of Horus), who can also be represented by Isis, the mother of Horus
Doc 52 S. Wall E. Side 2 nd Reg	D III, 71,3; IFAO photo no. 98-2208 Also in Doc 29 (58,11, wine); Doc 74 (97, 13- 14, udjat)	Offering cloth; title and formula	Repetition of arm with <i>nw</i> - jar; wWriting of <i>mw.t</i> by possible attraction to arm with <i>nw</i> - jar in <i>h^{nk}</i>	 <i>h^{nk} mn^h.t n mw.t=f wsr.t</i> Offering cloth 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 <i>nw</i> -jar,  (D39), functions as the ideogram for the verb <i>h^{nk}</i> (to offer). In Ptolemaic, the same sign can also be the ideogram for the substantive <i>mw.t</i> (mother). The more traditional writing of <i>mw.t</i> , 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,  (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): <i>mw.t-ntr</i> : 	Emphasizes the act of offering cloth.
Doc 53 S. Wall W. Side	D III, 82,15; pl. 198;	Preparing unguent of myrrh;	Playful writing (rebus)	 (D8) <i>n^{tyw}</i>	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.

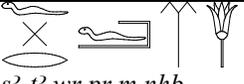
2 nd Reg	IFAO photo no. 98-2209	Title and Formula		Myrrh Sign may derived from <i>ʿn.t</i> (ideogram of "beautiful one," though usually with makeup) + <i>iw</i> (island), or perhaps because myrrh is said to come from the Eye of Osiris. (E II, 205,15 – 208,10). See Wb I, 206,7 – 207,3; PL 162-164. See if there is an explanation of the hieroglyph.	offering
Doc 53 S. Wall W. Side 2 nd Reg	D III, 83,6; pl. 198; IFAO photo no. 98-2209	Preparing unguent of myrrh; Title and Formula	Playful writing (rebus)	 (D8) <i>ʿntyw</i> Myrrh Sign may derived from <i>ʿn.t</i> (ideogram of "beautiful one," though usually with makeup) + <i>iw</i> (island), or perhaps because myrrh is said to come from the Eye of Osiris. (E II, 205,15 – 208,10). See Wb I, 206,7 – 207,3; PL 162-164. See if there is an explanation of the hieroglyph.	Unusual sign for myrrh calls attention to the offering
Doc 53 S. Wall W. Side 2 nd Reg	D III, 82,15; pl. 198; IFAO photo no. 98-2209 Also in Doc 76 (97,3)	Preparing unguent of myrrh; Title and Formula	Playful writing (rebus)	 (Aa23L) <i>šsmw</i> , "Shesmu," god of the laboratory who prepares myrrh for the unguent offering.	The imagery of Shesmu's occupation (god of the laboratory) stands for his name, calling attention to the god
Doc 53 S. Wall W. Side 2 nd Reg	D III, 83,5; pl. 198; IFAO photo no. 98-2209	Preparing unguent of myrrh; Speech of Hathor	Repetition of cow sign	 <i>nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w</i> lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods	Emphasizes Hathor's bovine manifestation
Doc 54 E. Side 1 st Reg.	D III, 67,12; IFAO photo no. 98-2218; Marianne D II, 62a Also in Doc 25 (60,4)	Offering Ma'at; Royal Randzeile	Visual pun (rebus)	 <i>s3 smsw</i> the eldest son Complete sentence: <i>s3 smsw ʿm-ḫ.wy</i> eldest son of He Who Knows the Two Lands (=Thoth) The word <i>smsw</i> (eldest) is composed of a <i>sm3</i> -sign (phonogram for <i>sm</i> by the consonantal principle, in which <i>sm3</i> loses its semi-vowel of <i>3</i> , with only its strong consonants remaining) and the <i>sw.t</i> plant (the phonogram for <i>sw</i> , again by the consonantal principle, with the loss of its final <i>t</i>), held by the man.	Visual pun created by attraction calls attention to the King's role as eldest son of the god Thoth

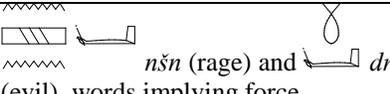
<p>Doc 54 E. Side 1st Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 67,12; IFAO photo no. 98-2218; Mariette D II, 62a</p> <p>Also in Doc 12 (49,4); Doc 55 (79,6)</p>	<p>Offering Ma'at; Royal Randzeile</p>	<p>Playful writing; repetition of similar- shaped signs</p>	 <p>$\epsilon m-t3.wy$ He who knows the Two Lands (=Thoth)</p> <p>Epithet of Thoth uses the sign for the throat, in which the cause is used for the effect (i.e. the throat represents ϵm, "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)</p>	<p>Emphasizes that the King is son of Thoth ("who knows the Two Lands")</p>
<p>Doc 54 E. Side 1st Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 67,12; IFAO photo no. 98-2218; Mariette D II, 62a</p>	<p>Offering Ma'at; Speech of Hathor</p>	<p>Sym- metrical arrange- ment signs in two words</p>	 <p>$\epsilon i \quad ntr.w \quad nb.w$ all the gods</p> <p>Symmetrical writing of small sign + three determinative strokes around <i>nb</i>-basket.</p>	<p>Emphasizes that Hathor is Mistress of All the Gods.</p>
<p>Doc 55 W. Side 1st Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 79,3; IFAO photo no. 98-2219; Mariette D II, pl. 62b</p> <p>(in hori- zontal line)</p>	<p>Offering Ma'at; speech of Harsomtus the Child</p>	<p>Repetition of child signs</p>	 <p>$Hr-Sm3-t3.wy \quad p3 \quad hrd \quad s3 \quad H.t-hr \quad nhn \quad nfr$ Harsomtus the child, son of Hathor, beautiful child</p> <p>Child sign serves as logogram for two different words.</p>	<p>Emphasizes the role of Harsomtus as beautiful child of Hathor</p>
<p>Doc 55 W. Side 1st Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 79,3; IFAO photo no. 98-2219; Mariette D II, pl. 62b</p> <p>Also in Doc 43 (82,1); Doc 66 (88,2)</p>	<p>Offering Ma'at; speech of Harsomtus the Child</p>	<p>Playful writing of child seated on stool</p>	 <p>$p3-hrd$ the child</p> <p>Complete phrase: $Hr-Sm3-t3.wy \quad p3 \quad hrd \quad s3 \quad H.t-hr$ Harsomtus the Child, son of Hathor</p> <p>Stool of reed matting \square (Q3) is arranged so that the child appears to be seated on it.</p>	<p>Playful writing draws attention to the epithet and emphasizes Harsomtus as a child (of Hathor)</p>
<p>Doc 55 W. Side 1st Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 79,6; IFAO</p>	<p>Offering Ma'at; speech of</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus);</p>	 <p>$\epsilon m-t3.wy$ He who knows the Two Lands</p>	<p>Emphasizes that the King is son of Thoth ("who</p>

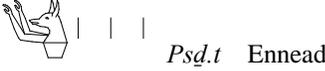
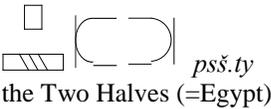
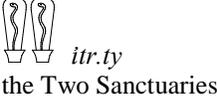
	photo no. 98-2219; Mariette D II, pl. 62b Also in Doc 12 (49,4); Doc 54 (67,12)	the King	repetition of similar-shaped signs	(=Thoth) Epithet of Thoth uses the sign for the throat, in which the cause is used for the effect (i.e. the throat represents ꜥm, "eat" or "swallow"; Fairman Ptolemaic Signs, 101), 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 ASAE 43, 100)	knows the Two Lands")
Doc 55 W. Side 1 st Reg.	D III, 79,6; IFAO photo no. 98-2219; Mariette DII, pl. 62b	Offering Ma'at; speech of the King	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>Hmnw</i> Khemnu (lit. "Eight-town"), Hermopolis 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).	Sign of four of the primeval gods of Hermopolis visually represents the town.
Doc 55 W. Side 1 st Reg.	D III, 79,12; IFAO photo no. 98-2219; Mariette D II, pl. 62b See also Doc 37 (85,1)	Offering Ma'at; speech of Harsomtus	Repetition of similar-shaped signs; similar sign-type (buildings; plants) Symmetrical arrangement of signs in two parallel columns of text pertaining to Harsomtus	 <i>Hr-sm3-t3.wy nb</i> <i>H3-di ntr ꜥ</i> Harsomtus, Lord of Khadi <i>bik ntry hry srh</i> divine falcon upon his serekh 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.	Emphasizes that Horus is a divine king ruling over humanity and nature.

<p>Doc 55 W. Side 1st Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 79,13; IFAO photo no. 98-2219; Mariette D II, pl. 62b</p>	<p>Offering Ma'at; speech of Harsomtus</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	 <p><i>nb nhh</i> Lord of Eternity (=Thoth)</p> <p>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). <i>nhh</i> 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 LÄ I, 47,54; Žabkar, <i>JNES</i> 24, 1965, 77-83; Assmann, <i>Zeit und Ewigkeit</i>, passim).</p>	<p>Emphasizes Thoth's epithet while representing it visually.</p>
<p>Doc 56 E. Side Lower Base</p>	<p>D III, 63,5; pl. 190</p>	<p>Primordial water in <i>nms.t</i>-jars; speech of Ihy</p>	<p>Repetition of similar sign-type; possible attraction</p>	 <p><i>Thy-nwn, s3 H.t-hr</i> Ihy-nun, son of Hathor</p> <p>The use of the child-sign in "son" may be due to attraction to the child-sign in "Ihy."</p>  <p><i>Thy-nwn</i> (Ihy-nun)</p>  <p><i>s3</i> (son)</p>	<p>Emphasizes Ihy's role as a divine child.</p>
<p>Doc 56 E. Side Lower Base</p>	<p>D III, 63,7; pl. 190</p>	<p>Primordial water in <i>nms.t</i>-jars; speech of King</p>	<p>Reversal</p>	 <p><i>H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t Ir.t-Rc</i> Hathor the Great, Lady of Iunet (=Dendera), Eye of Ra.</p> <p>Standard writing of Hathor's titulary with no other sign play.</p>	<p>Allows Hathor's manifestations (falcon, bird, Eye, sun disk, uraeus) to look outward from the sanctuary</p>
<p>Doc 56 E. Side Lower Base</p>	<p>D III, 63,7; pl. 190</p>	<p>Primordial water in <i>nms.t</i>-jars; Royal Randzeile</p>	<p>Repetition of similar sign across cola</p> <p>See 5.2.3.</p>	<p><i>nms.ty hn^c=ti m nwn shtp=f ib=t m mw-rnp</i></p> <p>The two <i>nms.t</i>-jars are filled with primordial water; it satisfies your heart with the water of rejuvenation.</p> <p>Similar child-signs appear in two different words:</p>  <p><i>nwn</i> primordial water</p>  <p><i>mw-rnp</i> water of rejuvenation</p>	<p>The repetition of child signs emphasizes the rejuvenating properties of the King's offering of primordial water.</p>
<p>Doc 57 W. Side Lower Base</p>	<p>D III, 74,12; pl. 190</p>	<p>Inundation water in <i>hs</i>- jars; speech of Isis</p>	<p>Repetition of similar sign-shape</p>	 <p><i>sty Hpy</i> who pours out Hapy</p>	<p>Emphasizes the spewing out of the inundation, and the fertility</p>

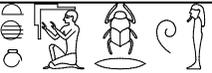
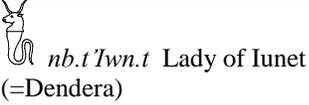
			See 5.2.3.	<p>Signs with liquid spewing forth,  (D53) <i>sty</i> (pour out), and  (D26B) <i>H'py</i> (Hapy, the god equated with the inundation) emphasize the coming forth of the inundation water from the caverns at Elephantine. The phallus sign additionally alludes to fertility, an important result of Egypt's inundation.</p>	that it brings to the land.
Doc 57 W. Side Lower Base	D III, 74,12-13; pl. 190	Inundation water in <i>hs</i> - jars; speech of Isis	<p>Writing of <i>tph.t</i> by attraction to <i>spd</i>-sign in <i>spd.t</i></p> <p>See 5.2.3.</p>	<p> <i>Spd.t sty H'py m tph.t=f</i> Sopdet (=Sothis), who pours out Hapy in his cavern</p> <p>Attraction of the spelling of <i>tph.t</i> (cavern) to the <i>spd</i> thorn-sign  (Z22) in the previous word, <i>Spd.t</i> (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.</p>	Attraction of the spelling of "cavern" with the <i>spd</i> -sign in Sopdet's name visually connects the goddess to the inundation, which originates in Hapy's cavern.
Doc 57 W. Side Lower Base	D III, 74,13; pl. 190	Inundation water in <i>hs</i> - jars; speech of Isis	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	<p> <i>B n Itmw</i> Land of Atum (=Dendera)</p> <p><i>Itmw</i> (Atum) is written with the following cryptic phonetic signs:</p> <p> (E35), carries the phonetic value <i>i</i>, which Fairman (ASAE 43,252 n. X) suggests was originally derived from , a rebus for Thoth due to a misunderstanding of the hieratic form  of  (<i>Dhwtj</i>), allowing Thoth's ideogram to carry the phonetic value <i>i</i> by the Ptolemaic Period. The baboon, by its association with Thoth, then acquired this value..</p> <p> (Aa52), ideogram for <i>tm</i>, <i>dm</i>, by confusion with  (S23), sign of knotted strips of cloth as ideogram for <i>dmd</i>, "unite."</p>	Cryptic writing of "Land of Atum" highlights the word and may allude to Dendera's hidden aspects.
Doc 57 W. Side Lower Base	D III, 74,13; pl. 190	Inundation water in <i>hs</i> - jars; speech of Isis	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	<p> <i>kr.ty</i> the (two) caverns</p> <p>The <i>kr.ty</i> are two holes or gaps in the earth from which inundation water</p>	Playful writing of the source of the Nile with two serpents alludes to the

				breaks through at Elephantine. The snakes in the writing of <i>kr.ty</i> 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 <i>nb.t kr.ty</i> , "lady of the caverns" (D III, 168,5).	inundation's mythological origin at Elephantine.
Doc 57 W. Side Lower Base	D III, 74,13; 75,2; pl. 190 Also in Doc 43 (82,7)	Inundation water in <i>hs-</i> jars; speech of Harsomtus	Playful writing; visual represent- ation of meaning	  <i>di=i n=k</i> I give you (m.s.) Speeches of Isis (D III, 74,13) and Harsomtus (D III, 75,2) to the King use the bag wig  (S56) as the 2 nd m.s. suffix pronoun, which is appropriate, as it depicts the King's regalia.	Bag wig sign "personalizes" the suffix pronoun for the King.
Doc 57 W. Side Lower Base	D III, 75,1; pl. 190	Inundation water in <i>hs-</i> jars; speech of Harsomtus	Repetition of snake signs	 <i>s3-t3 wr pr m nhb</i> the great snake (lit. "son of the earth") who came forth from the lotus [note: lotus stem is curved to left in original] The text refers to Harsomtus as the primordial snake.	Emphasizes the role of Harsomtus as the "Great Snake"
Doc 57 W. Side Lower Base	D III, 75,3; pl. 190	Inundation water in <i>hs-</i> jars; Divine Randzeile	Attraction to  (D46) in spelling of Hapy	  <i>sty H^cpy</i> who pours out Hapy The use of  (D46) in <i>sty</i> is attracted by its use in the spelling of Hapy, thus emphasizing the spewing forth of the inundation water. (Compare writing of <i>sty</i> in D III, 74,12, also in Doc 57).	Emphasizes the "spewing forth" of the inundation water.
Doc 57 W. Side Lower Base	D III, 75,5-6; pl. 190	Inundation water in <i>hs-</i> jars; speech of Ihy	Repetition of same sign-type (arms)	<i>sš.t=i m wnm<i>y</i>=i sn=i n=t nšn mni.t m i3b(=i) hr dr [mn.t]*</i> The <i>sš.t</i> -sistrum is in my right hand, I make pass away from you 75,6 rage, the menit-necklace is in (my) left hand, driving away evil. Arm signs naturally occur in  <i>wnm<i>y</i>=i</i> (my right hand) and <i>i3b(=i)</i> (my left hand), as well as in 	Emphasis on the action of arms (shaking sistra) to dispel rage and evil.

				 <p><i>nšn</i> (rage) and <i>dr</i> (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.</p>	
Doc 57 W. Side Lower Base	D III, 75,8; pl. 190	Inundation water in <i>ḥs</i> - jars; speech of King	Reversal	 <p><i>ʒs.t wr.t mw.t-ntr</i> Isis the great, mother of the god</p>	Allows Isis' avian manifestations to look outward from sanctuary
Doc 57 W. Side Lower Base	D III, 75,8; pl. 190	Inundation water in <i>ḥs</i> - jars; speech of King	Repetition of same sign-type (birds)	 <p><i>ʒs.t wr.t mw.t-ntr</i> Isis the great, mother of the god</p> <p>Use of sparrow, vulture, and falcon to write the titulary of Isis.</p>	Emphasizes Isis' avian manifestations
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		
S. Niche N. Wall Interior Framing of Door					

<p>Doc 64 E. Side Lintel</p>	<p>D III, 89,8; pl. 201; Mariette D II, pl. 68b</p>	<p>Offering double crown; speech of Ihy</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	 <p><i>Psd.t</i> Ennead</p> <p>Playful GR writing of the Ennead. (See Wb I, 559,2-14; discussion in Beinlich, Osirisreliquien, 302-304).</p>	<p>Playful writing of "Ennead."</p>
<p>Doc 64 E. Side Lintel</p>	<p>D III, 89,9; pl. 201; Mariette D II, pl. 68b</p>	<p>Offering double crown; Divine Randzeile</p>	<p>Repetition of similar sign-types (kingship)</p> <p>See 5.3.1.</p>	 <p><i>nsw.t šmꜥ ity bi.ty mhꜥ</i> King of the South, Sovereign and King of the North</p> <p>Each sign in the expression pertains to kingship. The <i>nsw.t</i>, the heraldic plant of Upper Egypt, plus the king wearing the crown of Upper Egypt as determinative, spells <i>nsw.t</i> (King of Upper Egypt). The bee, the heraldic emblem of Lower Egypt, serves as the ideogram for <i>bi.ty</i> (King of Lower Egypt). The white and red crowns placed upon city signs represent Egypt's <i>šmꜥ</i> (South) and <i>mhꜥ</i> (North), respectively, the crowns visually emphasizing the king's rule over these areas.</p>	<p>Ideograms pertaining to kingship emphasize the areas over which the king rules.</p>
<p>Doc 65 W. Side Lintel</p>	<p>D III, 89,13; pl. 201; Mariette D II, pl. 68a</p>	<p>Offering double crown;</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	 <p><i>psš.ty</i> the Two Halves (=Egypt)</p> <p>The "Two Halves" (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, <i>Seth</i>, 60).</p>	<p>Emphasizes the union of the Two Lands under the legitimate King.</p>
<p>Doc 65 W. Side Lintel</p>	<p>D III, 90,2; pl. 201; Mariette D II, pl. 68a</p> <p>Also in Doc 23 (57,1); Doc 26</p>	<p>Offering double crown; title and formula</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	 <p><i>itr.ty</i> the Two Sanctuaries</p> <p>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 <i>itr.t</i> (Wb I, 147,14).</p>	<p>Playful writing calls attention to the Two Sanctuaries</p>

	(61,4)				
Doc 65 W. Side Lintel	D III, 90,8; pl. 201; Mariette D II, pl. 68a	Offering double crown; Divine Randzeile	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>B3k.t</i> Egypt	Playful writing of Egypt with udjat eye emphasizes the word.
Doc 66 E. Side Pied-droit	D III, 88,2 Also in Doc 22 (55,20)	Horizontal lines of text	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>s3 R^c</i> son of Ra Child sitting (on lap) with hand to mouth, wearing sun disk with uraeus on his head as composite ideogram, <i>s3 R^c</i> (son of Ra)	Playful writing succinctly conveys the King's epithet, "son of Ra" and draws attention to it.
Doc 66 E. Side Pied-droit	D III, 88,2 Also in Doc 43 (82,1); Doc 55 (79,3)	Horizontal lines of text	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>mry Hr-p3-hrd</i> beloved of Horus the Child Epithet of the King. Stool of reed matting □ (Q3) is arranged so that the child appears to be seated on it.	Playful writing draws attention to the King's epithet, "beloved of Harpocrates."
Doc 66 E. Side Pied-droit	D III, 88,3 See also Doc 25 (60,4); Doc 42 (70,10)	Horizontal lines of text	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>hy n Ir(.t)-R^c</i> child of the Eye of Ra Playful writing places the genitival <i>n</i> , written with the <i>nw</i> -jar, under the child-sign, as if he is sitting on it.	Playful writing draws attention to the King's epithet, "child of the Eye of Ra."
Doc 67 W. Side Pied-droit	D III, 88,10	Horizontal lines of text	Repetition of cobra signs See 3.3.3.	 <i>mry H.t-hr mhny.t n(.t) R^c</i> beloved of Hathor, uraeus of Ra By writing <i>H.t-hr</i> (Hathor) with the ideogram of a cobra, the scribe creates visual alliteration, resulting in three words containing different cobra signs: <i>H.t-hr</i> , <i>mhny.t</i> and <i>R^c</i> .	Emphasizes Hathor as the uraeus of Ra.
Doc 68 E. Side Montants	D III, 91,1 Doc 70, <i>thn.t hprw</i> (92,5); Doc 9, <i>imn.t s3B</i> (46,5)	Text in column	Visual represent- ation of meaning	 <i>thn(.t) s3B</i> hidden one (f.) of image The determinative for <i>thn.t</i> (hidden one) shows a man hiding behind a wall (Wb V, 327,8-18; GR); the verb <i>thn</i> (be hidden, conceal) is related to  <i>thn</i> , an obelisk-shaped casket for relics, similar to a portable	Playful writing visually represents the hidden quality of Hathor's image

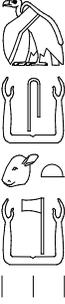
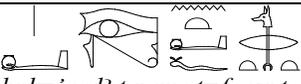
				shrine. Because a shrine conceals sacred objects from profane eyes, the word <i>thn</i> thus emphasizes the idea of concealment from those not authorized to look. Thus, the determinative of <i>thn.t</i> visually represents the meaning of "hidden," as well as alluding to the shrine in which the the hidden deity resides.	
Doc 69 W. Side Montants	D III, 91,8	Text in column	Repetition of same sign and sign-type)	 <p><i>b3.w P b3.w Nhn (hr) ir.t hnw n k3=t</i> The Souls of Pe and the Souls of Nekhen are performing henu for your Ka.</p> <p>The characteristic writing of the "souls of Pe" and "souls of Nekhen," all of them performing the <i>hnw</i>-gesture, continues the alliteration with the following word, <i>hnw</i>, whose determinative is a figure performing the gesture.</p>	Emphasizes the henu-gesture made by the Souls of Pe and Nekhen.
S. Niche Walls					
Doc 70 Bandeau of Frieze E. Side	D III, 92,5; pls. 201-202 See also Doc 68 (91,2) Doc 9 (46,5) <i>imn.t s3t3</i>	South Wall	Playful writing (rebus) and representation of meaning See 5.2.6.	 <p><i>thn.t hprw</i> hidden one (f.) of form</p> <p>The determinative for <i>thn.t</i> (hidden one) shows a man hiding behind a wall (Wb V, 327,8-18; GR); the verb <i>thn</i> (be hidden, conceal) is related to  <i>thn</i>, an obelisk-shaped casket for relics, similar to a portable shrine. Because a shrine conceals sacred objects from profane eyes, the word <i>thn</i> thus emphasizes the idea of concealment from those not authorized to look. Thus, the determinative of <i>thn.t</i> visually represents the meaning of "hidden," as well as alluding to the shrine in which the the hidden deity resides.</p>	Emphasizes the hidden quality of Hathor's form.
Doc 70 Bandeau of Frieze E. Side	D III, 92,7; pls. 201-202 Also in Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 25 (60,5)	North Wall	Playful writing (rebus) See 3.1.1.	 <p><i>nb.t Twn.t</i> Lady of Iunet (=Dendera)</p> <p>The sign of a full bull or cow figure  (E 92) carries the value of <i>nb</i> or <i>nb(.t)</i>. The uraeus  (I64) is one</p>	Composite of Hathor's cobra and cow manifestations calls attention to her epithet, "Lady of Dendera."

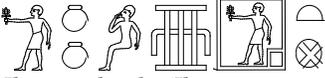
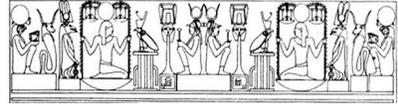
				of the forms of Hathor that dwells in Iunet (i.e. Dendera). A composite sign made from parts of both signs can thus carry both values, forming <i>nb.t'wn.t</i> . The resulting cow-headed snake thus alludes to both the bovine and orphidian manifestations of the goddess.	
Doc 70 Bandeau of Frieze E. Side	D III, 92,7; pls. 201-202 Also in Doc 26 (61,4)	North Wall	Playful writing (rebus) See 3.1.1.	 <i>Ir.t-R^c</i> Eye of Ra The sun god Ra (C2B) holds the Divine Eye (<i>Ir.t</i>) (D10), to form the composite ideogram, <i>Ir.t-R^c</i> .	Playful writing calls attention to Hathor's frequent epithet as Eye of Ra.
Doc 71 Bandeau of Frieze W. Side	D III, 92,12; pls. 201-202 Compare with Doc 9 (46,5)	North Wall	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>imn sštʒ=s</i> Her form is hidden (from the Divine Powers) The word <i>sštʒ</i> 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 <i>sštʒ</i> (verb – conceal), so this writing doubly emphasizes the hiddenness of the image (e.g. it could also be translated as <i>imn.t sštʒ.t</i> - hidden one of hidden thing).	Emphasis on the hidden aspect of the goddess.
Doc 71 Bandeau of Frieze W. Side	D III, 92,12; pls. 201-202 Also in Doc 27 (62,3); Hathor, Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 26 (61,4); Doc 77, (96,10)	North Wall	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>ʒs.t wr.t</i> Isis the Great Writing of <i>wr.t</i> by rebus with the image of the hippotamus goddess Taweret (losing the semantic value but keeping phonetic value; dropping the f.s. article <i>ʒ</i>).	Playful writing calls attention to the epithet of "great" for the goddess.
Doc 71 Bandeau of Frieze W. Side	D III, 92,12; pls. 201-202	North Wall	Repetition of similar sign-types (birds)	 <i>mw.t-ntr</i> Mother of God Vulture stands for <i>mw.t</i> ; Horus-falcon for <i>ntr</i> . 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).

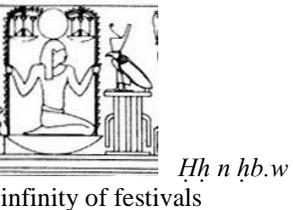
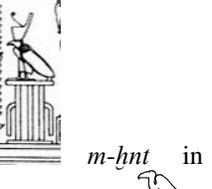
<p>Doc 72 Base</p>	<p>D III, 93,6; pl. 201</p>	<p>Crypto- graphic inscription</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus); visual represent- ation of meaning</p>	<p><i>pr-wr n Nbw.t dd.ti hr shm.w wr.w mi 3h.t hr itn</i> The Per-wer Sanctuary is for the Golden One (f.), being enduring/permanent/stable, containing the great (divine) powers, like the horizon containing the Aten (sun disk). Individual signs in this inscription are treated below.</p>	<p>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.</p>
<p>Doc 72 Base</p>	<p>D III, 93,6; pl. 201</p>	<p>Crypto- graphic inscription</p>	<p>Visual represent- ation of meaning</p>	<p> <i>pr-wr</i> Per-wer Sanctuary Logogram for <i>pr-wr</i> substitutes for  its ordinary writing:   (D III, 93,9).</p>	<p>Succinct writing of Per- wer with logogram representing the shape of the archaic Per-wer shrine.</p>
<p>Doc 72 Base</p>	<p>D III, 93,6; pl. 201</p>	<p>Crypto- graphic inscription</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	<p> <i>Nbw.t</i> Golden One (f.) Logogram (composite sign) for <i>Nbw.t</i> substitutes for the ordinary  writing of the epithet:   (D III, 93,9).</p>	<p>Visual emphasis on Hathor as the Golden One.</p>
<p>Doc 72 Base</p>	<p>D III, 93,6; pl. 201</p>	<p>Crypto- graphic inscription</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	<p> <i>dd.ti</i> (stative) be enduring/stable, permanent The <i>h.t</i>-sign  (O6) corresponds to the stative ending <i>.ti</i> in the ordinary writing of <i>dd.ti</i>:   (D III, 93,9).</p>	<p>Writing the stative of <i>dd.ti</i> (be enduring) with the temple logogram emphasizes the permanence of Dendera.</p>
<p>Doc 72 Base</p>	<p>D III, 93,6; pl. 201</p>	<p>Crypto- graphic inscription</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	<p> <i>hr</i> containing The <i>h.t</i>-sign  (O6) substitutes for the ordinary writing of  for <i>hr</i> (D III, 93,9). The <i>h.t</i>-sign to write, "containing," helps equate the temple with the horizon that <i>contains</i> the sun disk.</p>	<p>Emphasizes that Dendera contains the Golden One, just as the horizon contains the sun disk.</p>
<p>Doc 72 Base</p>	<p>D III, 93,6; pl.</p>	<p>Crypto- graphic</p>	<p>Playful writing</p>	<p> <i>shm.w</i></p>	

	201	inscription	(rebus)	<p>(divine) powers; genies</p> <p>Seated man with the <i>sh̄m</i>-scepter on his head substitutes for the ordinary writing of <i>sh̄m</i>:  (S42), meaning "power." This logogram is then tripled in OK-style to form the plural, which in ordinary writing is    (D III, 93,9).</p>	
Doc 72 Base	D III, 93,6; pl. 201	Cryptographic inscription	Playful writing (rebus)	<p> <i>wr.w</i> great (m.pl.)</p> <p>The seated figure of Thoth can represent ʕ due to his very common title of <i>Dḥwty ʕ ʕ</i>, "Thoth the Twice Great" (Fairman, <i>BIFAO</i> 43 (1945): 106). Therefore, Thoth can also represent the synonym <i>wr</i>, "great," rendered here in the plural to agree with the plural substantive, <i>sh̄m.w</i>, "powers." By contrast, the ordinary writing of <i>wr.w</i> is .</p>	
Doc 72 Base	D III, 93,6; pl. 201	Cryptographic inscription	Playful writing (rebus)	<p> <i>mi</i> like</p> <p>In accordance with the consonantal principle (Fairman, <i>BIFAO</i> 43 (1945): 110), the sign of the seated cat,  <i>miw</i>, can lose its weak, final consonant, thus substituting for the phonogram <i>mi</i>  in ordinary writing (D III, 93,9).</p>	
Doc 72 Base	D III, 93,6; pl. 201	Cryptographic inscription	Playful writing (rebus)	<p> <i>ʕh.t</i> horizon</p> <p>The more ambiguous  cryptographically substitutes for   in ordinary writing (D III, 93,9), both of which can mean either "horizon" or "temple."</p>	
Doc 72 Base	D III, 93,6; pl. 201	Cryptographic inscription	Playful writing (rebus)	<p> <i>hr</i> containing</p> <p>The <i>h.t</i>-sign substitutes for the  ordinary writing of <i>hr</i>,  (D III,</p>	

				93,9).	
Doc 72 Base	D III, 93,6; pl. 201	Crypto- graphic inscription	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>itn</i> Aten (sun disk) The horizontally stretched logogram of <i>itn</i> 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 <i>r^c</i> (sun, or sun god <i>R^c</i>) or <i>hrw</i> (day). More commonly, the word <i>itn</i> is spelled out phonetically,  , employing the sun disk as the determinative.	
Doc 73 E. Wall 2 nd Reg.	D III, 94,16; pl. 201	Udjat Offering; title and formula	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>dbh.w</i> parts	
Doc 73 E. Wall 2 nd Reg.	D III, 95,1; pl. 201	Udjat Offering; speech of Shu	Playful writing (rebus); repetition of similar sign type	 <i>ntr.w</i> 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.	
Doc 73 E. Wall 2 nd Reg.	D III, 95,2-3; pl. 201 Also in Doc 31 (84,2); Doc 51 (86,4); Doc 73 (95,2-3); Doc 74 (97,13)	Udjat Offering; speech of Hathor	Repetition of <i>nb</i> -sign (V30)	 <i>nb(.t) p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w nb(.t)</i> <i>wd3.ty shb(.t) mnd.ty</i> lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods, lady of the Udjat-eyes, She of the festively decorated eyes. Note that the <i>nb</i> -basket in <i>shb.t</i> should actually be the <i>hb</i> -basket  (W3). Chassinat has the sign marked "sic," but it is possible that the scribe intentionally used the <i>nb</i> -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  (N11 r3) should actually be  (Z25), so perhaps it	

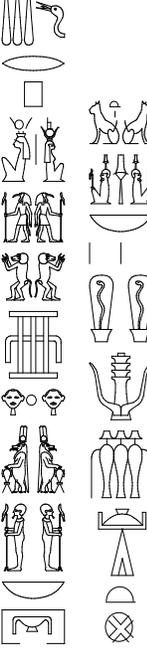
				<p>was a scribal error. If  can be the deter. for <i>mnd.ty</i>: (N11 r3, instead of Z25), it might allude to the crescent moon; the moon is also considered one of the udjat eyes. It is also possible that the scribe was being creative, substituting the crescent sign for one arch of an eyebrow.</p>	
<p>Doc 73 E. Wall 2nd Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 95,6-7; pl. 201</p>	<p>Udjat Offering; speech of Horus of Edfu</p>	<p>Repetition of <i>k3</i>-sign holding an object</p>	 <p><i>mk(=i) k3=s</i> <i>hnt k3.w</i> I protect her Ka among the (divine) kas.</p>	<p>Emphasis on Hathor's Ka among the divine Kas.</p>
<p>Doc 74 W. Wall 2nd Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 97,13-14; pl. 202</p> <p>Also in Doc 29 (58,11, wine); Doc 52 (71,3, cloth)</p>	<p>No title (udjat offering); speech of Ihy</p>	<p>Attraction to arm holding <i>nw</i>-jar (D39)</p>	 <p><i>hnk=i wd3.t n mw.t=f wsr.t</i> I offer the Udjat-Eye to his mother the Powerful One (f.)</p> <p>The sign of the forearm with the hand holding a bowl  (D39) functions as the ideogram for the verb <i>hnk</i> (to offer). In Ptolemaic, the same sign can also be the ideogram for the substantive <i>mw.t</i> (mother). Employing the same sign in two different words thus creates visual alliteration.</p> <p>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 <i>shtp ntr.w m mdw=f</i> (he who appeases the gods with his words), with preposition <i>m</i> now represented</p> <p>by the vulture sign  (G14), the traditional ideogram for <i>mw.t</i> (serving as the <i>m</i> by means of acrophony—taking the initial consonant from the word represented by the sign). Even though the sign now represents the preposition <i>m</i>, its original meaning of <i>mw.t</i> remains in the background, thus subtly alluding to Hathor's role as the mother of Ihy.</p>	<p>Emphasizes the act of offering the udjat.</p>

<p>Doc 74 W. Wall 2nd Reg</p>	<p>D III, 97,17; pl. 202</p> <p>Also in Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 45 (76,11)</p>	<p>No title (udjat offering); speech of Hathor</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	 <p><i>nb.ty.t-rhy.t</i> Lady of the Rekhyt</p> <p>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 <i>Nb.ty</i>, the two tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the <i>rhy.t</i>-bird, which stands for humans. The <i>nb.ty</i> element is made feminine by means of the <i>t</i>-loaf- and egg-signs at the end of the word.</p>	<p>Playful writing emphasizes Hathor's role as Lady of the Rekhyt which she takes over from Isis on west walls of the temple.</p>
<p>Doc 75 E. Wall 1st Reg</p>	<p>none D III, 93,15 – 94,4; pl. 201</p>	<p>No title</p>			
<p>Doc 76 W. Wall 1st Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 97,1; pl. 202</p>	<p>Offering unguent and cloth; speech of Ihy</p>	<p>Repetition of sign- type (child and Ihy playing sistrum)</p>	 <p><i>Thy-nwn hnt h.t-Thy</i> Ihy-nun in the Temple of Ihy</p> <p>Note that in the original relief, the form of Ihy shaking the sistrum does not wear a kilt and thus represents a child.</p>	<p>Emphasis on the god Ihy as a child.</p>
<p>Doc 76 W. Wall 1st Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 97,3; pl. 202</p> <p>Also in Doc 53 (82,15)</p>	<p>Offering unguent and cloth</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	 <p>(Aa23L) <i>Šsmw</i>, "Shesmu," god of the laboratory who prepares myrrh for the unguent offering.</p>	<p>The imagery of Shesmu's occupation (god of the laboratory) stands for his name, calling attention to the god</p>
<p>Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls</p>	<p>D III, 96,10-15; pl. 201- 202</p>	<p>Frieze on all walls of S. Niche</p>	<p>Crypto- graphic inscription with many examples playful writing (rebus)</p>	 <p><i>Hh n hb m-hnt h.t-sš.t</i> <i>H.t-hr wr.t nb.t Iwn.t Ir.t-R^c</i> An infinity of festivals in the Temple of the Sistrum, Hathor the Great, Mistress of Dendera, Eye of Ra.</p>	

				Written in ordinary writing in columns on either side of frieze on east and west walls. See below for individual phrases	
Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls	D III, 96,10 and 15; pl. 201-202	Frieze on all walls of S. Niche	Playful writing (rebus)	 <p><i>Hh n hb.w</i> infinity of festivals</p> <p>The god Heh, similar to  (C78A), is depicted graphically. The word <i>hb</i>  (O23D) 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 <i>hb</i>, to give the plurality, <i>hb.w</i>. The preposition, <i>n</i>, in the phrase, <i>hh n hb.w</i>, is denoted by the red crown  (S3) (<i>n < n.t</i>, "Red Crown," by consonantal principle) on the head of the vulture  (S3&G14), at the right of Heh.</p>	Emphasizes the multitude of festivals that take place at Dendera
Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls	D III, 96,10 and 15; pl. 201-202	Frieze on all walls of S. Niche	Playful writing (rebus)	 <p><i>m-hnt</i> in</p> <p>The vulture,  (G14) carries the value <i>m</i> (derived from <i>mw.t</i>, "mother," by the consonantal principle). Standing on the <i>hnt</i>-sign, it visually renders the compound preposition, <i>m-hnt</i>.</p>	The use of the red crown (for the previous preposition <i>n</i>) and the vulture (for the prep. <i>n</i>) alludes to Hathor as the mother of the king.

<p>Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls</p>	<p>D III, 96,10 and 15; pl. 201-202</p>	<p>Frieze on all walls of S. Niche</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	 <p><i>h.t-sš.t</i> the Temple of the Sistrum</p> <p>The logogram  (O6) at the base of the sistrum represents <i>h.t</i>, "temple." The Hathor head and naos at the top of the sistrum represent <i>sš.t</i>, "sistrum"</p>	<p>Hathor's temple is visually represented by the sistrum and the sign for "temple" in its base.</p>
<p>Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls</p>	<p>D III, 96,10; pl. 201-202</p> <p>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)</p>	<p>Frieze on all walls of S. Niche</p>	<p>Reversal</p>	 <p><i>H.t-hr</i> Hathor</p> <p>As the central, symmetrical element of the frieze of the S. Niche, Hathor's two representations, each facing outward from the center of the south wall, occur in reversal to the rest of the cryptographica inscription, allowing her image to look outward from the center of the most sacred part of the sanctuary.</p>	<p>Allows Hathor's image to look outward from the center of the S. Niche.</p>
<p>Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls</p>	<p>D III, 96,10; pl. 201-202</p> <p>Also in Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 25 (60,5); Doc 26 (61,4)</p>	<p>Frieze on all walls of S. Niche</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	 <p><i>H.t-hr. wr.t</i> Hathor the Great</p> <p>Writing of <i>wr.t</i> by rebus with the image of the hippotamus goddess Taweret (losing the semantic value but keeping phonetic value; dropping the f.s. article <i>B</i>).</p>	<p>Playful writing calls attention to the epithet "Hathor the Great."</p>
<p>Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls</p>	<p>D III, 96,10; pl. 201-202</p> <p>Also in Doc 24 (59,11); Doc 25 (60,5);</p>	<p>Frieze on all walls of S. Niche</p>	<p>Playful writing (rebus)</p>	 <p><i>nb.t'Iwn.t</i> Lady of Iunet</p> <p>The sign of the cow  (E 92)</p>	<p>Composite of Hathor's cobra and cow manifestations calls attention to her epithet, "Lady of Dendera."</p>

	Doc 26 (61,4); Doc 70, 92,7)			carries the value of <i>nb</i> or <i>nb(.t)</i> ; 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 <i>nb.t'wn.t</i> . This cow-headed snake thus alludes to Hathor's bovine and orphidian manifestations.	
Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls	D III, 96,10; pl. 201-202 Also in Doc 26 (61,4); Doc 70 (92,7); Doc 77 (96,10)	Frieze on all walls of S. Niche	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>Ir.t-R^c</i> Eye of Ra The sun god Ra (C2B) holds the Divine Eye (<i>Ir.t</i>) (D10), to form the composite ideogram, <i>Ir.t-R^c</i> .	Playful writing calls attention to Hathor's frequent epithet, <i>Ir.t-R^c</i> .
Doc 77 N., S., E., W. Walls	D III, 96,10; pl. 201-202	Frieze on all walls of S. Niche	Playful writing (rebus)	 <i>Ir.t-R^c</i> Eye of Ra The sun god Ra (C2B) holds the Divine Eye (<i>Ir.t</i>) (D10), to form the composite ideogram, <i>Ir.t-R^c</i> .	Emphasizes Hathor's epithet of <i>Ir.t-R^c</i> .
Doc 78 S. Wall E. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 95,17; pl. 202	Offering Ma'at	Repetition of child sign in two different words (<i>Sfy</i> and <i>sdty.t</i>)	 <i>s3.t Sfy sdty.t</i> the daughter of the Child, the young woman	Emphasizes Hathor's role as the young woman who is the daughter of the Child.

<p>Doc 78 S. Wall E. Side 2nd Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 96,6; pl. 202</p>	<p>Offering Ma'at. Crypto- graphic inscription; Divine Randzeile; reads two different ways: depending on scene to which it refers.</p>	<p>Symmetry with two or more words; playful or cryptic signs; represent- ation of meaning</p> <p>Count as 11 examples of ideograms (rebus or visual puns) for statistics.</p>	 <p><i>dd mdw rpy.t wr.t nfr.t hnt Twn.t šps.t ntry.t nb.t pr-Nbw.t hwn.t šhm.w nb.w itr.ty hnm hnt T3.t-di</i></p> <p>Words to say: the great noblewoman, beautiful one (f.) in Iunet, noble and divine lady, lady of the Sanctuary of the Golden One (f.), the feline (or "young girl"), the powers and the lords of the Two Sanctuaries are united in Iatdi.</p> <p>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 <i>wr(.t)</i>, the standing Ptah(?)-figures for <i>ntry.t</i> and the <i>šhm</i>-scepter flanked by two symmetrically seated gods holding <i>w3s</i>-scepters, carrying <i>šhm</i>- 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.</p> <p>Two different signs, functioning as logograms for <i>rpy.t</i> (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.</p>	<p>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>
<p>Doc 79 S. Wall W. Side 2nd Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 98,8; pl. 202</p> <p>Also in Doc 55 (79,3); Doc 43 (82,1); Doc 66 (88,2);</p>	<p>Offering Ma'at</p>	<p>Playful writing</p>	 <p><i>p3-hrd</i> the child</p> <p>Complete phrase: <i>Hr-Sm3-t3.wy p3 hrd s3 H.t-hr</i> Harsomtus the Child, son of Hathor</p> <p>Stool of reed matting □ (Q3) is arranged so that the child appears to be seated on it.</p>	<p>Playful writing draws attention to the epithet and emphasizes Harsomtus as a child (of Hathor)</p>

	Doc 79 (98,8)					
Doc 79 S. Wall W. Side 2 nd Reg.	D III, 96; pl. 202	Offering Ma'at. Crypto- graphic inscription; Divine Randzeile; reads two different ways, depending on scene to which it refers.	Symmetry with two or more words; playful or cryptic signs; represent- ation of meaning Count as 11 examples of ideograms (rebus or visual puns) for statistics.		<p><i>dd mdw rpy.t wr.t nfr.t hnt Twn.t šps.t ntry.t nb.t pr-Nbw.t hwn.t šhm.w nb.w itr.ty hnm hnt B.t- di</i></p> <p>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 "young girl"), the powers and the lords of the Two Sanctuaries are united in Iatdi.</p>	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>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 <i>wr(.t)</i>, the standing Ptah(?)-figures for <i>ntry.t</i> and the <i>šhm</i>-scepter flanked by two symmetrically seated gods holding <i>wšs</i>-scepters, carrying <i>šhm</i>-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.</p> <p>Two different signs, functioning as logograms for <i>rpy.t</i> (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.</p>		

<p>Doc 80 S. Wall 1st Reg.</p>	<p>D III, 94,8; pl. 202</p>	<p>No title (protection) Central Scene of S. Niche</p>	<p>Sym- metrical arrange- ment of two or more words; attraction with <i>k3</i>- arms in last word, <i>mk.t</i></p>	 <p><i>mk=i k3=t m mk.t nb(.t)</i> I protect your ka with all protection</p> <p>The word <i>mk.t</i> (protection) can be spelled with the <i>k3</i>-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, <i>k3</i>.</p>	<p>Emphasis on protection of Hathor's ka, increased by the spelling of <i>mk.t</i> (protection) with the <i>k3</i>-sign.</p>
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