Dendara as a Counterpart of Heliopolis in Ptolemaic Texts

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Abstract

The relationship between the two famous cities Heliopolis and Dendara is very strong. This relationship is shown in the similar names Iwnw and Iwnt. The Ptolemaic texts give a special relationship between those two cities as they make both of them equal, considering Dendara as the Upper Egyptian female counterpart of the northern Heliopolis. The texts of Dendara Temple emphasize that Dendara of the south replaces and takes the place of Heliopolis of the north; the relationship is also mentioned in the common name of Dendara T3-n-Tmwt that means ‘The Land of Atum’ who is the traditional god of Heliopolis. The aim of this paper is to examine special texts quoted from Dendara and other temples and discuss its significance. It is worth mentioning that the Egyptian language used a lot of synonyms for the idea of replacement and equals. Such as m-isw; m-dbhw; m-idnw.
In Ptolemaic texts, some famous cities like Edfou, Dendara, and Thebes have a great influence on the texts of their major temples. The Ptolemaic texts are rich in information about cities and geographical sites. Even the fact that Egypt was divided into two parts, is theoretical as some cities in the south assembled with others in the north. Dendara in the south, and Heliopolis in the north, are a very good example of this assembling. The main sentence that represents the core of this paper is ‘Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis’. It is the most direct sentence that linked the two cities together and summarized the relationship between them. The paper examines 21 documents that mentioned, in a direct way, the relationship between the two famous cities, Dendara and Heliopolis. Dendara and Heliopolis were united by close religious ties.

**Documents**


\[
\text{Ir. tw n. s Twnt m-\(\text{gb}\)w n \(\text{Iwnw}\).}
\]

Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.


\[
\text{Iat-di n \(\text{Ir-R}\), Twnt n nb t pt, \(\text{qd k}\). s hr m-m sy, ir. tw. f n \(\text{hm}\), s m-isw n \(\text{Iwnw}\).}
\]

Iatdi is for the eye of Re (Hathor), Iounet is for the mistress of the sky, her Ka is established inside it, and it was built for her majesty as a counterpart of Heliopolis.

- Doc. nº. 3: *Dendara*, I, 126 (12).

\[
\text{Ir. tw n. s Twnt m-\(\text{gb}\)w n \(\text{Iwnw}\).}
\]

Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.

- Doc. nº. 4: *Dendara*, VII, 112 (12).

\[
\text{nswy-t bityt \(\text{ir-R}\) \(\text{hm}\) Twnt, ir. tw n. s Twnt m-\(\text{gb}\)w n \(\text{Iwnw}\).}
\]

Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, eye of Re inside Dendara; Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.
- Doc. nº. 5: *Dendara*, XII, 3 (1).

\[ \text{Dendara as a counterpart of Heliopolis.} \]

- Doc. nº. 6: *Dendara*, XII, 139 (10).

\[ \text{Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis by her father Re in Weha-ta.} \]

- Doc. nº. 7: *Dendara*, XIII, 11 (4).

\[ \text{Hathor mistress of Dendara, she is the eye of Re; Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.} \]

- Doc. nº. 8: *Dendara*, XIII, 83 (12).

\[ \text{Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.} \]

- Doc. nº. 9: *Dendara*, XIII, 217 (6).

\[ \text{Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maat rises in her boat; Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.} \]

- Doc. nº. 10: *Dendara*, XIII, 256 (10).

\[ \text{Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.} \]
- Doc. n°. 11: *Dendara*, XIII, 389 (3).

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ir. } & \text{tw } n. \ s \text{Twnt } m \text{-djbw } n \text{Twnw.}
\end{align*}\]

*Dendara* was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.

- Doc. n°. 12: *Dendara*, XIII, 424 (11).

\[\begin{align*}
\text{nswy]-bityt } & \text{irt-R' } \text{hwnw } m \text{Hwt-sSst, ir. } \text{tw } n. \ s \text{Twnt } m \text{-djbw } n \text{Twnw.}
\end{align*}\]

*Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, the eye of Re, mistress in the mansion of sistrum; Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.*

- Doc. n°. 13: *Dendara*, XIV, 10 (6).

\[\begin{align*}
\text{nswy]-bityt } & \text{Nbwt } n\text{Trw ir. } \text{tw } n. \ s \text{Twnt } m \text{-djbw } n \text{Twnw.}
\end{align*}\]

*Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Golden one of gods; Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.*

- Doc. n°. 14: *Dendara*, XIV, 109 (10).

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ir. } & \text{tw } n. \ s \text{Twnt } m \text{-djbw } n \text{Twnw.}
\end{align*}\]

*Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.*

- Doc. n°. 15: *Dendara*, XV, 49 (9-10).

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ir. } & \text{tw } n. \ s \text{Twnt } m \text{-djbw } n \text{Twnw.}
\end{align*}\]

*Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.*
- Doc. n°. 16: *Dendara*, XV, 69 (9).

\[\text{Ht-ḥr nbt Twnt m źr n. s it. s R}^\text{e} \text{ Twnt m-ḏb³w n Twnw.}\]

Hathor Mistress of Dendara, her father Re built for her Dendara as a counterpart of Heliopolis.


\[\text{Tḥḥ-rt (f) n. s m-ḏb³w n Twnw.}\]

Dendara is for her as a replacement of Heliopolis.

- Doc. n°. 18: *Dendara*, XV, 280 (11).

\[\text{Ir. tw n. s Twnt m-ḏb³w n Twnw.}\]

Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.


\[\text{rdḥ n. s it. s Twnt m-ḏb³w n Twnw r ṣḥtp lb. s m ḥḥt. s.}\]

Her father (Re) makes for her Dendara as a counterpart of Heliopolis, to appease her heart by what she desires.


\[\text{[ dl ḫn. s Twnt m-ḏḥw n Twnw.}\]

He [gives] for her Dendara as a counterpart of Heliopolis.
Dendara as a Counterpart of Heliopolis in Ptolemaic Texts


Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis, Hathor the great one, mistress of Dendara.

**Comments**

(a) The word *DbA* has the meaning of "to replace, repay";¹ the original meaning of *DbA* seems to have been "to occupy" a seat in a ship;² the idea of taking a seat seems to have become the nuance of replacing or substituting someone.³ Lesko in his Late Dictionary gives the meaning of *DbA* as "to reimburse, to turn over to, to replace, to repay, to substitute".⁴

The meaning of the word in the documents mentioned is "to replace", "take the place of", and "instead of" and it described the relationship between the two cities. The word is also written in a variety of orthographies as *; ; ;*;*;*;*; the word *DbA* also has an alliteration with and is a pun for the name of Edfou town *Dbt*.

*Hr hr bhdw n R*² *Dbt* n. f n it. f m *Dbt*.

Horus upon the throne of Re he replaced his father in Edfou.⁵

(b) The word *idn* has the meaning to substitute, to deputize for, to replace,⁶ and the word is used to describe substituting the sun disk by the moon. In Edfou texts, there is the word-play of *in* * and * idn*,⁷ the word appears three times and has the same significance and meaning of the word *DbA* that is used in most of the instances. Both of *DbA* and *idn* are used with the preposition *m* as a compound preposition.

(c) Gauthier translated *WHa-tA* as ‘Opening of the land’ and identified it as the Serapeum in Heliopolitan nome,⁸ on the other hand, Cauville identified this place as the Heliopolitan nome nº. XIII of Lower Egypt.⁹ *WHf-tA* implies the first occasion of the creation of the earth; thus, the place *WHf-tA* where this happened, Heliopolis, the center of creation of Re, could be designated as the ‘founding of the land’.¹⁰ Like Doc. nº. 6, most texts mentioned *WHf-tA* with *Iwnw*; good instances quoted from Edfou say:

*shnw nn nw Hwt-bnhn ii m WHf-tA r Bhdt-nt-R*².

Those cult images of Mansion of obelisk [Heliopolis] come from WHf-tA to Behdet (i.e. Edfou) of Re.¹¹
Hr lbbt wbn m b3lyw K3 Twnw m-h3w Whf-t3.
Horus of the east that rises in the east; the bull of Heliopolis is in the neighborhood of Whf-t3.\textsuperscript{12}

\textit{in iw. k m Twnw pt. k-n-Kmt htp. tw m hnt Whf-t3.}
Are you\textsuperscript{13} in Heliopolis? You are the heaven of Egypt (i.e. Heliopolis),\textsuperscript{14} as you rest inside Whf-t3.\textsuperscript{15}
An instance quoted from the Temple of Isis gives the relationship between Dendara and Whf-t3 which in its role is an equal to Heliopolis.

\textit{nTr pn SpS Hr-Hrw hry-ib Twnw hry nhw hnt Whf-t3.}
That noble god Horus of Horuses\textsuperscript{16} who resides in Dendara, chief of the gods inside Whf-t3 (i.e. Heliopolis).\textsuperscript{17}

(d) The name of \textit{Twnw} (Dendara) is an incorrect writing of the name of \textit{Twnw} (Heliopolis). This incorrect writing was repeated by the scribe in eight instances as shown above in the documents [n°. 7; 10; 11; 12; 13; 15; 16; 20]; the scribe confused the two names because of the nearly similar writing and the repetition of the two names in one sentence, as he wrote the same name with the same writing twice in the same sentence as in documents n°. [10; 11].

In some instances, he reshapes the writing of \textit{Twnw} into the shape \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{Twnw}}}}\textsuperscript{18} as in documents n°. [7; 12; 13; 15; 16], but it still is the same name and the same error. It is noteworthy to mention that the name of \textit{Twnw} is rendered by the scribe in the same form, on the other hand, he makes varying orthographies of the name \textit{Twnw} and both of them are written \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{Twnw}}}}\textsuperscript{18} or \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{Twnw}}}}\textsuperscript{18}. On the other hand, we are not sure if it is appropriate to speak of ‘an incorrect writing’. Given its frequency, it rather seems to have been an accepted option, and indeed, in late texts it is frequent for scribes to add a ‘\textit{t}’ above the city-determinative.

(e) This orthography \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{Twnw}}}}\textsuperscript{18} is the name of Dendara and the reading is certain from the comparison of the very common titles and epithets of Hathor in two similar texts, an instance quoted from Edfou makes the reading clear.
"Utterance by Hathor the great mistress of Dendara, eye of Re, who resides in Edfou, mistress of the sky, mistress of all the gods.

Originally, the writing  is the name of Dendara , but it can be read as ‘Heliopolis’ . H.W. Fairman suggested that as a writing of ‘Heliopolis’ would be a secondary development. This orthography shows the strong relationship between the two cities as their names can be written in similar orthography. Fairman with Grdseloff suggested that this writing probably arose through a rebus on the conception of Hathor as a sistrum with two faces; and he quoted an instance from the ‘Bat with her two faces’.²⁰

 or as a writing of appears in two instances nº. [12; 16].

In another two instances, nº. [7; 15], the scribe makes a juxtaposition for the two names because of the same writing of the two names in orthography and .

In the two previous instances, the word at the end of both instances is misplaced by the scribe for the word ‘Heliopolis’.

As for instances for the reading of ; ; and as , we can compare between the names of Heliopolis orthography as shown in those evidences from Dendara and Philae:
Utterance by Atum lord of Heliopolis, the great god inside the residence of the hidden chapel, might and noble one in sanctuary that bury Osiris.  

Utterance by Atum lord of Heliopolis, the divine in Dendara.

The previous instances make the reading certain as Iwnw; thus, the writing of both names of Dendara and Heliopolis in the same orthography $\text{Iwnw}$ or $\text{Iwny}$ makes a strong relationship between them and makes Dendara/Heliopolis as the town of Hathor with the two faces; these two cities are the two faces of Hathor.

In this instance, the name of Dendara was changed into $\text{T3-rrt}$ as an equal to $\text{Iwny}$ and the sentence lacks the verb of construction $\text{ir/rdi}$. The relationship between Hathor and her own city came in a direct genitive form ‘Dendara of her own’ making Dendara belong directly to Hathor.

The lacuna could be completed as , compared with Doc. no. 5.

Twnt and Iwnw: a Religious Approach

The relationship between Twnt and Iwnw appears since the era of the Pyramid Texts which has the unique distinction of being the earliest corpus of interrelated religious texts discovered by archaeological research so far. A good instance quoted from Pyramid Texts mentioned that the mother of the king is Twnty ‘One of Dendara’ and the father is Twny ‘Heliopolitan’ as the text states:

Mother of Twnty; father of Twny.
This description of the mother and father of the king in *Pyramid Texts* sheds light on the significance of the two cities *Iwnyt* and *Iwnw* and gives the significance of why they come in juxtaposition. The puns and words play of the two names *Iwnyt* and *Iwny* shed light on the relationship between the two major gods Hathor the *Iwnyt* and Atum the *Iwny*. The texts mentioned Hathor with a female epithet as *Iounyt* and it appears as passim at the texts of Dendara.

\[\text{Hnwt mnit BHdtyt m BHdt; Iwnyt m Iwnt } \text{at-Hr m spAt nbt, nbt sxm HqAt mnit.}\]

Mistress of menet Behdetyt in Behdet; Iounyt in Dendara; Hathor in every nome, mistress of sistrum the female ruler of menet.\(^{25}\)

\[\text{Twnty } \text{hpt. tw m Iwnt m nfrt hr bnrty wtwt hr in hfrpy.}\]

Iounyt rests in Dendara as the one beautiful of face, sweet of love who brings the Nile inundation.\(^{26}\)

\[\text{Twnty m Iwnt sAt Nwt di r } \text{t m Tt-dti m hrw pn nfr nhw m ssf.}\]

Iounyt in Dendara daughter of Nut who is born (lit. given to earth) in Dendara, in this beautiful day where the child in his nest.\(^{27}\)

\[\text{Dd mdw } \text{Ht-hr nbt Iwnt } \text{irt-Rq } \text{hpyt-ib BHdt nbt pt hnwty ntrw nbw Hddt m BHdt Twnty m Iwnt } \text{at-Hr m spAt nb (t).}\]

Utterance by Hathor Mistress of Dendara, eye of Re, who resides in Edfou, mistress of the sky, mistress of all gods, Hededet (Scorpion) in Edfou, Iounyt in Dendara, Hathor in every nome.\(^{28}\)

On the other hand, the texts describe Atum as lord of Heliopolis:

\[\text{Dd mdw in Tmwy nb Twwy-Twnw, nfr } \text{t m Tt-di, iry rmf shpr ntrw.}\]

Utterance by Atum lord of Heliopolis, the great god in Dendara, he begets the people and caused the gods to exist.\(^{29}\)
It is noteworthy that the word nb or lord is written with the sign $\text{Hathor sign}$ which represents Hathor and it gives some phonetic values. The scribe writes the word with Hathor sign to make a harmony with the sign of the god Atum, and he does not write the word with the sign $\text{Atum sign}$, maybe to give the idea that Atum is the counterpart of Hathor and vice versa.

The texts are also making Hathor the mistress of Dendara as an avatar or a female counterpart of Atum lord of Heliopolis, and also mentioned Hathor as the eye of Atum in the land of Atum.

The Ptolemaic texts, especially in the Temple of Dendara, emphasize the idea that the two cities are a counterpart to each other, this is mentioned in 18 instances divided between the Temples of Hathor and Isis at Dendara. The Temple of Isis has one instance only, while most of the instances are found in Hathor’s Temple.

All the instances mentioned the idea that the town of Dendara was built to replace Heliopolis as in documents nº. [1; 2; 3; 4; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; 14; 16; 17; 19; 20; 21], and in some special instances, it mentioned the role of the god Re as he is the one who built Dendara for Hathor to be a counterpart and replaced Heliopolis as in documents nº. [5; 15; 18]; the instance nº. 15 is the best one to give the complete idea that says: ‘Her father Re has built for her Dendara to replace Heliopolis’. The close religious relationship between the two cities appears also in the name of Dendara $\text{T3-n-Imw}$ ‘the land of Atum’,
this name, Atum the traditional major god of Heliopolis is associated with Dendara. There may be an early instance in the coffin texts. At Dendara, \textit{Tj-n-Imw} is a common name for the town and it was found in the long list of the city’s names in the form \textit{Kt.t.n-Imw}. Sometimes the name appears without the letter ‘\textit{n}’ of genitive with this orthography \textit{K.t.t.n-Imw}. The name is also written in varying orthographies and it appears passim in texts; it is also found at Edfou.

\textit{irt-Rt xnt Tj-n-Imw.}

\textit{Eye of Re (Hathor) inside the land of Atum (Dendara).}

The texts also consider Dendara ‘the land of Atum’ as the birthplace of Isis the avatar of Hathor in Dendara, when Isis possesses this epithet, she is identified as Hathor and she stresses the unity between them and reflects the Isis aspect of Hathor.

\textit{dd mdw in l\textit{st wrt mwt-nfr nbt Tj-di hryt-ib Twnr ityt ms n Nwtr dl r t3 tp Tj-n-Imw.}}

\textit{Utterance by Isis, the great one, the god’s mother, mistress of Dendara, who resides in Dendara, female sovereign, born to Nut, who is born (lit. given to earth) upon the land of Atum (i.e. Dendara).}

While Dendara is the land of Atum, the texts mentioned Heliopolis as the town of the god Atum, this link between the two cities highlights the strong relationship between them because the two cities belong to the god Atum.

In a particular case, the texts of Dendara mentioned that the \textit{Ennead} of Dendara is in the land of Atum (Dendara).

\textit{nfrw ipn \textit{53 wwr Pstd nprf nw Twnr shmr nর Tj-n-Imw.}}

\textit{These very great gods, the divine Ennead of Dendara, these statues inside Dendara.}

Now, the reason why the texts mentioned Re as the builder of \textit{Twnr} to replace \textit{Iwnw} for Hathor is that in fact the relationship between Hathor and Re is clear as Hathor is the daughter and eye of Re. The title of Hathor \textit{irt-Rt ‘eye of Re’} is a common epithet for the goddess Hathor in Dendara texts; it is found passim in texts that mentioned Hathor, for instance:

\textit{Ht-hr wrt nbt Twnr irt Rt nbt pt.}

\textit{Hathor the great one, mistress of Dendara, eye of Re, mistress of the sky.}
The relationship between Re and Hathor is so clear in the story of The Destruction of Mankind, as Hathor, the eye of Re, turned into the shape of Sekhmet and started to kill everybody after the rebellion of mankind against the order of the god Re, and this was the origin of the so-called ritual shtp-Shmt. In his detailed study, Germond showed that the ritual had its origins in the New Kingdom Myths of the Sun Eye and The Destruction of Mankind, but the underlying themes go back much further.45

The texts also make Dendara belong to Re, as he is the god who created this city, and of course, to Hathor the mistress of Dendara.

ir Tšt-di Twnt pw st tn at Hr-br nbt Twnt, sp’t pw nt R. 46
As for Iatdi it is Iounet, this place of Hathor mistress of Dendara, it is the nome of Re. 46

The name of Re also appears in Dendara’s names which are rendered by the two long lists of Dendara’s names in the Pronaos [G’] 47 and in the Western Crypt n. 3.48

1. Names in the Pronaos [G’] List

St-mr-ib-n-R.
Place of beloved heart of Re.49

Pr-ndt-Rm-cjpp.
Sanctuary of protection Re from Apophis.50

Pr-shm-n-R.
Sanctuary of power of Re.51

Pr-fšl-Rm-msw. f
Sanctuary of raising Re by his children.52
2. Names in the Western Crypt nº. 3 List:

It is noteworthy to mention that the duplicated names in the second list of the Crypt nº. 3 will be omitted to avoid repetition.

\[
Pr-nhw-pw-n-R^5.
\]

Sanctuary of protection of Re.\(^{53}\)

\[
Bw-n-R^5.
\]

Place of Re.\(^{54}\)

\[
Pr-rm. \ tw-im-in-R^5-r\$ \ tw-im-in-R^5.
\]

Sanctuary of weeping there by Re, rejoicing there by Re.\(^{55}\)

On the other hand, Iwnw linked with Re in the name \[ \text{Iwnw-R}^5 \] means Heliopolis that belongs to Re, or Heliopolis of Re.

Conclusion

This paper sheds light on the texts concerning the relationship between the two famous cities Dendara and Heliopolis. Twenty-one instances were found in Dendara’s texts divided between Hathor and Isis temples, the gate of Hathor at Dendara, and the temple of Edfou. The paper examined 21 instances that mentioned, in a direct way, the relationship between the two famous cities Dendara and Heliopolis.

Most of the instances were found at Hathor’s temple ([18 instances]; one instance was found in each of Isis’s temple, Hathor’s gate, and the temple of Edfou. All the instances emphasize the idea that Dendara is the avatar and counterpart of Heliopolis, and that it was built in the south for Hathor by her father Re to replace Heliopolis of the north.

The religious relationship between the two cities was clear in the texts of Dendara temples (Hathor and Isis), and the texts linked between the major two gods of Dendara and Heliopolis as they mentioned that Hathor is the avatar and female counterpart of Atum, and both of them replace each other in the titles related to the two cities: Hathor mistress of Dendara, and Atum lord of Heliopolis, and vice versa.
The orthography 📑 and 📑 can be read either ḫmnt (Dendara) or ḫn were Heliopolis, semantically linked with the kind of texts, but in most texts they are read as ḫmnt. Dendara and Heliopolis are the two faces of Hathor with the two faces, like two faces for one coin. In mythological texts, the separating line between the two cities Dendara and Heliopolis is very thin. Dendara and Heliopolis were united by close religious ties. The texts mentioned Re as the founder of Dendara to replace, or as a counterpart of Heliopolis, the goddess Hathor. The name of Re, in his turn, was mentioned in the long lists of Dendara’s names [7 names]. These names shed light on the strong relationship between Dendara and Re as Dendara was the Place of Re; Sanctuary of power of Re; Sanctuary of protecting Re from Apophis, and Sanctuary of weeping and rejoicing by Re.

On the other hand, ḫn is linked with Re in the name ḫn-R which means Heliopolis that belongs to Re or Heliopolis of Re.

### Hathor Mistress of

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<tr>
<th>🌟</th>
<th>Dendara</th>
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<tr>
<td>🌟</td>
<td>Heliopolis</td>
<td>🌟</td>
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Infographic summarizing the relationship between Hathor and the two famous cities Dendara and Heliopolis (designed by the author).

**Explanation of the Infographic**

Hathor is the lady of the two linked cities, Dendara and Heliopolis. Both cities can be written in the same orthography, as mentioned at the end of the infographic. This similar writing of the name of both cities reflects the strong relationship between them. Dendara and Heliopolis were united by close religious ties.
Endnotes


2 Pyr. § 906 [اكتسيت]; § 1171 [ الشمس].

3 Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon, 1228.

4 L.H. Lesko, A Dictionary of Late Egyptian, IV (Berkeley, 1982), 155.

5 Edfou, I, 153 (6).

6 Wb, I, 154 (1-5); Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon, 127.

7 Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon, 127; Edfou, IV, 40 (12); V, 28 (7-8); VI, 239 (2-3).

8 H. Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques, contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques I (Le Caire 1929), 203.


10 Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon, 252.

11 Edfou, VIII, 83 (1).

12 Edfou, VIII, 100 (12).

13 Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon, 80; Wb, I, 89 (14); J. Assmann & B. Martin, Alägyptische Totentürgien I. Totentürgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches, Universität verlag Winter (Heidelberg, 2008), 505 (Spruch 2) and passim; D. Kurth, Einführung ins Ptolemäische II (Hützel, 2008), § 159, 768 n°. C; A.H. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1957), §492; Wolfgang Schenkel, Tübinger Einführung in die klassisch–ägyptische sprache und schrift (Tübingen, 1997), 304-305, n°. 9. 2. 4. 3.

14 Wb, I, 491 (12); Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon, 379.

15 S. Cauville, Dendara X. Les chapelles osiriennes : textes hiéroglyphiques, IFAO (Le Caire, 1997), 288 (9).

16 The title could also be read as Hr-mtrw ‘Horus of the Gods’. See Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon, 631.


18 Edfou, V, 370 (5).

19 H.W. Fairman, ‘Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu’, ASAE 43 (1943), 253; Cauville, Les chapelles osiriennes, Index, 30; and for instances that [ٍـٍ] = [ٍـٍ] see Dendara, X, 352 (5) [4]; 262 (13) and vice versa: 56 (5) [3]; Also see Kurth, Einführung ins Ptolemäische I, 167, note n°. 22.

20 Fairman, ASAE 43, 252; Pyr. 1096b.

21 Dendara, X, 62 (11-12).

22 Dendara, X, 184 (12).


24 Pyr. § 482.

25 Edfou, III, 70 (1-2).

26 Dendara, IX, 259 (2-3).

27 Dendara, I, 21 (2).

28 Edfou, VIII, 64 (1-2).

29 Dendara, XII, 209 (5).


31 Dendara, XV, 344 (8).

32 Dendara, XII, 309 (7).

33 Dendara, VI, 133 (12).

34 Gauthier, Dictionnaire géographique, VI, 23; Wb, V, 222 (1); Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon, 1119.

35 A. de Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts IV (Chicago, 1951), 10c-sp. 272 [ٍـٍ رف].

36 Dendara, XV, 176 (8); Dendara, VI, 168 (8) [ٍـٍ رف]

37 Dendara, VI, 125 (2).

38 Dendara, X, 184 (12).

39 Cauville, Les chapelles osiriennes, Index, 602.

40 Edfou, VIII, 4 (10); for further information about the god Atum. See K. Mysliwiec, Studien zum

41. *Dendara*, VI, 162 (3-4).

42. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, I, 55.

43. *Dendara*, XV, 353 (6-7).

44. *Dendara*, XII, 309 (7).


46. *Dendara*, VI, 155 (15).


49. *Dendara*, XV, 174 (8); *Dendara*, VI, 166 (5).

50. *Dendara*, XV, 175 (8-9); *Dendara*, VI, 167 (7).

51. *Dendara*, XV, 175 (10); *Dendara*, VI, 167 (9).

52. *Dendara*, XV, 175 (10); *Dendara*, VI, 167 (8).

53. *Dendara*, VI, 167 (8).

54. *Dendara*, VI, 167 (9-10).

55. *Dendara*, VI, 169 (3).

56. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 1, 56.