

Dendara as a Counterpart of Heliopolis in Ptolemaic Texts

*Mohamed Ragab Sayed**

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-Itmw* 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-db3w*; *m-idnw*.

- Doc. n° 5: *Dendara*, XII, 3 (1).



di. f n. s Twnt m-idnw^(b) Twnw.

He [Re] gives to her Dendara as a counterpart of Heliopolis.

- Doc. n° 6: *Dendara*, XII, 139 (10).



ir. tw n. s Twnt m-idnw Twnw in it. s R^c m Wh^c-t3^(c).

Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis by her father Re in *Weha-ta*.

- Doc. n° 7: *Dendara*, XIII, 11 (4).



Ht-hr nbt Twnt, irt-R^c pw, ir. tw n. s Twnt m-d3w n Twnw.^(d)

Hathor mistress of Dendara, she is the eye of Re; Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.

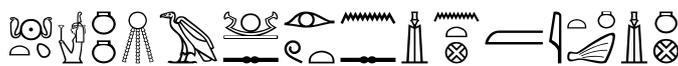
- Doc. n° 8: *Dendara*, XIII, 83 (12).



ir. tw n. s Twnt m-d3w Twnw.

Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.

- Doc. n° 9: *Dendara*, XIII, 217 (6).



nswyt-bityt M3^ct wbn m wi3 . s ir. tw n. s Twnt m-idnw Twnw.

Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maat rises in her boat; Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.

- Doc. n° 10: *Dendara*, XIII, 256 (10).



ir. tw n. s Twnt m-d3w n Twnw.

Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.

- Doc. n° 16: *Dendara*, XV, 69 (9).



Ht-hr nbt Twnt m ir n. s it. s R^c Twnt m-db3w n Twnw.

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

- Doc. n° 17: *Dendara*, XV, 215 (7).



T3-rrt^(f) n. s m-db3w n Twnw.

Dendara is for her as a replacement of Heliopolis.

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



ir. tw n. s Twnt m-db3w n Twnw.

Dendara was built for her as a counterpart of Heliopolis.

- Doc. n° 19: S. Cauville, *Le temple d'Isis, vol. I Textes hiéroglyphiques*, IFAO (Le Caire, 2008), 273 (10).



rdi n. s it. s Twnt m-db3w n Twnw r shtp ib. s m 3bt. s.

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

- Doc. n° 20: S. Cauville, *Dendara, La Porte d'Hathor, Textes hiéroglyphiques*, IFAO (Le Caire, 2021), 1 (9).



[di]^(g) f n. s Twnt m-idnw n Twnw.

He [gives] for her Dendara as a counterpart of Heliopolis.

- Doc. n°. 21: *Edfou*, IV, 377, 18.



ir. tw n. s Twnt m-db3w n Twnw, Ht-hr wrt nbt Twnt.

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

Comments

(a) The word *db3* has the meaning of *to ‘replace, repay’*,¹ the original meaning of *db3* 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 *db3* 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 𓂏 ; 𓂏 ; 𓂏 ; 𓂏 ; 𓂏 ; 𓂏 ; the word *db3* also has an alliteration with and is a pun for the name of Edfou town *Db3t*.



Hr hr bhdw n Rc db3. n. f n it. f m Db3t.

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

(b) The word 𓂏 *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 *itm* 𓂏 and 𓂏 *idn*,⁷ the word appears three times and has the same significance and meaning of the word *db3* that is used in most of the instances. Both of *db3* and *idn* are used with the preposition *m* as a compound preposition.

(c) Gauthier translated 𓂏 *Whc-t3* 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 n°. XIII of Lower Egypt.⁹ *Whc-t3* implies the first occasion of the creation of the earth; thus, the place *Whc-t3* where this happened, Heliopolis, the center of creation of Re, could be designated as the ‘founding of the land’.¹⁰ Like Doc. n°. 6, most texts mentioned *Whc-t3* with *Twnw*; good instances quoted from Edfou say:



shmw nn nw Hwt-bnbn ii m Whc-t3 r Bhdnt-nt-Rc.

*Those cult images of Mansion of obelisk [Heliopolis] come from Whc-t to Behdet (i.e. Edfou) of Re.*¹¹

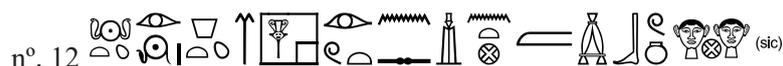


ḏd mdw in Ḥt-ḥr wrt nbt Twnt irt-R^c ḥryt-ib Bḥdt nbt pt ḥnwt nṯrw nbw.

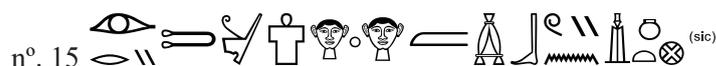
Utterance by Hathor the great mistress of Dendara, eye of Re, who resides in Edfou, mistress of the sky, mistress of all the gods.

Originally, the writing ; or is the name of Dendara *Twnt*, but it can be read as ‘Heliopolis’ *Twnw*, H.W. Fairman suggested that as a writing of *Twnw* ‘Heliopolis’ would be a secondary development.¹⁹ 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 *Pyramid Texts* ‘Bat with her two faces’.²⁰

or as a writing of *Twnw* appears in two instances n°. [12; 16].

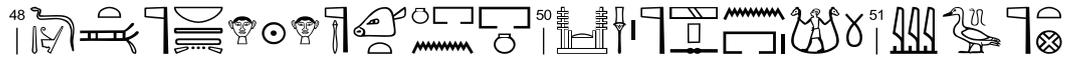


In another two instances, n°. [7; 15], the scribe makes a juxtaposition for the two names because of the same writing of the two names in orthography and .



In the two previous instances, the word *Twnt* at the end of both instances is misplaced by the scribe for the word *Twnw* \ .

As for instances for the reading of ; ; and as *Twnw*, we can compare between the names of Heliopolis orthography *t3wy-Twnw* and as shown in those evidences from Dendara and Philae:



dd mdw in Itmw nb t3wy-Iwnw ntr 3 hnt Hnw-n-štyt, šhm šps m Pr-ḳrs-Wsir.

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.²¹



Itmw nb t3wy-Iwnw ntry m T3-Itmw.

Atum lord of Heliopolis, the divine in Dendara.²²



dd mdw in Itmw nb t3wy-Iwnw ntr 3 hnty Hnt-n-t3.

Utterance by Atum lord of Heliopolis, the great god, the foremost of Philae (the foremost of the land).²³

The previous instances make the reading certain as *Iwnw*; thus, the writing of both names of Dendara and Heliopolis in the same orthography ; or 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.

(f) In this instance, the name of Dendara was changed into *T3-rrt* as an equal to *Iwnt* and the sentence lacks the verb of construction *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.

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

***Iwnt* and *Iwnw* a Religious Approach**

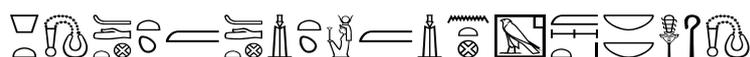
The relationship between *Iwnt* and *Iwnw* appears since the era of the *Pyramid Texts* which has the unique distinction of being the earliest corpus of interrelated religious texts discovered by archaeological research so far. A good instance quoted from *Pyramid Texts* mentioned that the mother of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



mwt nt *Iwnyt; it n* *Iwny.*

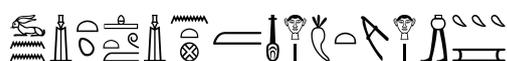
Mother of *is Iounyt; father of* *is Heliopolitan.²⁴*

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



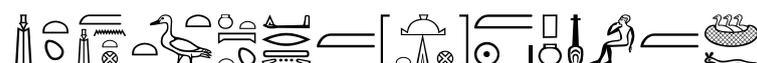
hnwt mnit Bhdtyt m Bhd; Twnyt m Twnt Ht-hr m sp3t nbt, nbt shm hk3t mnit.

*Mistress of menet Behdetyt in Behdet; Iounyt in Dendara; Hathor in every nome, mistress of sistrum the female ruler of menet.*²⁵



Twnyt htp. tw m Twnt m nfrt hr bnrt mrwt hr in h'py.

*Iounyt rests in Dendara as the one beautiful of face, sweet of love who brings the Nile inundation.*²⁶



Twnyt m Twnt s3t Nwt di r t3 m Tbt-di m hrw pn nfr nhn m s3.f.

*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



dd mdw Ht-hr nbt Twnt irt-Rc hryt-ib Bhd nbt pt hnwt ntrw nbw Hddt m Bhd Twnyt m Twnt Ht-hr m sp3t 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:



dd mdw in Itmw nb t3wy-Iwnw, ntr 3 m Tbt-di, iry rmt shpr ntrw.

*Utterance by Atum lord of Heliopolis, the great god in Dendara, he begets the people and caused the gods to exist.*²⁹



Itmw nb Twnw, it ḥ3tyw, ḥpr ds. f.

*Atum lord of Heliopolis, father of the primeval gods, one who creates himself.*³⁰

It is noteworthy that the word *nb* or lord is written with the 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 , maybe to give the idea that Atum is the counterpart of Hathor and vice versa.



dd mdw in Itm nb Twnw, ntr 3 m T3-rrt.

*Utterance by Atum lord of Heliopolis, the great god in Dendara.*³¹

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.



Ḥt-ḥr wrt nbt Twnt irt R^c nbt pt Tmt s3t Itm.

*Hathor the great one mistress of Dendara, eye of Re, mistress of the sky, Tmet daughter of Atum.*³²



nswyt-bityt ḥk3t ḥnwt t3wy w^ct n kt ḥr ḥw. s, irt-Itm m ḥnt T3-n-Itm.

*Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, female sovereign, mistress of the two lands, the solo one (uraeus), there is no other except for her, eye of Atum inside the land of Atum (inside Dendara).*³³

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 n^o. [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 n^o. [5; 15; 18]; the instance n^o. 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 *T3-n-Itmw* 'the land of Atum';³⁴ in

this name, Atum the traditional major god of Heliopolis is associated with Dendara. There may be an early instance in the coffin texts.³⁵ At Dendara, *T3-n-Itmw* is a common name for the town and it was found in the long list of the city's names in the form ,³⁶ sometimes the name appears without the letter 'n' of genitive with this orthography ³⁷ or ³⁸. The name is also written in varying orthographies and it appears passim in texts;³⁹ it is also found at Edfou.



irt-R^c hnt T3-n-Itmw.

*Eye of Re (Hathor) inside the land of Atum (Dendara).*⁴⁰

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.



dd mdw in 3st wrt mwt-ntr nbt T3-di hryt-ib Twnt ityt ms n Nwt di r t3 tp T3-n-Itmw.

*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).*⁴¹

While Dendara is the land of Atum, the texts mentioned Heliopolis as the town of the god Atum,⁴² 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 *Ennead* of Dendara is in the land of Atum (Dendara).



ntrw ipn 3w wrw Psdt ntryt nw Twnt shmw nn hnt T3-n-Itmw.

*These very great gods, the divine Ennead of Dendara, these statues inside Dendara.*⁴³

Now, the reason why the texts mentioned Re as the builder of *Twnt* to replace *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 *irt-R^c* '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:



Ht-hr wrt nbt Twnt irt R^c nbt pt.

*Hathor the great one, mistress of Dendara, eye of Re, mistress of the sky.*⁴⁴

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 *shṭp-Sḥmt*. 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 I3t-di Twnt pw st tn nt Ht-hr nbt Twnt, sp3t pw nt R^c.

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^o. 3.⁴⁸

1. Names in the Pronaos [G'] List



St-mr-ib-n-R^c.

Place of beloved heart of Re.⁴⁹



Pr-ndt-R^c-m-3pp.

Sanctuary of protection Re from Apophis.⁵⁰



Pr-shm-n-R^c.

Sanctuary of power of Re.⁵¹



Pr-f3i-R^c-in-msw.f

Sanctuary of raising Re by his children.⁵²

2. Names in the Western Crypt n°. 3 List:

It is noteworthy to mention that the duplicated names in the second list of the Crypt n°. 3 will be omitted to avoid repetition.



Pr-nhw-pw-n-R^c.

Sanctuary of protection of Re.⁵³



Bw-n-R^c.

Place of Re.⁵⁴



Pr-rm. tw-im-in-R^c-rš. tw-im-in-R^c.

Sanctuary of weeping there by Re, rejoicing there by Re.⁵⁵

On the other hand, *Iwnw* linked with Re in the name  *Iwnw-R^{c56}* means Heliopolis that belongs to Re, or Heliopolis of Re.

Conclusion

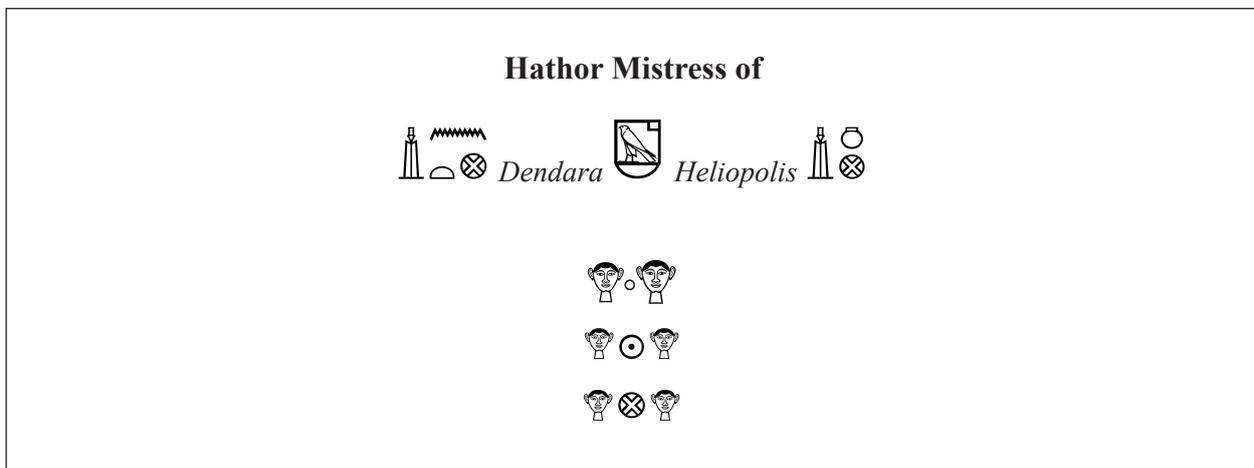
This paper sheds light on the texts concerning the relationship between the two famous cities Dendara and Heliopolis. Twenty-one instances were found in Dendara's texts divided between Hathor and Isis temples, the gate of Hathor at Dendara, and the temple of Edfou. The paper examined 21 instances that 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 ;  or  can be read either *Iwnt* (Dendara) or *Iwnw* (Heliopolis), semantically linked with the kind of texts, but in most texts they are read as *Iwnt*. 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, *Iwnw* is linked with Re in the name *Iwnw-R^c* which means Heliopolis that belongs to Re or Heliopolis of Re.



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

- * Assistant Professor, Archaeology Department, Faculty of Arts, Minia University.
- 1 Wb, V, 555 (5)-556 (4); P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon a Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, OLA, 78 (Leuven, 1997) 1228; R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch Marburger Edition* (Marburg, 2005), 1077, n°. 39847.
 - 2 *Pyr.* § 906 [𓆎𓆏𓆐]; § 1171 [𓆎𓆏𓆐].
 - 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.
 - 9 S. Cauville, *Dendara, Les chapelles osiriennes, Index, BdÉ* 119 (Le Caire, 1997), 130; S. Cauville, *Le temple d'Isis, I, traduction*, OLA, 178 (Leuven, 2009), 355.
 - 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, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien I. Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches*, Universitätsverlag 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-ntrw* 'Horus of the Gods'. See Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 631.
 - 17 S. Cauville, *Dendara, Le temple d'Isis, I, Textes hiéroglyphiques*, IFAO (Le Caire, 2007), 341 (4); Cauville, *Le temple d'Isis traduction*, 355.
 - 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 𓆎𓆏𓆐 \ 𓆎𓆏𓆐 = *ṯwnw* 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).
 - 23 H. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon des Temples der Isis in Philä, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften* (Wien, 1958), 120, Lines (1-2).
 - 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).
 - 30 G. Bénédite, *Le Temple de Philae, I, MMAF* 13 (Paris, 1893), 123 (10).
 - 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 [𓆎𓆏𓆐].
 - 36 *Dendara*, XV, 176 (8); *Dendara*, VI, 168 (8) [𓆎𓆏𓆐].
 - 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*

- Gott Atum, Band I Die heiligen Tiere des Atum & Band II Name-Epitheta-Ikonographie, HÄB 5 & 8* (Hildesheim, 1978-1979).
- 41 *Dendara*, VI, 162 (3-4).
- 42 Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, I, 55. .
- 43 *Dendara*, XV, 353 (6-7).
- 44 *Dendara*, XII, 309 (7).
- 45 Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 894; P. Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde*, AH 9 (Geneva, 1981); see also: Jean-Claude Goyon, *Le rituel du Sḥtp Sḥmt au changement de cycle annuel*, BdÉ 141, IFAO (Le Caire, 2006).
- 46 *Dendara*, VI, 155 (15).
- 47 *Dendara*, XV, 174-176.
- 48 *Dendara*, VI, 164-169; H. Kockelmann, *Edfu: die Toponymen- und Kultnamenlisten zur Tempelanlage von Dendera nach den hieroglyphischen Inschriften von Edfu und Dendera, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu. Begleithefte, Heft 3 Harrassowitz Verlag* (Wiesbaden, 2002), 133-136.
- 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 (7).
- 52 *Dendara*, XV, 175 (10); *Dendara*, VI, 167 (8).
- 53 *Dendara*, VI, 167 (9).
- 54 *Dendara*, VI, 167 (9-10).
- 55 *Dendara*, VI, 169 (3).
- 56 Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, I, 56.