



Trabajos de Egiptología

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in the Royal Kushite Necropolises**
Simone PETACCHI



 **Centros de Estudios Africanos**
Universidad de La Laguna



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Papers on Ancient Egypt

**Preliminary Report on the Third and Fourth Seasons
of the New Kingdom Scribes Project (2021–2022)**

Lucía DÍAZ-IGLESIAS LLANOS, Ángeles JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS,
Daniel Miguel MÉNDEZ-RODRÍGUEZ, Ignacio BERMEJA GIGORRO,
Sagrario MARTÍNEZ RAMÍREZ, Santiago SÁNCHEZ-CORTÉS, Antonio GÓMEZ LAGUNA

**Songs and Hymns for Hathor as Gold from the Old Kingdom
to the Late Period. Part I. Corpora of Texts and Complementary Documents**
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The God Shed at Amarna
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A Female Egyptian Statuette in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid
Miguel JARAMAGO



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Artículos | Articles

Songs and Hymns for Hathor as Gold from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period. Part I. Corpora of Texts and Complementary Documents

Francisco L. BORREGO GALLARDO

The form of Hathor as *Nbw* 'Gold' is one of her least known aspects before the Graeco-Roman period and lacks a specific study. This is partly due to the nature of the sources for the period between the Old Kingdom and the end of the Late Period. In them, she emerges as one of the oldest deities to appear in songs and hymns, dating back to the second half of the Old Kingdom. Analysis of these hymnic and musical contexts provides insights into the Egyptian religiosity and culture of that period and later times. This study has been divided into two parts. The first one is presented here, and it consists of the corpus of songs and hymns, together with two complementary corpora for the study of this form of Hathor. These include collected inscriptional data and onomastics, reviews of selected readings, and consideration of prosodic aspects.

Canciones e himnos para Hathor como Oro desde el Reino Antiguo hasta el Periodo Tardío. Parte I. Corpora de textos y documentos complementarios

La forma de Hathor como *Nbw* "Oro" es uno de sus aspectos menos conocidos para antes del Periodo Greco-romano y carece de estudio propio. Esto se debe en parte a la naturaleza de las fuentes entre el Reino Antiguo y el final de la Baja Época. En ellas emerge como una de las deidades más antiguas en aparecer en himnos y canciones que se remontan a la segunda mitad del Reino Antiguo. El análisis de estos contextos himnicos y musicales permite acercarse a la cultura y religiosidad egipcias de ese periodo y otros posteriores. Este estudio ha sido dividido en dos partes. La primera de ellas es presentada aquí y consiste en el corpus de himnos y canciones, junto con otros dos corpus complementarios para el estudio de esta forma de Hathor, donde se recogen otros datos textuales y la onomástica, revisando las lecturas de varios de ellos y teniendo en cuenta asimismo sus aspectos prosódicos.

Keywords: Canticles, Egyptian goddesses, Egyptian literature, metrics, music.

Palabras clave: Cánticos, diosas egipcias, literatura egipcia, métrica, música.

Despite recurrent use in the titles of several publications,¹ the form of Hathor as *Nbw* 'Gold'² is one of the least known aspects of this goddess before the Graeco-Roman period³ and has never been studied as a whole. This has been partly due to the relatively scattered and varied nature of the sources for the period between the Old Kingdom and the end of the Late Period. Thus, the evidence relating to her has only

¹ E. g. Delvaux 2002; Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2009; Tyldesley 2012–2013.

² On this reading, *vid. infra*.

³ The ensemble of temple inscriptions from that historical period, especially those coming from the cultic enclosure of Hathor at Dendera, have been studied in depth. Some of their features will be analysed in the second part of this work.

been partially and incompletely collected and studied.⁴

One of the most interesting aspects of this little-studied form of Hathor is that she is one of the oldest deities to appear in songs and hymns, dating back to the second half of the Old Kingdom. Approaching her figure through these hymnic and, above all, musical contexts can provide insights into some features of the Egyptian religiosity and culture of that period and later times, which have often received a somewhat unsystematic treatment, focusing on texts from the core of ‘high culture’⁵ and not so much from its peripheries, such as the fragments of songs and the echoes of their incipits or the onomastics, among other aspects. These, although necessarily filtered by the decorum that is inherent in the contexts that have come down to us,⁶ allow us to glimpse certain elements of interest in this respect.⁷

The Documentation and its Analysis

This paper has been divided, for the sake of convenience and ease, into two parts. The first of these, the one presented here, constitutes the collection of documents relating to *Nbw* that are the basis for further analysis, focusing especially on the songs and hymns.⁸ While some of the studies that have sought to bring together the sources relating to this form of Hathor have gathered

between 23 and 64 documents, here the figure rises to 241. The first set of these, the core of this article, is made up of twenty-one songs and hymns, whose codes, in Arabic numerals, have been enclosed in square brackets [1–20]. It includes evidence between the Old Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period, with no texts of this type apparently documented from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the end of the Late Period. The remaining two corpora have been included in this study for several reasons. One is to provide a set of comparative elements for the proper understanding and contextualisation of the ‘golden’ form of Hathor. Another is to take the opportunity to bring together the body of documentation relating to her, which has not been done to date, and which may serve to improve our knowledge of her before the Ptolemaic period. Thus, the second corpus is formed by testimonies that do not fall into the first category of documents, comprising love poems, priestly titles, self-presentation inscriptions, some ritual and mythological texts, captions of tomb scenes, etc. Their codes, in Roman numerals, have also been included in square brackets [I–LXXXIII]. Finally, the third and last corpus is constituted by the onomastics, with codes consisting of Latin letters in square brackets [a–ei] in a set that includes up to 138 proper names, excluding those of the royal titulary.

Since the main object of this study is the analysis of the ‘golden’ form of Hathor in songs and

hymns before the Graeco-Roman period, the first corpus is the one that presents the greatest level of detail and analysis. For this reason, the document files of the other two corpora have received a rather more cursory treatment, limited to those aspects considered most relevant to the subject matter and approach. Attention has thus been paid not only to basic contextual elements but also to the musical and performance context of the songs and hymns, including the contexts and the iconography and identity of the performers. An analysis has also been made of the metrics that could serve as a prosodic framework for this set of texts. Among the various proposals currently available for understanding the versification of ancient Egyptian,⁹ that of B. Mathieu has been adopted, as it seems to be the best based on the linguistic, prosodic and graphic realities of the surviving evidence.¹⁰ Thus, the texts of the main corpus [1–20] and some of the second corpus have been presented according to their possible prosodic accentual units, which are sometimes presented as simple verses and sometimes as distichs, especially in heptametrical distichs (of seven accentual units: 4 + 3).

Throughout the present study the theonym of the golden form of Hathor has been transliterated as *Nbw* ‘Gold’ and not as *Nbw(j)t*, *Nbwt(j)t* etc. ‘Golden one’ etc., following the recent proposal of E. Graefe, which is convincing, substantial, and well-founded.¹¹ The analysis and conclusions

of this author, however, can be ratified and expanded in part by including the documentation of corpora 1 and 2 and not only the anthroponyms (corpus 3), which are practically the only evidence used by him, as will be done in the second part of this work. It can be advanced that, as shown in the hymns and songs and the other documents before the Nineteenth Dynasty [1–18, I–XIII], the addition of one or two hieroglyphs of the flat loaf of bread (𓄠, X1, *t*) as a classifier is a relatively late phenomenon. This allows the exclusion of other similar terms from this study, such as 𓄠𓄠 *Nbwt* ‘Nebut (Ombos)’¹² and its derivative adjectives, *nbwtj / nbwt(j)t*,¹³ as well as 𓄠𓄠𓄠 *Nbwt* ‘Nebuyt (Kom Ombo)’.¹⁴ Both systematically use the sign of the human leg (𓄡, D58, *b*) as a phonetic complement and that of the round settlement (𓄢, O49) as a classifier, which are virtually absent in the three corpora presented here. On the contrary, regardless of the more or less broad classifiers’ repertoire of *Nbw*, this theonym regularly exhibits a human female or hathoric hieroglyph, which is in accordance with the close relationship with Hathor displayed by semantic, prosodic, syntactic and iconographical means. Furthermore, it should be noted that the spellings of *nb* ‘Lord’ / *nbt* ‘Mistress’ using the hieroglyph of the golden necklace (𓄠𓄠, S12, *nbw*) instead of that of the basket (𓄡, V30, *nb*),¹⁵ mainly from the Late Period on, have also been left out as they do not refer to the ‘golden’ aspect of Hathor.

4 E. g. Leitz 2002: IV, 178 (1) and 180–181 (23 documents before the Ptolemaic period, most of them coming from temples’ texts); Selim 2000: 362–363 (64 documents in the text and references in footnotes before the Ptolemaic period, most of them from *PN*). On this aspect of Hathor, in addition to the references listed in n. 7, the most recent overviews are those of Scandone-Matthiae 1994; Borrego Gallardo 2018; Graefe 2021 (all with references).

5 Recently: Baines 2013, with earlier references.

6 On the notion of decorum, *vid.* e. g. Baines 2007: 14–29; 2013: 11–17.

7 In this sense, in the main works devoted to Hathor (e. g. Allam 1963; Derchain 1972; Bleeker 1973: 22–105; Daumas 1977; Aufrère 1991: 382–384; Roberts 1995; Vischak 2001; Hollis 2019: 3–68) the use of songs as a source has been occasional and marginal, if it has been considered at all.

8 A very preliminary approach to this corpus was made previously in Borrego Gallardo 2018.

9 A general and recent overview can be found in Vittori 2018, and the thorough bibliography offered by Mathieu 2021a: 74–79.

10 Its principles have been set out in several works (Mathieu 1988; 1990; 1994; 1997); in the first of these (Mathieu 1988) he presents in detail its theoretical basis and a list of accentual units.

11 Graefe 2021. On p. 192 he says that ‘und 𓄠 (oder zweimal 𓄠) bildeten nu rein Determinativgruppe für „Göttin“ ohne Ausdruck des grammatischen Geschlechts. (...) Das -t (oder die Gruppe 𓄠 und 𓄡) wird generell bei 𓄠𓄠 *Nb(w)* nicht das grammatischen Geschlecht von „*Nb(w)(t)*“ kennzeichnen, sondern ein stummer Klassifikator sein, weil der Name trotz des männlichen Bezugswortes eine weibliche Person bezeichnet.’

12 E. g. *Wb* II 242.4; Hannig 2003: 1559 {41819}; 2006: 2954 {41819}; *TLA* lemma no. 81780.

13 E. g. *Wb*. II 242.6–7; *TLA* lemma no. 81820.

14 E. g. *Wb*. II 242.5 Hannig 2003 1559 {41817}; 2006: 2954 {41817}; *TLA* lemma no. 400251.

15 For this graphic phenomenon, recently: Perdu 2020: 33 (b) and 37.

It is important to keep in mind that several of the documents gathered in corpus 1 should be taken with some caution. There are several reasons for this. On the one hand, some of them still lack a definitive edition after many years since preliminary reports or partial notes were released [18]. In other cases, the photographic or epigraphic documentation currently available is insufficient for an adequate collation of the text [5, 9-10, 12, 15],¹⁶ so their readings are far from definitive.

Finally, the translations made in corpora 1 and 2 have sought to remain as faithful as possible to the original text, always trying to preserve intelligibility and informative nature.¹⁷ For this reason, and given the marked differences between the prosody and the scansion of the Egyptian and English languages, no attempt has been made to transfer the metrics of the texts except in their graphic distribution in verses and hemistiches.¹⁸ Thus, it has been avoided forcing the content by making rhythmic translations or translations that follow the same prosodic scheme as the original.¹⁹

Both in the metrical analysis and the comments of corpus 1 and in the texts of corpus 2, the pauses after each verse or the caesuras after the first hemistich of a distich have been marked with a single forward slash (/). The pauses after the second hemistich of a distich have been indicated by a double slash (/ /). The final pause is indicated by a triple slash (/ / /). Moreover, in corpus 1 the second hemistich of each distich has been indented in both transliteration and translation.

Additionally, the hieroglyphic texts of corpus 3 have been collected mainly for illustrative purposes.



Figure 1. Detail of the boat with the text from Mehu's mastaba [1]. Source: Author.

Thus, their hieroglyphic spellings included represent either the only documented form or the most characteristic and representative of the ensemble of each entry. For the sake of brevity and conciseness, the original disposition of the signs has not been considered. Thus, they have been arranged in lines with a writing direction from left to right.²⁰ Besides, the translations of the names should be taken mainly as informative. Some of these are merely tentative, given the doubts imposed by the often defective spellings, the rarity of some of the examples or the characteristic graphic conciseness of the anthroponyms. It has been decided not to consider the inclusion of the royal names, since their social context and decorum differ markedly from the rest and because, moreover, it is not clear whether Hathor as *Nbw* became part of the monarchs' titularies.

¹⁶ In the case of [12], the only photograph known to me, in black and white, has been checked using Adobe Photoshop ©.

¹⁷ Cf. Quirke 2004: 7; Mathieu 2021a: 39.

¹⁸ 'Verse points' have been indicated in both the transliteration and the translation of the examples containing them.

¹⁹ Likewise, the possible headings and the passages in rubrics have been indicated with capital letters in the transliteration and small capitals in the translation.

²⁰ For the same reasons, specific palaeographical features have also not been considered.

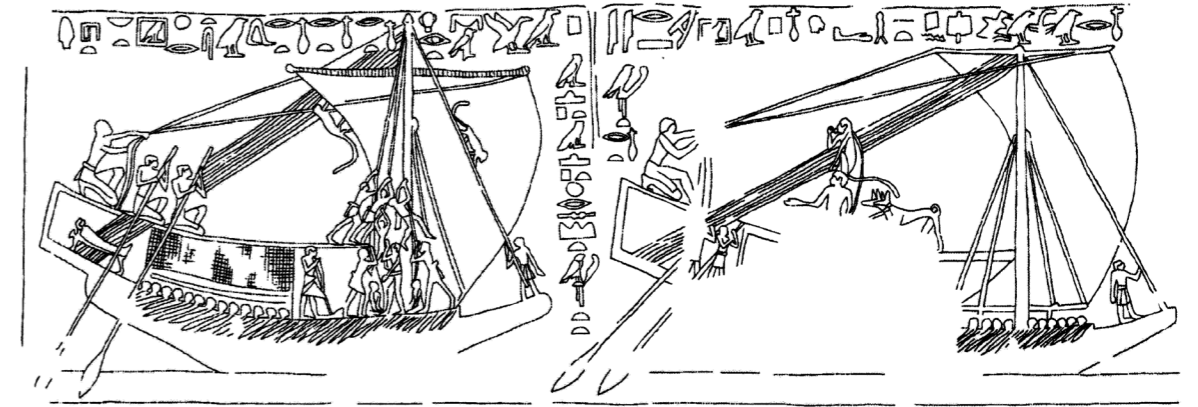


Figure 2. Boat scene with the text of the song from Mehu's mastaba [1]. Source: Altenmüller 2005: 21, fig. 4.

Corpus 1. Songs and Hymns to the Gold

[1] Song from Mehu's mastaba

Support type: wall scene, relief.

Location: North Saqqara, Wenis cemetery, mastaba of Mehu, room II, southern wall, upper register.

Date: early Sixth Dynasty.

Performer(s): apparently, the crew of the male sailors' boat carrying the deceased to his tomb, preceded by another boat singing a different song.

Context of performance: navigation during the transport of the coffin of the deceased during the funeral.

Text (figs. 1, 2 and 3):


p3 Nbw
hr jrt nfrt
 3 *nfrt nfrt*
jw.t(j)=s(j) hr Hwt-Hrw
nbt-nht
 6 *m htp m htp*

hr z(mj)t-jmnt(j)t

The Gold flies
 doing the beautiful,

3 beautiful, beautiful
 that will come unto Hathor,
 Mistress of the Sycamore.

6 'In peace, in peace!'
 –says the Western Desert.

Gold's spelling: *Nbw* is written as .

References: PM III/2² 620 (10); Altenmüller 1998: 113–114, pl. 19; 2005: 20–21, fig. 4; Grunert 2001: 179–184; Kanawati and Woods 2009: figs. 232–233; Roos 2017: 256 and 257.

This is the same song as that of Mereruka [2], although it has two fewer verses, between *nbt-nht* and *m htp m htp* (fig. 3).

As Grunert (2001: 180) has convincingly shown, *p3* would be here the verb 'to fly' (*p3j*)²¹ and not the

²¹ Allen 1984: 569, 622, 624, 626, 627 and 628; Hannig 2003: 436 {10358–10360}.

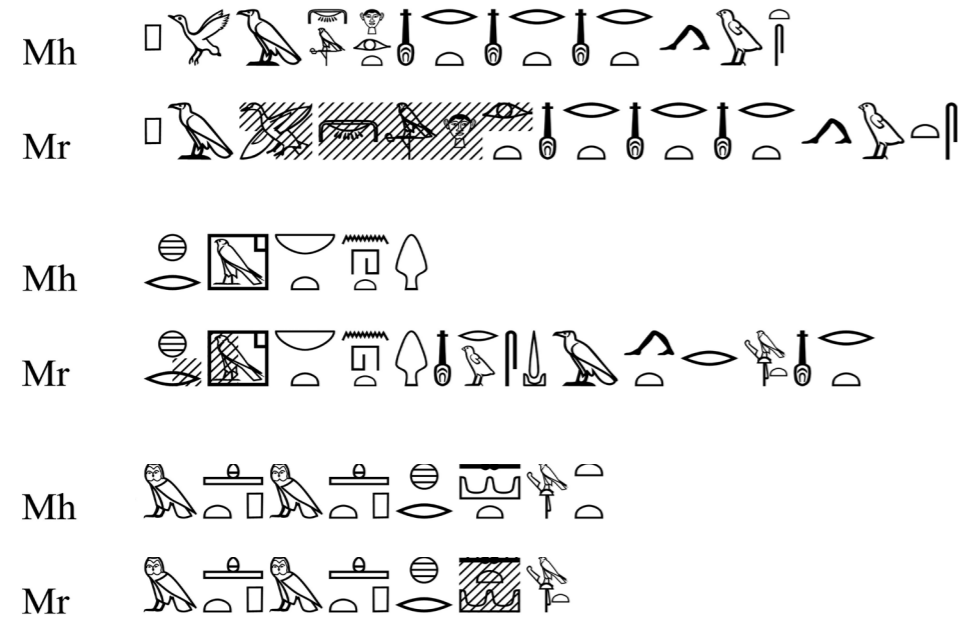



Figure 3. Synoptic edition of the text of the songs from Mehu and Mereruka's tombs [1–2].

auxiliary verb ‘to do in the past’,²² which always takes an infinitive without a preposition.²³

Grunert’s proposal (2001: 183–184) to read here *Nbw* as *Nbwj* ‘Der zum “Gold” (= Hathor) gehörige’ as describing the deceased on the bier in the boat can be questioned, with caution, by later parallels (*vid.* [3]) and by the fact that the semogram  (G7) is never used for private individuals during the Old Kingdom.²⁴

The word *hr* (v. 7), rather than serving as a preposition, could function as a parenthetical verb,²⁵ which would have in its favour the fre-

quency of the use of *m htp m htp* as a welcoming direct speech in the necropolis and other related areas.²⁶ Cf. [2–3] and [15].

As in [2], a metrical pattern seems to have been used, consisting of verses of two accentual units, with the following structure: 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 // . As in [2], another song next to it seems to have a different metre, consisting of verses of three accentual units: *nfr:wj sw t3(w) / pn nt(j) -hn(=j) / tp-nfr pw n(j) Hwt-Hrw / mry jmnt nfrt* ‘How good is this / wind, comrade! / It is a favour from Hathor, / that has wanted the Beautiful West!’.

22 Allen 1984: 607; Hannig 2003: 439 {10368–10369}.

23 Edel 1964: § 903.

24 Cf. Beaux 2004; Shalomi-Hen 2006: 11–68 and 137–147.

25 Edel 1955: § 748.

26 E. g. Hannig 2003: 908–909 {22222–22227}.

[2] Song from Mereruka’s mastaba

Support type: wall scene, relief.

Location: North Saqqara, cemetery of Teti’s funerary complex, mastaba of Mereruka, room A13, western wall, lower register.

Date: early Sixth Dynasty.

Performer(s): apparently, the crew of male sailors on the second ship in a procession of five vessels.

Context of performance: navigation during the transport of the deceased’s coffin during the funeral.

Text (fig. 3):

p3 [*Nbw*
hr jr] *t nfrt*
 3 *nfrt nfrt*
jw.t(j)=s(j) hr Hwt-Hrw
nb(t)-nht
 6 *nfr:w(j) sd3t*
r jmnt nfrt
m htp m htp
 9 *hr z(mj)t-jmnt*
 [The Gold] flies
 [doing] the beautiful,
 3 beautiful, beautiful
 that will come unto Hathor,
 Mistress of the Sycamore.
 6 How beautiful is to travel
 to the Beautiful West!
 ‘In peace, in peace!’
 9 –says the Desert of the West.

Gold’s spelling: the name *Nbw* is lost; it has been reconstructed according to the parallel of [1], with enough space to restore [*Nbw hr jr*] *t*. In contrast to [1], the deceased is not shown on the bed, but in this case, an assistant is shown preparing the bed.

References: PM III/2^e 532 (72); Erman 1919: 56; Montet 1925: 328 and 330; Duell 1938: pl. 140–141; Barta 1983: 102–103; Altenmüller 1998: 114; Darnell 2010: 123–125; 2016: 39–40; Kanawati *et al.* 2011: pl. 7–9 y 65–69; Roos 2017: 255–256 and 257, fig. 11.

The other song before it, the same as in [1], seems to have a different metrical pattern, consisting of verses of three accentual units: *nfr:wj sw t3(w) / pn nt(j)-hn(=j) / tp-nfr pw n(j) Hwt-Hrw / mry jmnt nfrt* ‘How good is this / wind, comrade! / It is a favour from Hathor, / that has wanted the Beautiful West!’. Behind the second boat, above a third one, reads *w3t nfrt r jmnt nfrt m htp* ‘the good way to the Beautiful West, in peace’. Next to the fourth boat is *jmj-wrt r [jmn]t nfrt* ‘The starboard to the Beautiful [Wes]t’.

Scholars such as Barguet, Altenmüller and Darnell have identified a later parallel of the first three verses in several texts of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Hatshepsut’s Red Chapel,²⁷ Thutmose III at Karnak,²⁸ Opet festival at Luxor’s Temple from the reign of Tutankhamun²⁹). Although both share the same context (nautical procession), the text seems to have been reinterpreted

27 Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 187–188; Burgos and Larché 2015: 60–61. The text runs as follows: *dd mdw sp 4 mdt n(j) wj3 | mswr qd(.w) n mr nt(j) m | sqdt n(jt) wj3w w3.t(j) r | w3wt mr n=k h^cp(j) wr | h(.w) sh^ctp Nbtj tp jtrw (?) Hrw (?) | tm3-^c hn ntr hr | nfrwt-ntr n M3^ct-k3-R^c | mryt Jmn hsy | ntrw j.n N(j)t (blocks no. 104 + 171) and [...] | [...] | dp[wt] [...] | [...] tm3-^c | [...] [n]frw[t] n (block no. 291 + 279). *Vid.* Altenmüller 1998: 114, n. 124; Darnell 2010: 123–124.*

28 Barguet 1962: 175–176; Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 188; Pécoil 2000: pl. 80. This version reads: [...] [msw]r qd(.w) n mr nt(j) m | [...] [w]j3w w3(.w) r 3krw | [...] h[^c]p(j) wr h(.w) | [...] [N]b[tj] <nb>-tp Nt (?) Hrw (?) | [...] hn ntr hr ntr nfrt | [...] jrt nfrt-nfrwt | [...] [Mn]-hpr-[R^c mry Jmn] [...] | [...] N(j)t. *Vid.* Altenmüller 1998: 114, n. 124.

29 The Epigraphic Survey 1994: 12–14, pl. 18, 24, 26, 91, 92 and 97. The combination of the two versions (south and north walls) is as follows: *mswr qd n mr nt(j) m sqdt n(jt) dpwt w3wt-3krw mr n=k h^cpj wr h(.w) sh^ctp=k Nbtj nb-Hdt/ Nt Hrw (?) tm3-^c hn=t(w) ntr hr nfrt-ntr p3.n Hwt-Hrw jr(t) nfrt-nfrwt n Dsr-hprw-R^c Stp.n-R^c mry Jmn hsy ntrw j(.w) N(j)t. *Vid.* Sethe 1929: 3–5; Altenmüller 1998: 114, n. 124; Darnell 2010: 123–124; 2016: 39–40.*

throughout its transmission: the verb *p3j* ‘to fly’ has been interpreted as *p3* ‘to do in the past’ plus infinitive (*jrt*, without the preposition *hr*, which is present in [1]), as well as the substitution of *Nbw* [1] for Hathor and that of *nfrt nfrt nfrt* for *nfrt-nfrwt* in the most recent versions. However, Darnell (2010: 123–124) seems to consider neither the parallel of [1] nor the most recent reading of Grunert (*vid.* comments for [1]) concerning *p3*.

While Barta understands that the song should be connected with the *hieros gamos* rituals with which the *mrt*-shrines of the Old Kingdom seem to be associated, Roos has recently argued for understanding it as a ‘work-song’. However, the presence of some religion-related elements –as Roos herself acknowledges– (e. g. the navigation towards the West, the personification and discourse of the Beautiful West, the very mention of Hathor as Lady of the Sycamore) allow us to infer a more properly ‘sacred’ character.

As in [1], a metrical pattern seems to have been used, consisting of verses of two accentual units, perhaps articulated in two stanzas according to their content, and with the following structure: 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 // 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 //.

In the tomb of Pepyankh Heryib at Meir remains of a similar song are found, also from a sailing scene: *jmj-wrt [r] jmnt nfrt r z(mj)t [jmnt(j)t] tp-nfr pw n(j) Hwt-Hrw* ‘The starboard [to] the beautiful West, to the [western] desert: it is a favour from Hathor’.³⁰

From the comparison and collation of the different versions of [1–2], it is possible to offer a reconstruction of the text of this song in the Old Kingdom (fig. 3).³¹

[3] Song from Pepyankh Heryib’s tomb

Support type: wall scene, relief.

Location: Meir, rock-cut tomb of Pepyankh Heryib (D2), main chamber, northern wall.

Date: late Sixth Dynasty, reign of Pepy II.

Performer(s): two female harpists (Peshnefret and Meretit, both labelled as *z3t=f mrt=f* ‘his beloved daughter’), sitting and with an arched harp, who sing either in unison or antiphonally, accompanied by a male flautist.


Context of performance: scene of presentation of offerings to the deceased with players in front of a game board.

Text (figs. 4 and 5):

h^c Nbw m rwt wrt

q3 shmt=tj.n Hr(w)

The Gold appears in glory in the Great Portal.
‘Your Power is exalted’ –says Horus.

Gold’s spelling: *Nbw* is written as .

References: PM IV 255 (21–22); Blackman 1924: 31, pl. ix–x; Allam 1963: 127, n. 3; Altenmüller 1978: 5–6 y 7, fig. 2; 2018: 45–46, fig. 8; Fischer 1996: 75, n. 27; Selim 2000: 363; Pérez Arroyo 2001: 309 y 381; Strudwick 2005: 411; Kanawati and Woods 2009: fig. 107; Kanawati 2012: 59, pl. 26, 56 and 88–89; Mathieu 2021a: 157–158, fig. 23.

The adjectival nature of the semantics of the verb *q3j* (and not in its causative form, *sq3*) argues for understanding *jn* as a parenthetical element³² and not as the preposition marking the agent.

Kanawati (2012: 59) suggests that *shmt* refers to sistrum, an option which Mathieu accepts as possible. However, the word from that root for ‘sistrum’ is invariably masculine (*shm*) and is only documented from the Middle Kingdom



Figure 4. Scene of the song from Pepyankh Heryib’s tomb [3]. Source: Blackman 1924: pl. ix.

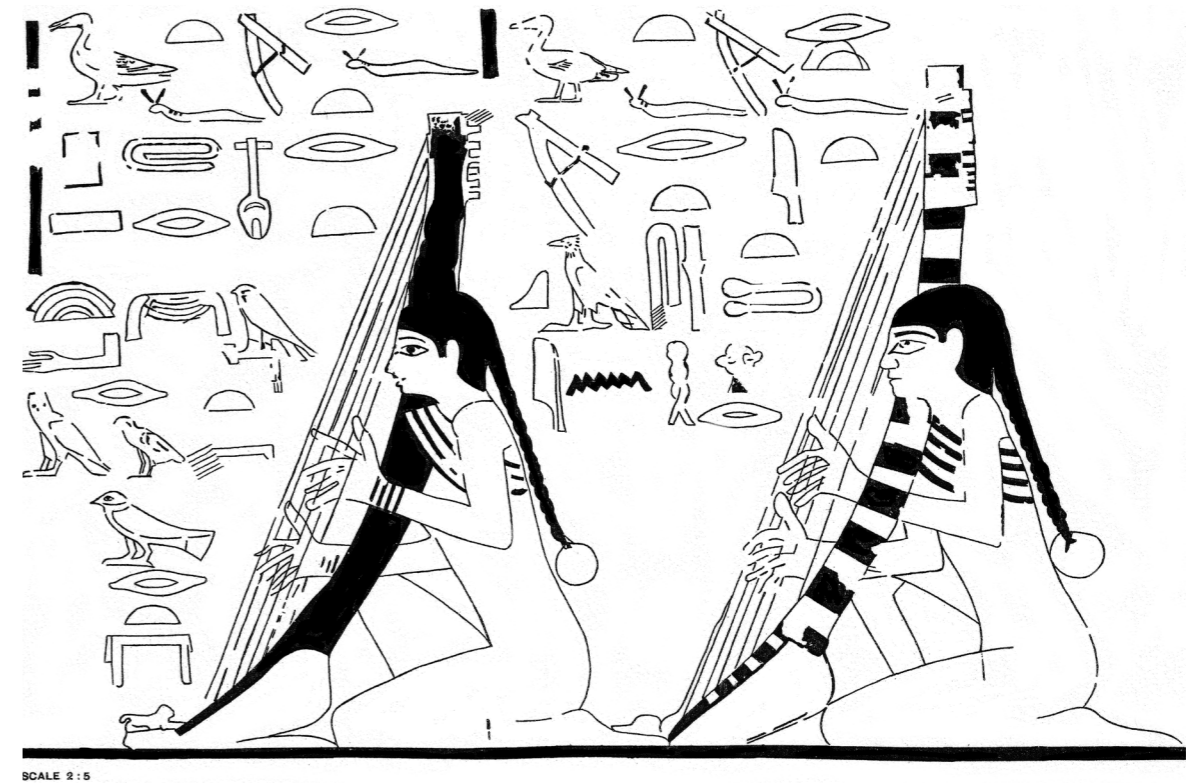


Figure 5. Detail of the harpists and text of the song from Pepyankh Heryib’s tomb [3]. Source: Blackman 1924: pl. x.

³⁰ Blackman 1924: 44–45, pl. xvi; Kanawati 2012: 43, pl. 32 and 82. Cf. Erman 1919: 55–56 (for the phrase *tp-nfr n(j) Hwt-Hrw*).

³¹ In this synoptic edition, the same order of presentation of the documents has been followed, but the code has been changed for better recognition: [1] = Mh (Mehu); [2] = Mr (Mereruka).

³² Edel 1955: § 747.



Figure 6. Detail of scene of the song from Idu's mastaba [4]. Source: Simpson 1976: fig. 38.

onwards,³³ whereas *shmt* does exist as a feminine noun for the Old Kingdom as a word designating the notion of control and power.³⁴

This song, as far as I know, could be the earliest documented example of the type of verse known as heptametrical distich (4 + 3): apparently, the first hemistich would have four metrical units and, if it were an antiphonal text, it would be sung by the first harpist, and the second, of three units, by the second harpist.

[4] Song from Idu's mastaba

Support type: wall scene, relief.

Location: Giza, mastaba of Idu (G 7102).

Date: Sixth Dynasty.

Performer(s): seven female musicians, four of them 'dancing' (*jb(3)*) and three of them 'clapping' (*m3ht*), chorusing a song invoking the goddess.

Context of performance: the deceased, while playing a double flute, witnesses the 'singing,

harp-playing and performance' (*hzt sq m bnt h'c b*) taking place before him with the help of harps and flutes, while dancing, playing different board games and preparing different offerings.

Text (fig. 6):

j.nd-hr= t m 'nh Hwt-Hrw


swt-k3=t htp.t(j) nbwj=t

3 *j mrt nfrw*

Greetings to you, with life, Hathor!

The seats of your *ka* are pleased, and you glitter as the gold,

3 o, Lover of Beauty!

Gold's spelling: *nbwj* is written as . It is not, strictly speaking, a hymn to the Gold, but it does have a close semantic relationship with that form of Hathor. It must therefore be taken into account within the whole and has therefore been included in the main corpus.

References: PM III/1^o 186 (5.II); Allam 1963: 127, n. 3; Wild 1963: 69–70; Simpson 1976: 25, pl. xxiv, fig. 38; Altenmüller 1978: 12–13, fig. 4; 2018: 47–48, fig. 9; Selim 2000: 363; Grunert 2001:



Figure 7. Hieroglyphic transcription of the song from the tomb of Khety [5]. Source: Gardiner 1917: 32.

171–175 and 182–183; Pérez Arroyo 2001: 382; Kinney 2008: 39 and 188; Mathieu 2021a: 157, fig. 22.

The beginning (v. 1) is the same as in other songs in Old Kingdom tombs, such as that of Akhtyhotep Hemi, later usurped by Nebkauhor, in the area of the causeway of Wenis in North Saqqara, where one part of a song reads as [*j*].*nd-hr= t m 'nh Hwt-Hrw / s'nh=t* [...] *r' nb* 'Greetings to you, with life, Hathor! / May you cause to live [...] every day'.³⁵

A metrical pattern seems to have been used, consisting of verses of three accentual units, with the following structure: 3/3/3/3///.

[5] Song from Khety's tomb

Support type: wall scene, painting.

Location: Western Thebes, el-Birabi, tomb of Khety (no. 65).

Date: mid-Eleventh Dynasty, reign of Mentuhotep II (?).

Performer(s): unknown; according to the inscription is the mention of a certain Mentuhotep, a name

that could be either male or female, which could be the person performing the song since in this case the name seems to not be inside a cartouche³⁶ and the owner of the tomb is called Khety.
Context of performance: nautical festival in honour of Hathor?

Text (fig. 7):

h'c Nbw m m3t

shmw n(j)w 'dyt

3 *mr s(j) R'c*

ph.n b3w=t h3(w)-nbw

[*p*] *r' R'c*

6 *m3=f nfr=t*

mr s(j) R'c

hw Mntw-htp(.w)

9 *jn Hwt-Hrw jn Hwt-Hrw*

Appear in glory in the boat the Gold and the Powers of the Morning-Bark.

3 –Ra loves her!

Your Manifest Power³⁷ reaches that which is beyond

as Ra [asc]ends

6 and sees your beauty.

³³ Hannig 2006: 2315 {29739}.

³⁴ Hannig 2003: 1204 {29724, 46371}.

³⁵ PM III/2^o 628; Hassan and Iskander 1975: I, 22–25, fig. 2-3 and 6–7, pl. 13–14; Altenmüller 2018: 44–45, fig. 7.


³⁶ The name 'Mentuhotep' appearing in the song does appear inside a cartouche.

³⁷ That of Hathor as Gold, as the second person feminine singular suffix pronoun (= *t*) makes clear.

–Ra loves her!

Mentuhotep has been protected

9 by Hathor, by Hathor.

Gold's spelling: *Nbw* is written as .

References: Gardiner 1917: 32; Schott 1950: 73 (no. 4); Fischer 1968: 34, n. 147; Selim 2000: 363; Soliman 2009: 130.

For the refrain, Gardiner suggests two possible readings given the graphic ambiguity of the text: *mr s(j) R^c* ‘Ra loves Her’ or *mr=s R^c* ‘She loves Ra’. On the other hand, the final verse is understandable rather as the expression of the agent of the passive verb form in v. 8 than the parenthetic *j.n Hwt-Hrw* ‘(so) says Hathor’.

The iconographic context remains largely unknown. Despite the uncertainties, it is tempting to relate it to a ritual related to boats and preserved in a very fragmentary way in the contemporary and close evidence of the funerary complex of Mentuhotep II. As Arnold has shown, in this case, there are no known possible parallels in other nautical ceremonies, although this author has not included the testimony of this tomb as a possible point of reference in his analysis.³⁸

The metrical form chosen seems to consist of a first line of three units followed by a variable number of two units (including the refrain, vv. 3 and 7), and where the king's (?) name (*Mntw-htp(.w)*, v. 8) seems to have had two accentual units due to its length, with the following scheme: 3 / 2 / 2 // 3 / 2 / 2 // 3 / 2 / 2 // 3 / 2 ///.

Below the song a very fragmentary passage is preserved, where another Mentuhotep is mentioned, who does not seem to be the king as his name seems not to be included in a cartouche, as it is in the text above it: *j[...] hm[...] Mntw-htp(.w) | [...] hh [...] m [...] wt [...] | n k3 n(j) Hwt-Hrw r mrrt=k m r(3)=j (?) mry Hwt-Hrw hsy n(j) [Hwt-Hrw] (?) [...] Mentu-hotep | [...] one million [...]*

for the *ka* of Hathor according to what you love, from my mo[uth] (?), the beloved one of Hathor, the praised one of [Hathor] (?).

[6] Song from Abkau's stela

Support type: Abkau's stela, limestone, relief.

Location: said to come from Abydos (Louvre C15).

Date: mid-Eleventh Dynasty (early Middle Kingdom), reign of Mentuhotep II (?).

Performer(s): in the lower part of the stela, in front of an offering table a woman presents a *menit* with her right hand to the owner while resting her left hand on a sunshade. Above it an inscription reads *jwnt(j)t=f mrt=f Ttw* ‘his beloved Denderite, Tetu’. In front of her, a column of text reads, by way of a concluding phrase of the song, *m dd jwnt(j)t mrt=k Ttw* ‘as says your beloved Denderite, Tetu’. Behind her is a standing woman with a caption above her that reads *hmt=f mrt=f hkr-(n)sw(t) w^ct(j)t^c b-k3w* ‘his beloved wife, King's Sole Ornament, Abkau’.

Context of performance: scene of presentation of offerings in front of the stela's owner.

Text (figs. 8 and 9):

hr=k n^c nh szp=k mnjw


htp n=k Nbt-sb3w

3 *hnm tw Nbw m mrt.n=k*

Your face to life as you receive the *meniut*!

May be gracious to you the Mistress of the Stars,

3 may gladden the Gold with that which you love.

Gold's spelling: *Nbw* is written as .

References: PM V 98; Morenz 1997; Barbotin 2005: 140–141; E. Delange *apud* Oppenheim *et al.* 2015: 257–258 (cat. 193) (with references); Hudáková 2017: 167 and 168–169, fig. 100; 2019: 520–521 and 554, fig. 11.48.

As Morenz has shown, this text seems to be closely related to the song performed by the royal daughters in the later account of Sinuhe [11], which will be analysed in more detail in the second part of this article.

The metrical structure seems to be made up of verses of variable length, which makes it doubtful, in principle, that it was composed in verse, the distribution of which would be as follows: 4 / 4 / 3 ///. However, there is some doubt as to whether *n=k* (v. 2) should count as an accentual unit, given its ambiguous character in prosodic terms.³⁹ In this case, it has been considered as an accentual unit given the intransitive character of *htp* and, therefore, the use of *n=k* as a non-dative prepositional syntagm, despite its position before *Nbt-sb3w*.



Figure 8. Stela of Abkau [6]. Source: <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/d010037481> (© 2015 Musée du Louvre / Christian Décamps).



Figure 9. Detail of the stela of Abkau showing the text of the song [6]. Source: Author.

³⁸ Arnold 2010.

³⁹ Mathieu 1988: 76; 1994: 150.

[7] Song from Senebi i's tomb

Support type: wall scene, relief.

Location: Meir, rock-cut tomb of Senebi i (B1), northern wall.

Date: early Twelfth Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat I.

Performer(s): a male harpist sitting playing an arched harp, followed by a man presenting *senu*-offerings and two castanet players.

Context of performance: presentation of *senu*-offerings (*n k3w=k [s]nw n(j)w Hwt-Hrw ḥs=s tw* 'For your *ka*, the [*s*]*enu*-offerings of Hathor, so that She favours you!'). In the upper scene, simultaneously, Senebi receives a *wsh* necklace from a male officiant, who is followed by three women, each waving a sistrum in her right hand and presenting the *menit* forward with her left, who intone the following text: *n k3w(=k) [m]n[jwt n(jw)t Hwt-Hrw nbt-Qjs | n k3w(=k) [m]n[jwt n(jw)t] [...] ḥs=s tw | n k3w(=k) mnjwjt n(jw)t mwt=k Hwt-Hrw | sw3ḥ=s tw r r[*np*]wt mrr=k* 'For your *kau*, the *meniut* of Hathor, Mistress of Qis! | For (your) *kau*, the [*m*]*en*[*iut* of] [...], so that She favours you! | For (your) *kau* the *meniut* of your mother, Hathor, | so that She may make you endure for the *y[ea]rs* which you desire!'.
 Text (figs. 10 and 11):

q3 Hwt-Hrw n(j)t mrwt

jḥwyw jḥwyw

3 *jw=s q3.t(j)*

m šnw-R^c

jḥwyw m šnw-

6 *-Snbj jḥwyw [...]*

Nbw m zšw m zšw

swt- swt-k3=s

9 *ḥtp=t ḥtp=t Nbw*

Exalted is Hathor, she who belongs to
Love!

–percussionists!–

3 She has risen up


on the hair of Ra

–percussionists!–, on the hair

6 of Senebi –percussionists!– [...]


The Gold in the marshes, in the marshes,
the seats, the seats of her *ka*!

9 May you be pleased, you be pleased, o
Gold!

Gold's spelling: *Nbw* is written as .

References: PM IV 250 (6)–(8); Blackman 1914: 23–24, pl. ii; Schott 1950: 74 (no. 5); Allam 1963: 35–36 y 40, n. 4; Wente 1969: 89; Parkinson 1991: 78–80 (i–l); Parkinson and Franke 2007: 223; Darnell 2016: 34; Kanawati and Evans 2017: 27–28, pl. 7, 21–24, 52 and 78; Hudáková 2019: 445–446, 496 and 537, fig. 11.30.

The term *jḥwyw*, as can be inferred from some parallels [XI–XII], and indicated by Blackman and by Kanawati and Evans, seems to refer to percussionists, in this case, most likely specialising in the playing of castanets and other idiophones.

As Wente has shown, the syntagm  should be read as *šn(w)-R^c* 'the hair of Ra' and not, as Blackman considers, *wš(r)* the 'day off / holiday', understanding the sun's hieroglyph as a semogram of [TIME] (a reading followed by Kanawati and Evans). Wente's proposal has the advantage of having a parallel in the text [17], coming in this case from a royal context.

Darnell's translation presents some problems, such as understanding that *k3=s* is the subject of a supposed old perfective *ḥtp.ti* (actually written *ḥtp=t*): neither the spelling of the latter (as **.t(j)* and not as *.tj / .t(j)*) is currently documented for this verbal form in this period, nor the gender and number of *k3=s* (masculine singular) agree with this supposed old perfective, which it should be *ḥtp(j) / ḥtp(.w)*.

The metrical scheme seems to resemble that of [5], with a three-unit stanza-opening verse (vv. 1, 7) followed by one or more two-unit verses, with the following structure: 3 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 3 / 2 / 3 ///.

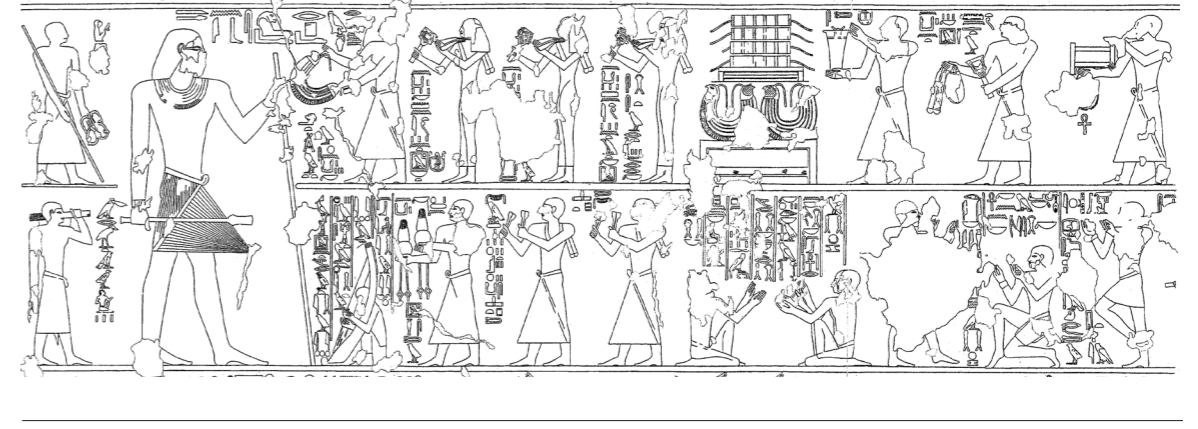


Figure 10. Detail of scene of the song from Senebi i's tomb [7]. Source: Blackman 1914: pl. ii.

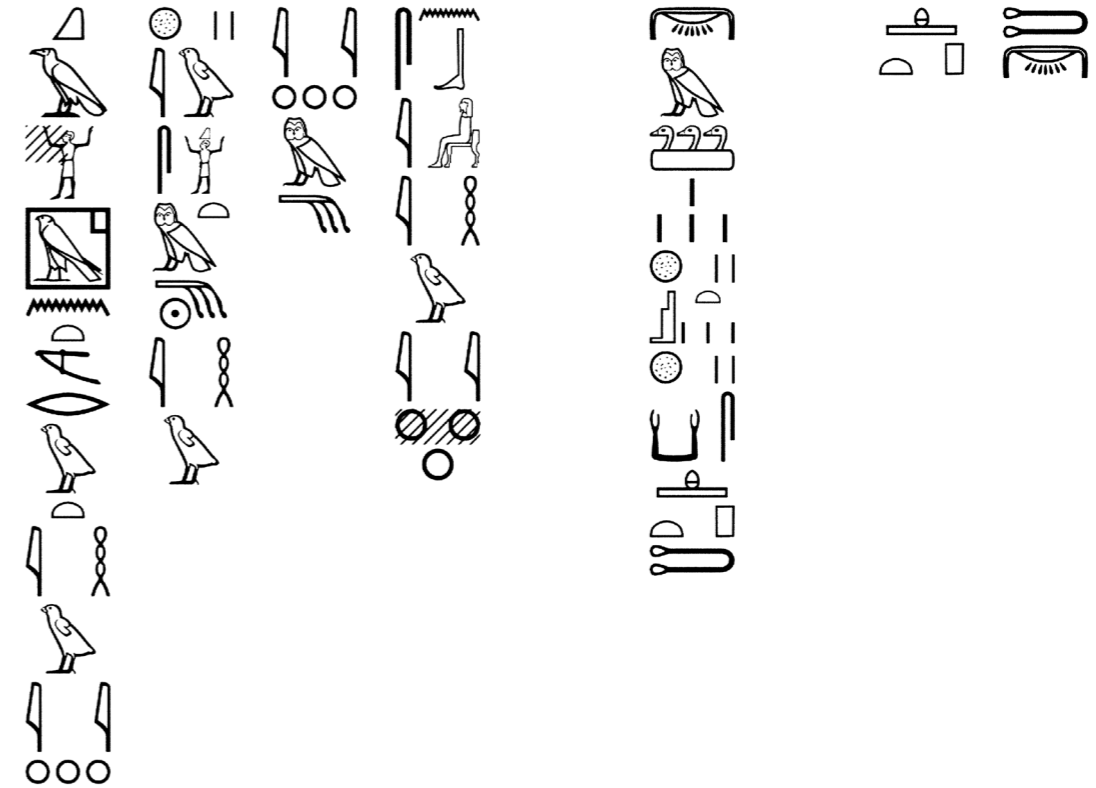


Figure 11. Text of the song from Senebi i's tomb [7].

[8] Choral song from Senet's tomb

Support type: wall scene, painting.

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, tomb of Senet (TT 60), south wall, western end.

Date: early Twelfth Dynasty, reigns of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I.

Performer(s): the song is arranged in two registers. In the upper register there is a group of five women, all wearing bracelets and anklets; the first three, with long, tight dresses, *nbyt* necklaces and hair falling behind them, clap their hands; the last two, with *wsh* necklaces, weighted braid, naked torso and kilt, raise their left leg and stretch out their left arm, keeping their right arm folded against their chest. Opposite, two other women, with shaved hair, naked torso, *nbyt* necklace and kilt, perform the characteristic step of the *mww* dance, followed behind by a group of three women clapping their hands. In the lower register, on the upper left, three musicians with a *men-it* of faience beads around their necks, all waving two pairs of castanets/clappers tied by straps to their wrists. The first and third are adults, dressed in a kilt, while the second, naked, with a shaved head and smaller in size, appears to be a child or young man. The castanets/clappers of the first, made of wood, have inverted trapezoidal ends; those of the second, made of bone or ivory, have male heads; those of the third, also made of wood, have falcon heads. Below the officiants in the lower register, two women seated facing each other perform a chant, in columns and a different orientation from the previous one (from left to right). The one on the left plays the flute while the second woman covers her left ear with her left hand and extends her right hand in a gesture of invocation of the second text.

Context of performance: after arrival at the necropolis (left), presentation of offerings to the deceased (doubtful, very lost).

Text (fig. 12):

wn ʕwj-pt
pr ntr

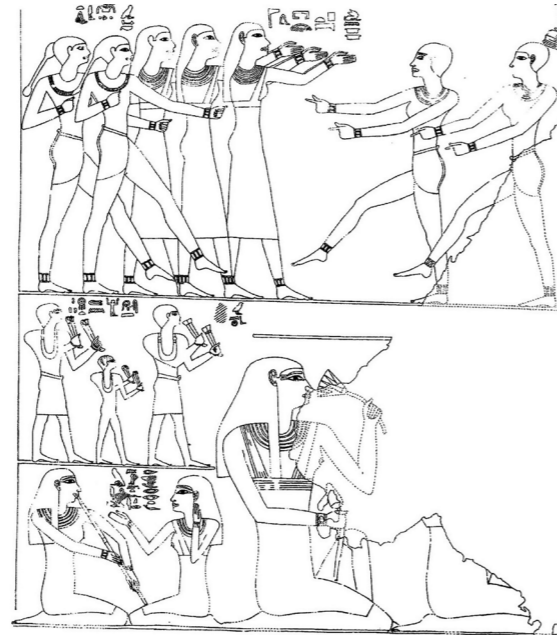



Figure 12. Scene with the choral song from Senet's tomb [8]. Source: Davies and Gardiner 1920: pl. xxiii.

- 3 *mk Nbw*
jj.t(j) wbn[.tj]
sw3š tn hnmmt
The Sky's Two Doors are open:
the God ascends.⁴⁰
- 3 Here is the Gold!
Come! Rise!
May the Sun-folk pay honour to you!
- 6 *mj Sbk*
n Jn-(j)t=f-jqr(.w)
jr=kn=fmrrt=f
- 6 Come, Sobek,
to Intefiqer,
so that you may make for him that which he loves.

Gold's spelling: *Nbw* is written as .

References: PM I/1^r 121–122 (5)–(6); Davies and Gardiner 1920: 22, pl. xxiii–xxiv; Schott 1950: 74 (no. 6); Wild 1963: 89; Fischer 1996: 97; Kinney 2008: 157–158; Soliman 2009: 132; Hudáková 2019: 442–444, 490–492 and 534–535, fig. 11.25–28.

The idea that the texts included here are part of the same text distributed in three registers is based on: 1) the same orientation of the text in the upper and middle registers and their arrangement in lines; 2) the presence of feminine pronouns and desinences in the middle register (dependent and, reconstructed, of old perfective), alluding to the *Nbw* of the first register, which should refer, in principle, to an element already mentioned; 3) the same orientation of the musicians in the upper and middle registers; 4) the parallel, later, of [18] and, to a lesser extent, of [17], where phrases from all three registers are included in the same context –not necessarily the same text. It should be noted that Gardiner and Davies, who were unaware of these last two examples, then unknown, understand them to be distinct texts.

The presence of *mk* indicates that the interlocutor has to be masculine singular, so one could think of Intefiqer himself, but the presence further on of *tn*, a feminine singular dependent pronoun, must necessarily allude to *Nbw*. Therefore, it could be thought that *mk* has a presentational value and not so much a propositional one. Thus, it can be argued that *jjt wbn[...]* could be

two old perfectives, *jj.t(j)* and *wbn[.t(j)]* less probably two subjunctive *jj=t wbn[=t]*, since, due to the date of the testimony, *jj=t wbn[=t]* would be more expected.⁴¹ The value of both could be, if *mk* is propositional,⁴² as the core of the predicate, and be translated as ‘Here is the Gold, / come, risen’.⁴³ In the case of *mk* had a presentational value of a nominal syntagm,⁴⁴ its value could be, rather, optional (‘Here is the Gold! / Come! Rise!’).⁴⁵ This second option seems more feasible if one considers that the text continues addressing *Nbw* as a second-person object (*sw3š tn hnmmt*), and with the prosodic distribution in verses of this case.

The parallels of this document with [17–18] raise the possibility that the order of the verses in the first half of the text was reversed. Thus, given that in [17–18] vv. 3–4 are sung first and vv. 1–2 only afterwards, it is suggestive that the order of these texts, which are grouped in two distinct parts in this case, would have followed the order of the later parallels. However, the fact that they are not written in a retrograde order –when they would have to be if their reading order were reversed–, unlike other texts in this same tomb,⁴⁶ suggests that such a possibility should be

⁴⁰ Cf. this case with several other examples. The first is a hymn to Hathor on the sarcophagus of the priestess of Hathor and wife of Mentuhotep II, Aashyt (JE 47267), which reads: *wn ʕwj n nbt-t3wj* ‘The Two Doors are open for the Mistress of the Two Lands’ (Clère and Vandier 1948: 28 (§ 27 § 3)); Morenz 1996: 73; 1997: 13). The second, also from the Middle Kingdom (tomb of Khnumhotep ii, Beni Hassan (BH 3)), seems to be the incipit of the text of Intefiqer, as it is read while carrying a catafalque with the statue of the deceased with open doors: *wn ʕwj-pt pr ntr* ‘The Sky's Two Doors are open: the God ascends’ (Newberry 1893a: 68, pl. xxix, over the lintel; Guglielmi 1991: 22; Kanawati and Evans 2014: pl. 119). A third is found in the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192) [17], while the fourth is in the representations of the *Sed*-Festival on the *talatat* of Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten from Karnak [18]. This phrase appears also in some later funerary texts and liturgies; *vid.* Backes 2016: 863–864.

⁴¹ In fact, shortly afterwards, the second person feminine singular dependent pronoun referring to *Nbw* is written as *tn* and not as *tn*.

⁴² Oréal 2011: 302–307 and 328.

⁴³ E. g. Malaise and Winand 1999: § 719; Allen 2010: 209–210 and 212.

⁴⁴ Oréal 2011: 301–302 and 328.

⁴⁵ E. g. Malaise and Winand 1999: § 726; Allen 2010: 218.

⁴⁶ E. g. Davies and Gardiner 1920: pl. xviii (lower register, right end), xxii (upper register, centre) and xxvii.



Figure 13. Detail of scene of the harpist songs from Senet's tomb [9–10]. Source: Davies and Gardiner 1920: pl. xxvii.

taken with caution and retained here simply as a possibility.

With doubts, the metrical scheme could have the same type as [5] and [7], with an initial verse of three units and the rest of two, with the following structure: 3 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 ///. The same type of two-unit verse –which here corresponds to the *mise en page* of the text itself– occurs in the second text, located below, which leads to understanding it as its continuation,⁴⁷ with the following metrical structure: 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 ///. If this arrangement is true, it can be seen how, like [5], the name of the beneficiary, which is quite long, counts as two accentual units.

[9] First harpist song from Senet's tomb

Support type: chapel, south wall, eastern half, lowest register; painting.

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, tomb of Senet (TT 60).

Date: early Twelfth Dynasty, reigns of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I.


Performer(s): Dedumin, male harpist, with a harp resting on the ground and with a hieracocephalic head, and described as *mry nb=f jm3hy hr ntr 3 nb-pt | hsw Ddw-Mnw jr.n Jhmj m3c-hrw* ‘The one beloved of his Lord, the honoured by the Great God, Lord of the Sky, | the singer Dedumin, begotten of Ithemi, true of voice’.

Context of performance: above this register, two offering scenes are presented: the upper one shows a lector-priest stepping back while sweeping the ground; before him, a group of three lector-priests perform the *hnw* gesture, followed by a male in a long kilt bending his left arm across his chest. In the lower register, an officiant in a short kilt performs a libation, leaning over a calcite altar, followed by a *sm* priest in a gesture of invocation with his left arm and grasping one of the lower legs of his leopard skin with the other; the group is closed by a lector-priest holding a papyrus scroll with both hands. In front of the whole group, the list of offerings is displayed with several officiants arranged in two registers and with gestures and acts like those at the other end, and below the list and the officiants, a table with all kinds of offerings.

Text (fig. 13, right):

JRW MJHY |
 spr=j sdm=t hmt-Nbw
 smh(=j) phr n=j jb=t
 3 j.nd-hr=t nbt-jdw Shmt
 3t nbt r-dr
 w3st wtt tp jt=s

6 smswyt hnt(j)t jr s(j)
 hnt(jt)-st m wj3 n(j) h^cw
 wstnt m sn^ty
 9 jn ^cwj=t dd j3h(w)
 stwt=t shd t3wj
 jw jdbwj hr shr=t
 12 ^cwt=t pw hnmmt
 PERFORM, THEN, A JUBILATION
 I implore you to listen, o Incarnation of the Gold!
 I request you to turn your heart to me.
 3 Greetings to you, Mistress of the Plague, Sekhmet,
 Great One, Mistress to-the-Limit, Extolled One, Serpent upon her father,
 6 the Eldest One at the head of Who begot her, Foremost of place in the Bark of Millions, Free-striding in the cabin!
 9 It is your hands which give the light, your rays which illumine the Two Lands.
 The Two Banks are under your governance,
 12 the Sun-folk are your flock.

Gold's spelling: *Nbw* is written as .

References: PM I/1^a 122 (13); Davies and Gardiner 1920: 24–25, pl. xxvii; Gunn 1920: 300; Allam 1963: 139; Parkinson 1991: 126–127; Morenz 1996: 62–63 y 65–69, fig. 5a–b; Selim 2000: 363; Parkinson and Franke 2007: 225 (1) y 229 y 231, n. 19; Hudáková 2019: 579–582 and 601, fig. 11.57; Mathieu 2021b: 123–125, fig. 30.

It is striking that the text is presented in this document and the following one [10] preceded by a phrase –very probably an exhortation, as Mathieu translates it– with a different layout from the rest of the text, which could be interpreted in several ways. The first option, that it is the title of the song, does not seem likely because its content is too general in relation to the text of the song and because it is the same as [10]. A second possibility, that it is the type of

composition, is possible, although, as far as I know, there are no other parallels for this (apart from [10], from this same tomb, as already said). The third and final option, which refers to the type or the mode of the musical performance of the song, might be somewhat more likely than the second option based on the association with the image of the harpist.

The text of the song is very close in its rendering to the more traditional forms of hymns found mainly on stelae and other contexts, primarily the enunciation of epithets of the deity, which constitutes a relevant and important part of the content of these religious compositions.⁴⁸

The song seems to follow a metrical scheme based on heptametrical distichs, which opens with a short preamble (vv. 1–2) where the singer seeks the favour and listening of the goddess.

[10] Second harpist song from Senet's tomb

Support type: chapel, south wall, eastern half, lowest register; painting.

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, tomb of Senet (TT 60).

Date: early Twelfth Dynasty, reigns of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I.

Performer(s): Khuyt, female harpist, with a harp that she holds high and a female head, described as *jm3h(y)t hr Wsjr nb-jmnt | hsy^t Hwyt jrt.n Mkt* ‘the honoured by Osiris, Lord of the West, | the songstress Khuyt, begotten of Meket’.

Context of performance: the same as [9].



Text (fig. 13, left):

JRW MJHY |
 j.nd-hr=t Nbw hs=t (wj)
 dr wnn hn=j m dd n=t
 3 jw=j r wr [...]
 mj m3jr Wsrt
 rh n=t (wj) Nbw tr=t [n(j)] [hnn]

47 Evidence in favour of this is the parallel of the tomb of Kheruef [17].

48 E. g. Barucq and Daumas 1979: 25–32; Assmann 1996; Zecchi 2004: 9–12.

- 6 *wnwt=t n(j)t sdm mdw(=j)*
w3d=t n dd=j n=t sfh=t n=j
βt(j) nfr-mdw
 9 *twt qm3=t tp-hsb*
m-hnw-εwt=t [...]
smεr jr=t [...]
 12 *jn [...]=s (?) rdj=f*
n[mt] nfr n(j) dt
 PERFORM, THEN, A JUBILATION
 Greetings to you, Gold! May you favour (me),
 since my occupation is speaking to you.
 3 I shall be old and [...]
 like a needy man, o Powerful One!
 Be aware of (me), o Gold, at your time [of
 listening],
 6 your hour of hearing (my) words.
 May you become favourable to what I say
 to you: may you release for me
 a vizier fine of words,
 9 as you are who shall create the norm
 within your limbs [...]
 Make fortunate [...]
 12 It is [...] of her (?) which shall permit
 a happy journey of eternity.

Gold's spelling: *Nbw* is written as  (v. 1) and as  (v. 3).

Vid. comments for [9].

References: PM I/1² 122 (13); Davies and Gardiner 1920: 24–25, pl. xxvii; Gunn 1920: 300; Parkinson 1991: 128; Morenz 1996: 62–63 and 69–70, fig. 5.a; Parkinson and Franke 2007: 225 (1) y 229; Hudáková 2019: 579–582 and 601, fig. 11.57.

In this case, in the text of the song, the intercession for Intefiqer is notably clearer and more explicit than in [9].

Like [9], the text is arranged in heptametrical distichs, the arrangement of which in the last verses (vv. 10–13) is somewhat more doubtful because of the lacunae in the text.

[11] Court song in the tale of Sinuhe

Support type: tale of Sinuhe, several copies on papyri and ostraca.

Location: B 268–272 = AOS 54–56 = B2 1–6 (partial).

Date: early Twelfth Dynasty, reign of Senwosret I, and copied later on.

Performer(s): female choir consisting of the king's daughters.

Context of performance: court song in the presence of the king, accompanied by *meniut* and *sistra sekhem* and *sesheset*.

Text:



- jst r=f jn.n=s n mjwt=s n shmw=s n zšš-*
wt=s n m ε=s<n> mz.jn=s n st n hm=f |
εwj=k r {r} nfrt nswt w3h
hkryt n(jw)t nbt-pt
 3 *dj Nbw εnh r fnd=k*
hnm tw nbt-sb3w
hd smε(j)-s(j) hnt mh(j)-s(j)
 6 *zm3(.w) t(w)t(.w) m r(3)*
n(j) hm=k dj.tw w3d m wpt=k
shr: | .n=k tw3w m dwt
 9 *htp n=k Rε nb-t3wj |*
hy n=k mj nbt-r-dr
nft εb=k sfh šsr=k |
 12 *jmj t3w (n) ntj m jtmw*
jmj n=n hnt tn nfrt
m mtn pn s3-mhyt
 15 *pdjt ms m T3-mrj |*
jr.n=f wεrt n snd=k
rwj.n=f t3 n | hr=k
 18 *nn 3yt hr n(j) m3 hr=k |*
nn snd jrt dgt n=k

They had fetched their *meniut*, their *sekhem*-sistra and their *sesheset*-sistra in their hand, and then they presented them to His Incarnation:

‘Your hands to goodness, o lasting king:
 the insignias of the Mistress of the Sky!’⁴⁹

⁴⁹ In AOS 56 *nbt pt* ‘Mistress of the Sky’ is substituted by *nbt-t3wj* ‘Mistress of the Two Lands’.

- 3 May the Gold give life to your nose,
 and the Mistress of the Stars unite with
 you;⁵⁰
 may navigate the Valley-Crown downstream,
 and the Delta-Crown upstream,
 6 joined, combined, in the speech
 of Your Incarnation, on whose brow the
 Green(-uraeus) has been put,
 after having removed the poor from
 evil.
 9 Ra, Lord of the Two Lands, is gracious to
 you,
 and jubilation is for you like the Mis-
 tress to-the-Limit.
 Lower your horn, loosen your arrow,
 12 give air to the one who is suffocated,
 give us this good gift
 on behalf of this sheikh, son of North
 Wind,
 15 a Bowman born in Ta-meri
 who made a flight for fear of you,
 who left the land for terror of you.
 18 Will not pale the face of one who has seen
 your face,
 will not fear the eye that has looked at
 you.

Gold's spelling: *Nbw* is written as  (B 270) and as  (AOS 56).

*References:*⁵¹ Gardiner 1916: 100–104; Derchain 1970; Koch 1990: 76.13–79.3; Morenz 1997; Goedicke 1998: 29–32; Parkinson 2002: 163–165; Morschauser 2011; Darnell 2016: 32–33; Mathieu 2023: 58–59.

As Derchain has shown, the text of the song links the choir to Hathor and the king, who is

the recipient of the song as Atum, thus allowing for the rebirth as Egyptian of Sinuhe himself. Goedicke's and Morschauser's interpretations and readings of specific passages present quite a few problems, mostly because they have not considered the intertextual parallels in the text –especially at the beginning of the song (vv. 1–4).

The song proper seems to begin in heptametrical distichs (vv. 1–10). Later, when the text includes the petition for clemency to the king, the metrical scheme seems to change and to be articulated in four-unit verses (vv. 11–14). Interestingly, when referring to Sinuhe's flight –a part that would not be included in the possible original text but is due to the vicissitudes of the protagonist himself in the story– the metrical scheme seems to change again to three-unit verses (vv. 15–17), to end again with what seems to be an enneametrical distich (vv. 18–19). If this metrical analysis is correct, then it is worth considering whether the changes in the prosody of the song could correspond to changes in the rhythm (both melodic and percussive) and/or changes in the beat of the song.

The first distich (vv. 1–2) finds one parallel in another song of this corpus ([13], vv. 1–2: *εwj=t hr nfrt (n)sw(t) w3h / hkrw n(jw) Nbt-t3wj*), as well as in other texts indicated by Mathieu (p. 58, n. 252), such as the *Discourse of Sasobek* (pBM EA 10754 Bi 13: *DJN=K εWJ=K r nfrt* ‘PUT YOUR HANDS to goodness’)⁵² and several scenes from temples dating to the New Kingdom (see [13], comment).

⁵⁰ In AOS 56 *hnm tw nbt-sb3w* ‘(may) the Mistress of the Stars unite with you’ is substituted by *hw tw nbt-sb3w* ‘(may) the Mistress of the Stars protect you’.

⁵¹ The references listed are restricted to those most relevant for the analysis of the song.

⁵² Barns 1956: 5, pl. 2; Quirke 2004: 193; Mathieu 2023: 425.

[12] Hymn on Dedusobek's statue

Support type: Dedusobek's seated-scribe statue, papyrus roll displayed on the thighs.

Location: Deir el-Bahari, temple of Mentuhotep II (?) – CG 887 (JE 25636).

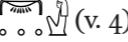
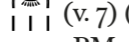
Date: Thirteenth Dynasty.















Performer(s): the owner himself.

Context of performance: reading aloud / singing the text of the papyrus by the owner.

Text (fig. 14):

- [...] Ddw-Sbk dd=f
[j.n]d=t hr=t Hwt-Hrw
nb(t)-Tp-jhw
3 hr(j)t-tp [...]w
nbt-pt
hnwt h^ct
6 ntrw m m3n=s
nfr hr n(j) Nbw
m [...]wt r t3
9 m nf3=t(?) m rnpt
n(j)t h^cpj^c
smw=f r rd
12 shtyw t sw3d(.w)
<m> ht=f th.w
nfr hr n(j) Nbw
15 m jnt r nwt m nhp(w)
j^c ntr j(m)
nn šn^c [...] m 3ht (?)
[...] Dedusobek says:
[Greet]ings to you, Hathor,
Mistress of Tepihu,
3 Chief of the [...],
Mistress of the Sky,
Lady at whose viewing
6 rejoice the gods!
The face of the Gold is beautiful
in the [...], more than the earth
9 with your breath (?) in a year

- of a high inundation,
when his plants are going to grow
12 and the fields are made green
<at> his passing, intoxicated.
The face of the Gold is beautiful
15 in the desert's valley, more than the celestial
vault in the early morning,
as the god rises,
without turning back [...] in the akhet (?)
Gold's spelling: Nbw is written as  (v. 4) and
as  (v. 7) (*vid. infra*).
References: PM I/2: 784; Borchardt 1930: 137–
139, esp. 138 (up), pl. 155; Franke 2003: 112;
Kubisch 2008: 332–334; SaadAllah 2018; Dils
2022.

As Franke suggests, the retrograde text shows some transcription problems in Borchardt's edition (which have not been amended as such by either Kubisch or SaadAllah). A careful analysis of the photograph published by Borchardt with the help of computer image-processing tools (Adobe Photoshop®) allows several corrections to be made in the first half of the text, some of them relevant to the subject of this paper. Thus, for example, in col. 10  appears transcribed as  (being corrected, but only in the transliteration, by Kubisch and SaadAllah). In col. 11 the sign  before  does not appear to be such but must be a plural semogram of the noun following hr(j)t-tp. In col. 12  is actually , and  can be corrected as . In col. 13 the group  is very problematic, although the possible reading of the beginning of that group () as  derived from the analysis of the photograph does not prove to be a satisfactory alternative, albeit in  the hieroglyph  does not seem to be attested; one possibility, tentatively retained here, is to understand the group as 

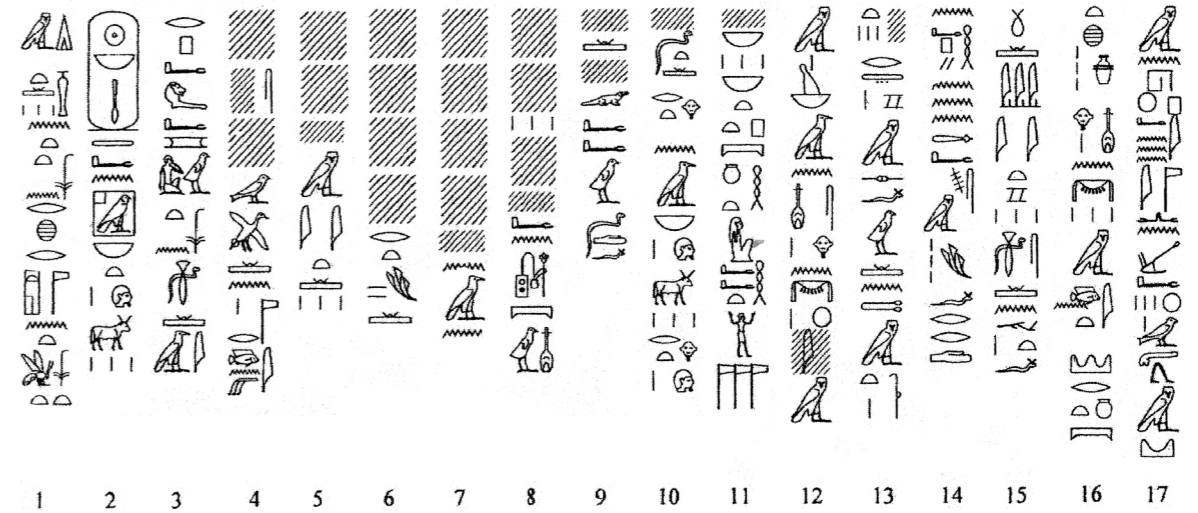




Figure 14. Transcription of the text of the hymn on Dedusobek's statue [12] by S. Kubisch. Source: Kubisch 2008: 332.

m nf3=t 'with your breath'.⁵³ In col. 17  (N26) it should very possibly be transcribed as  (N27).

It is interesting to note the use of the second person feminine singular suffix pronoun =t together with j.nd in the formula j.nd-hr (v. 1) as a *cheville* to make *j.nd-hr=t count not as one accentual unit (cf. [4, 9]) but as two (j.nd=t hr=t) (as in [10], where it counts as two units although this metrical device has not been used). This leads to thinking of the existence of a metrical scheme, which, with doubts due to the problems of transcription and reading, seems to follow the pattern of a verse of three accentual units (which in these cases introduce the name of the deity and in two cases, moreover, are anaphoric) (vv. 1, 7), followed by a variable number of verses of two units. However, the possible final stanza (vv. 14–16) seems to be composed entirely of three-unit verses. The metrical scheme, then, could be as follows: 3/2/2/2/2/2/2/2//3/2/2/2/2/2/2//3/3/3/3///.

[13] Poem from Hatshepsut's Red Chapel

Support type: wall scene, relief.


Location: Karnak, Red Chapel, southern outer wall, fourth register (block no. 148).

Date: mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, joint reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut.

Performer(s): goddess Hathor.

Context of performance: scene of offerings; Hathor, Chief of Thebes, Lady of the Gods (hr(j)t-tp-| -W3st hnwt-ntrw) gives the *menit* to Hatshepsut (erased).

Text (fig. 15):

- hwj=t hr nfrt (n)sw(t) w3h
hkrw n(jw) Nbt-t3wj
3 dj n=t Nbw h^cnh r fnd=t
hw tn (j)t=t Jmn-R^c dt
Your hands on goodness, o lasting king:
the insignias of the Mistress of the Two
Lands!
3 May the Gold give life to you, to your nose,
and your father, Amun-Ra, protect you forever.
Gold's spelling: Nbw is written as .

53 Cf. van der Molen 2000: 221–222.



Figure 15. Scene and text of the poem from Hatshepsut's Red Chapel [13]. Source: Author.

References: PM II^a 67 IV (148 S); Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: 182 and 184, fig. 30; Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 210 (§ 316); Burgos and Larché 2015: I, 58, fig. 316, 344 and 387; II, 98.

As indicated in the comment of [11], the first distich (vv. 1–2) finds several parallels in this

corpus ([11]) and other texts. Among the royal examples, one is present in a scene of quite similar content according to its temple context, in the small speos of Abu Simbel, where Hathor, Mistress of Ibshek (*Hwt-Hrw nbt-Jbšk*) presents her *menit* to Ramesses II while holding the year-sign (*rnpt*) saying: *ʿwj hr=f nfrw nswt w3h hkrw n(jw) Nb(t)-t3wj* ‘(Your) hands on it, the goodness, o lasting king!: the insignias of the Mistress of the Two Lands’.⁵⁴ Another scene from the great speos of the same site shows Hathor in a similar fashion and the same text *verbatim*.⁵⁵ In a much more fragmentary condition, on a Thutmosid scene from the temple of Satet at Elephantine the incipit is also preserved in the speech of Anuqet while presenting the *menit* to the king (*dd mdw ʿwj=k hr nfrt [...]*).⁵⁶ Besides, on two blocks from a temple of Ramesses II in Abydos a goddess (Hathor?) presents the *menit* together with other deities while speaking a similar text (*hsy=j tw ʿwj=j hr mnjt hkrw n(jw) n[b]t-pt fq3.tj m rnp[w]t [...]*) ‘I praise you with my arms carrying the *menit*, the insignias of the Mistress of the Sky, rewarded with year[s] [...]’.⁵⁷

From a metrical point of view, the text is made up of two heptametrical distichs. In the case of v. 4, it can be understood that *dt* ‘forever’ has been added by way of closing by assimilation with other similar temple royal texts, without counting as a proper accentual unit.

54 PM VII 113 (16); Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: 181–185; Darnell 2016: 32; Mathieu 2023: 58 (n. 252) and 425 (n. 1784) (all with references). Similar scenes, but with a different text, can be found, for example, in PM II^a 128 (469, 34) (Hathor to Ramesses II: *m-n=k mnjt r fnd=k | jj.w(j) sp 2 nb-t3wj hq3 n(j) mrwt nfr-hr | bnr-sptj jrtj=f jtn jʿh*), 205 (6, I, 2) (Isis to Shepenwepet I: *dj.n(=j) n=t ʿnh r fnd=t*), 237 (50–51) (Hathor to Ramesses IV: *m-n=k mnjt [...] ʿnh [...]*), 319 (112) (Mut to Amenhotep III: *Mwt nbt-pt | dj=s ʿnh w3s nb snb nb hr(j)=s* (twice)), and 504 (pillar 41) (Hathor to Ramesses III: *m-n=k mnjt sšst hwn fnd=k m ʿnh w3s*). In a slightly different way, in the Hathor’s chapel at the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari the goddess Werethekau presents the *menit* to Amun–Ra addressing the king as *nswt w3h* ‘lasting king’ (PM II^a 351 (37)).

55 PM VII 105 III (a); Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: 183 and 184.

56 Louvre B 59 = E 12921 bis A + blocks found by the DAI: Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: 183 and 184; own photographs taken by the author in that temple, August 2019.

57 Louvre B 10 + B 11 + B 13: Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: 183–184, fig. 31.

[14] Song from Puiemra’s tomb

Support type: wall scene, painting.

Location: el-Khokha, tomb of Puiemra (TT 39), central chapel, antechamber, south wall, first register, left scene.

Date: mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, joint reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut.

Performer(s): musical group (*hnyt*) of three women; the first one presents one *menit* to the deceased and also carries a fly-whisk; the other two also carry a fly-whisk and a sort of sunshade similar to a flag or standard with pink ends on a staff over the shoulder of each.⁵⁸

Context of performance: Beautiful Festival of the Valley: consecration and presentation of offerings to the deceased.

Text (fig. 16):

rdjt hkrw n(j)w Hwt-Hrw
rdjt ʿ r mnjw | šps[w]t [...] hkr[w] | [n(j)w
Hwt-Hrw (?) [...]
 Giving the insignias of Hathor.
 Stretching out the hand to the august |
meniut [...] the insignia[s] | [of Hathor
 (?)] [...]
dd mdw jn hnyt [n(j)t Hwt-Hrw (?) [...] *n(j)t*
nb[t]-pt
j Nbw nbt-thj [...]
htp=t | n m3^c tp t3
 3 [...] [*dw*]=*fr=f* | *m-m sb3w*
hm-ntr snwj-nw [n(j) Jmn Pwj-m-R^c]
 6 [...] [*j.hmw*]-*sk* |
 [...]=*sn n[=k]* [...] [*h3=k* |
 9 *wb3=sn n=k w3t m pt*
s<šn> [=sn] n=k | ʿ3wj-Dw3t

pr=k r=k h^c.tj m ntr

12 *3h.tj m | pt hpr:tj m Dw3t*

dr sdb=kjn R^c

dw q3=kjn Wsjr

15 *hm-ntr snwj-nw n(j) [Jmn] Pw[j-m-R^c]*

Words spoken by the musical group [of Hathor (?)] [...] of the Mist[ress] of the Sky:

O, Gold, Mistress of the Drunkenness!
 [...]

may you be gracious | to him who has been
 righteous upon earth

3 [...] so that he [rises ear]ly (?) | among the stars,
 o, Second Priest [of Amun, Puiemra]!

6 [...] [the Indestructi]ble (Stars) |
 [...] them for [you] [...]

[...] behind you, |

9 may they open for you a way in the sky,
 may they op[en] wide for you | the
 d[o]r[s] of the Duat,
 so that you ascend, appeared in glory as a
 god,

12 become *akh* in | the sky, transformed in the
 Duat,

expelled your obstacle(s) by Ra,

put your height by Osiris,

15 o Second Priest [of Amun], Pu[iemra]!

Gold’s spelling: *Nbw* is written as

References: PM I/1^a 74 (22, I, 1); Davies 1923: 23–24 and 25, pl. liv; Schott 1952: 44–45 and 112 (no. 83); Hudáková 2017: 170 and 171, fig. 101.

In a direct axial position with the wall opposite⁵⁹ is a scene where four female performers present *meniut* and sistra *sesheset* to the deceased. Its text, on the other hand, does not

58 Cf. e. g. [XI] y TT 55 (PM I/1^a 109 (9, I); Davies 1941: 20–21, pl. xviii and xlvi; Hudáková 2017; 2019: 107–108, 110, 184, 456, 486, 546 and 550–553, fig. 11.40 and 11.44–47 (with references for parallels).

59 Davies 1923: pl. liii (first register, right).

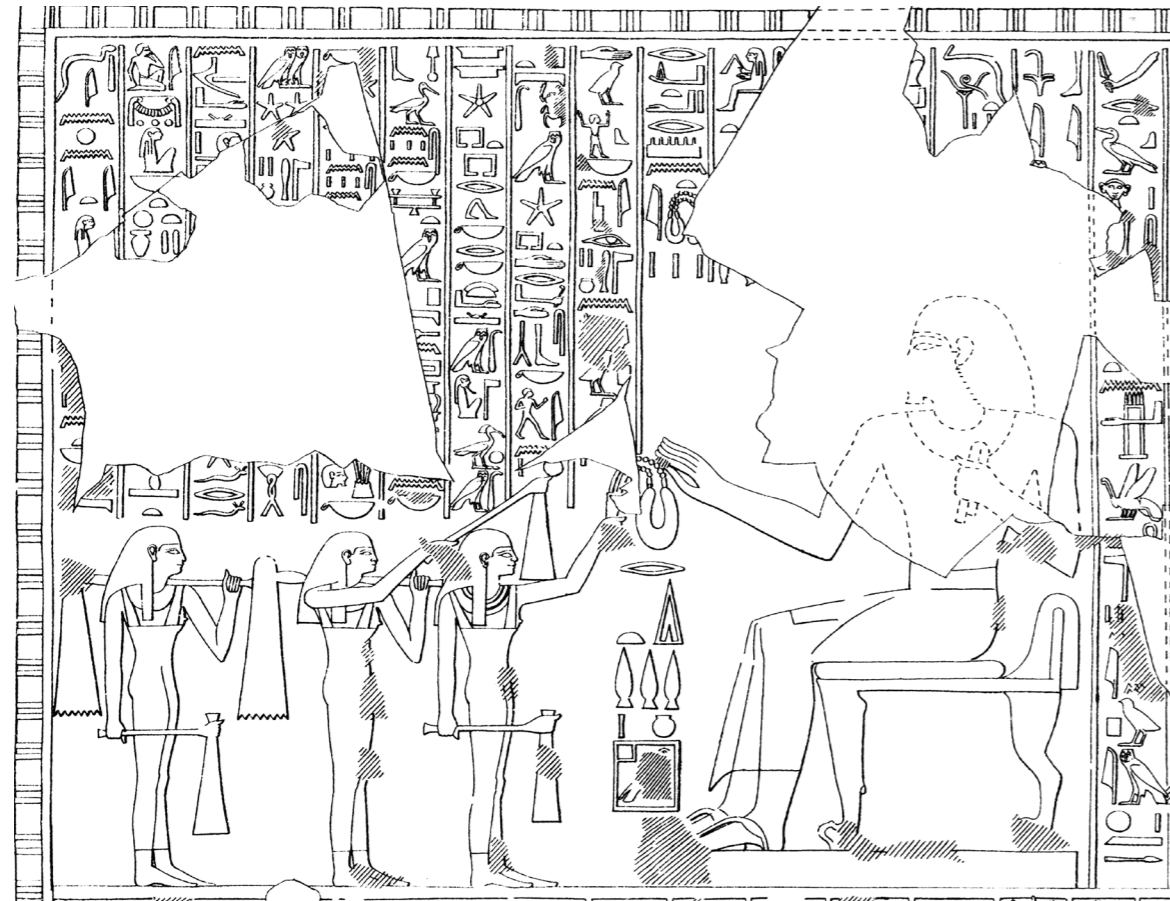


Figure 16. Scene with the song from Puimra's tomb [14]. Source: Davies 1923: pl. liv.

mention the Gold, but its content relates to Amun-Ra. Therefore, in addition to the difference in the caption (*jjt m [...]* 'coming from [...]'), it is possible to think of a juxtaposition of different texts and not so much of a single text divided into two parts.

Davies thinks that the chant would then be continued in an antiphonal manner by a group of three performers clapping their hands. However,

as well as being in a non-contiguous position, the chant is located on the façade of the chapel entrance,⁶⁰ outside the space where the song is located, which makes this rather improbable.

The very fragmentary state of the text makes it impossible to establish clearly and precisely the metre of the chant. Thus, the distribution in verses here has been tentative and must be retained as merely provisional.

60 Davies 1923: pl. lii (first register, right half).

[15] Song from Min's tomb

Support type: wall scene, painting.

Location: Asasif, rock-cut tomb of Min (TT 109), transverse hall, east wall, southern half.

Date: mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Thutmose III.

Performer(s): on the upper register, a musical group (*hnryt*) of three women with a fly-whisk in each hand, shows them raising the one in their left hand at the same time. Under them, on a middle register, those women are responded to by a male chorus (*šspt-dhn*) clapping their hands. In the lower register, badly damaged, other three women, described as *šm'(j)wt* 'chantresses', are weaving *šhm*-sistra while singing a final stanza.

Context of performance: Beautiful Festival of the Valley.

Text (fig. 17):

dd mdw jn hnryt |
šsp n=k hkrw-Nbw |
sw3h=k rnpwt=k m 'nh m3'-hrw |
 3 *h3t(j)-' jmj-r3-hmw-ntr*
sh3 Mnw m3'-hrw

Words spoken by the musical group: |
 'Receive the insignias of the Gold, |
 so that you make to last your years with life
 and triumph, |
 3 o, Leader and Overseer of Priests
 and Scribe, Min, true of voice.'

(male choir's response)

j3[w] m pt hy m Sktt |
jhhy [t3 p]n
 3 *Jmn nb-nswt-t3wj*
dj=f q3 jm3h |
n(j) h3t(j)-' jmj-r3-hmw-ntr

6 *n(j) Jn-hrt Mnw m3'-hrw*
m htp m htp hr | šspt-dhn
 'Praise in the sky, jubilation in the Evening
 Bark! |
 [Th]is [land] rejoices!
 3 Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two
 Lands,

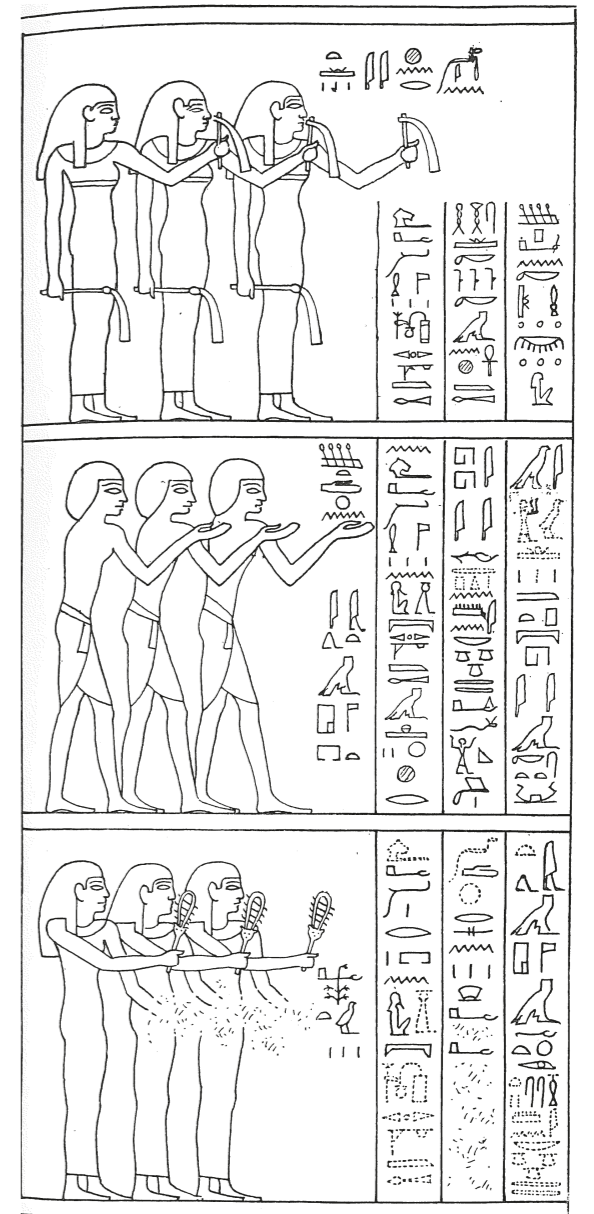



Figure 17. Scene with the song from Min's tomb [15]. Source: Virey 1891: fig. 1.

makes exalted the honour |
 of the Leader and Overseer of Priests
 6 of Inheret, Min, true of voice,
 in peace, in peace.' –says | the choir.

(female choir's final stanza)

jj[t] m *hwt-ntr m-ht jrt hss*[t *Jmn nb-nswt-t3wj*
| *d*].*[h]r=sn*
h^c h[3t(j)]-^c sh[3] [...] |
[...] *[m](?) [jm]3h*
3 *r [fn]d n(j) [sh3-Jn-hr]t(?)*
[Mnw m3^c-hrw] hr | sm^c(j)wt
Return[ing] from the temple after making [that which] pleases [Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands]. | Then they [s]ay [inev]itably:
'In glory appears the L[eade]r, Scri[be] of (?) [...] |
[...] [with](?) [the ho]nour
3 to the [nos]e of [the scribe of Inher]et (?),
[Min, true of voice]'' | -say the chantresses.'

Gold's spelling: *Nbw* is written as .

References: PM I/1^e 226 (3); *Urk.* IV 978.3-5, 8-12; Virey 1887: 29; 1891: 364 y 365, fig. 1; Lüddeckens 1943: 48-49, fig. 17; Schott 1952: 112 (no. 84); Onstine 2005: 19; Emerit 2018: fig. 2 (lower register).

Both the response of the male choir and the final stanza by the female choir seems to end with *hr* as a parenthetical element; cf. [1-3]. Maybe this element underlines the antiphonal character of the piece.

The editions by Virey and by Sethe (*Urk.* IV 978.14-17) present some problems in a number of points, some of which can be amended in a tentative way thanks to the use of some photographs.⁶¹

From the metrical point of view, the first stanza seems to be articulated in four-unit verses (vv. 1-2), while the titles and the name of the owner of the tomb have been arranged in what seems to be a heptametrical distich. The latter has been chosen to articulate the second text. For its part, the highly lacunary state of preservation of the third stanza impedes knowing its metrical disposition, apparently in verses of four metrical units.

[16] Song from May's tomb

Support type: wall scene, painting.

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, tomb of May (TT 130).

Date: mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Thutmose III.

Performer(s): a young woman with a headband and a 'cone of unguent', followed by a female harpist, a female flautist (labelled as *hsyt-Hwt-Hrw* 'songstress of Hathor'), a female dancer and another with castanets facing backwards.

Context of performance: in front of the musical ensemble, the couple of the deceased are 'passing a happy day in the presence of | Hathor, Chief of Thebes, Mistress of the Sky' (*jrt hrw nfr m-b3h | Hwt-Hrw hr(j)t-tp W3st nbt-pt*) in front of an altar. In the scene above, the couple stands before an image of Hathor as a cow.


Text (fig. 18):

n k3=k wrt=f mrt=f
nfrw-hr=t thn.w wbn=t
3 *jw=t.jj.tj m htpw*
thw-jbw tw n p3y=t hr
nfr Nbw Hwt-Hrw
6 *dj=t wn M^cy p3 qb-r(3)*
mn.w hr mw n(j) wd=t

For your *ka!* O, his eldest and most beloved, the beauty of your face gleams as you rise.

3 You have come in peace,
and one's heart is intoxicated because of your beautiful face, o Gold, Hathor!

6 May you cause that May, the calm of speech, could be firm on the water you command.

Gold's spelling: *Nbw* is written as .

References: PM I/1^e 245 (5); Scheil 1894: 548-549; Schott 1950: 75 (no. 9, partial); 1952: 132 (no. 130); Bryan 2014: 117.



Figure 18. Text of song from May's tomb [16]. After Scheil 1894: 549.

The text begins by addressing the deceased (*n k3=k*) but then turns to Hathor, as revealed by the female suffix pronouns (=t). She appears related to a male (=f), who seems to be assimilated both to Ra (Hathor being the eldest of his daughters and the most beloved among them) but at the same time identifying the deceased with him.

The song is presented in three heptametrical distichs, which open in anacrusis in a second hemistich.

[17] Song in the *Sed*-festival of Amenhotep III (Kheruef's tomb)

Support type: wall scene, relief.

Location: Western Thebes, Asasif, tomb of Kheruef (TT 192).

Date: late Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III.

Performer(s): After a group of eight royal daughters performing purifications with *nmst* vessels and *hst* bottles, there is a very large female ensemble, including singers, flute players, clappers, dancers, tambourine players, a man with a sceptre and staff, and three other obese men (two of them wearing lion masks) (fig. 19). The caption shared by the two registers reads *st3 hmwt m-b3h nswt r jrt jrrw n(j) [hbw-sd] hft-hr tn3t* 'ushering the women in the presence of [the *Sed*-festival] in front of the dais', which relates well to the female preponderance of the ensemble. Below the song, above two pairs of dancers, is the text, possibly addressed to *Nbw* (or to Hathor in the dais), which has been presented here as the last text (E).

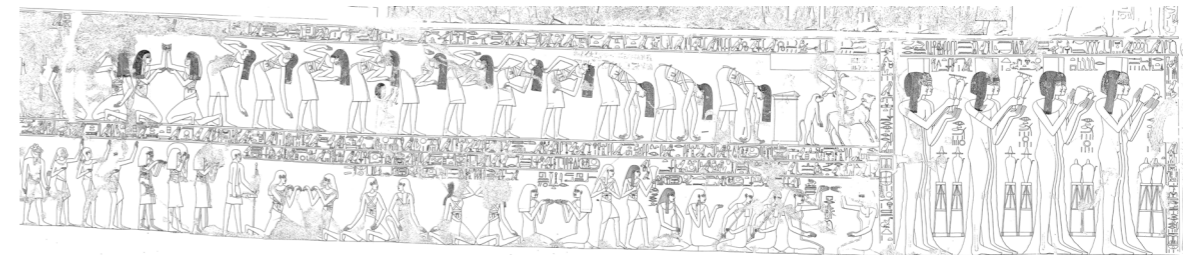


Figure 19. Lower scene of the *Sed*-festival of Amenhotep III in Kheruef's tomb [17]. Source: The Epigraphic Survey 1980: pl. 24.

⁶¹ One is a black and white photograph from Schott's archive (<https://www.schott.uni-trier.de/img/9/high/5578.jpg> [07/01/2023]) and the other one in colour published by Emerit (2018: fig. 2).



Figure 20. Text A of the song of the Sed-festival of Amenhotep III in Kheruef's tomb [17].

Context of performance: Sed-festival.

Text (see figs. 19–24):

A (fig. 20)

- jr m(j) h3y n Nbw*
htpw n nbt-t3wj
 3 *sw3h=s Nb-M3t-Rc dj nh*
mj.t(j) q3 jr=t
mj.t(j) jry=j n=t h3y
 6 *hr h3wj jhwj m mšrw*
Hwt-Hrw jw=t q3.tj m šnjw-
-Rc m šnjw-Rc
 9 *rdjw n=t pt jm wš3w*
sb3w [wr] hmt=s m shtp=s
dw3 Nbw m wbn=s m pt
 12 *ntt tm-pt Rc jm=s*
ntt tm-t3 Gb jm=f
nn ntr jr msdt n=t h3.[tj] |
 15 *w3 hmt=t r bw mr=t*
nn <n>=s bw [...] hdnnt
hnwt=j mj.t(j) hw=t nswt
 18 *Nb-m3t-Rc dj nh*
ssnb sw hr j3b(j) n(j) pt nfr:w
w3(w) snb(w) m 3ht
 21 *shtp s(j) t3wj tm.y*

- jw wn Nbw*
mr<=> nh=f s nh sw m hhw
 24 *n(j)w nnpwt m hh n(j) sp*
m hwj nn m hw
 Make now acclamation to the Gold,
 contentment for the Mistress of the
 Two Lands,
 3 so that She could make last Nebmaatira,
 given life!
 Come, and rise up,
 come, and I will make acclamation for
 you
 6 at night, percussion⁶² in the evening.
 Hathor, you have risen up on the hair
 of Ra, on the hair of Ra,⁶³
 9 where you have been given the sky, the
 dead of the night
 and the stars. –Her Incarnation [is great]
 as She is satisfied–.
 Adore the Gold as She rises in the sky!
 12 Yours is all the sky while Ra is in it,
 yours is all the earth while Geb is in it.
 There is no god who does that which you
 dislike, appeared you in glory.

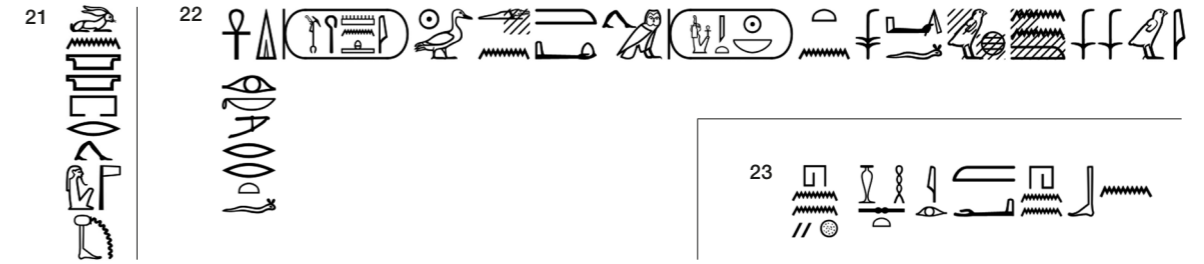


Figure 21. Text B of the song of the Sed-festival of Amenhotep III in Kheruef's tomb [17].

Figure 22. Text C of the song of the Sed-festival of Amenhotep III in Kheruef's tomb [17].

Figure 23. Text D of the song of the Sed-festival of Amenhotep III in Kheruef's tomb [17].

- 15 May proceed Your Incarnation, to the
 place which you love;
 there is no place <for> Her [...] rage.
 My Lady, come and protect the King,
 18 Nebmaatira, given life,
 keep him healthy on the left side of the
 sky, youthful,
 sound and healthy in the *akhet*.
 21 –She is who satisfies the entire Two Lands
 as the Gold is there–
 May <you> desire that he live, make him
 live millions
 24 years, a million times,
 with ‘Would that this may be a protec-
 tion!’.
 B (fig. 21)
wn 3wj<-pt>
pr ntr w3b(.w)

The Sky's Two Doors are open:
 the God ascends, (already) pure.

C (fig. 22)

jw nn [m h]w=f
nswt Nb-m3t-Rc
 3 *mj mj Sbk n s3-Rc*
Jmn-htp(.w) Hq3-W3st
jr=k mrrt=f
 This [is] the [prot]ection for him,
 the King Nebmaatira:
 3 Come, please, Sobek, to the Son of Ra
 Amenhotep Heqawaset,
 so that you may make that which he
 loves.

D (fig. 23)

hst
hnn hnn
 3 *jr m-(=j) hnn bn*
 Singing:

62 The term *jhwj* ‘(music of) percussion’ is a homophone of the one that appears as a refrain in [7] (*jhwjw* ‘percussion-ists’). Cf. the hymn to Ra and Hathor on the stela de Intef II (MMA 13.182.3), cols. 10–13, which reads similarly: *ht(=j) dd=s sptj(=j) whm=snj jhy w3b | n Hwt-Hr(w) jhy hhw-hfnw jr(=j) dr mrrt=t jhy jw hh n(j) jhy n k3=t r swt=t nb(wt) | jnk wnnt dd srs dw3 jhy n Hwt-Hr(w) r nb r wnwnt nb(wt) mrrt=s htp jb=t m | jhy (...)* ‘my body says and my lips repeat: “Pure percussion | for Hathor, percussion, millions of hundreds of thousands to me, since you love percussion! A million (musics of) percussion are for your *ka* in all your seats. | I am truly one who causes the morning and the (music of) percussion awaken for Hathor, every day and at any hour she desires. Your heart is pleased with | the percussion (...).”’ (Clère and Vandier 1948: 10 (§ 15, 10–13); Allam 1963: 140–141; Lichtheim 1973: 95; Goedicke 1991: 242–253; S. Emerit *apud* Emerit *et al.* 2018: 138–139 (cat. 135), with references).

63 Cf. [7], vv. 3–6.

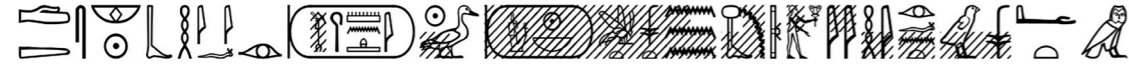


Figure 24. Text E of the song of the Sed-festival of Amenhotep III in Kheruef's tomb [17].



Jubilate, jubilate!

- 3 Perform together with me! Make jubilation! Be effusive!

E (fig. 24)

*mt sw jr=f n[=t] jhy w^cb [(n)swt bj]t(j) Nb-
[m³t]-R^c s³-R^c Jmn-h^tp(w) Hq³-[W]s[t]
jry=fhb-sd*

Here is he, performing pure percussion for [you, the Dua] [King] Neb[maat]-ra, the Son of Ra Amenhotep Heqa-[w]as[et], so that he may perform the Sed-Festival.

Gold's spelling: *Nbw* is written as  (vv. 1, 4),  (v. 10).

References: PM I/1² 298 (5, II); Wente 1969: *passim*; The Epigraphic Survey 1980: 47–49, pl. 24 y 33–40; Roberts 1995: 24–27; Lange 2008: 155–156, 289–291 and 453–454.

The main text (A) has close intertextual relations in some parts with [7], as well as with [8] in two other parts (B–C), being largely the same as [18], although there are some differences (*vid. infra*).

For an excellent philological and textual commentary on the different texts that are included in this document, see Wente (1969) and the annotated translation by the same author *apud* The Epigraphic Survey (1980).

The main text seems to begin with heptametrical distichs (vv. 1–8), followed by three tetrametrical verses (vv. 9–11) and then three more pentametrical verses (vv. 12–14) and two more tetrametrical verses (vv. 15–16), to continue again

until the end with heptametrical distichs (vv. 17–24). This metrical diversity may be due to a mixture and reworking of different textual sources, or, likewise, of different rhythms or beats. On the other hand, if this metrical analysis is correct, it may provide an interesting key to v. 21. Its position means that it should have four accentual units. This is only possible if *s(j)* functions as the subject of *sh^tp*, which is only possible if it is the predicate of an adjectival sentence⁶⁴ and if here the dependent pronoun functions as the subject, for it is only in that case that it counts as an accentual unit.⁶⁵

Based on its pronouns (*mt*, *n[=t]*), the last text seems to be addressed to Hathor as Gold, since it is also said in that part that he (= the king) makes 'pure percussion' (*jhy w^cb*), which is in agreement with the statement that he will make music (*jhy*) for *Nbw* in the main text.

[18] Song in the Sed-festival of Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten (Karnak)

Support type: wall scene, incised relief on 64 *talatat* grouped in 5 courses, forming two registers.

Location: Karnak, filling of the towers of the Ninth Pylon; perhaps originally at East Karnak.

Date: late Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten.

Performer(s): after an ensemble of possibly eight royal daughters cleansing with *qbh* bottles,

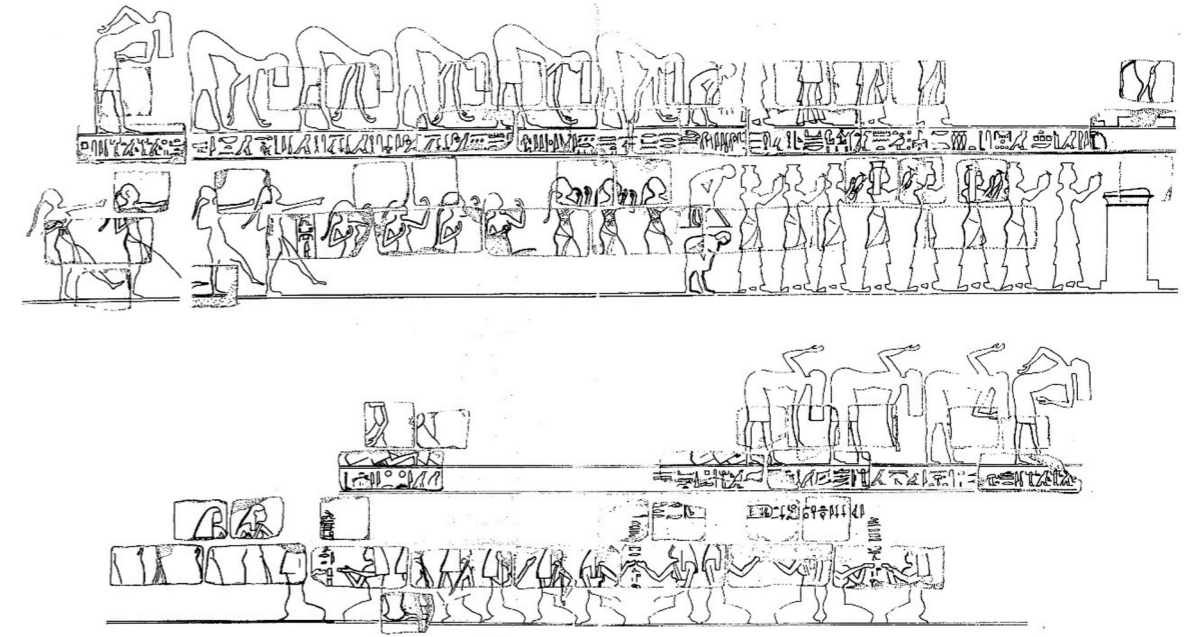


Figure 25. General reconstruction of one scene of the Sed-festival of Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten at Karnak [18]. Source: Trautner 1986: figs. 3–4 (modified).

followed by two men, there is a very large female ensemble, including singers, flute players, clappers, and many dancers. The upper register shows royal daughters followed by two males and several female dancers bending down and waving their hair (fig. 25).

Context of performance: Sed-festival.

Text (see figs. 26–28):

A (fig. 26)

*[jr m(j) h³y n Nb^w
h^tp^w n nbt-t³wj*

3 *sw³h=s (n)swt] bjt(j) ^cnh
m m³t Nfr-h^tprw-R^c W^c-n(j)-R^c
[³m ^ch^c(w)=f] (?)*

6 *mjj q(3) jr=t
mj [jry=j n=t h³y*

hr h³wj] jhy m m³r(w)

9 *Hwt-Hrw j[w=t] q(3).tj m s³t
n(j)t R^c m s³t n(j)t R^c ⁶⁶
rdj n=t [pt jm w³w*

12 *sb³w wr hmt=s m sh^tp=s
dw³ Nb^w m wbn=s m pt
ntt tm-pt R^c jm=s*

15 *ntt tm-t³ Gb jm=f
nn ntr] jr msdj [n=t h^c.tj
w]d³ hmt=t r bw mr=t*

18 *[nn <n>=s bw [...] hdnnt]*

*hnwt=j mj [hw=t nswt]
3h-n-Jtn ³m ^ch^c(w)=f*

21 *ssnb sw hr j³b(j) n(j) pt [nfr.w
wd³(.w) snb(.w) m 3ht*

⁶⁴ E. g. Malaise and Winand 1999: 525; Allen 2010: 336–337.

⁶⁵ Mathieu 1988: 73.

⁶⁶ The phrase *m s³t n(j)t R^c m s³t n(j)t R^c* has been rendered as *m s³t n(j)t R^c sp 2*.



Figure 26. Reconstruction of text A of the song of the Sed-festival of Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten at Karnak [18] following the example of [17].

<p><i>shp s(j) t3wj tm.y</i> 24 <i>jw wn Nbw</i> <i>mr<=t> nḥ=f s^cnḥ sw m ḥḥw</i> <i>n(j)w rnpwt m ḥḥ n(j) sp</i> 27 <i>m ḥwj nn m ḥw]</i> [Make now acclamation to the Gold, contentment for the Mistress of the Two Lands, 3 so that She make last the Dual] King, who lives on <i>Maat</i>, Neferkheperura Waenra, [great in his lifetime] (?) 6 Come, and rise up, come, [and I will make acclamation for you at night,] percussion in the evening. 9 Hathor, you have risen up by order of Ra, by order of Ra, where you have been given [the sky, the dead of the night 12 and the stars. –Her Incarnation [is great] as She is satisfied–. Adore the Gold as She rises in the sky! Yours is all the sky while Ra is in it, 15 yours is all the earth while Geb is in it. There is no god] who does that which</p>	<p>you dislike, [appeared you in glory May pr]oceed Your Incarnation, to the place which you love; 18 [there is no place <for> Her [...] rage.] My Lady, come, [and protect the King], Akhenaten, great in his lifetime, 21 keep him healthy on the left side of the sky, [youthful, sound and healthy in the <i>akhet</i>. –She is who satisfies the entire Two Lands 24 as the Gold is there– May <you> desire that he live, make him live millions of years, a million times, 27 with ‘Would that this may be a protec- tion!’.]</p> <p><i>B</i> (fig. 27) [...] <i>m<k> Nbw</i> <i>ij[.t(j) wbn.t(j)] [...]</i> [wn ^c3wj-pt p]r ntr w^cb(.w) wn ^c3[wj-pt] pr ntr w^cb(.w) wn ^c3wj-p[t] [pr]jtrtj</p>
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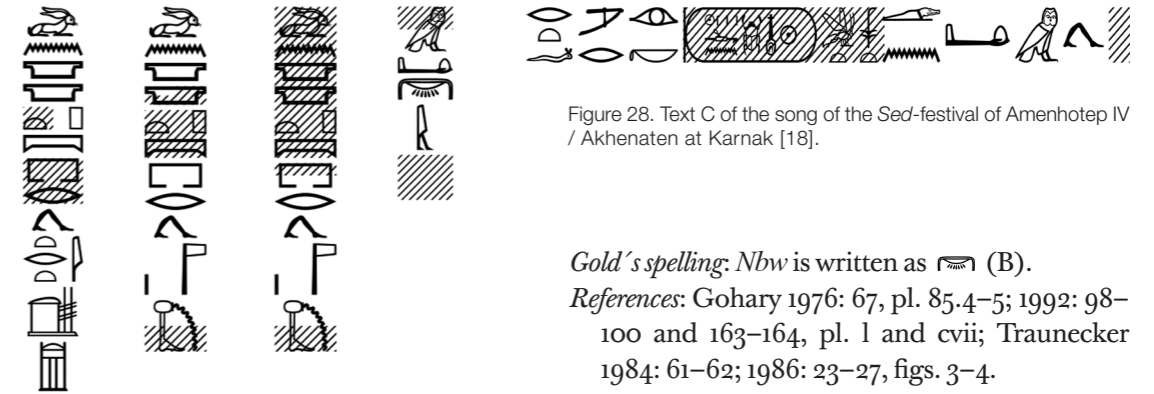


Figure 27. Text B of the song of the Sed-festival of Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten at Karnak [18].

[...] He<re> is the Gold!
 Com[e! Rise! [...]
 [The Sky’s Two Doors are open:]
 the God [asc]ends, (already) pure.
 The [Sky’s Two] Door[s] are open:
 the God ascends, (already) pure.
 The Sk[y]’s Two Doors are open:
 the Two Rows of Chapels ascend.


C (fig. 28)
[jw nn m ḥw=f
nswt Nfr-ḥprw-R^c W^c-n(j)-R^c
 3 *m]j mj Sbk n [(n)swt bjt(j)*
Nfr-ḥprw-R^c W^c-n(j)-R^c]
jr= k mrrt=f
 [This is the protection for him,
 the King Neferkheperura Waenra:
 3 Co]me, please, Sobek, to [the Dual King
 Neferkheperura Waenra,]
 so that you may make that which he loves.

67 Lit. ‘by that which Ra has ordered’.

68 E. g. the spelling *rdj n=t* [18] (v. 11) instead of *rdjw n=t* [17] (v. 9); *mjj q(3) jr=t* [18] (v. 6) instead of *mj.t(j) q3 jr=t* [17] (v. 4); *jhy m mšr(w)* [18] (v. 8) instead of *jḥwj m mšrw* [17] (v. 6), etc.

69 In the case of Gohary (1992: 99–100), she seems to have gotten at least two different texts, both also attested in TT 192, mixed up.

Figure 28. Text C of the song of the Sed-festival of Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten at Karnak [18].

Gold’s spelling: Nbw is written as  (B).
References: Gohary 1976: 67, pl. 85.4–5; 1992: 98–100 and 163–164, pl. I and cvii; Traunecker 1984: 61–62; 1986: 23–27, figs. 3–4.

Text A largely follows that reproduced in the scenes of the Sed Festival of [17]. It has therefore been decided in this case to restore the gaps in square brackets, but it should be borne in mind that they have to be retained as merely provisional and tentative, given the existence of certain differences between the two versions of both a textual and prosodic nature. Among these, the most noteworthy is the substitution of *m šnjw-R^c* *m šnjw-R^c* ‘on the hair of Ra, on the hair of Ra’ for *m š3t n(j)t R^c sp 2* ‘by order of Ra,⁶⁷ by order of Ra’. Despite the incompleteness of the text, this great divergence, together with the use of *sp 2* and other relevant differences,⁶⁸ and those present in some of the other texts (especially B–C), raise the possibility that [18] does not copy the same model as [17] and that its sources could have been different.

As far as I know, the text has not yet received a thorough edition from the discovered blocks, only a transcription without transliteration, translation or commentary, either by Traunecker or by Gohary.⁶⁹ Although early

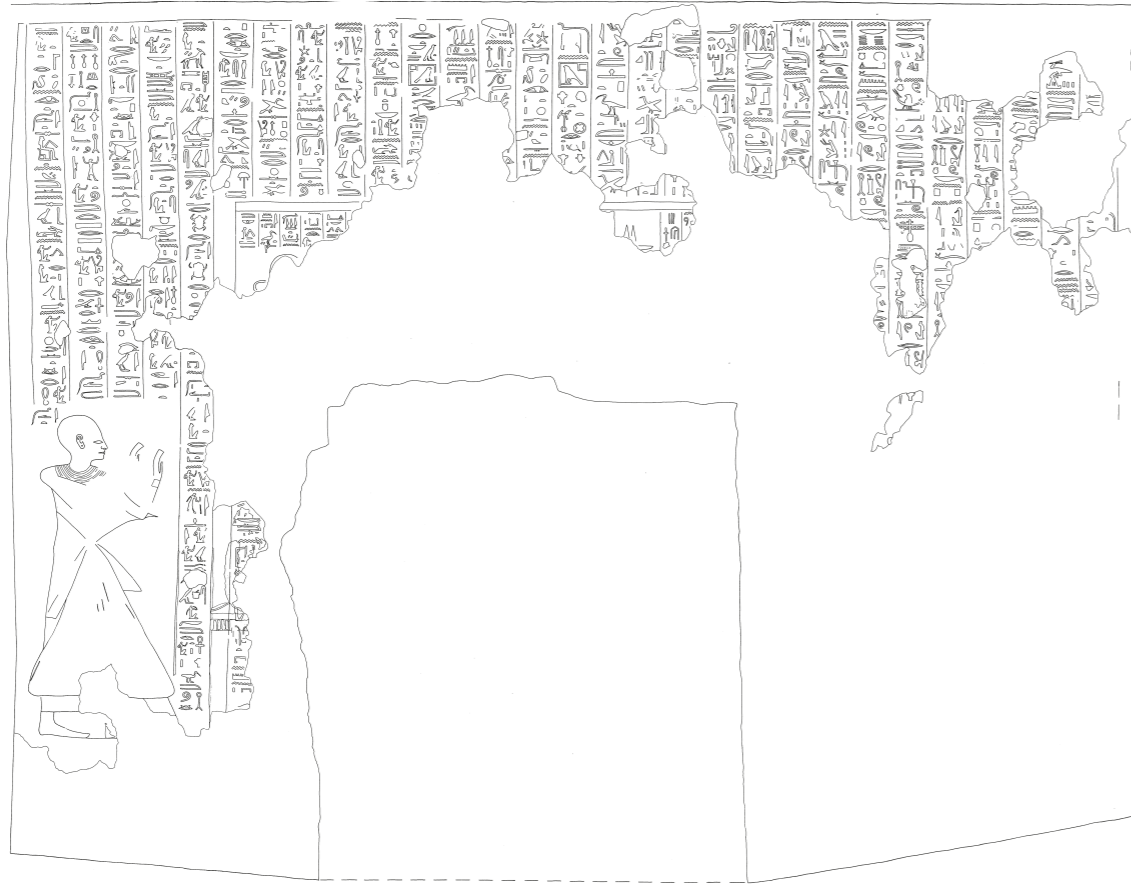


Figure 29. Scene with the hymn from Djehutyemheb's tomb [19]. Source: Seyfried 1995: pl. xxxv.

publications have pointed out their close textual and iconographic relationship with [17], there has been no detailed comparative analysis between them. Therefore, the hieroglyphic edition (figs. 19–20) is presented here as an approximation based on the few published testimonies, but not the synoptic edition, which requires a better documentation.

The inclusion of longer royal names, typical of Akhenaten's reign,⁷⁰ and epithets not present in [17], also particular to the Amarna period,⁷¹ has significantly altered the metre of some passages of the text of [17]. The few remains preserved and published to date do not, therefore, allow us to confirm the possibility that the body of the main text (A) has kept the same prosodic scheme as [17].

70 E. g. *nswt bjtj ḥnh m m3ḥt Nfr-hprw-Rḥ Wḥ-n(j)-Rḥ* instead of *Nb-m3ḥt-Rḥ*.

71 E. g. *3 m ḥḥw=f* instead of *dj ḥnh*.

[19] Hymn from Djehutyemheb's tomb

Support type: wall scene, relief.

Location: Western Thebes, Asasif, tomb of Djehutyemheb (TT 194), shrine, north wall.

Date: mid–Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II.

Performer(s): Djehutyemheb sings the hymn to Hathor; he is responded by her, named as 'Hathor, Chief of Thebes, Eye of Ra, She who dwells in [...]' (*Hwt-Hrw hr(j)t-tp W3st Jrt-Rḥ hr(j)t-jb* [...]).

Context of performance: the owner is adoring, very possibly before a figure of Hathor, now lost.

Text (fig. 29):

dw3 Nbw jrt-Rḥ sntj t3 n k3[=s rdjt] | j(3)w n hr=st nfr sw3š=s [rḥ] n[b jn Ws]jr | jmj-r3 šhtj(w) n(j) Pr-Jmn Dhwtj[m-hb m3ḥ-hrw dd=f
jj.n=j] | hr=t t3 nbt-t3wj
Hwt-Hrw wrt-mrwt
 3 *mk(w)jm[j(3)w] | n hr=t nfr*
sn=j t3 n k3=t
jnk hm=t n(j) wn-m3ḥ
 6 *tw=j [hr] | mw n(j) w{3}dw=t*
bw h3ḥ=j dd r(3)[=t]
bw hm= | =j sb3=t
 9 *tw=j hr w3t n(j) ddt(=t) ds=t*
hr mtnw | n(j) jr.n=t h3jy
p3 sp nfr n ntj m rh=t
 12 *p3 | ptr=t nb hs(.w)*
rš.wj htp r-gs=t
p3 ḥ n šw[t]=t
 15 *mntt srj(m)ḥḥt=j m š3ḥ*
jw=s m š3w r hprj
ddt hpr(.tj) shr=t grg(.w)
 18 *[jr] st n dt=j*
jw=t r dd n=j j(3)w=j htp=j
jw=j wd3.k(w) s3.k(w)
 21 *m ḥnh jrt=j hr gmh*
ḥwt=j nb(wt) tm(.w)
mntt.j.dd n=j m r(3)=t ds=t
 24 *jnk t(3) hly nfrt*

jrw=j [...] n mwt

j.jrt | jj r mtrt=k

27 *ptr st=k.j.mh tw jm=s*

n(n) hd n(n) hntj

jw=j m qd jw t3

30 *m | sgr m nfrw-grh*

hd t3 jb=j ḥḥ.wj

tw=j m ršrš

33 *dj.n=j hr r jmj-wrt*

r jrt mj dd=t

mntt ntrt n jrt j.ddt=s

36 *špst n sdm n=s*

bw wn=j r(3)=t

bw sn=j shr=t

39 *jr=j mj dd=t*

jmmj hr=t r djt h3mw=j sw

mnq n3y=t nfrw

42 *ht=j jr(w)=t m-hnw jst=j |*

r sdd phjt=t

r djt ḥm3 d3mw [...]nw n k3 n(j) Wsjr | sh3-

htp-ntr n(j) Pr-Jmn jmj-r3 šhtj(w) n(j) Pr-

Jmn sh3-(n)sw(t) [...] Dhwtj-[m]-hb m3ḥ-hrw

m htp | snt=f mrt[=f] [...]

Adoring the Gold, the Eye of Ra, kissing the ground for [Her] *ka*, [giving] | praise to Her beautiful face, paying her honour eve[ry day by the Os]iris, | Overseer of fieldworkers of the Domain of Amun, Djehu[tyemheb, true of voice, who says:]

'Before you | [I have come], Mistress of the Two Lands, Hathor, Great of Love.

3 Here I am, in [praise] | to your beautiful face, kissing the ground for your *ka*.

I am a real servant of yours:

6 I am [on] | the water of your orders.

I have not abandoned the speech of your mouth,

I have not ignored your teaching.

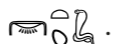
9 I am on the road which you yourself set, on the path | which you have made. O, how



Figure 30. Text of the song on a calcite vessel [20].

happy is the occasion for the one who
knows you, |
12 everyone who beholds you is favoured!
How joyful is to rest by your side
(for) the one who enters your sha[de]!
15 It is you who has foreseen my tomb in the
beginning,
as it was destined that it become:
that which you have said has happened,
your plan [has been executed
18 and has been made] a place for my body.
You shall give to me an old age so that I
may rest,
being sound and sated
21 with life, my eye(s) seeing
and all my limbs complete.
It is you who has said to me from your
own mouth
24 'I am the beautiful *hely*,
my form [...] Mut,
who has come | to instruct you:
27 see your place, and fill yourself with it,
without going downstream, without
going upstream',
while I was in a dream, and the earth
30 in | silence, in the deep of the night.
At dawn, my heart was rejoicing.
I was in joy
33 and I set (my) face to the West
to act as you said.
You are a goddess who does that which
she says,
36 a noble lady to whom one listens.
I have not neglected your speech,
I have not transgressed your plan(s):
39 I have acted as you said. |

Set your face to permit that I bow down
to it,
bestow your beauty
42 so that I see your form inside my sepul-
chre |
to recount your strength
and cause generations to know [...]"
[...] for the *ka* of the Osiris, | the scribe
of the God's offering of the Domain of
Amun, Overseer of fieldworkers of the
Domain of Amun, King's scribe, [...] Dje-
huty[em]heb, true of voice, in peace, | and
his beloved sister [...]

Gold's spelling: *Nbw* is written as .

References: PM I/1^r 301 (14); KRI VII 153.5–155.4;
Assmann 1978: 25–33; 1999: 399–401 (no. 172);
Seyfried 1995: 70–72, fig. 25, pl. xxi and xxxv
(text no. 119); Szpakowska 2003: [150–154];
Frood 2007: 91–94.

The text is articulated as a hymn with bio-
graphical references addressed to the Gold, in-
cluding the appearance of the goddess in a
dream before Djehutyemheb, the main context
for which this document is known. This hymn
is responded to by Hathor herself in a relatively
long text, which has not been included here, and
where she does not seem to have been presented
or described as *Nbw*.

The hymn's text seems to be composed af-
ter a metrical scheme of heptametrical distichs.
However, in two stanzas the text is formed by
two or three verses of three units (vv. 21–22 and
37–39) which, in both cases, are after the sec-
ond half of a distich, like an 'expansion' of the
three-unit verse.

[20] Song on a calcite vessel

Support type: calcite vase, one line in incised relief
between the handles.

Location: Cádiz, now in a private collection.

Date: Twenty-second – Twenty-third Dynasties.


Performer(s): apparently, according to the begin-
ning of the text, the vase itself.

Context of performance: unclear, probably a kind
of banquet or a celebration involving Hathor
and alcoholic intoxication.

Text (fig. 30):

*q*3(j) *jr*(t) *b*(w) *nfr* *m-hnt*=*j* <*n*>=*j-jmy* *dr* *mh*
ntf *h*°*w*=*k* *n* *ntj* (*m*)-*hnw* *mr*-*m*3°(*t*) |
3 *Nbw* *jr* °*wj*=*t* *hr-tp* *t*3 *r* *km* *hntj*
nn *dd*=*f* *h*3 *m* *ht* *nb*(t)
*nk*3*n*(j) *sm*3*tn*(j) [*K*3]-*mwt*=*f* *D*(d)-*Hrw-jw*=*f*°*nh*
The way of doing good from my inside and
removing the worries:
Wet your body with what is within the 'lake
of truth'! |
3 O, Gold, may your hands act upon the earth

to the completion of eternity!
He will say no lack of everything
for the *ka* of the stolist of [Ka]mutef,
Djedhoriufankh.

Gold's spelling: *Nbw* is written as .


References: Gamer-Wallert 1978: 81–85, pl. 22–24; Jan-
sen-Winkeln 1989: 146–147; 2007: 473 no. 45.160).

There are other contemporary texts on simi-
lar vessels consisting of 'drinking spells'.⁷² One
of them⁷³ contains the word *nbw(j)t*, which has
been interpreted by some scholars as an allusion
to Hathor as Gold.⁷⁴ However, Jansen-Winkeln
has convincingly shown that in this case it actual-
ly designates a type of 'golden' beer.⁷⁵

Apparently, the text does not follow any dis-
cernible metrical pattern. The division of the text
has thus been made according to syntactic and
semantic criteria rather than strictly prosodic
ones. Thus, it begins with a presentation of the
content (v. 1) which introduces the main part of
the text (vv. 2–4), closing with the mention of
the owner of the vessel.

Corpus 2. Complementary Documents about *Nbw*

[1] Giza, mastaba of Iymery (G 6020), chamber
II, south wall, middle section, fourth register.
Late Fifth Dynasty.
Scene of a pair dance where two male dancers
lean their bodies slightly backwards while
keeping one leg straight and the other with
the knee bent and facing forward, almost
meeting the tips of their toes. At the same
time, one of their arms is raised over their
shoulder to link with their partner's, while
the other, also straight, is extended diagonally

downwards, pointing towards their partner's
bent knee, but in this case without touching.
The text can be read as follows: *mk trf-jtt-Nbw*
'Here is the step of taking the Gold' ().
References: PM III/1^r 172 (8.iv); LD II 52;
Brunner-Traut 1938: 84 (20); Wild 1963:
72; Van Lepp 1989: 389, fig. 3; Weeks 1994:
44 and 170–174, figs. 9, 37 y 75; Pérez Arro-
yo 2001: 348–349, figs. 14 y 17; Kinney
2008: 117–118 and 180–181 (cat. 4); Borrego
Gallardo 2015–2016: 36 and 39–40, fig. 2.

⁷² Jansen-Winkeln 1989.

⁷³ CG 18435: von Bissing 1904: 83, pl. iv; Jansen-Winkeln 2007: 422 (no. 45.52).

⁷⁴ Schott 1950: 130 and 231 (no. 93); Bleeker 1973: 84.

⁷⁵ Jansen-Winkeln 1989: 150–151 (n. 1).

[II] *Pyramid Texts* spell 393 (§§ 689a–d), pyramid of Teti (A/E 25–26), early Sixth Dynasty.

The text runs as follows: *dd mdw nht=k npnt=k npnt=k nht=k | sd=k tp r(3)=k šnt pšr pšr=k K3 wr | [...] [šn n]=fpr Wr šn n=f | z3-t3 z3w tw t3 z3-t3 z3w tw Nbw* ‘Words spoken: Your grain is your sycamore, your sycamore is your grain; | your tail is on your mouth, o punished (snake), your surrounding has been surrounded, Great Bull, | [...] [whom] he [has encircled], the Great One whom he has encircled has come out. | Son of the Earth, beware! Son of the Earth, beware of the Gold!’ (𓄏𓄏).

References: Sethe 1962: 260–263; Faulkner 1985: 129; Carrier 2009: 338–341; Borrego Gallardo 2010: 351–353; Allen 2013: [238]; 2015: 94 and 100, nn. 40–41.

[III] *Pyramid Texts* spell 395 (§§ 691a–b), pyramid of Teti (A/E 26), early Sixth Dynasty.

The text reads as follows: *dd mdw zp snw t3 z3w tw t3 z3-t3 z3w tw Nbw | z3w tw jt=k wtt Wsjr z3-t3 z3w tw Nbw* ‘Words spoken twice: Earth, beware of the earth! Son of the Earth, beware of the Gold! | Beware of your father, who begot Osiris! Son of the Earth, beware of the Gold!’ (𓄏𓄏).

References: Sethe 1962: 264–265; Faulkner 1985: 130; Carrier 2009: 340–341; Borrego Gallardo 2010: 351–354; Allen 2013: [239]; 2015: 95.

[IV] Saqqara, mastaba of Mereruka, area of Watetkhetor, chamber B3, north wall, first register. Early Sixth Dynasty.

Scene of a pair dance where two female dancers with a tress hold hands as they turn, turning their backs to each other in a twisting movement. The caption can be read as *mk jtt-Nbw* ‘Here is the taking of the Gold’ (𓄏𓄏).

References: PM III/2² 535 (100); Brunner-Traut 1938: 85 (21a); Wild 1963: 72; Van Lepp 1989: 385–387 y 390, fig. 1; Roth 1992: 141–143;

Pérez Arroyo 2001: 350, il. 7; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008: 25–26, pl. 28–31 y 60; Kinney 2008: 117–118 y 203 (cat. 25.d); Borrego Gallardo 2015–2016: 36, 39–40 and 43–48, fig. 4; Mathieu 2021a: 160–161.

[V] Hierakonpolis, HK64, ostrakon/slab in sandstone with three incised hieroglyphic signs deposited between several layers of ostrich feathers in a deposit 50 cm in diameter and 20 cm deep. Late Sixth Dynasty – Second Intermediate Period.

The text can be read as follows: *Nbw h^c=s* ‘The Gold appears in glory’ (𓄏𓄏).

References: Friedman 1997: 13–14; 1999: 103–104, fig. 3; Friedman *et al.* 1999: 18–23 and 27–29, fig. 15, 18–19.

[VI] Provenance unknown, fragmentary stela, owner’s name lost (Turin Suppl. 1310), mid-Eleventh Dynasty, reign of Intef II (?).

The text reads as follows (ll. 4–7): *rdj.n=f h3w hr htp-ntr n(j) R^c mr sw | jm3=f n Hwt-Hr(w) m n^ctjw hr | hknw sph=f ng3w m hsw n Nbw m mrt | sw mrrt w3h=f hr t3 rdj=s n=f nswyt-[t3wj]* ‘He has increased the god’s offering of Ra, who loved him, | and he was pleasant to Hathor with *antyu*-resin and | *hekenu*-oil, lassoing *negau*-bulls with ropes for the Gold, who loved | him and who wants him to endure on the land, giving to him the kingship [of the Two Lands]’ (𓄏𓄏).

References: Postel 2004: 115, 118 and 237 (n. 1090); Mathieu and Romion 2008; Mathieu 2021a: 305–307, fig. 66.

[VII] *Coffin Texts* spell 623 (VI 239a–n: T1Ca, T1Cb), tomb of Horhotep (TT 314: burial chamber and sarcophagus), late Eleventh Dynasty.

The text reads as follows: *r(3) n(j) h3t r wj3 n(j) Hwt-Hrw | j^cy=j j^cwj=j | phr=j 3ht | nmt=j pr=j r wj3 hr(j) ht-Wrt | dmd=j Nbw m nbwt n(jw) t pt | dmd ntr m smwj=f | sšp hd | h3y=j m wj3=t |*

pr=j nswt | šzp=j dpw=j m 3bdw=t jpw nfrw | Hwt-Hrw | n(j) šmw n(j) 3ht n(j) prt | šht wj Spdt m r tp-rnpt | nfr:w(j) hww=j jm ‘Spell of boarding the Bark of Hathor. | I will wash my hands, | I will traverse the *akhet*, | I will stride over and I will ascend to the Bark carrying the Great Thing, | I will join the Gold in the islets of the sky, | and the god will join his equal; | the Bright One will shine, | and I will board your Bark, | I will acquire my roles, | I will receive my oar in these your beautiful monthly festivals | —o, Hathor!— | of (the season of) the Harvest, of (the season of) the Inundation, of (the season of) the Growing, | and Sepedet will advance me towards the beginning of the year. How good is that I be proclaimed there!’ (𓄏𓄏, 𓄏𓄏 [T1Ca], 𓄏𓄏 [T1Cb]).

References: Allam 1963: 119 and 131; Faulkner 1977: 206–207; Barguet 1986: 163–164; Willems 1988: 32 and 113; Selim 2000: 363; Carrier 2004: 1430–1431; Postel 2004: 230 and 327 (n. 1090).

[VIII] Beni Hasan, tomb of Baqet i (no. 29), Twelfth Dynasty.

In the caption of the owner’s wife, Qadjehuty, in a scene of spearing fish in the marshes, she shows one priestly title *hm(t-ntr)-Hwt-Hr(w) Nbw* ‘Priestess of Hathor, the Gold’ (𓄏𓄏).

References: Newberry 1893b: pl. xxix; Ward 1982: 114 (no. 954); Selim 2000: 362.

[IX] Meir, tomb of Senebi B (no. 3), Twelfth Dynasty.

On the outer right jamb of the false-door stela of the owner’s sister Mersi, she shows one priestly title as follows: *hm(t-ntr)-Nbw hsynt-Hwt-Hrw nbt-Qjs* ‘Priestess of the Gold and praised / songstress of Hathor, Mistress of Qjs’ (𓄏𓄏).

References: Blackman and Apted 1953: 4 and 6, pl. vi; Allam 1963: 40; Ward 1982: 113 (no. 947); Selim 2000: 362; Hudáková 2019: 501.

[X] Coptos (?), stela of Imeny (Pushkin I.1.b.32 (4156) + UC 14326), probably brought from Dendera, Seventeenth Dynasty.

On the main text is an appeal to the living (ll. x + 3–5) that reads: *j n^chw tp(j)w-t3 šh3 | nb w^cb nb hr(j)-hb(t) nb hm-k3 nb šhdw hmwntr n(j)w Pr-Nbw q.t(j)=sn r r(3)-pr pn | šd.t(j)=sn m wd pn jr n=j m hwt-ntr n(j)t Hwt-Hrw* ‘O living who are upon the earth, every | scribe, every pure (priest), every lector-priest, every *ka*-servant, inspectors of priests of the House of the Gold who will enter this chapel | and read from this stela made for me in the temple of Hathor’ (𓄏𓄏). Later, in the offering formula to be pronounced by the living can be found the following statement: *prt-hrw t hnqt jhw 3pd šs mnht sntr mrht ht nbt nfrt w^cbt nht ntr jm t w^cb Pr-Nbw | dbht htp n(j)t Pr-Hrw n k3 n(j)* ‘an invocation-offering of bread and beer, cattle and fowl, calcite and clothing, incense and oil, everything good and pure on which a god lives, pure bread of the House of the Gold | and the required offerings of the House of Horus for the *ka* of’ (𓄏𓄏).

References: Stewart 1979: 79 (no. 79); Hodjash and Berlev 1982: 86 and 90–93 (no. 41); Helck 1983: 63 (no. 93); Ryholt 1997: 272; <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/denderah/index.html> [03/15/2022].

[XI] Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, tomb of Imenemhat (TT 82), mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.

Scene of singing and dancing before the couple of the tomb’s owners (lost) in front of a table of offerings, on the third register of the south wall of the shrine. The text above, apparently damaged by a *damnatio memoriae* against Amun-Ra, reads *d(d) mdw m[-n=k [mnj]wt šhmw s[š]š[wt n(jw)t Jmn] [...] [Psdt]=f Hwt-Hrw m rnw=s nbw dj=s n=k n^ch nfr [...]* ‘Words spoken: T[ake to y]ou the [*meni*]ut, the sistra *sekhem* and the sistra *se[sh]sh[et* of Amun] [...] his [Ennead], and

Hathor in all her names; may they give to you a happy life [...]. Under it, three female performers present hathoric insignias with the right hand (*menit*, [sistrum] and *menit*, in order of appearance) and hold another one in the left hand (sistrum, *menit* and fly-whisk). In front of each performer is a caption: *hmwt n(jw) t [Jmn] nb-nswt-t3wj hr(j)-t[p-nt-rw]* ‘the female musicians of [Amun], Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Chief of [the Gods]’; *hmwt n(jw)t Psdt [c]3t hr(j)-t-jb Jpt-swt* ‘the female musicians of the [Gr]eat Ennead who dwells in Ipetsut’; and *hmwt n(jwt) Hwt-Hrw nbt-Jwnt hmwt-nt-rw nbw* ‘the female musicians of Hathor, Mistress of Iunet, Lady of all the Gods’. After a break in the wall is a group of three preserved male dancers, and following them a first performer with a pair of human-headed castanets in each hand, a *menit* around the neck and a headband shows the caption *[jh]wj n(j)w Hwt-H[r]w nbt-Jwnt* ‘[the two percussioni]sts of Hatho[r], Mistress of Iunet’, and a second, with the same attire and elements, as *jhwj n(j)w Nbwt-Jwnt* ‘the two percussionists of the Gold, Mistress of Iunet’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).
References: PM I/1² 166 (16.III); *Urk.* IV 1059.7–1060.5; Davies and Gardiner 1915: 94–96, pl. xix–xx; Schott 1952: 807 and 808, fig. 12; Selim 2000: 363; Emerit 2013: 5–6 and 8, fig. 12; Richter 2019: 527, fig. 6.

[XII] Deir el-Bahari (?), statue of Neferrenpet (Louvre E. 14241), late Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III.
Seated as a scribe, Neferrenpet presents a *menit* with his right hand and was probably holding a sistrum with his left hand, now lost. A self-presentation statement is in cols. 4–8 on the kilt: *jnk jh(j) | n(j) hmwt=j whmw n(j) nb(t)-m³(t) s^cr | sprt-hr-nb n Nbwr hmw=s | wj(=j) w^cb(.w) hr hnk n nb(t)-m³(t) | mnjw(=j) m-b3h Psdt* ‘I was a percussionist | of my Lady, a herald of the Mistress of *Maat*, one who raised | the petition of

everyone to the Gold into her residence. | My hands were pure when offering to the Mistress of *Maat* | and (my) *meniut* were in presence of the Ennead’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).

References: *Urk.* IV 1856.9–12; B. M. Bryan apud Kozloff *et al.* 1993: 200–201 (cat. 38); Clère 1995: 181–186, fig. 60.A, pl. xxix; Konrad 2011–2: 46–49, fig. 1; Richter 2019: 527–528, fig. 7.

[XIII] Provenance unknown, manuscript of the *Book of Coming Forth by Day* of Nebqed (Louvre N 3068), late Eighteenth Dynasty, reigns of Thutmose IV–Amenhotep III.

On the first page, the owner appears together with two female relatives of him adoring Osiris. The second woman, waving a sistrum with the right hand (and probably carrying a *menit* in the left hand, now destroyed) is presented as (cols. 13–15): *snt{nt}=f mryt=f nbt- | -pr hsynt n(j)t Nbwt- | -m-jnt Mwt-m-hb m³(t)-hrw hr ntr c³ nb-jmntt ms(t).n nb(t)-pr H3t-nfr [...]* ‘his beloved sister, Mistress | of the House and Songstress of the Gold- | -in-the-Desert’s Valley, Mutemheb, true of voice by the Great God, Lord of the West, born of the Mistress of the House, Hatnefer [...].’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).

References: Devéria 1881: 77; Quirke 2013: xix; <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/010003125> [07/01/2023] (with complete references).

[XIV] Deir el-Medina, votive limestone standing phallus of Ramose (Cairo RT 29/4/26/3), mid-Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II.
On the right edge of its base, it can be read as follows: *j Nbwt mrt 3b st hs wj 3bytj jmmj šsp=j b3kw n pr=t [...].k(w) sh3 R^c-ms(.w)* ‘O Gold, who loves the one who desires her! May favour me the Desired One, let me receive the recompense of your house, I [...], the scribe, Ramose’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).

References: PM I/2² 749; *KRI* III 635.6; *KRITA* III 434; Bruyère 1952b: 15–16; Pinch 1993: 235.

[XV] Deir el-Medina, limestone block-statue of a ‘tonsured one of Hathor’,⁷⁶ Imenemipet, with the right hand over the mouth and a *menit* on the left shoulder (statue no. 219, magazine 25), mid-Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II.

On the back pillar and the right side, the inscription runs as follows: *htp dj (n)sw(t) n Nbwt j[...] | nb ntj wrh(=j) whm(=j) s(t) n Nbwt s3 [...]n m [...] sdm-š m St-m³(t) Jmn-m-jpt* ‘The offering that has given the King to the Gold [...] | every [...] who anoints me, I will repeat it to the Gold, the son [...] in [...] the assistant in Setmaat, Imenemipet’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏, 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).

References: PM I/2² 710; *KRI* III 706.7–10; *KRITA* III 475; Bruyère 1952a: 96–97 and 132, fig. 216; Clère 1995: 124–130, fig. 45, pl. xvi.

[XVI] Abydos (?), red granite kneeling statue of Minmose, with the right hand over the mouth and presenting a sistrum on the front side with the left hand (CG 1213 + TR 14.1.25.1), mid-Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II.

On the col. 8 on the left side the text can be read an invocation to the owner as follows: *šsp=k p3 jsj n(j) Nbwt 3st wrt mwt-[ntr] Mnw-ms(.w) | m-n=k snw srm[t] r r(3)=k(...)* ‘May you receive, o tonsured one of the Gold and of Isis, the Great one, [God’s] Mother, Minmose, | take to you bread-offerings and date-wine to your mouth (...).’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).

References: *KRI* III 470.5–471.6; *KRITA* III 334; Borchardt 1934: 103–105; Clère 1995: 74–80, fig. 26.C, pl. ii–iii.

[XVII] Unknown provenance, granodiorite block-statue of a ‘tonsured one of Hathor’, Sedjemwauu, with the right hand over the mouth and a sistrum on the front side (Avignon Calvet Inv. A.35), mid-Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II.

On the socle, the text, lacunary, can be read as [...] *Hwt-Hrw whm(=j) n nbt-pt jj nb r wdn n Nbwt sdm=s sprwt jr(t)=tn | [...]t nb(t) m-b3h Hwt-Hrw jmmj htpw n js Sdm-w3ww* ‘[...] Hathor, I will repeat (it) to the Mistress of the Sky, and everyone who comes to make offerings to the Gold, she will listen to the petitions you make | [...] everything that [...] in presence of Hathor, give offerings to the tonsured one Sedjemwauu’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).

References: *KRI* III 706.7–10; *KRITA* III 475; Clère 1995: 83–84, fig. 30.B, pl. iv–v.

[XVIII] Deir el-Bahari, limestone block-statue of a ‘tonsured one of Hathor’, Imeneminet, with the right hand over the mouth and a sistrum on the front side (Luxor J. 141 = 227), mid-Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II.

On the left side, cols. 5–8, can be found the petitions for offerings to the passer-by: *jmmj n=j h(n)qt hr drt=j srmw r r(3)=j | sgnn ndm r t3y=j js m3h w3d r hh=j wdh | n=j m jrp hr h(n)qt jnk js n(j) Nbwt jr wn nfr n(j) h(n)qt | jmmj n=j qbh hr-ntj r=f mr hnwt(=j) js s3.w* ‘Put for me beer on my hand, date-wine on my mouth, | sweet tallow to my tonsure, a fresh flower collar on my neck, and make a libation | for me of wine and beer, for I am a

⁷⁶ In this paper the interpretation of the word *js* / *js* in the context of these individuals as ‘tonsured one’ rather than ‘bald one’ is preferred. Cf. DuQuesne 1996.

tonsured one of the Gold; if there is no beer, give fresh water for me, since my Lady loves that a tonsured one be sated.’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).

References: KRI III 274.7–275.8; VII 128.3–13; KRITA III 195; Clère 1995: 90 and 91, fig. 31.C, pl. vi–vii.

[XIX] Nag el-Mesheikh (?), limestone block-statue of a ‘tonsured one of Hathor’, Bahy, with the right hand over the mouth (collection J. J. Clère), Nineteenth Dynasty.

On the area of the legs, the text contains the speech of the owner (ll. 2–3): *jnk p3 js hsy n(j) Nbw whm n(j) | hnw=j* ‘I am the blessed tonsured one of the Gold, the herald of | my Lady’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).

References: Clère 1995: 105–106 and 108, fig. 35, pl. xii.

[XX] Deir el-Bahari, temple of Mentuhotep II (?), fragmentary limestone seated statue of ‘the tonsured one of Hathor’ Iuy (Strasbourg 1599), Nineteenth Dynasty, probably under the reign of Ramesses II.

On the base the inscription, lacunary, is as follows: [...] *nb r wdn n Nbw r mh r(3)=j m hntk k3 dd=j spr(t)=tn nb(t) | n t3 nbt-Dsrt jmmj n=j h(n)qt hr drt=j srm* [...] ‘everyone [who] [...] to make offerings for the Gold, to fill my mouth with gifts, and then I will say all your petitions | to the Mistress of Djesret. Put for me beer on my hand, date-wine [...]’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).

References: Clère 1995: 95–97, fig. 32.A, pl. vi.ii.b–c.

[XXI] Akhmim (?), limestone seated statuette of Neferhotep, who presents an emblem of Hathor as a sistrum (JE 89783), probably Twentieth Dynasty.

On the right side of the seat, at the beginning of the text, can be read (cols. 1–3): *dd=f jnk js hsy n(j) | Nbw whm(w) n(j) hnw=f n3 n(j) |*

špswt n3 n(j) rwnwt n3 | n(j) grgw-prw hmw nb(w)t n(j)wt t3 r dr= | =f^cqwr m3(3) hnw=j ‘He says: I am the blessed tonsured one of | the Gold, the herald of his Lady, (of) | the noblewomen, the young women, the | married women, | all the women of the entire land | who enter to see my Lady’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).

References: Clère 1995: 110–113, fig. 37, pl. xiii.

[XXII] Deir el-Medina (?), fragmentary limestone block-statue of Imenemhat, with a Hathor’s emblem on the front, a *men-it* around the shoulders, the right hand being near the area of the mouth (Strasbourg 1587), Nineteenth-Twentieth Dynasty.

At the end of the text on the front side, it can be read (ll. 6–7): (...) *Jmn-m-h3t m3^c-hrw dd=f j r(m)t | nb jj n Nbw šsp=j m^c=tn* [...] *ddt n* [...] ‘(...) Imenemhat, true of voice, says: O, all the | people who come to the Gold, may I receive what you have [...] what is said to [...]’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏). On the right side, the text, fragmentary, is as follows: [*sd*] *m-š m St-m3^ct Jmn-m-h3t m3^c-hrw dd=f jnk p3 js n(j) mr:n | Nbw ddt=j n=s p3 ndm htp jb=st hr ddt nb(t) jnk hms | n pr=st r(m)t nb* [...] *n Nbw s[...] m-b3h* [...] | *nn tnw* [...] | [...] *rtj hr(w) nb nfr* [...] | [...] *hr* [...] ‘[The assi]stant in Setmaat, Imenemhat, true of voice, says: I am the tonsured one whose speeches to her has loved the Gold, the pleasant one who satisfies her heart with everything that is said. I am a host | in her house, and every people [...] to the Gold [...] in front of [...] | innumerable [...] | [...] every happy day [...] | [...] on [...]’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).

References: PM I/2² 710; Clère 1995: 119–123, fig. 42.A.c, pl. xv.c–d; Traunecker 2002.

[XXIII] Deir el-Medina, fragmentary limestone block-statue, owner’s name lost, with a Hathor’s emblem on the front presented by the left hand, and the right hand over the mouth (magazine no. 25), Nineteenth-Twentieth Dynasty.

On the right half of the front side the inscription is as follows (ll. 3–6): [...] | *m3^c-hrw dd=f jnk hmw n(j) Hwt-Hrw jnk b3k n(j) Nbw jw= | =j <r> rdj sprwt nb(w)t n Nbw(j)t hnw=j* ‘[...] | true of voice, says: I am a servant of Hathor, I am an attendant of the Gold. I | will give all the petitions to the Gold, my Lady’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).

References: PM I/2² 713; Bruyère 1952a: 38, 57, 58, fig. 101 (no. 20), pl. ii; Clère 1995: 131–135, fig. 46–47, pl. xvii.

[XXIV] Provenance unknown, fragmentary granodiorite kneeling statue, owner’s name lost, with a Hathor’s emblem on the front presented by the left hand, the right hand with the open palm upwards and close to the mouth (Fitzwilliam E.31–1973), Nineteenth-Twentieth Dynasty.

On the right side the text can be read as follows: *(j)r(j)-p^c(t) h3t(j)[-^c] [...] | dd=f jnk js* [...] | *n(j) pr=s^c q nb r pr-Nbw mh r(3)=j m* [...] | *jmmj n=j h(n)qt* | [*h*] *r drt=j srm r r(3)=j s<g>nn ndm r t3y=j jst* [...] | *mrr t3 Špst jw p3y=s js s3(w) jnk js d[d n Nbw]* [...] | [*h(j)*] | *n nfrw(t) jnk js dd=tw n Nbw jmmj* [...] | *Hwt-Hrw whm n(j) hnw=j j nb r wd nw* [...] ‘The Elite’s member, Lead[er] [...] | says: “I am a tonsured one [...] | of (?) her house, everyone who enters the House of the Gold, fill my mouth with [...] [Put for me beer o]n my hand, date-wine on my mouth, | sweet tallow to my tonsure [...] | since The Noble One loves that a tonsured one of Her be sated. I am a tonsured one who speaks to the Gold [...] [a husband] | for the beautiful ones, (for) I am a tonsured one when one speaks to the Gold. Put [...] | Hathor,

the herald of the Lady. Everyone who comes to put [...]’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).

References: Clère 1995: 142 and 144, fig. 51.a, pl. xix.c.

[XXV] Deir el-Bahari, temple of Mentuhotep II, fragmentary limestone block-statue, owner’s name lost (BM EA 41645), Nineteenth-Twentieth Dynasty.

On the front side the text, very lacunary, is as follows: [...] *q nb r pr-Nbw mh r(3)=j m^c=(t)n jmmj* [...] | [...] *p3y=s js jw=f s3.w jnk js dd n Nbw* [...] | [...] *d[d=f] n=tn r(m)t-W3st špswt mj nmhyw jj nb r wdn m Dsrt* [...] | [...] *r d[d] n3y=t(n) sprwt n t3 jht n(j)t nbw t3 nbt n(j)t h^c(w) nfr hnw=<h>3βw nbt* [...] | [...] *t jrj-3 dj=s tn hms nfr <m> pr pn bw nfr h3(j) nfr jn* [...] | [...] [*s*] *dr=s n rdwj jr dj n=f snw m-b3h=f bn qnd=s* [...] ‘[...] everyone who enters the House of the Gold, fill my mouth with whatever you have, give [...] | [...] that her tonsured one be sated. I am a tonsured one who speaks to the Gold [...] | [...] [I s]a[y] to you, people of Thebes, both noblewomen and humble ones, everyone who comes to make offerings in Djesret [...] | [...] say you[r] petitions to the Cow of Gold, the Mistress of a good lifetime, Lady of the hairy women, Mistress of [...] | [...] chamber, doorkeeper. She will give you a happy stay <in> this house, good things, and a good husband, bring [...] | [...] she will [spe]nd the night with the feet (?). If bread offerings are given in front of him, she will not become furious [...]’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏).

References: PM II² 394; Naville 1913: 8, pl. ix.B; HTBM V, pl. 40; Clère 1995: 148–149 and 152, fig. 53, pl. xx.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ The epithet *t3 jht n(j)t nbw* ‘the Cow of Gold’ (l. 4) appears also on other documents from the same site (e. g. Pinch 1993: fig. 11.A and 17.A.a (l. 3)).

[XXVI] Deir el-Medina, second stanza of the first collection of love poems of *pChester Beatty I* (BM EA 10681 v^o C 2), Twentieth Dynasty.

In one passage the female speaker addresses her beloved one as follows (three heptametrical distichs, ll. 2–4): *bw rḥ=f n3y=j 3by ḥpt=f / • mtw=f h3b n t3y=j mwt // • sn(=j) h3y tw=j wd.kw ḥr=k / • jn Nbwt-ḥmwt // • mjj n=j m3=j nfrw=k / • ršwt jt=j mwt=j // •* ‘He does not know my desire: to embrace him / • and that he may send (a message) to my mother. // • O my brother! Yeah, I have been assigned to you / • by the Gold of the women! // • Come to me, so that I may see your beauty / • and become joyful my father and my mother. // •’ (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏).

References: Mathieu 1996: 27, 38 (n. 48) and 233, pl. 2; Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2009: 103 and 105; Graefe 2021: 192.

[XXVII] Deir el-Medina, fifth stanza of the first collection of love poems of *pChester Beatty I* (BM EA 10681 v^o C 3), Twentieth Dynasty.

At the beginning of the poem the male speaker addresses the goddess as follows (three heptametrical distichs, ll. 4–6): *HWT MH-DJWT dw3w=j Nbwt s<w3š>=j ḥm(t)=st / • sq3y=j nbt-pt // • jry=j j3wt n Ḥwt-Ḥr(w) / • ḥknww n ḥnwt(=j) // • smj=j n=s sdm=st sprw=j / • wd=st n=j ḥmwt=j // •* ‘FIFTH STANZA. I have praised the Gold, extolled Her Incarnation, / • exalted the Mistress of the Sky, // • I have made praise to Hathor, / • acclamations to my Lady. // • I have appealed to Her so that she may attend my petitions / • and assign my lady to me. // •’ (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏).

References: Mathieu 1996: 28, 40–41 (nn. 71–73), pl. 3; Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2009: 112–113; Graefe 2021: 192.

[XXVIII] Deir el-Medina, sixth stanza of the first collection of love poems of *pChester Beatty I* (BM EA 10681 v^o C 4), Twentieth Dynasty.

In the middle of the poem one female speaker invokes the goddess as follows (two heptametrical distichs, ll. 3–4): *Nbw h3 jmmj sw m jb=st / • k3 ḥnw=j n sn // • smj(=j) sw m-b3ḥ n3y=f jrjw / • bw <r>mw=j n r(m)t // •* ‘Gold, yeah, place it in her heart, / • and then I will run to the brother, // • and will kiss him in presence of his people, / • I will not weep because of anyone. // •’ (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏).

References: Mathieu 1996: 29 and 42 (nn. 87–88), pl. 4; Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2009: 183 and 185; Graefe 2021: 192.

[XXIX] Deir el-Medina, third stanza of the second collection of love poems of *pChester Beatty I* (BM EA 10681 v^o G 2), Twentieth Dynasty.

At the very end of the poem the female speaker says as follows (one heptametrical distich, l. 5): *jw=k m-s3 mrwt n(j) snt / jn Nbwt wd st n=k //* ‘You will go after the love of the sister: / it is the Gold who has assigned her to you.’ (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏).

References: Mathieu 1996: 32, 47 (nn. 119–120) and 234, pl. 6; Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2009: 117 and 118; Graefe 2021: 192.

[XXX] Deir el-Medina, second stanza of the third collection of love poems of *pChester Beatty I* (BM EA 10681 r^o 17), Twentieth Dynasty.

At the end of the poem a male speaker says as follows (one heptametrical distich, l. 1): *m Nbwt j.wd=s n=k m f3yt / • r rdjt mnq=k ḥw=k // •* ‘It is the Gold who has assigned her to you as a gift, / • to let you complete your lifetime. // •’ (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏).

References: Mathieu 1996: 33, 49–50 (n. 131) and 234, pl. 7; Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2009: 166 and 167; Graefe 2021: 192.

[XXXI] Deir el-Bahari. Royal cachette (TT 320), right side, area of the feet of the outer coffin of Neskhonsu (CG 61030), Twenty-first Dynasty.

On the caption of an image of a cow goddess with two ostrich feathers with a solar disk between the lyriform horns and emerging from the mountain, praised by the owner, it can be read: *d(d) mdw jn Nbwt | nb(t)-Jwnt ḥnwt-ntrwt | nbwt ḥr(jt)-jb pr-nfr=f ḥnt(j)t jmnt | dj=s prt-ḥrw t ḥ(n) qt jḥw 3pd ḥt nb(t) nfrt w^cbt ḥt nb(t) ndm(t) bnr(t) šs mnḥt sntr | mrḥt ḥnkt rnpt nbt ḥntr ntr jm= | =s {t}n {t}* ‘Words spoken by the Gold, | Mistress of Iunet, Lady of all | the Goddesses, who dwells in his *Per-nefer*, foremost of the West, | may she give an invocation-offering of bread and beer, cattle and fowl, everything good and pure, everything sweet and pleasant, calcite and clothing, incense | and oil, every (kind) of offering and vegetables on which a god lives’ (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏).

References: PM II² 664 (no. 10); Daressy 1909: 117, pl. xlvi.

[XXXII] Bab el-Gasus, left side of the outer painted coffin of Djedkhonsuiwesankh (CG 6066), Twenty-first Dynasty.

In the fifth and sixth scenes (area of the legs) Hathor as a woman with a tight-fitting dress and a solar disk between the lyriform horns receives the deceased and leads her before a male deity. The text over them, very corrupt and apparently badly copied and full of errata, runs as follows: *wd3 {t} pwy m dw3t r m33 Nbwt šsp mnjt wd3 n sb3 {t} (?) n(j) {w} (t) pwy 3 t <m> {s} =st wr rn n(j) {w} ntrt {n(j)w} m twt ḥpr pwy Nbwt wd3 {t} <p>wy ḥrj=s* ‘This going in the Duat to see the Gold and receive the *menit*. Going in the Duat through this great portal (?) as they proclaim (?) the great name of the goddess in this image, which has become the Gold. This going under her’ (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏).

References: PM II² 632 (A.83); Niwiński 1996: 87, pl. xvii.1.

[XXXIII] Provenance unknown, right side of the outer painted coffin of Imenhotep (Louvre E 13030 = AF 1666), Twenty-first Dynasty.

In the eighth scene (area of the legs) a group of three deities (ibis-headed Thot, Hathor as a woman with a tight-fitting dress and a solar disk between the lyriform horns, and Mehen with a serpent over the head) introduces the deceased in the presence of Osiris. The text over them, in eight columns, is as follows: *bs 3ḥw | r ḥwt-3t n(jt) ntr pn 3 | jn Dhwtj | jw Nbwt | jm r-ḥn^c Mḥnt | rdjt w3t n 3ḥw pwy r | sm3^c=f r st š3(t) n(jt) ntr pn 3 jmj dw3t* ‘Introducing the *akh* | into the Great Precinct of this great god | by Thot, | the Gold being | there together with Mehen, | and setting a road to this *akh* to | present him in the secret place of this great god who is in the Duat’ (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏).

More or less at the same height on the opposite side of the coffin is another scene where appears the Gold, with the same iconographic features of the first case, accompanied again by Mehen, giving her *menit* to the deceased. Over the hathoric figure, the text says *Nbwt rdjt mn(j)t | r fnd=k pwy | 3ḥw | pn jqr* ‘The Gold: Giving the *menit* | to this your nose, | o successful | *akh*!’ (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏). Over the deceased, the text runs *šsp mn(j)t [j]n | 3ḥw pwy | [j]w M[ḥn]t s^cr[=f] m-b[3ḥ] r | rdjt ḥnm.t(w)=f ntrw-jgrt* ‘Receiving the *menit* [b]y | this *akh*, | as Mehen is conducting [him] in the pre[sence] to | cause him to be joined to the gods of the cemetery’. On the right of this second ensemble is another tableau, in two horizontal registers. On the lower one, the deceased is sitting on a mat adoring a spotted cow with lyriform horns with a solar disk between them and two ostrich feathers who is licking a calf before, with the caption *dw3 Nbwt* ‘Adoring the Gold’, and, over the cow, the following text: *ntrt | tn ḥq3t-dw | pwy | nt(j)t ḥtp nw | ntrw jm jm* ‘This | goddess, the Ruler

of this | mountain, where these gods | rest' (𓆎𓅓). On the upper one, the same kind of cow, in this case with a sistrum hanging from the neck, watches a calf in front of her who is before an open vessel. Over the cow, the text reads *ntrt tn Nbw | nb(t)-jnt wrt | twy hmwt- | t3wj jgrt* 'This goddess (is) the Gold, | Mistress of this great | desert's valley, Lady of | the Two Lands and of the cemetery' (𓆎𓅓).

References: Devéria 1896: 2–11, pl. 1–2; <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/clo10023332> [03/12/2022] (with further references).

[XXXIV] Karnak cachette, granodiorite seated scribe statue of Hor (JE 37512), Twenty-second – Twenty-third Dynasty.

On col. 2 of the kilt, his father, Iwatjek, is mentioned as *jmj-r3 hmw-ntr Nbw* 'Overseer of the priests of the Gold' (𓆎𓅓𓅓).

References: PM II² 150; Jansen-Winkel 1985: 217 and 561, pl. 58–60; <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck454> [03/12/2022].

[XXXV] Dendera (?), limestone block-statue of Basa iv (OIM 10729), Twenty-second / Twenty-third Dynasty.

On col. 6 of the right side, his great-grandfather, Nespakhered, is mentioned as *hm-Nbw* 'Servant of the Gold' (𓆎𓅓), and on the col. 8 the same title (𓆎𓅓) is referred to concerning his great-great-grandfather, Basa ii.

References: Ritner 1994: 210 and 213, fig 15.5; 2009: 27–30.

[XXXVI] Gebel Barkal, temple of Amun, 'Triumphal Stela of Piankhy' (JE 48862 + 47086–47089), early Twenty-fifth Dynasty, reign of Piankhy.

In a passage relating to the area under the control of Tefnakht (rto., l. 3) the place name *Pr-Nbw* 'House of the Gold' (𓆎𓅓).

is mentioned as being located in the first province of Lower Egypt (*Jnb-hd*).

References: *Urk.* III 4.15; Gauthier 1925: 91 (3); Grimal 1981: 12–13 and 16 (n. 18), pl. i; Jansen-Winkel 2007: 338; Ritner 2009: 469 and 478; Dhennin 2016: 57.

[XXXVII] Tell Edfu, fragmentary limestone stela of Imenemhat and Khykhyiu (JE 46916 + French excavation nos. 436 and 489), Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

The main text on the lower part is as follows: [*j (?) Mwt*] *nbt-pt R^c(j)t hnt(j)t-Jsr(w) th n=t [hm-ntr Jmn m J]p[t]-swt rh-(n)swt Jmn-m-h3t s3- | -[hm-ntr-snw(j) Jmn-R^c nsw]t-ntrw jrtj-(n)swt nhwj-bjt(j) P[3-tr]f(j) jr=f n=t hj jp sw m hmw=t mrr | [...] [...]wt (?) [...] pr=f hmwt=f mk th pw n(j) Nbw* '[O (?), Mut], Mistress of the Sky, female sun, foremost of the Isheru! May for you get drunk [the priest of Amun in I]pe[t]-sut, the King's acquaintance, Imenemhat, son | [of the Second Priest of Amun-Ra, Kin]g of the Gods, the eyes of the *nesut*-King and ears of the *bity*-King, P[at-jen]f(y), as he makes for you a (shout of) jubilation. Recognize him among your servants, loving | [...] his house, his Lady, protect this drunkard of the Gold!' (𓆎𓅓𓅓).

References: Engelbach 1921: 190–192, fig. 2; Bisson de la Roque 1925; Jansen-Winkel 2009: 37–38 (no. 82) (with further references); Perdu 2020: 39 and 40.

[XXXVIII] Karnak, temple of Mut, upper part of a fragmentary granodiorite statue of Montuemhat, showing his tonsure (JE 31884 = CG 647), Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties.

On the col. 3 of the back pillar the text is as follows: *hy hnw sm3=f hmwt nn 3b r^c nb jnk js hnw n(j) Nbw sps n(j) hmwt-hmwt* 'one who shouts praise as he unites to the Lady, without cessation, every day. I am a tonsured one, a musician of the Gold, a tousled one of the Lady of Women' (𓆎𓅓).

References: PM II² 269; Borchardt 1925: 193, pl. 119; Clère 1995: 154–156, fig. 55.A, pl. xx-ii.b; Jansen-Winkel 2009: 462–463 (no. 207) (with further references); Richter 2019: 522, n. 29.

[XXXIX] Karnak, temple of Mut, several sandstone blocks of a fragmentary scene of a riverine convoy of vessels sailing to the quay of the temple of Amun at Karnak (JE 31886), Twenty-fifth Dynasty (reign of Piankhy) or early Twenty-sixth Dynasty (reign of Psamtek I).⁷⁸

On block 5 and 1, over the first boat, an inscription (very probably a Saite addition) runs as [*p3*] | *d3y n(j) Jmn nt(j)t hr p3 nbw* (𓆎𓅓), which can be translated either as 'the | riverboat of Amun that carries the gold' or as a reference to the golden aspect of Hathor, as 'the | riverboat of Amun that⁷⁹ is under the Gold'.⁸⁰

References: PM II² 257–258 (9); Benson and Gourlay 1899: 370–378, esp. 374, pl. xx–xxii; Jansen-Winkel 2007: 354–357 (no. 18); 2014a: 189 (no. 326); Perdu 2011: 226, 228 and 233, fig. 1 and 4; Broekman 2012: 238–239, 243–244, 245 and 256; Forshaw 2019: 65, fig. 3.3.

78 There are two opposite views concerning the dating of the scene. Whereas several authors consider that it was composed and sculpted during the reign of Psamtek I, recording the arrival to Thebes of the daughter of that ruler and future God's Wife, Nitiqret, others think the mention of the 'Piankhy's barge' and the relevant epigraphic differences in some of the inscriptions should be interpreted as an early Kushite composition usurped later by the Saite general accompanying Nitiqret, Sematawytefnakht. *Vid.* Perdu 2011; Broekman 2012; Forshaw 2019: 65, for recent overviews and references.

79 The masculine singular antecedent (*p3 d3y*) seems to require the spelling *ntj* rather than *nt(j)t*. However, in these blocks, similar shifts in the concordance of gender are usual, for example in *p3 wsh^t* (not rendered as **B3 wsh^t*, in blocks 1 and 3). Thus, it seems preferable in the two options to render it as 'riverboat of Amun that' (cf. the transliteration of Jansen-Winkel (2007: 355) as *ntj*) and not as 'riverboat of Amun and that which'.

80 The best argument for the second option lies in the phrase *hr p3 nbw* lit. 'under the gold' and not **hr nbw* 'under gold', which is the usual way of expressing carriage or possession. It is also conceivable that the hieroglyph for *p3* (G40) was actually a first attempt at chiselling the accompanying text, as it seems to have been the case in other areas of these blocks (Perdu 2011: 228, fig. 3; Broekman 2012: 245–246).

[XL] Atfih (?), fragmentary quartzite block-statue of Imenmose, his left hand with the palm upwards for receiving offerings and his right hand over the mouth (now lost), in a gesture of speaking (Australian private collection), Third Intermediate Period.

On two lines the text of the front side can be read as follows (ll. 1 and 10): *hm n(j) pr-Nbw whmw n(j) Hwt-Hrw jmj-r3-pr m njwt-rsw Jmn-ms(.w) (...) jnk jsj n(j) pr-Nbw wršy m-b3h* 'The servant of the House of the Gold, herald of Hathor, overseer of the house in the City of the South, Imenmose (...) I am a tonsured one of the House of the Gold, one who spends the day in front of (Her)' (𓆎𓅓).

References: Clère 1995: 165–169, fig. 58.A, pl. xxv.a.

[XLI] Karnak (?), fragmentary limestone block-statue of Djedkhonsuiwefankh (Turin Cat. 3070), Third Intermediate Period.

On the l. 4 of the main text is as follows: *dd=j m-b3h Nbw hmwt(=j)* 'I will speak in the presence of the Gold, my Lady' (𓆎𓅓).

References: Donadoni-Roveri 1967; Connor and Facchetti 2015: 191, fig. 245.

- References:* PM V 206; Daressy 1901: 130 (I); Kamal 1905: 27–28, pl. viii; Jansen-Winkeln 2014b: 1107–1108 (no. 667).
- [LII] Nag el-Hasaya (south of Edfu), stela of Psamtek (CG 22013), Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Among his titles is *hm-Nbw* ‘Servant of the Gold’ (𓅓).
References: PM V 206; Kamal 1905: 14, pl. v; Munro 1985: pl. 25.
- [LIII] Nag el-Hasaya (south of Edfu), stela of Nakhthor (Pushkin I.1.a.6688 (4103)), Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Among his titles is *hm-Nbw* ‘Servant of the Gold’ (𓅓).
References: Hodjash and Berlev 1982: 174–176 (no. 117); Munro 1985: pl. 23; Jansen-Winkeln 2014b: 1102 (no. 656).
- [LIV] Nag el-Hasaya (south of Edfu), stela of Psamtekseneb (Saint Petersburg 8727), Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Among his titles is *hm-Nbw* ‘Servant of the Gold’ (𓅓).
References: De Meulenaere 1969: 91–92, pl. iii.a; Munro 1973: 69–70, pl. 22, fig. 79; Jansen-Winkeln 2014b: 1104 (no. 660).
- [LV] Nag el-Hasaya (south of Edfu), stela of Irtyeru (Philadelphia E.15994), Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Among the titles of her father is *hm-Nbw* ‘Servant of Horus and of the Gold’ (𓅓).
References: Leahy 1979: 69–70, pl. [i]; Jansen-Winkeln 2014b: 1106 (no. 663).
- [LVI] Nag el-Hasaya (south of Edfu), stela of Pernesbastet (collection Waters S. Davis, Galveston, Texas), Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Among the titles of the father of her mother is *hm-Hrw-Nbw* ‘Servant of Horus and of the Gold’ (𓅓).
References: Winlock 1920: 209 and 211, pl. xxi.
- [LVII] Nag el-Hasaya (south of Edfu), stela of Isetemakhbit (collection Philip, no. 30), Twenty-sixth Dynasty (?). Among the titles of her father, Patjenfy, is *hm-Hrw-Nbw* ‘Servant of Horus and of the Gold’ (𓅓).
References: Lair-Dubreuil 1905: 9–10, fig. opp. 16; Munro 1985: 151 and 185, pl. 22–23.
- [LVIII] Nag el-Hasaya (south of Edfu), stela of Taher (private collection), Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Among the titles of her father, Nakhthor, is *hm-Nbw* ‘Servant of the Gold’ (𓅓).
References: Munro 1985: 150, pl. 23–24; Jansen-Winkeln 2014b: 1103 (no. 657).
- [LIX] Nag el-Hasaya (south of Edfu), stela of Pasheriset (private collection), Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Among his titles is *hm-Nbw* ‘Servant of the Gold’ (𓅓).
References: Cauville 1982–3; Munro 1985: pl. 23 and 25.
- [LX] Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, tomb of Patjenfy (TT 128), Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Among his titles is *hm-Nbw* ‘Servant of the Gold’ (𓅓).
References: PM I/1² 243 (2–3).
- [LXI] Thebes, painted wooden stela of Tadibast (BM EA 35897), Twenty-sixth Dynasty. On lines 4–5 of the main text, she is said to be the daughter of *hm-Nbw* | *Dd-Hr(w)* ‘Servant of the Gold, | Djedhor.’ (𓅓).
References: HTBM XI 32, pl. 58–59; Munro 1973: 227–228; Selim 2000: 362.
- [LXII] Dendera, basalt statuette of Hor (JE 45935), early Twenty-sixth Dynasty, reign of Psamtek I. In two passages he shows the title *hm-Nbw* ‘Servant of the Gold’ (𓅓), and also his

- father, Djeddjehutyiwefankh, receives the same title (𓅓).
References: Legrain 1916: 146 and 147.
- [LXIII] Kom el-Ahmar (West Delta), red granite naos of Osiris (Louvre D 29 = N 381 = CC 20), late Twenty-sixth Dynasty, reign of Ahmose III. On the left side, lower register, the fourth figure from the right, preceded by Thot as ‘Lord of Khemenu’ (*nb{t}-Hmnw*) and before the ‘Mistress of Anu’ (*nb(t)-nw*), is a squatting goddess on a block, wearing the hathoric headdress (lyriform cow horns encircling a sun disk) and labelled as *Nbw-jj.t(j)* ‘The Gold-is-Come,’ (𓅓).
References: PM IV 5; Piankoff 1933: 171 and 178, fig. 12; Jansen-Winkeln 2014a: 423; Dhennin 2022: 128.
- [LXIV] Bahtim (near Heliopolis), statue of Djedhor, Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Among his titles is *hm-Nbw* ‘Servant of the Gold’ (𓅓), and also among those of his father, Pasherieniset (𓅓).
References: PM IV 59; Yoyotte 1954: 97–98.
- [LXV] Saqqara, granite sarcophagus of Dje(d)hor (Louvre D 8 = N 344), Twenty-sixth Dynasty. In two passages he shows the title *hm-ntr Nbw* ‘Priest of the Gold’ (𓅓).
References: PM III/2² 765–766; Devéria 1896: 12–13; Selim 2000: 362.
- [LXVI] Tell Basta, basalt kneeling naophorous statue of Pawerem (BMA 37.36E), late Twenty-sixth Dynasty / early Twenty-seventh Dynasty. On the top of the naos of Bastet is an invocation (cols. 2–4): *j(3)w n=t h(y) Nbw hmwt(=j) ndm jb=t m | rmn-pt dj=t wj=t m w3d-rhyt m jw=f | m sht hrw ndt-hr n Nf[r]-t[m] dw3(y) [t] n(j)[t] wpt-rnpt* ‘Praise to you, o, Gold,
- My Lady! May your heart be pleasant to | the Sky’s Supporter, may you give your arms to the *wadj-rekhyt* officiant when he comes | from the field on the day of greeting Nef[er]t[um] and the morning o[f] the Opening of the Year’ (𓅓).
References: O’Rourke 1989–1990: 119–121; Jansen-Winkeln 2014b: 850–851; Klotz 2015: 324–326.
- [LXVII] Akhmim (?), fragmentary limestone statue, owner’s name lost (München ÄS 62 4871), Twenty-seventh Dynasty. The text of the back pillar can be read (cols. 3–5): *jnk js smn wj=j hr Nbw ntr=j [jnk js] sdm n(=j) Nbw [...] | sqh jb n(j) ky m jr n=s jnk js mr dd nn dd=j b(j)3 m dbh ht=j jnk js [...] | n[...] n[...] jnk js dd n=f Nbw j[...]* ‘I am a tonsured one who sets firmly the hands on the Gold, my goddess. [I am a tonsured] one to whom listens the Gold [...] | one who appeases the heart of another one as one who acts for her. I am a tonsured one who loves the one who gives: I will not say “no” to the one who requires something. I am a tonsured one [...] | [...] I am a tonsured one to whom speaks the Gold [...]’ (𓅓).
References: Clère 1995: 159–162, fig. 57.A, pl. xxiii.b.
- [LXVIII] Hibis, temple of Amun-Ra, third hypostyle room, south wall, western part, second register, Twenty-seventh Dynasty. Sekhmet, in her usual fashion, presents the *menit* to the king: *dd mdw jn Sht | {jn} s3(=j) nb-t3wj | hs(=j) tw m mn(jt) n(j)t Nbw mj R^c r^c nb* ‘Words spoken by Sekhmet: | My son, Lord of the Two Lands, | I praise you with the *menit* of the Gold, like Ra, every day’ (𓅓).
References: PM VII 282 (72–74); Davies *et al.* 1953: 16–17, pl. 12; Desroches–Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: 184, n. 1.

[LXIX] Tell Basta (?), headless basalt (?) statue of Pairkap (private collection), Twenty-ninth Dynasty.

The main text, an invocation to the passers-by on the back pillar and the base, after several moral claims, runs on the left side (e) as follows: *sšm.n (wj) Nbw hr m3c-hr-w(=j) n wn ts-w(=j) n s'hc md(t)=j hn(=j) r st(=j) m jr(t) m3c-t hmw-ntr w'bw n(jw) ntrt tn n(j)s rn(=j) hpr jsw=tn* 'The Gold has guided (me) so that I could be true of voice; there has not been (any) reproach (to me), no accusation has been set up (against) me. I have alighted in my place just by doing the *maat*. O, priests and pure (priests) of this goddess, call my name and your reward will become.' (𓂏𓂏).

References: Perdu 1998: 128–130 and 140–145, fig. 1 and pl. xvi–xvii.

[LXX] Karnak cachette, stone kneeling naophorous statue of Pakharkhonsu, with a lion-headed goddess with a solar disk with uraeus over the head (JE 38016), Thirtieth Dynasty, reign of Nektanebo II.

On the left doorjamb of the naos the text can be read as follows: *(j)t-ntr hm-ntr Nbw P(3)-h3r-Hnsw m3c-hrw* 'God's Father and Priest of the Gold, Pakharkhonsu, true of voice.' (𓂏𓂏).

References: Selim 2000: 361–364, pl. 40.a and 42.b; <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck587> [03/12/2022].

[LXXI] Rome (originally, very probably Hathor's temple at Mefkat, according to the text), stone standing theophorous statue of Heryra, son of Djedhor, carrying an image of Thot as a baboon with a lunar crescent over the head (Vatican inv. 22689), Thirtieth Dynasty.

At the end of the text on the back pillar is an invocation to the passers-by that reads (col. 3): *j s-nb q pr m hwt-ntr tn jm(3) jb=tn n*

smn pn hws(w) m hb nb n(j){t} Nbw-jj[.tj] [...] 'O, every man coming in or going out from this temple, may be gracious your heart to this statue and protect it on each festival of The Gold-is-Com[e] [...].' (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏).

References: Dhennin 2022: 141–144, pl. 19–20 (with earlier references).

[LXXII] Fragmentary basalt standing statue (base with feet), owner's name lost (OIM 9379), Thirtieth Dynasty (?).

On the l. 2 of the right side can be read the final passage of an invocation as follows: *hp(r) hc m-hnw pr=k 3wt jb n(j) Hwt-Hrw jh tm nšn=s hpr r=k m(w)t mtwt <wr r=k> ndm jb n(j) Btt Nbw hnwt hmt-Hrw* 'May occur the joy inside your house, may Hathor become glad and, then, cease her rage that has occurred against you, may die the venom of <he who is greater than you (?)>, may be pleasant the heart of Bet-jet, the Gold, the Lady, the Wife of Horus.' (𓂏𓂏).

References: van den Walle 1972: 78 and 81, fig. 8.

[LXXIII] Verso of a fragmentary schist tablet sculpted on both sides representing an inventory and a plan of some cultic buildings of the temple of Hathor Nebethetepet-of-Taded at Heliopolis (Turin Suppl. 2682), Late Period, Heliopolis.

Next to a platform or pylon's tower and in front of the plan of a podium with two stairways, possibly on the southern half and labelled as *pr-Tm-nht* 'House of Atum-of-the-Sycamore', can be read an inscription in two columns as follows: *jt-ntr hrj-sšt R'c-m3c-hrw s3-Jmn-[m-jpt] [...]* | *jw Nbw m gs-dp(t)=k [...]* 'The God's Father and Master of Secrets, Ramaakheru, son of Imen[emipet] [...] | The Gold is in your protection [...]' (𓂏𓂏𓂏).

References: Ricke 1935: 122, fig. 3, pl. iii; Poole *apud* Del Vesco and Moiso 2017: 237.

[LXXIV] First preserved spell of the 'Ritual of Mefky' (JE 45936 = SR 14010, III x+1–4), Late Period (Thirtieth Dynasty?).

The text, whose beginning is lost, can be read as follows: [...] *[jn hr(j)-s[st(3) m]-ht q r pr-n[sr (?)] [...]* | *hr [s]t [sp] 7 [Dhwtj] wj=f h3=s b [snt...] [...]* | *[jrj]=s jw Hrw jb=f ndm(w) [wh]m=f s3-t[3] ntrw nbw [m] 3w(t)-jb j[w] [...]* | [...] *[jw] Nbw [m nbt]-nh* ' [...] [b]y the master of Se[crets af]ter entering the *Per-ne[ser (?)]* [...] | [...] on the [pla]ce seven [times], Thot's arms being around her. Purification (?) [...] | [the responsible (?)] for her. Horus, whose heart was delighted, [repea]ted the jubila[tion], all the gods being [in] joy. [...] | [...] The Gold [is the Mistress] of Life' (𓂏𓂏).

References: Daressy 1916: 228; Dhennin 2022: 20–22, 45 and 60–61, pl. 9.

[LXXV] Second preserved spell of the 'Ritual of Mefky' (JE 45936 = SR 14010, III x+4–12), Late Period (Thirtieth Dynasty?).

The text runs as follows: *d(d) mdw j[n s(3) q-h3t] hc Nbw [q(3) Hwt-Hrw] r pt [...]* | *m 3ht m3(3)=s [j]n ntrw ntr(wt) nd=s ds=s dj(t) nr=s m phjt=s jw [jt=t (?)]* | *R'c wj[=f] h3=t <jn> Pth sh[kr] tn jn Hnw qm3 nfrwt=t jn | S3t s[m]d smdwj=t jw n=t n[t]rw jmjw 3ht [q] b st-jdt ntr(t) tn [m]dw= | =s n R'c dr.n=f 3[h] (w)=s R'c dd=f n ntrw m33 m(j) wr[t] | j[.t]j m htp sh=s 3ht [m] ndm st=s [q]=s r pt m-ht | S(3)h' nh.tj m3(w).tj rn[p].t(j) mj R'c r'c nb sn 3wj-k3r st(3) m33=s jn ntrw | jr(t) qbh sntr pr=s h3 hn(3) Skrt [q] r Hwt-[hr(jt)-tp] dd mjtt nm r r(3) n(j) Pr-wr jn | s(3)q-h3t m bst ntrw r Hwt-hr(jt)-tp* 'Words spoken b[y the *saq-hat* priest]: May the Gold appear in glory, [may Hathor rise up] to the sky [...] | in the *akhet*. Seeing her [b]y the gods and

goddesses, guarding her herself and putting the fear of her through her strength. [Your father (?)], | Ra, [his] arms are around you. <It is> Ptah who ado[rns] you, it is the Henu-boat who creates your splendour, it is | Seshat who pa[in]ts your eyebrows. The g[o]ds who are in the *akhet* come to you, collected by the fragrance of the scent of this goddess. She [sp]eaks | to Ra after he had expelled her suff[er]ing. Ra says to the gods: "Look, now, at the Great One, | having come in peace; her tent is the *akhet* [in] the pleasantness of her fragrance as she ent[ers] the sky after | Sah, alive, renewed and rejuve[nat]ed like Ra, every day". Opening the twin doors of the mysterious shrine; seeing her by the gods; | making a libation and a censuring as she goes out with Sokaret; [ente]ring Hut[her(et)tep]; saying something like this at the entrance of the *Per-wer* by | the *saq-hat* priest in the initiation of the gods in Huther(et)tep'. (𓂏𓂏).

References: Daressy 1916: 228; Dhennin 2022: 20–23, 45–50 and 62–63, pl. 9.

[LXXVI] Fourth preserved spell of the 'Ritual of Mefky' (JE 45936 = SR 14010, III x+14–33), Late Period (Thirtieth Dynasty?).

The text, very lacunary from column x+20 on,⁸¹ reads: *d(d) mdw jn hmw-ntr hc(w) r [rwj]=s dsrt=s s3-R'c (vacat) [nh dt] | s[h] hc f jr(w)=s dt dd m sp s3{t} r spr=s r pr-ntrw dd m [...]* | *ntrt tn r r(3) h3-sps n(j) Nbw-jj.tj rdj(t) m3tt n(jt) sw[t] hr rdwj=s w3d [...]* | *[h3=s] sp 2 n m3 n sdm q[(3)] r=t Nbw m-hnt (j)trtj dj=t ntrw hr db'w=s[n] [...]* | *ts=s[n] n=t [tp]=t b=s n n=t qsw=t tm jrj(=t) hn tn jmjw 3ht s[q]dd [tn jmjw] | qbh(w) jw n=t ntrw phww hr hswt jr=s n [b(w)]=t m [...]* | *n Tm hrw'c(w)-ntr*

81 For this reason, it is not possible to determine if this part was composed of only one spell or several.

ḥꜥ n=t ntrw ḥ[s(w) (?)] ḥn[ḥ=sn pr...] | m [jmj] w ḥwj=sn jr=tw n=t drjt | Ḥwt-Sr jmj [Jwn]w ḥ(n)gg Tm m [...] | (vacat) ḥnh dt [w3d]w m pr=t sq[...] | ḥbjw [jr]=fn=t rs m s3[=t(?)] [...] | rmm. n=f(?) jw[=f] wḥb(w) n ḥmw=f shr[=f(?)] [...] | sšm wḥb 3ḥt n Ḥwt-Ḥrw ḥmw=f hy sp 2 [n...] | n(n) t3 nb šw(w) jm=t m rn=t [n(j)] [...] | ntrw nbw m hy s3-t Ḥ[wt-Ḥrw] (?) [...] | ntr m njwt=f phr njwwt m [...] | tn [j]m sp 4 [š](s)p bj(3) [...] | phr ḥ3=s m dš(r)t 4 n(j)t [...] | phr ḥ3=s m sntr ḥnk [...] | B 5 Šmḥ t3 5 Mḥw [...] ‘Words spoken by the priests standing at her sacred [gate] (?) and the Son of Ra (vacat) [alive eternally] | ins[ta]ls her f[or]m for ever. Speaking many times at her arrival at the House of the Gods. Speaking [...] | this goddess at the entrance of the White Noble (Shrine) of The Gold-is-Come. Placing the stem of the *su*[t]-plant under her feet and the *wadj*-plant [...] | [around her] twice, being unseen, being unheard. Rise [up], Gold, in front of the Double Row of Chapels!⁸² May you place the gods upon the[ir] (?) fingers [...] | th[ey] tie for you your [head], they unite for you your bones, so that what is (bad) for you might cease. Those who are in the *akhet* row you and those who are in the firmament | convey you; the gods of the swamps come to you with jars, making your [purification] in (?) [...] | for Atum (?) the day of the god’s purification. The gods attend on you, [their] *he*[s] and *an*[kh] libation vessels

[...] | as those [who are in] their arms. One makes for you a hall [...] | the Official’s Enclosure that is in [Iun]u and Atum rejoices in [...] | (vacat) alive eternally. The happiness in your house [...] | festival. He [performs] for you the wake as [your (?)] son [...] / he has carried (?). [He] is become pure for his Lady, driving away [...] | guidance (?). The *akhet* is pure for Hathor, his Lady. Jubilation, jubilation! [...] | No land is empty of you in your name of [...] | all the gods in jubilation and acclamation. H[athor] (?) [...] | the god in his town, travelling around the towns as (?) [...] | you [the] re, four times. Receiving the *bia*-mineral [...] | going round about her with four red vessels of [...] | going around about her with incense; presenting [...] | five pellets of the Valley, five pellets of the Delta’. (𓏏𓏏𓏏).

References: Daressy 1916: 228; Dhennin 2022: 20–23, 50–55 and 63–65, pl. 9.

[LXXVII] Litany of several forms of Hathor in the ‘Ritual of Bringing in Sokar’ (*pBremner-Rhind* (= BM EA 10188), 19.23–26 [306/5 BC] = *pPawerem* (= BM EA 10252 + 10081), 21.7–9 [307/6 BC] = *pCairo JE 97249*, 2.17–19 [end 4th cent. BC]).

The passage can be read as follows:⁸³ *Nbw jj.tw m ḥtp m rn=s pfj n(j) Ḥwt-Ḥr(w) | nbt-Jnbwt [wnn=t] ḥtp.t(j) r-gs nb-r-dr m rn=t pwy n(j) Ḥwt-Ḥr(w) nbt-š{t}-dšr wbn*

Nbw r-gs jt=s | m rn=s pwy n(j) B3st(jt) ‘The Gold has come in peace in that⁸⁴ her name of⁸⁵ Hathor, | Mistress of Inbut (= Memphis). [You are] pleased beside the Lord to–the–Limit in this⁸⁶ your⁸⁷ name of Hathor, Mistress of the Red Lake/Sea. The Gold rises beside her father | in this⁸⁸ her name of Bast(et)’. (𓏏𓏏𓏏) [BR 19.23, *pPawerem* 21.9], (𓏏𓏏𓏏) [BR 19.25], (𓏏𓏏𓏏) [*pPawerem* 21.7], (𓏏𓏏𓏏) [*pCairo JE 97249* 2.17]).

References: Faulkner 1933: 38; 1937: 13 and 15; Gill 2019: 319–320 and 971; Dhennin 2022: 68–72.

[LXXVIII] Section of the ‘The Interpretations of the Secrets of the Ritual of Driving Away the Aggressor’ (*pPawerem* = BM EA 10252, 7.11–12 [307/6 BC]).

The passage, together with a gloss marked by a red point, runs as follows: *Nbw jj.tw m ḥdj wd3j=s{w} stjhn.tw n mfk(3t) Ḥwt-Ḥrw m-° | °-fk(3t) s{w}<j> wd3.tj jw=s tjhn.tw n mfk(3t)* ‘The Gold has come in safety and becoming sound, made dazzling as turquoise. — Hathor ° | of the turquoise is sound as she is dazzling as turquoise’. (𓏏𓏏𓏏).

References: Gill 2019: 228 and 836–837, pl. 7; Dhennin 2022: 32–33 and 127.

[LXXIX] Allocution to the enemy in the ‘The Interpretations of the Secrets of the Ritual of Driving Away the Aggressor’ (*pPawerem* = BM EA 10252, 10.30 [307/6 BC]).

The passage reads as follows: *jwh.n=k p3 djt sw r-ḥft-ḥr n(j) [Nbw] | tw3.n=k n=s m mn[jt] jr=k tj[...]* ‘You have despoiled “He who has given him(self)” in front of [the Gold]. | You have claimed from her the *men*[it] as you make [...]’. (spelling not preserved; name reconstructed according to later parallels).⁸⁹

References: Gill 2019: 240, 271 and 842–843, pl. 10.

[LXXX] Section of the ‘The Great Ceremonies of Geb’ (*pPawerem* = BM EA 10252, 25.5 [307/6 BC]).

The passage reads as follows: *[nbwj]-nbw(j)w nt(j) m S3w — Nbw nbt-t3 m S3w* ‘[The Golden one] of the Golden Ones who is in Sau. — The Gold, Mistress of the Land in Sau’. (𓏏𓏏𓏏).

References: Gill 2019: 346, 401 and 872–873, pl. 25.

[LXXXI] Passage of the fifth stanza of the ritual for ‘Introducing the Multitude on the Last Day of Tekh’ (*pPawerem* = BM EA 10081, 12.17–18 [307/6 BC]).

The passage, addressed to Osiris, can be read as follows: *m-n=k ḥkrw=k m ḥ-Nbw | shw=s dt=k mj 3w-jt=s* ‘Take to you your insignias from the hand of the Gold! | She protects your body like the chapel of her father’. (𓏏𓏏𓏏).

References: Gill 2019: 500, 515, 920–921 and 1055, pl. 52.

82 *Contra* Dhennin 2022: 22 (*m-ḥnt* [rwtj] ‘à l’avant de [la double porte]’). The mention of the *sut*-plant and the *wadj*-plant in the preceding column and the performance of the ritual that involved them ‘twice’ (*sp* 2), as well as the repeated presence in the text of the *Per-wer* and the *Per-neser* — alluded to in the classifier of the two territorial shrines, the *Pr-wr* and the *Pr-nsr* / *Pr-nw* — allows for the reading of this passage rather as *m-ḥnt* (j)trjt ‘in front of the Double Row of Chapels’. As Gardiner (1944: 26 and 27–28) had already shown, these *jtrjt*, two rows or lines of shrines, are connected to Upper and Lower Egypt, and hence to the coronation and *Sed*-Festival rites. Moreover, several deities bear epithets related to them built upon the preposition *ḥnt* / *m-ḥnt* (Leitz 2002: V, 789–792 and 896).

83 The textual basis followed here is that of *pBremner-Rhind* (BR), completed and amended by means of the other two copies before the Ptolemaic period.

84 So BR and *pCairo JE 97249* 2.17; *pPawerem* 21.7: *rn=s pwy* ‘this her name’.

85 So BR and *pPawerem* 21.7; *pCairo JE 97249* 2.17: *rn=s pfj <n(j)> Ḥwt-Ḥrw* ‘that her name <of> Hathor’.

86 So BR and *pPawerem* 21.8; *pCairo JE 97249* 2.18: *rn=s pfj* ‘that her name’.

87 So BR; *pPawerem* 21.8 and *pCairo JE 97249* 2.18: *rn=s* ‘her name’.

88 So BR and *pPawerem* 21.9; *pCairo JE 97249* 2.19: *rn=s pfj* ‘that her name’.

89 *Urk.* VI 117.17–20: Altmann 2010: 83–85.

[LXXXII] Heliopolis, block from the tomb of Tjanefer (Alexandria Museum), Late Period-Macedonian Period.

Among his titles is *hm-Nbw* ‘Servant of the Gold’ (𓆎𓅓).

References: Maspero 1907: 84, pl. xxxix–xli; Yoyotte 1954: 14.

[LXXXIII] Asasif, granodiorite sarcophagus of Padiiset (Berlin ÄM 29), Late Period–Macedonian Period.

Among his titles is *hm-ntr n(j) Nbw n(j) Pr-Nbw* ‘Priest of the Gold of the House of the Gold’ (𓆎𓅓, 𓆎𓅓, 𓆎𓅓).

References: Dümichen 1894: pl. xxv (4 and 10); Yoyotte 1958: 414–415.

Corpus 3. Personal Names Incorporating *Nbw* (Excluding Kings’ Names)

[a] *3h-Nbw* ‘The Gold is beneficial’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Fifth Dynasty.

References: *PN* I 3 (2); Fischer 1996: 62; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 204 [36]; Graefe 2021: 194 and 197.

[b] *J^c-s-jb-Nbw* ‘She satisfies the Gold’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓, 𓆎𓅓). Middle Kingdom.

References: *PNI* 12 (11).

[c] *Jb-Nbw* ‘The one whom the Gold has desired’ (♂) (𓆎𓅓). Middle Kingdom.

References: *PN* I 190 (9); Graefe 2021: 203 (15.2).

[d] *Jb-Nbw-msdr-wsr* ‘The heart of the Gold ???’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓, 𓆎𓅓). Thirteenth Dynasty.

References: Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 203 (15.6).

[e] *Jn-Nbw* ‘He whom the Gold has brought’ (♂?) (𓆎𓅓). Middle Kingdom (?).

References: Aufrère 1991: 382, n. 446.

[f] *Jrj(t)-Nbw* ‘She who belongs to the Gold’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Middle Kingdom.

References: *PN* II 297 (25).

[g] *Jr-Nbw* ‘He whom the Gold has created’ (♂?) (𓆎𓅓). Old Kingdom.

References: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 250 [387].

[h] *Jrt-Nbw* ‘She whom the Gold has created’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Old Kingdom.

References: *PN* I 190 (10); Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 256–257 [423]; Graefe 2021: 20 (11.4).

[i] *Js-Nbw* ‘The Gold is light (?)’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Middle-New Kingdoms.

References: *PN* I 46 (3); Graefe 2021: 203 (15.7).

[j] *3-Nbw* ‘The Gold is great’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Middle Kingdom.

References: Graefe 2021: 197 (1.2).

[k] *nh-Nbw* ‘The Gold lives’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Old Kingdom.

References: *PN* I 190 (14); Aufrère 1991: 383; Fischer 1996: 64; Graefe 2021: 194 and 197 (1.3). Probably the same as [aq].

[l] *W3d-n=s-Nbw* ‘The Gold is favourable to her’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Middle Kingdom.

References: *PN* II 297 (27); Graefe 2021: 198 (2.8).

[m] *Wb-Nbw* ‘The Gold is pure’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Date uncertain.

References: *PN* I 76 (27); Graefe 2021: 194 and 198 (2.5).

[n] *Wnwt-Nbw* ‘? the Gold’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Middle Kingdom.

References: *PN* II 297 (26).

[o] *Wsr-Nbw* ‘The Gold is powerful’ (♂) (𓆎𓅓). Middle Kingdom.

References: *PN* II 275 (11); Graefe 2021: 198.

[p] *P3-jr-Nbw* ‘He whom the Gold has created’ (♂) (𓆎𓅓). Twenty-second Dynasty.

References: *PN* I 101 (9); Graefe 2021: 202 (11.5).

[q] *P3-n(j)-Nbw* ‘He who belongs to the Gold’ (♂) (𓆎𓅓). New Kingdom.

References: *PN* I 109 (2).

[r] *P3-n(j)-nw-Nbw* ‘He who belongs to the glance of the Gold’ (♂) (𓆎𓅓). Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

References: Graefe 2021: 201 (9.5b).

[s] *P3-dj-Nbw* ‘He whom the Gold has given’ (♂) (𓆎𓅓). Twenty-second/Twenty-fifth Dynasties.

References: *PN* I 124 (10–11); II 356; Graefe 2021: 202 (11.6–7).

[t] *Mr-Nbw-jt=s* ‘She whose father loves the Gold’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Twenty-seventh Dynasty.

References: *PN* I 157 (1); Graefe 2021: 194 and 198 (2.10).

[u] *Mrt.n-Nbw* ‘She whom the Gold has loved’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). New Kingdom.

References: *PNI* 159 (2).

[v] *Mry(t)-m-Nbw* ‘She who has been loved as the Gold’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). New Kingdom.

References: *PN* I 160 (17); Graefe 2021: 200 (7.1).

[w] *Mryt-Nbw* ‘Loved one of the Gold’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). New Kingdom.

References: *PN* I 161 (21); Graefe 2021: 201 (8.5).

[x] *Mh(t)-jb-Nbw* ‘She who fills the heart of the Gold’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Middle Kingdom.

References: *PN* I 163 (16); Graefe 2021: 201 (8.6).

[y] *N3j-Nbw* ‘? of the Gold’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Late Period.

References: *PN* I 169 (23); Graefe 2021: 201 (9.4).

[z] *N(j)-jb-Nbw* ‘The one belonging to the heart of the Gold (?)’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Middle Kingdom.

References: *PN* I 170 (30); Graefe 2021: 201 (9.2).

[aa] *N(j)-s(j)-Nbw* ‘She who belongs to the Gold’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Middle Kingdom-Late Period.

References: *PN* I 177 (16); II 365; Graefe 2021: 201 (9.3).

[ab] *N(j)-s(j)-Nbw-htp-hmwt* ‘She who belongs to the Gold gracious of women’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Graeco-Roman period.

References: *PNI* 177 (18).

[ac] *N(j)-s(w)-Nbw-htp(.w)* ‘He who belongs to “the Gold is pleased”’ (♂) (𓆎𓅓). Late Period-Graeco-Roman period.

References: *PNI* 177 (17).

[ad] *N(j)-k3(=j)-Nbw* ‘My *ka* belongs to the Gold’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Old Kingdom.

References: *PN* I 192 (6); II 368; Fischer 1996: 56.

[ae] *N(j)-k3w-Nbw* ‘He who belongs to the *kau* of the Gold’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Old Kingdom.

References: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 445 [1711].

[af] *N(j)t-Nbw* ‘She who belongs to the Gold’ (♀) (𓆎𓅓). Middle Kingdom.

References: *PN* I 181 (4–5); Fischer 1996: 62; Graefe 2021: 201 (9.1a–b).

- [ag] *Nw-Nbw* ‘Glance of the Gold’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Late Period.
References: *PN* I 182 (24); Graefe 2021: 201 (9.5a).
- [ah] *Nbt=j-(m-)Nbw* ‘My mistress is the Gold’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 188 (15 and 18); Graefe 2021: 200 (7.2).
- [ai] *Nbtj-Nbw* ‘The Gold is the Two Ladies’ (♀ *) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Old Kingdom.
References: *PN* II 297 (24).
- [aj] *Nbw* ‘The Gold’ (♀) (𓏏). etc.). Middle Kingdom.
References: Graefe 2021: 205.
- [ak] *Nbw-β.y* ‘The Gold has been adored’ (♂) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Nineteenth Dynasty.
References: *PN* I 190 (6).
- [al] *Nbw-ij.tj* ‘The Gold is come’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom and Late Period.
References: *PN* I 190 (7); Graefe 2021: 198 (3.4).
- [am] *Nbw-jb-Nbtj* ‘The heart of the Two Ladies is the Gold’ (♀ *) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Old Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 189 (25); II 262 (13); Aufrère 1991: 383; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 457 [1812]; Graefe 2021: 203 (14.1).
- [an] *Nbw-jr-st* ‘The Gold is who has created her’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Twentieth Dynasty.
References: *PN* I 190 (13); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 202 (12.2).
- [ao] *Nbw-jr-sn* ‘The Gold is who has created them (?)’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). New Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 190 (11).
- [ap] *Nbw-jr-ddt* ‘The Gold is who makes what is given’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Twelfth Dynasty.
References: *PN* I 190 (12); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 202 (12.3).
- [aq] *Nbw-ḥnh(j)* ‘The Gold is alive (?)’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Old Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 190 (14); Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 457 [1813]. Probably the same as [k].
- [ar] *Nbw-wbn=s* ‘The Gold rises’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 190 (15); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 194 and 198 (4.2).
- [as] *Nbw-wnt* ‘The Gold is the Opener (?)’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Old-Middle Kingdoms.
References: Baud 2005²: 483–484 (no. 107); Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 458 [1814]; Graefe 2021: 203 (15.9a–b).
- [at] *Nbw-wrt* ‘The Gold the Great’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 190 (4); Graefe 2021: 205.
- [au] *Nbw-B3stt-htp(.w)* ‘The Gold and Bastet are pleased’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Late Period (?).
References: Aufrère 1991: 383, n. 468; Graefe 2021: 204 (16.4) (‘falsche Interpretation’).
- [av] *Nbw-pr-hrw* ‘The Gold has come out (?)’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). New Kingdom.
References: Aufrère 1991: 383, n. 470; Graefe 2021: 202 (12.4).
- [aw] *Nbw-m-3ht* ‘The Gold is in the *akhet*’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 190 (16); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 199 (6.4).
- [ax] *Nbw-m-jyh* ‘The Gold is in the marsh-plants’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). New Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 190 (17); Graefe 2021: 200 (6.15).
- [ay] *Nbw-<m>-Jwnw* ‘The Gold is <in> Iunu (= Heliopolis)’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 190 (8); Graefe 2021: 199 (6.1).

- [az] *Nbw-m-Jwnt* ‘The Gold is in Iunet (= Dendera)’ (♀ *) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle-New Kingdoms.
References: *PN* I 190 (18); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 199 (6.2).
- [ba] *Nbw-m-jnhwj* ‘The Gold is in the eyebrows’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). New Kingdom.
References: *PN* II 297 (28); Graefe 2021: 200 (6.25).
- [bb] *Nbw-m-jrj(t=j)* ‘The Gold is my companion (?)’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle-New Kingdoms.
References: *PN* I 190 (19); Graefe 2021: 200–201 (7.3).
- [bc] *Nbw-m-w3h* ‘The Gold is in the flood’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 190 (20); Graefe 2021: 199 (6.13).
- [bd] *Nbw-m-W3st* ‘The Gold is in Waset (= Thebes)’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). New Kingdom.
References: *PN* II 297 (29); Graefe 2021: 199 (6.3).
- [be] *Nbw-m-w3d* ‘The Gold is in the papyrus’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 190 (21); Graefe 2021: 199 (6.14).
- [bf] *Nbw-m-wj3* ‘The Gold is in the Sacred Bark’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). New Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 190 (22); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 199 (6.10).
- [bg] *Nbw-m-wsht* ‘The Gold is in the courtyard’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle-New Kingdoms.
References: *PN* I 190 (23); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 199 (6.12).
- [bh] *Nbw-m-pt* ‘The Gold is in the sky (?)’ (♂) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Twelfth Dynasty.
References: *PN* I 190 (24); Graefe 2021: 199 (6.5). Cf. [bo].
- [bi] *Nbw-m-m3wt* ‘The Gold is in the rays (of light) (?)’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 191 (1); Graefe 2021: 200 (6.19).
- [bj] *Nbw-m-nwt* ‘The Gold is in the sky’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Eighteenth Dynasty.
References: *PN* I 191 (2); Graefe 2021: 200 (6.26).
- [bk] *Nbw-m-nhbt* ‘The Gold is in the lotus-flower’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). New Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 191 (3); Graefe 2021: 200 (6.16).
- [bl] *Nbw-m-h3t* ‘The Gold is at the prow’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN* I 191 (4); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 200 (6.28).
- [bm] *Nbw-m-hb* ‘The Gold is in festival’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle-New Kingdoms.
References: *PN* I 191 (5); Graefe 2021: 200 (6.17).
- [bn] *Nbw-m-hnwt* ‘The Gold is the Lady’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Twentieth-Twenty-first Dynasty.
References: Aufrère 1991: 383, n. 469.
- [bo] *Nbw-m-hrt* ‘The Gold is in the sky (?)’ (♂) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Twelfth Dynasty.
References: *PN* I 190 (24); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 199 (6.5). Cf. [bh]
- [bp] *Nbw-m-h^c=s* ‘The Gold is in her appearance in glory’ (♀ *) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Eighteenth Dynasty.
References: *PN* I 191 (6); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 194 and 200 (6.20).
- [bq] *Nbw-m-zš* ‘The Gold is in the marsh (?)’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Old Kingdom.
References: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 458 [1815]; Graefe 2021: 200 (6.27).

- [br] *Nbw-m-s3(=j)* ‘The Gold is in my protection’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (7); Graefe 2021: 200 (6.21).
- [bs] *Nbw-m-s3=s* ‘The Gold is in her swamp’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏). New Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (1); Graefe 2021: 194 and 199 (6.6).
- [bt] *Nbw-m-th* ‘The Gold is in drunkenness’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (9); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 200 (6.18).
- [bu] *Nbw-n(j)-Pth (?)* ‘The Gold belonging to Ptah (?)’ (♂) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (10); Graefe 2021: 203 (15.3).
- [bv] *Nbw-n(j)-hmwt* ‘The Gold of the women’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (11); Graefe 2021: 201 (8.7) (*Nbw-n(j)-rhwt (?)*).
- [bw] *Nbw-n(j)-th* ‘The Gold of the drunkenness’ (♀). Second Intermediate Period.
References: Aufrère 1991: 383, n. 463.
- [bx] *Nbw-Nbtj* ‘The Gold is the Two Ladies (?)’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Old Kingdom.
References: *PN II* 297 (24); Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 458 [1816]; Graefe 2021: 203 (14.3).
- [by] *Nbw-nfr:t(j)* ‘The Gold is Beautiful’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏). New Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (13); Graefe 2021: 194 and 198 (3.5).
- [bz] *Nbw-nht(tj) (?)* ‘The Gold is victorious’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (14) and 211 (1); Graefe 2021: 194 and 198 (3.3).
- [ca] *Nbw-r-Qjs* ‘The Gold is bound to Qis’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Old Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (15); Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 458 [1817]; Graefe 2021: 200 (6.29).
- [cb] *Nbw-rdj-s(j)* ‘The Gold is who has given her’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (16); Graefe 2021: 199 (4.3).
- [cc] *Nbw-hr-mr* ‘The Gold is in the canal (?)’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). New Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (17); Graefe 2021: 199 (6.8).
- [cd] *Nbw-hr-mhw* ‘The Gold is in the flood (?)’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (18); Graefe 2021: 199 (6.9).
- [ce] *Nbw-hr-rdj* ‘The Gold is giving’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). First Intermediate Period-New Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (19); Graefe 2021: 200 (6.24).
- [cf] *Nbw-hr-hwt=s* ‘The Gold is protecting her’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (20); Graefe 2021: 200 (6.23).
- [cg] *Nbw-hr-hnt* ‘The Gold is rowing’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (22); Graefe 2021: 199 (6.11ab). Cf. [ct].
- [ch] *Nbw-hr-hsbd* ‘The Gold and lapis lazuli’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Eighteenth Dynasty.
References: *PN I* 191 (21); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 202 (13.1).
- [ci] *Nbw-hr-s3w(=j)* ‘The Gold is in my protection’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN II* 297 (31); Graefe 2021: 200 (6.22).
- [cj] *Nbw-hr-s3=s* ‘The Gold is in her lake’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (23); Graefe 2021: 194 and 199 (6.7).
- [ck] *Nbw-hr-k3w* ‘The Gold is on the *kau* (?)’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (24); Graefe 2021: 203 (15.1).
- [cl] *Nbw-hs.w* ‘The Gold has been praised’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (25); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 198 (2.6).
- [cm] *Nbw-htp.tj* ‘The Gold is pleased’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Old-Middle Kingdoms.
References: *PN I* 192 (1–2); Aufrère 1991: 383; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 458 [1818]; Graefe 2021: 194 and 198 (3.1).
- [cn] *Nbw-htp.tj-hrd* ‘“The Gold is pleased” the Child’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 192 (2); Graefe 2021: 194 and 198 (3.2).
- [co] *Nbw-h3=s* ‘The Gold appears in glory’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏). Old Kingdom-Second Intermediate Period.
References: *PN I* 192 (3); Aufrère 1991: 383; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 458 [1819]; Graefe 2021: 199 (4.4).
- [cp] *Nbw-h3=s-hnms(.w)* ‘The Gold appears in glory amicably’ (♂) (𓂏𓂏𓂏). Seventeenth Dynasty.
References: Aufrère 1991: 383, n. 452; Graefe 2021: 204 (16.2) (‘Falsche Lesung’).
- [cq] *Nbw-h3.tj* ‘The Gold has appeared in glory’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏). New Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 192 (4); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 194–195 and 198 (3.6).
- [cr] *Nbw-hnt(j)t* ‘The Gold is preeminent’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏). Old Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 192 (5); Fischer 1996: 75; Graefe 2021: 202 (11.1).
- [cs] *Nbw-ht-Nbtj* ‘The body of the Two Ladies is the Gold’ (♀ *) (𓂏𓂏). Old-Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 189 (26); Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 458 [1820]; Graefe 2021: 203 (14.2).
- [ct] *Nbw-hn(t)* ‘The Gold is (?) rowing’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏). New Kingdom (?).
References: Aufrère 1991: 383, n. 456; Graefe 2021: 199 (6.11ab). Cf. [cg].
- [cu] *Nbw-srjt* ‘The Gold the Young’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 190 (5); Graefe 2021: 205.
- [cv] *Nbw-k3* ‘The Gold is the *Ka*’ (♀) (𓂏). Old Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 192 (6); Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 458–459 [1821]; Graefe 2021: 203 (14.4).
- [cw] *Nbw-k3w* ‘The Gold is the *Kau*’ (♂) (𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 192 (8); Graefe 2021: 203 (14.6a).
- [cx] *Nbw-k3wj* ‘The Gold is the Two *Kau*’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 192 (7); Graefe 2021: 203 (14.5).
- [cy] *Nbw-k3w=s* ‘The Gold is her *Kau*’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏). Old Kingdom.
References: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 459 [1822]; Graefe 2021: 203 (14.7).
- [cz] *Nfr-Nbw* ‘The Gold is beautiful’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏). Late Period.
References: *PN I* 197 (5); Graefe 2021: 194 and 201 (8.8b).
- [da] *Nfrw-Nbw* ‘Splendour of the Gold’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN II* 299 (21); Graefe 2021: 201 (8.8a).
- [db] *Nfr-hrw-Nbw* ‘The day of the Gold is beautiful’ (♀) (𓂏𓂏). New Kingdom.
References: *PN II* 297 (30); Graefe 2021: 198 (1.9).
- [dc] *Rpwt-Nbw* ‘Female image of the Gold’ (♀ *) (𓂏). Fifth Dynasty.
References: Baud 2005²: 485–486 (no. 109); Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 516 [2229].

- [dd] *Rdj.t-n-Nbw* ‘She whom the Gold has given’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 191 (12); Graefe 2021: 203 (15.5).
- [de] *H.z-qb-Nbw* ‘He who praises the calmness (?) of the Gold’ (♂) (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle/New Kingdom.
References: *PN II* 298 (1); Graefe 2021: 203 (15.4).
- [df] *H.zt-Nbw* ‘She whom the Gold has praised’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏). Fifth Dynasty.
References: *PN I* 191 (26); Fischer 1996: 64; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 556 [2523]; Graefe 2021: 201 (8.2).
- [dg] *Htp-Nbw* ‘The Gold is pleased’ (♀ [+]) ♂ [-]) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Old-Middle Kingdoms.
References: *PN I* 258 (19); Aufrère 1991: 383; Fischer 1996: 62 and 63; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 567 [2583]; Graefe 2021: 197 (1.4).
- [dh] *Hdt-Nbw* ‘The Gold is the Shining one (?)’ (♀ *) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Fifth Dynasty.
References: Baud 2005²: 486; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 581 [2648].
- [di] *H^c-Nbw* ‘The Gold appears in glory’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). New Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 264 (12); Graefe 2021: 194 and 198 (2.4).
- [dj] *Hw(t)-Nbw* ‘She whom the Gold has protected’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN II* 309 (24); Graefe 2021: 198 (2.1).
- [dk] *Hw-s(j)-Nbw* ‘The Gold protects her’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 267 (8); II 381; Graefe 2021: 198 (4.1) and 199 (5.1).
- [dl] *Z3-Nbw* ‘Son of the Gold’ (♂) (𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN II* 312 (12); Graefe 2021: 201 (8.4).
- [dm] *Swjt-Nbw* ‘Pill (?) of the Gold’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏). Eighteenth Dynasty.
References: *PN I* 428 (24); II 404; Graefe 2021: 203 (15.8).
- [dn] *Sw-m-Nbw* ‘He (?) is the Gold’ (♀ ♂) (𓏏𓏏). New Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 302 (12); Graefe 2021: 201 (7.4).
- [do] *Snb-Nbw* ‘The Gold is healthy’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 313 (8); Graefe 2021: 197 (1.5).
- [dp] *Snb-Z3-Nbw* ‘Sanebu (= Son of the Gold) is healthy’ (♂) (𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN II* 316 (10); Graefe 2021: 197 (1.6).
- [dq] *Šd-Nbw* ‘The Gold has been raised (?)’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏). Old Kingdom.
References: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 685 [3369].
- [dr] *Q3b=st-Nbw* ‘The Gold has been doubled (?)’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏). Twenty-first Dynasty.
References: *PN I* 333 (8); Graefe 2021: 198 (2.7).
- [ds] *K3(=j)-n(j)-Nbw* ‘My *ka* is one belonging to the Gold’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏). Old Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 430 (4); Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 702 [3478]; Graefe 2021: 203 (14.8).
- [dt] *K3(=j)-r-Nbw* ‘My *ka* is bound to the Gold’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏). Old Kingdom.
References: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 704 [3487].
- [du] *K3w(=j)-Nbw* ‘My *kas* are the Gold (?)’ (♂) (𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 341 (12); Graefe 2021: 203 (14.6b).
- [dv] *T3-n(jt)-Nbw* ‘She who belongs to the Gold’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom-Late Period.
References: *PN I* 360 (22); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 202 (10.1).



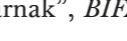
- [dw] *T3-Nbw-n(j)-wsht* ‘The Gold of the courtyard (?)’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏). Late Period.
References: *PN I* 363 (18); Graefe 2021: 202 (10.2).
- [dx] *T3-(n(j))-Nbw* ‘Chick of the Gold’ (♀ ♂) (𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 386 (29) and 387 (8); Graefe 2021: 201 (8.3a–b).
- [dy] *Dj(t)-Nbw* ‘She whom the Gold has given’ (♀) (𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 397 (4); Graefe 2021: 198.
- [dz] *Djt.n-Nbw* ‘She whom the Gold has given’ (♀) (𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 397 (2); Graefe 2021: 198 (2.9).
- [ea] *Dj-s(j)-Nbw* ‘She whom the Gold has given’ (♀) (𓏏). Middle Kingdom-Late Period.
References: *PN I* 397 (22); Graefe 2021: 198 (2.3).
- [eb] *Dw3-Nbw* ‘Adorer of the Gold’ (♂) (𓏏𓏏). Old Kingdom.
References: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 743 [3769].
- [ec] *Dw3t-Nbw* ‘Adorer of the Gold’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏). Old Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 192 (11); II 332 (22); Fischer 1996: 64; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 744 [3778]; Graefe 2021: 201 (8.1).
- [ed] *Ddw-Nbw* ‘He whom the Gold gives’ (♂) (𓏏𓏏). Middle Kingdom.
References: *PN I* 401 (16) and 402 (20); Aufrère 1991: 383; Graefe 2021: 202 (11.2 and 12.1 [*Nbw-dd-w(j)*]).
- [ee] *Ddt-Nbw* ‘She whom the Gold gives’ (♀) (𓏏𓏏). Middle-New Kingdoms.
References: *PN I* 403 (14); Graefe 2021: 202 (11.3ab).
- [ef] *Dd.jn-Nbw-j(w)=s-nh* ‘The Gold has said she will live’ (♀ *) (𓏏𓏏). Twenty-second Dynasty.
References: *PN I* 410 (3).
- [eg] *Nbw-[...]* (?) ‘The Gold [...] (?)’ (♀) (𓏏). Old Kingdom.
References: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 776.
- [eh] *Nbw-hr-[...]* ‘The Gold is [...]’ (♀ *) (𓏏). Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II.
References: Aufrère 1991: 383, n. 458.
- [ei] *[...]-jb-Nbw* (?) ‘The heart of the Gold [...] (?)’ (♀) (𓏏). Old Kingdom.
References: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 778.

Summary and Prospects

This collection and review of the 241 preceding documents related to Hathor as *Nbw* ‘Gold’, dated to the period between the Late Old Kingdom to the end of the Late Period,⁹⁰ which is a novelty in itself, constitute the essential basis from which to carry out, in a second part, the analysis of this little-studied aspect of this goddess in the framework of the songs and hymns addressed to her. For this reason, in this second part issues specific to the study of this deity (the name *Nbw* and its characteristics, iconography, etc.) will be examined, as well as the most relevant aspects included in these texts and other documents, paying attention both to textual aspects (content, transmission, intertextuality, etc.), to musical and formal aspects (prosody, instrumental accompaniment, etc.) and sociological aspects (social identity and gender of the performers, priesthood, etc.), from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective.

⁹⁰ If further documents are found, they will be included in an appendix to the second part of this study.

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