

The Goddess Rattawy in Greco-Roman Temples Mohamed A. El-Tonssy*

I-Introduction:

This study tries to collect and analyze Rattawy's epithets and titles which were inscribed in the Greco Roman temples of Upper Egypt. These functional aspects clearly explain theological phenomenon of Rattawy's dogma and fusion with motherhood goddesses in Egyptian pantheon. This principal cultic role of the goddess Rattawy is clearly proved through various inscriptions from the Ptolemaic and Roman temples in the main cult centers of Upper Egypt¹. These epithets and titles are clarifying Rattawy's prominent role in Ancient Egyptian beliefs, firstly as a counterpart of state god Re from at least the Old Kingdom, and secondly as a consort of war god Monthou-Re in Thebes region².

Rattawy's iconography was most commonly represented as a female form wearing the traditional Hathoric headdress with two plumes³. In her common form of motherhood goddesses, Rattawy as a female sun has gained a new role, linking her with other theologies of creator goddesses.

Accordingly, Rattawy was identified with the primordial goddess Hathor and Isis as sky-goddess, creator and divine mother of Horus⁴.

The name of Rattawy means "the Female Sun (on) of the Two Lands". The direct meaning refers to the primordial manifestation of her eternal role in the universe and the cosmic order as a female celestial power of "Re" in entire land of Egypt. The goddess name

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¹This study will be confined only to the main ninth temples of Upper Egypt.

²LGG IV, 647-649.

³A, Gutbub, "Rat-Taui", LÄ V, 15; RÄRG, 624.

⁴C., Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth' Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion, Studies in the History of Religion XXVI, Leiden 1973, 27-29, 46-48.

is at the same time a duality and a one person. Accordingly, the name "Rat" directly refers to the celestial power of light which daily illumines borders of the two lands. In that respect, it may also give another indirect meaning in which Rattawy has the ability of creation more than other female goddesses⁵.

Thus, the form of Thenent/Iwneyt as one goddess was also like Rattawy known at least from the Middle kingdom in Thebes where she was described as the female counterpart of Monthou⁶. She was equated to Rattawy as creator and primordial goddess and divine consort of Monthou⁷. This religious function have strongly enabled Thenent as the feminine counterpart of Monthou to merge with Rattawy whose creative power was effective in Theban region⁸.

The beginning of Rattawy cult may be found in the pre-dynastic period, this probably due mostly to her relation with the primordial god Re as his female manifestation in name and function⁹.

II-Titles & Epithets:

Rattawy's aspect as a counterpart of the War-god Monthou originated in Upper Egyptian temples at Medamoud, Armant and El-Tôd wherein she had a strong relationships with motherhood goddesses, Hathor, Isis and Sekhmet¹⁰.

⁵Wb II, 402 (11); A. , Kockelmann, "Roman Period Demotic Manual of Hymns to Rattawy and Other Deities, (P. Ashm.1984, 76)", *JEA* 89, 222- 223; A., Gutbub, "Rait", *LÄ V*, 87; Id., "Rat-tai", *LÄ V*, 151-155.

⁶*LÄ VI*, 610; there is a major probability that Iwneyt name is actually derived from the famous name of Armant *Iwnw-šm*^c which lies on the west bank of the Nile about 15 km south of Luxor, review DGD I, 56; Montet, *Géographie II*,72;Tôd II ,182 ,15(8), 291 ,231(11).

⁷Wb V, 382(11-19), 383(1-4); M., Derchain-Urtel, Tjenenet, *LÄ VI*, 610; LGG VII, 475-476.

⁸Aufrère, *MIFAO* 117, 183(d);Tôd II, 23(8-11), 245(1); *LD IV*, 60 (b);Urtel, D. &Theresia, *Synkretismus in ägyptischer Iconographie, Die Göttin Tjenenet, Synkretistische Erscheinungen in der ägyptischen Religion*, T 4, Wiesbaden,1979.

⁹RÄRG,626

¹⁰The main cult centers of Monthou in Thebes region are Medamoud which lies about 8 km north of Luxor, Armant that located some 20 km south of Luxor and El-Tôd which lies about 20 km south of Luxor review R., Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*, London, 2000,153, 200.

In order to find out Rattawy's cultic role and theology in Ancient Egypt pantheon, it is necessary to collect and analyze all of her epithets, titles and religious aspects which were registered in the main temples of the Greco Roman period as follows:

No.	Text	Epithet/title	Deity	Offering / rite
1	Armant	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Twnw-šm^c Tnnt-Iwnyt ḥryt st-wrt Ḥt-Ḥr wrt nbt Twnw mntt m3^ct mryt mntw</i> Rattawy in Armant, is Thenent/Iweyt at Armant, Hathor the great lady of Dendera and Armant, Maat beloved of Monthou ¹¹ .	Rattawy	Birth-scene
2	Armant	<i>3ḥt wrt ms.s R^c R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Twnw</i> The cow, the great, who gives birth to Re, Rattawy in Armant ¹² .	Neith / Isis / Rattawy	Birth-scene
3	Armant	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib ḥbn</i> Rattawy is in Armant.	Neith / Isis / Rattawy	Birth-scene
4	Armant	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Drt Ḥt-Ḥr [m] Ḥwt-k3</i> Rattawy in El-Tôd, is Hathor [in] Armant ^{(a)13} .	Neith Isis Rattawy	Birth – scene
5	Armant	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Twnw 3ḥt wrt ms.s R^c snkt-Nt ir ipy ny 3ḥty mwt-ntr n bik n nbw</i> Rattawy in Armant is the cow, the great who gives birth to Re, the wet nurse of Neith ^(b) , and creates Thoth, she who belongs to the sun god, god's mother of the golden falcon ¹⁴ .	Rattawy	Birth-scene

¹¹LD IV, 60(b).

¹²LD IV, 61(g).

¹³LD IV, 62(f).

¹⁴LD IV, 64(a).

6	Armant	<i>R^ct-t3wy h^ryt-ib w3st</i> Rattawy is in Thebes ¹⁵ .		
7	Armant	<i>snkt-Nt bh.s Hr.s</i> The wet Nurse of Neith gives birth to her son ¹⁶ .	Rattawy	Birth-scene
8	Armant	<i>Tnnt h^ryt-ib Twnw mh-ib n nty 3hty h3p dt.f</i> Thenent is in Armant to please this who belongs to the horizon (son god) and protecting his body ¹⁷ .		Birth-scene
9	D. Chellouit I	<i>Tnnt-[Iwnyt] h^ryt-ib Twnw-šm^c</i> Thenent/Iwneyt is in Armant ¹⁸ .	Monthou Rattawy	<i>hnk 3ht</i>
10	D. Chellouit I	<i>Tnnt-Iwnyt // // // // h^ryt-ib Twnw-šm^c mwt mwwt</i> Thenent/Iwneyt // // // // is in Armant, mother of mothers ¹⁹ .	Monthou Thenent	<i>hnk htp</i>
11	D. Chellouit I	<i>Tnnt-R^ct-t3wy h^ryt-ib M3dw 3t</i> Thenent/Rattawy is in Medamoud, the great ²⁰ .	Thenent / Iwneyt	<i>Nhb n hntš</i>
12	D. Chellouit I	<i>R^ct-t3wy nbt Twnw-šm^c špst</i> Rattawy lady of Armant is the august one.	Rattawy	<i>šht</i>
13	D. Chellouit	<i>R^ct-t3wy h^ryt-ib D^rt špst [nbt] 3wt-ib sh^tp dndn // // // nbt pt hnwt n^rw nbw</i>	Monthou Rattawy	<i>Kn-r</i>

¹⁵LD IV, 65 (a); the scene here is depicting two forms of Rattawy, one is seating upon the chair and the other is standing with the well known *hmhm* crown.

¹⁶LD IV, 65 (a).

¹⁷LD IV, 65 (a); the scene here is depicting Rattawy/Thenent as a fierce goddess, companion of war god Monthou in Armant.

¹⁸Deir Chellouit , I, 28(5);for complete translation of all texts of the temple, see in Arabic Mohamed A., El-Tonssy, *The Temple of Isis at Deir Chellouit, A Cultural Philological Study*, unpublished thesis for Ph. D. degree, Cairo University, Faculty of Archaeology, 2003.

¹⁹Deir Chellouit I, 48 (4-5).

²⁰Deir Chellouit I, 62 (2-3).

	III	Rattawy in El-Tôd, is the august [lady] of joy, calms the angry-one, the lady of heaven, the mistress of all gods ²¹ .		
14	D. Chellouit III	<i>R^ct-t3wy-Iwnyt mwt-ntr R^ct hryt-ib Iwnw-šm^c Dngngst wrt m wp Hr-3hty nbi n nbw ny sntr wps t3 m nbw dr</i> Rattawy/Iwneyt, is god's mother Rait in Armant, <i>Dngngst</i> ^(c) , the great at the beginning of the Horizon god, the fire of gold ^(d) , the incense that gives light to the entire land by gold ²² .	Monthou Iwneyt- Thenent	<i>Msktt</i>
15	D. Chellouit III	<i>R^ct-t3wy hryt-ib Iwnw-šm^c // // // // d3 nnt wrt // // // msi H^cpi r tr.f</i> Rattawy is in Armant // // // // crosses the heaven, the great // // // // gives birth for Happy (inundation) in its time ²³ .	Monthou Rattawy	<i>3bt</i>
16	D. Chellouit III	<i>Tnnt-Iwnyt mwt-ntr R^ct hryt-ib Iwnw-šm^c nbi n šw špr.s hd</i> Thenent/Iwneyt, the god's mother, is Rait in Armant, the fire of light, creates light ²⁴ .	Thenent- Iwneyt	<i>wtt</i>
17	D. Chellouit III	<i>R^ct-t3wy hryt-ib M3dw wsrt n ntrw ntrwt nbt th hnwt 3wt-ib</i> Rattawy in Medamoud, is the mighty one more than gods and goddesses, lady of drunkenness, lady of joy ²⁵ .	Monthou Rattawy	<i>Wšht</i>
18	D. Chellouit III	<i>R^ct-t3wy hryt-ib w3st snkt Nt ikr t tm3t n Tsdn</i> Rattawy is in Thebes, nurses Neith,	Monthou Rattawy	<i>sšn</i>

²¹Deir Chellouit III, 98(2-4).

²²Deir Chellouit III, 105 (8-10).

²³Deir Chellouit III, 109 (8-10).

²⁴Deir Chellouit III, 115(7), 116(1).

²⁵Deir Chellouit III, 141(5-6).

		excellent lady, is mother of Thoth ²⁶ .		
19	D. Chellouit III	<i>Tnnt-Iwnyt s3t-R^c hryt-ib Twnw-šm^c wsrt hnt sp3t-h3t hnwt šm^cw mhw Nt tm3t</i> Thenent/Iwneyt, the daughter of Re is in Armant, the mighty one in El-Tôd ^(e) , mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neith, the divine mother ²⁷ .	Thenent Iwneyt / Rattawy	<i>bbt</i>
20	D. Chellouit III	<i>R^ct-t3wy hryt-ib Twnw-šm^c špst wsrt hnt sp3t-h3t R^ct tm3t š3^c.tw.k hnwt n šn-n-itn</i> Rattawy in Armant is the august, the mighty one in El-Tôd, the female of Re ,the divine mother was born first, mistress of the universe ²⁸ .	Rattawy	<i>Bbt</i>
21	D. El-Madina	<i>Tnnt-R^ct-t3wy wrt hryt-ib M3dw</i> Thenent/Rattawy is the great in Medamoud ²⁹ .	Monthou Rattawy	<i>hnk irp</i>
22	D. El-Madina	<i>M3^ct R^ct-t3wy hryt-ib w3st nbt pt hnwt ntrw</i> Maat/Rattawy is in Thebes, the lady of heaven, the lady of gods ³⁰ .	Amun Amount Monthou Rattawy	<i>šti iht</i>
23	D. El-Madina	<i>R^ct-t3wy hryt-ib M3dw šhmt m l3t-D3mt</i> Rattawy in Medamoud is Sekhmet in the Western Necropolis ³¹ .	Amun Amount Monthou Rattawy	<i>šti iht</i>
24	D. El-Madina	<i>Tnnt R^ct-t3wy hryt-ib Twnw-šm^c</i> Thenent/Rattawy is in Armant ³² .	Mout Khonsu Monthou Amon	<i>hnk šht</i>

²⁶Deir Chellouit III, 149 (10-11).

²⁷Deir Chellouit III, 161(3-5).

²⁸Deir Chellouit III, 161 (8-10).

²⁹Barguet, Le Temple de Deir El-Madina, MIFAO 121, 2002, 12 (15).

³⁰Deir El-Madina, 29(10).

³¹Deir El-Madina, 29 (12).

³²Deir El-Madina, 92 (11).

25	D. El-Madina	<i>T̄nnt-Iwnyt ḥryt-ib Twnw-šm^c d̄fd n n̄trw n̄trwt</i> Thenent/Iwneyt in Armant is the pupil of the eye of gods and goddesses ³³ .	Rattawy Thenent	šms ṣntyw
26	D. El-Madina	<i>R^ct-t̄3wy ḥryt-ib Twnw-šm^c irt-R^c nbt pt ḥnwt n̄trw nbw</i> Rattawy in Armant is the eye of Re, the lady of heaven, the mistress of all gods ³⁴ .	Monthou Rattawy Hôrp̄are	ḥnk̄ M̄3 ^c t
27	D. El-Madina	<i>Iwnyt-R^ct-t̄3wy w^ct s̄3t-R^c // // // mwt-n̄tr</i> Iwneyt/Rattawy is the uraeus, the daughter of Re // // // god's mother ³⁵ .	Monthou Rattawy	ḥnk̄ šht
28	D. El-Madina	<i>R^ct-t̄3wy ḥryt-ib D̄rt špst wsrt ḥryt-tp t̄3wy</i> Rattawy in El-Tôd, is the august, the mighty one in the two lands ³⁶ .	Rattawy	škr̄ t̄3-ḥd̄
29	D. El-Madina	<i>T̄nnt ḥryt-ib Twnw-šm^c</i> Thenent is in Armant ³⁷ .	Rattawy	ḥnk̄ irp
30	D. El-Madina	<i>R^ct-t̄3wy ḥryt-ib M̄3dw špst wsrt ḥnwt n̄trw nbw</i> Rattawy in Medamoud, is the august, the mighty one, the lady of all gods ³⁸ .	Monthou Rattawy	k̄3w šps iḥt nb
31	D. El-Madina	<i>R^ct-t̄3wy ḥryt-ib w̄3st 3st ḥnwt pr-wbḥt</i> Rattawy in Thebes is Isis, the mistress of House of Light ^{(f)39} .	Monthou Rattawy	ḥnk̄ ḥd̄
32	Dendara	<i>T̄nnt wrt R^c ḥnt Twnt psd̄t</i> Thenent the great of Re in Dendara is the shining goddess ⁴⁰ .	Thenent	Birth-scene

³³Deir El-Madina, 175 (4); compare for more elaboration about this epithet J., Goyon, Le Ritual du štp̄ shmt, au changement de cycle annuel, BdE 141(2006), 122-123.

³⁴Deir El-Madina, 178(12).

³⁵Deir El-Madina, 182(9).

³⁶Deir El-Madina, 184(15).

³⁷Deir El-Madina, 186(7).

³⁸Deir El-Madina, 190(4).

³⁹Deir El-Madina, 192(5).

⁴⁰F. Daumas, *Les Mammisis de Dendara*, Le Caire, 1959, 10(13), 12 (13).

33	Dendara	<i>Tnnt ḥryt-ib Twnw-šm^c</i> Thenent is in Armant ⁴¹ .	Isis / Thenent	Text
34	Dendara	<i>Tnnt nbt Twnw-šm^c špst wsrt ḥnt t3-rrt</i> <i>š3^ct ḥr irw ḥnt ntrw wrt nn ky ḥr ḥw.s</i> <i>Tfnt pw s3t-R^c m sp3t-ḥ3t imn dt.s r</i> <i>ntrw</i> Thenent lady of Armant is the august and the mighty one in Dendara, the primordial goddess with (her) form among gods, the great, there is no like her, she is Tefnout ,the daughter of Re in <i>sp3t-ḥ3t</i> ,her body is hidden more than gods ⁴² .	Monthou- Re- Horakhty Thenent	<i>ts wsht</i>
35	Edfu	<i>Tnnt Ḥt-Ḥr m Twnw-šm^c Tfnt ḥryt-tp n</i> <i>R^c špst wsrt ḥryt-ib wtst-Ḥr nbt pt ḥnwt</i> <i>ntrw nbw</i> Thenent/Hathor in Armant is Tefnout on the forehead of Re, the august, the mighty one in Edfu, the lady of heaven, the mistress of all gods ⁴³ .	Monthou- Re / Thenent	<i>ts wd3</i>
36	Edfu	<i>Tnnt-Ḥt-Ḥr ḥryt-ib Twnw mntt Tfnt wrt</i> <i>s3t-R^c Imn šhrw m sp3t-ḥ3t</i> Thenent/Hathor in Dendara and Armant is Tefnout, the great daughter of Re, whose plans are hidden in El-Tôd ⁴⁴ .	Monthou -Re/ Thenent	Text
37	Edfu	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Bḥdt nbt pt ḥnwt ntrw nbw</i> Rattawy in Edfu, is the lady of heaven, the mistress of all gods ⁴⁵ .	Rattawy / Monthou	<i>ts wd3</i>
38	Edfu	<i>wnn Tnnt m nbt ḥwt-R^c Twnyt m ḥnwt</i>	Thenent	text

⁴¹Dendara XI, 60(7).

⁴²Dendara XI, 159 (9-13).

⁴³Edfou I, 100 (3-4).

⁴⁴Edfou I, 174 (13-15).

⁴⁵Edfou II, 108 (15-16).

		<i>Sp3t-h3t sy m Tm3t msi ntrw</i> As long as Thenent exists as lady of El-Tôd, Iwneyt is as lady of El-Tôd, she is <i>Tm3t</i> who gives birth to the gods ⁴⁶ .		
39	Esna	<i>Rc-t3wy 3t Nt</i> Rattawy is the great Neith ⁴⁷ .	Neith	Hymn
40	Esna	<i>Tnnt s3t-Rc irt-Rc nbt pt hnwt ntrw nbw</i> <i>Tm3t hryt-tp hpr m-h3t wrt k3w.s r ntrw</i> Thenent, the daughter of Re is the eye of Re, the lady of heaven, the mistress of all gods, the divine mother who is upon the forehead (of Re), was born first, the great, her kas are more than gods ⁴⁸ .	Thenent	Hymn
44	Karnak	<i>Rc-t3wy // // // 3st rsi hr s3.s</i> Rattawy // // // Isis who watches over her son ⁴⁹ .	Monthou Rattawy	<i>hps</i>
45	Karnak	<i>Rc-t3wy // // // hm3g Hr.s m 3hw kf3t.s</i> Rattawy // // // hides her Horus with her excellent dignity ⁵⁰ .	Monthou Rattawy	<i>di wd3 & nd-r3</i>
46	Karnak	<i>Rc-t3wy // // // nbt 3ht ipt wsrt nbt 3h 3t3t hw t3wy</i> Rattawy // // // the lady of horizon is the	Monthou Rattawy Hôpare	<i>Mn M3ct</i>

⁴⁶*Edfou* II, 174(18); the text referring to *Hwt-Rc* as the domain place of Thenent, Gauthier mentioned that it is a town nearby western Thebes and was well known as *Ddmt* see: *GDG* IV, 105; but the texts of El-Tôd are referring to by the temple of El-Tôd itself, see *Tôd* II, 174(4), 177 (10), 245(4), 284(1), 294 (7).

⁴⁷*Esna* III, 195, 3(1).

⁴⁸*Esna* VI/1, 488, 47 (1-2); At Esna the goddess Nebetou was titled by various epithets of Rattawy as a creator goddess, and was considered to be Nebetou-Thenent/Iwneyt, see *Esna*, III, 24 ,109 (1);or Nebetou/Rattawy ,review *Esna* III ,241 ,108 (4-5);This fusion was very necessary to happen because of the bellicose nature of Nebetou at Esna and Rattawy-Thenent in the four temples of Monthou in Upper Egypt, see *Esna*, VI / 1, 522 ,138(1-2); *El -Tôd*, 127 , 186 (4) ;146 , 224 (6-7).

⁴⁹Aufrère, *Le Propylône d' Amon-Rê-Montou à Karnak-Nord*, MIFAO 117(2000), Le Caire, 384 (d); Goyon, *Le Rituel du shpt shmt*, 52 (2).

⁵⁰Aufrère, MIFAO 117, 398(c); S. El Hotabi, in: *GoF*, 25, 73.

		Epet, the mighty one, lady of the palace, protector protects the two lands⁵¹.		
47	Karnak	<i>R^ct-t3wy</i> // // // <i>snkt Nt Tm3t n Isdn</i> Rattawy // // // // wet nurse of Neith is the divine mother of Thoth⁵².		
48	Karnak	<i>R^ct-t3wy hryt-ib w3st nbt pt hnwt ntrw nbw snkt Nt Tm3t n isdn psd m Nwt hn^c šww</i> Rattawy in Thebes is the lady of heaven, lady of all gods, the wet nurse of Neith, mother of Thoth, she is shining in the sky together with sun-light⁵³.	Rattawy	<i>shtp k3.f m shm.f</i>
49	Karnak	<i>R^ct-t3wy hryt-ib w3st sš3t hnwt pr-Md3t s3 R^c m d3isw.s stpw šd.(t) Hr m s3hw.s</i> Rattawy in Thebes is Seshat, mistress of library, protects the sun god with her chosen spells, the wet nurse of Horus by her spells⁵⁴.	Monthou /Rattawy	<i>dī s3</i>
50	Karnak	<i>R^ct-t3wy hryt-ib w3st Nt wtt s3b-t3yty r^t wbs si3 im.s r sšm t3 hr ndb.f</i> Rattawy in Thebes is Neith who creates Thoth, Sia who is in the Stem of Lotus to guide the whole land⁵⁵.	Rattawy / Hôrpore	<i>s^r mnit</i>
51	Medam.	<i>R^ct-t3wy špst wsrt mn.t hryt-ib M3dw</i>	Rattawy	Text

⁵¹Aufrère, *MIFAO*, 117, 426 (f) ;for examples at Karnak review P. Barguet , *Le Temple d'Amon- Re à Karnak*, Cairo,1962, 22, 50, 70,164 ,192, 239.

⁵²Aufrère, *MIFAO* 117, 432 (f); compare such epithets with which of Ptah at Karnak *Urk VIII*, 18(c).

⁵³*Urk VIII*, 63(c).

⁵⁴*Urk VIII*, 68(c).

⁵⁵The idea of Aufrère is not necessary valid, one could suggest that Sia is referring to Thoth more than Re himself. This idea is due to the using of "s3b-t3yty" which dose not found in Monthou gate at Karnak, see Aufrère, *MIFAO* 117, 432, 435(r), and in another reference Rattawy was described as the protector of her father Re, see *LD IV*, 65(9); *Tôd I*, 126 (183 ,1-2).

		Rattawy, the august is the mighty one in Medamoud ⁵⁶ .		
52	Medam.	<i>R^ct-t3wy H^rskt</i> Rattawy is Kheresket ^(g) 57.	Rattawy	Text
53	Medam.	<i>R^ct-t3wy m ^ck.s n nwb n n^rwt</i> Rattawy comes like the gold of goddesses ⁵⁸ .	Rattawy	Text
54	Opet	<i>R^ct-t3wy h^ryt-tp w3st špst h^ryt-ib M3dw</i> <i>3st h^w sn.s wsir</i> Rattawy in Thebes is the august one in Medamoud, Isis protects her brother Osiris ⁵⁹ .	Monthou- Re/ Rattawy	<i>Mn wd3</i>
55	Opet	<i>R^ct-t3wy h^ryt-tp w3st snkt Nt mwt n D^hwty</i> Rattawy in Thebes is the wet nurse of Neith, the mother of Thoth ⁶⁰ .	Monthou / Rattawy	<i>3wt-ib</i>
56	Opet	<i>R^ct-t3wy h^ryt-ib w3st 3st h^w sn.s Irt-R^c</i> <i>nbt pt hnwt n^rw nbw</i> Rattawy in Thebes is Isis protects her brother, the eye of Re, the lady of heaven, the mistress of all gods ⁶¹ .	Monthou /Rattawy	<i>hnk irp</i>
57	Opet	<i>Tⁿnt-R^ct-t3wy Irt-R^c nbt pt hnwt n^rw nbw</i> Thenent/Rattawy is the eye of Re, lady of heaven, the mistress of all gods ⁶² .	Hathor/ Thenent	<i>iry sššt</i>
58	Opet	<i>R^ct-t3wy h^ryt-tp w3st 3st wrt mwt-n^r irt-R^c // // // h^w s3.s hr hr nst it.f</i> Rattawy in Thebes is Isis the great, god's mother, the eye of Re // // // protects her	Amount/ Rattawy	<i>P^hr-h3 sp fdw</i>

⁵⁶Medamoud I, 2(b), 8.

⁵⁷Medamoud II, 322, 23.

⁵⁸Medamoud II, 105, 46-47.

⁵⁹Opet, 22(E).

⁶⁰Opet, 55 (F).

⁶¹Opet, 114 (E).

⁶²Opet, 140-141(E).

		son Horus upon the throne of his father ⁶³ .		
59	Opet	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib M3dw sš3t wrt nbt sš</i> Rattawy in Medamoud is Seshat, the great lady of writing ⁶⁴ .	Rattawy	<i>ḥnk Mnit</i>
60	Opet	<i>R^ct-t3wy // // // ḥnwt šn nb n itn</i> Rattawy // // // is the lady of all what the sun disc encircles ⁶⁵ .	Rattawy	Scene is have damaged
61	Phila	<i>Tnnt nbt pt</i> Thenent is the lady of heaven ⁶⁶ .	Ennead Thenent Khnum	Hymn
62	Shanhur	<i>R^ct- t3wy ḥryt-ib w3st Irt- R^c nbt pt ḥnwt ntrw nbw nbt ntrw ḥnwt ntrwt</i> Rattawy in Thebes is the eye of Re, the mistress of the sky, the mistress of all gods, lady of gods and mistress of goddesses ⁶⁷ .	Rattawy	text
63	Tôd,I,8 14 (10-11)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib D^rt sš3t wrt nbt sš p^d-šsr n ḥ špst ḥrskt dg3.tw sšmt [špst]</i> Rattawy in El-Tôd is Seshat the great lady of writing, stretches the cord of the palace, the august Khereskhet is seen as leader [the august].	Monthou Rattawy	Procession of going out from the palace
64	Tôd,I,24 ,39 (11)	<i>R^ct-t3wy špst ḥryt-ib w3st snkt Nt ir ipy</i> Rattawy, the august one in Thebes is the wet nurse of Neith, who creates Thoth.	Scene is half damaged	Purification Scene
65	Tôd,I,6, 103(1-4)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib D^rt špst wsrt ḥnwt i3bt ḥkt wrt n b3ḥw r m3nw ityt n t3wy drw Tm3t mnht n p3wtyw Rnnt nfrt n imn</i>	Scene is half damaged	Scene is half damaged

⁶³Opet, 145(D).

⁶⁴Opet, 158, A (B).

⁶⁵Opet, 158 B (B).

⁶⁶Phila, II, 927(9), 103.

⁶⁷H., Willem & Others, "The Temple of Shanhur", OLA 124 (2003), 83.

		<p><i>rn.s ḥr s3 mr.s m // // // nbt rmt ntrw wsrt m w3st Nit m Twn ityt [m] Drt m3ct m m3dw.</i></p> <p>Rattawy in El-Tôd is the august, mighty one, the mistress of the lift eye, the female ruler, the great in the east more than the west, queen of the entire two lands, ancestor's mother, excellent goddess for the ancestors, Renent whose beautiful name is hidden to protect her lover in // // // (h), the lady of people and gods, the mighty one in Thebes, Neith in Armant, the queen [in] El-Tôd, Maat in Medamoud.</p>		
66	Tôd,I,71 ,109 (1-2)	<p><i>Tnnt-Iwnyt s3t n R^c ḥryt-ib iwnt swḥt Sbkt wbn m Nnw nbt dr</i></p> <p>Thenent/Iwneyt is the daughter of Re in Armant, the egg, <i>Sbkt</i> ⁽ⁱ⁾ shines from Noun, lady of the Universe.</p>	Monthou Thenent	Scene is half damaged
67	Tôd,I,74 ,114 (1-3)	<p><i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib iwnw-šm^c špst wsrt m sp3t-Ḥ3t nty R^c t3tt wrt</i></p> <p>Rattawy in Armant is the august, the mighty one in <i>Sp3t-Ḥ3t</i>, belongs to Re, the female vizier, the great.</p>	Rattawy	Scene is half damaged
68	Tôd,I,77 , 120 (1-3)	<p><i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Drt špst wsrt m-ḥnt ḥwt-k3 Rnnt</i></p> <p>Rattawy in El-Tôd is the august, the mighty one in El-Tôd, Renent.</p>	Rattawy	Scene is half damaged
69	Tôd,I,12 ,183 (1-2)	<p><i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Drt Trt-R^c ḥnt Ḥwt-k3 mh-ib n R^c m ḥsk nbd ḥ^cw n ḥftyw</i></p> <p>Rattawy at El-Tôd is the eye of Re in El-Tôd temple, pleases Re by destroying Seth and limbs of enemies.</p>	Thenent	<i>ḥnḳ sšn</i>
70	Tôd,I,12	<p><i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib M3dw špst nfrt [m] Ḥwt-k3 tnr m w3ḥ .</i></p>	Monthou	

	7,186 (3-4)	Rattawy in Medamoud is the august, beautiful one [in] El-Tôd temple, strong in killing.	Rattawy	
71	Tôd,I,13 0,193 (4-5)	<i>Tnnt ḥryt-ib [Drt] špst wsrt m Ḥwt-R^c tpyt-n R^c</i> Thenent in [El-Tôd] is the august, the mighty one in El-Tôd temple ^(j) , the first of Re.	Monthou Thenent	Scene is half damaged
72	Tôd,I,13 9,213 (3-4)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib w3st snkt Nt ir Ipy</i> Rattawy in Thebes nurses Neith and creates Thoth.		Scene is half damaged
73	Tôd,I,14 6,224 (6-7)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib drt Tfnt ḥryt-tp n R^c mki ḥm.f m r-d3isw</i> Rattawy in El-Tôd is Tefnout upon the forehead of Re to protect his majesty with spells.	Rattawy Seshat	
74	Tôd,I,14 8,231 (1-2)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Drt špst wsrt m Ḥwt-k3 wrt ḥk3w m sbyw n R^c</i> Rattawy in El-Tôd is the august mighty one in El-Tôd temple, great of magicians against enemies of Re.	Monthou Rattawy	<i>ḥbs-t3</i>
75	Tôd,II, 175,8 (10)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Drt Irt-R^c nbt Ḥwt-k3</i> Rattawy in El-Tôd is the eye of Re, lady of El-Tôd temple.	Monthou Rattawy	<i>ḥnk šht</i>
76	Tôd,II, 176,9	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Drt Hrskt ʿš3 ḥbw</i> Rattawy in El-Tôd is Kheresket who has numerous festivals ⁶⁸ .	Monthou Rattawy	<i>ḥnk šht</i>

⁶⁸The feast of Rattawy was mostly held in the fourth month of the harvest season according to the texts of El-Tôd which show that it was celebrated in fifteenth day of lunar month, this means that it was held when the moon become full moon in the sky review Tôd, II, 193 (3);compare for the feast of Hathor in Dendera temple, Dendera X, 239 (5), 252 (3), 362 (5); Dendera XI, 132 (11), 133(2), Phila II, 245 (d), 251(4), Urk VIII, 53(g, z), 56 (h), 60 (h), 81(i), 120 (i); Neugabouer & R. Parker , Egyptian Astronomical Texts, London, 1969, 199; WPL 146 (13-16),147(1); Urk VIII, 58(h), 60(b),(h), 81(i); the texts of Karnak also described that the new lunar month became after being the crescent as full moon. This happy act usually happens monthly from the beginning of the first day of the new month " *bk3.tw.f m psdntyw bh.tw.f m*

	(10)			
77	Tôd,II, 181,14 (7)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib</i> //// <i>snkt Nt sbkt nbt Ḥwt</i> //// <i>nfrt-ḥr šḥb mndty</i> Rattawy in //// nurses Neith, the bright eye, the lady of ////, the beautiful of face who makes festive the eyes.	Rattawy Hôrpare	<i>ḥnk</i> <i>wnwy-ḥr</i>
78	Tôd,II, 183,16 (10)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib M3dw irt-R^c nbt pt ḥnwt</i> <i>ntrw nbw</i> Rattawy in Medamoud is the eye of Re, the lady of sky, the lady of all gods.	Monthou Rattawy	<i>ḥnk</i> <i>bw-</i> <i>wr</i>
79	Tôd,II, 220,73 (1-2)	<i>Tnnt nbt iwnw-šm^c irt-R^c nbt pt</i> //// <i>ḥryt-tp n ntrw</i> Thenent, the lady of Armant is the eye of Re, the lady of sky //// who is upon the forehead of gods.	Monthou- Horus-Re Thenent Rattawy	<i>ḥnk</i> <i>šht</i>
80	Tôd,II, 220,73 (6)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib iwnw-šm^c špst</i> //// Rattawy in Armant is the august ////.	Monthou Rattawy	<i>ḥnk</i> <i>šht</i>
81	Tôd,II, 221,75 (14)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Drt špst irt-R^c nbt pt</i> <i>ḥnwt ntrw nbw ntrwt nbwt</i> Rattawy in El-Tôd is the august, the eye of Re, the lady of sky, the lady of all gods and all goddesses.	Monthou Rattawy Hathor Hôrparè	<i>ḥnk</i> <i>wsht</i>
82	Tôd, II, 222,78 (12)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib w3st irt-R^c nbt ntrw</i> <i>nbw špst wsrt ḥryt-ib M3dw</i> Rattawy in Thebes is the eye of Re, the lady of all gods, the august, the mighty one in Medamoud.	Monthou Rattawy Hôrparè	<i>mn</i> <i>wsht</i>
83	Tôd,II, 226,88	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Drt špst wsrt ḥnwt ntrw</i> <i>mwt-ntr nty Ḥr-R^c wr mrt ḥnwt ḥmwt</i>	Monthou Rattawy	<i>Ptpt</i> <i>iwntyw</i>

smdt" it became pregnant as crescent (and) bourn as full moon", review Urk VIII , 89(b-3); Kom Ombos, 912; It should be noted that Hathor was supposed to return back to Dendera from Edfou on the day of full moon after celebrating with Horus Behdet in Edfou, see H., W., Fairman , "Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple", BJRL 37/1, 1954, 199;Grimm , A. "Die Altägyptischen Festkalender in den Tempeln der Griechisch-Römischen Epoche", ÄA 15, Wiesbaden, 1994, 105, 197 (G 49) ; for further discussion about the role of Hathor in this feast at Dendera and Edfou , see Id.,404-405; S. Cauville , "Les Fêtes d'Hathor" ,OLA 105, Leuven, 2002,10 ff.

	(10-11)	<i>nfrt-ḥr bnrt-mrt</i> Rattawy in El-Tôd is the august one, mighty one, mistress of gods , god's mother belongs to Horus Rê, the great of love, mistress of women, the beautiful of face, sweet of love.	Hôrparè	
84	Tôd,II, 228,93 (13)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib M3dw Irt-R^c nbt pt ḥnwt ntrw nbw</i> Rattawy in Medamoud is the eye of Re, lady of sky , mistress of all gods	Monthou Rattawy Hôrparè	<i>šms</i> <i>ᶚntyw</i>
85	Tôd,II, 229,96 (7)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Iwnw-šm^c Irt-R^c ḥryt-ib Drt špst wsrt nbt pt ḥnwt ntrw nbw</i> Rattawy in Armant is the eye of Re in El-Tôd, the august, mighty one, lady of sky, mistress of all gods.	Rattawy	Scene is half damaged
86	Tôd,II, 244,132 (3)	<i>3ḥt wrt Mḥnyt-n-R^c mwt-ntr ir s3 wsir mki s3.s m-ḥnw 3ḥ-bit</i> The great caw is Mehneyt of Re, god's mother gives birth for the son of Osiris; she is protecting her son in Khemmis.		Hymn
87	Tôd,II, 244, 132(4)	<i>Hrskt ᶚš3 ḥbw mḥ-ib n it.s R^c m r3-d3i(t) šḥm ib ḥrpt ḥrp-kn tnr m skw nbt r-ᶚḥt ḥtmt /// /// ḥrt rnpt Nswtt-bitt R^ct-t3wy [ḥryt-ib Drt]</i> Kheresket has many festivals pleases her father Re in the battle ^(k) , brave one, supervisor of warrior ^(l) , strong in battlefield, lady of war who conquer //////// annually, queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rattawy [in El-Tôd].		Hymn
88	Tôd,II, 244, 132(5)	<i>Mnhyt š[ps̄t] rs[t] ḥr Hr.s wp pt t3 m ḥrp.s bh s3.s Hr m wḥm-ᶚ m /// šḥmt</i> The uraeus goddess is the [august] [watches over] her son, the sky and earth are opened with her form; [she] gives newly birth to her son, Horus, as /// Sekhmet.		Hymn

89	Tôd,II, 245, 135(1)	<p>///[hr]yt-tp n R^c k3t hry k3wt s3t nb-dr nbt n ///// imn shrw.s iwty [wn] m-rwty s3w dgt.n .s nbw Nswtt-bitt Tnnt hryt-ib Drt irt-R^c hnt Hwt-nbwt</p> <p>The [uraeus] of Re is the female kas, daughter of the lord of Universe, lady of ///// her plans are hidden, there is nothing exists beyond it, people are protected by her seeing, queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, Thenent in El-Tôd, the Eye of Re in El-Tôd temple^(m).</p>		Hymn
90	Tôd,II, 245, 135(2)	<p>3st mwt nt Hr rdi /// htm b3w.s nbt r tp-hsp ^cpr wd3t smdt rnp.tw n s^cb Nswtt- bitt Twnyt</p> <p>Isis the mother of Horus provides her souls, lady of correct reckoning who provides the Wd3t eye in the fest of fifteen day of lunar month to rejuvenate without wane. Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, Iwneyt.</p>		Hymn
91	Tôd,II, 245, 135(4)	<p>nbt nsrt shm šfy^t ^cnh^t wrt wnm wnnwt /// nbyt r sbyw.s wnm w3dw shb //// [wnm] h3tyw miswt Nswtt-bitt shm^t hryt- ib D^rt špst wsrt m Hwt-R^c</p> <p>The lady of flames is the strong of respect, the living, the great eats what is existing//// the flames against her enemies, eats the meat,////[swallow]⁽ⁿ⁾ meat portions and livers, queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sekhmet in El-Tôd, the august, the strong in El-Tôd.</p>		Hymn
92	Tôd,II, 248, 138(3)	<p>Wnn H^rskt m nfr hr rpyt (n) it.s shp- mndty wrt wsrt h^cw.s m nbw hryw-tp.s m hsb^d</p> <p>As long as Kheresket exists with beautiful face like the image of her father, when makes festive the eyes, the great, the mighty one, her limbs are from gold, her forehead is from true lapis-lazuli.</p>		Hymn

93	Tôd,II, 249, 140(3)	<i>Wnn Nwbt m Hwt-hr wrt hr Wtst-h^cw m shr pr n R^c sy m hnsktyt nbt mrt</i> As long as Noubet exists as Hathor, the great in rising up the glorious appearances in the chapel of the House of Re, she is like <i>Hnsktyt</i> ^(o) , lady of love.		Hymn
94	Tôd,II, 249, 140(4)	<i>Nswtt-bitt Hwt-Hr wrt hryt-ib Drt W3dt hryt-ib Drt špst Sbkt m Hwt-t3i</i> Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, Hathor the great is in El-Tôd, Wadjet in El-Tôd, the august, <i>Sbkt</i> in El-Tôd temple ^(p) .		
95	Tôd,II, 236,113 (9-11)	<i>Tnnt-R^ct-t3wy hryt-ib Drt špst wsrt hnwt ntrw ntrwt nfrt-hr bnrt-mrt h^{cc} ntrw m m33 hr.s ʕ3 rnw n niwwt sp3wt hnwt m Twnw-šm^c mwt mwtw twty snw.s hryt-tp n ntrw nbw</i> Thenent/Rattawy in El-Tôd is the august, mighty one, mistress of gods and goddesses, beautiful of face, sweet of love, gods rejoice when seeing her face. She has numerous names in towns and nomes, mistress in Armant, mother of mothers, there is no like her, she is upon the forehead of all gods.	Wadjet Thenent Rattawy Imhotep Amonhotep	<i>hnk mnht</i>
96	Tôd,II, 262,160 (10)	<i>R^ct-t3wy špst hryt-ib Drt nbt pt hnwt ntrw nbw</i> Rattawy, the august one in El-Tôd is lady of sky, mistress of all gods.	Rattawy	<i>ir hnkt</i>
97	Tôd,II, 264,162 (10)	<i>R^ct-t3wy hryt-ib w3st ʔrt-R^c nbt pt hnwt ntrw nbw</i> Rattawy in Thebes is the eye of Re, lady of sky, mistress of all gods.	Rattawy	<i>hnk wnwy-hr</i>
98	Tôd,II, 271,174 (9)	<i>R^ct-t3wy hryt-ib iwnw-šm^c špst wsrt hryt- ib Drt</i> Rattawy in Armant is the august, the mighty one in El-Tôd.	Rattawy	<i>rdi wsht</i>
99	Tôd,II, 273,177	<i>R^ct-t3wy hryt-ib M3dw mrr.s hrw dr h3t-ib</i> Rattawy in Medamoud loves to drive away sadness from heart.	Rattawy	<i>rdi irp</i>

	(10)			
100	Tôd,II, 274, 179(6)	<i>Tnnt ḥryt-ib Dṛt špst ḥryt-ib M3dw 'Irt-R^c nbt 'Iwnw-šm^c</i> Thenent in El-Tôd is the august in Medamoud, eye of Re, lady of Armant.	Thenent	<i>rdi wnwy- ḥr</i>
101	Tôd,II, 287,227 (9)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Dṛt ḥryt st-wrt 'Irt-R^c nbt pt</i> Rattawy in El-Tôd is upon the great seat [El-Tôd temple], the eye of Re, lady of sky.	Monthou Rattawy	<i>ḥms-m- wh^c</i>
102	Tôd,II, 288,228 (10)	<i>R^ct-t3wy wsrt n ḥryt 3 m t3 ḥk3(t) m imntt</i> Rattawy is the mighty one in the heaven, great one in the earth, ruler in the west.	Monthou Rattawy	<i>di ḥtp m3^c</i>
103	Tôd,II, 298,239 (14)	<i>R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Dṛt nbt pt ḥnwt ntrw</i> Rattawy in El-Tôd is the lady of heaven, mistress of gods.	Monthou Rattawy	<i>ḥnk irp</i>
104	Tôd, II, 314, 262 (17)	<i>Tnnt-R^ct-t3wy ḥryt-ib Dṛt</i> Thenent/Rattawy is in El-Tôd.	Ageb-wer Apis Monthou Thenent Rattawy	<i>Ms msw</i>

III- Commentary:

(a) *Hwt-k3*: A general name used for Monthou temple in Armant. It was used interchangeable with *Hwt-t3i* as another famous name for El-Tôd temple the normal residence of Monthu/Re at Thebes⁶⁹.

(b) This epithet commonly used for the Child god Hôrpere in general⁷⁰. It was applied here to Rattawy in her function as wet nurse and mother of the Child God Horus⁷¹. The word *s3k* or *snk* could be used interchangeably in texts with two different meanings,

⁶⁹GDG IV, 137; Tôd, II, 174 (3), 175 (9), 211 (2), 267 (5), 288 (6); Otto, Topographie, 83-85.

⁷⁰Aufrère, MIFAO, 117,435(q).

⁷¹Tôd I, 146 (16); II, 181(6); Wb, IV, 174 (7-16); It is worth mentioning that Rattawy was referred to as "who Nurses Neith" "*snkt Ni* " together with the epithet of Neith "*s3t-R^c* ", thereby she became daughter of his female form in theological phenomenon, see R., El-Said, "La Déesse Neith de Sais", BdE 86, Le Caire, 1982, 140, 574.

the first *s3k* usually gives meaning of to "feed" or to "protect"⁷², while the second word *snk* is referring to "drink milk" or to "suckle"⁷³. These two meanings are seems to be different, but the texts of Dendera and Karnak used both of them to give the same indirect meaning⁷⁴. The word *s3k* is usually relating to the myth of Horus and Seth to give the meaning of "feed" or "protect". This meaning was used after leaving Horus the child in Delta marshes by Isis, and afterwards the legend spoke about suckling the child by Hathor to protect him from death by nursing. Thereafter, the two words "protect" or "suckle" often give same indirect mythical meaning⁷⁵.

(c) Mythological manifestation originally refers to serpent goddesses such as Menhyt, Nekhpet and Wadjet in their forms as primordial and protective deities⁷⁶. Thereupon, this protective phenomenon of that epithet indeed qualified Isis and Nephthys to acquire this functioned aspect⁷⁷. Afterwards, it was applied for Rattawy as goddess of force and counterpart of war god Monthou at Thebes.

(d) The meaning, here, may refer to Rattawy's gold flame which mythically destroying enemies of Horus in her aspect as fierce goddess Menhyt/Bastet⁷⁸.

(e) *Sp3t-h3t*: "Nome of the beginning", according to Gauthier, it was the first nome of Upper Egypt⁷⁹. The reference of the town in the

⁷²Wb IV, 25 (6)-26 (5); Meeks, AnLex. 79.2418; *Urk* VIII, 82 (i).

⁷³Wb IV, 174 (7-18); Meeks, AnLex.78.3637; Aufrère, MIFAO 117,432(f1-4)

⁷⁴Dendera X, 79 (12), 270 (4); Aufrère, MIFAO 117, 434 (P, Q).

⁷⁵*Opet*, III, 55 (e), 25; J., Griffiths, "The Origins of Osiris", *MÁS* 9, 6-7, 77.

⁷⁶Wb V, 470(8-11); LGG, III, 385-386, VII, 551-552.

⁷⁷Aufrère, MIFAO 117, 390(1-4), 393(t-u).

⁷⁸Goyon, *Le Ritual du shp shmt*, 64-65(11); *the word hddwt is usually used for sun rays*, review Wb, III, 215 (10 -17); WPL, 698.

⁷⁹GDG V, 30; Dendera, XI, 159 (13).

texts of El-Tôd temple refer to El-Tôd as the oldest town; residence of creator goddess Rattawy⁸⁰.

(f) *pr-wbht*: Name with a metaphorical meaning for the Mamisis of Armant⁸¹. It literally means "House of Light" presumably refers to the shrine of this goddess in this temple where Rattawy in the form of Isis gave birth to her son Horus as a divine creator mother who gives light of creation for the universe as a companion of Monthou-Re at Armant⁸².

(g) *Hrskt*: It is mainly an epithet for Nephthys in her mythical role wherever she protect her Brother Osiris⁸³. In the contexts of Upper Egyptian temples in particular at Armant and El-Tôd it was often associated with Rattawy after identifying her with the protective and primordial goddesses Hathor/Isis, Mehneyt and Sekhmet⁸⁴.

(h) The missing word here could be *3h-bit* "Khemmis" in comparison with another text of El-Tôd temple⁸⁵.

(i) One of the most common epithets for Hathor/Isis in Edfou⁸⁶. It was used for the form of Rattawy/Thenent to link her with Sekhmet, the commonly strong eye of Re⁸⁷.

(j) *Hwt-Rc*: An important town, situated in the west of Thebes⁸⁸. It was identified with the temple of El-Tôd where Rattawy acquired

⁸⁰Tôd II, 182(6), 249(4), 254(1), 285 (11); Aufrère, *MIFAO* 117,183; It was used in Dendera to describe the first nome of Upper Egypt, *Dendera*, X, 367(9);and somewhere it refers to Armant as one of the normal residences of Monthou and Rattawy, Aufrère, *MIFAO* 117, 183(d6).

⁸¹*Wb* II, 295 (18-19); Meeks, *AnLex*,79.0643 ;*LD*, IV , 61(g),64 (a);F. Daumas , *Mammisis* , 346 ;S. Aufrère , *MIFAO* 117, 333 (i-j- k), 334.

⁸²Sternberg , El Hotabi , "Der Propylon des Month -Tempels in Karnak-Nord zum Dekorationsprinzip des Tores Übersetzung und Kommentierung der Urkunden , VIII , Text Nr. 1- Nr. 50" , in :*GoF* 25 ,Wiesbaden , 1992,68;

⁸³Sauneron, S., *Villes et légendes d'Égypte* (§ VII-XI), *BIFAO* 64, (1966), 187-189; *WPL*, 774; Tôd II, 293, 233(11), 271,174(9), 273, 177(8), 285,224(10).

⁸⁴Goyon, Gardiens, 119(5); *Tod* II, 176, 9 (8).

⁸⁵*Wb* I,13(3-4); Sauneron , *BFAO* 64, 190-191; Tôd II, 244,132(3);this meaning could compare with Hathor's titles "*mh t3 m nkr nwb*" and "*mh t3 m nfrw.s*" "that fill earth's limits when she illumine on the sky in daytime review, *Dendera* IV,152(10);

⁸⁶ *Wb* IV, 94(16-17).

⁸⁷*LGG* VI, 257.

an important cultic role as female partner of the great god Monthou in the region⁸⁹.

(k) *m-r3-d3i(t)*: This expression is usually used to describe the battlefield⁹⁰. It literally means "at the beginning of the harm"⁹¹, it clearly links Rattawy in her aspect as a consort of war god Monthou with the legend of the Destruction of Mankind as a bellicose goddess like Sekhmet or Hathor⁹².

(l) *hrpt hrp-kn*: This epithet is applied to Rattawy in her role as a force goddess⁹³. Generally this expression was usually used to describe power of fierce deities such as Horus, Sekhmet, Bastet, Tefnout and Ashtaret as force deities⁹⁴, it was used interchangeably with *nb r3-ḥt* "lord of battle" for Monthou and "*kn m sky*" brave in the battlefield" as well⁹⁵.

(m) *Hwt-nbwt*: General name for the goddesses' room in El-Tôd temple⁹⁶. It is presumably derived from the epithet of Rattawy as "*Nwbwt*" "the golden Lady" which describes the statue of the goddess inside the shrine of the temple⁹⁷. It became a general name for El-Tôd

temple. It is worth mentioning that Gauthier considered it as the

⁸⁸GDG IV, 105; review note 9.

⁸⁹Tôd II, 174 (4), 177 (10), 276 (5), 294 (7), 301(6).

⁹⁰Wb V, 514 (14-17).

⁹¹Aufrère, MIFAO 117, 301(r-s).

⁹²Lesko, DLE IV, 149; Tôd II, 190 (10), 251 (5).

⁹³It means literally "who leads the Horsemen", review Tôd II, 244,132 (4).

⁹⁴S., Bedier, "Trobleckle Ptolemaus XII aus Kom Ombo", GM 162, 1998, 12-13(37); Tôd II, 281 (8); for Horsmatawy at Dendera, see Dendera X, 69 (11);Edfu, I, 531 (9);Fairman, BIFAO 43, 129,130;Urk VIII,68(9);for the god Monthu at Karnak review J., Grenier, Une Scene d'Offrande a`Astarte` (Inscription Tod N.281), Mélanges Offerts a` Jean Vercoutter, Paris 1985,107-110.

⁹⁵Aufrère, MIFAO 117,299; WPL.746; Meeks, AnLex, 79.3137; C., de Wit, "Inscriptions Dedicatoires du Temple d'Edfou, (Ier partie)" CdE, 36 / 71, 1961, 59 (7), 81 (1); at Memphis Ashtaret was identified with Sekhmet as great spouse of Ptah, see Badawi, Memphis.31-32.

⁹⁶Tôd II, 283 (B), 32 (3).

⁹⁷F. de la Roque, "Notes sur le Dieu Montou", BIFAO 40, 49.

town of Coptos, the fifth nome of Upper Egypt⁹⁸, this idea is so far from reality and from the reasonable meaning of the texts in the temple.

(n) [*wnm*] *h3tyw miswt*: The missing part could be restored to be (*wnm*) "eat" to complete the meaning of this expression which refers to the destruction of enemies of creator gods⁹⁹. The text here is referring to Sekhmet/Hathor who was identified with Rattawy in El-Tôd temple¹⁰⁰.

(o) Two mythical epithets were applied for Hathor/Isis in their function as protective goddesses. The word *Hnsktyt* usually describes female deities as a woman with braided hair,¹⁰¹ while *Sbkt* refers to her as the bright eye of Re¹⁰². Both of them were used as metaphorical names for Hathor/Isis in the temple of Dendera as well¹⁰³.

(p) *Hwt-t3i*: A poetic epithet used for El-Tôd temple. It describes the temple as the holly chosen residence for Monthou who was known as "t3i" the Creator Bull of All Gods¹⁰⁴.

IV- Analyses & Conclusion:

As emerges from study these aspects and epithets of Rattawy/Thenent in Greco-Roman temples and with reverting to the above mention table several points could be noted:

⁹⁸GDG IV, 79.

⁹⁹Tôd II, 245 (d); Dendara X, 77 (2), 87 (12); Edfou V, 152 (6-7).

¹⁰⁰Tôd II, 244, 132 (3), 245, 135(4); Compare this metaphorical meaning in Karnak temple where it was applied for Horus who as a war god eats flesh of his enemies, review Aufrère, MIFAO 117, 277(d).

¹⁰¹WPL, 656; Dendara X, 36(3), 45(1); *El-Qal'ca*, 79; Phila I, 60(14); A, Farid, "New Ptolemaic Blocks from Rubc-al-Maganin-Armant", MDAIK 35(1979), 68.

¹⁰²WPL, 817; Tôd II, 245(3), 273 (9), 274(9), 278(5-6); Aufrère, MIFAO 117, 260 (k).

¹⁰³Dendara X, 301(4); XI, 17(2); LGG V, 223-224.

¹⁰⁴WPL, 1158; the god Monthu is known as the father of primeval gods, then he was considered as symbol of the male and female power in creation process, see Aufrère, MIFAO 117,79; Dendara X, 359 (1); Tôd I, 54 (2); II, 174 (4), 198 (7), 201 (2), 249 (4); see comment N.(o); There are many metaphorical names for El-Tôd temple that are commonly used referring to the divine temple as a place of truth and justice such as *Bw-m3c* "place of truth" review GDG II, 12.

1-As primordial goddess, Rattawy was addressed as a daughter of the earth god Geb and sky goddess Nout after identification with Isis divine mother of Horus¹⁰⁵. This aspect directly equated her to the function of Hathor/Isis as spouse of Osiris in Egyptian pantheon¹⁰⁶. This motherhood aspect seems extremely different than her famous violent nature in which she frequently referred to as Isis/Hathor the female counterpart of Monthou name¹⁰⁷.

2- Such form of Rattawy/Thenent is commonly known as fierce and bellicose goddess in her function as wife of war god Monthou-Re in Thebes region¹⁰⁸. This violent nature merged her with theologies of force goddesses Sekhmet, Tefnout and Uraeus goddess Mehneyt¹⁰⁹. As such she was described as the divine mother of Neith or even as the goddess Nebteu herself at Esna¹¹⁰.

3-The main aspects of Rattawy/Thenent in Theban region were generally showing her as the creator of "Re", wet nurse of "Neith", Tefnout the spouse of war-god Monthou-Re, divine mother of Horus and the protector of Osiris¹¹¹. All these theological aspects and mixture of cultic identification are meant to link her theology with the cosmic order as creator deity with creative ability¹¹².

¹⁰⁵Rattawy was identified with Isis whose aspects and titles were given to Rattawy in particular in giving birth and creation processes, accordingly, Rattawy was directly assimilated with Isis/Meskhenet or Isis/Rat as two divine creative forms review LGG I, 63,73,74

¹⁰⁶Griffiths, J., The Origin of Osiris, MAS 9, 1966, 27-38.

¹⁰⁷Cauville, S, La Théologie d' Osiris à Edfou, BiEtud 91(1983), 58-59; LGG IV, 647-649; Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, 68, 70.

¹⁰⁸Tôd II, 236, 113(15).

¹⁰⁹Germond, Ph., Sekhmet et la Protection du Monde, ÆgHelv 9, Genève, 1983,310;Drioton, É., Le Texte Dramatique d'Edfou, CASAE 11, Le Caire 1948,76-77,119;Tôd II,282(191).

¹¹⁰For Mout as the eye of her father Re, his daughter and his wife who creates him, see K. Seth, "Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis", AAWB, Berlin, 1929, 29-3; Willem, Shanhur. 79, 84, 85 (49); M., EL-Tonssy, Goddesses of Force in EL-Tod Temple, CASAE 37, 243-250;Bleeker,Hathor and Thoth,48-51; RÄRG,208,854.

¹¹¹Griffiths, MAS 9, 1966, 25-38, 96-104.

¹¹²Review texts number 86-93 in the previous schedule; Aufrère, MIFAO 117,384(d), 191(c), 398(c).

4-The theme of Rattawy titles and aspects, as mentioned above illustrate complicated relationship with the sun god Re, whereas she is mostly perceived as the divine mother of her father Re who gave her his solar phenomenon, thereby, this role enabling her to become a solar deity¹¹³. This supposed function probably based on her new manifestation as Hathor/Isis, the celestial cow in her manifestation as the divine potency who firstly gave birth to Re on the sky and secondly to Horus on Khemmis too¹¹⁴. This idea is extremely supported by these hymns and epithets of Rattawy which were inscribed in Goddess's chapel in El-Tôd temple. Analysis of her theology, according to these texts, is clearly showing the real fusion between her cultic role and Hathor as great primeval cow mother of Horus¹¹⁵. This integration is a result of her fusion with Hathor/Isis as the divine mother of Horus. Such phenomenon and other features were well known to Rattawy as birth-giving creator goddess in all of Monthou temples at Thebes in the Greco-Roman period¹¹⁶. This similarity can be found between Hathor and Isis at Dendara¹¹⁷.

¹¹³This conception was applied for Rattawy after merging with Hathor in her role as the Sun-Eye of Re, review texts number, 2, 7, 10, 15, 34, 40; Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, 48-51.

¹¹⁴For more details about some of these epithets review texts number 1-4, 31, 34, 36, 69, 74 and 86 in the previous schedule; Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, 30-33, 46-51.

¹¹⁵Compare such use of this adjectival word and the five lines of hymns in Phila review L, Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in her Temple at Philae*, London, 1988, 17ff; Dumas, *Les Mamsis de Dendara*, Le Caire, 1959, 236 (18-19), 237 (1-17), 238 (1-12); Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, 51-53.

¹¹⁶This may refer to Rattawy in her manifestation as Tefnout daughter of primeval god Atum from whom she gained her power in creation, Žandee, J., "The Birth-Giving Creator-God in Ancient Egypt", *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, Occasional Publications 8 (1992), 169-180; R. Mond & O. Myers, *Temples of Armant, Text and Plates*, London, 1940, 157-159; A., Farid, "Two New Kingdom Statues from Armant", *MDAIK* 39, 1983, 59-69; Kockelmann, "Roman Period Demotic Manual, *JEA*, 89, 222-223; A., Gutbub, "Rait", *LÄ* V, 87; Id., "Rat-tau", *LÄ* V, 151-155; *Medamoud*, II, 322, 23; *Deir-Chellout*, I, 62 (2-3); *Deir El-Madina*, *MIFAO* 121, 12 (15), 92(11); *Esna* III, 216, 52(1-5).

¹¹⁷M., Eldamaty, Isis-Hathor im Tempel von Dendera Aspekte Spätägyptischer Kultur, *Aegtrav* 7, (Festschrift für Erich Winter) 1997, 81-87; Dendara XI, 159 (9-13).

5- It can be clearly noticed that all of these divine epithets and cultic aspects of Rattawy/Thenent form are documented in text number twenty five in El-Tôd temple which refers to her as goddess has many names in towns and regions¹¹⁸. As a normal result of such text, Rattawy was assimilated with Hathor, Thenent, Isis, Tefnout, and Bastet as creator and protectors goddesses in Thebes¹¹⁹. Taking all these ideas into consideration, Rattawy/Thenent can be described as predominate and creator goddess not only at El-Tôd, but also in all Monthou temples at Thebes¹²⁰.

6- Rites and offering scenes that were depicted for Rattawy/Thenent in Theban monuments in general confirm two different conceptions contradict with one another, firstly she was normally known as a violent goddess in her function as Monthou consort, secondly she have got prominent position as the lovely mother of Horus after identifying with Isis/Hathor. These two contrasted aspects may mythically reflect the essential need of Rattawy's divine power of protection and her absolute creative activity which must be achieved side by side with both forgiveness and love for realizing the stability of mankind's life upon earth¹²¹.

¹¹⁸Tôd I, 25 (40); compare for another example: Tôd II, 236,113(9-11).

¹¹⁹For more elaboration review texts number 23, 31, 34, 35, 54,70,73,86 in the previous schedule; KRI IV, 130(12-13).

¹²⁰LD IV, 60(b), 61(g), 62(f), 64(b-c), 65 (a); *Medamoud* I, 2(b) 8; II, 322, 23, 105, 46-47.

¹²¹For such conception for Hathor Compare Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, 70; From this remarkable relationship with Hathor, Rattawy acquired another characteristic aspects in the realm of the dead wherever she was identified with her form as cow goddess on the west review Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, 42-45; KRI IV, 196(8).

المعبودة رعت تاوي في معابد العصر اليوناني الروماني

تتناول تلك الدراسة الدور الديني الذي لعبته المعبودة رعت تاوي في العقائد الدينية المصرية في العصر بين البطلمي والروماني من خلال دراسة النصوص والمناظر التي كرس لها في معابد مصر العليا في تلك الفترة حيث ارتبطت بالإله منتو - رع في منطقة طيبة وما حولها.

و توصلت الدراسة الى عدة نتائج من خلال حصر شامل لصفاتها وألقابها في المعابد المختلفة للوقوف على عقيدتها ودورها الديني وتتمثل تلك النتائج في النقاط التالية:

اولا: صورتها النقوش والكتابات في هيئة سيدة بالتاج الحثوري المميز وأشارت الى انها ذات طبيعة متجانسة مع الاله منتو - رع في القدرات والصفات كزوجة له حيث اشير اليها بوصفها ابنة جب ونوت وبالتالي فهي ايزيس الام والزوجة.

ثانيا: ان تسمية "رعت - تاوي" يشير بوضوح في معناه الى القدرة الشمسية المؤنثة ودورها في منح القوة المتمثلة في ضوء الشمس الى ربوع الأرضين، والمقصود بهما مصر العليا ومصر السفلى.

ثالثا: اشارت بعض النصوص في معابد الطود وارمنت الى اعتبارها رعت تاوي/ ثننت خالقة رع ومرضعة نيت وام حورس وحامية اوزير ؛ وفي ذلك اشارة واضحة الى اندماج عقيدتها الدينية في معابد الجنوب مع ايزيس/حتحور كمعبودة شمسية ذات قدرات خالقة فقد وصفت بأنها سخمت زوجة منتو رع . وكذلك اشارة الى اعتبارها البقرة السماوية التي يجوبها رع نهارا مضيئا الارض بنوره ومن هنا نالت لقب ام رع وخالقة جحوتي.

رابعا: منحتها نصوص ومناظر معابد الطود وارمنت صفات اخرى ارتبطت فيها بالمعبودات الخالقات من حيث القدرات الخالقة فوجد انها وصفت بصفات ايزيس حينما يتعلق الامر بالأمومة والإخلاص ووصفت بصفات حتحور تقنوت سخمت حينما يتعلق الامر بالقوة والبطش وابتارها قد مُنحت صفات القوة تلك من خلال ارتباطها بالمعبود منتو- رع كزوجة الهية له.

خامسا: اشارت اليها بعض النصوص باعتبارها باستت الحامية الراضية في اشارة الى انها حملت صفات القوة والبأس وصفات الوداعة والرقة في ان واحد. وذلك الامر لم يكن غريبا على المعبودات المصرية القديمة حيث اعتبرت نصوص معابد ادفو وندرة حتحور هي باستت في هدونها وسخمت حين غضبها. ان ذلك التضاد الظاهري لا يشير في واقع الامر الى تضاد عقائدي حيث لا بد للمعبودات الخالقة الازلية من ان تتحلى بصفات القوة والبأس والمحبة والرقة في ان واحد حتى يتسنى لها القدرة على الردع والعمل على استقامة الحياة للمخلوقات الحية في الارض.