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Abstract

Since her early days in Egyptology, the Amarna Period has been an inexhaustible source of inspiration to Orly Goldwasser. One of her first publications was a note on a cartouche of Ankhkheprure stamped onto a jar handle from Tell Jerishe, and she also worked on scarabs of Amenophis III. When she focused her research interests on the principles of the hieroglyphic writing system, the Great Hymn to the Aten became one of the most important textual sources for her groundbreaking research on what now is called the 'system of classifiers'. Based on this seminal work, she also contributed to the understanding of the often difficult and complex religious system of the Amarna Period. It is thus a particular pleasure to offer to Orly Goldwasser this modest remark on the morphology and writing of two peculiarly written epithets of Queen Nefertiti.

Project References

Challenging Time(s): A New Approach to Written Sources for Ancient Egyptian Chronology

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SIGNS OF LIFE

MONOGRAPHIES REINE ELISABETH

VOLUME 17

GENERAL EDITOR

Luc LIMME, *Association Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles*

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Signs of Life

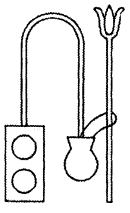
Ancient Egyptian Script, Language, and Writing: Studies in Honour of Orly Goldwasser

Edited by

NIV ALLON

With the assistance of

RACHELI SHALOMI-HEN



ASSOCIATION ÉGYPTOLOGIQUE REINE ÉLISABETH

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Introduction: Signs of Life

> If we believe that language shapes reality, that its every expression has more than one simple meaning; that it not only teems with, but thrives on its ambiguities, that high-spirited and strong-minded, when asked to sit for a portrait, it instantly springs up, displaying every feature but the one sought for, resisting — simply by its liveliness — its portrait maker's plea to catch and form it into a perfect piece; if we believe all that, we begin to respect it, perhaps even to side with it against the portrait maker; and the liveliest, most intractable coltish signs and expressions of language then become dearest to our hearts. To my mind, some of the finest of such expressions ever to have been produced are pictorial hieroglyphs.
>
> Goldwasser 1995, 107

Signs and languages come to life in Orly Goldwasser's oeuvre. In her studies, they lead double lives or have lives of their own, their sheer liveliness definitely resisting any attempt to capture their likeness. From hieroglyphs to linguistic registers and the invention of the alphabet, her work explores systems of meaning and the perceptions of those who expressed themselves through them in Egypt's centres of power as well as farther away in Sinai and beyond. Inspired by the breadth of her research, this volume collects papers on signs, scripts, and languages and the rich lives in which they are embedded in honour of this prodigious and much-beloved scholar.

Goldwasser's work is grounded in her formative years at Tel Aviv University, studying Egyptology and Archaeology with such prominent scholars as Joseph Naveh, Pirhyia Beck, and Mordechai Gilula. Cross-cultural and cross-linguistic questions stood at the heart of her research already then, focusing on Egyptian symbols in Phoenician texts (1976) and Hieratic written in the Levant by Egyptian and non-Egyptian scribes (1980b; 1982; 1984). These themes have continued to accompany her research ever since, especially in the publications of new finds from Hazor (1989), Lachish (1991), Bet Shean (2002), and other sites.

Writing her MA and PhD at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem with Sarah Groll, she followed in the footsteps of the Jerusalem School of Egyptology, shaped by Hans Jacob Polotsky. At that time, her work explored grammatical variations and language use, writing her dissertation on Papyrus Anastasi I and its copy of the *Satirical Letter of Hori* (1987; 1990), with its mixture of Middle and Late Egyptian forms. Against the text's perception as careless and unsophisticated, she shows that scribes were keenly aware of context and subject matter in their choices. Engaging with theoretical models within and outside of Egyptology, Goldwasser introduced key terms in Sociolinguistics, such as *registers*, into Egyptology, reshaping the way language use is approached in the field.

In the same vein, her later work on hieroglyphs explores the script with an eye toward Semiotics as well as Metaphor and Cognitive Studies. Returning to a subject that caught her eye early on (1984), Goldwasser investigates the effects of the pictographic nature of the hieroglyphs in their reading process. Their role as so-called determinatives comes to the fore in Goldwasser's work as part of an elaborate classifier system, which reflects the knowledge organization of ancient Egyptian culture (2002). Closely studying this system, Goldwasser finds it shares many similarities with other phenomena in various spoken languages, thus leading to collaborations with scholars of ancient Egyptian, Anatolian hieroglyphs, Sumerian, and Linguistics, many of whom are among the contributors to this volume. More recently, these investigations have led Goldwasser to establish a research lab, *ArchaeoMind* (Archaeology of the Mind Lab), affiliated with the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, to allow comparative research of knowledge organization, leading an international team who collaborate on documenting the categories of thought according to complex ancient scripts (into which the digital platform iClassifier is incorporated, <https://archaeomind.huji.ac.il/>).

In recent years, the intersection of two of her research pursuits — cross-cultural contacts and reading processes — led to another breakthrough with her publication 'Canaanites Reading Hieroglyphs' (2006). In this work and subsequent studies, Goldwasser proposes that contrary to the previous hypothesis, the inventors of the alphabet in Sinai were indeed inspired by the

ancient Egyptian script but, nevertheless, illiterate in it. According to Goldwasser, their inability to read the ancient Egyptian script freed them from its conventions and allowed them to use it in a few fashions that have shaped much of the world as we know it today.

While her scholarship continues to expand and address new challenges, the contributions in this volume explore the themes mentioned above. The central theme of the volume's first section is the pictographic nature of hieroglyphic scripts. Iconicity plays a significant role in **Nathalie Beaux**'s paper on the hieroglyphic sign (Gardiner L7), which she suggests is a composite sign combining features of the scorpion with those of a water scorpion, thus alluding to the ability to breathe underwater with aggressive — yet not destructive — protection. **Irit Ziffer** and others also focus on a divine image by studying two seals whose iconography might lead one to identify the god as Baal-Seth but represent, they argue, the West Wind instead. Iconicity takes many shapes in **Annick Payne**'s paper on Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions, which allowed its users to create multiple layers of meaning and interact with adjacent glyptic scenes. Signs and their meaning continue to puzzle their modern readers with non-textual markings, which **Julia Budka** explores in her paper, offering new readings of name stones and builders' marks from Thebes while highlighting persistent enigmas.

The second section explores papers on classifiers in ancient Egypt and broader perspectives. **Colette Grinevald** reflects on her work with Goldwasser, which expands the scope of classifier systems, which are primarily spoken, to include a written one. **Jean Winand** expands on the investigation of classification in ancient Egyptian by re-evaluating the role of the logogram while also considering the relationship between text and iconography in monumental inscriptions. **Dörte Borchers** studies the use of numeral classifiers when counting people in Burmese, finding that the choice of classifiers is affected by the circumstances of the conversations. Closely tied to the classification of people, **Gebhard Selz** investigates in the final paper of this section dehumanizing strategies toward nomads in Old Babylonian school texts while touching on modern biases as well.

Following Goldwasser's studies of registers and developments in the ancient Egyptian language throughout its millennia, papers in the third section focus on questions of linguistic variation. **Pascal Vernus** studies an inscription on a Late Period statue to show that ancient writers' notions of the ideal ancient language might differ from modern ones that are often based on purist models. **Roman Gundacker** investigates the feminine ending *t* and its variations reflecting phonological changes, which lead to new readings of Queen Nefertiti's epithets in Amarna. **Benjamin Sass** investigates recently found Iron Age inscriptions from clear archaeological contexts to chart out the developing circumstances and contexts in which the West Semitic alphabet was used. Elaborating on the nature of this script, **Ruth Berman** explores its potentialities and challenges as it came to be used in Modern Hebrew, especially by those who are learning to write.

This volume's final section is dedicated to the archaeological and cultural currents that foreground many of Goldwasser's past and recent investigations. Cross-cultural currents are investigated in **Niv Allon**'s contribution that revisits the introduction of Canaanite gods in the New Kingdom through questions of familiarity and foreignness while considering how these deities' imagery was already entangled in ancient Egypt's influence in these areas by the time of their introduction. Cultural borrowing is also featured in the following paper by **Haleli Harel**, who follows the loanword *prḥ* 'to blossom' in the ancient Egyptian love poetry and how it enriches the lexicon by conveying a nuanced aspect of growth. Similarly, **Thomas Schneider**'s paper looks at lexical connections between ancient Egyptian, Biblical Hebrew, Aramaic, and Berber that invite a new understanding of Golem in the Old Testament. **Anthony Spalinger** analyses the naming practices of royal horses employed in many Egyptian campaigns in the Levant and adjacent areas. While his contribution could have easily fit in the previous section on linguistic variation, it also serves as a reminder that many of Egypt's engagements with its surroundings were through militant power. Finally, **Manfred Bietak** studies multi-statuary Ka-Temples, asking how a particular type of the so-called Ka-Houses came into existence and how they may have developed in their early history.

These contributions refuse neat classification, and each could have found a place in other sections of this volume, reflecting the wide breadth and interdisciplinary nature of Goldwasser's scholarship. Their publication would not have seen light of day without Racheli Shalomi-Hen, who spearheaded this project in its earlier days; Kayla Kane, whose discerning eye was instrumental in editing the texts; and Rosie Bonté (Brepols), whose encouragement and support helped usher the project throughout its production. Nevertheless, inasmuch as this volume is a testimony to the high esteem with which this scholar and her research are held, it also attests to her generosity and dedication that have garnered robust friendships with colleagues and students worldwide.

Niv Allon

Orly Goldwasser's Publications

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10. The King's Purest Joy*

Some Remarks on Two Hitherto Neglected Epithets of Queen Nefertiti

Since her early days in Egyptology, the Amarna Period has been an inexhaustible source of inspiration to Orly Goldwasser. One of her first publications was a note on a cartouche of Ankhkheprure stamped onto a jar handle from Tell Jerishe, and she also worked on scarabs of Amenophis III.[1] When she focused her research interests on the principles of the hieroglyphic writing system,[2] the Great Hymn to the Aten became one of the most important textual sources for her groundbreaking research on what now is called the 'system of classifiers'. Based on this seminal work, she also contributed to the understanding of the often difficult and complex religious system of the Amarna Period.[3] It is thus a particular pleasure to offer to Orly Goldwasser this modest remark on the morphology and writing of two peculiarly written epithets of Queen Nefertiti.

Queen Nefertiti in an Offering Scene from Panehesi's Tomb at el-Amarna

In tomb no. 6 at el-Amarna,[4] the tomb of the first servant of Aten in the house of Aten in Akhetaten, Panehesi (*bꜣk tp.j n.j jtn m pr-jtn m ꜣḫ.t-jtn pꜣ-nḥsj*),[5] the west thickness of the entrance doorway bears a beautiful ensemble of adoration and consecration scenes.[6] Unfortunately, this wall suffered some damage; in particular, the royal names have been mutilated.

In the bottom register, on the right-hand side, Panehesi is represented in a kneeling posture with his arms raised in adoration, while the rest of this compartment is filled with a hymn to the Aten.[7] A narrow intermediary register depicts a procession, presumably comprising the queen's sister Mutnedjmet and her entourage. The largest register can be found at the top of this wall. It displays the king and queen before one of the minor altars in the temple of the Aten in Akhetaten with their right hands raising sceptres in a gesture of consecration. On the altar at the left, a broad variety of offerings can be seen, which the Aten seems to touch benevolently with the characteristic hands reaching out from the sun disk. Further rays of

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1 Goldwasser 1990; 2002b; Brandl, Goldwasser, and Collon 2009.
2 Goldwasser 2002a.
3 Goldwasser 2006; 2010.
4 Davies 1903–1908, II; Hesse 2013, 26–28; cf. Porter and Moss 1928–2012, IV, 218–19.
5 Hari 1976, no. 96; for further discussion of some titles of Panehesi, cf., e.g., Rocchi 2003; Vomberg 2010.
6 Davies 1903–1908, II, pl. VII; David 2016.
7 Davies 1903–1908, II, 29–30, pl. VII (bottom); Sandman 1938, 23–24; Murnane 1995, 171, no. 77-B.1.

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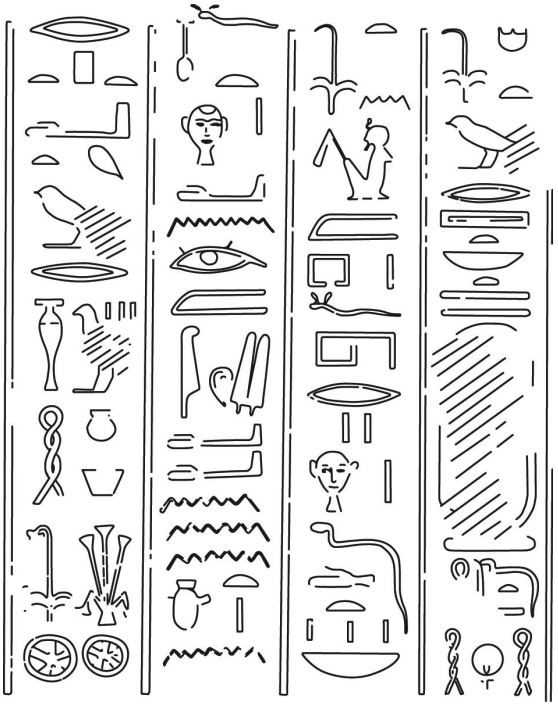


Figure 10.1. Titles and epithets of Queen Nefertiti (west thickness of entrance, upper register, right-hand side, upper corner, tomb no. 6 of Panehesi at el-Amarna, facsimile drawing by Charlotte Dietrich after Davies 1903–1908, II, pl. VII).

the Aten stretch out towards the king and queen with symbols of life presented to their noses. Right behind the royal couple, superimposed in three sub-registers, three princesses play the sistrum. In front of each of the princesses, their royal titles and names, Meretaten, Meketaten, and Ankhesenpaaten, are inscribed. Above the king's head, his names are given in two cartouches facing those of the Aten, the latter of which are further elaborated in four columns of text about the universal dominion of the Aten and his residence in Akhetaten. The cartouches of the Aten are repeated on the far left-hand side of the scene so that the programmatic names on either side embrace the sun disk. In front of the depiction of the queen, a very short caption (*nb.t-t3.wj nfr-nfrw-jtn nfr.t-jjj.tj ʿnḫ.tj ḏ.t r nḥḥ* 'the lady of the Two Lands, Nefernefruaten Nefertiti, may she live forever and ever') can be found. As if it were intended to counterbalance this surprisingly short designation of the queen, the space near the upper right corner of this scene shows four columns of titles and epithets in praise of her.

The string of Nefertiti's titles and epithets (Fig. 10.1) is highly interesting with regard to the investigation of some morphological and phonological details. However, before those details will be addressed, a full transcription and translation shall be offered:[8]

[1]| *jrj.t-pʿw.t wr(.t)-ḥsw(.t) ḥnw(.t)-šmʿw-mḥwj*
[2]| *nfr.t-ḥr ʿjn(.t)-m-šw.tj jʿw.t-jb-nj(.t)-*
[3]| *njśwt-m-pr=f ḥrj-ḥr-ḏd.t<=ś>-nb(.t)*
[4]| *ḥm.t-njśwt-wr(.t) mrjj.t<=f> nb.t-t3.wj [nfr-nfrw-jtn nfr.t-jjj.tj] ʿnḫ.tj ḏ.t (r) nḥḥ*

[1]| The hereditary princess,[9] she whose praise is great, the mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt,
[2]| she whose face is perfect, she who is beautiful with the double plumed crown, the purest joy of
[3]| the king in his house, who is content with everything <she> says,
[4]| the king's great wife, <his>[10] beloved, the lady of the Two Lands, [Nefernefruaten Nefertiti], may she live forever and ever.

It is interesting to note that this inscription shows a twofold behaviour with respect to the writing of the feminine ending *.t* in Nefertiti's titulary. On the one hand, there are titles and epithets with highly standardized graphic traditions that declare Nefertiti's status as chief queen and are expressly written with the feminine ending *.t* (column 1: *jrj.t-pʿw.t* 'hereditary princess', column 4: *ḥm.t-njśwt-wr(.t) mrjj.t<=f> nb.t-t3.wj* 'the king's great wife, <his> beloved, the lady of the Two Lands'). On the other hand, there is a notable number of titles and epithets with less rigid graphic traditions which do not exhibit the feminine ending *.t*[11] (column 1: *wr(.t)-ḥsw(.t) ḥnw(.t)-šmʿw-mḥwj* 'she whose praise is great,[12] the mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt', column 2: *ʿjn(.t)-m-šw.tj* 'she who is beautiful with the double plumed crown').[13] This is certainly an up-to-date writing from the Amarna Period, which indicates that the consonant *t* of the feminine ending was no longer pronounced due to the common sound law **-Vt#* > **-V'#* > **-V#* known already from the time of the Old

8 For previous translations, cf. Davies 1903–1908, II, 14; Murnane 1995, 169, no. 77-B.1; for Nefertiti's titles and epithets in general, cf. Green 1988, 282–324, 354–60; Vergnieux 1999, I, 178–84.

9 Gardiner 1947, I, 14*–19* (in particular 15*); Gitton 1978; Troy 1986, 133–35; cf. also Schmitz 1976; Callender 1992, I, 80–86; 2012, passim; Baud 1999, I, 339–45.

10 This emendation follows Murnane 1995, 169, no. 77-B.1.

11 All instances are marked with bracketed feminine endings *(.t)*.

12 Although this title has a very long tradition (cf. Troy 1986, 88; Callender 1992, I, 77–78; 2012, passim; Baud 1999, I, 339–45), modernized writings are rather common from the early New Kingdom onwards (cf. Green 1988, 292–93); for an early updated example, cf. the graphic variation in the Adventures of Sinuhe, Koch 1990, 2.

13 For this crown during the Amarna Period, cf. Althoff 2009, 13, 21–22, 32–33, 45–48, 66, 72–75, 88, 179–206; for this epithet, cf. Green 1988, 315–16.

Kingdom.[14] With the titles and epithets mentioned until now, this is the only conspicuous detail, but two more epithets are written in an altogether peculiar way that shall be discussed separately.

Philological and Linguistic Remarks on Two Epithets of Queen Nefertiti

The first peculiar writing to address in greater detail is that of *nfr.t-ḥr* 'she whose face is perfect' at the beginning of column 2. In the New Kingdom, this epithet, which has traditionally been associated with the queen and Hathor, can be found in a variety of writings.[15] A few examples may suffice in order to give an impression thereof:

ex. (a)  tomb of Panehesi (Nefertiti, el-Amarna, Amarna Period, cf. Fig. 10.1)

ex. (b)  boundary stela A (Nefertiti, el-Amarna, Amarna Period)[16]

ex. (c)  boundary stelae Q and S (Nefertiti, el-Amarna, Amarna Period)[17]

ex. (d)  statue Berlin 6908 (Ahmose-Nefertari, Nineteenth Dynasty)[18]

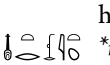
ex. (e)  temple of Amun at Luxor, second court, west wall (Nefertari, time of Ramesses II)[19]

ex. (f)  statue Turin 1369 (Ahmose-Nefertari, Nineteenth Dynasty)[20]

ex. (g)  statue Cairo CG 42140 = JdE 36652 (Nefertari, time of Ramesses II)[21]

Examples (b)–(d) display the first element (*nfr.t*) without any complement, whereas, in stark contrast, example (e) shows full complementation. All these writings have in common that the feminine ending *.t* is placed before the second element (*ḥr*). Example (f) bears witness to the dropping of the feminine ending *.t*, and example (g) may hint at the creation of a secondary replacement formation that was derived from the masculine form *nfr-ḥr* 'he whose face is perfect' → *nfr-ḥr.t* 'she whose face is perfect',[22] although a purely graphic phenomenon with *.t* being hardly more than a classifier that marks the feminine gender at the word's very end cannot be excluded.[23] If the variant from Panehesi's tomb (example a) with its peculiar complementation is to be taken seriously, a specific form exhibiting the loss of *r* and the retention of the feminine ending *.t* may be suggested. Formations of this kind are of extremely old age and form a special subtype to which, *inter alia*, the following examples belong:

ex. (1)  **năft-ét̆ă* < **năfi̯'t-í̯tă* < **năfi̯rt-'ĭ̯jtăj* < **năfi̯răt-jĭ̯ji̯tăj* ~ *nfr.t-jjj.tj* 'Nefertiti (the perfect one has returned)'[24]

ex. (2)  **năft-ér̆ă* < **năfi̯'t-í̯rĕ* < **năfi̯rt-'ĭ̯rĭ'* < **năfi̯răt-jĭ̯rĭt* ~ *nfr.t-jrj.t* 'Nefertari (the (most) beautiful thereof)'[25]

The retention of the feminine ending *.t* in those two highly prominent personal names is due to the consonantal sequence *-t-j-* in the compositional join, which resulted in the juncture of the dental (alveolar) *t* ~ /t/ with the glottal stop *j* ~ /'/. Consequently, the feminine ending *.t* was no longer in word-final but in antevocalic (syllable-initial) position and thus retained.[26] The same phenomenon can be observed with compound formations that, *inter alia*, display the consonantal sequence *-t-ḥ-* in the compositional join, for instance:

ex. (3)  *Ἀθῡρ* ~ **ḥăt^{h}ór(ĕ)* < **ḥăt^{h}áră* < **ḥăwăt^{h}árŭ* < **ḥăwăt-ḥárŭw* ~ *ḥw.t-ḥrw* 'Hathor (mansion of Horus)'[27]

14 Edel 1955–1964, I, §§ 113, 210; Fecht 1960a, §§ 41, 54, 62, 74–76, 267–76, 293–303, 367 n. 514; Lacau 1970–1972, I, 57–67; Peust 1999, 151–56; Gundacker 2018a, 162–64; 2021, 108–11; differently Schweitzer 2003, 244–45.

15 Green 1988, 320; Leitz 2002–2003, III, 230; for the less literal translation 'gracious, clement', cf. Spiegelberg 1917; Brunner 1955, 8.

16 Murnane and van Siclen 1993, 85 (cf. also boundary stela U).

17 Murnane and van Siclen 1993, 85.

18 Generalverwaltung 1899, 145; 1913–1924, II, 58; cf. Andreu 2002, 263 n. 213.

19 Daressy 1893, 32; cf. Porter and Moss 1928–2012, II, 308 (28 iii).

20 Kitchen 1975–1990, III, 725 (11)–(12); cf. Gitton 1981, 61 (ix.10); Porter and Moss 1928–2012, I.2 693.

21 Kitchen 1975–1990, II, 586 (12); cf. Legrain 1906–1925, II, 4–6, pl. II; Porter and Moss 1928–2012, II, 141.

22 For this kind of secondary feminine forms as well as nisba and plural formations, cf. Gundacker 2017, 114 with n. 82; 2018a, 165–66 n. 40 and 47, 168 n. 78; 2022, 116, 118.

23 Cf. n. 60 further below.

24 Lepsius 1897–1913, III, 52; Davies 1903–1908, III, pls XIII, XXVII; Ranke 1935–1952, I, 201 (12); cf. Edel 1948, 14; Fecht 1960a, §§ 72 n. 128, 139, 376; 1960b, 89; Osing 1976, I, 129; Gundacker 2014, 68 with n. 71; for further bibliographical references, cf. Gundacker 2018a, 162 with n. 24; 2021, 75–81.

25 Gitton 1981, 67–69; Ranke 1935–1952, I, 201 (16)–(17); cf. Edel 1948, 14; 1994, I, 40–43, II, 63–64; Fecht 1960a, §§ 72 n. 128, 139, 376; 1960b, 89; Gundacker 2021, 75–77, 81–93; cf. also Osing 1976, I, 21–22, 129, 315, II, 462–63 n. 121.

26 For this phenomenon, cf. in general Fecht 1960a, §§ 120 n. 202, 293 n. 426, 376; Peust 1999, 159, 277; Gundacker 2017, 112 n. 65; 2018a, 162–65, 176–77 n. 107.

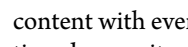
27 Ronchi 1974–1977, I, 80–81; cf. Fecht 1960a, §§ 120 n. 202, 293 n. 426; Osing 1976, I, 185; Peust 1999, 159; Gundacker 2013, 61 n. 216; 2018a, 162 with n. 23.

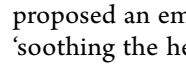
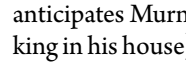
ex. (4) *Νέφθυς ~ *nĕbt^{h}ŏ < *nĕbt^{h}á(y) < *nībt^{h}ăya < *nībăt^{h}ăwă' < *nībăt-ḥăwăt ~ nb.t-ḥw.t* 'Nephthys (lady of the mansion)'[28]

This would precisely fit the example of *nfr.t-ḥr* 'she whose face is perfect' as written in Panehesi's tomb. The complements make clear that, while the feminine ending *.t* was retained, *r* was reduced via a glottal stop,[29] which made this morphological variant truly outstanding, because even in Coptic, the *r* was characteristic for the (substantivized) feminine adjective *S* ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲉ, *AL* ⲛⲁⲩⲣⲉ 'good'.[30] Since there once existed a masculine variant of *nfr-ḥr*, 'he whose face is perfect', which in all probability can be identified as an 'Älteres Kompositum'[31] due to its fossilized offspring[32] *Náφ ~ *năfḥ(ĕ) < *năfĭr-ḥăr*,[33] it is plausible that this here is the feminine counterpart thereof. Even though this will require additional research, the position of word stress can therefore tentatively be determined and the following reconstruction proposed:[34]

ex. (5) **năfĕ''t^{h}ĕ < *năfĭ''t^{h}ă < *năfĭrt^{h}ă' < *năfĭrăt-ḥăr ~ nfr.t-ḥr* 'she whose face is perfect'[35]

While examples (b)–(d) may represent the same form as that found in Panehesi's tomb (example a), examples (e) and (f) certainly stand for a younger variant of this epithet, which was only formed after the loss of the feminine ending *.t* (*nfr.t-ḥr ~ *năfră(t)-ḥă(r) > *năfr-ḥŏ*).[36] Younger variants of this kind were created as neologisms in order to substitute words that, due to the impact of sound laws, had evolved a highly irregular appearance and thus had become detached from their etymological origins.[37]

The second epithet to discuss, *jʿw.t-jb-nj(.t)-njśwt-m-pr=f hrj-ḥr-ḏd.t<=ś>-nb(.t)* 'the purest joy of the king in his house, who is content with everything <she> says', was inscribed in columns 2 and 3. Previous translations have treated the second part of this epithet,  somewhat differently, with Norman de Garis Davies translating it as 'pleased at all that is said' and William J. Murnane as 'at whose every utterance one is content'.[38] However, both of those fail in establishing the expected connection between the king and queen, and the latter indeed makes one wonder whether a suffix pronoun has been introduced conjecturally (*hrj-ḥr-ḏd.t<=f>-nb(.t)*). If *hrj* (< **hrw*) is analysed as an active participle that elaborates the king's qualities, a simple explanation will offer itself. The 'plural strokes' (Gardiner Z2 = Möller no. 561) can be viewed as the result of a misreading of the 'bolt' (Gardiner O34 = Möller no. 366) when the text of the hieratic *Vorlage* was prepared for the wall.[39] As a result, this part of the epithet can be emended to *, which describes the king as *hrj-ḥr-ḏd.t<=ś>-nb(.t)* 'who is content with everything <she> says' and, at the same time, bears witness to the close relations between the king and queen. In support of such an emendation is the writing of *ḏd.t<=ś>* with the feminine ending *.t*, which is included here despite its customary omission in titles and epithets of less rigid graphical tradition in this inscription. Since, however, this *t* is followed by a suffix pronoun, its retention and, following the scribal customs observed in this inscription, its notation are indeed expected.

The first part of this epithet, , is even more problematic due to its unexpected writing. Davies proposed an emendation and understood * 'soothing the heart (of the king at home)', which anticipates Murnane's 'who cleanses the heart (of the king in his house)'.[40] On the lintel of the outer door of Panehesi's tomb, in a severely damaged area,[41] remains

28 García Valdés 1995, 134–37; cf. Sethe 1923, 186–88; Fecht 1960a, §§ 120 n. 202, 293 n. 426; Peust 1999, 159; Gundacker 2013, 61 n. 216.

29 Edel 1955–1964, I, §§ 127–29; Fecht 1960a, §§ 52, 60 n. 112, 349–50, 363–64, 373, 376, 384–86; Lacau 1970–1972, II, 80; Kammerzell 1997, xlvi–xlvii, xlix–l; Peust 1999, 140, 151–56; Gundacker 2011; 2017, 120 n. 111, 133–34 n. 173.

30 Crum 1939, 239b; Westendorf 1965–1977, 133; Černý 1976, 116; Vycichl 1983, 150; cf. Osing 1976, I, 129.

31 For this term, cf. Gundacker 2018a, 159–65.

32 Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth 1900, no. 135 (1).

33 Predicted by Fecht 1960a, § 333; for the interpretation and revocalization of this personal name and for its younger replacement formations, cf. Ranke 1935–1952, I, 198 (6); Lüddeckens 1980–2000, 641; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, no. 1924; Fecht 1960a, § 251 n. 386; Osing 1976, I, 128, II, 350 n. 12, 355 n. 17, 420–21 n. 93; Gundacker 2013, 94 n. 278; 2018b, 144 n. 91; (forthcoming).

34 Osing 1976, I, 128, II, 350 n. 12, 355 n. 17, 420–21 n. 93.

35 For attestations of *nfr.t-ḥr* as a personal name from the Old Kingdom onwards, cf. Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, no. 2056; cf. also Ranke 1935–1962, I, 198 (6); Ilin-Tomich 2022.

36 Cf. Fecht 1960a, § 237; Osing 1976, I, 129, II, 350 n. 12, 355 n. 17, 420–21 n. 93.

37 Those relicts, if at all, persisted as *termini technici* of *linguae speciales* such as the idiom of the court royal, but the Amarna Period with its intent to break with tradition was rather unfavourable an environment (e.g., at first a neologism and, finally, *bȝk* 'servant' replaced the 'Älteres Kompositum' *ḥm-nṯr* 'priest (servant of god)', cf. Perepelkin 1967, I.2 214–15, 230–31; Munro 1986, 87; Gundacker 2018a, 174–75 with n. 99).

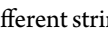
38 Davies 1903–1908, II, 14; Murnane 1995, 169, no. 77-B.1; cf. also Green 1988, 318, 321.

39 All references of this kind follow the sign lists of Gardiner 1957 and Möller 1909–1936, II.

40 Davies 1903–1908, II, 14 with n. 1; Murnane 1995, 169, no. 77-B.1.

41 Davies 1903–1908, II, pl. V (left).

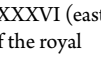
of such a writing, though in a markedly different string of epithets, are indeed preserved. One might therefore think of an imperfective participle *jʿʿj.t* or of a *lapsus calami* resulting in the classifier 'arm with hand holding stick' (Gardiner D40), which sometimes could be found with the verb *jʿj* 'to wash' during the Amarna Period,[42] misinterpreted as a 'forearm' (Gardiner D36) and joined with the other. In the end, however, there is no conclusive explanation for the fact that this word was deprived of its initial 'flowering reed' (Gardiner M17), which would be unparalleled for this epithet at any rate.[43] There is thus no simple solution on the basis of a plain misreading or a writing error in order to explain comprehensively what actually is indicated, above all, with the two 'forearms' (Gardiner D36).

Instead of a *lapsus calami*, it is preferable to think of a mistake in dictation or memory. In this particular case, the writing of *ʿw.wj* 'two arms' most likely arose due to homo(eo)phony with part of ,[44] which is reminiscent of the well-known Late Egyptian phenomenon of graphic hybridization and intrusion of additional hieroglyphic groups on the basis of semantic or phonological association.[45] Since *ʿw.wj* 'two arms' can be revocalized as **ʿŭ̀wwăj* > **ʿŭ̀wwă*,[46] a similar phonological sequence must have formed part of the word under consideration. It is thus necessary to look for a morphological pattern with a similar vowel sequence. Starting from the noun classes according to Jürgen Osing,[47] two — presumably — homophonous vocalization patterns with the stress vowel **-ŭ̀-* become the centre of attention:

noun class I.8	m. **śă̱ḏŭ̀mŭw*, f. **śă̱ḏŭ̀mŭt*	(*nomina abstracta*)[48]
noun class II.10	m. **śă̱ḏŭ̀mŭw*, f. **śă̱ḏŭ̀mŭt*	(*nomina agentis*, but no participles)[49]

At first glance, the posttonic vowel makes either vocalization pattern unfitting for the here-attempted explanation. Noun class I.8 is nevertheless a promising candidate because, based on the writings of abstract nouns such as *wśrw* 'power, wealth' from the Coffin Texts, Wolfgang Schenkel concluded that there is also evidence for a desinence **-ăw* instead of **-ŭw* in some cases.[50] When this at first puzzling evidence is compared with the reconstruction of Osing,[51] all nouns for which Schenkel's investigation hints at a desinence **-ăw* are found among the subcategory of *nomina abstracta* (*nomina acti*) within noun class I.8.[52] By contrast, all those nouns for which Osing had found positive evidence in order to define the desinence as **-ŭw* belong to the subcategory of *nomina actionis*. It is thus likely that noun class I.8, as it stands right now, actually covers two noun classes with very similar vocalization patterns:[53]

noun class I.8a	m. **śă̱ḏŭ̀mŭw*, f. **śă̱ḏŭ̀mŭt*	(*nomina actionis*)
noun class I.8b	m. **śă̱ḏŭ̀măw*, f. **śă̱ḏŭ̀măt*	(*nomina acti*)

Accordingly, the first element of  is reminiscent of noun class I.8b, i.e., **jăʿŭ̀wăt*, but it remains

42 Cf., e.g., Davies 1903–1908, II, pl. XXX (col. 2), VI, pls XV (south thickness, col. 3), XVII (speech of Tutu, col. 2), XXV (upper text, col. 8); Sandman 1938, 30 (18), 75 (17), 79 (13); Murnane and van Siclen 1993, 96. I would like to thank Julian Posch for bringing to my attention the personal name  (f.) (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, no. 149) in the Gebelein papyri (Fourth Dynasty, Posener-Kriéger and Demichelis 2004, pl. 36 (33)). Close inspection of this name shows that one 'forearm' (Gardiner D36) is shorter than the other, so that  with a 'forearm with water drops above' (Gardiner D212A) in logographic usage accompanied by a 'forearm' (Gardiner D36) may be suggested. Although this is reminiscent of the name of the wife of Satju as found on his door lintel,  (f.) (CG Cairo 1495, Sixth Dynasty, Borchardt 1937–1964, I, 200, pl. 43; Scheele-Schweitzer 2005, no. 148), two different names are likely. It is difficult to decide on the precise semantics of either of those two names, but that found in the Gebelein papyri probably stands for an imperfective participial phrase *jʿʿj.t-jb=j* 'she who is used to delight my heart' (or, less likely, an accusative of respect *jʿj.t-jb* 'she pure of heart'), whereas an abstract noun *jʿw.t-jb* 'purest joy' may be suggested for Satju's wife. Cf. also the remarks in n. 62 and 64 further below.

43 It should be noted that *jʿj* 'to wash' is consistently written with an initial 'flowering reed' (Gardiner M17) during the Amarna Period (cf., e.g., Davies 1903–1908, I, pls VIII (last column on left-hand side), XLI (west side, col. 2), II, pls XXX (col. 2), XXXVI (east architrave), III, pl. XVII (upper register, in front of the royal kiosk), VI, pls XV (south thickness, col. 3), XVII (speech of Tutu, col. 2), XXV (upper text, col. 8); Sandman 1938, 30 (18), 32 (11), 75 (17), 79 (13); Murnane and van Siclen 1993, 96), and that, from the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards, two 'flowering reeds' (Gardiner M17) may be found (cf., e.g., The Satirical Letter of Papyrus Anastasi I 3,8, Fischer-Elfert 1986, 37, 45; 1992, 52; The Report on Ramesses III's Second Libyan War in Year 11, 32, Epigraphic Survey 1932, pl. 86; Kitchen 1975–1990, V, 70 (11)). This indicates that, in the onset of *jʿj* 'to wash' and members of its word family, the initial consonant was retained and evolved in a process of fortition to **y-* (cf. Coptic *S* ⲉⲓⲱ 'to wash' Crum 1939, 75a–76a; Westendorf 1965–1977, 48; Černý 1976, 45; Vycichl 1983, 60).

44 For mistakes of this kind, cf. Fecht 1960a, §§ 115 n. 199, 400 n. 546; Burkard 1977, 116–45; Gundacker 2011, 62 n. 223.

45 Cf., e.g., Quack 1994, 52–59; Satzinger 1998–1999.

46 Osing 1976, I, 203, II, 738–42 n. 897.

47 Osing 1976; cf. also Schenkel 1983; 2005; 2008.

48 Osing 1976, I, 97–106; cf. also Schenkel 1983, 136, 206–07.

49 Osing 1976, I, 200–05; cf. also Schenkel 1983, 96, 177–78.

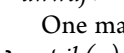
50 Schenkel 2008, 162–65; cf. also Schenkel 2005.

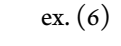
51 Osing 1976, I, 99–100.

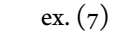
52 Osing 1976, I, 97–98, 101–02.

53 For more evidence in favour of such a conclusion, cf. Osing 1976, I, 103–05.

questionable whether a simple direct genitive would yield the expected result. In the phonologically progressive idiom of the Amarna Period, a noticeably reduced construct state *jʿw.t-jb* ~ **jăʿŭwăt-jĭb* > **ʾăʿŭw-ʾĭb* was expected, which would not come close to *ʿw.wj* ~ **ʿŭwwăj* > **ʿŭwwă* 'two arms'.

One may, though, compare *jʿw.t-jb* to  *ȝww.t-jb(w)* 'joy (extending of the heart)',[54] which is known to belong to the category of 'Ältere Komposita'. Unfortunately, things are more complicated than they may seem because there are two morphologically distinct (dialectal) variants of *ȝww.t-jb(w)* 'joy (extending of the heart)':[55]

ex. (6)  *iytm* ~ **ȝ(ăy)étṃ* < **ȝăwétḥ* < **ȝăwŭtĕb* < **ȝăwŭwtĭb* < **ȝăwŭwŭtʾĭb* ~ *ȝww.t-jb* 'joy (extending of the heart)'[56]

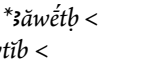
ex. (7)  **ȝăwwŭbĕ* < **ȝăwwŭʾbă* < **ȝăwŭwŭlbŭ* < **ȝăwŭwŭʾ-lĭbŭw* < **ȝăwŭwŭt-lĭbŭw* < *ȝww.t-jbw* 'joy (extending of the heart)'[57]

Even though *ȝww.t-jb(w)* 'joy (extending of the heart)' more likely contained a *nomen actionis* of noun class I.8a as its first element,[58] the parallels are compelling. In order to determine which of the two morphological patterns, *mutando mutato*, may be applied to , it is necessary to decide on the role of the 'bread' (Gardiner X1) near the end of the entire compound noun.

Consistent with the graphic peculiarities of this string of titles and epithets, the feminine ending *.t* should either denote an actually pronounced consonant or form part of a well-reasoned or longstanding traditional writing of this word. Already Davies proposed that the final group of  should be restored conjecturally to read *, which is a very appealing emendation attempt.[59] If this is true, the 'bread' (Gardiner X1) will belong to the first element of *jʿw.t-jb* in a traditional writing; if, however, the 'bread' (Gardiner X1) is read where it stands, it will be nothing more than a classifier indicating the female genus of the entire compound noun in an unetymological writing.[60] Not only would the latter require that the peculiar writings with two 'forearms' (Gardiner D36) were intended right from the beginning, but the earlier can also be recognized as correct when other attestations of *jʿw.t-jb* are considered.

Even though the standard dictionaries do not record this compound noun, it can be found in several personal names from the Middle Kingdom onwards. For this investigation, the following examples borne by men may suffice:[61]

ex. (h)  *jʿw.t-jb* 'purest joy' (m.)[62]

ex. (i)  *jjj-m-jʿw.t-jb* 'he who has come as/in purest joy' (m.)[63]

Furthermore, it should be noted that, side by side with *jʿw.t-jb*, there existed a synonymous masculine counterpart *jʿww-jb*, which, again, can be found among personal names, in this instance, that of a woman:

ex. (j)  *jʿww-jb* 'purest joy' (f.)[64]

There is thus good reason to assume that, already in the *Vorlage*, the 'bread' (Gardiner X1) belonged to the originally intended writing of Queen Nefertiti's epithet in order to state unmistakably the feminine compound noun *jʿw.t-jb* and not its masculine counterpart *jʿww-jb*.

54 Erman and Grapow 1982, I, 4 (17)–(19); Hannig 2006, 4; *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* 2022, lemma no. 42.

55 Cf. Gundacker 2017.

56 Widmer 2015, 159, pl. V; cf. Fecht 1960a, §§ 153 n. 257, 305 n. 434, 433 n. 613; Osing 1976, I, 97–106; Schenkel 1983, 206–07; Gundacker 2011, 66 n. 259, 2017, 111–12 n. 65, 2018a, 174 with n. 97.

57 Caminos 1976, 6, 16; Quack 2001, 174 n. 57; cf. Fecht 1960a, §§ 153 n. 257, 305 n. 434, 433 n. 613; Osing 1976, I, 97–106; Schenkel 1983, 206–07; Gundacker 2011, 66 n. 259, 2017, 111–12 n. 65, 2018a, 174 with n. 97.

58 This is indicated by the fact that it served as the derivational basis for a secondary verb *ȝwj* 'to be/become joyous', cf. Erman and Grapow 1982, I, 4 (5)–(6); Gundacker 2011, 46 n. 84.

59 Davies 1903–1908, II, 14 n. 1.

60 This kind of writing increases all throughout the New Kingdom and flourishes in Demotic texts, cf. the excellent remarks of Widmer 2015, 44–47; Stadler 2022, 35–57.

61 Cf. the invaluable collection of personal names by Alexander Ilin-Tomich 2022 whose translations and interpretations often deviate from the here suggested analysis.

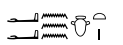
62 e.g., Stela Louvre C 29 (Pierret 1874–1878, II, 51; Desroches 1941, 15; Ranke 1935–1952, I, 8 (25)). It is important to note that only the names of men are a definitive proof to the existence of the feminine compound noun, as, with women, this name might be interpreted as an accusative of respect, *jʿj.t-jb* 'she who is pure of heart', or as a participial phrase, *jʿj.t-jb=j* 'she who delights my heart' (Erman and Grapow 1982, I, 39 (9)–(10); Hannig 2006, 27). Cf. also the remarks in n. 42 further above.

63 e.g., Papyrus UC 32055, 3.17.20 (Griffith 1898, II, pl. XIII; Collier and Quirke 2004, 155; Ranke 1935–1952, I, 11 (23)); cf. also n. 68 further below.

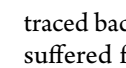
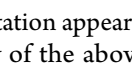
64 e.g., Stela Cairo CG 20235n (Lange and Schäfer 1902–1925, I, 256; Ranke 1935–1952, I, 11 (19)). Just as with ex. (h), for which only the names of men are diagnostic, here it is only the names borne by women, because their names can safely be taken as a masculine compound noun whereas a masculine accusative of respect, *jʿj-jb* 'he who is pure of heart', or a participial phrase, *jʿj-jb=j* 'he who delights my heart', can securely be excluded. However, one has to admit that, in some instances, the feminine ending *.t* might have been suppressed for various reasons such as space constraints. Cf. also the remarks in n. 42 further above.

One may furthermore suggest that the 'bread' (Gardiner X1) was necessary in order to differentiate the queen's epithet with its highly positive semantics from other words which were derived from the phrase *jʿj jb* in its less amiable meaning 'to vent one's anger, to have a choleric outburst'.[65] At any rate, the 'bread' (Gardiner X1) does not denote a feminine ending still pronounced, as one might infer from the combination with the 'stroke' (Gardiner Z1), because there has never been a feminine ending where it stands right now. A more elaborate rearrangement of hieroglyphs beyond Davies's emendation that would allow for such an interpretation appears unjustified.

In view of the above observations, the partial homo(eo)phony with *ʿw.wj ~ *ʿŭwwăj > *ʿŭwwă* 'two arms' allows for a morphological and phonological reconstruction of the entire compound noun *jʿw.t-jb*, albeit with the variant *jbw* 'heart' as its second element:

ex. (8)  **(ʾă)ʿŭwábă ~ *ʾăʿŭwăʾbă < *ʾăʿŭwălbŭ < *ʾăʿŭwăʾ-lĭbŭw < *jăʿŭwăt-lĭbŭw ~ jʿw.t-jbw* 'joy (purity of the heart)'[66]

According to this reconstruction, the first syllable of the 'Älteres Kompositum' *jʿw.t-jbw* was **ʾă-*, which also allows for an explanation of the total disappearance of the initial 'flowering reed' (Gardiner M17) and even may have been the starting point for the entire chain of mistakes. Either the initial syllable **ʾă-* had been dropped due to its distance from the stress syllable, or some kind of haplology had occurred in Nefertiti's string of titles and epithets. Since, by the time of the New Kingdom, the preceding word, *šw.tj* 'double plumed crown', was pronounced **šăwtă < *šăwtăj*,[67] the latter is perhaps somewhat more likely. The word boundary between *šw.tj* and *jʿw.t-jbw* thus sounded like **-tă#..#ʾă-*, so that haplology may have caused the loss of a syllable, or a closely related sandhi phenomenon such as crasis may have resulted in vowel contraction. As part of the truncated 'Älteres Kompositum' *jʿw.t-jbw* in its reconstruction for the time of the Amarna Period, **(ʾă)ʿŭwábă ~ *(ʾă)ʿŭwăʾbă*, the sequence **-ʿŭwá-* or **-ʿŭwă-* can be found, which indeed resembles the graphically indicated dual *ʿw.wj ~ *ʿŭwwăj > *ʿŭwwă* 'two arms'.

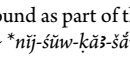
In summary, Nefertiti's epithet *jʿw.t-jbw* can be traced back to a classical writing *,[68] which suffered from a series of mistakes when prepared for the scene in Panehesi's tomb. Due to the partial homo(eo)phony with *ʿw.wj ~ *ʿŭwwăj > *ʿŭwwă* 'two arms', which brought about the peculiar graphic variant , the suggestion that this compound noun is an 'Älteres Kompositum' appears reasonable. The 'Älteres Kompositum' *jʿw.t-jbw* is closely related to the idiomatic phrase *jʿj jb* 'to wash the heart, to delight'[69] and thus literally means 'purity of the heart',[70] which can be translated more freely as 'pure joy, purest joy' as has been anticipated throughout this study. This is definitely an appropriate metaphorical designation for Queen Nefertiti who thus bore, to her royal consort's delight, the epithet *jʿw.t-jbw-nj(.t)-njśwt-m-pr=ḥrj-ḥr-ḏd.t<=ś>-nb(.t)* 'the purest joy of the king in his house, who is content with everything <she> says'.

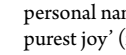
Conclusion

Nefertiti's epithets are well suited to illustrate that certain writings, which commonly are understood as mere graphic variants or simply as the result of text corruption, may serve as a source for new information on phonological and morphological details. Beyond a purely linguistic approach to the complexities of Egyptian historical grammar, a detailed and open-minded analysis can furthermore allow for a deeper insight into the culture and history of ancient Egypt. One such detail is that Queen Nefertiti was called *jʿw.t-jbw-nj(.t)-njśwt* 'the king's purest joy', which strongly alludes to her role as Akhenaten's delightful and beloved wife in so many family scenes. One may even speculate whether this epithet signifies that Nefertiti was viewed as an allegorical personification of joy in continuation of her Hathoric role in the Sed Festival of the Aten and

65 Erman and Grapow 1982, I, 39 (11); Hannig 2006, 27–28; cf. Rizzo 2012.

66 Fecht 1960a, §§ 153 n. 257, 305 n. 434, 433 n. 613; Gundacker 2011, 66 n. 259.

67 This noun is found as part of the personal name  *n.j-św-ḳ3(j)-šw.tj ~ *nīj-śŭw-ḳă3-šăwtăj > *ĕś-ḳă-šŏwtĕ ~* Ἐσκασώθης 'he who belongs to the one with the two high plumes (i.e., Amun or Min)' (stela Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung no. 189; Satzinger 2012, 132, 135, 138; Ranke 1935–1952, I, 179 (8), cf. 175 (18); Lüddeckens 1980–2000, 671; cf. Fecht 1960a, §§ 32, 438–49; Osing 1976, I, 143, 314, II, 631 n. 648, 761–62 n. 1338; Schenkel 1983, 155; Kammerzell 1991; Satzinger 1991, 2004; Peust 2002; Cuvigny and Wagner 1986–2001, III, 46, no. 281; cf. also Leitz 2002–2003, VII, 169–71).

68 For the placement of the 'bread' (Gardiner X1) after the 'three ripples of water' (Gardiner M35a) as part of *jʿj* 'to wash', a parallel can be found on stela Marseille 225, second register with the personal name  *jjj-m-jʿw.t-jb* 'he who has come as/in purest joy' (m.) (Meeks, Meeks, and Pierini 1992, 37); for further examples from the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom, cf. Ranke 1935–1952, I, 11 (23); Ilin-Tomich 2022.

69 Erman and Grapow 1982, I, 39 (9)–(10); Hannig 2006, 27.

70 For the identification of *jʿw.t* as a *nomen acti* 'purity', cf. further above.

Akhenaten at Thebes.[71] Far from full clarification, many details of Amarna theology and royal ideology await new insights. It is very much hoped for that future studies on details of phonology, morphology, and the peculiarities of writing will advance our comprehension of real and alleged mistakes, plays on words,[72] and allusions in order to contribute to a deeper and better understanding of the Amarna Period.

71 Cf. Wente 1969; Gohary 1992, 17, 99, 145–46; Wildung 1992; Arnold 1996, 9, 18; Gabolde 1998, 15, 17, 24–25, 86; Traunecker 1999; Ashton 2005. It should be noted that Nefertiti's epithets *nfr.t-ḥr ʿjn(.t)-m-šw.tj jʿw.t-jbw* etc. 'she whose face is perfect, she who is beautiful with the double plumed crown, the purest joy etc.' also associate her with Hathor (cf. Leitz 2002–2003, III, 230). Even though, unfortunately, her depiction in this scene is destroyed beyond recognition (Davies 1903–1908, II, pl. VII), she may well have been shown with a composite crown consisting of the plumes, bovine horns, uraei, and a sun disk (cf. Nefertiti's representation on the opposite east thickness, Davies 1903–1908, II, pl. VIII), thus wearing the elements typical of the headgear of Hathor in her role as consort of the sun god Re (cf. Althoff 2009, 74–75 and passim).

72 For the enormous significance of puns and plays on words in Amarna theology, cf. Fecht 1960b; Assmann 1975; Kahl 1995.

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