

THE GREAT NAME

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ROYAL TITULARY

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The Great Name

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ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ROYAL TITULARY

Ronald J. Leprohon

*Edited by*  
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Society of Biblical Literature  
Atlanta

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To the memory of

Bernard D. Leprohon  
(July 4, 1922–July 10, 2012)

Diane O. Leprohon  
(September 13, 1948–July 25, 2012)

*C'est à votre tour de vous laisser parler d'amour*



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## SERIES EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Writings from the Ancient World is designed to provide up-to-date, readable English translations of writings recovered from the ancient Near East.

The series is intended to serve the interests of general readers, students, and educators who wish to explore the ancient Near Eastern roots of Western civilization or to compare these earliest written expressions of human thought and activity with writings from other parts of the world. It should also be useful to scholars in the humanities or social sciences who need clear, reliable translations of ancient Near Eastern materials for comparative purposes. Specialists in particular areas of the ancient Near East who need access to texts in the scripts and languages of other areas will also find these translations helpful. Given the wide range of materials translated in the series, different volumes will appeal to different interests. However, these translations make available to all readers of English the world's earliest traditions as well as valuable sources of information on daily life, history, religion, and the like in the preclassical world.

The translators of the various volumes in this series are specialists in the particular languages and have based their work on the original sources and the most recent research. In their translations they attempt to convey as much as possible of the original texts in fluent, current English. In the introductions, notes, glossaries, maps, and chronological tables, they aim to provide the essential information for an appreciation of these ancient documents.

The ancient Near East reached from Egypt to Iran and, for the purposes of our volumes, ranged in time from the invention of writing (by 3000 B.C.E.) to the conquests of Alexander the Great (ca. 330 B.C.E.). The cultures represented within these limits include especially Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Aramean, Phoenician, and Israelite. It is hoped that Writings from the Ancient World will eventually produce translations from most of the many different genres attested in these cultures: letters (official and private), myths, diplomatic documents, hymns, law collections, monumental inscriptions, tales, and administrative records, to mention but a few.

Significant funding was made available by the Society of Biblical Literature for the preparation of this volume. In addition, those involved in preparing this volume have received financial and clerical assistance from their respective institutions. Were it not for these expressions of confidence in our work, the arduous

tasks of preparation, translation, editing, and publication could not have been accomplished or even undertaken. It is the hope of all who have worked with the Writings from the Ancient World series that our translations will open up new horizons and deepen the humanity of all who read these volumes.

Theodore J. Lewis  
The Johns Hopkins University

## PREFACE

The genesis of this book goes back many years, when I asked myself what the name “Khufu” meant. King Khufu, sometimes referred to by his Greek name Cheops, is of course famous for being the builder of the Great Pyramid, and his name appears in countless writings on pharaonic Egypt. After parsing the various elements of the name and realizing that it meant “He protects me,” with the divine name Khnum added in some instances of the name (giving the full name “Khnum, he protects me”), I developed an interest in ancient Egyptian names in general. The fact that pharaohs took on a series of additional names at their coronation also intrigued me. Thus was born the idea of translating the more than one thousand names found in this book.

The rendering of some names was fairly straightforward, while others offered different choices, all of which could be defended grammatically. At times, as explained in the introduction, I simply had to decide on a given rendering and not bother the reader with more than one choice. If I remember her wise counsel properly, the great popular historian Barbara Tuchman once wrote that scholars should never argue their evidence in front of their audience (*Practicing History: Selected Essays* [New York: Knopf, 1981]), as she preferred to lay out her story in a clear linear fashion. This is what I have opted to do on a number of occasions in this catalogue of names. It is my hope that the readers of this book will use it not only as a reference work but also as a springboard from which more work can be done on the topic.

I am grateful to Denise Doxey for accepting to take on the editing of this project. She made some rather good suggestions along the way, caught a number of silly—and at times humorous—mistakes, and generally made the manuscript much better all around. A great tip of the hat goes her way. I have also benefited from a number of conversations with my colleague Katja Goebis here at the University of Toronto. Her insightful comments forced me to rethink some of my renderings and my thinking about ancient Egyptian kingship in general; she also suggested a number of bibliographical items of which I was unaware. I also thank my student Vicky Murrell for helping to find the provenance and full references for many of the Ramesside Period additional names. Colleagues who helped along the way include Jim Allen, with whom I discussed the parsing of royal names; Aidan Dodson, who kindly sent me parts of his new book on the Third Intermediate Period before it was published; Elizabeth Froom, who helped with discussions on royal names in general; Salima Ikram, who shared some ideas about early dynastic kings; and Nigel Strudwick, for his friendship and

constant encouragement. To them, and surely to others whom I am forgetting, I extend heartfelt thanks. Gratitude is also due to Ted Lewis, the series editor for *Writings from the Ancient World*, for his unfailing patience with my repeated promises to finish the manuscript within the next year. It has indeed taken me too long to finish this project. Above all, I cannot thank enough the two most important people in my life, my wife, Barbara Ibronyi, and my son, Thomas Leprohon, for providing me with love and laughter, and for putting up with the many mood swings that inevitably accompany the end of a project such as this. I also owe special gratitude to Barbara for copyediting my prose and for the artwork found in these pages.

The completion of this book was marred by the loss of two people. My father, my first hero and my role model, and my magnificent sister passed away within fifteen days of one another during the final push to finish the manuscript. To them I dedicate this book.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

The table is based on Clayton 1994 and all years are B.C.E. All dates prior to the mid-seventh century B.C.E. are approximate.

### **Early Dynastic Period**

Dynasty "0"	3150–3050
Dynasty 1	3050–2890
Dynasty 2	2890–2686

### **Old Kingdom**

Dynasty 3	2686–2613
Dynasty 4	2613–2498
Dynasty 5	2498–2345
Dynasty 6	2345–2181
Dynasty 8	2181–2161

### **First Intermediate Period**

Dynasties 9-10	2160–2040
Dynasty 11a	2134–2060

### **Middle Kingdom**

Dynasty 11b	2060–1991
Dynasty 12	1991–1782
Dynasty 13	1782–1650
Dynasty 14	?–1650

### **Second Intermediate Period**

Dynasty 15	1663–1555
Dynasty 16	1663–1555
Dynasty 17	1663–1570

### **New Kingdom**

Dynasty 18	1570–1293
Dynasty 19	1293–1185
Dynasty 20	1185–1070

**Third Intermediate Period**

Dynasty 21	1069–945
Dynasty 22	945–712
Dynasty 23	818–712
Dynasty 24	727–715
Dynasty 25	747–656

**Late Period**

Dynasty 26	664–525
Dynasty 27	525–404
Dynasty 28	404–399
Dynasty 29	399–380
Dynasty 30	380–343
Dynasty 31	343–332

**Macedonian Dynasty** 332–305

**Ptolemaic Period** 305–30



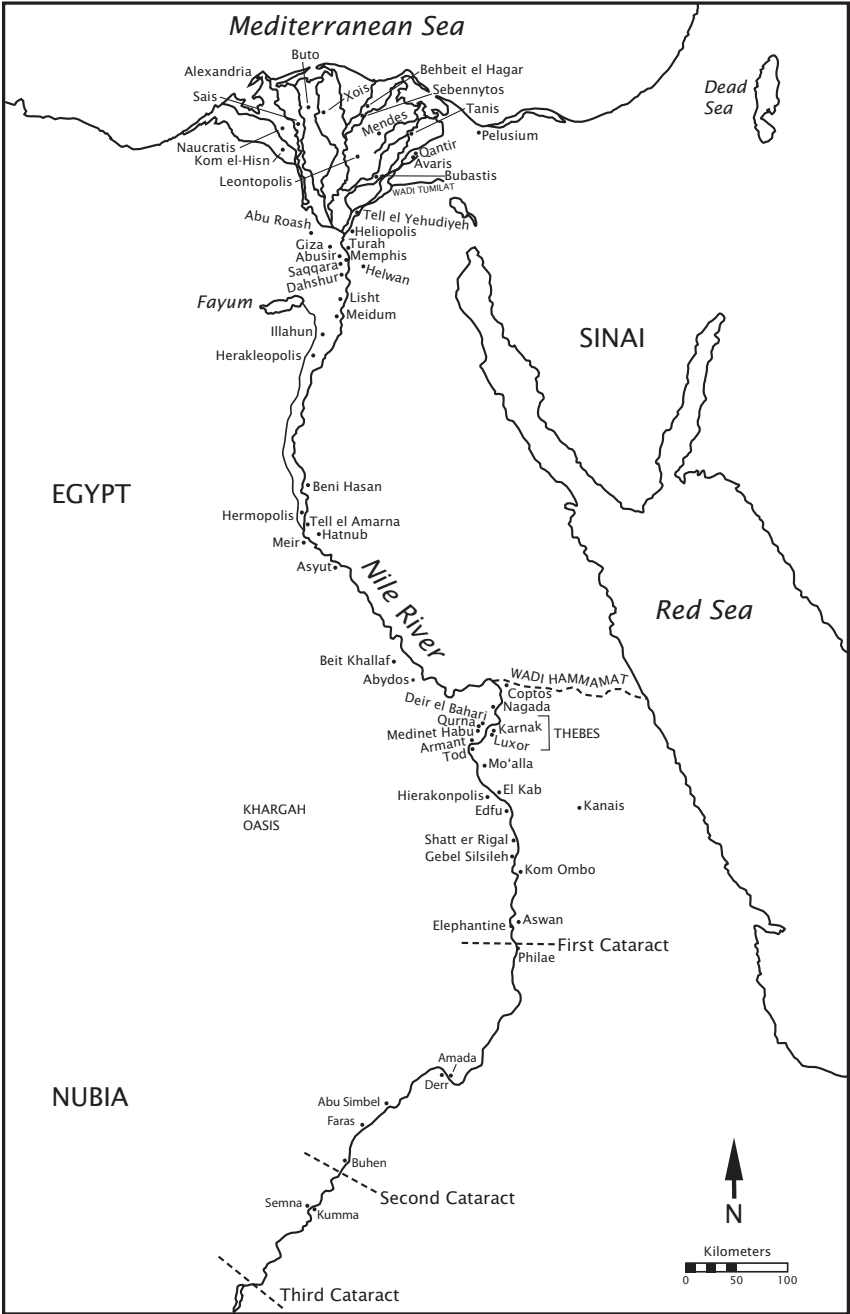


Figure 1. Map of Egypt (drawn by B. Ibronyi)



## ABBREVIATIONS

ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
BACE	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'Étude
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
BSEGE	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève</i>
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie</i>
CAJ	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CDME	Raymond O. Faulkner, <i>A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> . Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962.
DE	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>
ENIM	<i>Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne</i>
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JEGH	<i>Journal of Egyptian History</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
KRI	Kenneth A. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical</i> . 8 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1975–91.
LD	Richard Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien: nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition</i> . 12 vols. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–59.
MÄS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien

<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo</i>
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire
<i>MMJ</i>	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i>
PM	Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, with Ethel W. Burney and Jaromir Málek (from 1973). <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> . 7 vols. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1927–52. 2nd ed., 1960–.
<i>PSBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
<i>Urk. IV</i>	Kurt Sethe and Wolfgang Helck, <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> . Leipzig: Hinrichs; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1906–58.
<i>Urk. VII</i>	Kurt Sethe, <i>Historisch-Biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches</i> . Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1935.
<i>Wb</i>	A. Erman and H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache</i> . 5 vols. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926–31. Reprinted 1971.
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

# I

## INTRODUCTION

Besides, the king's name is a tower of strength,  
Which they upon the adverse part want.

Shakespeare,  
*Richard III*, V, iii

The pharaoh is one of the most recognizable figures in ancient Egypt. As far back as the late Predynastic period, a ruler was easily identifiable in a pictorial composition by the fact that he was depicted on a larger scale than the other human figures around him.<sup>1</sup> Other symbols of authority were the regalia the king wore and the titulary he assumed at his coronation. At first consisting only of the so-called Horus name, the titulary was expanded over time to include other epithets chosen to represent the king's special relationship with the divine world. By the time of the Middle Kingdom (late twenty-first century B.C.E.), the full fivefold titulary was clearly established and kings henceforth used all five names regularly.

It is these names that the present volume will offer in transliteration and translation. The corpus will consist of all royal names from the so-called Dynasty "0" (thirty-second century B.C.E.) down to the last Ptolemaic ruler in the late first century B.C.E. The order in which they will be presented is Horus, Two Ladies, Golden Horus, Throne, and Birth names. Each entry will first offer a traditional scholarly transliteration (e.g., *w3h-ʕnh*), using Gardiner's (1957a) simple method of transliteration, with which English-speaking scholars will be mostly familiar. Note that, as in the example given here, a phrase consisting of an adjective qualifying a noun (e.g., "enduring of life") will be hyphenated. Next will come an anglicized version of the transliteration in italics (e.g., *wah ankh*), for readers not familiar with the study of the ancient Egyptian language. These two sets of transliteration will be followed by a translation of the phrase. The corpus will not include the names of queens, even though some of these are written within cartouches, unless the queen is specifically believed to have ruled the

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1. For an example from the Nagada IIIA1 period, see Darnell 2002, fig. on p. 10. See also Robins 2000, 21, 32–33.

country, for example, Queens Nitocris, Sobeknefru, Hatshepsut, Tawosret, and a few Ptolemaic queens.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, Nubian rulers will not be included, except those who actually ruled over Egypt, that is, what is referred to as Dynasty 25.<sup>3</sup> Because they would essentially constitute a separate study, the numerous epithets further describing the king have also been left out of this book.<sup>4</sup>

## 1. INTENDED AUDIENCE AND PREVIOUS WORK

This set of translations of ancient Egyptian royal names is aimed at specialists and nonspecialists alike. For the latter, the double set of transliterations offered will, it is hoped, make the entries easier to understand, and of course the translations are mostly intended for those who cannot read ancient Egyptian. The specialists will already have access to a number of publications dealing with the subject, although none of these presents as much material as the current volume. The standard collection of Egyptian royal names, given in hieroglyphic font, remains Henri Gauthier's *Le Livre des rois d'Égypte, recueil de titres et protocoles royaux* (the pertinent volumes for the present book are vols. 1–4 (1907, 1912, 1914, 1916), although this is fairly out of date<sup>5</sup> and Gauthier did not translate the names. A newer publication of royal names, offered in clear handwritten hieroglyphs and with transliteration, is Jürgen von Beckerath's *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (2nd ed., 1999). Although significantly more up-to-date and tremendously useful, the volume was written with specialists in mind, as the names are not translated. It must be added that the present book owes a great depth of gratitude to von Beckerath's work, since, unless otherwise indicated, the order of kings in most periods follows his own. Another book that must be cited is Michel Dessoudeix's wonderful *Chronique de l'Égypte ancienne: Les pharaons, leur règne, leurs contemporains* (2008). Dessoudeix presents not only the events from each king's reign, his building activities and burial site, the main officials from the period, and relevant bibliographies, but also a full set of names translated into French. Where the present book mainly differs from Dessoudeix's work is in the rendering of the kings' Throne names, as will be explained below. Two other relevant books are Stephen Quirke's *Who Were the Pharaohs? A History of Their Names with a List of Cartouches* (1990) and Peter Clayton's *Chronicle of the Pharaohs: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers and Dynas-*

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2. The latter will be given additional numbers (e.g., “5a”) within the dynasty. For a recent and useful study of queens' names, see Grajetzki 2005.

3. For Nubian rulers contemporary with early Middle Kingdom Egyptian kings, see Aufrère 1982, 64, 69; Postel 2004, 379–84; and Grajetzki 2006, 27–28. For the later Nubian monarchs who ruled from Napata, see especially Eide et al. 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000.

4. Aufrère (1982, 31–34) offers a number of examples; for the material from the New Kingdom on, see Grimal 1986.

5. In this respect, it is noteworthy to remember that Gauthier presented his Eighteenth Dynasty rulers a full decade before the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb.

*ties of Ancient Egypt* (1994). The former contains a most useful history of the development of the royal titulary along with a number of names at the end, but again none of these is translated. Clayton's book is another masterful offering, but not all royal names are presented or translated.

## 2. SOURCES USED

The lists of royal names gathered by Gauthier and von Beckerath constitute the main sources for the names presented herein. These come mainly from material emanating from the royal workshops, whether official stelae, funerary monuments, inscriptions carved on temple walls, or obelisks added to the temple courtyards. A further source for ancient Egyptian royal names is King Lists compiled in later periods.<sup>6</sup> These must be used carefully, however, since in cases such as the Early Dynastic rulers, as much as seventeen centuries separated the original rulers from the Ramesside scribes who compiled the lists. For certain eras, such as the first two so-called Intermediate periods, the later King Lists are often the only extant evidence for a good number of rulers. In such cases—for example, the kings of Dynasty 3A presented below, none of whom is attested contemporaneously—the name will be followed by an asterisk and designated as “Later cartouche name.” This will help distinguish those rulers attested in contemporary records from those known only from later lists.<sup>7</sup>

## 3. NOTES ON THE TRANSLATIONS

The art of translating consists in deconstructing one code—in this case, the ancient Egyptian language—and reconstructing it into another, here, modern English. I have made every effort to render the names as faithfully as possible to the original. Hence, a two-word expression consisting of an adjective qualifying a noun will usually be rendered with the same word order as in the original phrase. Thus, the Horus name of King Intef II, *w3h-ꜥnh*, will be translated “enduring of life,” with the phrase meaning “the one whose life is enduring.” In cases where an English idiomatic expression exists, a more modern rendering will be offered. Thus, the phrase *nht-ꜥ*, lit. “strong of arm,” used as part of a secondary Horus name of King Ramses III, will be translated as “strong-armed.”

Readers will also note that Egyptian participles, which have the meaning of an English relative clause where the subject is the same as the antecedent (e.g., “one who loves”)<sup>8</sup> will be rendered in the past tense (“one who loved”). The reason for this is that the participial forms of mutable verbs met in the phrases form-

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6. Redford 1986.

7. See Baumgartel 1975, 28, for similar reservations about such lists compiled so long after the fact.

8. Gardiner 1957a, §353.

ing the royal titulary are never written in their “imperfective” form, where the last root of the verb is reduplicated, but only in their “perfective” (i.e., past tense) forms. Compare *mrr*, “one who loves,” to *mr*, “one who loved.”<sup>9</sup> One exception, which proves the point nicely, is the Throne name of Apries, where the participle is written in its imperfective form, thus giving us a present continuous form: *h<sup>c</sup> ib r<sup>c</sup>*, “One who (continually) rejoices over the mind of Re.” The use of the past tense may have had something to do with the length of time between the king’s accession at the death of his predecessor and his coronation, during which time the titulary was composed. When the new king’s names were announced at his coronation, perhaps the sentiments expressed in the various epithets were already considered a *fait accompli*.

Names are notoriously difficult to translate, and sometimes I have made choices that will seem arbitrary. This dilemma is particularly revealed when certain verbal forms can be parsed either as Egyptian participles or relative forms. Both are rendered with English relative clauses, but the latter are distinguished from the former because the subject is different than the antecedent; compare “the woman who reads a book” to “a book (that) the woman is reading.” In some cases, translating a particular phrase with a participle is the clear choice. One example is Mentuhotep III’s Horus name, *s<sup>c</sup>nh t3wy.f(y)*, “the one who has sustained his Two Lands,” in which the king was obviously said to be acting on behalf of his country. The same king’s first Throne name is *s<sup>c</sup>nh k3 r<sup>c</sup>*, which can be rendered as “the one who has sustained the ka of Re” or “the one whom the ka of Re has sustained.” If one argues that the king was acting for the benefit of the god by making offerings in a temple, the verb *s<sup>c</sup>nh*, “to live,” could be parsed as a participle (“the one who has sustained the ka of Re”). If, however, one assumes that the god was acting on behalf of the king, then the verb form is to be parsed as a relative (“the one whom the ka of Re has sustained”). Because the second translation seems to be more in accord with what we know of the relationship between the king and the gods in ancient Egypt, it is the form selected in this book. In Mentuhotep III’s case, an additional Throne name of the king perhaps makes the choice clearer; it reads *snfr k3 r<sup>c</sup>*, and I have rendered the phrase as “the one whom the ka of Re has made perfect,” because it seems obvious that it is the god who is making the king “perfect.”

Careful readers will also perceive what seem to be inconsistencies in the rendering of some words or phrases. The reasons for the changes are a wish on my part to be as idiomatic as possible in my renderings. For example, the noun *ib*, which is often translated as “heart,” was actually the “mind” or even “intellect.”<sup>10</sup> Thus, part of a secondary Two Ladies name of Ramses II, *m3i s<sup>h</sup>m-ib*, lit. “the lion who is powerful of heart,” is translated “stout-hearted lion” in the catalogue,

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9. I owe this observation to an anonymous referee who read a draft of an article submitted to the *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Leprohon 2010b).

10. See, e.g., Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 310.



while Sekhemib's Horus name, *šhm-ib*, lit. "the one who is powerful of will," is rendered "the resolute one." Other inconsistencies will occur because of common spellings seen in most studies. For example, although the name of the primary god during the New Kingdom is transliterated as *imn* (*imen*) in these pages, it will be rendered as "Amun" throughout, unless it occurs in theophoric names such as Amenemhat or Amenhotep. Some kings, who are mostly known by their Greek names—for example, King Smendes or King Apries—will be presented with their Egyptian name first, followed by the more common Greek name in a bracket. Thus, the two preceding monarchs will be referred to as Nes-ba-nebdjed (Smendes) and Wahibre (Apries), respectively. An appendix of Greek names and their Egyptian equivalents is offered at the end of the book.

#### 4. NAMES AND THEIR IMPORTANCE

Choosing a particular name was an especially symbolic act for an ancient Egyptian ruler, since names were so significant within the culture. After all, the original act of creation by the primeval god himself was inextricably linked to the act of naming the various entities he created.<sup>11</sup> Kings wished their names to "remain" (*mn*) and be "enduring" (*w3h*),<sup>12</sup> or for posterity to "give thanks to god" (*dw3 ntr*) in their name.<sup>13</sup> A king could also make his name "perfect" (*nfr*) through "combat" (*ʿh3*),<sup>14</sup> which cemented his reputation as a "brave warrior" (*kn*)<sup>15</sup> in "every country."<sup>16</sup> And that reputation could then be circulated by a court official who "established" (*smn*)<sup>17</sup> or "caused to live" (*sʿnh*)<sup>18</sup> his lord's name. In fact, courtiers were urged to "fight" (*ʿh3*) on behalf of their sovereign's name.<sup>19</sup> Kings were also mindful of former monarchs: for example, we find Amenhotep II "causing to live" (*sʿnh*) the names of the Fourth Dynasty rulers Khufu and Khafre<sup>20</sup> as well as that of his own father Thutmose III.<sup>21</sup> This led to officials also "commemorating" (*dm*, lit. "pronouncing")<sup>22</sup> the names of former queens and royal children.

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11. Cf. the Memphite Theology, col. 55, which reads: "The teeth and the lips in his mouth, which proclaimed the name of everything," and the demiurge "who created names" (*km3 rmw*); on this, see Vernus 1980, col. 321, notes 3–4, with references.

12. *Urk.* IV, 366:15.

13. KRI I, 66:5.

14. KRI II, 79:6–9.

15. *Urk.* IV, 1710:7, 1752:11, and 1921:1.

16. *Ibid.*, 1685:14, 1693:17.

17. *Ibid.*, 1822:11.

18. *Ibid.*, 1934:15.

19. Cairo Stela CG 20538, Verso 19. For an easily accessible version, see Lichtheim 1973, 128; see also Leprohon 2009, 283.

20. *Urk.* IV, 1283:3.

21. *Ibid.*, 1295:7–8.

22. *Ibid.*, 1778:3.

In turn, individuals wished their own names to “remain” (*mn*)<sup>23</sup> or be “permanent” (*rwd*)<sup>24</sup> in people’s mouths, which led them to wish for posterity to “pronounce” (*dm*),<sup>25</sup> “invoke” (*nīs*),<sup>26</sup> “remember” (*sh3*),<sup>27</sup> or simply “not forget” (*n smh*)<sup>28</sup> their name. This desire for their name to continue “existing” (*wn*)<sup>29</sup> or “not perish” (*n sk*)<sup>30</sup> would lead to their reputation (lit. their “name”) being “perfect” (*nfr*)<sup>31</sup> or “blameless” (*twr*, lit. “clean”),<sup>32</sup> a success that could be achieved through what an official himself had “accomplished” (*m irt.n.f*),<sup>33</sup> resulting in having his name “advanced” (*shnt*) by the king.<sup>34</sup> Thus could an individual’s name be “known” (*rh*) to the king,<sup>35</sup> which could lead to his being “greeted by name” (*nd-hr*) by his ruler.<sup>36</sup> This recognition enabled his name to be “great” (*ʕ3*) in “the Two Lands of Horus”<sup>37</sup> and “heard” (*sdm*) in “Upper and Lower Egypt.”<sup>38</sup> This correlation between reputation and position is nicely summed up in the epithet of one official, who claimed that he was “great in his name and important in his rank” (*wr m rn.f ʕ3 m sʕh.f*).<sup>39</sup> In the end, it was a family’s duty to keep the memory of a deceased relative alive, as the ubiquitous phrase “to cause the name to live” (*sʕnh rn*) was applied to one’s father,<sup>40</sup> mother,<sup>41</sup> or grandfather.<sup>42</sup> We even encounter a brother causing his sibling’s name to live.<sup>43</sup>

Additionally, because ancient Egyptians believed that everything was animated with *bau*-power,<sup>44</sup> an energy believed to be divine intervention into the

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23. Ibid., 1785:14, 1875:18.

24. Ibid., 1805:4.

25. Ibid., 1626:15, 1845:20.

26. Ibid., 1835:9, 1846:15.

27. Ibid., 1537:2.

28. Ibid., 1601:2.

29. Ibid., 1805:4.

30. Vernus 1976, 5–6.

31. *Urk.* IV, 1800:19, 1912:6.

32. Ibid., 1818:10.

33. Ibid., 2:5; on this theme, see also Schott 1969.

34. *Urk.* IV, 1410:4.

35. Doxey 1998, 332, 393.

36. Ibid., 374.

37. Ibid., 276.

38. Ibid., 332.

39. Fischer 1973, 20–21; Vernus 1980, col. 321, n. 15.

40. *Urk.* IV, 1446:18, 1504:8, 1641:19, 1808:11, 1913:20, 1919:3, etc. See also the epithet “one whose name was made in stone by his son” (Doxey 1998, 270).

41. *Urk.* IV, 1446:12.

42. Ibid., 1939:16 and 1950:12, where the bequests are made by the “son of his son” (*s3 n s3.f*).

43. Ibid., 1493:7.

44. Žabkar 1968, 48–50; Green 1980, 35 n. 6.

affairs of humans,<sup>45</sup> everyday objects were given names. The list of such named items runs from a well dug under the aegis of a king,<sup>46</sup> or the latter's chariot<sup>47</sup> and battleship.<sup>48</sup> Army divisions were named,<sup>49</sup> and even a besieging wall could be given an appellation compounded with the king's name.<sup>50</sup> Buildings were of course given names, whether they were temples<sup>51</sup> or fortresses on Egypt's frontiers.<sup>52</sup> Within those structures, the pylons,<sup>53</sup> gateways and doors,<sup>54</sup> and statues were named.<sup>55</sup>

## 5. THE FIVE NAMES OF THE KING

### 5.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Since the king was a human being who held a divine office as well as the link between his subjects and the gods, the royal court wished to express the essential features of this unique circumstance. One of the ways it accomplished this was by composing special epithets that the king assumed at his accession, which would serve as a brief statement of his qualities or of his relationship with the divine and the terrestrial world.

These epithets could consist of short phrases with a simple adjective qualifying a noun, such as "enduring of life" or "great of manifestations." More common were longer declarations in which an Egyptian participle, whether active or passive, was used alone ("the one who has united," or "the beloved one") or, more frequently, with a direct object ("the one who has seized all lands") or an adverbial phrase ("the one who has appeared in Thebes"). The Egyptian participle was also used by itself as a noun ("the one who is established," with the meaning of "the established one") followed by other nouns ("the perfect one of—i.e., belonging to—the ka of Re"). In the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate period,

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45. Borghouts 1982.

46. KRI I, 66:11.

47. *Urk.* IV, 1302:3.

48. *Ibid.*, 1297:7–8. Divine barques were also named; see, e.g., *Urk.* IV, 1652:12.

49. KRI II, 15:11–15. Although this is not unusual in a military context, it is noteworthy that the divisions were named after various gods.

50. *Urk.* IV, 661:6 and 1254:9, from Thutmose III's account of his siege of the city of Megiddo.

51. A few examples are found in *Urk.* IV, 1709:17 and 1710:7 (Luxor Temple); 1668:10 (temple of Montu, Karnak); 1252:7 (Thutmose III's Festival Hall, Karnak); 1655:2 and 1752:11 (temples of Soleb and Gebel Barkal, Nubia, respectively); 1250:16 and 1355:9 (Mortuary Temples of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, respectively).

52. *Urk.* IV, 740:1, 1421:10.

53. *Ibid.*, 1650:5.

54. *Ibid.*, 1268:2; and Nims 1969, 70.

55. *Urk.* IV, 1405:19, 1554:2, 1741:1, 1758:10, and 1796:15.

when the titulary became more elaborate, a combination of such types of phrases would often be employed.

There was a long period of experimentation,<sup>56</sup> as new categories of names were created over time. First to appear was the Horus name, followed by the Golden Horus name halfway through the First Dynasty, in the reign of King Den. Next came a reference to “the one who belongs to Upper and Lower Egypt,” and then a mention of the Two Ladies in the mid to late First Dynasty, in the reigns of Adjib and Semerkhet, respectively. The oval ring that contained the last two names of the king, and which was originally a simple circle, is first met in the reign of King Sanakht in the Third Dynasty.<sup>57</sup> Called *shen* in Egyptian, a word that means “to encircle,” it was a symbol of the king’s rule over all that the sun god encompassed and had both protective and solar associations.<sup>58</sup> This development of the titulary lasted until the Middle Kingdom, at which point the five names finally achieved their “canonical” form. No king from the Early Dynastic period and very few from the Old Kingdom bore all five names, and even the latter group did not necessarily present all of these in the order in which we expect to see them.<sup>59</sup>

It is also during this period that we first meet the designation of the royal titulary. A text now in Berlin and thought to be from the Fayum, dated to the reign of Amenemhat III, announced the king’s coregency with his father Senwosret III.<sup>60</sup> The text is fragmentary, but one of the blocks reads */// rn.f wr [n(y)-sw]-bit [n(y)-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>] ///*, “/// his Great Name, the Dual King [Nimaatre] ///.”<sup>61</sup> The text would later be copied by Hatshepsut when proclaiming her putative coregency with her father Thutmose I.<sup>62</sup> Her version of that particular passage reads *rn.s wr n(y)-sw-bit m3<sup>c</sup>t-k3-r<sup>c</sup> di nḥ*, “her Great Name, the Dual King [sic]<sup>63</sup> Maatkare, given life.”<sup>64</sup> An analysis of the phrase Great Name has shown that it can refer to each royal name separately as well as the full five names.<sup>65</sup> For the fuller list, the texts mostly used the term *nḥbt*, which could refer either to the Horus name

56. Because we sometimes tend to telescope time when dealing with ancient history, it is worth mentioning here that around four and a half centuries elapsed between the beginning of the First Dynasty and King Radjedef of the Fourth Dynasty, the first monarch to introduce the epithet “son of Re” in the royal titulary.

57. It is found on a fragmentary sealing from Beit Khallaf in Middle Egypt, for which see Garstang 1903, pl. 19:7; see also T. A. H. Wilkinson 2001, 208.

58. Baines 1995, 9.

59. For a list of the variations met in the order of the names, see Aufrère 1982, 22–26; see also Bonhême 1987, 5.

60. For discussions, see Murnane 1977, 228–29; and Leprohon 1980, 297–302.

61. Fragment 15803c; see Roeder 1913, 138.

62. *Urk.* IV, 261–62.

63. The phrase *n(y)-su-bit* is not written with a feminine form.

64. *Urk.* IV, 261:17.

65. Bonhême 1978, 360–68.

alone or actually stand for the complete titulary.<sup>66</sup> Other terms used to refer to the royal names were *rn m3c*, “Real Name,” found only in a text from the reign of Hatshepsut,<sup>67</sup> as well as the simple *rn*, “Name,” which, like the Great Name, could refer to each individual name or the full titulary.<sup>68</sup>

## 5.2. CHOOSING AND PROCLAIMING THE TITULARY

The logistics of choosing the four names taken at the coronation largely escape us, but a few texts give us a hint of the process. In an inscription carved on the exterior of the south wall of the chamber south of the main sanctuary at Karnak, Thutmose III claimed that it was none other than Amun-Re who had chosen his name: “[He<sup>69</sup> established] my appearances and set a titulary (*nhbt*) for me himself.”<sup>70</sup> Hatshepsut’s Coronation Inscription gives us a more prosaic version of the events, as she declared that the learned men of the palace composed her titulary: “His Majesty<sup>71</sup> commanded that lector-priests (*hryw-hbt*) be brought in to inscribe her Great Names, (at the time) of receiving her titulary of Dual King.”<sup>72</sup> The text goes on to say, “They then proclaimed her names of Dual King, since, indeed, the god had brought about (his) manifestations in their minds, exactly as he had done previously.”<sup>73</sup> If the first quoted passage hints at divine revelation, the second rather implies divine *inspiration*, as the god’s will made itself manifest in the priests’ minds (*ib*).<sup>74</sup>

In the sources, the various names chosen for the new king were said to have been “created” (*ir*),<sup>75</sup> “assigned” (*w3c*),<sup>76</sup> “fixed” (*mn*),<sup>77</sup> “specified” (*nhb*),<sup>78</sup> “given” (*rdi*),<sup>79</sup> “established” (*smn*),<sup>80</sup> or “consolidated” (*srwd*)<sup>81</sup> by the palace. The names could then be “sanctified” (*s3sr*),<sup>82</sup> at which point they were ready to

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66. *Ibid.*, 350–60.

67. *Ibid.*, 368–69.

68. *Ibid.*, 369–74.

69. What precedes makes it clear that the pronoun refers to the god.

70. *Urk.* IV, 160:10–11; PM II, 106 (Room 24, no. 328, plan 12).

71. Hatshepsut’s long-dead father, Thutmose I.

72. *Urk.* IV, 261: 2–4.

73. *Ibid.*, 261: 11–13.

74. For the observation, see Bonhême 1987, 12.

75. *Urk.* IV, 80:11, 2118:11, 2123:16, etc.

76. KRI VI, 5:6.

77. *Urk.* IV, 383:12.

78. KRI VI, 7:7.

79. See PM II<sup>2</sup>, 28 (45); and 508.

80. *Urk.* IV, 358:14, 383:12.

81. See PM II<sup>2</sup>, 30 (68–69).

82. *Urk.* IV, 276:11.

be “recorded” (*wḏn*),<sup>83</sup> “inscribed” (*mtn*),<sup>84</sup> “engraved” (*ḥti*),<sup>85</sup> “copied” (*sphr*),<sup>86</sup> “written down” (*sš*),<sup>87</sup> and ultimately “displayed” (*wḥḥ*).<sup>88</sup>

Once composed, the titulary had to be promulgated. If a single text can be said to bear witness to a consistent policy on the part of the crown, Thutmose I’s announcement to his viceroy in Nubia gives us an idea of the sort of proclamation that must surely have been sent throughout the realm whenever a new king appeared on the throne (fig. 2):

A royal decree to the King’s Son and Overseer of Southern Countries, Turi.

Now see here, this royal [decree] is brought to you to let you know that My Majesty—alive, sound, and healthy—has appeared as the Dual King upon the Horus-throne of the Living, without his like within earthly eternity.

My titulary (*nḥbt*) has been drawn up as follows:  
 The Horus “Victorious bull, beloved of Maat”;  
 He of the Two Ladies, “The one who has appeared by means of the uraeus, the one great-of-might”;  
 The Golden Horus, “The one perfect of years, who has sustained minds”;  
 The Dual King, Aakheperkare (“The great one is the manifestation of the ka of Re”);  
 The Son of Re, Thutmose, living forever and ever.

Now, how you should have divine offerings presented to the gods of Elephantine, of the most southerly region, is in doing what is praised on behalf of the life, prosperity, and health of the Dual King Aakheperkare, who is given life.

Likewise, how you should have the oath established is in the name of My Majesty—alive, sound, and healthy—born of the King’s Mother, Seniseneb, who is in good health.

This is a communication to let you know about it, as well as the fact that the Palace is safe and sound. Regnal Year 1, 3rd month of winter, day 21, the day of the feast of the coronation.<sup>89</sup>

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83. *Ibid.*, 160:11, 285:6.

84. KRI VI, 6:3.

85. KRI II, 586:11.

86. KRI III, 304:1.

87. *Urk.* IV, 252:3, 6.

88. KRI VI, 5:6. This list of verbs is found in the exhaustive catalogue collected by Bonhême 1978, 353–77.

89. *Urk.* IV, 80–81.

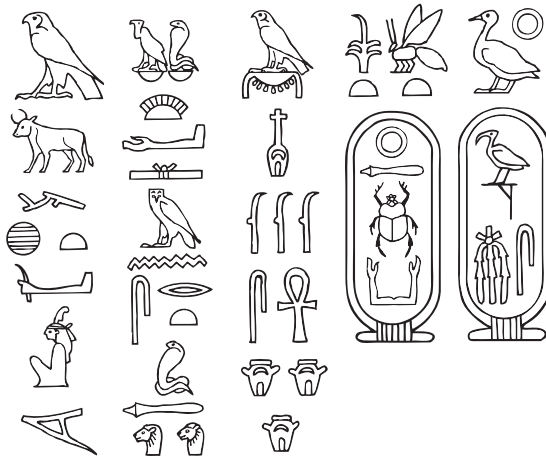


Figure 2. Fivefold Titulary of King Thutmose I (Eighteenth Dynasty) (redrawn by B. Ibronyi)

In this text, the king gives an unadorned<sup>90</sup> listing of his full titulary, with specific instructions on how to use the last two elements. The Throne name, with its solar associations,<sup>91</sup> was to be used for sacred matters, while the Birth name could suffice for mundane administrative affairs.<sup>92</sup>

The last sentence of Thutmose I's announcement also reveals the timing of such proclamations. This was the day of the coronation, with the titulary presumably composed during the period between the accession day and the official coronation.<sup>93</sup> This interval raises the question of how anticipatory the phrases used in the titulary were meant to be.<sup>94</sup> When examining a particular king's titulary, it is tempting to look at his accomplishments and see his titulary as a reflection of these, although the phrases were of course drawn up at the beginning of the reign. Nevertheless, given the time frame just mentioned for the composition of the titulary, it is possible that the court's knowledge of the situation facing

90. The original royal decree, most probably written in the hieratic script on papyrus, survives in two hieroglyphic copies engraved on stelae found at Buhen (Stelae Berlin 13725 and Cairo CG 34006/Buhen ST9, for which see PM VII, 141; and Klug 2002, 65–70, 503–4). It can safely be assumed that the scribe responsible for the stelae copied the original verbatim.

91. For the solar association of the Throne name, see Birkstam 1984.

92. Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 313.

93. Gardiner 1953, 28; Bonhême 1987, 15–17.

94. Cabrol 2000, 178–79; Leprohon 2010b, 2–3.

the new king did, in fact, influence its creation. Thus, some of the phrases used in the titulary may indeed have reflected the king's position. The young crown prince Ramses participated in his father Sety I's campaigns,<sup>95</sup> so when the newly crowned Ramses II claimed to have "subdued foreign lands" and been "great of victories" in his original Two Ladies and Golden Horus names, respectively, he may have been stretching the truth somewhat, but he was not making the epithets up out of whole cloth. Similarly, Sety II's aggressive epithets, which proclaimed him to be "great of dread in all lands," who had "repelled the Nine Bows," may well have recalled the king's actions on the battlefield while he was still a crown prince.<sup>96</sup> In such matters, we must also distinguish the original titulary proclaimed at the coronation from additional phrases composed during the king's reign. The latter commemorated special events such as Sed festivals or were carved on newly erected temple walls, and could therefore very much demonstrate the state of affairs at the time. These additional names will be set apart from the original titulary in the catalogue presented herein.

### 5.3. THE HORUS NAME

Given that the Horus name is the first specific designation of a ruler encountered at the end of the Predynastic period in Egypt, it is tempting to imagine the courts of these early chieftains exploiting what may already have been an ancient tale about a celestial falcon god named Horus and associating their leaders with this divine figure. The oral transmission of the tale is of course lost in the mist of time, but enough pictorial representations have survived to attest to its existence.

Images of animals had been used as symbols for the ruler far back into the Predynastic period,<sup>97</sup> but falcons especially were considered emblems of royalty.<sup>98</sup> Thus did the king become "the Horus." This assumption of a new name by the king may be reflected in a passage from the Pyramid Texts that reads: "King NN is a Great Falcon (*bik* 𓆎) who is upon the ramparts (*znbw*) of the One-whose-name-is-hidden (*imn-rn*)."<sup>99</sup> The allusion to a hidden name possibly indicated that the designation by which the king was known was not actually his real name

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95. Kitchen 1982, 24–25.

96. Kitchen 1987, 135–36.

97. Cf. the various animals on the verso of the late Predynastic Libyan Palette (Tiradritti 1999, 38) as well as the lion on the Battlefield Palette from the same date (Forman and Quirke 1996, 15). On early animal symbolism, see also T. A. H. Wilkinson 2000, 27–28.

98. For an early example from the late Nagada I period, see Baumgartel 1975, pl. 15:2; the previously mentioned Libyan Palette also shows a falcon alone and two falcons perched on standards. For other examples, see Kemp 2000, 221–23; T. A. H. Wilkinson 2000, 26 n. 19; and a Nagada IIIA 1 graffito from the Western Desert, for which see Darnell 2002, fig. on p. 10.

99. Spell 627B, §1778a, for which see Faulkner 1969, 260; and Allen 2005, 244. Compare the later Coffin Texts Spell 148, which is almost identical but specifies that the ramparts are part of a *hwt*-mansion; for a discussion, see Gilula 1982, 263.



but a distinctive epithet denoting his newfound authority.<sup>100</sup> Notwithstanding that the king himself was not a divine figure,<sup>101</sup> it is noteworthy that gods were said to be “many-named” (*ḥ3-rnw*),<sup>102</sup> reflecting their multiple attributes.<sup>103</sup> In that respect, it is interesting to see the many references to the king’s “manifestations” (*ḥpr/ḥprw*) in the royal titulary of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>104</sup>

If, as stated earlier, the court artists had decided to promote the king in a scene by depicting him on a larger scale, it is tempting to think that the same process went into the writing of his Horus name. This special name had to be easily recognizable in an artistic tableau, and hence it was written inside a particular hieroglyph called a *serekh*, a word that meant “to cause to know, to display.”<sup>105</sup> The *serekh* (fig. 3) consisted of a vertical rectangle divided into two sections. The lower portion showed a patterned area representing a niched façade common in mud-brick architecture, while the upper part depicted a plan of the palace into which the king’s name was inserted.<sup>106</sup> Atop the *serekh* was perched a falcon figure symbolizing the celestial god Horus, of whom the king was thought to be a representative on earth. Thus, the full image of the *serekh*-hieroglyph stood for the concept of the Horus-king residing within his palace. In the earlier periods of Egyptian history, the Horus name remained the primary manner of identifying the reigning monarch in writing.

#### 5.4. THE TWO LADIES NAME

Sometimes called the *Nebty* name from the word *neby*, Egyptian for “two ladies,” or “two mistresses,”<sup>107</sup> the Two Ladies name placed the king under the protection of the two goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet. In pictorial representations, both goddesses rest on top of baskets, with the full composition writing out the

100. Gilula 1982, 263 n. 15; and R. H. Wilkinson 1985, 99.

101. An accessible summary of the question is found in O’Connor and Silverman 1995, xxiii–xxvi.

102. Vernus 1980, col. 324, n. 6.

103. Private individuals were also often given more than one name; see Vernus 1980, cols. 322–23, with many references; and Vernus 1986.

104. See, e.g., the Horus name of Ahmose (II); the Golden Horus name of Thutmose II; and the Throne names of Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, Nefer-neferu-aten, Tutankhamun, Ay, and Horemheb.

105. *Wb.* IV, 200, which, however, gives no example of the word dated prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty.

106. On the analogy of the false door, which may have been reinterpreted in the late Old Kingdom into having the main top panel representing a window into the home (Lacau 1967, a suggestion that has not won full approval), one wonders whether the same reinterpretation was applied to the *serekh*, which would then have made the top panel a window into the royal palace through which the king’s name was seen.

107. The masculine word *neb*, written with the basket hieroglyph, is usually translated as “lord.”

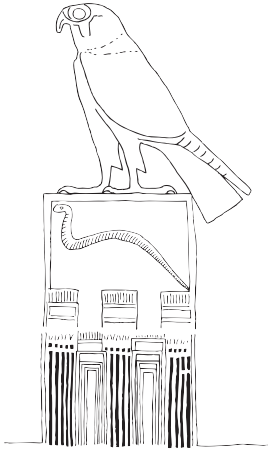


Figure 3. *Serekh* of King Djet (First Dynasty) (redrawn by B. Ibronyi)

phrase “the Two Ladies, Nekhbet and Wadjet.” The vulture-shaped Nekhbet was the tutelary goddess of the city of El Kab in southern Upper Egypt, while the cobra goddess Wadjet was the guardian deity of the city of Buto in Lower Egypt. Both sites were significant in the Pre- and Early Dynastic periods. El Kab,<sup>108</sup> ancient *Nekheb*, was the capital city of the Third Upper Egyptian nome. It was situated on the east bank, across the river from Hierakonpolis, the important “City of the Falcon,” the site where both the Scorpion Macehead and the Narmer Palette were found. The divine name Nekhbet means “the one (fem.) from Nekheb.” Remains dating back to the Paleolithic have been found at El Kab and important cemeteries from the late Predynastic and Early Dynastic, as well as a temple from the latter date, have been found there. Buto,<sup>109</sup> ancient *Pe* and *Dep*, in the northwestern Delta close to the Mediterranean, was the capital city of the Sixth Lower Egyptian nome. The Greek name Buto comes from ancient Egyptian *Per-Wadjet*, “The Domain of Wadjet,”<sup>110</sup> reflecting the name of the goddess relevant for this study. Late Predynastic strata at the site show traditional Lower Egyptian pottery types gradually being replaced by Upper Egyptian ones, indicating a growing influence of the southern culture over that of the north in the late Prehistoric era.

This last fact has led scholars to reconsider the old simplistic model of an aggressive conquest of the north by the south, using the warlike scenes on the Narmer Palette and others as templates for the conquest.<sup>111</sup> Instead, the refer-

108. Hendrickx 1999 gives a useful overview of the site.

109. For an easily accessible review of the site, see von der Way 1999.

110. Baines and Málek 1980, 170.

111. For concise summaries of the difficulties of interpreting the archaeological evidence from this period, see Bard 2000, 61–65; and Köhler 2011, among others. Warfare as a method

ences to Upper and Lower Egypt in both the Two Ladies and Throne (sometimes referred to as the “Dual King” designation) names are now considered by many rather as symbolic allusions to the basic duality of the Egyptians’ worldview, with the two different lands—the narrow valley of the south compared to the wide lush fields of the north—being complementary.<sup>112</sup> Indeed, although there were a number of competing polities in Upper Egypt, notably Hierakonpolis, Nagada, and Abydos, their northward march does not seem to find a comparable “kingdom” in the north, save perhaps for the site of Buto.<sup>113</sup> Whether such references to Upper and Lower Egyptian entities in the royal titulary reflected a subjugation of the north by the south, the fact remains that, as early as the First Dynasty, part of the titulary referred to two goddesses who represented important ancient sites from Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively. This must surely have demonstrated a wish on the part of the royal court to identify the king with the two parts of the country, both of which he was said to control.

The hieroglyphic group of the vulture and cobra resting atop baskets is first met early in the First Dynasty, in the reign of Aha.<sup>114</sup> Written beside the *serekh* containing the king’s name, it is uncertain whether this was, in fact, meant to represent the king’s Two Ladies name, or simply the name of the shrine inside which the signs are written.<sup>115</sup> Late in the First Dynasty, Semerkhet introduced the *nebtj* element as part of his titulary, from which point the title was used fairly regularly.

### 5.5. THE GOLDEN HORUS NAME

The third name in the series is the most elusive.<sup>116</sup> The hieroglyph for “gold,” a collar of beads with its ties hanging on each side, first appears as part of a king’s titulary in the reign of Den (Dyn. 1:4), alongside of which is written the rearing cobra hieroglyph, rendering the epithet “the golden uraeus.” The reign of Khaba (Dyn. 3:3) is the first to introduce the grouping of the falcon on a standard with the “gold” sign, to spell out the phrase “the golden falcon.” In the Fourth Dynasty,

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of conquest should not be dismissed altogether, however, as Darnell has made clear (2002, 17–19).

112. Quirke 1990, 10–11; von Beckerath 1999, 15–16; and T. A. H. Wilkinson 2001, 203–6.

113. Köhler 1995.

114. Tiradritti 1999, 42; conveniently illustrated in T. A. H. Wilkinson 2001, p. 204, fig. 6.5 (1). A veiled reference to a Two Ladies name may actually occur on the verso of the Narmer Palette, if one agrees with Barguet’s suggestion (1951) that the balloon-shaped object on the last standard in the procession of standard-bearers, immediately behind the Wepwawet standard, represents the king’s Two Ladies name. For a recent interpretation of the object, see Evans 2011.

115. Quirke 1990, 23; T. A. H. Wilkinson 2001, 203.

116. For a recent semiotic study on the Golden Horus name during the Old Kingdom, see Borrego Gallardo 2010.

the gold sign can be seen accompanied by one, two, or even three falcons, but it is only in the reign of Khafre that an additional epithet is added, to render the fuller “the golden falcon is powerful.”<sup>117</sup> This has led to a proposal<sup>118</sup> that the title should be referred to as “The Gold” name, rather than the more traditional “Golden Horus” name. The suggestion certainly holds merit, but I have opted for the older designation in this book because, by the time of the Middle Kingdom, the title is consistently written with both the falcon and gold hieroglyphs followed by a short phrase,<sup>119</sup> which may suggest that it had been reinterpreted and was now understood as the “Horus of Gold.”

The meaning of the title is also capable of different interpretations, not all of which are mutually exclusive. Because of its brilliance and immutability, gold was associated with solar symbolism and was also considered to be the material from which divine flesh was made. Thus, along with the “Horus” designation, the “Golden” part of the title signified the sun-filled daytime sky and also symbolized the permanence of the institution of kingship. This celestial reference, coupled with the earthly realm embodied by the Horus name, is wonderfully illustrated on an ivory comb from Abydos. This shows a *serekh* containing the name of King Djet (Dyn. 1:3) topped by the expected falcon figure. Over this composition, a falcon perched in a barque is ferried across the sky, represented by a bird’s wings underneath the barque.<sup>120</sup>

It is also possible that an affiliation with the god Seth was understood in the Golden Horus name.<sup>121</sup> Seth was believed to have come from the town of Nagada, the Egyptian name of which was *Nubet*, “Gold Town.”<sup>122</sup> Given the importance of the site of Nagada in the Predynastic period and the ancient Egyptians’ dualistic views of the world, the presence of Horus in the early titulary of the king may have been balanced with that of Seth under the guise of the Golden Horus name. Given his fratricidal act as recounted in the sacred tales of ancient Egypt, perhaps a direct mention of Seth within the royal titulary was considered beyond the boundaries of decorum. Both gods were certainly well entrenched in royal iconography, as attested by the ubiquitous depiction where they are seen tying together the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt around the hieroglyphic sign for “unification,”<sup>123</sup> as well as the Ramesside statue where they are crowning

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117. The variations are given in Aufrère 1982, 47–50.

118. Von Beckerath 1999, 17–20.

119. Cf. the previously mentioned fragment from the reign of Amenemhat III, which reads: “/// his name of gold, the Golden Horus ‘Enduring of Life,’ given life ///”, for which see Roeder 1913, 138.

120. See Malek and Forman 1986, 35; and R. H. Wilkinson 1985, 102–3, and fig. 6.

121. So also T. A. H. Wilkinson 2001, 207, although the motif of Horus conquering Seth must surely be disregarded in this context.

122. Hart 1986, 194–95.

123. Conveniently illustrated in Kemp 2006, p. 70, fig. 20.

King Ramses III.<sup>124</sup> Given Seth's aggressive behavior within the divine realm, his suggested association with the Golden Horus name may help explain the beligerent phrases often seen in these royal names from the New Kingdom on.<sup>125</sup>

## 5.6. THE THRONE NAME

Also referred to as the Praenomen or the Cartouche name, the Throne name was the last of the four names taken by the king at his accession. The Egyptian phrase *ni-su-bit* has often been translated as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt,”<sup>126</sup> but actually simply meant “the one who belongs to the sedge and the bee,” the symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively. The first part of the title, *ni-su*, seems to have referred to the eternal institution of kingship itself. It was, in fact, the word for “king” in expressions like *per-nisu*, “palace” (lit. “house of the king”), *wedj-nisu*, “royal decree” (lit. “command of the king”), or *sa-nisu*, “crown prince” (lit. “son of the king”).<sup>127</sup> The word *bit*, on the other hand, more properly referred to the ephemeral holder of the position.<sup>128</sup> In this way, both the divine and the mortal were referenced in the phrase, along with the obvious dual division of the northern and southern lands.<sup>129</sup> For these reasons, the translation “Dual King” is preferred today.<sup>130</sup>

The Horus Den (Dyn. 1:4) introduced the designation of *swty-bity*, “the one of the sedge and bee,” in his titulary, but it was his successor Adjib who was the first to use the phrase along with an epithet. The Throne name was compounded with the name of the sun god Re in a few instances in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Dynasties, after which the divine element became a regular part of the name. From the Middle Kingdom on, the Throne name would become the most important of the king's five names, and—perhaps because it was so readily identifiable within its cartouche—was the one mentioned when the king was referred to by only one name. The Throne name is also the one used in the later King Lists, where only a single cartouche is mentioned.

A few words must now be said about the translations of the Throne name found in this book. Given that it was compounded with the name of the sun god, it was long treated by scholars as a proclamation about the god himself. For example, Thutmose III's famous Throne name, *mn hpr rꜥ*, was usually interpreted as “The manifestation of Re is firm,” taking the initial word as a predicate

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124. R. H. Wilkinson 2003, 197.

125. Parent 1992; Meffre 2010, 228.

126. Following the translation on the Rosetta Stone; see Gardiner 1957a, 73.

127. Goedicke 1960, 17–36.

128. Thus, as Quirke has demonstrated (1986, 123–24), the ubiquitous title *hmty bity* need not refer specifically to a “Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt” but rather generally to a “Treasurer of the (current) king.”

129. Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 153.

130. Quirke 1990, 11.

adjective in a nonverbal sentence.<sup>131</sup> Later, John Bennett quite rightly suggested that “one would expect the king to be the person referred to, not the god.”<sup>132</sup> To achieve his rendering, he added the preposition *mi*, “like,” in the phrase, assuming that the preposition had been left out for the sake of brevity.<sup>133</sup> His translation of Thutmose III’s Throne name would therefore have read “Firm of manifestation (like) Re.” More recently, Jürgen von Beckerath,<sup>134</sup> building on Rolf Krauss’s work,<sup>135</sup> also wished to see the name as a statement of the king’s relationship with the sun god.<sup>136</sup> By parsing the initial adjective as a nominal form (“the firm one,” “the perfect one,” and so on) and the rest of the epithet as a genitival phrase, he suggested rendering Thutmose III’s Throne name as “The firm one of—i.e., belonging to—the manifestation of Re.” This is the system I have followed. Additionally, since a number of personal names can simply consist of two juxtaposed nominal forms that are equated with each other,<sup>137</sup> I have rendered some of the names as “The great one is a manifestation of Re” (Throne name of Thutmose I).

### 5.7. THE BIRTH NAME

As the name used here implies, the Birth name, also called the Nomen, was the name given to the crown prince at birth, which was enclosed in a cartouche after his accession to the throne. The fact that it had always been the individual’s name is underscored by a portion of Thutmose III’s text detailing his titulary.<sup>138</sup> After the introductory passage, in which the king claims that the sun god himself had established his titulary, the segment that mentions his Birth name begins with an independent pronoun, which had a strong emphatic meaning,<sup>139</sup> thus: “I am (the one who is) his son . . . in this name of mine of ‘son of Re’ Thutmose.”<sup>140</sup>

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131. An ancient Egyptian nonverbal sentence is one in which the copula is left unexpressed.

132. Bennett 1965, 206.

133. *Ibid.*, 207; Bennett’s work was subsequently expanded by Iversen (1988), a suggestion refuted by Fischer (1989a).

134. Von Beckerath 1984, 27–31.

135. Krauss 1978, 122–32.

136. Followed by Baines 1995, 9.

137. Cf. names such as *imn-p3y.i-idnw*, “Amun is my representative (lit. ‘deputy’)” (Ranke 1935, 27:9); *imn-p3y.i-t3w*, “Amun is my breath” (Ranke 1935, 27:10); *imn-p3-nfr*, “Amun is the perfect one” (Ranke 1935, 27:11); *imn-nb-t3wy*, “Amun is the lord of the Two Lands” (Ranke 1935, 29:17); *hr-hw.f*, “Horus is his protection” (Ranke 1935, 250:11); as well as the theophoric names compounded with the expression *ir-di-s(w)/s(t)*, “God NN is the one who made him/her,” such as Amen-irdis, Atum-irdis, Onuris-irdis, Ptah-irdis (Ranke 1935, 26:24–25, 51:21–22, 35:12, and 138:16–17, respectively), and the like.

138. *Urk.* IV, 160–61; see particularly Quirke 1990, 13.

139. As opposed to using the so-called “*m* of predication,” a preposition that implied an acquired attribute; see Gardiner 1957a, §38.

140. *Urk.* IV, 161:9–12; for the interpretation, see Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 308.

Since names tended to repeat themselves within a family and some royal names were subsequently used by other rulers, this is the name to which we add roman numerals to differentiate the various monarchs within a dynasty (e.g., Thutmose III and Ramses II). It should be noted, however, that this is a modern convention, one not used by the ancient Egyptians, who, as stated earlier, generally referred to their kings by their Throne names.

A preceding epithet, “the son of Re,” first used in the Fourth Dynasty by Radjedef, was yet another way of establishing a direct link between the king and the sun god. Since Re was the supreme creator god, it is perhaps not surprising to see the king associated with him, since the king was thought to essentially re-create the world at his accession.<sup>141</sup>

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141. Cf. Tutankhamun’s Restoration Stela, line 5, where it is stated that the new king’s accession meant that henceforth “*maat*-harmony is firmly [in its place]” and “the land is as it was at the First Occasion,” that is, at the original moment of creation (= *Urk.* IV, 2026:18–19).