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Ancient Egyptians Queens names

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Table of Contents

Editorial Forward		iii
1. M. Ayad	On the Identity and Role of the God's Wife of Amun in Rites of Royal and Divine Dominion	1-13
2. D. Cintron	Theology in the Time of Djoser	15-22
3. R. Frey & J. Knudstad	The Re-examination of Selected Architectural Remains at El-Lahun	23-82
4. G. Graff	A propos d'une brasserie de bière prédynastique : evolution iconographique et attestations archéologiques	83-106
5. S. Larkman	Human Cargo: Transportation of Western Asiatic People during 11 th and 12 th Dynasty	107-113
6. K. Muhlestein	Empty Threats? How Egyptians' Self-Ontology Should Affect the Way We Read Many Texts	115-130
7. P. Robinson	The Ritual Landscapes of the Field of Hetep	131-148
8. L. Sabbahy	Ancient Egyptian Queens' Names	149-157
9. S. Stannish	Evidence for a Co-Regency between Amunhotep III and Akhenaten in the Earlier Proclamation of Amarna Boundary Stelae K, X, and M	159-162
 Book Reviews		
Anthony J. SPALINGER. <i>War in Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom</i> . (Nicholas Wernick)		163
J. D. RAY, <i>Demotic Papyri and Ostraca from Qasr Ibrim</i> . (Eugene Cruz-Urbe)		163-165
Nigel C. STRUDWICK. <i>Texts from the Pyramid Age</i> . (Annika Nater)		166-167

Editorial Forward

This volume of the *Journal* marks beginnings and ends. Over the past several years I have had the opportunity to work with a number of individuals in the society in producing a quality journal and bringing the *Journal* number up to date with the years in which they are due. This issue reflects our finally catching up with our numbers and dates. It also marks the end of specific papers offered in memory of Nicholas B. Millet. Three of the articles presented are given in his memory by students and colleagues of Nick, specifically those by Miriam Ayad, Rosa Frey & James Knudstad, and Lisa Sabbahy. I want to make a special mention that the article of Dr. Sabbahy was scheduled for the last issue, *JSSEA* 33 (2006), but this editor lost a portion of the manuscript and I was not able to recover it in time to include it. I offer my public apologies to the author for her patience with me and I hope all agree that her article makes a fitting tribute to Nick regardless of what issue it appears.

As the Society moves into the 21st Century, many changes have been taking place. Members and fellow Egyptologists are encouraged to visit the SSEA web pages <http://www.thessea.org> where a whole section is dedicated to the society's publications, especially the journal. Members have access to electronic versions of the *Journal*. A new section added is an up to date "Contributor Guide" giving prospective authors notes on manuscript submission and formatting. In the process authors have had access to their proofs electronically and also have convenient pdf-files in place of traditional hard-copy offprints.

Members should note that with access to the electronic version of the *Journal*, you have the ability to view color versions of many of the original photographs. In addition, certain line drawings (for instance, many of the drawings and plans in the Frey & Knudstad article about Lahun) can be blown up in electronic form to see greater detail of architectural features, not available in the limits of the printed of version. Members are reminded that the copyright of all articles and accompanying figures, plans, drawings, tables, and photographs belong to the authors. Please insure the integrity of their ownership by proper referencing when citing their works.

I now relinquish editorship of the *Journal*. It has been an honor and a pleasure to serve the Society over the years and I pass the *Journal* onto new leadership to carry it forward. I hope I have been able to give as much as I have taken, especially as I have been the beneficiary of working closely with so many colleagues who have submitted articles, but also with so many members who have volunteered their time and effort to make this a fine scholarly publication. I especially want to thank Chris Irie for his unwavering assistance in producing the *Journal*. I hope to continue on the editorial board of the *Journal* and I promise to submit a meager offering to the journal on a regular basis.

Eugene Cruz-Uribe, Ph.D.
Editor

8. Ancient Egyptian Queens' Names

Lisa K. Sabbahy

Abstract

Throughout ancient Egyptian history proper names changed in terms of their content and grammatical form. This article is a study of the names of ancient Egyptian queens from the beginning of the Old Kingdom to the beginning of the New Kingdom. The study analyses their names by content and by grammar. The names are compared to contemporary non-royal names, and the question of whether or not queens assumed throne names is addressed.

Keywords

deities, grammar, Hathor, king, names, queen

I was fortunate to have had Nick Millet as professor and dissertation advisor. I would like to dedicate to his memory this small study that grew out of material that first appeared in an appendix of my dissertation.

The following is an analysis of ancient Egyptian queens' names from the beginning of the Old Kingdom to the very beginning of the New Kingdom. Included are all the women who carried the title *hmt-nzw*, "king's wife," from the reign of King Djoser in the Third Dynasty to that of King Amenhotep I of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹ In the first part the names are analyzed by content, and in the second by grammar. Within each category, the names are arranged chronologically. Each category gives the queens' name in transliteration, her dynasty in parenthesis, and then the name in translation. The first time a transliterated name occurs, a source for the name is cited.

Content Analysis

I. Name with Royal Element

1. Names containing the king's name:

- | | | |
|--|-----|---------------------------------------|
| <i>nh-n.z-mry-r^c</i> ² | (6) | May Mery-Re live for her ³ |
| <i>nh-n.s-ppy</i> ⁴ | (6) | May Pepy live for her ⁵ |

2. Names containing reference to the king:

- | | | |
|---|-----|--|
| <i>htp-hr-nbty</i> ⁶ | (3) | The face of the Two Ladies is satisfied |
| with variation <i>htp-hr.z</i> ⁷ | (4) | Her face is satisfied ⁸ |
| <i>h^c-mrr-nbty</i> ⁹ | (4) | The one whom the Two Ladies love shines |
| <i>hknw-hdt</i> ¹⁰ | (4) | The White Crown is praised |
| <i>nfrt-h3-nbty</i> ¹¹ | (5) | Good (protection) is behind the Two Ladies ¹² |
| <i>nwb-nbty</i> ¹³ | (5) | The Two Ladies are golden ¹⁴ |

II. Names with Divine Element

1. Names containing deity's name:

<i>iry-ht-r</i> ¹⁵	(4)	Re's acquaintance
<i>ny-m3t-tp</i> ¹⁶	(5)	Truth belongs to the Apis
<i>nt</i> ¹⁷	(6)	Neith
<i>s3t-zbk</i> ¹⁸	(13)	Daughter of Sobek
<i>s3t-dhwt</i> ¹⁹	(17)	Daughter of Thoth
<i>mntw-htp</i> ²⁰	(17)	Montu is satisfied
<i>sbk-m-z3.f</i> ²¹	(17)	Sobek is his protection
<i>i'h-htp</i> ²²	(17)	The Moon is satisfied
<i>i'h-ms-nfrr-iry</i> ²³	(18)	The Moon is born-the beautiful one thereof
<i>mryt-imn</i> ²⁴	(18)	She whom Amun loves
<i>i'h-ms-in-hpy</i> ²⁵	(18)	The Moon is born-Hapy brought (it) about ²⁶

2. Names containing reference to a deity:

<i>rpwy-nwb</i> ²⁷	(5)	Statue of Gold ²⁸
<i>nwb-wnt</i> ²⁹	(6)	Gold(?) ³⁰
<i>km.i-(m)-nwb</i> ³¹	(12)	I am complete like Gold
<i>nwb-m-h3t</i> ³²	(SIP)	Gold is foremost
<i>nwb-htp.ty</i> ³³	(17)	Gold is satisfied ³⁴
<i>nwb-h3.s</i> ³⁵	(17)	Her appearance is Gold
<i>s3t-k3-msw</i> ³⁶	(18)	Daughter of the Bull who creates

III. Secular Names

1. Simple descriptive names:

<i>hnwt.sn</i> ³⁷	(4)	Their mistress
<i>bw-nfr</i> ³⁸	(4)	Something beautiful
<i>hnwt</i> ³⁹	(5)	Child
<i>nbt</i> ⁴⁰	(5)	Mistress
<i>nfrw-k3yt</i> ⁴¹	(FIP)	Exalted beauty
<i>nfrw</i> ⁴²	(11, 12)	Beauty
<i>nfrt</i> ⁴³	(12)	Beautiful one
<i>nfrt-hnwt</i> ⁴⁴	(12)	Beautiful one of the mistress
<i>3t</i> ⁴⁵	(12)	Great one
<i>wrt</i> ⁴⁶	(12)	Old(est) one
<i>šryt</i> ⁴⁷	(12)	Little one
<i>w3dt</i> ⁴⁸	(13)	Young one
<i>ty-šry</i> ⁴⁹	(18)	Little Tety

2. Names expressing family relationships:

<i>mryt-it.s</i> ⁵⁰	(4)	She who is beloved of her father
<i>pr-snt</i> ⁵¹	(4)	A sister comes forth

3. Names expressing wish for the child:

<i>mr.s-ϵnh</i> ⁵²	(4, 5)	May she love life
<i>snb-hnϵ.s</i> ⁵³	(13)	May health be with her
<i>snb.s-n.i</i> ⁵⁴	(13)	May she be healthy for me
<i>hϵz-ϵnh.s</i> ⁵⁵	(SIP)	Would that she live

4. Names with *k ϵ* :

<i>hnϵtt-kϵ.(<i>i</i>)</i> ⁵⁶	(4)	(My) ka is foremost ⁵⁷
<i>hnϵt-kϵw.s</i> ⁵⁸	(4, 5)	Her kas are foremost

5. Miscellaneous statements:

<i>hwt</i> ⁵⁹	(5, 6)	She who is protected
<i>ipwt</i> ⁶⁰	(6)	She who sets in order (?)
<i>wϵbt.n(<i>i</i>)</i> ⁶¹	(6)	She whom I have directed
<i>in(<i>i</i>)-n.k/inty</i> ⁶²	(6)	I wait(ed) for you (?)/ ?
<i>snt</i> ⁶³	(12)	She who resembles (?)

Grammar Analysis

I. Nouns and Noun Clauses

1. Proper names:

<i>nt</i>	(6)	Neith
<i>tty-šry</i>	(17)	Tety the younger

2. Names that are nouns:

<i>nbt</i>	(5)	Mistress
<i>hnwt</i>	(5)	Child
<i>nfrw</i>	(11,12)	Beauty
<i>nfrt</i>	(12)	Beautiful one
<i>ϵzt</i>	(12)	Great one
<i>wrt</i>	(12)	Old(est) one
<i>šryt</i>	(12)	Little one
<i>wϵdt</i>	(13)	Young one

3. Names that are nouns plus genitive or possessive:

<i>iry-ht-rϵ</i>	(4)	Re's acquaintance
<i>hnwt.sn</i>	(4)	Their mistress
<i>rpwt-nwb</i>	(5)	Statue of Gold
<i>nfrt-hnwt</i>	(12)	Beautiful one of the mistress
<i>szt-sbk</i>	(13)	Daughter of Sobek
<i>szt-dhwt</i>	(17)	Daughter of Thoth

4. Names that are nouns with adjectives:

<i>bw-nfr</i>	(4)	Something beautiful
<i>nfrw-k3yt</i>	(FIP)	Exalted beauty

II. Non-verbal Sentences

1. Names that are adjectival predicate sentences:

<i>hntt-k3.i</i>	(4)	My ka is foremost ⁶⁴
<i>hnt-k3w.s</i>	(4,5)	Her kas are foremost
<i>nwb-nbty</i>	(5)	The Two Ladies are golden
<i>nwb-h^cw.s</i>	(18)	Her appearance is Gold ⁶⁵

2. Names that are adverbial predicate sentences:

<i>ny-m3^ct-hp</i>	(5)	Truth belongs to the Apis
<i>nfrt-h3-nbty</i>	(5)	Good (protection) is behind the Two Ladies
<i>snb-hn^c.s</i>	(13)	May health be with her
<i>nwb-m-h3t</i>	(SIP)	Gold is foremost
<i>sbk-m-s3.f</i>	(17)	Sobek is his protection ⁶⁶

III. Verbal Sentences

1. Names with *sdm.f*:

<i>h^ctp-hr-nbty</i>	(3)	The face of the Two Ladies is satisfied
<i>pr-snt</i>	(4)	A sister comes forth
<i>hknw-hdt</i>	(4)	The White Crown is praised
<i>h^ctp-hr.s</i>	(4)	Her face is satisfied
<i>h^c-mrr-nbty</i>	(4)	The one the Two Ladies love shines ⁶⁷
<i>mr.s-^cnh</i>	(4,5)	May she love life
<i>^cnh-n.s-ppy</i>	(6)	May Pepy live for her
<i>in(.i)-n.k/inty</i>	(6)	I waited(ed) for you(?)/?
<i>^cnh-n.s-mry-r^c</i>	(6)	May Mery-Re live for her
<i>km.i(-m)-nwb</i>	(12)	I am complete like Gold
<i>snb.s-n(.i)</i>	(13)	May she be healthy for me
<i>h3-^cnh.s</i>	(SIP)	Would that she live

2. Names that are old perfectives:⁶⁸

<i>nwb-h^ctp.ty</i>	(SIP)	Gold is satisfied
<i>mntw-h^ctp</i>	(17)	Montu is satisfied
<i>i^ch-h^ctp</i>	(18)	The moon is satisfied
<i>i^ch-ms-nfrt-iry</i>	(18)	The moon is born/the beautiful one thereof ⁶⁹
<i>i^ch-ms-in-h^cpy</i>	(18)	The moon is born/Hapy has brought(it)about

3. Names that have active participles:

<i>ipwt</i>	(6)	She who sets in order (?)
<i>snt</i>	(12)	She who surpasses
<i>s3t-k3-msw</i>	(18)	Daughter of the bull who creates

4. Names that have passive participles:

<i>mryt-ṯt.s</i>	(4)	She who is beloved of her father
<i>ḥwṯt</i>	(5,6)	She who is protected
<i>mryt-ṯmn</i>	(18)	She who is beloved of Amun

5. Names that use relative form:

<i>wḏbt.n(.i)</i>	(6)	She whom I have directed ⁷⁰
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Conclusion

Tendencies in the types of names held by queens are apparent in the analysis above. First of all, names that have as an element the name of the king, or a reference to the king, are confined to the Old Kingdom. Specifically, only two names of the Sixth Dynasty incorporate the name of the king into them, using the simple pattern *ḥnḥ-n.s*-King. This type of name was also held by non-royal women,⁷¹ and a shortened version, *ḥnḥ*-King, was a common masculine name.⁷² Other names of the Third, Fourth and Fifth Dynasties refer to the king as *nbtj*, “the Two Ladies,”⁷³ and one Fourth Dynasty name refers to the king as *ḥdt*, “the White Crown.” There are also examples of non-royal female names with *nbtj* and *ḥdt* as well.⁷⁴ In fact, names connected with the king are typical of Old Kingdom names in general.⁷⁵

A few other kinds of queens’ names also seem confined to the Old Kingdom. The only two names which express a family relationship are Fourth Dynasty. Non-royal names of this type, however, are found from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom.⁷⁶ The only queens’ names using the word *k3*, “soul,” are from the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty. Ranke compiled more than one hundred names with *k3*; virtually all of them date to the Old and Middle Kingdoms.⁷⁷

Grammatically speaking, all the queens’ names that are verbal sentences with a *sdm.f* date to the Old Kingdom. Also, slightly more than half the names that are non-verbal sentences, half the names that are participles, and the only name that is a relative form, are Old Kingdom.

The names of Middle Kingdom queens are marked by their simplicity. The majority of Twelfth Dynasty queens’ names are descriptive nouns. Two Thirteenth Dynasty queens’ names express a wish for the child. These are all secular names, and the tendency for these types of names is typical of the Middle Kingdom as a whole. “Ein anderes Kennzeichen der Mittleren Reichs sind die Namen rein profanen Inhalts.”⁷⁸

Another kind of common Middle Kingdom name is one connected with the name of a god or goddess. One type of this name describes the person as the son or daughter of the deity, while another type describes the deity as “strong” or “in festival.”⁷⁹ Such names are not well represented in queen’s names; only one queen of the Thirteenth Dynasty is called “Daughter of Sobek.” From the Seventeenth Dynasty is another queen named “Daughter of Thoth.”

With the early New Kingdom, all queens, and all princesses, have names compounded with that of a deity, particularly *Ḥt* or *Ḥmn*. The pattern God+old perfective dominates this kind of name, and, in fact, all the queen’s names that use an old perfective date to the Second Intermediate Period or Eighteenth Dynasty. This name pattern is typical of non-royal names of the time as well.⁸⁰ No queen’s name is compounded with that of a goddess, although sporadically from the Fifth to the Seventeenth Dynasty queens have names that refer to the goddess Hathor as “Gold.”⁸¹

One final point should be made in regards to these royal female names. There does not seem to be any evidence that ancient Egyptian queens took throne names. The kinds of names that queens have, and the way their names change from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom, are exactly the same as non-royal names. None of these royal female names appears, therefore, to be an assumed throne name rather than a birth name.

NOTES

¹ Not included are six names dating FIP or SIP whose readings are uncertain, Among these is *ini* and *ii* which might well be interjections, see Vernus, *Le Surnom au Moyen Empire*, Rome, 1986, 127. Also seemingly untranslatable is *m-h33* of the Sixth Dynasty, Leclant, *Orientalia* 66, 1997, fig. 25. Not included as well are the names of six women buried in chapels at the back of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep's temple who had the title "king's wife" only in a cultic capacity, see L. Sabbahy, *JARCE* 24, 1997, 163-165.

² *Urk.* I, 117, 13-14.

³ For this pattern of preposition+suffixpronoun as predicate in personal names, see W. Barta, *ZÄS* 117, 1990, 8, c.

⁴ A. Donadoni-Roveri, *I Sarcofagi Egizi*, Rome, 1965, 144 and pl. 35. See H. Fischer, *JEA* 75, 1989, 214-215, for the transliteration of Pepy.

⁵ B. Mathieu, *BIFAO* 100, 2000, 283-285, suggests a graphic transposition of the preposition *n*, and accepts the name as *nh.s n Ppy*, "qu'elle vive pour Pépy."

⁶ W. Smith, *HESPOK*, Boston, 1948, fig. 48.

⁷ D. Dunham and W. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, Boston, 1974, pls. 7-8, figs. 4 and 7.

⁸ For other types of OK names with reference to the face of a god, see P. Kaplony, *MIO* 14, 1968, 204.

⁹ *Urk.* I, 155, 13-14.

¹⁰ S. Hassan, *Giza*, IV, p. 117, fig. 62.

¹¹ L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-re*, Leipzig, 1910, II, pl. 48.

¹² *nfri-h3*+king's name appears as a personal name, see Barta, *ZÄS* 117, 1990, 11, n. 120.

¹³ A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, Paris, 1889, 225.

¹⁴ Two variations are known in the names of princesses: *nwb-ib-nbty* (5), L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, Berlin, 1911, #37 and #196; *nwb-ht-nbty* (6), F. von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Kagamni*, I, Berlin, 1905, pls. 20-21.

¹⁵ S. Hassan, *Giza VI*, 3, fig.3.

¹⁶ L. Sabbahy, *GM*, 61, 1983, 27-28, and pl. 2. For a discussion of this name pattern see H. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, New York, 1996, 55-60.

¹⁷ G. Jequier, *Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit*, Cairo, 1933, pls. 8, 14-16.

- ¹⁸ P. Newberry, *Ancient Egyptian Scarabs*, London, 1905, pl. XII, #6.
- ¹⁹ *Relazione sui Lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto*, Turin, 1923, 20, fig. 16.
- ²⁰ H. Winlock, *JEA* 10, 1924, 270.
- ²¹ H. Winlock, *Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom at Thebes*, New York, 1947, pl. 47.
- ²² *Urk.* IV, 21.
- ²³ I. Harari, *ASAE* 51, 1959, pl. 2.
- ²⁴ H. Winlock, *The Tomb of Meryet-Amun at Thebes*, New York, 1932, pl. 22.
- ²⁵ A. Hermann, *Die Stelen der Thebanische Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*, Glückstadt, 1940, 61, fig. 8.
- ²⁶ For the juxtaposition of names with *iḥ-ms* as the first element, see P. Vernus, *Le Surnom au Moyen Empire*, 88. Princesses also carry this type of name, see L. Troy, *GM* 35, 1979, 87, 4: *iḥ-ms-tw-mrt.sy* and *iḥ-ms-ḥnwt-m-pt*, and see G. Daressy, *Cercueils de Cachettes Royales*, Cairo, 1909, 17, #61012, for *iḥ-ms-ḥnwt-t3-mḥw*.
- ²⁷ L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re*, Leipzig, 1907, 109, fig. 88.
- ²⁸ Gold refers to Hathor, see K. Hoffmann, *Die Theophoren Personennamen des älteren Ägypten*, Leipzig, 1915, 8, and S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, München, 1963, 131.
- ²⁹ J. Leclant, *Festschrift für Emma Brunner Traut*, Tübingen, 1992, 218.
- ³⁰ Meaning unclear, but same pattern as the name *nfr-wnt*, see H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 423, 26.
- ³¹ J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, II, Vienna, 1903, 71 and fig. 116.
- ³² F. Petrie, *Koptos*, London, 1892, pl. 12, 2.
- ³³ W. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, New York, 1953, I, 343, fig. 226.
- ³⁴ There is a 13th Dynasty princess with the name *nwb-ḥtp.ty-(m)-ḥrd*, "Gold is satisfied with a child," de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, fig. 154.
- ³⁵ P. Pierret, *Recueil D'Inscriptions Inédits du Musée Égyptien du Louvre*, Paris, 1879, II, 5.
- ³⁶ G. Maspero, *Les Momies Royales de Deir el-Bahari*, Paris, 1889, 54.
- ³⁷ De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 59, and fig. 118.
- ³⁸ S. Hassan, *Giza*, IV, pp. 178-180.
- ³⁹ L. Sabbahy, *GM* 52, 1981, 37-39.
- ⁴⁰ L. Sabbahy, *GM* 52, 1981, 39-40.
- ⁴¹ F. Petrie, *Dendereh*, London, 1900, pl. 15.

- ⁴² Gabet, *RT* 12, 1891, 217; D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, New York, 1992, pl. 70, 22.
- ⁴³ Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, #381 and #382.
- ⁴⁴ Smith, *HESPOK*, fig. 44b.
- ⁴⁵ De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, figs 147-148.
- ⁴⁶ G. Brunton, *ASAE* 49, 1949, 101, figs. 1-2.
- ⁴⁷ L. Borchardt, *ZÄS* 39, 1901, 96.
- ⁴⁸ F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, London, 1917, pl. 18, top row.
- ⁴⁹ *Urk.* IV, 26. For the reappearance of this Sixth Dynasty king's name in the early New Kingdom, see Ranke, *PN* II, 241.
- ⁵⁰ E. de Rouge, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques Copiées en Égypte*, Paris, 1877, pl. 62.
- ⁵¹ C. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, Leipzig, 1897, II, pl. 152c.
- ⁵² Dunham and Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, figs. 2-13; Donadoni-Roveri, *I Sarcofagi Egizi*, pls. 30-31.
- ⁵³ M. Macadem, *JEA* 37, 1951, pl. 6.
- ⁵⁴ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, IV, 126.
- ⁵⁵ Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. 12, 2.
- ⁵⁶ E. Chassinat, *Monuments et Mémoires Fondation Eugène Piot*, Paris, 1921-22, 63.
- ⁵⁷ See discussion by Fischer, *JEA* 75, 1989, 65.
- ⁵⁸ Hassan, *Giza*, IV, fig. 2; M. Verner, *The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus*, Prague, 1995, 11.
- ⁵⁹ Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, 207-8.
- ⁶⁰ C. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, Cairo, 1926, 13, fig. 7.
- ⁶¹ G. Jéquier, *La Pyramide D'Oudjebten*, Cairo, 1928, figs. 3, 6, 8, 9. See H. Fischer, *Dendera*, New York, 1968, 54 for this transliteration.
- ⁶² J. Leclant, *Le dossier d'archéologie, Saqqara*, #147-148, Mars/Avril 1990, 76, fig. 5. Type of double name known from the OK in which the nickname is a shortened form of the longer name, see Vernus, *Le Surnom au Moyen Empire*, 81, and 110. *Inty* is a common OK nickname, see Ranke, *PN* I, 38, 23.
- ⁶³ E. Naville, *The Shrine of Saft el Henneh*, London, 1888, pl. 9, B. This is a common MK name, see Ranke, *PN* I 296, 21. Possibly *snt* is shortened from *snt*+divine name, see Vernus, *Le Surnom au Moyen Empire*, 62, 289.
- ⁶⁴ See Fischer, *Dendera* for *hnty* as a nisbe.

⁶⁵ This name is also found in the form of *nwb-m-ḥꜥ.s*, see Hoffmann, *Die Theophoren Personennamen des älteren Ägypten*, 52, 9.

⁶⁶ The name is masculine in form.

⁶⁷ See E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, Rome, 1955, I, 332, for the use of the masculine form for a feminine singular relative.

⁶⁸ For the old perfective in NK theophoric names, but its avoidance in certain cases in the OK, see Fischer, *Dendera*, 61ff.

⁶⁹ See M. Gitton, *L'Epouse du Dieu Ahmes-Nefertary*, Paris, 1975, 5-6.

⁷⁰ See Ranke, *PN* II, 28. First person suffixes tend to be omitted in OK names "reflecting the grammar of the period," see the entry "Names" by D. Doxey, in D. Redford (ed.), *OEA*, Oxford, 2001, II, 490.

⁷¹ *ḥḥ-n.s-ppy*: L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reichs*, Cairo, 1937, 222, #1522; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi*, London, 1902, II, pls. 6 and 9.

⁷² For example: *ḥwfw-ḥḥ*, H. Junker, *Giza*, Vienna, 1929-1955, II, 117; *ḏd.f-rꜥ-ḥḥ*, idem., *Giza* III, 179; *wsr-k3.f-ḥḥ*, S. Hassan, *Giza*, Cairo, 1940-1955, III, 98.

⁷³ *Nbty* refers to the *nbty* name of the king, and therefore the king himself. See the discussion by B. Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des Alten Reichs*, Göttingen, 1981, 255 and 261.

⁷⁴ Begelsbacher-Fischer, 226-227.

⁷⁵ Ranke states this conclusion, *PN* I, 231.

⁷⁶ Ranke, *PN* I, 198-199.

⁷⁷ See Ranke's discussion, *PN* I, 208-216.

⁷⁸ *PN* I, 236.

⁷⁹ See the comments by E. Lüddeckens in his article on names in *Ägypten: Dauer und Wandel*, Mainz, 1995, 106.

⁸⁰ Ranke, *PN* I, 239. *iḥ-ḥtp* is a very common female name of the MK and NK, particularly in the Theban area, M. Thirion, *RdÉ* 39, 1988, 136.

⁸¹ See ft. 28 above. Some princess names of the MK are compounded with Hathor, for example: *s3t-ḥwt-ḥr-iwnt* (12), G. Brunton, *Lahun*, London, 1920, I, pls. 14 and 15; *s3t-ḥwt-ḥr* (12), de Morgen, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, I, fig. 133; *ḥtp-ḥwt-ḥr* (13), *Fouilles à Dahchour*, II, fig. 154.