

THE JOURNAL OF  
Egyptian  
Archaeology

VOLUME 97  
2011

PUBLISHED BY  
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY  
3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG

ISSN 0307-5133

*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*

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ISSN 0307-5133

website: <http://www.ees.ac.uk/publications/journal-egyptian-archaeology.html>

Published annually by

The Egypt Exploration Society

3 Doughty Mews

London WC1N 2PG

Registered Charity No. 212384

A limited Company registered in England, No. 25816

Printed in Great Britain by

Commercial Colour Press Plc

Angard House, 185 Forest Road

Hainault

Essex IG6 3HX

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# CURIOUS NAMES OF SOME OLD KINGDOM ROYAL WOMEN\*

By V. G. CALLENDER

The names of certain Old Kingdom royal females are discussed, particularly those with programmatic names compounded with the element *nbty* ‘the Two Ladies’, and with other elements relating to royal ideology. It is suggested that these women were named (or re-named) to add prestige to the reigning monarch who had perhaps in some cases acceded to the throne unexpectedly.

THE earliest known mention of the Nebty goddesses occurs with a royal Nebty name from the First Dynasty, on a badly damaged label belonging to King Aha.<sup>1</sup> It already features what was to become the traditional writing, with a coiled snake and a vulture in profile, each resting above a basket (*nb*).

It has been suggested that united Egypt’s earliest kings from the south took a range of political unifying measures, marrying women from the north,<sup>2</sup> and maintaining Lower Egyptian religious cults. The use of the Nebty name can be seen in this light. Although in the Pyramid Texts there are few references to these goddesses, PT 802 calls them the ‘two daughters of the king of Lower Egypt, his first-born, the Two Great ladies’ who gave birth to the king. One of the earliest queenly titles, also attested in the time of Aha, demonstrates the complementary nature of the religious partnership of king and queen which is much better attested in later times: *sm3yt Nbwy/Nbty*,<sup>3</sup> ‘She who is united to the Two Lords/Two Ladies’, referring to the tutelary gods and goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt.<sup>4</sup>

Like the kings’ Nebty names, the personal names of royal women could also constitute programmatic statements, expressing aspects of their relationship to the king. The element ‘Nebty’ occurs within the names and titles of a minority of royal women in the Old Kingdom,<sup>5</sup> and it is also rarely found among non-royal women (for a list of whom, see end table).<sup>6</sup> These royal women of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Dynasties carry

\* This article was completed with the aid of a research grant from the Czech Ministry of Education for the Institute of Egyptology, Charles University, Prague. I am grateful to the Czech Institute of Egyptology for this invitation and for their assistance during my stay. I would also like to thank Miroslav Verner for commenting on a draft of this article.

<sup>1</sup> See F. Tiradritti (ed.), *The Treasures of the Egyptian Museum* (Cairo, 1999), 42. The owner of the Nebty name, however, is almost certainly Narmer, not Aha.

<sup>2</sup> Eg. W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1961), 47; A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 412.

<sup>3</sup> Queen Neithhotep; see P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (ÄA 8; Wiesbaden, 1963), I, 590.

<sup>4</sup> On the masculine and feminine duality of the kingship, see L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala, 1986), chapter 11.6.

<sup>5</sup> In addition to names compounded with Nebty, there was also a queenly title present between the Fourth Dynasty and the Sixth Dynasty that included the element Nebty: *sm3wt mry Nbty* and minor variations; see H. G. Fischer, ‘NBTY in Old-Kingdom Titles and Names’, *JEA* 60 (1974), 94–9.

<sup>6</sup> Although not discussed here, a handful of apparently non-royal women had names compounded with Nebty,

names that are very unusual, and all evoke the divinity of the king and the goddesses;<sup>7</sup> they presumably conferred prestige upon the queen who received them.

Limited numbers of other elements evocative of royalty occasionally occur in queens' names, such as *hdt*, referring to both Nekhbet and the White Crown, *M3rt*, and *Hr(w)*. However, the names with Nebty are commoner. This article seeks to identify these women with programmatic names, and to investigate their meaning and use.

### Iconography

The earliest cap or crown for a queen—as distinct from headdresses worn by other women—was the vulture cap worn by the queen mother in the Fourth Dynasty (note that in later ages the cap was also used for queens who were not royal mothers).<sup>8</sup> The vulture was chosen because it represented the Upper Egyptian Nekhbet, but also, more importantly, the Egyptian hieroglyph *mwt*, 'mother'.

Wadjet also occurs in a distinctive queenly headdress, but only on three occasions, with Khamerernebty I (mid-Fourth Dynasty), Khentkaus II (mid-Fifth Dynasty), and, at the end of the Old Kingdom, on the damaged headdresses of Queens Ankhnespepy II and Neit.<sup>9</sup> On a damaged *psš-ḳf* knife handle of greenish siltstone (MFA Giza Archives No. 07-1-80), Khamerernebty I's name and the title of royal mother appear for the first time with a small, incised determinative of a seated woman with a long wig with the uraeus rising up in a striking pose on the forepart.<sup>10</sup> Queen Khamerernebty I was the first royal female to have both the vulture cap and the uraeus of Wadjet attached to her

for example Hekenunebty, evidently a titular princess: J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, III (Cairo, 1907–8), 24; L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo*, I (CGC; Cairo, 1937), pl. 14. Other women with such names are not known to be related to royalty, such as Hetephernebty, *LD* II, pl. 82.6; Shepsitnebty, *CG*1757; Nykanebty, *LD*, II, 15a; Nykanebtyshery, *LD*, II, 15a and 60; Nykawnebty, A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1889), 312; and Hapnebty, G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, I (Cambridge Massachusetts, 1942), G7815. Two male officials are also recorded from the Middle Kingdom named Wesernebty and Nakhtnebty. See also Y. Gourdon, *Recherches sur l'anthroponymie dans l'Égypte du IIIe millénaire avant J.C.: Signification et portée sociale du nom Égyptien avant le moyen empire* (Lyon, 2007), 358, which became available to me after this article was written. Gourdon provides a breakdown of all the names containing Nebty on p. 360.

<sup>7</sup> These types of name are perhaps comparable with the Sixth Dynasty basilophorous queens' names; see n. 75.

<sup>8</sup> The depiction is on the architrave of the Galarza Tomb; see V. G. Callender and P. János, 'The Tomb of Queen Khamerernebty II at Giza', *MDAIK* 53, (1997), 15, fig. 8, where it serves as a determinative for the queen's titles; the full-scale images in that tomb are now almost destroyed and were never copied. In the tomb of Nymaatre at Giza, another very damaged determinative for this queen appears for one of the funerary domains. In addition, it has been claimed that the head of an anonymous woman wearing a vulture cap, found in Khafre's mortuary temple, depicts this queen: see U. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal der Königs Chephren* (Leipzig, 1912), 102; however a goddess might instead have been intended here.

<sup>9</sup> It is surely a cobra, not a vulture, on Neit's headdress, as S. Roth, *Die Königsmütter des Alten Ägypten von der Frühzeit bis zum Ende der 12. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2001), 563, Abb. 80, has drawn it. The photograph in G. Jéquier's *Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit* (Cairo, 1933), pl. v, shows a cobra's body, as does Jéquier's drawing in pl. iv. A nearly contemporary example from the reliefs of Ankhnespepy II shows her headdress with the vulture projection, and this reveals that her vulture attachment springs forth as a small cylinder, coming out directly from just above the edge of the cap, whereas the cobra seems to be an extension of the snake's body that comes from the top of the crown; however, this remains conjectural since no Old Kingdom statues survive showing this headdress. The first statue representing this headdress is the Middle Kingdom graywacke statuette of a queen, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (MMA 65.59.1). This shows a rather flattened cobra whose body undulates across the top of the wig, with the tail falling down behind her head; see H. G. Fischer, *Varia Nova* (Egyptian Studies 3; New York, 1996), no. 10.

<sup>10</sup> See G. A. Reisner, *Mycerinus: The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (Cambridge Massachusetts, 1931), pl. 19a. For a clearer image, see *The Giza Archives*: <<http://www.gizapyramids.org/code/emuseum.asp>> (search engine: 07-1-80).

head in separate depictions. Several generations later, the uraeus again appeared on the head of Queen Khentkaus II in her mortuary temple at Abusir.<sup>11</sup> These constitute the first known full scale representations of one woman wearing both types of headdress. The Nebty were clearly personified by the queen; however, it is the goddess who has become incarnate in the human queen, rather than the mortal passing into the rank of the divine.<sup>12</sup>

Nebty-compounded names are used not only by immediate members of the royal family, but also by direct descendants of the king.<sup>13</sup> Such names can also be given to women who married into the royal family, but were not themselves princesses.<sup>14</sup> Such names are not used by women after the early Sixth Dynasty.

### Royal women with programmatic names

The earliest women known to have the Nebty element included in their names were a late Second Dynasty princess named Reputnebty and a queen named Hetephernebt, the wife<sup>15</sup> of Netjerykhet/Djoser, first king of the Third Dynasty (see table).

#### *Reputnebty A (no. 1)*

Reputnebty was the first of two princesses who bore this name; her later namesake lived during the Fifth Dynasty. Nebty names are rarely repeated, the only other instance being Khamerernebt I and II, who were mother and daughter, and for a later princess of this name, Khamerernebt A, wife of the vizier Ptahshepses. The only record of the late Second Dynasty Reputnebty is from a cylinder seal impression found in King Khasekhemwy's tomb, where she is titled *sst nswt nt ht.f*, suggesting that she may have been his daughter.<sup>16</sup> Her unusual name means 'The carrying chair of the Nebty',<sup>17</sup> referring to the royal sedan chair such as was found in Hetepheres I's Giza tomb; the name recalls the First Dynasty queens' titles, which referred to them as carrying Horus and Seth (the king). Perhaps it was in the hope that this princess would bear a royal heir that she was given this name. It may also be an oblique reference to Hathor. On

<sup>11</sup> M. Verner, *Abusir, III: The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus* (Prague, 1995), 80.

<sup>12</sup> See M. Weerbrouck, 'La déesse Nekhbet et la reine d'Égypte', in Z. Žába (ed.), *Diatribae quas amici collegae discipuli Francisco Lexa quinque et septuaginta annos nato* (Prague, 1952), 197–203.

<sup>13</sup> Gourdon, *Recherches sur l'anthroponymie*, 356.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 357.

<sup>15</sup> It has been suggested that this woman, *m33t Hr, sst nswt, Htp-hr-nbty*, was a princess, not a queen, perhaps due to the cramped writing on Djoser's boundary stones. However, *m33t Hr* was the standard title for a royal wife in the earliest dynasties. On the Heliopolis relief, for which see A. M. Roth, 'Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organization of Pyramids, Tombs, and Cemeteries', *JARCE* 30 (1993), 54, fig. 11, Hetephernebt is shown wearing the pointed cloak (the apparent privilege of a queen); the title of *sst nswt* can be read horizontally and vertically here, but the inscription credits only Hetephernebt with *wrt hts*, another queenly title that rests above her little image. On the boundary stones from Djoser's complex, for which see C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell, *The Step Pyramid* (Cairo, 1935), II, pl. 63, however, there is no image, and the titles of this queen read vertically: *m33t Hr, sst nswt, Htp-hr-nbty*, while those of her presumed daughter, *sst nswt, Int-k3.s*, run alongside the titles of the queen. W. Seipel, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Königinnen der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches: Quellen und historische Einordnung* (PhD thesis, University of Hamburg; Hamburg, 1980), 78, interprets the boundary stones similarly.

<sup>16</sup> G. Dreyer, A. von den Driesch, E.-M. Engel, R. Hartmann, U. Hartung, T. Hikade, V. Müller, and J. Peters, 'Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 11./12. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 56 (2000), 43–129. This is the earliest known example of the expression *nt ht.f* 'of his body'.

<sup>17</sup> Ranke interpreted this name as 'The Princess of the King', but see more recently W. Kaiser, 'Zu den *msw nswt* der älteren Bilddarstellungen und der Bedeutung von *rpwt*', *MDAIK* 39 (1983), 261–76. Kaiser discusses both the image in statuary and reliefs from the times of Narmer and Niuserre, concluding that the image has a direct reference to the goddess Reput herself. Y. Gourdon, *Recherches sur l'anthroponymie*, 981, however, prefers to read the name as 'La chapelle des Deux Maîtresses'.

the maceheads of Scorpion and Narmer, images of royal women occur being carried in chairs of just this sort.<sup>18</sup> Another example of this type of carrying chair can be seen in a relief in the tomb of Queen Meresankh III.<sup>19</sup>

*Hetephernebtj (no. 2)*

Hetephernebtj ('The countenance of the Nebty/King is gracious'; Ranke, *PN* I, 259.1) was probably born during the reign of King Khasekhemwy. As she carries the title of King's Daughter, she may have been either a daughter or granddaughter<sup>20</sup> of that king. She was probably buried in the chambers below the Step Pyramid but, if so, her remains have not been identified. Together with her daughter, Inetkaes, she featured prominently on over one hundred boundary stones used for the Netjerykhet (Djoser) temenos. The wifely title *m33t Hr* is always over the vertical column carrying the name of Hetephernebtj, not Inetkaes.<sup>21</sup> It should be noted that both Hetephernebtj and Reputnebtj were royal women who can be found at the junction of the Second and Third Dynasties; perhaps these propitious names were a magical security for Netjerykhet, who is now known to be the first king of the Third Dynasty.

*Djesernebtj/Djesernebtjankhtj(?) (no. 3)*

Djesernebtj/Djesernebtjankhtj<sup>22</sup> has been posited as the wife of King Sekhemkhet,<sup>23</sup> but the identification is dubious. The only attestation comes from a small, rectangular ivory tablet recording linen garments found in one of Sekhemkhet's underground rooms.<sup>24</sup> On the basis of this inscription (and the fine jewellery found in Sekhemkhet's tomb which because of its size was thought to have belonged to a woman), it has been conjectured that Djesernebtj was a female member of the royal family.<sup>25</sup> However, the *ankh* symbol after the name is typical for rulers, rather than for female members of the royal family at this time, while the element 'djeser' is evocative of Third Dynasty kingship. The meaning of the name would thus be 'Holy is the (King) Nebty', a name more appropriate for a male ruler than a royal female. Zakaria Goneim, who discovered this tablet, called attention to the link between the Saqqara and Turin king

<sup>18</sup> The figure in the carrying chair on the Narmer Macehead scene was thought by T. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (London, 1999), 69, to be a deity, but in the Scorpion Macehead the presence of the *hts* sceptre shows it is clearly a female member of the royal family. In Niuserre's and Akhenaten's *heb-sed* depictions, the royal women are also shown in carrying chairs wrapped up similarly, and there they are referred to as the *msw nswt*; see also for this shift in the title, Kaiser, *MDAIK* 39, 270-3.

<sup>19</sup> D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba Tomb of Queen Mersyankh III: G 7530-7540* (Boston, 1974), fig. 5, bottom register.

<sup>20</sup> As B. Schmitz has shown, at least some of the women with the title of *s3t nswt* are likely to have been granddaughters of kings, although most princesses entitled *s3t nswt nt ht.f* also used the *s3t nswt* title as well. See further V. G. Callender, 'The Iconography of the Princess in the Old Kingdom', in M. Bárta (ed.), *The Art and Archaeology of the Old Kingdom* (Prague, 2006), 124-6.

<sup>21</sup> Most photographs are rather indistinct, but Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, II, fig. 16, pl. 87.4, has a fairly clear text.

<sup>22</sup> There has been doubt about the reading. W. Helck, 'Das Kleidertafelchen aus der Pyramide des *Shm-h.t*', *WZKM* 54 (1957), 72-6, adds *nh3tj* to the *Dsr-Nbty* name. The name is not in Ranke, *PN*.

<sup>23</sup> Eg. Helck, *WZKM* 54, 72-6; Stadelmann, *Die großen Pyramiden von Giza*, 70. M. Z. Goneim, *Horus Sekhem-Khet: The Unfinished Step Pyramid at Saqqara*, I (Cairo, 1957), 22, prefers a male name but admits it also could be a woman's name. See p. 22 of Goneim's work for discussion of the possible Nebty name of King Sekhemkhet.

<sup>24</sup> See Goneim, *Horus Sekhem-Khet*, 13, 21, pls 31-4, 65-6.

<sup>25</sup> Goneim, *Horus Sekhem-Khet*, 13. Another possibility is that the male child found in the South Tomb by Lauer was the owner of that name. The jewellery was certainly small enough for it to be suitable for an older child.

lists and the name of Djeserteti and Djeserty for Netjerykhet/Djoser's successor (King Sekhemkhet).

*Djefanebty (no. 4)*

An undatable inscription from a clay beer-jar from the Third Dynasty mentions a *wrt Hts*, 'Great one of the *Hts* sceptre', Djefa-nebty,<sup>26</sup> meaning 'Nourishment of the Nebty'.<sup>27</sup> As the sherd with her name and title was found in proximity to inscriptions of King Sanakht at Elephantine, she might have been linked with that king. Nothing else about this queen is known.

*Nebtytepites (no. 5)*

Nebtytepites (Ranke, *PN* I, 423.23) is attested once from the later Fourth Dynasty. Nebty on this occasion must refer to elements of the king's double crown.<sup>28</sup> This name appears on a relief from the shattered chapel of G 7410 at Giza in the Eastern Cemetery, belonging to Queen Meresankh II, who was in all probability her mother. While the identity of her father is not certain, Khafre may have been the husband of Meresankh II.<sup>29</sup> If so, then the naming of the daughter is illuminating, for Khafre followed his brother/half-brother Djedefre onto the throne, making it unlikely that Khafre originally expected to be king. Quite possibly, he was a married man with children already when he became a ruler.

The name Nebtytepites is to be read as 'The Nebty on the head of her father', a pointed reference to the legitimacy of the king. He might have wished to elevate his daughter, perhaps to enhance his own status by surrounding himself with a family seen as being on close terms with the gods.<sup>30</sup> Alternatively, his daughter may have been named at the time of the king's coronation, or possibly renamed if she may 'not have been born to the purple'.

<sup>26</sup> J. Kahl, N. Kloth, and U. Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie: Eine Bestandsaufnahme* (Wiesbaden, 1995), 170, D3/EI/3.

<sup>27</sup> Fischer, *JEA* 60, 98, argued that the Nebty element of these feminine names is ambiguous and may refer either to the female divinities or to the king. If the latter, then the king's Nebty name is referred to because the divinities are female and therefore more appropriate in a feminine name.

<sup>28</sup> See Fischer, *JEA* 60, 98.

<sup>29</sup> See Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 153; however, B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3-njswt 'Königsohn'* (Bonn, 1976), 124, instead considers Prince Hor-baf to be the husband of Meresankh II, given that G. A. Reisner (W. S. Smith ed.), *The Tomb of Hetep-heres the Mother of Cheops* (History of the Giza Necropolis 2; Cambridge Massachusetts, 1955), 10, suggested that Prince Horbaf might have shared the queen's double mastaba, since his sarcophagus could fit within the shaft and burial chamber, and since the fragmentary name of a prince *hr-...* survived from the chapel wall of G 7420. See also P. János, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie* (UZK 24; Wien, 2005), 107. The discovery of the names of Hordjedefre and Bafre in cartouches at Wadi Hammamat, for which see E. Drioton, 'Une liste de rois de la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie dans l'Ouâdi Hammamât', *BSFE* 16 (1954), 41, could provide an explanation for Meresankh II's title of *hmt nswt*, although most scholars, e.g. D. B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books* (Mississauga, 1986), 25, doubt that Hordjedef in fact became a king; the Wadi el-Fawachîr name of Hordjedefre may actually refer to Horus Djedefre, rather than Hordjedef. Because this inscription was not known to Reisner at the time of his writing, Reisner suggested Djedefre as a possible second husband for Queen Meresankh II.

<sup>30</sup> Considering the mytheme of Horus and Seth, a brother succeeding to the throne may have been considered unlucky, in which case the king might shore up his kingship with prestigious and magically effective symbols, words, rituals, and actions. Djedefre, on the other hand, was evidently the legitimate heir of Khufu: see H. W. Müller, 'Der Gute Gott Radjedef, Sohn des Rê', *ZÄS* 91 (1964), 129–33. It is perhaps significant, therefore, that he has no female family members with Nebty or other unusual elements in their names.

*Hekenuhedjet (no. 6)*

Hekenuhedjet seems to have been another probable queen of Khafre (Ranke, *PN I*, 257.4), being the mother of Prince Sekhemkare.<sup>31</sup> Her damaged titulary does not preserve the title King's Daughter, and so she could have been given a name with religious overtones to increase her status. The name's most probable meaning is 'One who is praised of Nekhbet/the White Crown'. As well as referring to the king, the goddess Nekhbet could also denote Hathor.<sup>32</sup> *Hdt* also occurs in the title associated with princesses and queens from the mid-Twelfth Dynasty up until the time of Hatshepsut: *hnmt nfr hdt*, 'She who is united to the Beautiful White Crown'.<sup>33</sup>

*Three ladies named Khamererneby (nos 7, 8, and 11)*

The next female whose name contained the Neby element was Queen Khamererneby I (Ranke, *PN I*, 264.10), the Fourth Dynasty queen who was also the first to be shown wearing the headdress of goddesses (see above). She was the mother of Menkaure and probably the wife of Khafre.<sup>34</sup> Her name probably means: 'In glory appears the one whom the Neby love'. Her eldest daughter, Khamererneby II, was presumably given the same name for similar reasons, either by her father or husband (who was most likely Menkaure). In this name the Neby element clearly refers to the goddesses, who love the king. Another (probably deliberate) echo in these women's names is the iteration of the *Hr* element also carried by *Hr.f-Rr*.

Apart from these queens, one other prominent royal woman carries this name: she was the wife of Ptahshepses, the vizier of Niuserre.<sup>35</sup> She may have been the daughter of either Neferirkare<sup>36</sup> or of Niuserre, although there is no direct link testifying to this. If she were the daughter of the latter king, this girl would have been the child of a man who had not expected to gain the throne, for Niuserre was only crowned after two other rulers (Raneferef and Shepseskare) had succeeded his father, Neferirkare.<sup>37</sup>

*Khamaat (no. 9)*

Userkaf had a daughter named Khamaat (Ranke, *PN II*, 264),<sup>38</sup> married to the High Priest of Heliopolis, Ptahshepses (buried at Saqqara). Her name means 'The goddess Maat appears in glory'.<sup>39</sup> Userkaf's origins are unknown, but if Manetho's division of dynasties is trustworthy, this king might not have expected to attain the crown in later life and Khamaat's name could be a later acknowledgement of her father's new status.

<sup>31</sup> The queen is only known from the tomb of her son: Sekhemkare, *LD II*, 42b; *LD Erg.* 37; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza, IV: 1932-1933* (Cairo, 1943), 115, 117, figs 61, 62. Her status as Khafre's wife is suggested by the predominance of Khafre's name within Sekhemkare's funerary estates, and by his title *jmshw hr jt.f nswt hr ntr 3 hr nswt bity (Hr.f-Rr)*.

<sup>32</sup> *Wb.* III, 210.19-20. Ranke also records the name of Hekenu-Hathor (*PN I*, 257.3).

<sup>33</sup> Fischer, *JEA* 60 (1974), 98. On the meaning of this title see V. G. Callender, 'A Note on the Title *hnmt nfr hdt*', *SAK* 22 (1995), 37-41.

<sup>34</sup> Callender and János, *MDAIK* 53, 19.

<sup>35</sup> For this woman, see M. Verner, *The Mastaba of Ptahshepses, I: The Reliefs* (Prague, 1977).

<sup>36</sup> See V. G. Callender, 'Reflections on Princess Khamererneby of Abusir', in V. G. Callender, L. Bareš, and M. Bárta (eds), *Signs, Times and Pyramids: A Festschrift for Miroslav Verner* (Prague, 2011).

<sup>37</sup> On the family of Sahure, see T. El-Awady, *Abusir, XVI: The Pyramid Causeway. History and Decoration Program in The Old Kingdom* (Prague, 2009), 240-51.

<sup>38</sup> Recently, P. Dorman, 'The Biographical Inscription of Ptahshepses from Saqqara: A Newly Identified Fragment', *JEA* 88 (2002), 95-110, has demonstrated that this princess' father was Userkaf, not Shepseskaf as had been previously supposed, e.g. Mariette, *Mastabas*, 112.

<sup>39</sup> On the reading of her name, see Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* III, 62 and 64.



Ptahshepses (BM EA 682) states that the king himself gave his daughter to him as his wife, making it unlikely she was born during her father Userkaf's rather short reign.<sup>40</sup>

*Meretnebtj (no. 10)*

Queen Meretnebtj, 'She who is beloved of the Nebty' (Ranke, *PN* II, 299.17), was the wife of Sahure. Her burial place is unknown, but it is presumably somewhere at Abusir, near the king's pyramid. She is mentioned on a broken relief (Leipzig 2096, now lost) from Sahure's mortuary temple at Abusir, recorded by L. Borchardt. Her titulary and name (erroneously construed as 'Nefert-ha-nebtj') were reconstructed by K. Sethe.<sup>41</sup> A more recently discovered attestation of her demonstrates that she was the mother of several princes, but was not titled King's Daughter.<sup>42</sup> As Queen Neferhetepes,<sup>43</sup> the mother of Userkaf, also lacks the title of *st nswt*, the naming of Meret-nebtj may have been designed to add prestige to the new king's non-royal wife.

*Khamerernebtj A (no. 11; see above, nos 7–8)*

*Reputnebu and Reputnebtj B (nos 12–13)*

Queen Reputnebu,<sup>44</sup> attested by fragments of a single statue discovered in two places at Abusir,<sup>45</sup> is the only known wife of King Niuserre. Her tomb has not been identified, but might be the recently excavated Lepsius 24 at Abusir.<sup>46</sup> Her name refers to the goddess Reput (one associated with Hathor) as a 'golden one'.<sup>47</sup>

An evident daughter of this queen is Princess Reputnebtj B<sup>48</sup> (Ranke, *PN* II, 302.24). In the mortuary complex of Queen Khentkaus II, a relief fragment (186/A/78) bears the remains of an image of this princess wearing the short hair style, neck collar, and choker, while another fragment (206/A/78) preserves just her name. She was probably a daughter of King Niuserre, who was responsible for the wall decoration where she appears, together with a known prince. These attestations suggest the princess may have some part to play in the honouring of her ancestors.

The choice of this name may be for reasons comparable to those of her namesake Reputnebtj A discussed above. Niuserre was not expected to succeed to the throne, and the name would have emphasised his royal status and that of his family; indeed, one of his sons was named Khentykauhor, who given the nature of his name may later have become King Menkauhor.

<sup>40</sup> The Turin Canon (col. 3.17) records 7 years for this king; M. Verner, 'Archaeological Remarks on the 4th and 5th Dynasty Chronology', *ArOr* 69 (2001), 416, assigns him 4+x years on the throne, based on dated records.

<sup>41</sup> K. Sethe, in L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sashu-re*, I: *Der Bau* (WVDOG 14; Leipzig, 1910), 116.

<sup>42</sup> For this relief, from the causeway area of Sahure's complex at Abusir, see El-Awady, *Abusir* XVI, and id., 'The Royal Family of Sahura: New Evidence', in M. Bárta, F. Coppens, and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005* (Prague, 2008), 205–32.

<sup>43</sup> For whom, see El-Awady, *Abusir* XVI, 242.

<sup>44</sup> Kaiser, *MDAIK* 39, 278 stated that the name of this queen is the only recorded instance of a king in a carrying chair; however, the late Second Dynasty seal impression mentioning Princess Reputnebtj A also contains the same image.

<sup>45</sup> For the titles and, on one fragment, the name of this princess, see L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re* (WVDOG 7; Leipzig, 1907), 108; see also B. Vachala, 'Ein weiterer Beleg für die Königin Repewetnebu?', *ZÄS* 106 (1979), 176, for another fragment discovered in the tomb of the vizier, Ptahshepses, son-in-law of the king.

<sup>46</sup> For the possible ownership of L 24, see J. Krejčí, V. G. Callender, and M. Verner (eds), *Abusir*, XII: *Minor Tombs in the Royal Necropolis*, I (Prague, 2009).

<sup>47</sup> Gourdon, *Recherches sur l'anthroponymie*, 891, translates this name as 'La chapelle de l'Or'.

<sup>48</sup> M. Verner, *Abusir*, III: *The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus* (Prague, 1995), 65.

*Neferesemneby (no. 14)*

The name Neferesemneby<sup>49</sup> ('Her beauty is from the Nebty', not in Ranke, *PN*) is unique, but its structure, together with the site and artefact assemblage of her mastaba a few meters to the east of the pyramid of King Raneferef at Abusir, with another queen buried close by in Lepsius No. 24, suggest that this woman belonged to the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>50</sup> A small corner segment of a limestone false door survives preserving her name but no titles. No legible decoration remains, but the architecture is typical of Fifth Dynasty courtiers and royal family members,<sup>51</sup> suggesting that it is later than nearby tombs Lepsius 24 and Lepsius 25, and somewhat prior to the founding of Djedkare's family cemetery. The scanty bones and tissue remaining from her body suggest that this woman died sometime in her thirties.<sup>52</sup> Neferesemneby thus probably lived from around the end of Niuserre's reign, through Menkauhor's reign and into the first half of Djedkare's reign. If that is correct, then she may have been a child of Niuserre.

*Nebuneby (no. 15)*

The name and titles of Queen Nebuneby (Ranke, *PN* II, 297.24) relate her to the Fifth Dynasty royal family, but her precise position and relationships have not yet been established.<sup>53</sup> M. Baud dates her tomb to the first half of the Fifth Dynasty (up to Neferirkare or Niuserre),<sup>54</sup> based on similarities with tomb owners nearby, but this is unlikely as she is one who is 'honoured under the king and Osiris and the Great God'; this phrasing places her closer to the time of Djedkare, being comparable to wording on the extant reliefs of Princess Khekeretneby (see below) who died in the middle of that king's reign. Thus, Nebuneby too may have been born in the time of Niuserre.

Since she was buried in a mastaba in western Saqqara, it seems likely that she was the wife of a king who post-dated the Abusir rulers, perhaps Menkauhor, with her surviving her husband as a widow. Like several of the royal females from Abusir, Nebuneby was given elements within her distinctive epithets which are a characteristic of the time of Djedkare.<sup>55</sup>

Nebuneby means 'The gold of the Nebty' or, possibly, 'Golden are the Nebty'. The 'gold' element in the name is evocative of both the Golden Falcon name of the king and, more particularly, the epithet of the goddess Hathor. It also suggests that she may have had links with Queen Reputnebu, wife of Niuserre, and possibly Princess Reputneby B.

<sup>49</sup> Although she has previously been referred to as 'Nebtyemneferes', her name is probably to be read as Neferesemneby following H. G. Fischer's model.

<sup>50</sup> See Krejčí et al., *Abusir* XII.

<sup>51</sup> See M. Verner and V. G. Callender, *Abusir, VI: Djedkare's Family Cemetery* (Prague, 2002), 109–17.

<sup>52</sup> See Krejčí et al., *Abusir* XII, chapter 2.

<sup>53</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 62, classifies her tomb as Fifth Dynasty, and her titles fit this dating; see also Seipel, *Königinnen der Frühzeit*, 207. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 156, dates her to the Sixth Dynasty, but the popularity of Nebty names among royal women of Niuserre's family casts doubt on this. The latest such name is borne by a daughter of King Teti.

<sup>54</sup> M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire* (BdE 126.2; Cairo, 1999), II, 484.

<sup>55</sup> See Mariette, *Mastabas*, 225. On the architrave above the door, she is entitled *m3st Hr Stḥ, wrt ḥts, wrt ḥst, tsjt Hr, smrt Hr, sm3wt mrj Nbtj nswt, jmḥwt hr nswt, hr Wsir, hr nṯr ʿ3*, 'She who sees Horus and Seth, great one of the ḥts sceptre, greatly praised, she who sits in the presence of Horus, companion of Horus, she who is joined to the one beloved of the Two Ladies and the King, honoured by the king, by Osiris, and by the Great God'. This last epithet is the only instance of it referring to a female in the Old Kingdom, but see also the titles of Khekeretneby.

*Nebuibnebt* (no. 16)

On two statues of Sankhuptah (CG 37 and 196)<sup>56</sup> the name of his wife, Princess Nebuibnebt (Ranke, *PN* I, 189.25) is inscribed. The similarity of the names of this princess and Queen Nebunebt, and the harmony between the Osiris phrase from this official's statue and the presence of *imšht hr Wsir* on that queen's architrave, suggest that both women came from a period late in the Fifth Dynasty. It is therefore possible that Princess Nebuibnebt might be a relation of Nebunebt (daughter?). The formation Nebuibnebt has similarities with the names of Teti's two daughters mentioned below, again suggesting a later rather than an earlier Fifth Dynasty date. However, the use of a three-part name with *ib* in the middle recalls the name *St-ib-tšwy* borne by Niuserre, again implying a link with the Abusir royal family. Nebuibnebt thus possibly lived late in Niuserre's reign at the earliest, and perhaps died under either Menkhauhor or Djedkare. Although Nebuibnebt married a fairly low-ranking courtier, the occurrence of the title *sst nswt nt ht.f* makes it unlikely that she was non-royal.<sup>57</sup>

*Khekeretnebt* (no. 17)

The name of Princess Khekeretnebt (not in Ranke, *PN*) is unique, and the *hkrt* element in fact initially caused T. G. H. James to refer to her as a concubine.<sup>58</sup> She lived under Djedkare and was buried at Abusir. Her name means 'The ornament of the Nebty'. Since the Nebty element can be a substitute for the king, we can also interpret her name as 'The ornament of the king'. An unusual epithet occurs on her tomb's left door jamb, on which the cartouche of Djedkare Isesi is present: *sst nswt nt ht.f mrt.f imšh[wt] <h>r ntr <3>*<sup>59</sup> *mrrt Issi Hkrt-nbty*. The text should read: 'King's daughter of his body, beloved of him, honoured <be>fore the <Great> God, and beloved of Isesi, Khekeret-nebt', but there are omissions. On part of a broken lintel, the same titulary has a variation: 'honoured before the Great God and [...] Isesi every day'. The right-hand edge is broken off, causing the lacuna. The crossbar of the false door has a similar inscription and again some lacunae. There is a funerary formula in the upper line and, below: [*sst*] *nswt [nt ht.f] mrt.f, mrrt Issi imšht <h>r nswt Hkrt-nbty* 'King's [daughter of his body], beloved of him, one beloved of Isesi and honoured <be>fore the king, Khekeretnebt'.<sup>60</sup> The cartouche of a king rarely appears among Old Kingdom funerary epithets, but Khekeretnebt has no less than three different phrases including

<sup>56</sup> L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, I (CGC; Berlin, 1911), 35 (Nr. 37) and 133 (Nr. 196), argued that both statues come from Saqqara and are either Fourth or Fifth Dynasty. Baud, *Famille royale*, II, 483 suggests 'un des rois du début de la V dynastie', but this is too early for the name formation of the princess, and Baud (ibid., 568) dates her husband to the period of Niuserre. See also B. Fay, 'Royal Women as Represented in Sculpture during the Old Kingdom', in N. Grimal (ed.), *Critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire* (Cairo, 1998), 166, and pls 14, 15. The exact provenance is unknown.

<sup>57</sup> See, however, Schmitz, *Königssohn*, 120, 123. For the status and role of Old Kingdom princesses, see Verner and Callender, *Abusir* VI, 141–54, and V. G. Callender, 'The Iconography and the Status of the Princess in the Old Kingdom', in M. Bárta and M. Verner (eds), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Prague Conference, May 31–June 4, 2005* (Prague 2006), 119–26.

<sup>58</sup> T. G. H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, I (New York, 1974), 20, referred to her as 'Nebty', although the *hkrt* sign is present below the Nebty signs. The provenance of the relief is said to be northwest Saqqara.

<sup>59</sup> After *ntr* on the crossbar of the false door (Verner and Callender, *Abusir* VI, fig. B.17), in the following word *hr*, the scribe seems to have omitted *h* and only written the *r*. This mistake has been repeated on the lintel fragment (ibid., fig. B.15) and on the left door jamb fragment (ibid., fig. B.18). On this same panel (now in Brooklyn Museum 64.148.2) he has also omitted the 3 from *ntr* 3.

<sup>60</sup> Here there are three references to the king, although the first refers to her father and the other two may refer to a separate person, Djedkare Isesi, who became king.

Isesi's name on the damaged remains from her tomb. No epithet similar to *mrrt Issi* is known for any other Old Kingdom individual. In cases where a king is named, it is usually in conjunction with *imshwt*, not *mrrt*. These phrases therefore confer some special distinction upon this princess.

Idu's tomb in Djedkare's family cemetery at Abusir was built after Khekeretnebtu had been buried. On the lid of Idu's sarcophagus, a date referring to the year after the 17th cattle count of Djedkare was discovered.<sup>61</sup> Analysis of her remains suggests that Khekeretnebtu died when she was between 30 and 35 years of age. Even allowing for the possible irregularity of cattle counts at that time,<sup>62</sup> it is virtually certain that Khekeretnebtu was therefore born before Djedkare's succession to the throne; she must have been born in the later years of Niuserre's reign (assuming she was buried around year 15 of Djedkare, and allowing 8 years for the reign of Menkauhor). This is the best possible evidence that names of this type might be given to royal women after the accession of a king (though see also the entry on Khamaat above).

*Nebuhedjet (no. 18)*

Khekeretnebtu's sister, Princess Nebuhedjet, also bore a unique name (not in Ranke, *PN*) which not only evokes the White Crown/Nekhbet, but also recalls the gold of the king's Golden Falcon name, and an association with Hathor. The pattern of Nebuhedjet's name is similar to that of Nebunebtu (see above) and is probably translatable as 'The gold of the White Crown/Nekhbet'. Nebuhedjet's age (18–19 years) has been determined, and with some caution needed in regard to the cattle counts, it could possibly indicate that she, too, was born before Djedkare's coronation.

*Tisethor (no. 19)*

Of all the women surveyed here, the most unusual case is that of the courtier Tisethor, who shared the mastaba of Khekeretnebtu. Her name (not in Ranke, *PN*) is in fact, uniquely, a complete title in itself for a queen,<sup>63</sup> meaning 'She who sits with Horus'. In addition, Tisethor is the only female within this group who appears from her titles to have non-royal origins or affiliation.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, she carries epithets that are unique for such a status, including *hkrt nswt mrt.f* 'Royal Ornament, whom he (the King) loves'. She is also 'honoured under the Great God and the King'.<sup>65</sup> Despite these distinctions, Tisethor was in the ranks of lesser courtiers, being without the *w<sup>tt</sup>* element of the higher ranking female attendants.<sup>66</sup> The reason for these anomalies is unclear, but it may be an attempt to promote the status of the young woman by naming her with a queenly title; this may perhaps be compared with the later use of the queenly title of *smrt Hr* for Princess Inti and for the female vizier Nebet of Abydos in the Sixth Dynasty.

<sup>61</sup> Verner and Callender, *Abusir VI*, 68; fig. D.6 has a copy of the inscription.

<sup>62</sup> See Verner, *ArOr* 69, 405–10.

<sup>63</sup> The Middle Kingdom title, *hnm<sup>t</sup> nfr hdt*, on the other hand, seems to have started off as a name that shortly afterwards became a title: Callender, *SAK* 22, 37–41; P. Brunton, 'The Title "Khnumt Nefer-Hezt"', *ASAE* 49 (1949), 99–110; O. Perdu, 'Khenemet-Nefer-Hedjet: Une princesse et deux reines du Moyen Empire', *RdE* 29 (1977), 68–85.

<sup>64</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that the results of the anthropological work showed a very close relationship between both princesses and Tiset-hor.

<sup>65</sup> Verner and Callender, *Abusir VI*, 30 fig. B19. This text is present on the outer panels of her limestone false door, again, as an unusual honour.

<sup>66</sup> The lack of *w<sup>tt</sup>*-ranking could conceivably relate to Tisethor's age, as she died between 15–16 years of age: see E. Strouhal, in Verner and Callender, *Abusir VI*, 120.

*Watetkhethor and Nebukhetneby (nos 20–21)*

At the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, two of the daughters of King Teti, Watetkhethor (Ranke, *PN* I, 76.23) and Nebukhetneby (Ranke, *PN* I, 189.26),<sup>67</sup> were married to their father's viziers, Mereruka and Kagemni. If, as Manetho claims, Teti began a new dynasty and was murdered by his bodyguards, then these strategic marriages were possibly either a reflection of some insecurity felt by a king, or perhaps a reward for supportive officials. The two viziers and royal sons-in-law went on to build magnificent tombs which, like the one built by the earlier vizier and royal son-in-law Ptahshepses at Abusir, were large and richly decorated.

Princess Watetkhethor, whose name means 'Sole One of the Body of Horus', was Mereruka's wife. Her name seems to suggest that she was the only one of Teti's four daughters to have been born during the time when Teti had become king. It may be for this reason that Watetkhethor was given the largest set of burial apartments ever made for a woman within the tomb of her husband,<sup>68</sup> while her sister Nebukhetneby (who is also one of the last of the royal women to have the *Nebty* element in her name) seems to have had no burial within Kagemni's tomb at all. Nebukhetneby's name means 'Golden is the flesh of the *Nebty*/King'. These two daughters are distinct from the other two known daughters of King Teti, Sheshit and Sheshti, both entitled *syt nswt nt ht.f.*<sup>69</sup> The former woman was, like Watetkhethor, additionally entitled 'eldest daughter'. Evidently, the king had at least two wives, which seems to be borne out by the two published pyramids in Teti's cemetery (the third subsidiary pyramid is so far anonymous). That Sheshit and Sheshti had names that were not unusual in any way might suggest that Teti wished to distinguish in some way between the two groups of daughters, just as he distinguished between Queen Khuit II and Queen Iput I.

### Analysis

With the daughters of King Teti, the run of names for royal women containing elements denoting divine aspects of the king comes to an end (see table for a summary). Some of the cases raise the possibility that it might have been considered propitious at the commencement of a new dynasty for the king to have women related to him named after the tutelary goddesses of Egypt. However, this hypothesis would not explain why, in one case at least (Reputneby, whose name occurs in Khasekhemwy's tomb), the king of an outgoing dynasty actually conferred the name. Could her name, and perhaps that of another daughter, Hetepherneby, reflect Khasekhemwy's concern to reunify the country after a time of evident upheaval? Did he bestow the names on these women (who seem both to have been his daughters) to give the impression that the king's women were equivalent to goddesses, thereby increasing his own prestige?<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> She is usually referred to as *Nebtykhetnebu*, but following H. G. Fischer's interpretation her name should be read as *Nebukhetneby* ('Gold is the flesh of the *Nebty*').

<sup>68</sup> This princess is depicted being carried in a sedan chair, held aloft by female dwarfs, with the royal lion emblazoned on the side. Only queens otherwise had the use of this royal emblem.

<sup>69</sup> These two other daughters (both surnamed *Seshseshet*) were married to *Neferseshemptah* (*Seshseshet*/*Sheshit*) and *Shepsesuptah* (*Seshseshet*/*Sheshti*). The former man was Overseer of the Great Court, Superintendent of the Priests of Teti's Pyramid, *smr w'ty*, and Royal Chamberlain; significant offices, but not the highest ones. The latter was less distinguished, but still noble, being a Count, *smr w'ty*, and Keeper of the Royal Headdress. Neither man was therefore in the first rank of officialdom, and their children had lowly official status. N. Kanawati, 'Nepotism in the Old Kingdom', *BACE* 14 (2003), 65, suggests that Teti had as many as 8 daughters all named *Seshseshet*, though his argument is not convincing.

<sup>70</sup> One of the anonymous referees for this article astutely pointed out that, in the Middle Kingdom, the king

Such questions about nomenclature might be asked for other women, too: Khafre's wife Hekenuhedjet, who was not born a royal daughter, would surely have been unlikely to receive this name at birth. In all probability, Khafre had her name changed; could he also have (re?)-named Khamerernebt I, and saw to it that his daughter, Khamerernebt II, received this unusual name that was really a proclamation of his accession? Nebtytepites and Khamaat seem to have been renamed by their fathers as a result of their succession. Khekeretnebt and Nebuhedjet were almost certainly born before Djedkare came to the throne, but whether they were renamed, or whether their own father named them at birth, cannot be established.<sup>71</sup>

In the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, names with kingly elements (Nebty, Hedjet, Hor) were more numerous among royal women than in the Third Dynasty, but were still rather rare. The end table lists the kings who were relatives of those women. Khafre, Niuserre, and Djedkare seem to have favoured the use of such names more than other kings; it is surely significant that two of them were the brothers of a previous king. Djedkare's origins are unknown, but the evidence of the women buried at Abusir suggest that he could conceivably have been the brother, rather than the son, of Menkauhor.

Some royal women's names may have been chosen because they were auspicious, or because it was advantageous to give daughters or wives names that reflected their royal status; Nebtytepites and Khamaat are striking examples, but the three women buried in Djedkare's little cemetery at Abusir also have unique and very significant names. They perhaps received them because of something unusual regarding the king; perhaps it gave lustre to their royal descent, either because their births may not have occurred while their father was king and/or because of some other special circumstance, for example the possible sibling relationship of the two Abusir princesses to King Djedkare, who was responsible for their burial. Their burial may have been in an Abusir cemetery either because they were not the children of Djedkare, or because they had not been 'born to the purple'. Aside from the dubious relationship of these enigmatic women at Abusir, Djedkare's children are not known (all so-called identifications are merely based on proximity and guesswork).

Some of these women might have been given these royal-sounding names at birth but others, surely, underwent a name change during their lifetime, even as officials and courtiers occasionally did.<sup>72</sup> Several royal daughters (Nebtytepites, Khamaat, Khekeretnebt, Nebuhedjet (?)) were probably born well before that king's accession

had jewellery made for female members of his family emblazoning the name and attributes of the king. Such items would serve the same purpose as these special names.

<sup>71</sup> Their father might have been either Menkauhor or Djedkare. If Menkauhor, then the puzzling identity of Prince Neserkauhor (also given a mastaba in the cemetery of these women) is explained as his being not a son of Djedkare, but of Menkauhor. If the three children had been born prior to Menkauhor's reign, a burial in the time of Djedkare in the then-deserted cemetery of Abusir might signal that they had belonged to a less important branch of the Abusir royal family.

<sup>72</sup> Royal changes of name were not unknown in Ancient Egypt (e.g. Pepy I, Akhenaten, Rameses-Siptah, Nefertiti, Ankhesenamen). Another likely example of the renaming of a royal female is the Late Period Ankhesneferibre, who became God's Wife of Amun during her father's reign. A. Leahy, 'The Adoption of Ankhesneferibre', *JEA* 82 (1996), 160, discusses the age of this girl and argues that she must have been given her programmatic name upon the accession of her father. He also speculates that renaming may have been more common than realised, which would have application for all Old Kingdom basilophorous names upon which scholars have based age criteria on the assumption that such name-holders were born in the reign of a certain king, rather than being renamed by him.

to the throne.<sup>73</sup> In the normal course of succession, such a situation would have occurred from time to time, and the use of the religious elements for new names for the children would immediately be associated with the father's newly royal status. Names compounded with *Nebty* seem only to have been conferred on royal women and some royal descendants, rather than on courtiers, although favoured officials (such as Weni of Abydos, who was renamed Nefernekhetmeryre, as recorded in his recently found tomb) might have carried personal names of the kings.

Occasionally, unusual epithets are added to the usual funerary inscriptions for these women with programmatic names. The epithets of the females in the Djedkare family cemetery are quite exceptional (e.g. *Khekeretnebt*), and must have conferred great prestige on these women. This inclusion of gracious epithets also applies to Queen *Nebunet* who was evidently not born a princess. Her epithet mentions four different gods who considered her a worthy person: one of those gods was the king. She was the only queen up to this point who had been distinguished thus. In the Sixth Dynasty, Princess *Inti*, one of the Eldest Daughters of King *Teti*, was also marked out with special titles and epithets and, in her case, it is likely that it was King *Pepy I* (who was probably her brother) who organised her burial.<sup>74</sup> The favours given to these women clearly demonstrate a special esteem on the part of the king, which might be linked to a sibling relationship in special instances. This would have been especially important for a king's sister at that time because such women—especially if they had not been born as princesses—had no title to indicate their royal connections, as the title of *snt nswt* did not appear until the Middle Kingdom.

Female royal names compounded with *Nebty* arise in the late Second/early Third Dynasties, and featured prominently throughout the later Old Kingdom dynasties, with two daughters of *Teti* in the Sixth Dynasty being the last royal females known to bear such a name. Perhaps by the time of *Pepy I*'s reign the practice of using these elements of royal religious insignia was viewed as being either outmoded or unlucky. It is in any case notable that the other wives and daughters of the Sixth Dynasty kings carried different types of names from those that have been the subject of this article. However, some of these later women bore basilophorous names, as if the women reflected the king's glory;<sup>75</sup> this is not so far removed from the *Nebty*-compounded names in the earlier Old Kingdom. It is notable that the two Sixth Dynasty kings who made use of these names were also kings with curious features to their accession: *Pepy I* followed the poorly attested *Userkare*, whilst *Pepy II* appears to have followed his brother on the throne. Thus, with regard to the naming of royal women in the Sixth Dynasty, it might merely be a case of old wine being poured into new bottles. Alternatively, the new type of basilophorous name may have been an attempt by the king to assert his own pre-eminence as a god at a time when the stability of the monarchy was not as

<sup>73</sup> Given King *Teti*'s now known maximum regnal length of eleven years, his daughters *Nebukhetnebt* and *Watetkhethor* may also have been renamed after his accession.

<sup>74</sup> V. G. Callender, 'Princess *Inti* of the Ancient Egyptian Sixth Dynasty', *JNES* 61 (2002), 267–74.

<sup>75</sup> E.g. 'Ankhenespepy'; four queens with this name are now known: see V. Dobrev, 'The South Saqqara Stone and the Sarcophagus of Queen Mother *Ankhenespepy* (JE 65 908)', in M. Bárta and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (ArOr Supp 9; Prague, 2001), 385–6. Some of these queens also bore the name *Ankhenesmeryre*, compounded with another name for King *Pepy I*.

<sup>76</sup> Y. Gourdon, 'Le nom d'épouses abydiennes de *Pépy I<sup>er</sup>* et la formule de serment à la fin de l'Ancien Empire', *BIFAO* 106 (2006), 89–103.

steady as it had been in earlier times. The fact that the name of Ankhnespepy takes the form of an oath of loyalty<sup>76</sup> surely indicates some perception on the part of the king that he needed special devices to shore up his rule.

TABLE 1 *Royal women with programmatic names*  
(P = princess, KW = king's wife)

	Status	Name	Burial & Floruit	Tomb Number	Significant finds	Major Titles	Museum or Bibl. details	Associated King's name
1	P.1	<i>Rpwyt-Nbty A</i>	Abydos Dyn. 2/ Early 3	Unknown	Seal impression in Khasekhemwy's tomb	<i>sst nswt nt ht.f</i>	Dreyer et al. <i>MDAIK</i> 36 (2000), 43–129	Khasekhemwy (and probably Djoser)
2	P.2 KW.1	<i>Htp-hr-Nbty</i>	Saqqara: Dyn. 3 Djoser's pyramid underground gallery(?)	Unknown	Heliopolis relief; Djoser's boundary stelae	<i>m3st Hr wrt hts sst nswt</i>	Troy, <i>Queens</i> , 106, 110; Roth, <i>JARCE</i> 30, 54, fig. 11	Khasekhemwy Djoser
3	Existence dubious	<i>Dsr-Nbty</i>	Dyn. 3 (?)	Unknown	Ivory label from Sekhemkhet pyramid.	?	Goneim, <i>Horus Sekhemkhet</i> , 13, 21, pls 31–4, 65–6.	Sekhemkhet
4	KW.2 uncertain if she was a princess	<i>Dfs-Nbty</i>	Unknown Dyn. 3	Abydos?	Beer-jar inscription; title of a royal wife	<i>wrt hts</i>	Kahl et al., <i>Inschriften der 3. Dynastie</i> , 170	Sanakht (?)
5	P.3	<i>Nbty-tp-it.s</i>	Unknown Dyn. 4	Unknown	None	Mother was a queen	Reisner, <i>Giza</i> II, 10	Djedefre-Khafre (?)
6	KW.3	<i>Hknw-Hdt</i>	Giza, in the tomb of Sekhemkare Dyn. 4	LG 89 <sup>77</sup>	Mother of Prince Sekhemkare, a probable son of Khafre	<i>wrt hts, m3st [Hr] Sth, hmt ntr B3-pf, [hmt nswt?] mrt.f</i>	<i>LD</i> , Erg, pl. 37 and Text, 110	Khafre
7	KW.4 P.4	<i>Hr-mrr-Nbty I</i>	Giza Dyn. 4	Associated with the Galarza Tomb	Lintel from Galarza Tomb	<i>sst nswt bity, sst ntr, wrt hts, m3st [Hr] Sth, hmt ntr B3-pf, hmt nswt mrt.f</i>	Daessy, <i>ASAE</i> 10, 41–9; Edel, <i>MIO</i> 2, 183–8.	Khafre-Menkaure
8	KW.5 P.5	<i>Hr-mrr-Nbty II</i>	Giza Dyn. 4	Galarza Tomb	Texts from the Galarza Tomb. Mother of Prince Khuenre	<i>sst nswt smst, wrt hts, m3st Hr Sth, hmt ntr B3-pf, T3spf, Dhwtj, hmt nswt mrt.f.</i>	statue JE 48856; Edel, <i>MIO</i> 1, 333–6; id., <i>MIO</i> 2, 183–8; Call. & Ján., <i>MDAIK</i> 53, 1–25.	Khafre-Menkaure

<sup>77</sup> As there is only one burial shaft so far found in this tomb, it is likely that the queen was not buried in this side annex featuring her name and titles.



	Status	Name	Burial & Floruit	Tomb Number	Significant finds	Major Titles	Museum or Bibl. details	Associated King's name
9	P.6	<i>H<sup>c</sup>-mꜣt</i>	Saqqara (?)	Recorded on stele BM EA 682	Wife of High Priest Ptahshepses	<i>sst nswt</i> of Userkaf	Only recorded on BM EA 682	Userkaf
10	KW.6	<i>Mrt-Nbty</i>	Abusir (?) Dyn. 5	Unknown	Wife of Sahure and mother of number of sons depicted in causeway reliefs of S	<i>mꜣst Hr Stḥ, wrt ḥst, tist Hr, smrt Hr, ḥmt nswt mrt.f</i>	El-Awady, <i>Abusir XVI</i> , 242	Sahure
11	P.7	<i>H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbty A</i>	Abusir: Recorded in Mastaba of Princesses and in the Ptahshepses mastaba Dyn. 5	Stele in Tomb of the Princesses; Sarcophagus in Ptahshepses' burial crypt	Owner of Mastaba of Princesses; Wife of Ptahshepses,	<i>sst nswt nt ḥt.f, sst nswt, rḥt nswt, ḥmt nṯr Hꜣwt-Hr</i>	Finest sarcophagus for a princess in her husband's mastaba. Krejčí et al., <i>Abusir XII</i>	Niuserre
12	KW.7 Does not seem to have been a princess	<i>Rꜣwt-Nbw</i>	Abusir (?) Dyn. 5	Unknown	Family unknown	<i>smꜣwt mrt Nbtj, mꜣst [Hr Stḥ], wrt ḥst, smrt Hr, ḥmt nswt mrt.f</i>	Vachala, <i>ZÄS</i> 106, 176	Niuserre
13	P.8	<i>Rꜣwt-Nbty B</i>	Abusir (?) Dyn. 5	Unknown	Probable daughter of Niuserre	No titular record; in a damaged row of royal children	Verner, <i>Abusir III</i> , 65	Niuserre
14	P.9	<i>Nfr.s-m-Nbty</i>	Abusir Dyn. 5	Tomb M Abusir royal cemetery	Title missing, but tomb and burial part of the Abusir royal tradition	No title: very damaged records; burial in royal cemetery	Krejci et al., <i>Abusir XII</i> , ch. 2	Niuserre-early Djedkare
15	KW.8 Does not seem to have been a princess	<i>Nbw-Nbty</i>	Saqqara Dyn. 5	MM, D 18	She has the epithets <i>jmꜣḥwt hr Wsir, jmꜣḥwt hr nṯr ʕ, jmꜣḥwt hr nswt, jmꜣḥwt hr Hr</i> . Also <i>jmꜣḥ[wt] snfr r<sup>c</sup> nb imnt ꜣḥt</i>	<i>mꜣst Hr Stḥ, wrt ḥst, tist Hr, smrt Hr, smꜣwt mrr Nbty, nswt imꜣḥwt, hr... ḥmt nswt mrt.f</i>	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 225	Niuserre(?) <sup>78</sup> –Djedkare

<sup>78</sup> Among the widely differing offering formulae from Saqqara tombs in the Fifth Dynasty there appears a close parallel between the tomb of Habauptah (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 295) and Nebunebty. The offering formulae of both are almost identical. This official was a *ḥm nṯr* of Sahure, Neferirkare, Neferefre, and Niuserre. This would mean that he belonged to a date some time during (or even after) Niuserre, and thus it is likely that Nebtynebu also falls within a similar time frame.

Status	Name	Burial & Floruit	Tomb Number	Significant finds	Major Titles	Museum or Bibl. details	Associated King's name	
16	P.10	<i>Nbw-ib-Nbty</i>	Saqqara(?) Dyn. 5	Unknown	Married to an official, Sankhuptah; both appear on a statue of unknown provenance	<i>sst nswt nt ht.f</i>	Borchardt, <i>Statuen</i> , CG 37, CG 196	Niuserre-Djedkare
17	P.11	<i>Hkrt-Nbty</i>	Abusir Djedkare's Family Cemetery Dyn. 5	Mastaba B Abusir	Closely related to Djedkare; mastaba K contains elaborate epithets	<i>sst nswt nt ht.f</i>	Verner and Callender, <i>Abusir VI</i> , ch. 1	Niuserre-middle Djedkare
18	P.12	<i>Nbw-Hdt</i>	Abusir Djedkare's Family Cemetery Dyn. 5	Mastaba K Abusir	Closely related to Isesi; deteriorated mastaba K. Wooden statue, Cairo Mus. JdE 98438	<i>sst nswt nt ht.f</i> Damaged records	Verner and Callender, <i>Abusir VI</i> , ch. 6	Niuserre-middle Djedkare
19	none	<i>Tist-Hr</i>	Abusir Djedkare's Family Cemetery Dyn. 5	Annex of Mastaba B Abusir	Related to Djedkare; partly finished limestone false door	<i>hkrt nswt jmshtw hr ntr ʕ hr nswt</i>	Verner and Callender, <i>Abusir VI</i> , 18, 23, 25, 30, fig. B19	middle Djedkare
20	P.13	<i>Wcrtt-ht-Hr</i> [Sšššt] 1	Saqqara Teti Cemetery Dyn. 6	Separate apartments in Mereruka's mastaba	Her section of Mereruka's tomb has not yet been published	<i>sst nswt nt ht.f, sst nswt nt ht.f smst</i>	Smith, <i>History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting</i> , fig.145. Report in prep. by Kanawati	Teti-Pepy
21	P.14	<i>Nbw-ht-Nbty</i> [Sšššt] 2	Saqqara Teti Cemetery Dyn. 6	(?) Burial unknown; no separate burial shaft in Kagemni's tomb	Wife to Kagemni vizier of Teti	<i>sst nswt nt ht.f</i>	von Bissing, <i>Die Mastaba des Gem-nikai</i> , I, pl. 20	Teti-Pepy