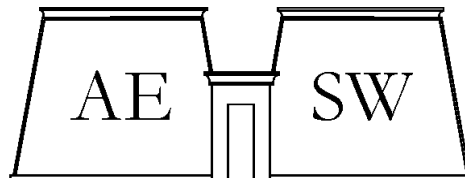


# **The cartouche names of the New Kingdom**

by

**Sjef Willockx**

*With a complete kinglist  
of the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty*



**Ancient Egypt, by Sjef Willockx**

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References in the text with T# or B# refer to the numbers of the throne names and birth names respectively in the *Handbuch* (although the birth name is there referred to as E#: "Eigenname").

## Preface

The period of the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty (from c. 1550 till c. 1070 BC) is known as the New Kingdom. After the Old and Middle Kingdom, it was the third major period of unity and cultural bloom of ancient Egypt. The reigns of Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III, Tutankhamun, Sety I and others produced some of the finest treasures in the world history of art and architecture.

The New Kingdom was also the period of the Egyptian empire: ultimately stretching from Gebel Barkal (close to the 4<sup>th</sup> cataract in Upper Nubia) till the river Orontes (now the border region between northern Lebanon and western Syria). Occasional probings even went as far north as the Euphrates. The riches of the empire allowed for a formidable output in temples, tombs, statues, jewelry, furniture, vessels of stone, luxurious household implements, funerary papyri, stelae and sarcophagi: a bounty so immense that its remains can still fill a hundred museums, and attract millions of tourists to Egypt every year. And all over these treasures we see the names of the New Kingdom kings, written inside cartouches.

To know about these names is to feel a little more at home in a strange and mysterious world. To be a guide to these names is the primary goal of this work.

The royal titulary was adopted by each king at the occasion of his accession to the throne. This means that deliberate choices may have been involved in selecting these names. In that case, they may give us a glimpse into the minds of the people who made these choices - quite likely the kings themselves. To check this out, it will be helpful if we can put the names into the perspective of the times. To that end, short historic introductions are added, per dynasty and per king.

A better understanding of these people's lives and minds is always the ultimate goal.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Developments in the royal titulary

For an overview of the main constituent parts of the royal titulary, see the introduction to “An ancient Egyptian kinglist of the 1<sup>st</sup> till 6<sup>th</sup> dynasty”, on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl). We will here just look at the developments during the New Kingdom.

Since the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty, the order and format of the Five Great Names has essentially remained the same. New is the degree of variation in the names of one king, during his reign. For Ramesses II e.g., Von Beckerath<sup>1</sup> gives the following number of variant names:

- Horus names: 26.
- Nebty names: 9.
- Golden Horus names: 9.
- Throne names: 15.
- Birth names: 20.

For the Horus, Nebty and Golden Horus names, the variants often amount to completely different names. In the current work, we will however only be concerned with the two most frequently used names, both of which were written inside a cartouche: the throne name and the birth name. The considerable variation in these names came primarily from the use of different epithets, added to the (essentially immutable<sup>2</sup>) name, and included with it inside the cartouche.<sup>3</sup> We will therefore give special attention to these epithets.

Although the titulatures of the New Kingdom tend to be complete, for some of the shorter ruling kings, not all five names are known:

- Smenkhkare (1 year): no Horus name, no Nebty name, no Golden Horus name.
- Tawesert (1 year): no Golden Horus name.
- Ramesses V (4 years): no Nebty name.
- Ramesses VIII (2 years): no Horus name, no Nebty name, no Golden Horus name.
- Ramesses X (4 years): no Nebty name, no Golden Horus name.

This is probably due to the effect of statistics: shorter reigns leave less artifacts, and hence less opportunity for information to be preserved.

### 1.2. The throne names

Very few throne names did *not* contain the name of the sun god Re, and the last of those that didn't were from the 8<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Which goes a long way to demonstrate the paramount importance of the god Re in a royal context.

The content of the throne names of the New Kingdom draws from the same pool of statements that had been in use ever since the Old Kingdom. In *Handbuch 22-25*, Von Beckerath argues that these names must be statements about the king, rather than about Re. I find his reasoning in this convincing, although it makes it sometimes difficult to find an appropriate translation. The tables below give some examples.

<sup>1</sup> *Handbuch* 152-157.

<sup>2</sup> Although, as we will see, two kings of the New Kingdom changed their throne name, and three their birth name.

<sup>3</sup> The royal titlature also contained other epithets, that were *not* included in the cartouches. The most common of these were “The good God”, and “Lord of the Two Lands”. (Ramesses IX however once used the epithet “The good God” inside the cartouche of his throne name: see *Handbuch* 173, T4).

Throne names from the Old Kingdom:

King	Throne name	Possible translation <sup>4</sup>
Niwesere (5 <sup>th</sup> dynasty)	<i>ny-wsr-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Belonging to the strength of Re.
Djedkare (5 <sup>th</sup> dynasty)	<i>dd-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Enduring by (literally: of) the Ka of Re.
Pepy II (6 <sup>th</sup> dynasty)	<i>nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Beautiful by (literally: of) the Ka of Re.

Throne names from the Middle Kingdom:

King	Throne name	Possible translation
Mentuhotep III (11 <sup>th</sup> dynasty)	<i>s<sup>c</sup>nh-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Who brings to life by (literally: of) the Ka of Re.
Mentuhotep IV (11 <sup>th</sup> dynasty)	<i>nb-t3wy-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Re's Lord of the Two Lands.
Amenemhat I (12 <sup>th</sup> dynasty)	<i>shtp-ib-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Who satisfies the heart of Re.

Throne names from the New Kingdom:

King	Throne name	Possible translation
Amenhotep I (18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty)	<i>dsr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Holy by (literally: of) the Ka of Re.
Amenhotep II (18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty)	<i>ʿ3-hprw-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Great by (literally: of) the shape of Re.
Tuthmosis IV (18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty)	<i>mn-hprw-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Established by (literally: of) the shape of Re.
Amenhotep III (18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty)	<i>nb-m3ʿt-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Lord of the Truth of Re. <sup>5</sup>

Even if one would favor a different approach to translating these names, it is still obvious that their range of meanings covers in the New Kingdom essentially the same ground as in the Old and Middle Kingdom.

During the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, we see a remarkable series of throne names, all following the same pattern:

Amenhotep II: Aa-Kheperu-Re  
 Tuthmosis IV: Men- Kheperu-Re  
 (Amenhotep III: Neb-Maat-Re)  
 Akhenaten: Nefer-Kheperu-Re  
 Smenkhkare: Ankh-Kheperu-Re  
 Tutankhamun: Neb-Kheperu-Re  
 Ay: Kheper-Kheperu-Re  
 Horemheb: Djoser-Kheperu-Re

Of this series of eight consecutive kings, seven ended on Kheperu-Re. Throne names that closely followed those of ones immediate forebears were by no means a novelty, but this was a remarkably long sequence.

<sup>4</sup> These statements are so concise, that in many cases, several translations are possible.

<sup>5</sup> Probably with the sense of: "He who has mastered the Truth of Re".

Kheperu-Re means: “the shape of Re” (assuming that Kheperu is a noun, which seems very likely). Akhenaten promoted the cult of the sun god, particularly in the form of the visible sun disk Aten, or: the shape of Re. The three rulers that immediately precede Akhenaten - Amenhotep II, Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III - all favored the sun god, and Amenhotep III occasionally used the name of Aten in the sense of sun god. The use by Smenkhkare, Tutankhamun and even Ay of throne names ending on Kheperu-Re ties in with an undiminished emphasize on the physical appearance of the sun god. That even Horemheb, Amun’s very own champion, used such a name is still somewhat surprising. Perhaps even he had, when he ascended the throne, to content certain parties to some extent.

Another long series of throne names occurs in the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty:

Ramesses III: Weser-Maat-Re

Ramesses IV: Weser-Maat-Re / later: Heka-Maat-Re

Ramesses V: Weser-Maat-Re

Ramesses VI: Neb-Maat-Re

Ramesses VII Weser-Maat-Re

Ramesses VIII: Weser-Maat-Re

(Ramesses IX: Nefer-Ka-Re)

Ramesses X: Kheper-Maat-Re

Ramesses XI: Men-Maat-Re

Of these nine kings, no less than eight used a name ending on -Maat-Re, of which even five used one and the same name: Weser-Maat-Re (“Powerful by the truth of Re”). The incredible popularity of the latter name is quickly explained: it was the throne name of Ramesses II: their collective role model. To make it possible to distinguish between these kings, each used only one epithet<sup>6</sup> in his throne name cartouche - and these were specific for all five, *and* different from all the epithets that were ever used by Ramesses II in *his* throne name. The royal court of this period must have had excellent records of these titulatures.

During the New Kingdom, two kings changed their throne name in the course of their reign: Siptah (19<sup>th</sup> dynasty) and Ramesses IV (20<sup>th</sup> dynasty). Both did so early on in their reign (year 1 or 2), evoking the picture of a king, freeing himself of what was previously ordained for him. (See the kinglists below for the particulars).

### 1.3. The birth names

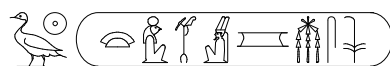
The birth names of Egyptian kings do not differ substantially from the personal names of ordinary people. Many are theophorous, such as, in the period under consideration, Ahmosis, Amenhotep, Tuthmosis, Ramesses and Sety. We encounter these same names just as often with commoners.

The Egyptians had a marked preference for names of this sort, probably for the same reason why Christians today still use the names of saints for their children: to invoke a blessing from Above for them.

Birth names were sometimes written out using as many signs as possible, apparently for the purpose of enlarging the name (and thereby the persona of the king?). Below is a typical example, from Ramesses IX:



Compare this with the following, which covers exactly the same meaning:



<sup>6</sup> Ramesses VII actually used two, but always the same two: Setep-en-Re + Mery-Imen.

Other kings who made use of this ploy were Merenptah, and Ramesses II, V, VII, and XI. Sometimes, the name was further lengthened by the inclusion of the expression "Life, prosperity, health" - sometimes even in duplicate.<sup>7</sup> These extremely long variants were all in hieratic: being verbose on papyrus is not nearly as strenuous as it is on stone...

If we assume that birth names may run in a family - as still happens today - we can perhaps use them to indicate something of a "dynastic strain". In the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, birth names that include the name of the moon-god Aah, such as Ahmosis and Ahhotep, appear as a cluster, suggesting that this was actually another family than that of the rest of the dynasty. On the other hand, when the Aah-names disappear, they are replaced by names compounded with Thoth: Tuthmosis instead of Ahmosis. Thoth was however also a moon-god, just like Aah. With the further ascend of the dynasty to higher glory, it may have been deemed more appropriate to replace little known Aah with more prestigious Thoth. In which case it could after all still be the same family, and we are none the wiser.

The use of both Re (in Ramesses) and Seth (in Sety, Sethnakht and Ramesses-Sethherkhopshef) is a regular feature in both the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty. The recurring use of Seth seems to be the more revealing of the two: it points towards Avaris in the Delta as home town for both dynasties. But whether Ramesses III of the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty was in any way related to Ramesses II of the 19<sup>th</sup> is not clear.

To change one's given name is a remarkable step, to say the least. Even today, we feel this to be so. For primitive man, who experiences a much stronger connection between a person and his name than we do,<sup>8</sup> this must have been all the more drastic - if not in fact bordering on heresy. For an Egyptian king though, it was heresy. What we so dispassionately call the birth name, was for the king the name under which he was *born as a son of Re*. It need therefore not surprise us, that the first king ever to change his birth name was Akhenaten: the "heretic" of Amarna. (His two immediate successors changed their birth names too - although for completely different reasons. For details, see paragraph 3.3 on page 32 below)

An unrelated phenomenon occurs with the later Ramessides. Ramesses V's actual birth name was Amenherkhopshef. When he ascended the throne, he put the birth name of his illustrious forefathers in front of his own, as a sort of honorary title,<sup>9</sup> so that the name in his second cartouche read in full: Ramesses-Amenherkhopshef. His successors, Ramesses VI till XI, all did likewise (see the kinglist of the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty below).

Something else still is what Amenmesses (19<sup>th</sup> dynasty) did, when he varied upon his birth name. This was Amen-messu ("Amun has brought him forth"), but he wrote it occasionally as Amen-Re-messu ("Amun-Re has brought him forth").<sup>10</sup>

#### 1.4. The epithets to throne and birth names

Although one may argue about the literal meaning of the throne names, it is obvious that these were meant to be meaningful statements. But no matter how meaningful a name is, using it long enough tends to strip the meaning away, leaving just a name. Maybe this is what had happened by the New Kingdom: perhaps the throne names were by then felt to be mere names instead of the emphatic statements that one wished to make. (The birth names obviously had been "just names" all along).

<sup>7</sup> So e.g. B6 of Ramesses XI.

<sup>8</sup> For more on this, see *Magic I*, paragraph 2.2.

<sup>9</sup> Comparable with the "Caesar" of Roman emperors.

<sup>10</sup> In *Handbuch*: B3 and B4. Von Beckerath interprets these writings as including the epithet "loved by Re", with missing "loved by".



Apparently to add more meaning, epithets came to be added to the names (both throne and birth names) inside the cartouches. Like the throne names, they were deliberately chosen, but unlike these, their meaning was more direct, more articulate, somewhat less theological.

Early precursors to this new usage of adding an epithet had already occurred at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> dynasty. The emphasis was at first on adding an epithet to the birth name, but starting with Tuthmosis I, both cartouche names would in the majority of cases hold one, or even two epithets.

The following table lists the first instances of epithets, used inside cartouche names:

King	Dynasty	Epithets inside the cartouche of the throne name	Epithets inside the cartouche of the birth name
Intef V <sup>11</sup>	17 <sup>th</sup>		The strong one.
Kamosis	17 <sup>th</sup>	The strong one.	The strong one.
Ahmosis	18 <sup>th</sup>		The strong one.
Amenhotep I	18 <sup>th</sup>		Ruler of Thebes.
Tuthmosis I	18 <sup>th</sup>	Made by Re. The choice of Re. Image of Amun. Loved by Re. Made great by Re.	Appearing in glory like Re. Appearing in beauty.

It seems that with these epithets, the kings who warred against the Hyksos wished to emphasize their physical strength, while the first to inherit his kingdom undisputed (Amenhotep I) wanted to celebrate his rulership. The sudden leap into prominence of the epithets under Tuthmosis I was an entirely new phenomenon though: an outburst of creativity, a relishing in new options.

Later on in the New Kingdom, we even see signs of a diminishing significance of the throne name proper. The long list that we saw earlier of almost identical throne names in the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty is a case in point. The cartouche with the Nesu Bit name was - and stayed - the most important element of the titulature, but now, to tell who's who, one had to look at the *epithets* in the cartouche. It even happens then that only the epithet is retained inside the cartouche: the actual throne name just being dispensed with.<sup>12</sup>

I therefore think, that for the New Kingdom, these epithets are in fact more informative about the views of the Egyptians about kingship than the throne names.

A few examples may illustrate the telltale quality of these epithets.<sup>13</sup> During the New Kingdom, the two most widely used epithets were:

- The choice of Re, and:
- Loved by Amun.<sup>14</sup>

Use of the first is evenly distributed over the whole period. It is a clear acknowledgment that it was in fact Re who decided who was to be king. As late as Ramesses XI, this was evidently an uncontested truth.

<sup>11</sup> Von Beckerath puts this king at the poll position of the 17<sup>th</sup> dynasty, but adds in a comment that he may in fact have been Kamose's immediate predecessor (*Handbuch* 124). I would say that Intef's use of the epithet Nakht (the Strong One) is an additional indication that this may in fact have been the case.

<sup>12</sup> So with Ramesses V: T6 and T7. Ramesses III once writes his Sa Re name with only an epithet: see the kinglist on page 41 below.

<sup>13</sup> For a statistical underpinning of the following conclusions, see Appendix I on page 46 below.

<sup>14</sup> Or, more literally: Beloved of Amun.

“Loved by Amun” on the other hand, is only used for the first time by Horemheb. After that however, every king of the New Kingdom (with the exception of Ramesses I), incorporated it in his titulary. It expresses the king’s allegiance to Amun, later turning into dependence on his priesthood: an evolution, greatly enhanced by Akhenaten’s movement.<sup>15</sup>

Another group of epithets that is particularly instructive is the group that stresses the king to be a ruler (*hk3*), such as “Ruler of Heliopolis” and “True ruler”. After an isolated instance under Amenhotep I (“Ruler of Thebes”), ruler-epithets are suddenly immensely popular with both Tuthmosis III and his successor Amenhotep II. Amenhotep II doesn’t even use any other epithet than these.<sup>16</sup> Additional points of interest are the regular use of the qualification “divine” (“Divine ruler”, “Divine ruler of Heliopolis”), and the fact that these epithets are at first solely used in the cartouche of the birth name.

The birth name is introduced by the rubric “Son of Re”, to stress that the king was a god, right from the moment of his birth.<sup>17</sup> In hymns and the like, this divine birth is not rarely underlined by stating that the (future) king was already “a ruler in the egg”. Combining the *ruler*-epithet with the *birth* name again stressed that the king was *from birth* a king. And what’s more: he was a *divine* king: son of the sun god Re, and therefore himself a god.

The next king, Tuthmosis IV, replaced the ruler-epithets in his birth name<sup>18</sup> for a remarkable new epithet: *h<sup>c</sup> h<sup>c</sup>w*. He rarely wrote his birth name *without* it. It means: “Shining of appearings”. Its true meaning becomes more apparent in hieroglyphs:



The sign used is that of the sun, appearing above the horizon. It refers to the common expression, that the king “appeared in glory, shining as the sun at dawn”.

In this very period, under Amenhotep II and Tuthmosis IV, we see an increasing attention of the kings for the cult of the sun god, and more specifically for the physical appearance of the sun: the sun disk, or Aten. See e.g. the list of throne names ending with Kheperu-Re (“the shape of Re”), discussed on page 6 above. Both Amenhotep II and Tuthmosis IV erected a stele near the great sphinx of Gizeh, which was then perceived as an image of Horemakhet (a form of the sun god). Amenhotep II even built a temple there for this god. So we see two developments taking place in parallel: a growing attention for the cult of the sun, and an increased inclination of the king towards self glorification and self deification. By ever more firmly linking himself with the sun god, the king rose together with the sun right into the zenith of divinity. Tuthmosis’ successor Amenhotep III again called himself a *divine* ruler (“Divine ruler of Thebes”), and so did Akhenaten (using the same epithet).

Akhenaten may have carried things to the extreme, but his movement did certainly not come out of the blue.

Right after the collapse of the Amarna experiment, only Ay once dared call himself a divine ruler. After that, it took until Ramesses II (who else?...) before this expression was firmly revived again.

<sup>15</sup> Before Akhenaten, a warm and intimate relationship between king and gods had been a matter of course. After the traumatic experience of a king waging war on the gods, kings had to *prove* their love for the gods - notably by granting them ever more donations, especially in land. As a side effect, the kings were so enriching the priesthods, at the expense of their own resources. Inevitably, this shift in wealth resulted in a shift in power.

<sup>16</sup> See Appendix 2 on page 50.

<sup>17</sup> The kings of the first three dynasties, when the most important royal name was still the Horus name, only claimed a divine status as of their coronation. Contrary to popular belief, the introduction of the title “Sa Re” (“Son of Re”) did not diminish the divinity of the king: it extended it backwards to the moment of his birth.

<sup>18</sup> He did retain the ruler-epithets in his throne name though, albeit without the qualification “divine”.

Over time, the variation in epithets diminishes markedly. During the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, 37 different epithets are in use. During the 19<sup>th</sup>, this lessens to 22, and in the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty, only a meager 13 remain. What is especially striking in the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty, is the lack of variation in the use of epithets within one reign. Several kings only use two different epithets: one for their throne name, and one for their birth name. This was in part motivated by the fact, that some of these kings had identical throne names, and one needed *something* to distinguish between them (see page 7 above). Still, after the exuberance, displayed in the titulatures of Amenhotep III, Sety I and Ramesses II (11 different epithets each) and Tuthmosis III (the champ with no less than 16), it is disappointing indeed: indicative of a loss of boldness, a loss of daring.

### 1.5. The names of gods in throne and birth names

Nothing was more vital to the Egyptian system of beliefs than the position of the king - and nothing was more vital to that position than his relationship with the gods. The royal titlature was instrumental in expressing that relationship in various ways. First of all in the rubrics to the five names. Originally three, and later four of these rubrics deal directly with the gods:

Name	Significance
Horus name	The name under which the king is an incarnation of the god Horus.
Nebty name	The name under which the king is a protégé of the goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet.
Gold name, later Golden Horus name	Originally, the Gold name is the name under which the king is said to be rich in gold. By the time of the New Kingdom, this name is understood as Golden Horus name: the name under which the king is a golden Horus image.
Nesu Bit name (Throne name)	Name under which the king is the sovereign of Upper and Lower Egypt: He of the Sedge and the Bee (although the exact meaning of this title is unknown).
Sa Re name (Birth name)	Name, under which the king is born as a son of the god Re.

In a way, the cartouche names (throne and birth names) are complementary to one another. The throne name is introduced by a non-divine rubric, but (in the period under consideration) always compounded with the name of Re. The birth name can be devoid of any reference to a god, but is always introduced by the rubric "son of Re". So the two most important royal names are always in some way connected to Re. Which is quite appropriate too, considering that the cartouche is itself a solar symbol.<sup>19</sup>

In most of the royal birth names, a god is mentioned, too. In the majority of cases, these names were given to princes of the royal blood, for whom kingship was at least a possibility. It is therefore conceivable that those names were given for their bearing on kingship. For those kings that were born commoners, such considerations would of course not have played a part. In the table below, those names that were originally brought into the royal domain by commoners - as well as those of the two women, Hatshepsut and Tawesert, who in any event were not meant for the throne - are shaded. (Tuthmosis I Sethnakht are uncertain: perhaps they were of the royal blood, perhaps not).

<sup>19</sup> There are good grounds for assuming that the cartouche indicated "all that the sun encircles" as the realm over which the king had dominion (see *Gr.* 74).

The occurrence of god's names in royal birth names during the New Kingdom:

God	18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty	19 <sup>th</sup> dynasty	20 <sup>th</sup> dynasty
Aah	Ahmosis		
Amun	Amenhotep Tutankhamun	Amenmesses	Amenherkhopshef It-Amun
Aten	Akhenaten Tutankhaten		
Horus	Horemheb		
Ptah		Merenptah Siptah	
Re	Smenkhkare	Ramesses	Ramesses
Seth		Sety	Sethnakht (?) Sethherkhopshef
Thoth	Tuthmosis (?)		
(none)	Hatshepsut Ay	Tawesert	Khaemwase

In the epithets that are included in the cartouche names, a comparable, but not identical group of gods can figure. The following table lists the frequency of the occurrence of god's names in cartouche-epithets during the New Kingdom:<sup>20</sup>

Epithets with:	18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty	19 <sup>th</sup> dynasty	20 <sup>th</sup> dynasty
Re	24	13	7
Amun	4	8	17
Atum	2	1	
Ptah		3	3
Mut		2	
Month		1	
Seth		1	
Other epithets	34	14	5
Total	64	43	32

(A complete listing of all epithets will follow in the next chapter).

## 1.6. Peculiarities in spelling and orthography

The transliterations of many names may at first sight seem to be in the wrong word order. This is due to a phenomenon called "transposition with honorific intent".<sup>21</sup> This is a standing principle of the hieroglyphic script: words like "king" or "god", or the names of specific gods, are written before connected words that in speech came first. An example is the throne name of Amenhotep III:

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix 1 on page 46 below for the definition used here for "occurrence".

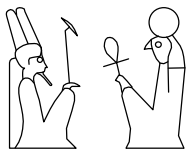
<sup>21</sup> See Gr. 51.



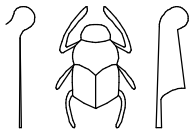
*nb-m<sup>3</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>*

Although we think that this name was pronounced as Neb-maat-Re (“Lord of the Truth of Re”), the writing was Re-maat-neb. The sign of the sun, used to write the word Re, was put in front to honor the sun god. The word “maat” is here written with a sign depicting the goddess Maat: the divine personification of the concept of Truth, Justice and Order. The goddess Maat is less important than the god Re, but more important than the “ordinary” word “Lord”. So although the actual word order is Neb-maat-Re, the written word order is: Re-maat-neb.

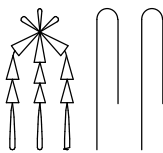
Beginning with Ramesses II, the relative placement of the glyphs starts leaving the normal realm of orthography, to become a separate issue. The following should be noted in particular.



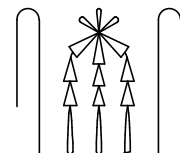
When the names of two gods, such as Amun and Re, both appear in one name, the signs that depict these gods can be so placed, that they look at each other - regardless of their actual position in the name.



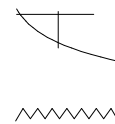
The two signs that together constitute the epithet “Heka Maat” (True Ruler, or Ruler in Truth), can be written on either side of a scarab sign, perhaps to suggest an image of the scarab, holding the two emblems in his “hands”. Isolated instances already occur under Horemheb (shown on page 31 below) and Ramesses I (with the head of a lion in the place of the scarab).



← This group (the -messes of Ramesses) is sometimes written as → :  
apparently just for esthetic reasons.



Both Sety I and Sety II occasionally write the epithet “Loved by Ptah” in such a way, that ← “Ptah” stands at the beginning of the (birth) name, and “Loved by” → at the end. In this way, the god embraces the name, and thereby the king. (An isolated example with the name of Amun already with Horemheb. See the kinglist on page 31 below).



← The word “Maat” can be written with the sign of a feather. If it occurs in a name together with the name of Amun, the feather can be shown in Amun’s hands - irrespective of the actual relative position of these two elements in the name. → (See the throne names of Ramesses VII and VIII on page 42 for examples.)



Comparable writings are these, for the birth names of ← Ramesses-Amenherkopshef and Ramesses-Setherkopshef →, respectively. See the explication of the birth names of Ramesses VI and Ramesses VIII, on page 45 below.





Ramesses II once made the following combination in his throne name: the symbols *wsr* + *m3ʿt* ← both in the hands of the goddess Maat →. For the resulting mini-cartouche, see page 37 below.



Attention will be drawn to several more examples in the footnotes to the kinglists. Some particularly complex ones will be analyzed in detail in paragraph 5.3 below: “The 20th dynasty: comments to some of the names”.

## 1.7. The kinglists

The present volume includes kinglists with cartouches, for all the kings of the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> dynasties. Most of these kings used between 10 and 20 different cartouche names each. To list all of these would make this paper unduly - but also unnecessary - bulky. As already explained, most of the variation in cartouche names came from the use of differing epithets. That is why in the next chapter, a full list is supplied of all epithets that were ever used in this period, with per epithet a list of the kings that used it. In this way, we can do in the kinglists with showing a limited number of cartouches. For most kings, four will be supplied: two throne names, and two birth names.

An authoritative reference work to all known names and variants, including Horus, Nebty and Golden Horus names, for the whole period of dynastic Egypt, is: Jürgen von Beckerath: *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (1999). It has provided the source material for the current work.

Whenever possible and practical, I have selected one name without, and one with an epithet. This will help in identifying the constant and the variable in these names.

The name without an epithet is often - but not always - the first one used. Some names only come *with* epithets. To distinguish between name and epithet is mostly not too difficult, because most kings used several epithets. The variable element in the cartouche is the epithet, the constant is the name.

Because the meaning of the names is in so many cases uncertain, I show the transliterations as bare as possible: without grammatical punctuation marks, and mostly without endings that are in fact not supplied.<sup>22</sup>

The rubrics “Nesu Bit” (“King of Upper and Lower Egypt”) and “Sa Re” (“Son of Re”) are not transliterated. For a few exceptionally long cartouche names, these rubrics have been left out to save room.

## 1.8. The timeframe

What would a kinglist be without dates? Dating the reigns of the New Kingdom is however still not the straightforward exercise that one would hope it to be. Even when we are now on infinitely firmer ground than for the Early Dynastic Period or the Old Kingdom, we still have to reckon with appreciable margins of error.

In his *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten* (1997), Jürgen von Beckerath concludes that there are now two dates in the New Kingdom that can be considered totally secured:

- 1479 BC: accession of Tuthmosis III (after the demise of Tuthmosis II).
- 1279 BC: accession of Ramesses II.

To these comes a date from the Middle Kingdom:

<sup>22</sup> I make an exception for *mry*: since the ending is regularly written out, I include it everywhere.

- The 7<sup>th</sup> year of Sesostris III = 1866 BC. In the words of Von Beckerath: “The earliest absolute date of Egyptian history”.<sup>23</sup>

The calculations that led him to these dates are based on contemporary astronomical observations of various kinds, combined with synchronisms with other cultures, such as those of Assyria and Babylonia. If there is one thing that stands out after one has read the *Chronologie*, it is that this subject-matter is extremely complex. To independently verify these dates is therefore a matter for the true specialist. But even when one has determined these “fixed” points in time, one still has to fill in the lengths of every reign in between. Our main tool for this is the occurrence of dates on stelae, papyri and the like, which tend to take the following format: “Year xx, ..th day of the ..th month of [season], under the majesty of king Z”. If we assume these dates to be reliable, they will give us for every reign a minimum duration. Simply adding these up will however inevitably produce totals that are too low.<sup>24</sup> So to complete the picture, other, more indirect evidence has to be taken into account as well. At that point, it becomes an art as much as a science.

Interesting is a comparison of the overall duration of the New Kingdom in two solid chronological frameworks: that of Baines/Malek (published in their *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, 1980: at that time deemed the most authoritative chronology of ancient Egypt), and that of Von Beckerath in his *Chronologie* (1997), which is now generally considered to represent the state of the art:

	Baines & Malek (1980)	Von Beckerath (1997)	Difference
18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty	1550-1307 = 243	1550-1292 = 258	+ 15
19 <sup>th</sup> dynasty	1307-1196 = 111	1292-1185 = 107	-/- 4
20 <sup>th</sup> dynasty	1196-1070 = 126	1185-1070 = 115	-/- 11
New Kingdom	1550-1070 = 480	1550-1070 = 480	0

As you can see, both agree completely on the beginning and end of the New Kingdom, but differ up to 15 years per dynasty. The real difference between the two schemes is the reign of Horemheb. Baines/Malek give him 12 years, Von Beckerath 27 years. So 15 years of Horemheb's reign have been missing for a while, and then suddenly re-appeared again. Since both systems agree on the same ending date for the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty (1070 BC), Von Beckerath then has to catch up these 15 years in the next two centuries. The fact that he can manage that without too much difficulty exposes the real problem.

If someone would find proof that another reign has been over-estimated by 15 years, then all those readjustments have to be readjusted back again. As it happens, the reign of Tuthmosis II is estimated by both Baines/Malek and Von Beckerath at 13 years, while Betsy Bryan (2000) writes: “...scholarship in the 1980s and 1990s suggests that his [Tuthmosis II's] reign lasted for no more than three years.”<sup>25</sup>

Another obscurity is the position of Amenmesses (19<sup>th</sup> dynasty): if his reign was that of a rival king (as some believe), then his regnal years are contemporary with those of Sety II, instead of preceding his.

I really think we should count our blessings: an accuracy of 10 to 15 years for such a remote period is already an excellent achievement.

<sup>23</sup> *Chronologie* 44-45.

<sup>24</sup> If not every regnal year is attested - as happens to be the case - then we can't count on having every last year.

<sup>25</sup> *Oxford* 235.

In mediaeval European history too, many dates are not precisely known. So e.g. birth dates of people who only later in life attracted interest, such as painters. These dates are always given with due indication of uncertainty:

“Hans Holbein: born c. 1465.”

“Pieter Bruegel: born c. 1525.”

The margins for these dates are in fact much smaller than the ones we still face - and probably for ever *will* face - with respect to the Egyptian New Kingdom. To then simply present dates of the latter as fixed is just unscientific. I will therefore use for the New Kingdom the same approach as I did for the first six dynasties,<sup>26</sup> i.e. to only give a beginning and ending year for a dynasty as a whole, based on the work of Von Beckerath, and then show the current estimates of the duration of each reign in a separate table (below in paragraphs 3.1, 4.1. and 5.1).

Dynasty	Number of kings	Period acc. to Von Beckerath	Number of years	Average years per reign
18	14	c. 1550-1292	c. 258	c. 18,4
19	8	c. 1292-1185	c. 107	c. 13,4
20	10	c. 1185-1070	c. 115	c. 11,5
Total	32	c. 1550-1070	c. 480	c. 15,0

And no matter how wholeheartedly Baines/Malek and Von Beckerath agree on the magic numbers of 1550 and 1070: I am convinced - even after reading the *Handbuch* - that the first of these should be taken as +/- 20 years, and the second as +/- 10 years. (In fact, I would say that the most *insecure* of all the dates of the New Kingdom is the one of 1550 BC.)

<sup>26</sup> “An ancient Egyptian kinglist of the 1<sup>st</sup> till 6<sup>th</sup> dynasty”, on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl).



## 2. The epithets in the cartouche names of the New Kingdom

As these epithets recur throughout the list of the New Kingdom cartouches, we will start familiarize ourselves with these before we turn to the kinglists proper. They can be grouped into the following categories:

- Those that are compounded with the name of a god. Most of these are concerned with the two greatest state gods of the New Kingdom: Re and Amun. Other gods, less frequently mentioned in epithets are Ptah, Seth, Atum, Month and Mut.
- Those that assert that the king is a “ruler” (*ḥk3*).
- And others.

A category all by itself is that of the epithets compounded with the names of Akhenaten, used by Smenkhkare.

Starting in the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty, *mry-R<sup>c</sup>* is sometimes written for *mry-n-R<sup>c</sup>* (“Loved by Re”), and *mry-Imn* for *mry-n-Imn* (“Loved by Amun”). As the meaning does not change materially in these cases, they are treated as one epithet.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty, *mrr-Imn* comes in use, as an alternative for *mry-(n)-Imn* (“Loved by Amun”). This concerns a real difference in meaning, so *mrr-Imn* is listed separately.

### *Mrr-Imn*

The use of *mrr-Imn*, as an alternative for *mry-(n)-Imn* (“Loved by Amun”), was an innovation of Sethnakht, the first king of the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty. It may look to be just another writing of the same epithet, but it isn’t.

The ancient Egyptian language did not express tense in the same way that e.g. English or German do. Egyptian knew two “standpoints” with respect to verbs, dubbed “perfective” and “imperfective” by Gardiner. The imperfective position stressed that an action occurred continuously or repeatedly, whereas the perfective did neither imply nor negate such a notion. The doubling of the last consonant in *mrr* shows this to be an imperfective form - so in this case, the continuity of the action (to love) is explicitly stressed. This still leaves us with two possible translations though, depending on whether the verb “to love” is here used in an active sense (“Continuously loving Amun”), or in a passive sense (“Continuously loved by Amun”). This distinction has to come from the context. In this case, there isn’t much context available, so we have to make a choice, based on intuition. I would say that a change in meaning from perfective to imperfective is drastic enough: an additional change from active to passive tense seems to me less likely. That’s why I have translated these forms as “Continuously loved by Amun”.

On several occasions, Sethnakht contrasted a perfective and an imperfective form in one cartouche. His birth name then reads: “Sethnakht, Loved by Re, Continuously loved by Amun”. The implication seems to be, that for the king, Re’s love only mattered once (when Re decided that he should be king), while Amun’s affection was required on a more permanent basis - notably in the form of continuous support from Amun’s powerful and loaded priesthood.






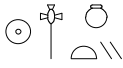
### The epithets

Within a category, the epithets are listed in the order of their first appearance. In the column of Occurrences, dotted lines separate the dynasties. Sometimes one name figures twice in the tables: this means that in that cartouche, two epithets were included.

The references with T# and B# refer to the numbers of the throne names and birth names respectively in the *Handbuch* (although the birth name is there referred to as

E#: “Eigenname”). An \* indicates, that the concerned example is included in the kinglists below.






## 2.1. Epithets, compounded with the name of Re

Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>ir-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Made by Re.	Tuthmosis I, T2. Tuthmosis III, T6. * Tuthmosis IV, T4. Amenhotep III, T10. ----- Sety I, T8.
 <i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	The choice of Re.	Tuthmosis I, T3. Tuthmosis III, T8. Tuthmosis IV, T5. Amenhotep III, T8. Horemheb, T1-2. * ----- Sety I, T13. Ramesses II, T9-11, T14-15. * Amenmesses, T1-2. * Sety II, T1-2, T7-8. * Siptah, T2-4. * ----- Sethnakht, T1-2, T4-7. * Ramesses IV, T9. * Ramesses VII, T1-4. * Ramesses IX, T1-4. * Ramesses X, T1-4. *
 <i>mry-(n)-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Loved by Re.	Tuthmosis I, T5. Tuthmosis III, T7. Tuthmosis IV, T3. * Amenhotep III, T11. ----- Sety I, T12. Ramesses II, T8. ----- Sethnakht, B2, B5.
 <i>s<sup>c</sup>3-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Made great by Re.	Tuthmosis I, T6. * Tuthmosis III, T9. <sup>27</sup>
 <i>h<sup>c</sup>-mi-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Appearing in glory like Re.	Tuthmosis I, B2. *
 <i>ndty-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Protected by Re. <sup>28</sup>	Tuthmosis II, B3. *

<sup>27</sup> The word “Re” should be present twice in this cartouche (Men-Kheper-Re, Saa-en-Re), but is written only once. Either the second Re was overlooked, or the only Re should be read twice.

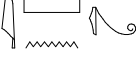
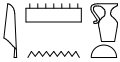
<sup>28</sup> Or: protector of Re, see *Conc. Dict.* 144. Within the context of the other epithets, this seems less likely though.

**Epithets, compounded with the name of Re (continued)**

Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>iw<sup>c</sup>-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Heir of Re.	Tuthmosis III, T5 Amenhotep III, T9. Amenhotep III, B3. * ----- Sety I, T9. Ramesses II, T7.
 <i>tit-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Image of Re.	Tuthmosis III, T12. Amenhotep III, T5. ----- Ramesses I, T6. Sety I, T10. * Ramesses II, T5.
 <i>z3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Son of Re. <sup>29</sup>	Amenhotep III, T12.
 <i>w<sup>c</sup>-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Sole one of Re.	Akhenaten, T1-3. *
 <i>shpr-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Created by Re.	Ramesses V, T1-7. *

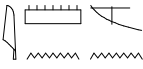
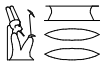
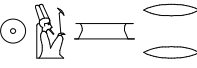
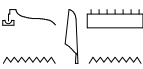

(For a statistical analysis of this category, see Appendix I on page 46 below).  
(For Amun-Re: see the next category).

**2.2. Epithets, compounded with the name of Amun**

Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>tit-Imn</i>	Image of Amun.	Tuthmosis I, T4. Amenhotep III, T6. *
 <i>hnmt-Imn</i>	United with Amun.	Hatshepsut, B2-3. *

<sup>29</sup> Uncharacteristically for the period, this phrase is here used as an epithet, and placed *inside* the cartouche. The use of the egg to express filiation is an early example of what is to become more common in the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty: see e.g. Siptah's birth name on page 37/38 below.

## Epithets, compounded with the name of Amun (continued)

Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>mry-(n)-Imn</i>	Loved by Amun.	Horemheb, B2-5. * Sety I, B3. Ramesses II, B1-18. * Merenptah, T1-5. * Amenmesses, T2. * Amenmesses, B2-4. Sety II, T3-8. Siptah, T1, T5. Tawesert, T2-7. * Sethnakht, T3-7. * Ramesses III, T1-3. * Ramesses IV, B1-8. * Ramesses V, B1-5. * <sup>30</sup> Ramesses VI, T1-10. * Ramesses VII, T1-4. * Ramesses VIII, B1-3. * Ramesses IX, T4. Ramesses IX, B1, B5. Ramesses X, T4. Ramesses X, B2-3. * Ramesses XI, B6.
 <i>mrr-Imn</i>	Continuously loved by Amun.	Sethnakht, B1, B2, B5. * Ramesses IX, B2-4. * Ramesses XI, B1-5. *
 <i>mrr-Imn-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Continuously loved by Amun-Re.	Sethnakht, B3-4. *
 <i>stp-n-Imn</i>	The choice of Amun.	Ramesses IV, T1-8. *
 <i>3h-n-Imn</i>	Made glorious by Amun. <sup>31</sup>	Ramesses VIII, T1-5. *




(For a statistical analysis of this category, see Appendix I on page 46 below). In view of the importance of the god Amun, right from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, it's amazing how few mentions of his name occur in the epithets of that period. It's only from Sety I on, that literally every king of the New Kingdom uses


<sup>30</sup> In B5, the name of Amun is left out: perhaps in error, but it is also possible that the "Amun" of the birth name (Amenherkhepshef) should be read twice.

<sup>31</sup> This epithet is almost equal to the name of Akhenaten, but that was already two centuries ago, and apparently it didn't matter anymore. For a comparable case, see the throne name of Siptah on page 38.

Amun's name in his epithets. Apparently, it took Akhenaten's persecution to make Amun come through.




### 2.3. Epithets, compounded with the names of other gods

Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>z3-Itm</i>	Son of Atum. *)	Tuthmosis III, B13.
 <i>šsp-n-Itm</i>	Image of Atum.	Amenhotep III, T7.
 <i>mrwty-mi-Itm</i>	Well-beloved like Atum.	Ramesses II, B15. *


\*) The complete "epithet" reads: 

"Bodily son of Atum, born to him by the Mistress of Dendera [=Hathor]".


The occasional use of Atum in royal epithets is another indication for the undiminished importance of Heliopolis as prime religious center. After all, Heliopolis was the city of Atum, before it became that of Re.

Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>mry-n-Pth</i>	Loved by Ptah.	Sety I, B1, B2, B4, B6. * Sety II, B1-9, B11. * Siptah, B3-7. *
 <i>stp-n-Pth</i>	The choice of Ptah.	Ramesses IV, T10. Ramesses XI, T1-5, T7. *
 <i>šm-stp-n-Pth</i>	The powerful one, the choice of Ptah.	Ramesses XI, T6. *


Although the seat of government during most of the New Kingdom was in the Delta - first at Memphis, later at Avaris/Piramese - the kings of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty may have spent more time in Thebes than those of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty. This could be one of the reasons why Ptah, god of Memphis, does not appear in the titlature before the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>phity-mi-Mntw</i>	Strong as Month.	Ramesses II, T14. *



During the New Kingdom, Month had become specialized as a war god. The handiwork of warfare was called “the crafts of Month”<sup>32</sup> Obviously, “Strong as Month” was a fitting epithet for the self-declared hero of Qadesh...

Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>mry-ntrw</i>	Loved by the gods.	Merenptah, T6-8. *

Merenptah here makes use of a very obvious epithet. All the more surprising, that it wasn't used more often. It seems that the kings foremost wanted to stress a *personal* relationship to a *personal* god.

Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>mry-Šth</i>	Loved by Seth.	Sety II, T9. *

Although there were two kings in the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty (Sety I and II), and two in the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty (Sethnakht and Ramesses-Sethherkhepshef), who had the name of Seth in their birth name, this god features only once in an epithet. Which is surprising, considering Seth's position of high state god in this period.

Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>mry-n-Mwt</i>	Loved by Mut.	Tawesert, B2. *
 <i>stpt-n-Mwt</i>	The choice of Mut.	Tawesert, B3-5. *

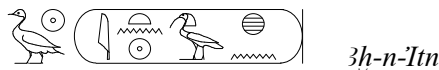
As Amun's wife, Mut was - especially in a royal context - a major goddess. For the queen-regnant Tawesert, this made her an excellent choice for her epithets.

<sup>32</sup> *Conc. Dict.* 283.

## 2.4. Epithets, compounded with the names of Akhenaten

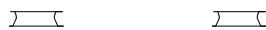
Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>mry-w<sup>c</sup>-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Loved by “the sole one of Re” (= Akhenaten). <sup>33</sup>	Smenkhkare, T1. Smenkhkare, B1. *
 <i>mry-nfr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Loved by “Nefer-Kheperu-Re” (= Akhenaten).	Smenkhkare, T2. *
 <i>mry-3h-n-Itn</i>	Loved by Akhenaten.	Smenkhkare, B2.

The writing of the last one in this category requires clarification. It refers to the following writing of Akhenaten’s birth name:



In the epithet, the group stands for . The sign of the sun disk “playfully” replaces the sign . The group stands for . The horizontal stroke

replaces (not uncommon in the later phases of ancient Egyptian), and the word *Itn* (Aten) is written ideographically: with the sign of the sun disk. By placing these signs in this position, they also evoke the picture of the sun above the horizon. This means that the name of Akhetaten (Akhenaten’s new capital) is also present in this epithet. Perhaps the full reading of the epithet was: “Beloved of Akhenaten of Akhetaten”.










The last part of the epithet stands for : *mry-n*, “beloved of”.

(For more about these unique epithets, see the treatment of Smenkhkare on page 33 below.)

<sup>33</sup> The fact that Smenkhkare uses here an *epithet* to identify Akhenaten, is again an indication for the growing importance of these epithets vis-à-vis the throne and birth names (see also page 9 above).

## 2.5. Epithets, declaring the king “Ruler”

Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>ḥk3-W3st</i>	Ruler of Thebes.	Amenhotep I, B2. * Tuthmosis III, B12. Amenhotep II, B6. Amenhotep III, B1, B3. * Sety I, T5. Ramesses II, T6. Amenmesses, B1-4. *
 <i>ḥk3-m3ʿt</i>	True ruler (or: Ruler in truth).	Tuthmosis III, B9. Tuthmosis IV, T6. Tutankhamun, T3. Horemheb, T2. * Ramesses I, B4. Ramesses I, T5. Sety I, T7. Ramesses IV, B1-8. * <sup>34</sup>
 <i>ḥk3-Iwnw</i>	Ruler of Heliopolis.	Tuthmosis III, B10. * Amenhotep II, B4. Sety I, T6. Ramesses III, B1-4. *
 <i>ḥk3-ntr</i>	Divine ruler.	Tuthmosis III, B11. Ramesses VII, B3. <sup>35</sup>
 <i>ḥk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	Divine ruler of Heliopolis.	Amenhotep II, B2-3. * Ramesses II, B12-14. Ramesses VI, B1-5. * Ramesses VII, B1-2, 4. * <sup>36</sup> Ramesses XI, B1-6. *
 <i>ḥk3-ntr-W3st</i>	Divine ruler of Thebes.	Amenhotep II, B5. Amenhotep III, B2. Akhenaten, B1-3. * Ay, B-1. *
 <i>ḥk3-nsw-W3st</i> (or: <i>nsw-ḥk3-W3st</i> )	Kingly ruler of Thebes. (Or perhaps: King and ruler of Thebes).	Amenhotep II, B7

<sup>34</sup> In the birth names of Ramesses IV, *ḥk3 m3ʿt* is sometimes written with a sun above the crook. The reason for this escapes me.

<sup>35</sup> Perhaps this writing was unintentional: all other forms of Ramesses VII's birth name included the epithet “Divine ruler of Heliopolis”. So the sign for “Heliopolis” was perhaps erroneously omitted by the scribe.

<sup>36</sup> But see also note 35, for B3.



**Epithets, declaring the king “Ruler” (continued)**

Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>ḥkꜣ-Iwnw-šmꜥ</i>	Ruler of the Heliopolis of Upper Egypt (=Thebes). <sup>37</sup>	Tutankhamun, B2. *
 <i>ḥkꜣ-tꜣwy</i>	Ruler of the Two Lands.	Sety I, T11.







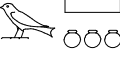

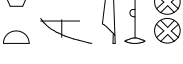
(For a statistical analysis of this category, see Appendix I on page 46 below).

**2.6. Other epithets**

Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>nḥt</i>	The strong one.	Ahmosis, B4. *
 <i>ḥꜥ-nfrw</i>	Appearing in beauty.	Tuthmosis I, B3.
 <i>nfr-ḥꜥw</i>	Beautiful of appearances.	Tuthmosis II, B1. *
 <i>nb-ḥpš</i>	Master of power.	Tuthmosis III, T10.
		Ramesses II, T12-13.
 <i>nḥt-ḥpš</i>	Strong of power.	Tuthmosis III, T11.
 <i>nfr-ḥpr</i>	Beautiful of being.	Tuthmosis III, B6.

<sup>37</sup> For this reading, see note 59 on page 33 below.

## Other epithets (continued)

Epithet	Translation	Occurrences
 <i>nfr-hprw</i>	Beautiful of shape.	Tuthmosis III, B7.
 <i>zm3-hpr</i>	United [with god?] in being. (Or perhaps: United with [the god] Kheper.)	Tuthmosis III, B8.
 <i>hc-hcw</i>	Shining of appearings.	Tuthmosis IV, B2-4. *
 <i>3-(m)-hc.f</i>	Great as he arises.	Akhenaten, B1-2, B5. *
 <i>dsr-hprw</i>	Holy of shape.	Smenkhkare, B3-4. *
 <i>ir-m3t</i>	Who does what is right.	Ay, T1-3. *
 <i>wr-mnw</i>	Great of monuments. <sup>38</sup>	Ramesses II, B16. *
 <i>htp-hr-m3t</i>	Who is satisfied with what is right.	Merenptah, B1-4. *
 <i>hnwt-t3-mry</i>	Mistress of the Beloved Land.	Tawesert, T1. *

With one exception (“Master of Power”) these epithets have all been used by only one king. Tuthmosis III can again lay claim to the title of most creative monarch: he contributed no less than five different epithets to this list.

The recurrence of the epithet “Master of Power” with Ramesses II, after first having been used by Tuthmosis III, perhaps meant to express Ramesses’ conviction that he was in fact a second Tuthmosis III...

<sup>38</sup> No king ever wore an epithet more fitting...

### 3. The 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty

The 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty is not really a unity. It falls into three very distinct parts: before, during and after the Amarna period.

The first of these parts, lasting for two centuries - from Ahmosis till Amenhotep III - saw an outward oriented nation creating a vast empire. Aggressive campaigning in both Nubia and the Levant brought riches without end. Egypt had finally left her isolation, like a dragonfly that has left the pond.

Then Amenhotep IV, who changed his birth name to Akhenaten, forcefully intervened in the course of events. With peace abroad, he went to war against gods and priests, to make his god (Aton) the only one, and himself the only priest. Closing temples and abolishing festivals, he alienated his people from their king: a traumatic experience with lasting effects. When Akhenaten's new capital, near modern Amarna, had been left, a restoration set in, as determined as Akhenaten's crusade had been - but some of the damage done was irreparable.

#### 3.1. The 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty: a short introduction per king

King	Years <sup>39</sup> (c.)	Remarks
1. Ahmosis	25	Expelled the Hyksos from Egypt, and re-unified the country after the Second Intermediate Period. Tomb: unidentified.
2. Amenhotep I	21	The workers of Deir el-Medineh later worshipped Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmose-Nefertari as gods, which suggests that they founded the village. Amenhotep's tomb, which in that case should have been the first in the Valley of the Kings, has not been identified with certainty, though.
3. Tuthmosis I	12	Father of both Tuthmosis II and Hatshepsut. His tomb is the first in the Valley of the Kings that can be attributed conclusively: KV20. <sup>40</sup>
4. Tuthmosis II	13 <sup>41</sup>	Married his half-sister Hatshepsut. His son Tuthmosis III was born from another of his wives. Tomb: not identified.
5. Hatshepsut	22 <sup>42</sup>	Originally regent for her young stepson / nephew Tuthmosis III, later posing as king. Tomb: she adapted her father's tomb (KV20) to accommodate him as well as her. <sup>43</sup>
6. Tuthmosis III	32 <sup>44</sup>	The Napoleon of Egyptian history, but also an admirer of nature (as is testified by the Botanical Garden in his festival temple) and one with an original mind (see the unique tent pole columns <sup>45</sup> in the same festival temple, and the many epithets that he coined). Tomb: KV34. <sup>46</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Following the estimates of Von Beckerath in *Chronologie*, ignoring co-regencies.

<sup>40</sup> Later, his grandson Tuthmosis III built him a new tomb (KV38), apparently to separate him from Hatshepsut, who was left behind in KV20 (see *Oxford* 240).

<sup>41</sup> But see the remark of Bryan, quoted on page 15 above, suggesting a rule of no more than 3 years.

<sup>42</sup> Counting from the formal accession of Tuthmosis III until her disappearance.

<sup>43</sup> But see note 40 above.

<sup>44</sup> Only counting the years of his reign after the disappearance of Hatshepsut.

<sup>45</sup> See "Building in stone in ancient Egypt. Part 1: Columns and pillars", on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl).

<sup>46</sup> He later modeled KV38, the new tomb for his grandfather Tuthmosis I, on his own.

King	Years <sup>39</sup> (c.)	Remarks
7. Amenhotep II	28	A sportsman, and a real “macho”: perhaps the one to instigate Tuthmosis III’s campaign against Hatshepsut’s heritage. But also an able military commander, with an acute sense for the political. <sup>47</sup> Tomb: KV35.
8. Tuthmosis IV	9	Best known for the “Dream Stele” between the paws of the Great Sphinx at Gizeh, on which he describes how the sun god appeared to him in a dream. He contributed significantly to the rise of Re’s position vis-à-vis Amun. Tomb: KV 43.
9. Amenhotep III	38	The fortunate one, who inherited the largest empire of the world. Unlike his predecessors, he could safely stay at home, enjoying the wealth that came pouring in. His court was the finest and richest of the times. His tomb (WV22 = KV22) <sup>48</sup> was the first to be carved in a valley even more remote than the Valley of the Kings: the Western Valley. Of his mortuary temple (the largest ever built) two gigantesque seated images of the king are all that remains: the Colossi of Memnon.
10. Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten	16	Prophet and high priest of the sun god, particularly in the form of Aten. Founder of the city of Akhetaten (“The horizon of Aten”), near modern Amarna. When the court left this place shortly after his demise, his body was removed from its nearby tomb, possibly to be transferred to KV55 in the Valley of the Kings.
11. Smenkhkare	1	A shadowy figure, now believed to have been Nefertiti, Akhenaten’s major queen, continuing his regime for a short while after his death. Tomb: it seems very doubtful that she ever had one.
12. Tutankhaten / Tutankhamun	10	Still a boy, his name was changed for him - to become the best-known of Egyptian history. His tomb (KV62) may have been meant for Ay. <sup>49</sup>
13. Ay	4	Originally one of Akhenaten courtiers, he was regarded as the last of the heretic’s clique. His tomb (WV23 = KV23) which was probably meant for Tutankhamun, lies in the Western Valley, like that of Amenhotep III.
14. Horemheb	27 <sup>50</sup>	Zealous restorationist. Although he had already served as a general under Akhenaten, he was regarded by the Ramessides as founder of their line. Tomb: KV 57.
Total	258	(With a margin of +/- 20 years).

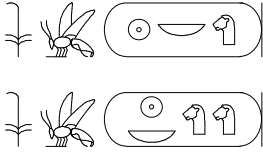
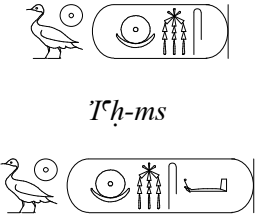
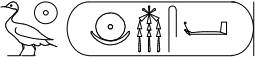

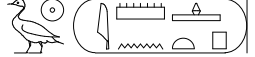

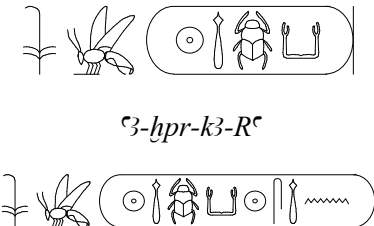




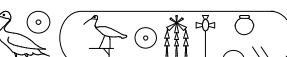
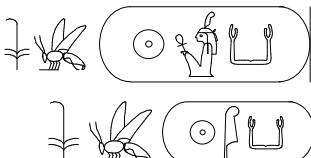

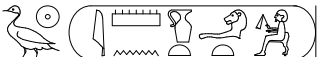
<sup>47</sup> See “Those Egyptian tenderhearts” on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl).

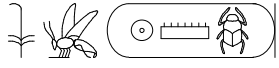
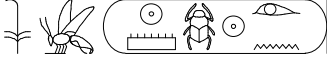


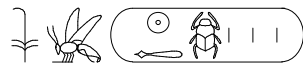

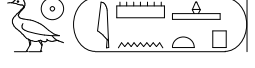
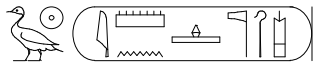
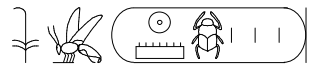
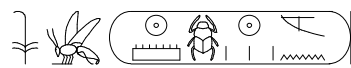
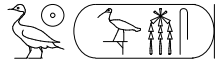
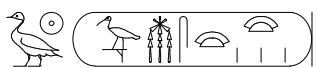
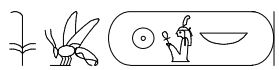
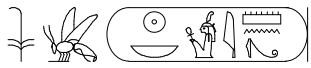
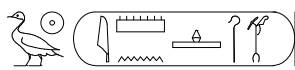
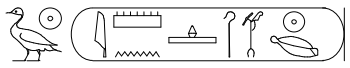
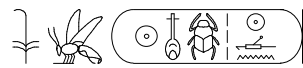
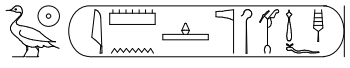
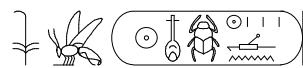
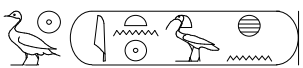
<sup>48</sup> The tombs of the Valley of the Kings are numbered continuously, in order of discovery, whether they lie in the main valley, or in the western valley.

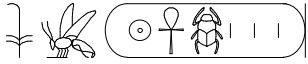
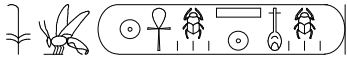
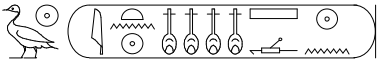
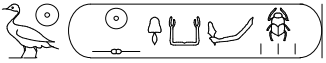
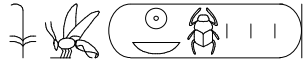

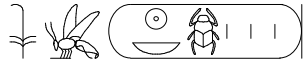
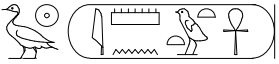

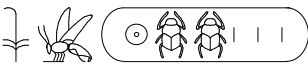







<sup>49</sup> See “Some remarks on king Tut’s grave”, on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl)

<sup>50</sup> His highest attested year is 13. The current estimate of 27 years is based on indirect evidence (see *Oxford* 293).

3.2. The 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty: kinglist with cartouches

	Throne name	Birth name
1. Ahmosis	 <i>nb-pḥty-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>Iḥ-ms</i>  <i>Iḥ-ms nḥt</i>
2. Amenhotep I	 <i>ḏsr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>Imn-ḥtp</i>  <i>Imn-ḥtp ḥk3-W3st</i>
3. Tuthmosis I	 <i>3-ḥpr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> <i>3-ḥpr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> s3-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>Dḥwty-ms</i>  <i>Dḥwty-ms ḥ<sup>c</sup>-mi-R<sup>c</sup></i>
4. Tuthmosis II	 <i>3-ḥpr-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>Dḥwty-ms nfr-ḥ<sup>c</sup>w</i>  <i>Dḥwty-ms ndty-R<sup>c</sup></i>
5. Hatshepsut	 <i>m3<sup>c</sup>t-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>ḥ3t-špswt</i>  <i>ḥ3t-špswt ḥnmt-Imn</i>

	Throne name	Birth name
6. Tuthmosis III	 <i>mn-hpr-R<sup>c</sup></i>  <i>mn-hpr-R<sup>c</sup> ir-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>Dḥwty-ms</i>  <i>Dḥwty-ms ḥk3-Iwnw</i>
7. Amenhotep II	  <i>3-hprw-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>Imn-ḥtp</i>  <i>Imn-ḥtp ḥk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>
8. Tuthmosis IV	 <i>mn-hprw-R<sup>c</sup></i>  <i>mn-hprw-R<sup>c</sup> mry-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>Dḥwty-ms</i>  <i>Dḥwty-ms ḥ<sup>c</sup>-ḥ<sup>c</sup>w</i>
9. Amenhotep III	 <i>nb-m3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup></i>  <i>nb-m3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> tit-Imn</i>	 <i>Imn-ḥtp ḥk3-W3st</i>  <i>Imn-ḥtp ḥk3-W3st iw<sup>c</sup>-R<sup>c</sup></i>
10a. Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten (year 1-5)	 <i>nfr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>Imn-ḥtp ḥk3-ntr-W3st</i> <i>3-[m]-ḥ<sup>c</sup>f</i>
10b. Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten (year 6-16)	 <i>nfr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>3ḥ-n-Itn</i>

	Throne name	Birth name
11. Smenkhkare <sup>51</sup>	 <i>nh-hprw-R<sup>c</sup></i>  <i>nh-hprw-R<sup>c</sup></i> <i>mry-nfr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>nfr-nfrw-Itn mry-w<sup>c</sup>-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>  <i>smnh-k3-R<sup>c</sup> dsr-hprw</i>
12a. Tutankhaten / Tutankhamun (year 1)	 <i>nb-hprw-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>twt-nh-Itn</i>
12b. Tutankhaten / Tutankhamun (year 2-10)	 <i>nb-hprw-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>twt-nh-Imn</i>  <i>twt-nh-Imn hk3-Iwnw-sm<sup>c</sup></i>
13. Ay	 <i>hpr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup></i>  <i>hpr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup> ir-m3<sup>c</sup>t</i>	 <i>it-ntr sy</i>  <i>it-ntr sy hk3-ntr-W3st</i>
14. Horemheb	 <i>dsr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>  <i>dsr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i> <i>hk3-m3<sup>c</sup>t</i> <sup>52</sup>	 <i>Hr-m-hb</i>  <i>Hr-m-hb mry-n-Imn</i> <sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> For the most unusual epithets, see their discussion on page 33 below.

<sup>52</sup> For the placement of the signs *hk3* and *m3<sup>c</sup>t*, on either side of the scarab, see page 13 above.

<sup>53</sup> Note the "embrace", as explained on page 13 (in the section about Mery-en-Ptah). The sign of the sun in this name is not to be read as Re: it's a determinative of time for *hb* = festival. See *Conc. Dict.* 166 (*hb*) + 167 (*hb-sd*).

### 3.3. The 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty: comments to some of the names

#### 1. Ahmosis

The man who finally drove out the Hyksos may have been somewhat obsessed with the physical demands of warfare. Not only did he include the epithet “The Strong One” inside his birth name’s cartouche, but his throne name was “Possessor of the [physical] strength of Re”.

#### 5. Hatshepsut

Her birth name means: “first of the noblewomen” - hardly the name of a king. The fact, that she nevertheless did *not* change it, may serve as proof of the resistance against changing one’s birth name - a resistance that was not broken before Akhenaten.

#### 6. Tuthmosis III

Tuthmosis III must have been a creative man; it shows from many things - including his titlature. He used a total of 10 different Horus names, 5 Neby names and 7 Golden Horus names: till then unprecedented numbers. And in his cartouches, no one used more different epithets than he did (16), and no-one added more new ones to the existing corpus (11). But from the first 22 years of his reign (when in fact Hatshepsut ruled), only one Horus name, one Neby name and one Golden Horus name of him are known, and his cartouches come without any epithets. It is indicative of his position in that period as a token king.

#### 7. Amenhotep II

This king had a most remarkable choice in epithets. In his throne name, he used no epithets at all, and in his birth name, he used only epithets of the “ruler-category”:

- Ruler of Heliopolis,
- Divine ruler of Heliopolis,
- Ruler of Thebes,
- Divine ruler of Thebes,
- Kingly ruler of Thebes.

It shows him as extremely self-reliant - bordering on disrespect for the gods.<sup>54</sup>

#### 10. Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten

That this king changed his birth name, to include the name of his personal god Aten, usually attracts more attention than the fact, that he did *not* change his throne name. That was Nefer-Kheperu-Re: “Made beautiful (or: made good) by the shape of Re”. The fact that he later did not have to change this name indicates, that it was already in line with his beliefs, right from the start.<sup>55</sup> Which need not surprise us: Aten was the sun god in his manifestation as the sun disk, or: “the shape of Re”. So too with the epithets that he used while he still called himself Amenhotep: “Sole one of Re”, and “Great as he arises”.<sup>56</sup> These were unique to him, and he did not change these later, either.

<sup>54</sup> Which is in perfect agreement with the text on his Great Sphinx stele at Gizeh. Where other kings would have spoken of their pious deeds for the gods, Amenhotep elaborated on his physical strength as one who could draw 300 bows in a row, and who could shoot arrows right through copper targets.

<sup>55</sup> See also page 6-7 for more about this name.

<sup>56</sup> “Arise” in the sense of rising oneself, standing up.



The meaning of his new birth name Akhenaten is not so easily determined, though. The word Akh can mean “spirit”, “spirit state”, “become a spirit” or “(be) glorious”. In view of his throne name, the most probable meaning of this birth name seems to me: “Made glorious by Aten”.

### 11. Smenkhkare

Akhenaten’s successor ruled under the throne name of Ankh-Kheperu-Re: “Living through the shape of Re”. During an initial co-regency with Akhenaten, this “king” went by the birth name of Nefer-Neferu-Aten: the new Amarna name of Akhenaten’s Great Royal Wife Nefertiti. After Akhenaten’s death, the same throne name is combined with the birth name Smenkhkare.<sup>57</sup> Although this is a shadowy period, with very little physical remains, it seems then that Nefertiti had first become Akhenaten’s co-regent, and then changed her birth name to Smenkhkare after her husband’s death, when she assumed kingship on her own.

During her co-regency with her husband, Nefertiti used epithets that were as outrageously unique as the whole situation was. Inside the cartouche of her throne name, she included either the epithet “Loved by Nefer-Kheperu-Re”, or “Loved by The-Sole-One-of-Re”.<sup>58</sup> These were Akhenaten’s throne name, and one of his epithets, respectively. So in effect her throne name was: “Ankh-Kheperu-Re, Loved by Akhenaten”. And she did likewise in the cartouche of her birth name. Until then, the only comparable epithet ever used in this context had been “Loved by Re”. Using the epithet “Loved by Akhenaten” must at least by some have been felt as a shameless provocation.

When she commenced her short independent rule, she sure enough dropped these epithets, and changed her birth name to the more conventional Smenkhkare (“Ennobled by the Ka of Re”), with the epithet “Holy of shape”. But it apparently didn’t help her too much: she disappeared soon, probably within the year.

### 12. Tutankhaten / Tutankhamun

The name Tutankhaten means: “The living statue of Aten”. Probably within his first regnal year, it was changed for the young boy into Tutankhamun: “The living statue of Amun” - for exactly the inverse reason of Akhenaten’s name change: to signal the return to orthodoxy. For the same reason, his birth name was donned with an unusual epithet: “Ruler of the Heliopolis of Upper Egypt”.<sup>59</sup> which was a common designation for Thebes. It blends the two epithets “Ruler of Heliopolis” and “Ruler of Thebes” into one.

The town of Heliopolis had been the religious capital of Egypt, ever since the Old Kingdom: the town of Re, supreme royal god. Referring to Thebes as the Heliopolis of Upper Egypt underlined that Thebes, the city of Amun, had become the city of Amun-Re, and had in that way acquired (if not usurped) the privileges of Heliopolis - notably to be the place where the kings were crowned. A structure in the Amun temple of Karnak, in its current form attributed to Tuthmosis III, may in fact have been a coronation platform.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> See *Handbuch* 144, T3 + B3.

<sup>58</sup> See page 23 above.

<sup>59</sup> This is regularly rendered as “Ruler of southern Heliopolis”. In “small print”, the sign for “southern” looks a lot like the one for “Upper Egypt”, but more ornate writings clearly show *sm3* instead of *rsy*.

<sup>60</sup> See the plans of the Amun temple of Karnak on [www.egyptology.nl](http://www.egyptology.nl); in particular the text on page 9 of the Introduction to these plans.

### 13. Ay

Before he became king, Ay carried the title “God’s father”. He was proud enough on this title, to preserve it inside his birth name’s cartouche: “The God’s father, Ay”.

It is best known as a priestly title:<sup>61</sup> in rank between the simple “Wab” (“pure one”), and the “Hem Netjer” (“servant of the god”: often wrongly rendered as “prophet”). Not a position to be ashamed of, but neither one to boast about - not for a king, anyway. It could have another meaning too, though: Father of the God could also mean: (grand)father of the King.<sup>62</sup> It takes into account that a (non-royal) father of a queen could become grandfather of a future king. If Ay was the father of one of Akhenaten’s wives, this would at once explain his pride in the title, *and* the relative ease with which he outmaneuvered Horemheb in succeeding Tutankhamun. As father of a queen, he would already have been part of the royal family.

The only epithet that he ever added to his throne name was “Who does what is right”. Given the circumstances, this is a most intriguing statement...

### 14. Horemheb

The general who became king after a period of turmoil and unrest selected his epithets with the typical no-nonsense plainness of a soldier: he was True Ruler, Chosen by Re, Loved by Amun. Amen.

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<sup>61</sup> See *Bonnet* 256.

<sup>62</sup> Again *Bonnet* 256, and *Wb.* I-142, 8.

## 4. The 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty

If we look at the indicators of art and architecture, we can see that the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty comprised of two distinctly different periods: until Ramesses II, and afterwards. Following the short reign of Ramesses I, two giants ruled the nation: Sety I, and Ramesses II. Some of the most grandiose buildings of ancient Egypt come from their reigns: the temples of Abydos, the Great Hypostyle of Karnak, and the rock temples of Abu Simbel.

In the area of foreign relations, Sety I re-entered the Levantine theatre of operations. He found Palestine essentially unchanged, but further north, he met with a new and dangerous enemy: the Hittites. When the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings ventured into this area (which is now the territory of Lebanon and western Syria), it was dominated by the Mitanni. During the reign of Akhenaten however, the Mitanni were overrun by the Hittites, who now blocked Egypt's way north.<sup>63</sup>

Both Sety I and his son Ramesses II challenged the Hittites, but only with partial success. Ramesses, when still an inexperienced young man, lost a battle that he should have won: at Qadesh in the Bekaa valley, in northern Lebanon. It proved to be farthest point still attainable. But it was still more than enough: Egypt prospered again as before.

Much more ominously, Ramesses II was the first Egyptian king in over three centuries who had to defend the Egyptian homeland itself against foreign invaders. For the time being, the incursions from "Libyans" were more of a nuisance than a danger, but they still mattered enough to warrant the erection of a string of forts along the Delta's western perimeter. The tale of Egypt's incredible wealth had become a myth, and the greedy were assembling. They would keep testing Egypt's resolve like a pack of hyena's encircling a stray lioness. For the next two centuries, all they would get for their trouble was a bloody nose, but in the end, the hyena's always win...

### 4.1. The 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty: a short introduction per king

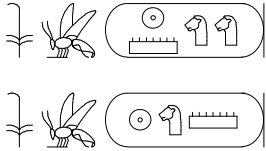
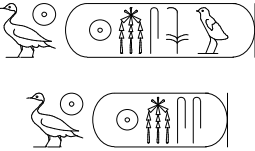
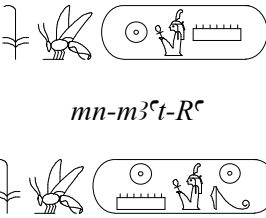
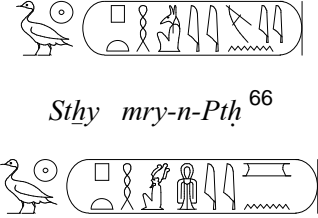
King	Years <sup>64</sup> (c.)	Remarks
1. Ramesses I	2	An elderly general, and vizier of Horemheb. Perhaps chosen by Horemheb as his heir, to pave the way for Ramesses' talented son Sety. Tomb: KV16.
2. Sety I	12	Truly majestic king, during whose reign some of the finest reliefs of ancient Egypt were carved. Tomb: KV17.
3. Ramesses II	65	An American in Egypt: Mr. "Big-is-Beautiful". His extremely long reign was a highly productive period: even while asleep, his masons no doubt kept chiseling his cartouches in their dreams. But as the example of Pepy II shows, too long reigns did not really agree with the Egyptian system. A weakening king created a weakening country - no matter how many Sed festivals were brought to bear. Tomb: KV7.

<sup>63</sup> Oxford 278.

<sup>64</sup> Following the estimates of Von Beckerath in *Chronologie*, ignoring co-regencies.

King	Years <sup>64</sup> (c.)	Remarks	
4. Merenptah	10	The oldest son of Ramesses II to survive him was his thirteenth, and Merenptah was already advanced in years when he finally succeeded his father. His main accomplishment was, that he successfully defended the country against a full scale invasion of the Sea Peoples. Tomb: KV8.	
5. Amenmesses	4 <sup>65</sup>	An unclear period, of insignificant rulers.	Tomb: KV10.
6. Sety II	6		Tomb: KV15.
7. Siptah	7		Tomb: KV47.
8. Tawesert	1	Originally regent for her step-son Siptah, she continued to rule after his death for a short period under her own name. Tomb: KV14 (later usurped by Sethnakht).	
Total	107	(with a margin of +/- 15 years)	

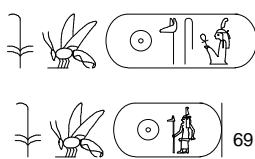
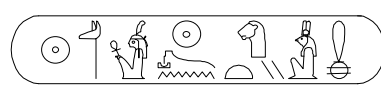
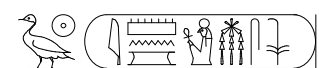
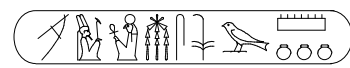
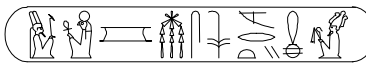



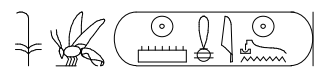



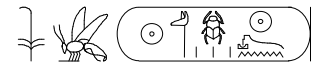
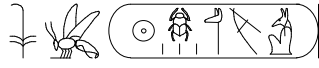


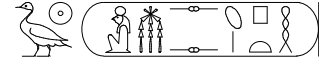
#### 4.2. The 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty: kinglist with cartouches

	Throne name	Birth name
1. Ramesses I	 <i>mn-phty-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw</i>
2. Sety I	 <i>mn-m3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup></i> <i>mn-m3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> tit-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>Sthy mry-n-Pth<sup>66</sup></i> <i>wsir-St[h]y mry-n-Pth<sup>67</sup></i>

<sup>65</sup> If not in fact an usurper, whose regnal years were concomitant with those of Sety II.

<sup>66</sup> Note the "embrace" (also in the next cartouche), as explained on page 13 above.

<sup>67</sup> For this unusual writing, see page 38 below.







	Throne name	Birth name
3. Ramesses II <sup>68</sup>	 <i>wsr-m<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup>-R<sup>c</sup></i>  <i>wsr-m<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup> phty-mi-Mntw</i>	 <i>R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw mry-Imn</i>  <i>R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw mry-Imn wr-mnw</i>  <i>R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw mrwty-mi-Itm mry-Imn</i>
4. Merenptah	 <i>b<sup>3</sup>-n-R<sup>c</sup> mry-Imn</i>  <i>b<sup>3</sup>-n-R<sup>c</sup> mry-ntrw</i>	 <i>mry-n-Pth<sup>70</sup> htp-hr-m<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup></i>
5. Amenmesses	 <i>mn-mi-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>  <i>mn-mi-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup> mry-Imn</i>	 <i>Imn-ms-sw hk<sup>3</sup>-W<sup>3</sup>st</i>  <i>Imn-R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw hk<sup>3</sup>-W<sup>3</sup>st<sup>71</sup></i>
6. Sety II	 <i>wsr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>  <i>wsr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup> mry-Sth</i>	 <i>Sthy mry-n-Pth</i>
7a. Siptah (year 1-2)	 <i>sh<sup>c</sup>-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw z<sup>3</sup>-Pth<sup>72</sup></i>

<sup>68</sup> The rubrics Nesu Bit and Sa Re have been left out for the longer names, to save room.

<sup>69</sup> For this condensed writing, see page 14 above.

<sup>70</sup> To some, "Beloved of Ptah" was an epithet (see page 21 above), but for Merenptah, it was his (birth) name.

<sup>71</sup> For the intensification from Amun to Amun-Re: see page 8 above.

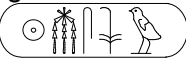
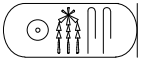
	Throne name	Birth name
7b. Siptah (year 2-6)	 <i>3h-n-R<sup>c73</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>z3 Pth mry-n-Pth</i>
8. Tawesert <sup>74</sup>	 <i>z3t-R<sup>c</sup> mry-n-Imn</i>  <i>z3t-R<sup>c</sup> hnwt-t-mry</i>	 <i>t3-wsrt stpt-n-Mwt</i>  <i>t3-wsrt mry-n-Mwt</i>

### 4.3. The 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty: comments to some of the names

#### 1. Ramesses I

The throne name of Ramesses I (first king of the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty) shows a conspicuous resemblance to that of Ahmosis (first king of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty). Ahmosis had called himself “Possessor of the strength of Re”; Ramesses I now called himself “Established by the strength of Re”. Ahmosis was held in high regard by the kings of the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty as founder of the New Kingdom.<sup>75</sup> Modeling his own throne name on that of Ahmosis, Ramesses made the statement that his own reign was again a new and promising beginning.

Ramesses’ original birth name had been Paramessu. Upon becoming king, Paramessu dropped the first syllable<sup>76</sup> of his name, calling himself Ramessu, meaning: Re has brought him forth. His cartouches show this birth name in two

formats: a full writing , and an abbreviated writing: . The latter dominates. If one vocalizes it (disregarding the original full writing), one gets: Ramesses.

#### 2. Sety I

The writing of Sety’s birth name in the second cartouche in the kinglist above requires an explanation. It reads: “Osiris-Sety, Loved by Ptah”. It is a writing from Sety’s mortuary temple at Abydos. The king is here called “an Osiris”, because he is here referred to as deceased. In this context, in this town (Abydos was then regarded

<sup>72</sup> *Z3-Pth* (“Son of Ptah”) is here not an epithet: it is Siptah’s actual birth name. The name Ramesses is here added as a prefix to that name.

<sup>73</sup> For this name, so strongly resembling that of Akhenaten, see also page 39 below.

<sup>74</sup> The rubrics Nesu Bit and Sa Re have been left out for the longer names, to save room.

<sup>75</sup> In the Ramesseum, Ramesses II’s mortuary temple, a relief shows a procession in which the effigies of kings are carried along. The first three kings are the three founders of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms: Menes, Mentuhotep II and Ahmosis, respectively. (For the Egyptians, the periods that we call the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom were one. This also shows from a summation in the Turin Papyrus that comprises the whole period from Menes until the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> dynasty.)

<sup>76</sup> “Pa” is the definite article.

as Osiris' main cult center) it would have been unthinkable to simply add the sign depicting Seth: Osiris' mortal enemy. That's why the name of Sety is here written with the sign of the "Isis-knot", which is almost homophonous (*st*) with the name of Seth (*Sth*).

## 5. Amenmesses

In some of his birth name cartouches, Amenmesses augmented the "Amun" in his name to "Amun-Re". So his birth name should then be read as Amenremesses.<sup>77</sup>

## 7. Siptah

This king changed his throne name during his second year, from Sekhaenre to Akhenre. The reasons for this are totally obscure. His new name may however have caused some eyebrows to be raised, for it was almost identical to Akhenaten's chosen birth name.

At first sight, it would seem that Siptah also changed his birth name at that occasion, from "Ramesses-Sa-Ptah" to "Sa-Ptah, Loved by Ptah". Sa-Ptah ("Son of Ptah") is his actual birth name, though. In the first cartouche, it is donned with the name of Ramesses as a prefix. It is a practice that will recur in strength during the next dynasty.

Siptah's legacy to the world is his left foot, deformed by poliomyelitis. It features in every major book about Egyptian mummies.

## 8. Tawesert

Tawesert was a queen: she was Sety II's Great Royal Wife. This Sety's only son was Siptah, but he was not a son of Tawesert. Since she however was, in her capacity of Great Royal Wife, Sety's official widow, she became at his death regent for Siptah, who was still too young to rule. After the boy's premature death, she ruled for a short period alone.

Contrary to Hatshepsut, 2½ century ago, she stressed her femininity in her titlature. Her throne name was Sat-Re: "Daughter of Re", and as epithets to her birth name she used "The choice of [the goddess] Mut" and "Loved by Mut". Her Horus names on the other hand began with the mandatory phrase "Strong Bull". This was by then such a universal custom, that its use may have been just an oversight.

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<sup>77</sup> But see also note 10 on page 8 above.

## 5. The 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty

The beginning of this dynasty is shrouded in mystery. After an unclear period, a king Sethnakht takes control. He was however soon succeeded by his son, Ramesses III. Ramesses III was the last truly great king of the New Kingdom. Rewarding successes abroad were paired with a fair degree of law and order at home. His reign was however also characterized by ever greater donations to the gods. It is estimated that by the end of his rule, one-third of the arable land was owned by the priesthoods, of which three-quarters belonged to Amun of Thebes.<sup>78</sup> In this way, Ramesses practically disinherited his successors: he deprived them of the means to rule effectively.

After Ramesses III, eight more kings with that name occupied the throne. Their main accomplishments were the magnificent tombs they had constructed for them in the Valley of the Kings. In the meantime, the sphere of Egyptian influence was rapidly shrinking size. Incursions from “Libyans” right into the region of Thebes became an annoyance, being endured the way a bull endures the flies: angry, but unable to do much about it. By the end of the dynasty, Egypt’s position in the Levant had been totally lost, as is testified by the tale of Wenamun’s travels, and Nubia had in effect become an independent nation. The reign of Ramesses XI saw armed conflict within Egypt’s borders, the beginning of organized tomb robberies in the Valley of the Kings, and the emergence of a theocracy in Upper Egypt. During the later part of his rule, Ramesses XI was just king of the Delta - and even there, no longer in control. It was the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period.

### 5.1. The 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty: a short introduction per king

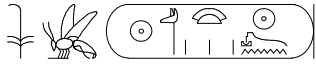

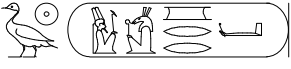






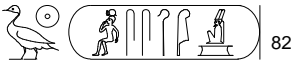

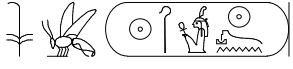



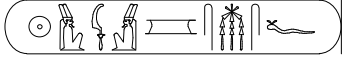
King	Years (c.) <sup>79</sup>	Remarks	
1. Sethnakht	3	A king that appears to come out of the blue, restoring order after a short period of unrule. Tomb: he usurped KV14, begun by Tawesert.	
2. Ramesses III	31	Like Merenptah before him, Ramesses III was faced with a massive attack by the Sea Peoples. He decisively defeated them. His temple at Medinet Habu is the best preserved royal mortuary temple of the New Kingdom. Tomb: KV11.	
3. Ramesses IV	7	These kings have little more to show for themselves than their tombs in the Valley of the Kings.	Tomb: KV2.
4. Ramesses V	4		Tomb: KV9 (shared).
5. Ramesses VI	8		Tomb: KV1.
6. Ramesses VII	9		Tomb: unidentified.
7. Ramesses VIII	2		Tomb: KV6.
8. Ramesses IX	18		Tomb: KV18.
9. Ramesses X	4		
10. Ramesses XI	29	Under his rule, the high priests of Amun at Thebes managed to break free from the Delta king. It was the start of the theocracy of Amun. Tomb: KV4.	
Total	115	(with a margin of +/- 10 years).	

<sup>78</sup> Oxford 305.

<sup>79</sup> Following the estimates of Von Beckerath in *Chronologie*, ignoring co-regencies.



5.2. The 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty: kinglist with cartouches

	Throne name	Birth name
1. Sethnakht	 <i>wsr-h'w-R'c stp-n-R'c</i>  <i>wsr-h'w-R'c stp-n-R'c mry-Imn</i>	 <i>Sth-nht mrr-Imn</i> <sup>80</sup>  <i>Sth-nht mrr-Imn-R'c</i>
2. Ramesses III	 <i>wsr-m3'c-t-R'c mry-Imn</i>	 <i>R'c-ms-sw hk3-Iwnw</i>  <i>hk3-Iwnw</i> <sup>81</sup>
3a. Ramesses IV (year 1)	 <i>wsr-m3'c-t-R'c stp-n-Imn</i>	  <sup>82</sup> <i>R'c-ms-sw hk3-m3'c-t mry-Imn</i>
3b. Ramesses IV (year 2-7)	 <sup>83</sup> <i>hk3-m3'c-t-R'c</i>  <i>hk3-m3'c-t-R'c stp-n-R'c</i>	  <sup>84</sup> <i>R'c-ms-sw hk3-m3'c-t mry-Imn</i>
4. Ramesses V - Amenherkhepshef I	 <i>wsr-m3'c-t-R'c shpr-n-R'c</i>	 <i>R'c-ms-sw-Imn-[hr]-hps.f mry-Imn</i> <sup>85</sup>

<sup>80</sup> For the significance of this epithet and the next, see page 17 above.

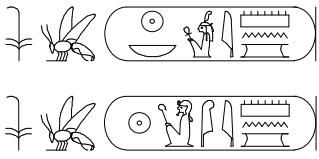
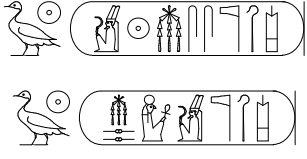
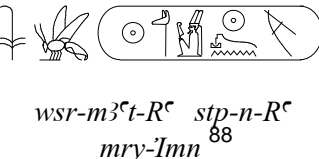
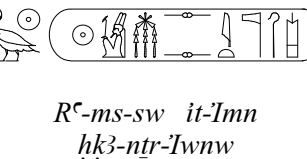
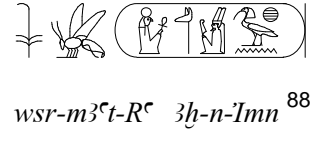
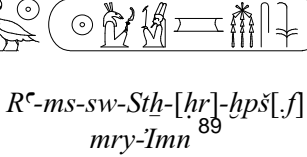
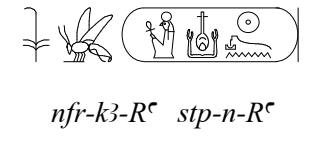
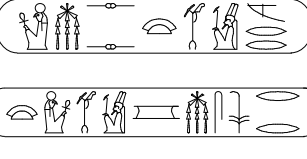
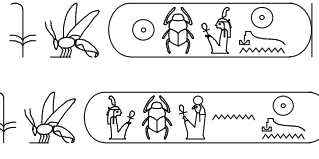
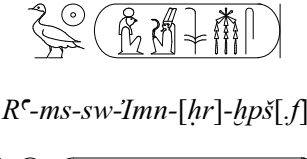
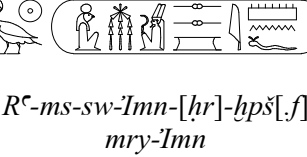
<sup>81</sup> Here, only the epithet has been retained: the birth name itself has been left out. Although rare, it is not unique: Ramesses V occasionally did the same with his throne name: see page 9 above.

<sup>82</sup> The sign of the child with a sun disk on his head stands for *R'c-ms*.

<sup>83</sup> Note the combination of *hk3* and *m3'c-t*: the goddess Maat holds the crook of *hk3* in her hands.

<sup>84</sup> Note the writing of Heka Maat: on either side of *mss*, with two times the feather of Maat. The desire to produce symmetry has gotten the better of spelling. (See also page 43 below).

<sup>85</sup> For an explanation of this writing, see page 44 below.

	Throne name	Birth name
5. Ramesses VI - Amenherkhopshesef II	 <i>nb-m3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> mry-Imn</i> <sup>86</sup>	 <i>R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw-Imn-[hr]-hps[.f] hk3- ntr-Iwnw</i> <sup>87</sup>
6. Ramesses VII - It-Amun	 <i>wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup> mry-Imn</i> <sup>88</sup>	 <i>R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw it-Imn hk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>
7. Ramesses VIII - Sethherkhopshesef	 <i>wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> 3h-n-Imn</i> <sup>88</sup>	 <i>R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw-Sth-[hr]-hps[.f] mry-Imn</i> <sup>89</sup>
8. Ramesses IX - Khaemwase I	 <i>nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw-h<sup>c</sup>-[m]-W3st mrr-Imn</i> <sup>90</sup>
9. Ramesses X - Amenherkhopshesef III	 <i>hpr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	 <i>R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw-Imn-[hr]-hps[.f]</i>  <i>R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw-Imn-[hr]-hps[.f] mry-Imn</i>

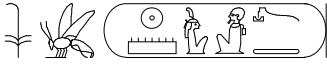

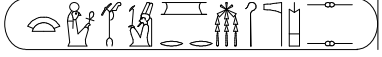
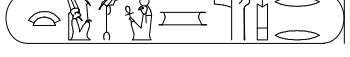
<sup>86</sup> In the second cartouche, the figure of the seated king is an alternative writing for *nb* ("Lord").

<sup>87</sup> In these cartouches, the seated figure of Amun with a Khepesj-sword in his hands is a sportive writing of *Imn-hr-hps.f* ("Amenherkhopshesef"). See also page 45 below.

<sup>88</sup> Note, that the element "*m3<sup>c</sup>t*" is written with the feather of Maat in the hands of the seated god Amun (see also page 13 above).

<sup>89</sup> Here, the Seth-sign with the Khepesj-sword should be read *Sth-hr-hps.f* ("Sethherkhopshesef"). See also page 45 below.

<sup>90</sup> The first of these two cartouches gives the signs in the normal order. The second has the same meaning, but here the glyphs are re-arranged to the point of becoming incomprehensible. See page 45 below for an analysis.

	Throne name	Birth name
10. Ramesses XI - Khaemwase II	 <i>mn-m<sup>3c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-Pth</i>  <i>mn-m<sup>3c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> shm-stp-n-Pth</i>	  <i>R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw-h<sup>c</sup>-[m]-W3st</i> <i>hk3-ntr-Iwnw mrr-Imn</i>

### 5.3. The 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty: comments to some of the names

#### 1. Sethnakht

Although Sethnakht seems to have ruled for no more than three years, he still managed to add a remarkable new epithet: *mrr-Imn*. See page 17 above.


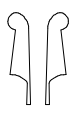


#### 2. Ramesses III

To say that Ramesses III was a fan of Ramesses II is something of an understatement. He copied his illustrious forefather in several ways, and one of these was that he copied his throne name. Using another king's throne name was rather unusual. Identical birth names presented no problem (see e.g. the many Amenemhats, Sobekhoteps and Amenhoteps), but to have identical throne names was something else. To compensate, Ramesses III used only one epithet in his throne name, one that Ramesses II only used in his birth name: "Loved by Amun". Later on, four more kings made use of exactly the same strategy: adorning themselves with Ramesses II's throne name, personalized with a specific epithet, (or with a specific combination of two epithets: see note 6 on page 7 above). Which also means, that for the remainder of this dynasty, examining the throne names is not the most exciting endeavor imaginable. This is however more than compensated by these king's birth names. Checking those out is as breathtaking as a ride on a rollercoaster (well, sort of, anyway...)

#### 3. Ramesses IV

With the boldness and daring of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> dynasties long gone, creativity now has to find other outlets. But not to worry: in the birth name of Ramesses IV, the writing of the epithet "True Ruler" provides an arena for some truly awesome adventures in spelling and orthography...

The following four variants are the result:

	1	2	3	4
Variant				
Occurrences	B1, B4	B6, B7	B2, B3, B5	B8

The first variant is a simple, straightforward writing of Heka Maat: “True Ruler” or “Ruler in Truth”. Number two is a graphic elaboration: the sign of the crook is “amplified” to that of the feather of Maat. To reach symmetry was probably the main incentive, but the equation of “Right” and “Rule” was no doubt experienced as gratifying.

The third variant is much more enigmatic. In isolation, without the context of the numbers 1 and 2, a translation with Heka Maat would not have been the first choice.<sup>91</sup> It seems that here the sun is used as a symbol for Maat. Which is really not too farfetched, because the sun is in several ways an icon of the principle of Maat: its unalterable daily course, and its dazzling brilliance are fitting parables for Truth, Order and Justice. An added attractiveness of the chosen orthography is, that it represents the king (symbolized by the crook, which reads after all “Ruler”) as being shone upon by Re, the sun god.

The last variant is actually a combination of two epithets: Beloved of Amun, and True Ruler. Or rather: it *should* be that combination. The crook of Heka / Ruler is missing. It should have been in the hands of either Amun or the goddess Maat. So somewhere along the line, someone made a mistake: either the scribe, the stone mason, the modern copyist, or the printer.

Early on in his reign, Ramesses IV had changed his throne name from Weser-Maat-Re to Heka-Maat-Re. Weser-Maat-Re was the throne name of his father - who had borrowed it from Ramesses II. So perhaps Ramesses IV wanted to make a statement: he was going to be his own man! Yep.

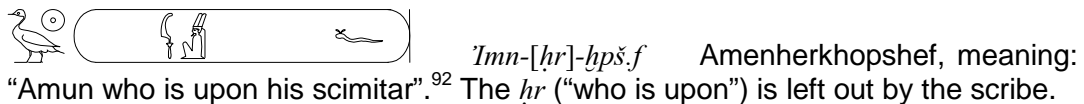
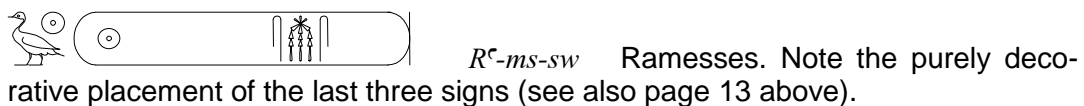
#### 4. Ramesses V - Amenherkhopshuf I

The following cartouche of this king’s birth name provides a fine example of opulent decadence. Here it is in full:



Ramesses-Amenherkhopshuf, Loved by Amun.

To show how this “composition” is to be understood, I have made three variants of this cartouche, each with part of the name:



Just a simple case of transposition with honorific intent.

The motive for this particular placement seems to have been the desire to put the two Amuns face to face, with the scimitar between them.

<sup>91</sup> A more obvious one would have been: *hk3 R<sup>c</sup>*, “Ruler of Re”. Against this however speaks the small, unobtrusive writing of the sign of the sun. If one intended to write an epithet “Ruler of Re”, then the sign of the sun would have stood in front of the crook, not above it. Furthermore, there is the apparent reluctance of the later Ramesseses to vary the *content* of their epithets - concentrating on matters of spelling instead. Preferring form over content is typical for the decadent stance.

<sup>92</sup> Or, less literally: Amun who carries (or: wields) his scimitar

### 5. Ramesses VI - Amenherkhapshef II

Ramesses VI was one of few Ramessides *not* to use the throne name of Ramesses II. So he used that of Amenhotep III...

Ramesses VI's actual birth name was again Amenherkhapshef. He (or his scribes) wrote this with just one sign:

We have just seen the "full" writing (actually already with one sign missing) with Ramesses V. This time, the scribe left out one more sign, and combined the remaining two by giving the god his scimitar in hand.



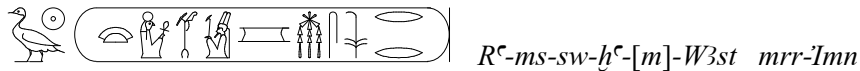
### 7. Ramesses VIII - Sethherkhapshef

A variant of the last, with Seth in the place of Amun - and a scimitar of the latest fashion.



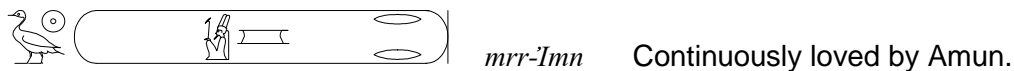
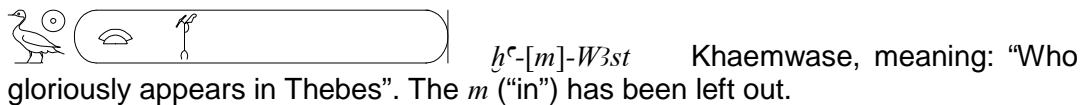
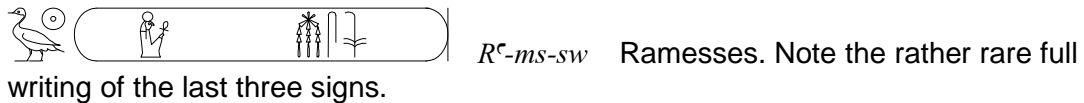
### 8. Ramesses IX - Khaemwase I

This birth name is again a magnificent puzzle. First the full writing:



Ramesses-Khaemwase, Continuously loved by Amun.

Then the analysis:



The reason for this composition was probably the wish to put the gods Re and Amun face to face, with the symbol for the city of Thebes (the "Heliopolis of Upper Egypt", so a city of both Re *and* Amun) between them.

### 10. Ramesses XI - Khaemwase II

The last king of the New Kingdom (sadly unawares of the fact) again sought a way to distinguish himself. He found it in using the name - no, not of Ramesses II, but that of the *father* of Ramesses II: Sety I. To prevent any confusion (please don't laugh) with his illustrious forebear, the Divine Ruler of Heliopolis carefully selected epithets that Sety never used...

## Appendix 1: Statistical analysis of some categories of epithets

In the material under consideration, the numbers of both kings and epithets are large enough to allow some statistical analysis. I have drawn up tables for the categories with the largest number of items: those compounded with Re or Amun, and those that declare the king to be a ruler.

Occurrence, or frequency: every epithet is counted only once per king, except when it occurs in both throne and birth name. Then two counts are registered. This coincides with the number of lines in the column "Occurrences" in the tables of chapter 2: "The epithets in the cartouche names of the New Kingdom".

### 1. Epithets, compounded with the name of Re

Re	18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty		19 <sup>th</sup> dynasty		20 <sup>th</sup> dynasty	
Frequency per epithet	Made by Re: 4 The choice of Re: 5 Loved by Re: 4 Made great by Re: 2 Appearing in glory like Re: 1 Protected by Re: 1 Heir of Re: 3 Image of Re: 2 Son of Re: 1 Sole one of Re: 1		Made by Re: 1 The choice of Re: 5 Loved by Re: 4 Heir of Re: 2 Image of Re: 3		The choice of Re: 5 Loved by Re: 1 Created by Re: 1	
Number of variants	10		5		3	
Frequency per category	24		13		7	
	Throne name	Birth name	Throne name	Birth name	Throne name	Birth name
Frequency per name	21	3	13	0	6	1
Number of kings	14		8		10	
Frequency per king	1,71		1,63		0,70	

#### Conclusions:

- The epithets with Re are predominantly used in throne names. This is consistent with the fact, that the throne name is (in the period under consideration) always compounded with the name of Re.
- From the 18<sup>th</sup> till the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty, the variation in these epithets decreases in a constant and gradual manner.
- The use of these epithets per king is more or less constant during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty, to decrease significantly in the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

## 2. Epithets, compounded with the name of Amun

Amun	18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty		19 <sup>th</sup> dynasty		20 <sup>th</sup> dynasty	
Frequency per epithet	Image of Amun: 2 United with Amun: 1 Loved by Amun: 1		Loved by Amun: 8		Loved by Amun: 12 Continuously loved by Amun: 3 Continuously loved by Amun-Re: 1 The choice of Amun: 1 Made glorious by Amun: 1	
Number of variants	3		1		5	
Frequency per category	4		8		18	
	Throne name	Birth name	Throne name	Birth name	Throne name	Birth name
Frequency per name	2	2	5	3	8	10
Number of kings	14		8		10	
Frequency per king	0,29		1,00		1,80	

### Conclusions:

- The Amun-epithets are equally distributed over throne and birth names.
- The use of Amun-epithets per king steadily increases from the 18<sup>th</sup> till the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

When we combine these two sets of conclusions, we see a gradual but steady replacement of Re by Amun - but also a decrease in theological consistency. Where the use of Re is predominant in the throne names, the Amun-epithets are rather indiscriminately added to both throne and birth names.

### 3. Epithets, declaring the king to be a ruler

“Ruler”	18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty		19 <sup>th</sup> dynasty		20 <sup>th</sup> dynasty	
Frequency per epithet	Ruler of Thebes: 4 True ruler: 4 Ruler of Heliopolis: 2 Divine ruler: 1 Divine ruler of Heliopolis: 1 Divine ruler of Thebes: 4 Kingly ruler of Thebes: 1 Ruler of the Heliopolis of U.E.: 1		Ruler of Thebes: 3 True ruler: 3 Ruler of Heliopolis: 1 Divine ruler of Heliopolis: 1 Ruler of the Two Lands: 1		True ruler: 1 Ruler of Heliopolis: 1 Divine ruler: 1 <sup>93</sup> Divine ruler of Heliopolis: 2	
Number of variants	8		5		4	
Frequency per category	18		9		5	
	Throne name	Birth name	Throne name	Birth name	Throne name	Birth name
Frequency per name	3	15	6	3	0	5
Number of kings	14		8		10	
Frequency per king	1,29		1,13		0,50	

#### Conclusions:

- From the 18<sup>th</sup> till the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty, the number of variants decreases in a gradual but constant manner.
  - Both the absolute frequency, as the frequency per king, decrease likewise.
- So the last kings of the New Kingdom rather preferred to cling to the comfort of Amun loving them, than proudly stating their rulership.

Interesting is also a comparison of the use of Heliopolis and that of Thebes in these epithets.

Frequency per epithet: Thebes	18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty	19 <sup>th</sup> dynasty	20 <sup>th</sup> dynasty
Ruler of Thebes	4	3	
Divine ruler of Thebes	4		
Kingly ruler of Thebes	1		
Ruler of the Heliopolis of Upper Egypt	1		
Total: absolute / per king	10 / 0,71	3 / 0,38	0 / 0

<sup>93</sup> But see note 35 on page 23 above: this may have been a defective writing for “Divine ruler of Heliopolis”.



<b>Frequency per epithet: Heliopolis</b>	<b>18<sup>th</sup> dynasty</b>	<b>19<sup>th</sup> dynasty</b>	<b>20<sup>th</sup> dynasty</b>
Ruler of Heliopolis	2	1	1
Divine ruler of Heliopolis	1	1	3
Total: absolute / per king	3 / 0,21	2 / 0,25	4 / 0,40

Although the kings of the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty still had their tombs carved in the Theban Valley of the Kings, they did not really have strong ties anymore with Thebes. They were of Lower Egyptian stock, and they focused more and more on their homeland. In the Amun-temple of Karnak, reliefs show a high priest of Amun with the name of Amenhotep receiving gifts from Ramesses IX - but the king is not present in the flesh: Amenhotep stands before a *statue* of the king. To reward one of his most important officials in the south was not enough ground for this king to leave the comforts of home. The high priest's contempt for his sovereign is almost palpable from these reliefs. Small wonder that he didn't bother any more to show himself, as tradition required, on a smaller scale than the Divine Ruler...

So when in the end Ramesses XI was in effect no more than the king of the Delta, the breaking up of the country had been long coming.

## Appendix 2: Full listing of all epithets, per king

The references with T# and B# refer to the numbers of the throne names and birth names respectively in the *Handbuch* (although the birth name is there referred to as E#: "Eigenname").

Sometimes one name figures twice in the table: this means that in that cartouche, two epithets were included. Names not mentioned are without epithet.

Category	Epithet	Dyn	#	King	Name
Others	<i>nḥt</i>	18	1	Ahmosis	B 4
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-W3st</i>	18	2	Amenhotep I	B 2
Re	<i>ir-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	3	Tuthmosis I	T 2
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	3	Tuthmosis I	T 3
Amun	<i>tīt-Imn</i>	18	3	Tuthmosis I	T 4
Re	<i>mry-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	3	Tuthmosis I	T 5
Re	<i>s<sup>c</sup>3-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	3	Tuthmosis I	T 6
Re	<i>ḥ<sup>c</sup>-mi-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	3	Tuthmosis I	B 2
Others	<i>ḥ<sup>c</sup>-nfrw</i>	18	3	Tuthmosis I	B 3
Others	<i>nfr-ḥ<sup>c</sup>w</i>	18	4	Tuthmosis II	B 1
Re	<i>ndty-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	4	Tuthmosis II	B 3
Amun	<i>ḥnmt-Imn</i>	18	5	Hatshepsut	B 2
Amun	<i>ḥnmt-Imn</i>	18	5	Hatshepsut	B 3
Re	<i>iw<sup>c</sup>-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	T 5
Re	<i>ir-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	T 6
Re	<i>mry-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	T 7
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	T 8
Re	<i>s<sup>c</sup>3-n-(R<sup>c</sup>)<sup>94</sup></i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	T 9
Others	<i>nb-ḥpš</i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	T 10
Others	<i>nḥt-ḥpš</i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	T 11
Re	<i>tīt-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	T 12
Others	<i>nfr-ḥpr</i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	B 6
Others	<i>nfr-ḥprw</i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	B 7
Others	<i>zm3-ḥpr</i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	B 8
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-m3<sup>c</sup>t</i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	B 9
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-Iwnw</i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	B 10
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-ntr</i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	B 11
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-W3st</i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	B 12
Atum	<i>z3-Itm</i>	18	6	Tuthmosis III	B 13
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	18	7	Amenhotep II	B 2
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	18	7	Amenhotep II	B 3
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-Iwnw</i>	18	7	Amenhotep II	B 4
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-ntr-W3st</i>	18	7	Amenhotep II	B 5
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-W3st</i>	18	7	Amenhotep II	B 6
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-nsw-W3st</i>	18	7	Amenhotep II	B 7
Re	<i>mry-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	8	Tuthmosis IV	T 3
Re	<i>ir-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	8	Tuthmosis IV	T 4
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	8	Tuthmosis IV	T 5

<sup>94</sup> See note 27 on page 18 above.

Category	Epithet	Dyn	#	King	Name
Ruler	<i>hk3-m3ct</i>	18	8	Tuthmosis IV	T 6
Others	<i>h<sup>c</sup>-h<sup>c</sup>w</i>	18	8	Tuthmosis IV	B 2
Others	<i>h<sup>c</sup>-h<sup>c</sup>w</i>	18	8	Tuthmosis IV	B 3
Others	<i>h<sup>c</sup>-h<sup>c</sup>w</i>	18	8	Tuthmosis IV	B 4
Re	<i>tit-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	9	Amenhotep III	T 5
Amun	<i>tit-Imn</i>	18	9	Amenhotep III	T 6
Atum	<i>šzp-n-Itm</i>	18	9	Amenhotep III	T 7
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	9	Amenhotep III	T 8
Re	<i>iw<sup>c</sup>-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	9	Amenhotep III	T 9
Re	<i>ir-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	9	Amenhotep III	T 10
Re	<i>mry-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	9	Amenhotep III	T 11
Re	<i>z3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	9	Amenhotep III	T 12
Ruler	<i>hk3-W3st</i>	18	9	Amenhotep III	B 1
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-W3st</i>	18	9	Amenhotep III	B 2
Ruler	<i>hk3-W3st</i>	18	9	Amenhotep III	B 3
Re	<i>iw<sup>c</sup>-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	9	Amenhotep III	B 3
Re	<i>w<sup>c</sup>-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	10	Akhenaten	T 1
Re	<i>w<sup>c</sup>-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	10	Akhenaten	T 2
Re	<i>w<sup>c</sup>-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	10	Akhenaten	T 3
Others	<i>ʕ3-(m)-<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.f</i>	18	10	Akhenaten	B 1
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-W3st</i>	18	10	Akhenaten	B 1
Others	<i>ʕ3-(m)-<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.f</i>	18	10	Akhenaten	B 2
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-W3st</i>	18	10	Akhenaten	B 2
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-W3st</i>	18	10	Akhenaten	B 3
Others	<i>ʕ3-(m)-<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.f</i>	18	10	Akhenaten	B 5
Akhenaten	<i>mry-w<sup>c</sup>-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	11	Smenkhkare	T 1
Akhenaten	<i>mry-nfr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	11	Smenkhkare	T 2
Akhenaten	<i>mry-w<sup>c</sup>-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	11	Smenkhkare	B 1
Akhenaten	<i>mry-3h-n-Itm</i>	18	11	Smenkhkare	B 2
Others	<i>dsr-hprw</i>	18	11	Smenkhkare	B 3
Others	<i>dsr-hprw</i>	18	11	Smenkhkare	B 4
Ruler	<i>hk3-m3ct</i>	18	12	Tutankhamun	T 3
Ruler	<i>hk3-Iwnw-šm<sup>c</sup></i>	18	12	Tutankhamun	B 2
Others	<i>ir-m3ct</i>	18	13	Ay	T 1
Others	<i>ir-m3ct</i>	18	13	Ay	T 2
Others	<i>ir-m3ct</i>	18	13	Ay	T 3
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-W3st</i>	18	13	Ay	B 1
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	14	Horemheb	T 1
Ruler	<i>hk3-m3ct</i>	18	14	Horemheb	T 2
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	18	14	Horemheb	T 2
Amun	<i>mry-n-Imn</i>	18	14	Horemheb	B 2
Amun	<i>mry-n-Imn</i>	18	14	Horemheb	B 3
Amun	<i>mry-n-Imn</i>	18	14	Horemheb	B 4
Amun	<i>mry-n-Imn</i>	18	14	Horemheb	B 5
Ruler	<i>hk3-m3ct</i>	19	1	Ramesses I	T 5
Re	<i>tit-R<sup>c</sup></i>	19	1	Ramesses I	T 6
Ruler	<i>hk3-m3ct</i>	19	1	Ramesses I	B 4
Ruler	<i>hk3-W3st</i>	19	2	Sety I	T 5

Category	Epithet	Dyn	#	King	Name	
Ruler	<i>hk3-Iwnw</i>	19	2	Sety I	T	6
Ruler	<i>hk3-m3ct</i>	19	2	Sety I	T	7
Re	<i>ir-n-Rc</i>	19	2	Sety I	T	8
Re	<i>iw<sup>c</sup>-Rc</i>	19	2	Sety I	T	9
Re	<i>tit-Rc</i>	19	2	Sety I	T	10
Ruler	<i>hk3-t3wy</i>	19	2	Sety I	T	11
Re	<i>mry-n-Rc</i>	19	2	Sety I	T	12
Re	<i>stp-n-Rc</i>	19	2	Sety I	T	13
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	2	Sety I	B	1
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	2	Sety I	B	2
Amun	<i>mry-n-Imn</i>	19	2	Sety I	B	3
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	2	Sety I	B	4
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	2	Sety I	B	6
Re	<i>tit-Rc</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	T	5
Ruler	<i>hk3-W3st</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	T	6
Re	<i>iw<sup>c</sup>-Rc</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	T	7
Re	<i>mry-Rc</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	T	8
Re	<i>stp-n-Rc</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	T	9
Re	<i>stp-n-Rc</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	T	10
Re	<i>stp-n-Rc</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	T	11
Others	<i>nb-hps</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	T	12
Others	<i>nb-hps</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	T	13
Month	<i>phty-mi-Mntw</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	T	14
Re	<i>stp-n-Rc</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	T	14
Re	<i>stp-n-Rc</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	T	15
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	1
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	2
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	3
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	4
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	5
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	6
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	7
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	8
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	9
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	10
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	11
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	12
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	12
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	13
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	13
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	14
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	14
Atum	<i>mrwti-mi-Itm</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	15
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	15
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	16
Others	<i>wr-mnw</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	16
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	17
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	3	Ramesses II	B	18

Category	Epithet	Dyn	#	King	Name
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	4	Merenptah	T 1
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	4	Merenptah	T 2
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	4	Merenptah	T 3
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	4	Merenptah	T 4
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	4	Merenptah	T 5
Gods	<i>mry-ntrw</i>	19	4	Merenptah	T 6
Gods	<i>mry-ntrw</i>	19	4	Merenptah	T 7
Gods	<i>mry-ntrw</i>	19	4	Merenptah	T 8
Others	<i>hṯp-hr-mꜣt</i>	19	4	Merenptah	B 1
Others	<i>hṯp-hr-mꜣt</i>	19	4	Merenptah	B 2
Others	<i>hṯp-hr-mꜣt</i>	19	4	Merenptah	B 3
Others	<i>hṯp-hr-mꜣt</i>	19	4	Merenptah	B 4
Re	<i>stp-n-Rꜥ</i>	19	5	Amenmesses	T 1
Amun	<i>mry-n-Imn</i>	19	5	Amenmesses	T 2
Re	<i>stp-n-Rꜥ</i>	19	5	Amenmesses	T 2
Ruler	<i>hk3-W3st</i>	19	5	Amenmesses	B 1
Ruler	<i>hk3-W3st</i>	19	5	Amenmesses	B 2
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	5	Amenmesses	B 2
Ruler	<i>hk3-W3st</i>	19	5	Amenmesses	B 3
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	5	Amenmesses	B 3
Ruler	<i>hk3-W3st</i>	19	5	Amenmesses	B 4
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	5	Amenmesses	B 4
Re	<i>stp-n-Rꜥ</i>	19	6	Sety II	T 1
Re	<i>stp-n-Rꜥ</i>	19	6	Sety II	T 2
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	6	Sety II	T 3
Amun	<i>mry-n-Imn</i>	19	6	Sety II	T 4
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	6	Sety II	T 5
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	6	Sety II	T 6
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	6	Sety II	T 7
Re	<i>stp-n-Rꜥ</i>	19	6	Sety II	T 7
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	6	Sety II	T 8
Re	<i>stp-n-Rꜥ</i>	19	6	Sety II	T 8
Seth	<i>mry-Sth</i>	19	6	Sety II	T 9
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	6	Sety II	B 1
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	6	Sety II	B 2
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	6	Sety II	B 3
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	6	Sety II	B 4
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	6	Sety II	B 5
Ptah	<i>mry-Pth</i>	19	6	Sety II	B 6
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	6	Sety II	B 7
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	6	Sety II	B 8
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	6	Sety II	B 9
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	6	Sety II	B 11
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	7	Siptah	T 1
Re	<i>stp-n-Rꜥ</i>	19	7	Siptah	T 2
Re	<i>stp-n-Rꜥ</i>	19	7	Siptah	T 3
Re	<i>stp-n-Rꜥ</i>	19	7	Siptah	T 4
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	7	Siptah	T 5

Category	Epithet	Dyn	#	King	Name	
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	7	Siptah	B	3
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	7	Siptah	B	4
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	7	Siptah	B	5
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	7	Siptah	B	6
Ptah	<i>mry-n-Pth</i>	19	7	Siptah	B	7
Others	<i>hnwt-ḫ-mry</i>	19	8	Tawesert	T	1
Amun	<i>mry-n-Imn</i>	19	8	Tawesert	T	2
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	8	Tawesert	T	3
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	8	Tawesert	T	4
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	8	Tawesert	T	5
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	8	Tawesert	T	6
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	19	8	Tawesert	T	7
Mut	<i>mry-n-Mwt</i>	19	8	Tawesert	B	2
Mut	<i>stpt-n-Mwt</i>	19	8	Tawesert	B	3
Mut	<i>stpt-n-Mwt</i>	19	8	Tawesert	B	4
Mut	<i>stpt-n-Mwt</i>	19	8	Tawesert	B	5
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	1	Sethnakht	T	1
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	1	Sethnakht	T	2
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	1	Sethnakht	T	3
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	1	Sethnakht	T	4
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	1	Sethnakht	T	4
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	1	Sethnakht	T	5
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	1	Sethnakht	T	5
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	1	Sethnakht	T	6
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	1	Sethnakht	T	6
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	1	Sethnakht	T	7
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	1	Sethnakht	T	7
Amun	<i>mrr-Imn</i>	20	1	Sethnakht	B	1
Amun	<i>mrr-Imn</i>	20	1	Sethnakht	B	2
Re	<i>mry-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	1	Sethnakht	B	2
Amun-Re	<i>mrr-Imn-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	1	Sethnakht	B	3
Amun-Re	<i>mrr-Imn-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	1	Sethnakht	B	4
Amun	<i>mrr-Imn</i>	20	1	Sethnakht	B	5
Re	<i>mry-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	1	Sethnakht	B	5
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	2	Ramesses III	T	1
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	2	Ramesses III	T	2
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	2	Ramesses III	T	3
Ruler	<i>hk3-Iwnw</i>	20	2	Ramesses III	B	1
Ruler	<i>hk3-Iwnw</i>	20	2	Ramesses III	B	2
Ruler	<i>hk3-Iwnw</i>	20	2	Ramesses III	B	3
Ruler	<i>hk3-Iwnw</i>	20	2	Ramesses III	B	4
Amun	<i>stp-n-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	T	1
Amun	<i>stp-n-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	T	2
Amun	<i>stp-n-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	T	3
Amun	<i>stp-n-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	T	4
Amun	<i>stp-n-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	T	5
Amun	<i>stp-n-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	T	6
Amun	<i>stp-n-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	T	7

Category	Epithet	Dyn	#	King	Name	
Amun	<i>stp-n-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	T	8
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	T	9
Ptah	<i>stp-n-Pth</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	T	10
Ruler	<i>hk3-m3<sup>c</sup>t</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	1
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	1
Ruler	<i>hk3-m3<sup>c</sup>t</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	2
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	2
Ruler	<i>hk3-m3<sup>c</sup>t</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	3
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	3
Ruler	<i>hk3-m3<sup>c</sup>t</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	4
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	4
Ruler	<i>hk3-m3<sup>c</sup>t</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	5
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	5
Ruler	<i>hk3-m3<sup>c</sup>t</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	6
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	6
Ruler	<i>hk3-m3<sup>c</sup>t</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	7
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	7
Ruler	<i>hk3-m3<sup>c</sup>t</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	8
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	3	Ramesses IV	B	8
Re	<i>shpr-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	4	Ramesses V	T	1
Re	<i>shpr-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	4	Ramesses V	T	2
Re	<i>shpr-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	4	Ramesses V	T	3
Re	<i>shpr-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	4	Ramesses V	T	4
Re	<i>shpr-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	4	Ramesses V	T	5
Re	<i>shpr-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	4	Ramesses V	T	6
Re	<i>shpr-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	4	Ramesses V	T	7
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	4	Ramesses V	B	1
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	4	Ramesses V	B	2
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	4	Ramesses V	B	3
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	4	Ramesses V	B	4
Amun	<i>mry-(Imn)<sup>95</sup></i>	20	4	Ramesses V	B	5
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	T	1
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	T	2
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	T	3
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	T	4
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	T	5
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	T	6
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	T	7
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	T	8
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	T	9
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	T	10
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	B	1
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	B	2
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	B	3
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	B	4
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	20	5	Ramesses VI	B	5

<sup>95</sup> The word *Imn* is not written, but certainly implied: see note 30 on page 20 above.

Category	Epithet	Dyn	#	King	Name	
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	6	Ramesses VII	T	1
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	6	Ramesses VII	T	1
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	6	Ramesses VII	T	2
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	6	Ramesses VII	T	2
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	6	Ramesses VII	T	3
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	6	Ramesses VII	T	3
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	6	Ramesses VII	T	4
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	6	Ramesses VII	T	4
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	20	6	Ramesses VII	B	1
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	20	6	Ramesses VII	B	2
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr<sup>96</sup></i>	20	6	Ramesses VII	B	3
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	20	6	Ramesses VII	B	4
Amun	<i>3h-n-Imn</i>	20	7	Ramesses VIII	T	1
Amun	<i>3h-n-Imn</i>	20	7	Ramesses VIII	T	2
Amun	<i>3h-n-Imn</i>	20	7	Ramesses VIII	T	3
Amun	<i>3h-n-Imn</i>	20	7	Ramesses VIII	T	4
Amun	<i>3h-n-Imn</i>	20	7	Ramesses VIII	T	5
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	7	Ramesses VIII	B	1
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	7	Ramesses VIII	B	2
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	7	Ramesses VIII	B	3
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	8	Ramesses IX	T	1
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	8	Ramesses IX	T	2
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	8	Ramesses IX	T	3
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	8	Ramesses IX	T	4
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	8	Ramesses IX	T	4
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	8	Ramesses IX	B	1
Amun	<i>mrr-Imn</i>	20	8	Ramesses IX	B	2
Amun	<i>mrr-Imn</i>	20	8	Ramesses IX	B	3
Amun	<i>mrr-Imn</i>	20	8	Ramesses IX	B	4
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	8	Ramesses IX	B	5
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	9	Ramesses X	T	1
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	9	Ramesses X	T	2
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	9	Ramesses X	T	3
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	9	Ramesses X	T	4
Re	<i>stp-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	20	9	Ramesses X	T	4
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	9	Ramesses X	B	2
Amun	<i>mry-Imn</i>	20	9	Ramesses X	B	3
Ptah	<i>stp-n-Pth</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	T	1
Ptah	<i>stp-n-Pth</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	T	2
Ptah	<i>stp-n-Pth</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	T	3
Ptah	<i>stp-n-Pth</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	T	4
Ptah	<i>stp-n-Pth</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	T	5
Ptah	<i>sh̄m-stp-n-Pth</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	T	6
Ptah	<i>stp-n-Pth</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	T	7
Ruler	<i>hk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	B	1
Amun	<i>mrr-Imn</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	B	1

<sup>96</sup> But see also note 35 on page 24 above.



Category	Epithet	Dyn	#	King	Name	
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	B	2
Amun	<i>mrr-Imn</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	B	2
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	B	3
Amun	<i>mrr-Imn</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	B	3
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	B	4
Amun	<i>mrr-Imn</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	B	4
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	B	5
Amun	<i>mrr-Imn</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	B	5
Ruler	<i>ḥk3-ntr-Iwnw</i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	B	6
Amun	<i>mry-(Imn)<sup>97</sup></i>	20	10	Ramesses XI	B	6

<sup>97</sup> The word *Imn* is left out, but certainly as a result of a simple oversight.