

The Great Name

The ancient Egyptian royal titles reflect the making of Egypt

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1 Egypt and ancient Egyptian kingship

The Egyptian kingdom emerged during the 4th millennium BC from chalcolithic tribal territories (chiefdoms or small kingdoms) along the Nile, which gradually united through interregional trade, cultural exchange, or military pressure (Fig. 1). By c. 3100 BC, the unification under the rule of a single king was complete.²

The Turin Royal Canon, a list of Egyptian kings on papyrus dating from the reign of Ramses II, begins with a series of gods. In this list, *Hrw* (Horus), the sky god in the shape of a falcon, is the last divine king of Egypt before the human rulers of the Predynastic Period.³ The close connection between the king and the gods is also evident in his iconography;⁴ in his identification as son of gods and his deification after his death;⁵ and in countless reliefs in which he personally meets the gods, is revived by them, offers sacrifices to them, and even embraces them.⁶ He was regarded as an incarnation or representative of the god Horus on earth, and from the Old Kingdom onwards, as a son of the sun god Re.⁷ As such, he served as a mediator between the human and divine realms.

An Egyptian could only claim legitimacy for the office of king if he was the biological or adopted son of a king, the husband of a king's daughter, the heir to the throne appointed by a decree of the reigning king, or if he could prove his divine election.⁸ After coronation, he had to fulfill obligations in the areas of worship, festivals, defense, and the construction and maintenance of monuments, and was responsible for providing for his subjects. All this can be summarized under the catchphrase "ruling with Ma'at."⁹ Most Egyptians never saw him in person.

From the beginning of his reign, the Egyptian king held between one and five titles. The complete five-part titulature developed over time, from the Predynastic Period through the middle of the Old Kingdom (Tab. 1).

² Ref 1, pp 115–145; Ref 2.

³ Ref 3.

⁴ The iconographic attributes include the uraeus, the presence of gods in group statues (especially in the Old Kingdom), and the curved gods' beard worn by kings of the early Middle Kingdom.

⁵ Ref 4, pp 284–285.

⁶ E. g., Senwosret I on the walls of the White Chapel and the Temple of Karnak (Ref 4, pp 279–281, fig 20.3).

⁷ In Heliopolitan theology, Horus was the great-great-grandson of the god Re-Atum. The Egyptian word *z3*, meaning "son," referred to all male descendants in the direct line.

⁸ A few women also managed to do this. The best known is Hatshepsut (Dyn. 18).

⁹ Ma'at was an ancient Egyptian concept of order, which transcended earthly dimensions and was also personified as a goddess. The "Teaching for Merikare" (a king of the First Intermediate Period) is a surviving account of the expectations placed upon the king of Egypt (Ref 4, pp 275–279).

Tab. 1: Hieroglyphic emblems of the five royal titles

Emblem:					
Motif:	Horus, the falcon- shaped sky god and patron god of the king	Nebty, ("Two Ladies"), the goddesses Nekhbet (vulture) and Wadjet (cobra)	Golden Horus, Horus above a beaded golden collar, which was the ideogram for "gold"	Suty-Bity ¹⁰ ("He who belongs to the rush and the bee"?)	Son of Re, son of the sun god
Earliest evidence:	Predynastic kings ¹¹	King Aha, early 1st Dyn. ¹²	King Khaba, late 3rd Dyn. ¹³	Kings of the early 1st Dyn. ¹⁴	King Djedefre, mid-4th Dyn. ¹⁵

Each title was combined with a personal name. Over the course of millennia, the names became increasingly complex.¹⁶ Starting in the Third Dynasty, the Suty-Bity name (throne name, prenomen), and the “Son of Re” name (birth name, nomen) were framed by a cartouche as a symbol of everlastingness.

2 The five royal titles

It is generally believed that the dual symbolism of the Nebty and the Suty-Bity titles represents the two parts of the country, Upper and Lower Egypt. At first glance, the other three titles have no geographical reference. In this article, I challenge this widely held assumption. I propose the hypothesis that all five titles refer to territorial domains and that their development reflects the process of the emergence of the Kingdom of Egypt. This approach is not new. P. Le Page Renouf (1890) traced the royal titles back to temple-

¹⁰ The traditional pronunciation is „Nesu-Bit(y)“ or „Nisut-Bity.“ However, I agree with W. Barta’s view that this title is composed of two nisbae and should therefore be read as „Suty-Bity“ (Ref 5, p 55, note 1).

¹¹ E.g., Kings Hedju-Hor (Trio), Ny-Hor, „Elephant,“ Ka, Narmer (Dyn. 0/1) (Ref 6, pp 95–96; Ref 7, pp 21–24; Ref 8, pp 18 [figs 11,12], 19 [fig 16]; Ref 9).

¹² Ivory label from Naqada, JE 31773/CG 14142 (Ref 8, p 20, fig 18; Ref 10, pp 204, fig 6.5 [1]).

¹³ Seal impression, PMEA 11755. R. J. Leprohon has named Den as the first king to hold this title, but without providing a source (Ref 7, pp 8, 15).

¹⁴ Artifacts from Abydos: King Aha: Product label Penn Museum E9396 (Ref 11, pp 10–11); ivory label with modified Suty-Bity emblem (Ref 12, part 2, plt 3 [4]). King Djed or Den: Vessel fragment (Ref 12, part 1, plt 10 [4]). King Den: Vessel fragments (Ref 12, part 1, plts 5 [12]).

¹⁵ Ref 7, p 19.

¹⁶ A list of all the kings’ names is provided in Ref 7.

specific high priest titles.¹⁷

2.1 The Horus title

The  emblem, known as the serekh, depicts a falcon above a stylized palace complex featuring a niche façade typical of the period. The king's name was written into the empty space.¹⁸ This emblem is regarded as a complex message: the king reigns in the palace as the embodiment or representative of the god Horus and under his personal protection.¹⁹ Many scholars interpret the emblem as a compound name, such as “King Horus Aha”.

However, the symbolism of the emblem can also be interpreted as referring to a specific domain of rule. Given the sites where artifacts of the earliest known Upper Egyptian kings have been found, the city of *Nḥn* (Nekhen, Hierakonpolis) in Upper Egypt on the west bank

of the Nile immediately comes to mind. A combination of signs, , which closely resembles , means *nḥnj*, “belonging to Nekhen.”²⁰ Perhaps the serekh does not depict a palace at all, but rather a city wall.²¹ Nekhen was a major trading hub and a principal center of worship of the god Horus. A royal palace was certainly part of this complex. Numerous artifacts from the First to Third Dynasties were excavated in the temple precinct, including ceremonial mace heads of Kings Scorpion II and Narmer, and Narmer's famous palette.²² Abydos, the royal necropolis of that time, lies much further north.²³ This indicates that the sphere of influence of those who held the Horus title already extended that far.²⁴ Nekhen was probably the most important religious center of the Protodynastic Period and the early First Dynasty. It is understandable that this city was regarded as the heart of the realm of the kings of that time, who were so closely associated with the god Horus. Naturally, royal power was not limited to urban structures but also encompassed

¹⁷ Ref 13.

¹⁸ In a text layout organized in lines, the serekh is oriented horizontally.

¹⁹ Cf. Ref 7, p 13.

²⁰ Ref 14, p 887.

²¹ Pyramid Text 627, 1778 states: „King NN is the great falcon on the ramparts of the house with a hidden name.“ The ambiguous term  *hwt*, used in this sentence can mean a house, a palace, a temple (including the surrounding land), an estate, or a settlement (Ref 15, pp 548–549 [19873–19879, 49750]). Parts of the enclosing wall of Nekhen have been excavated (Ref 16, p 23).

²² Ref 16; Ref 17, plts.

²³ The royal tombs of the First and Second Dynasties in Abydos may have been cenotaphs. Additional tombs are located in North Saqqara. It is unknown where these kings were actually buried. The ancient city of *Tnj* (Thinis) is believed to have been located near Abydos.

²⁴ It could also have been the other way around: predynastic rulers of the region centered on Abydos and the city of Thinis extended their power to Hierakonpolis.

the associated agricultural domains. From there, a trade network was maintained as far south as Nubia and as far north as the southern Levant.²⁵ The Horus title should be read as “Lord of Nekhen.”

2.2 The Nebty title

The  emblem of the Nebty title shows a griffon vulture and a cobra rearing up menacingly. These are the symbolic animals of the goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet. Like Horus, these two goddesses were worshipped as patron deities of the king. The golden cobra (uraeus), which the king had worn above his forehead since the Early Dynastic Period,²⁶ is modeled after the cobra symbol of Wadjet. Each of the two goddesses stands on the hieroglyph , meaning *nb* “lord.” The  emblem is commonly described as *nbtj* “Two Ladies.”²⁷ Accordingly, the Nebty name of, for example, King Aha would be: “He (under the protection) of the Two Ladies, a fighter.”²⁸ However, I consider this widespread reading to be incorrect.

Instead, the two goddesses represent their main centers of worship. Nekhbet represents the city of  *Nhb* (Nekheb, modern-day El-Kab²⁹) on the east bank of the Nile, across from Hierakonpolis.³⁰ Wadjet (*Wꜣdt*, “She who brings greenery”) is generally believed to represent the city of Buto, modern-day Tell el Fara'in in the northern Delta.³¹ In my opinion, “Wadjet” is merely an alternative name for the goddess Renenutet (*Rnn[t] wtt* “Great (or Old) Foster Mother”³²), an archaic goddess of vegetation and harvest.³³ She was adopted by Lower Egypt only after the unification of the kingdom, where she replaced the ibis-shaped local deity of Dep.³⁴ Her earlier Upper Egyptian place of worship may have been the site of  *Dꜣ* (Dja,³⁵ Narmuthis, modern-day Medinet Madi) in the southwestern

²⁵ Ref 18. Pits at the sacred site HK29A at Hierakonpolis and King Scorpion I's tomb at Abydos contained wine jars imported from Palestine (Ref 16, p 24; Ref 19, pp 16, 92–107, pls 7, 8).

²⁶ See the product label of King Den (early Dyn. 1), British Museum EA55586.

²⁷ Ref 7, pp 13–14.

²⁸ The name Aha (*ꜥḥ*) means „fighter“ (Ref 15, p 165 [5720]).

²⁹ Ref 15, p 1158 (41864). The name of the goddess, Nekhbet, means “She of Nekheb.”

³⁰ Ref 20, p 199.

³¹ At the time the Nebty title was first used, Buto was still a twin city consisting of Dep and Pe (or Pi).

³² *rnnt* „foster mother,” *wꜣtj* „to be old,” „to be great“ (Ref 15, pp 503 [18101], 238 [8632]).

³³ According to E. J. Baumgartel, the society of the Naqada I culture was matriarchal and venerated a Great Goddess (Ref 21, p 29–30).

³⁴ Ref 15, p 1209 (43008); Ref 22, pp 110–112; Ref 23, pp 138–139. Therefore, in my opinion, the Greek city name “Buto” does not derive from *pr Wꜣdt* (Ref 24, p. 170), but from *pr wtt* (“Domain of the Great [Foster Mother]”).

³⁵ The city name means “supplier,” derived from the verb *dꜣ* “to supply [with grain]” (Ref 15, p 1067 [39445, 39446]).

Faiyum Oasis. The fertile lowland was the ideal location to serve as the cult center of a goddess of vegetation. In Medinet Madi are remains of a temple dedicated to Renenutet and Sobek from the late Twelfth Dynasty.³⁶ An older temple dedicated to Renenutet may have stood there previously, built using wattle-and-daub or mud-brick construction. The frequent pictorial association of Renenutet/Wadjet with the Lower Egyptian Red Crown is not a contradiction. Like the White Crown, the Red Crown also originated in Upper Egypt.³⁷

If this assumption is correct, the Nebty title should be read as “Lord of Nekheb and Lord of Dja.” The Nebty title is the only royal title in which the phrase “Lord (of)” is explicitly included twice in the form of the hieroglyph  (*nb* “lord”).

For some time, there was another early double royal title. Its emblem depicts two falcons on standards (). Regardless of the image, it is commonly interpreted as a symbol of Horus and Seth and translated as *nbwj* (Nebuy), “Two Lords.”³⁸ The serekh of the protodynastic king “Double Falcon” appears to have been this title’s earliest version.³⁹ The double falcon standard was found on vessel fragments belonging to Kings Den and Anedj-ib, who also held the Nebty and Suty-Bity titles.⁴⁰ The Nebuy title may have expressed dominion over Nekhen (Hierakonpolis) and the city of     *Dbj* (Djeba, Apollonopolis Magna, modern-day Edfu), about 18 kilometers south of Hierakonpolis, which was another place of worship of the falcon god Horus.⁴¹ Perhaps it was an interim stage between the Horus and Nebty titles. Unlike the other royal titles, the Nebuy title was abandoned after the First Dynasty.

The king’s territory now encompassed Upper Egypt, with the exception of the southernmost area that would later become the first Upper Egyptian nome.

³⁶ Ref 25, pp 185–189.

³⁷ The earliest evidence of the Red Crown dates back to the Naqada IIA culture, c. 3800–3450 BC (Ashmolean Museum AN1895.795). The earliest evidence of the White Crown is a rock drawing at Nag el-Hamdulab near Aswan, dating to around 3200 BC (Ref 26; Ref 27, p 39, fig 25).

³⁸ Ref 8, pp 37–38. In mythological texts there were distinct ideograms for Horus and Seth, namely  or . The Nebuy title has nothing to do with the politically motivated Horus-and-Seth serekh of King Khasekhemwy (Dyn. 2) (Ref 12, part 2, plt 23 [197–200]).

³⁹ Ref 8, p 14, fig 5; Ref 9, pp 33–36.

⁴⁰ Ref 12, part 1, plts 5 [12], 6 [4, 8], 11 [17]?).

⁴¹ The existing Horus temple in Edfu dates back to the Ptolemaic period. Djeba/Edfu was the capital of the second Upper Egyptian nome. The Egyptian name of this nome, *Wtj Hr* (“Glorification of Horus”) suggests that Edfu was a place of worship of Horus from very early on (Ref 15, p 1134 [41321]). For whatever reason, the double falcon standard later became the symbol of the fifth Upper Egyptian nome, where Min was the local main deity (Ref 15, p 1160 [41897]).

2.3 The Golden Horus title

The  emblem depicts a falcon above a beaded golden collar with its ties hanging on either side. The latter hieroglyph served as an ideogram for “gold.”⁴² Some scholars view this emblem as a symbol of the prosperity that Egypt enjoys due to Horus’s protection, which the king maintains. Others see it as a symbol of Horus’s mythological victory over his uncle Seth in the struggle for Egyptian supremacy. (This would make the Golden Horus title a second title identifying the king with Horus). Still others believe that the gold hieroglyph refers to the “flesh of the gods,” and that the title points to the king’s divine descent.⁴³

I believe that the Golden Horus title refers to the rule over the city of  *Nby*t, “the Golden One” (Nubyt, Ombos or Omboi, modern-day Kom Ombo). The city is located about 50 kilometers north of Aswan on the east bank of the Nile. A double temple from the Ptolemaic period dedicated to *Hrw wr* (“Horus the Elder,” Haroëris in Greek) and to the crocodile god Sobek has been excavated there. Traces of settlement in the Kom Ombo basin date back to prehistoric times. The temple near the riverbank had much older predecessor structures.⁴⁴ However, any temple remains from the Early Dynastic Period and the Early Old Kingdom have been irretrievably destroyed or are buried deep beneath thick layers of river sediment.⁴⁵ Perhaps Kom Ombo was called *Nby*t *Hrw*, “the Golden One of Horus,” back then. In any case, the falcon in the emblem of the Golden Horus title elegantly prevented any confusion with a second “golden” city named *Nby*t near Naqada, a place of worship of the god Seth.⁴⁶

From a grammatical perspective, the  emblem allows for the reading “Horus of the Golden One.” By analogy with the previous royal titles, it could be paraphrased as “Lord of Nubyt.” Apparently, it was important to the kings to emphasize their rule over Nubyt (Kom Ombo) through a separate title. It conferred control over boat traffic from Nubia, over the eponymous gold deposits⁴⁷ and emerald mines⁴⁸ east of Nubyt, and over the region’s water supply via a network of wadis⁴⁹. It is unclear when this title first

⁴² Ref 15, p 426 (15327).

⁴³ Ref 4, p 284; Ref 7, pp 16–17; Ref 28.

⁴⁴ Even the latest temple from the Ptolemaic period was largely covered in sediment before J. de Morgan excavated it. See also Ref 29; Ref 30, cols 675–683.

⁴⁵ Excavations have been taking place there again since 2017.

⁴⁶ This city, too, was called “Ombos” by the Greeks (Ref 15, p 1156 [41819]; Ref 31, p 65 and plt 85).

⁴⁷ In general, gold deposits are located in the Precambrian basement of Egypt and Sudan (Ref 32, pp 650 [fig 9], 655 [fig 16]).

⁴⁸ Ref 33.

⁴⁹ Ref 34.

appeared.⁵⁰ The wealthy city of Nubyt, situated at a strategically important location, may have been the last independent Upper Egyptian stronghold that surrendered to incorporation into the kingdom only late in the state formation process, or even only after the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt.⁵¹

2.4 The Suty-Bity title

Even though the meanings of the two signs,  *swt(y)* and  *bjt(y)*, have not been definitively established, experts are almost unanimous in their view that they refer to Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt.⁵² Accordingly,   *swty-bity* literally means “He of Upper and Lower Egypt.” The  hieroglyphs, which represent the endings *-t(y)*, may be missing.⁵³

P. Le Page Renouf (1890) hypothesized, that the Suty-Bity title originally denoted the high priesthood at two cult centers: the group  referred to the city of     *Nnj-njswt* (Nen-nesu, Herakleopolis Magna, modern-day Ihnasiya), the cult center of the ram-headed god Heryshef, located a few kilometers upstream from the entrance to the Faiyum Oasis; and  referred to the city of    *Gbtw* (or *Gbtjw*, Koptos, modern-day Qift), the cult center of the god Min near the entrance to Wadi Hammamat.⁵⁴

Le Page Renouf's interpretation is tempting in light of the hypothesis presented here. Nevertheless, I believe that the traditional interpretation of   as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt” is correct. The hieroglyph  with the phonetic value *sw* is commonly interpreted as the image of a rush.⁵⁵ The bee  (*bjt*) may have served as an archaic phonogram for a word root associated with reed plants, including papyrus.⁵⁶ This is supported by the alternative Suty-Bity emblem   on product tags from the reigns of Kings Aha and Den (early First Dynasty).⁵⁷

⁵⁰ See note 13.

⁵¹ The fact that the Golden Horus title was sometimes listed after the Suty-Bity title, and that the first Upper Egyptian nome was called *T3 stj(w)*, “Land of the Nubians” (Ref 15, p 1201 [42802]), supports the assumption that this district was incorporated into the Egyptian kingdom relatively late.

⁵² J. Kahl has provided a review of the discussion (Ref 35).

⁵³ Ref 14, p 57.

⁵⁴ Ref 13, pp 345–354. For the spelling of “*Gbtw*” with the bee hieroglyph (*bjt*) to make sense, the city's name must have been pronounced with a very weak initial consonant, something like “(G)bitu.”

⁵⁵ I recently suggested that  is a young wheat plant (Ref 36, pp 5–6, fig 3).

⁵⁶ Compare *bty*, *bty* or *bjty* „reed cutter,” „papyrus cutter” (Ref 15, p 283 [10244]; Ref 37, part 1, p 485 [15–16]; Ref 38, p 355). I owe this clue to A. S. Fawzy (Ref 39, p 3).

⁵⁷ Ref 12, part 2, plt 3 [3, 4]; Ref 40, plt 26a. Papyrus was an important economic resource (Ref 41). Thus,

Thus, the Suty-Bity title literally means “He of the land of rushes (?) and the land of papyrus,” which is rightly paraphrased as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt.” The  *swt(y)* part became synonymous with “king,” which could indicate that the unification of the two lands was brought about by a ruler of Upper Egypt.⁵⁸ With the unification of the two lands, the kingdom had reached its greatest extent – at least for the next thousand years to come.

2.5 The “Son of Re” title

The hieroglyphs  mean *zʾ Rʿw*, “Son of Re.” The sun god Re attained great significance during the Old Kingdom. Many kings of the Second to the Fifth Dynasties, and virtually all later ones, compounded their throne names with the god’s name “Re.” The kings of the Fifth Dynasty had sun temples with obelisks erected in the Abusir area in honor of Re.⁵⁹

Based on my hypothesis, one would have to assume that the “Son of Re” title refers to rule over *Jwnw* (Iunu, Heliopolis), the oldest known center of worship of Re. However, by the middle of the Old Kingdom, when the title first appeared, the entire Delta, including the region around Heliopolis, had long been part of the Egyptian kingdom. The “Son of Re” title had an indirect geographical attribution. Over the centuries, Re became the chief god of the entire Egyptian kingdom, albeit locally in syncretic forms such as Re-Atum, Amun-Re, Re-Khepri, Re-Horakhty, and others. As the sun god who circumnavigated the world daily in his divine barque, Re was a divine Pantokrator.⁶⁰ With the “Son of Re” title, the king became Re’s heir, the unchallenged lord of all Egypt, legitimized by divine descent, with the claim to rule, moreover, the entire world known to him.⁶¹

2.6 Conclusion

Ancient Egyptian royal titles referred to specific territories. The evolution over time of the five-part titulature reflected the expanding power dynamics in the Nile Valley from the Predynastic Period through the Old Kingdom. The chronological sequence of the royal

the hieroglyph depicting a three-stemmed papyrus plant, , later , became the ideogram for Lower Egypt (Ref 15, pp 375 [13600], 376 [13612]; Ref 37, part 2, pp 123 [12–14], 124 [1–9]).

⁵⁸ Cf. Ref 42, p 74.

⁵⁹ Two sun temples at Abusir (King Userkaf) and Abu Ghurab (King Niuserra) have survived in ruins; four others are mentioned in inscriptions (Ref 48). However, the god Ptah remained the patron god of Memphis (Ref 20, pp 227–228).

⁶⁰ Under King Akhenaten (Dyn. 18, Amarna Period), the sun god Re, then called *Jn* (Aten, “sun”), temporarily became the sole deity of worship in a henotheistic faith (Cf. Ref 43, pp 47, 185–187; Ref 44, pp 4–19).

⁶¹ This self image was reflected in the New Kingdom in an aggressive policy of expansion. The fragmentation of power and foreign rule during the Intermediate Periods were, for the Egyptians, an intolerable violation of Ma’at.

titles suggests the following scenario: The protodynastic holders of the Horus title already ruled over a relatively large territory stretching from Hierakonpolis to Thinis near Abydos⁶². At the beginning of the First Dynasty, Edfu, El-Kab, Middle Egypt, the Faiyum Oasis, and the Memphite area joined the kingdom. It was probably King Narmer, who established a royal residence in Memphis⁶³ and made forays into the Delta and the Sinai.⁶⁴ His son Aha completed the conquest of Lower Egypt. A later king, incorporated the chiefdom of Kom Ombo in the south, thereby expanding the kingdom to the First Cataract.

I propose a revised interpretation of three of the five titles. For example, the titles and names of King Thutmose I of the Eighteenth Dynasty were as follows:⁶⁵

Lord of Nekhen, the strong bull, beloved of Ma'at;

Lord of Nekheb and Lord of Dja, who has shown up with Nesret⁶⁶ and with great bodily power;

King of Upper and Lower Egypt who is great in appearance and Ka (like) Re, and is the chosen one of Re;

Lord of Nubyt, who is rich in good years⁶⁷ and inspirits the hearts;

Son of Re, (son) of his body: Djehutymes⁶⁸ appears in goodness.

With the completion of the unification of all formerly independent districts into a single state territory, the Egyptians could have abandoned all royal titles except for the "Son of Re" title. Yet they retained the full five-part titulature right up until the Roman Period.

⁶² The city of Thinis (*ṯnj*) is known only from textual sources.

⁶³ Ref 45, pp 29–30.

⁶⁴ Apart from Hierakonpolis and Abydos, vessels bearing King Narmer's serekh have also been found in the necropolises of the Memphite area, in Tell el-Farkha, in the Sinai, and in southern Israel (Ref 46).

⁶⁵ Original arrangement of text on the east side of obelisk "J" at Karnak (Ref 47, plt 6 [left]); my own translation. The other sides of the obelisk are inscribed with modified versions of the king's names.

⁶⁶ Nesret was the deified uraeus.

⁶⁷ He, who is „rich in good years“ means that Egypt enjoyed prosperity for many years during his reign.

⁶⁸ „Djehutymes“ is his birth name and means “Thoth is born.” The name was translated as “Thutmosis” by the Greco-Egyptian priest Manetho.

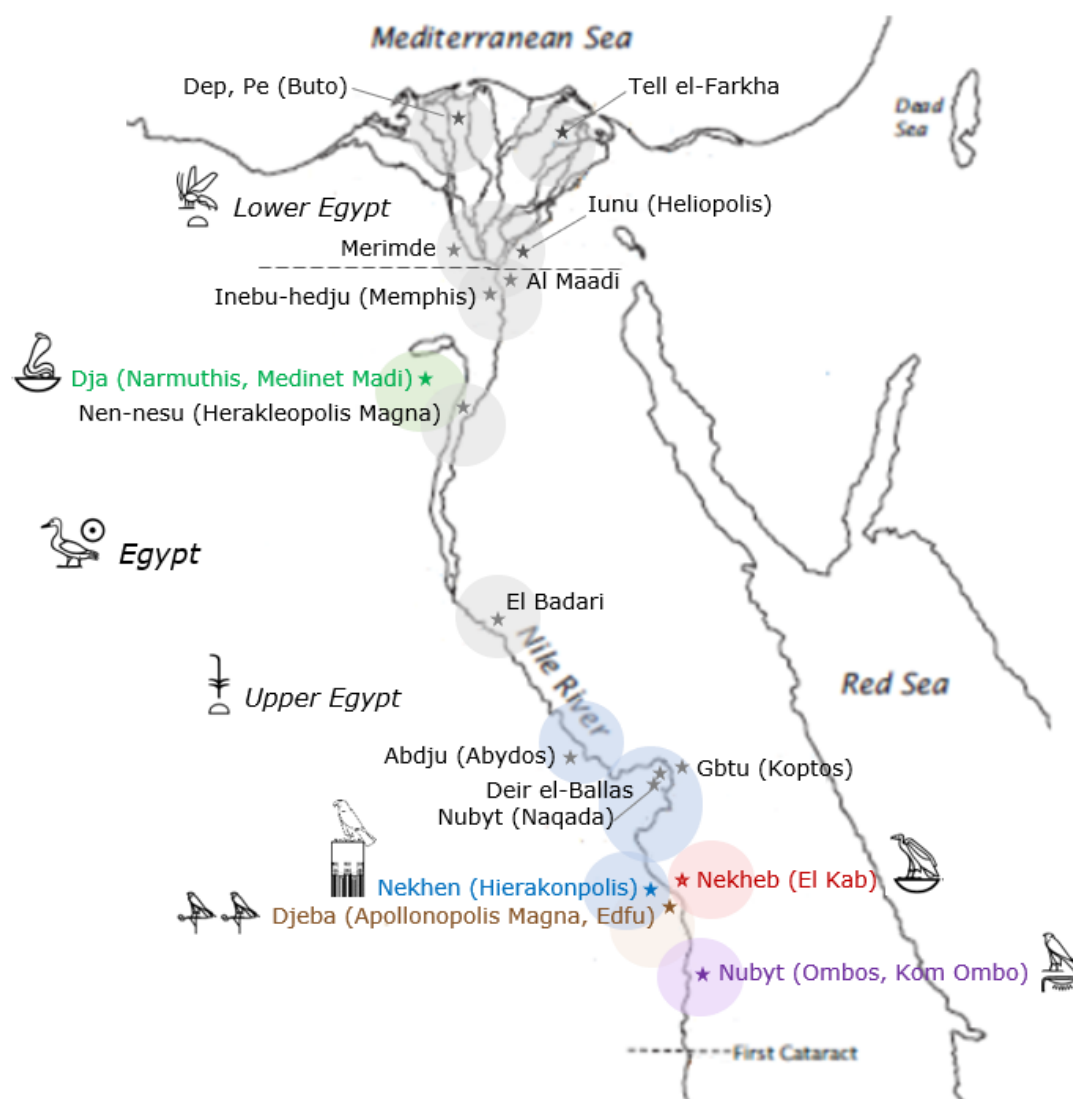


Fig. 1: The “germ cells” of the ancient Egyptian kingdom and the royal titles⁶⁹

Abbreviations

ÄF: Ägyptologische Forschungen; Afr. Earth Sci.: African Earth Sciences; Archéo-Nil: Archéo-Nil, Revue de la société pour l'étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil; AVDAIK: Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo; BC: Before Christian era; Cf.: Compare; col/cols: column(s); Dyn.: Dynasty; ed/eds: editor(s); EH: Egyptological Hypotheses; Fig.: Figure; Hydrol. Process.: Hydrological Processes; JEA: The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology; KAW: Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt; MDAIK: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo; p/pp: page(s); PAe: Probleme der Ägyptologie; page(s); plt/plts: plate(s); PME: The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archeology, University College, London; Ref: reference; SAGA: Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens; Stud. Naut. Arch.: Studies in Nautical Archaeology; Tab.: Table; Vol./Vols.: volume(s); WA: Writings from the Ancient World, Society of Biblical Literature (Atlanta); ZAEs: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Schrift und Altertumskunde.

⁶⁹ Only selected sites are shown on this map.

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Fig. 1: The “germ cells” of the ancient Egyptian kingdom. Map of Egypt: B. Ibronyi, in Ref 7, p xvii, fig 1, with own modification.