

Fig. 1 Panel of the false door of Lady Tisethor, found in the tomb of Princess Khekeretnebty at Abusir. Her name was composed of a theophoric element Horus, written with a falcon sign (photo Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology)

Old Kingdom sun cult on the basis of theophoric anthroponyms

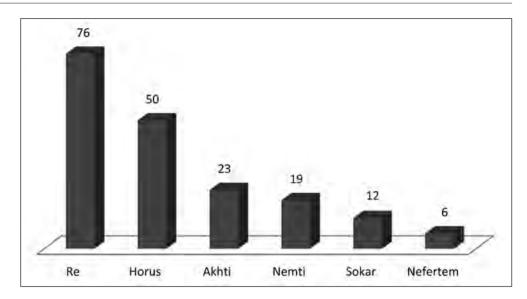
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Worshipping of the sun was one of the principal elements of religious beliefs in almost every period of ancient Egyptian civilisation. A number of deities were linked to this cosmic body either directly, or on the basis of a solar aspect. In the Old Kingdom, the majority of these divinities are attested mainly within the royal sphere: in the ideology of the kingship, in royal monuments and particularly in the Pyramid Texts. Some allusions to the sun cult, however, can be observed in other pieces of evidence. Theophoric personal names may offer additional insight into conceptions connected to the sun.

It is a well-known fact that the name (*rn*) was a very significant essence of a human being, at least from the religious point of view (consult *e.g.* Ranke 1952: 2; Vernus 1982a; Baines 1991: 176–178; Doxey 2001; Taylor 2001: 23–24; Vittmann 2013a). It was counted among seven material and immaterial integral parts and manifestations of each human. The ancient Egyptians believed that the appellation participated in the existence of an individual and that is why it had to be remembered, in order for the deceased to live forever and ever. The knowledge of one's

name was a very effective magical instrument. Such a concept is reflected in an Egyptian story of the true name of Re (*e.g.* Pinch 2002: 69–71), attested in Ramesside sources. In this narrative, the goddess Isis forced Re, the ruler of the gods, to give away his secret appellation to her. She thus gained enormous power for her son Horus. A similar conviction is present in the 142nd chapter of the Book of the Dead which is called the "Book (...) of knowing the names of Osiris in all his places where he wishes to be" (Quirke 2013: 319–320). To be familiar with

Chart 1 Number of anthroponyms mentioning gods with solar aspects



one hundred appellations of the god of the afterworld was one of the preconditions for reaching eternal life.

The names were given to new-borns at the moment of their birth by their parents (*e.g.* Ranke 1926 and 1952: 2–3; Posener 1977; Vernus 1982b) and they often bore a meaning in ancient Egypt. They appear in various forms: basilophoric, theophoric, one word, phrase or even a whole sentence (for more details, see Ranke 1952: 20–227; Vernus 1982c; Vittmann 2013b; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 53–83). The names were given not only to persons, but to animals, cosmic bodies, buildings or to divinities as well.

A number of researchers have given attention to the ancient Egyptian anthroponyms. There are more or less extensive lists of names (Murray 1908; Hoffmann 1915), added to by studies on various aspects of the onomastic (Ranke 1935, 1952 and 1976; Gourdon 2007 a AGÉA; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014), and the phenomenon of theophoric names was in the interest of several scholars (Ranke 1936: 305–318; Helck 1954; Begelsbacher-Fischer 1981; Fischer 1996).

Since a number of Egyptian anthroponyms contain a mention of a god, sometimes even more gods, they may be significant material for studying religious beliefs. For the analysis presented in this article, a group of male divinities with a connection to the sun were selected:³ Re as the personification of the brightest and most burning midday sun, of its strength and power, the newborn morning sun, Khepri, and its evening phase Atum. Apart from these divinities of the solar cycle, Horus,⁴ Sokar, Akhti, Nemti,⁵ Nefertem and Weneg were linked to this range of beliefs. The sunrise and daylight aspects in the characteristics of Shu were also important in this religion.⁶

The analysis presented in this article is based on the identification of the afore-mentioned gods in the theophoric anthroponyms. Only the names mentioning the divinities explicitly are classified. If there is an appellation with an epithet like *nds*, *km*, *etc*. it will not be listed separately. Both male and female names are taken into consideration. The study is time-limited to the period from the Third to the Sixth Dynasty. Attention is given to what the anthroponyms can tell us about the deities, and these

investigations may clarify the spreading of the cults of the divinities connected to the sun into several spheres of the Egyptian society.

Analysis

Gods with solar aspects attested in theophoric names

The theophoric private personal names containing any of the afore-mentioned deities are listed in tables 1–6. There are several categories in the indexes. The appellations in transliteration are followed by their translation. In some cases, however, neither the reading, nor the understanding is clear or without problems. Geographic and diachronic trends of the attestation for the names are incorporated and the distinction between male and female ones is observed as well. Finally, the references to the secondary sources are mentioned (Ranke 1935 and 1952; Begelsbacher-Fischer 1981; Gourdon 2007 and AGÉA; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014). Sometimes, the numbers of pages and of the names in the indexes are accompanied by variants used by the scholars. It was not always possible to fill in every category. If needed, the notes column is added.

On the basis of the data in the tables, there were up to 186 names mentioning a god with solar aspects and attested in the Old Kingdom period (chart 1).⁷ The reading of some anthroponyms is not certain; therefore, the number can change a little bit. The absolute majority counts for the god Re: 76 theophoric names (tab. 1).8 Re, the ka of Re or Re in connection with other gods (Maat, Ptah and Sobek) are referred to in the appellations. Some names express positive attributes of the deity. Re is glorious and radiant (?); strong and mighty; great, perfect and noble. A reference to his creative power is uttered and a wish for the long life of Re is pronounced in one name as well. Apart from this, Re is said to be the possessor of life, power, protection, nobility and the ka. Not only the qualities of Re, but a relationship of a person to the god is indicated as well: Re is admired, worshipped and praised. The people put their lives into the hands of Re. They are servants and acquaintances of the god, and beloved by this

Tab. 1 Personal names with the element Re

							1			
Name	Meaning	Locality	Dating (dynasty)	Male/Female	Ranke	Begelsbecher-Fischer	Gourdon	AGEA	Scheele-Schweitzer	Notes
3ħ-Rc	Glorious is Re	Giza	4, 5, 6	male		169	[6] 5.	39	204 [37]	
J3w-Rc	Admirer of Re	Dahshur		male					207 [63]	
Jwn-R ^c	Pillar of Re	Giza	4	male		169	[34] 4.	206	225 [195]	
$(J)r(t)$ - $(j)\hat{h}t$ - R^c	One who belongs to things/matters of Re	Giza		female					250 [383]	
Jr(j).n-R ^c	One whom Re created	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara	5,6	male	I: 39, 26		[81] 4.	545 (Jr(w).n-R ^c)	252 [397]	nds, wr
Jrw-k3-Rc	One created by the ka of Re	Giza		male					256 [414]	
cnh-m-Rc	Life is (in the hand of) Re (?)	Giza		male					297 [698]	
cnh - c - R	Life is in the hand of Re	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, Dahshur	4, 5, 6	male	I: 64, 1	169	[128] 2.	924 ('nth(j)-m-c-R')	308 [762]	
cnh-n-Rc	Life is that of Re	Abusir	5,6	male			[129] 5.	924 (ˈnḫ(j)-n-R ^c)		
cnh-Rc	Long live Re!	Wadi Hilal	9	male			[143] 5.	876		
Wr-b3w-Rc	Great is the power of Re	Giza		male	I: 80, 28			327 [904]		
Wr-n(j)-R ^c	Greatness of Re (?)	Giza	9	male	I: 417, 25		[180] 3.	1093	327 [910]	
Wr-R ^c	Great is Re	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara	4,5,6	male	1: 217, 12	170 (R ^c -wr)	[182] 1.	1098	328 [916]	nds, km
Wsr-Rc	Strong is Re	Abusir, Saqqara	5	male	I: 217, 13		[193] 3.	1154	336 [971]	
B3-k3-R ^c	Effective is the ka of Re					169				
$M3^{c}t$ - R^{c} (= $N(j)$ - $m3^{c}t$ - R^{c} ?)	Maat belongs to Re (?)	Giza		male	I: 145, 5				[1611] 369	
Mrj-M3t-Rc	Beloved by Maat and Re	Saqqara	4,5	male	I: 218, 2	169	[257] 4.		512 [2199] (R ^c -mry-M3 ^c t)	Gourdon: "Rê est 1'aimé de Maat"
Mr(j)-R ^c	Beloved by Re	Abusir	5 or 6	male	I: 157, 6		[261] 4.		386 [1324]	WF
Mrj-R ^c -Ptḥ	Beloved by Re and Ptah	Saqqara	4,5,6	male	I: 218, 1	169	[257] 1. (Mry-Ptḥ-R°)		512 [2198] (R ^c -mry-Pth)	
N(j)-snḫ-Rs	Life belongs to Re	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, Dahshur, Wadi Hilal	4, 5, 6	male	I: 171, 16	169	[318] 3. (N(j)-R ^c -sn _t)		420 [1550]	spu
N(j)-wsr-R ^c	Power belongs to Re	Giza	4	male		169	[319] 1. (N(j)-R ^c -wsr)	863 (N(j)-R ^c -wsr)	426 [1586]	
$N(j)$ - $m^3 c_t$ - R^c	Maat belongs to Re	Abu Rawash, Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, Tehna	4,5,6	male	I: 172, 16	169	[319] 2. (N(j)-R ^c -M3 ^t)		428 [1597]	
N(j)-R ^c	One who belongs to Re	Giza, Saqqara	5	male	I: 172, 23	169	[318] 2.		431 [1615]	
N(j)-hp-R ^c	The hp-tool (?) belongs to Re	Saqqara	5	male	I: 173, 3; II: 364	169	[319] 3. (N(j)-R ^c -Ḥp)		432 [1626]	Gourdon: "Hapi appartient Rê"
N(j)-ḥpt-R ^c	The <i>hpt</i> -tool (?) belongs to Re	Saqqara	9	male	I: 173, 4		[465] 2. (Ḥpt-n-R ^c)		433 [1629]	Gourdon: "La course est à Rê"
N(j)-ḫw-R ^c	Protection belongs to Re	Meir	9	male			[319] 4. (N(j)-R ^c -hw)			
N(j)-sfu-R ^c	One who belongs to sekhet/field of Re	Giza		male					441 [1684]	
N(j)-špss-R ^c	Nobility belongs to Re	Saqqara		male	I: 180, 9				442 [1687]	
$N(j)$ - $k3$ - R^c	The ka belongs to Re	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara	4, 5, 6	male	I: 180, 16		$[320]$ 1. $(N(j)-R^c-k\beta=j)$		443 [1698]	
N(j)-k3w-R ^c	The kau belongs to Re	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, Dahshur	4,5,6	male	I: 180, 23; II: 366	169	[320] 2. (N(j)-R ^c -k3w)		446 [1715]	
Nb - cnh - R^c	Master of life is Re	Abusir	5	male	I: 183, 28; II: 366	169	[345] 5.		452 [1767]	
Nfr-R ^c	Perfect is Re	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara	4,5	male	I: 219, 10	170 (R ^c -nfr)	[370] 2.		472 [1915]	
Nfr-İır-R ^c	Perfect is the face of Re	Deshasheh	5	male			[375] 4.		475 [1935]	
Nfr-jup-R ^c	Perfect is the mercy/satisfaction of Re	Giza	5	male	I: 423, 29	170	[377] 2.		476 [1944]	
Nfr-sšm-R ^c	Perfect is the leading of Re	Abusir, Saqqara, Byblos	3,5,6	male	I: 200, 8		[387] 1.		483 [1990]	
Nfr-s <u>d</u> m-R ^c	Perfect is the hearing of Re	Abusir	5	male					484 [2000]	
$N t r j - r n - R^{c}(?)$	Divine is the name of Re (?)	Abusir	5	male	I: 215, 2	170	[419] 3.		505 [2161]	

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Name	Meaning	Locality	Dating (dynasty)	Male/Female	Kanke	Begeisbecher-Fischer	Gourdon	AGEA	Scheele-Schweitzer	Notes
$R^{c-c}pr=f$	Ke provides	Wadi Hammamat	UK	male			[425] 6.		511 [2196]	
$R^{c}-m-k\beta(=j)$	Re is my ka	Saqqara	5	male	I: 217, 20; II: 373	170	[426] 1.		511 [2197]	
R ^c -n <u>d</u> =f	Re protects	Giza	4–5	male		170	[426] 2.		512 [2201]	
R^{c} - $h\beta$ = j	Re is behind me	Giza	4,5	male	I: 425, 7; II: 404	170	[426] 3.		512 [2202]	
R ^c -lip=f	Re is in a hurry (?)	Giza	end OK	male	I: 219, 13		[426] 4.		512 [2203]	
$R^{c-lyr-k\beta(=j)} (?)$	Re is on my ka (?)	Giza, Saqqara	4,5,6	male	II: 302, 19		[426] 5.	336	512 [2204]	
R^{c} - hr - $tp(=j)$ (?)	Re is on my head (?)	Giza, Saqqara	6/1IP	male			[427] 3.		512 [2205]	
R^{c} - $\hbar w(j)$ = f	Re, he protects	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, Beit Khallaf	3, 4, 5, 6	male	I: 220, 2; II: 373	170			513 [2207]	
R^{c} - $fyr(=j)$	Re is next to me	Saqqara	9	female			[427] 4.		513 [2208]	
R^{c} - $dw\beta.n(=j)$	It is Re whom I worshipped	Saqqara		male	I: 398, 17				513 [2209]	spu
Rht-Rc	Acquaintance of Re	Giza	4,5,6	female		170	[436] 6			
Ĥm-R ^с	Servant of Re	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, Deir el-Gebrawi	4,5,6	male	I: 239, 24	170	[470] 4.		539 [2408]	
Hmt-R°	Female servant of Re	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, Deir el-Gebrawi	4,5,6	female	I: 240, 5	170	[473] 4.	289	541 [2418]	
Hz(j)-R ^c	One who praises Re	Giza	3,4–5	male	I: 254, 20		[491] 3.		554 [2510]	
Hzy-R ^c	One who praises Re	Giza, Saqqara	3, 4–5	male	I: 255, 3; II: 379	170	[493] 1.		555 [2517]	
Htp - $wd\beta$ - $R^{c}(?)$		Abusir	5	male			[503] 5.			
Ḥtp-R ^c	May Re be satisfied	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, Meidum, Tehna, el-Hamamijeh, Gebelein	3, 4, 5, 6	male	I: 219, 15; II, 373	170	[511] 1.	299	568 [2589]	
H <u>d</u> -R ^c (?)	Radiant is Re (?)			female	I: 220, 1		[526] 2.		580 [2647]	
<i>H</i> ^c (<i>j</i>)- <i>k</i> 3- <i>R</i> ^c	May the ka of Re emerge	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara	5,6	male	I: 264, 23	170	[532] 5.		586 [2681]	
Ӈw(j)-wj-R°	May Re protect me	Giza	9	male	I: 266, 8		[534] 1.		590 [2699]	
$HW(j)$ - R^{C}	May Re protect	Giza, Saqqara	3,5	male	II: 309, 26	170	[541] 2.		592 [2710]	
$HW(j).n-R^c$	One whom Re protects	Giza, Saqqara, Meir	5,6	male	1: 266, 24; 11: 381	170	[538] 5.		594 [2723]	
$HW(j)t$ - R^{C}	Protection of Re	Giza, Saqqara		female					596 [2743]	
Ӈw(j)t.n-R ^c	One who is protected by Re	Saqqara	5,6	female		170	[544] 1., 5. (Ḥwjt.n-R ^c)		597 [2747]	
ht-Rc	Good of Re	Giza	5				[561] 1.			
S'nḫ-R'c	May Re maintain the life	Saqqara	5	male	I: 301, 9; II: 386	170	[599] 2.		638 [3042]	
S ^c nh.n-R ^c	One whose life Re maintains	Abusir	96	male			[598] 3.		639 [3047]	
Sbk-k3-R ^c	Sobek is the ka of Re (?)	Gebelein		male					642 [3073]	
Snfr-R ^c	One whom Re made perfect	Saqqara	5	male		170	[623] 2.		655 [3171]	
Srwd-R ^c -K3k3j	Re made Kakai powerful	Abusir	5	male					658 [3187]	
Shm-cnh-Rc	Mighty is the life of Re	Saqqara	5	male	I: 319, 12	170	[633] 3.	902 (^c nh-shm-R ^c)	660 [3206]	
Shm-R ^c	Mighty is Re	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, el-Hamamijeh	4,5,6	male	I: 319, 14	170	[633] 5.	803	[860 [3208]	
Shm-k3-R ^c	Mighty is the ka of Re	Giza	4–5	male	I: 319, 19	170	[634] 4.		661 [3212]	
Śpss-R ^c	Noble is Re	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, Mit Rahina	4,5	male	I: 326, 21	171	[656] 3.		678 [3313]	sp̄u
$K3(=j)$ - pw - R^c	My ka is Re	Saqqara	5	male	1: 339, 13	171	[704] 1.		[696 [3445]	
$K\beta(=j)$ - n - R^c	My ka belongs to Re (?)		5	male			[692] 5.			
$K3(=j)$ - $\hbar v$ - jb - R^c	My ka is by the hearth of Re (?)		5,6	male	I: 340, 20	$161 (K3j-\hbar r-R^c)$	[698] 4.		708 [3504]	
Dw3.n-R ^c	One who worshipped Re	Saqqara	4,5,6	male	I: 398, 17; II: 400	171	[753] 2.			$s\bar{p}u$
Dw3-R ^c	One who worships Re	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, Dahshur	5,6	male	I: 398, 19	171	[754] 2.	089	743 [3770]	

Tab. 2 Personal names with the element Horus

Nomo	Mooning	Locality	Doting (dynocty)	Molo/Fomolo	Donko	Possishoohor Vicohor Coundon	Coundon	ACÉA	Cohoolo Cohmoitzon	Notes
Jv-mr(v)-Hr	The love of Horus came	Wadi Hammamat	(facuur fn) Suran	male			[17] 2.	113		63001
$J\dot{y}.n(=j)-\dot{H}r$	Horus came to me	Saqqara, Wadi Hammamat, Wadi Hilal	9	male	II: 260, 28		[19] 2.	121	212 [100]	
g-Hr	Big is Horus	Wadi Hilal		male	I: 246, 9		[120] 4.		288 [643]	
$(\iota_{i} H_{i} H_{i} (= N(j) \cdot \iota_{i} H_{i} \cdot H_{i}))$	1	Saqqara		male	I. 66, 1				305 [745] (= N(i)-cm-Hr)	falcon sign
$u\dot{\mu}_{-2}$ - m - $(i=1)\hat{\mu}_{-2}$	(My) Life is in the hand of Horus	Giza, Saqqara	9	male	I: 64, 2		[128] 4.	492	308 [764]	
w ^r tı-İır-Hr	One who is unique of the body of Horus	Saqqara	9	female	I: 76, 22		[168]4.	570	319 [765]	
Wr-Ḥr	Great is Horus	Giza, Saqqara	4,5	male	I: 246, 18	93 (Ḥr-wr)	[183] 5.	1104	330 [922]	
Wr-Ḥrj	Great is Horus	Saqqara	5	male	I: 246, 21		[186] 4. (Wr(j)-Ḥr)	1119 (W{r}j- $\dot{H}r$)	330 [923]	
N(j)- $jt(j=j)$ - $Hr(?)$	My father belongs to Horus (?)	Abu Rawash, Saqqara	4	male	I: 249, 6	93 (Ḥr-nt (?)/Njt-Ḥr)	[323] 2. (N(j)-Ḥr-jt(j))		414 [1519]	
$N(j)$ - $c_{II}h_{II}$ - H_{II}	Life belongs to Horus	Giza, Saqqara, Wadi Hilal	5,6	male	I: 171, 19	93	[323]3. (N(j)-Hr-cnb)	284 (N(j)-Ḥr-ʿnḫ)	422 [1554]	
$N(j)$ - $\dot{H}r$	One who belongs to Horus	Saqqara		male	II: 294, 23				433 [1631]	
N(j)-s(j)-Ḥr	She belongs to Horus	Saqqara	6/1IP	female			[329] 4.			n <u>d</u> st
N(j)-sw-Ḥr	He belongs to Horus	Giza	9	male	I: 178, 7		[332] 1.		439 [1676]	
N(j)-k3-Ḥr	The ka belongs to Horus	Giza		male	II: 296, 1	93			444 [1700]	
N(j)-k3w-Ḥr	The kau belongs to Horus	Giza, Saqqara	4,5	male	I: 180, 25	93	[323] 4. $(N(j)-Hr-k\beta w)$		446 [1718]	
Nb(=j)-pw-Hr	It is my master, Horus	Dendera	9	male	II: 296, 19		[343] 2.			
Nb-k3w-Ḥr	Master of kau is Horus	Saqqara	6(?)	male	II: 296, 28		[347]3.		452 [1771]	
Nfr-Ḥr	Perfect is Horus	Giza	4	male	I: 249, 9		[373] 2.		475 [1940]	
Nḫt-Ḥr	Strong is Horus	Edfu, Wadi Hilal	9	male	I: 211, 3		[410] 1.		500 [2117]	
Nḫtw-Ḥr	Strong is Horus	Edfu	5–6	male	I: 249, 10 (Hr-nftt(.w))		[413] 5.			
Nzr-k3w-Ḥr	Glowing are the kan of Horus	Abusir	5	male			[414] 2.		502 [2133]	
N <u>t</u> rj- <u>h</u> t-Ḥr	Divine is the corps of Horus (?)	Saqqara		male					505 [2162]	
Hn-Ḥr	Horus consented	Tehna	5	male	I: 229, 27		[449] 2.		524 [2292]	falcon sign
<i>Ḥr-b</i> 3 <i>=f</i>	Horus is animated	Giza	4	male	I: 246, 25	93			551 [2487]	
Ḥr-bjt(?)-ˤnḫ (?)	May Horus, the King of Lower Egypt, live	Saqqara	5	male	I: 247, 1; II: 378		[486] 3. (Hr-bjtj (?))		551 [2488]	
$\dot{H}r$ - m - $z\beta(=j)$	Horus is my protection	Abusir	5	male					552 [2489]	
$\dot{H}r-m-z\beta=f$	Horus is his protection	Abusir	5	male	I: 248, 12		[486] 5.		552 [2490]	
Hr-m-k3w=s	Horus is her kau	Qubbet el-Hawa	9	female	II: 306, 25		[487] 1.		552 [2491]	
Ḥr-nswt	Horus is the king	Abusir	5	male	II: 306, 29				552 [2493]	
$\dot{H}r$ - $\dot{h}(wj)$ = f	Horus beats (?)			male					552 [2494]	
$\dot{H}r-\dot{b}^c=f$	Horus appears	Giza	4-5	male	I: 265, 16	93	[487] 3.		552 [2496]	
$\dot{H}r$ - $\dot{f}w$ = f	Horus protects	Qubbet el-Hawa	9	male	I: 250, 11		[487] 4.		552 [2497]	
$Hr-dw\beta.n(=j)$	It is Horus whom I worshipped	Giza		male	I: 398, 18				552 [2498]	
$\dot{H}r-\dot{q}d=f$	Horus is everlasting	Giza	4	male	I: 413, 3	93			552 [2499]	
Ήr(j)	One who belongs to Horus (?)	Bir Danqash, Edfu, Qubbet el-Hawa		male	I: 253, 24				553 [2501]	
лҢ-dтҢ	May Horus be satisfied	Abusir, Saqqara, el-Harageh, Edfu, Wadi Hilal, Balat	5,6	male	I: 250, 7		[511] 3.		571 [2599]	sp̄u
HW(j)- Wj - $Hr(?)$	May Horus protect me (?)	Saqqara		male	I: 266, 9				591 [2700]	
$\dot{H}w(\dot{l}).n$ - $\dot{H}r$	One whom Horus protects	Heliopolis, Saqqara, Wadi	5,6	male	I: 266, 25	94	[539] 2.		594 [2723]	

Here's a Hr	Meaning	Locality	Dating (dynasty)	Male/Female Ranke	Ranke	Begelsbecher-Fischer Gourdon	Courdon	AGEA	Scheele-Schweitzer	Notes
ni-ma() wit	One who is protected by Horus	Giza	S	female			[544] 2.		597 [2748]	
Ӈ҃ntj-k3w-Ңr	Foremost are the kau of Horus	Abusir, Saqqara	S	male			[554] 5.		606 [2797]	
Z3-n(j)-Ḥr	Protection of Horus	Edfu	5–6	male			[576] 1.			
Z3t-Ḥr(?)	Daughter of Horus (?)	Edfu	5–6	female	I: 291, 28		[579] 4.		[52 [2919]	falcon sign
St-jb-Ḥr	Favourite place of Horus	Saqqara		male	I: 428, 15				631 [2996]	
Sj3-Ḥr	Idea of Horus	Saqqara	6/1IP	male	I: 426, 12		[595] 4.		637 [3031]	
Sḫm-k3-Ḥr	Mighty is the ka of Horus	Saqqara	5	male	I: 319, 20	94	[635] 1.		662 [3213]	
Špss-Ḥr	Noble is Horus	Giza, Saqqara	4,5	male	I: 326, 23	94	[657] 2.		679 [3316]	
$K\beta(=j)$ -n- Hr	My ka belongs to Horus (?)	Giza	9	male			[693] 1.			
Tjst-Ḥr	Female companion of Horus	Abusir	5	female			[718] 1.		721 [3608]	falcon sign
Dw3.n-Ḥr	One who worshipped Horus	Giza	4	male	I: 398, 18	94	[753] 4.			
Dw3-Ḥr	One who worships Horus	Saqqara	9	male	I: 398, 20		[755] 1.		744 [3773]	

Tab. 3 Personal names with the element Akhti

Name	Meaning	Locality	Dating (dynasty)	Male/Female	Ranke	Begelsbecher-Fischer Gourdon	Gourdon	AGÉA	Scheele-Schweitzer	Notes
3htj(j) (?)	One who belongs to Akhti (?)	Saqqara		male				49	205 [45]	
Jr(j).n-3ḫtji	One whom Akhti created	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, Wadi Hammamat, Wadi Hilal	3, 5, 6	male	I: 39, 24		[80] 1.	538 (Tr(w).n.3htj)	251 [392]	
S-3htj	Big is Akhti	Saqqara	3	male	I: 57, 5		[119] 2.	748	287 [637]	
$cn\hat{y}(=j)-m-(c-j)\hat{y}ij$	(My) Life is in the hand of Akhti	Giza		female	I: 416, 27				308 [759]	
Wn-hr-3htj	May the face of Akhti exist (?)	Giza	5	female			[172] 2.		322 [869]	
Wr-3futj	Great is Akhti	Saqqara	5	male	I: 80, 14		[178]3.		325 [894]	
Mrj(t)-3 $lytj(?)$	Beloved by Akhti	Giza	9-9	female			[265] 3.			
Mhw-3htj	One who is filled by Akhti	Giza	9	male	I: 263, 29		[278] 4.			
N(j)-sw-3ḫtj	He belongs to Akhti	Giza, Abusir, Saqqara	4, 5, 6	male	I: 173, 16		[330] 2.		436 [1659]	
Rhw-3htj (?)	People of Akhti (?)	Saqqara	end OK	female			[435] 5.		518 [2246]	
Hm-3fttj	Servant of Akhti	Giza, Saqqara, Abusir	5,6	male	I: 239, 17		[468]1.		538 [2401]	
Ḥmt-3ḫtj	Female servant of Akhti	Giza, Saqqara	9–9	female	I: 240, 4		[473] 3.	291	541 [2417]	
$\dot{H}r(=j)$ -m- $\partial \dot{h}(tj)$ (?)	My face is the one of Akhti (?)	Saqqara	5	male				308		
Hzwt-3htj (?)	Praise of Akhti (?)	Giza	5,6	male					554 [2508]	
Hz-3htj	One who praises Akhti	Abusir, Saqqara	99	male	I: 254, 14		[491] 2.		554 [2509]	
Hzzj-3fttj	One who is praised by Akhti	Saqqara		male					556 [2527]	
Hzt-3fttj	Favor of Akhti	Giza	9-9	male			[494] 3.			
Ḥtp-⊰ḫtj	May Akhti be satisfied	Giza, Saqqara, Abusir, Gebel el-Teir, Wadi Hammamat	4, 5, 6	male	I: 257, 26		[501] 1.	300	561 [2553]	
f(w(j),n-3)ttj	One whom Akhti protects	Saqqara	5	male	I: 266, 18		[536] 3.		592 [2715]	
Zj-n(j)-3htj	Man of Akhti	Giza	5	male	I: 427, 23		[572] 1.		619 [2887]	
S ^c nh-3htj	May Akhti maintain life	Giza	9	male			[596] 3.			
S ^c nḫ.n-3ḫtj	One whose life Akhti maintains	Giza	9	male			[598] 2.		638 [3045]	
Špss-3ḫtj	Noble is Akhti	Giza	9	male			[654] 1.		676 [3306]	

Tab. 4 Personal names with the element Nemti

T	Locality	Dating (dynasty)	Male/Female	Ranke	Begelsbecher-Fischer	Gourdon AGEA	A Scheele-Schweitzer	Notes
Ð	Giza, Hatnub, Wadi Maghara		male				222 [173]	
Š	Saqqara	9	male	I: 64, 3 $(^{c}nh(=j)-m-^{c}-Zkr)$		[127] 5.	309 [765]	Sokar (Hoffman 1915: 2)
G	Giza		male				328 [913]	
Š	Saqqara	9	male	II: 291, 11		[260] 2.	393 [1364]	
G	Giza	4 (?), 6	male	I: 171, 5; II: 294, 3, 4		[315] 1. (N(j)-Nmtj- ^c ntj)	419 [1546], 420 [1553]	
One who belongs to Nemti Sa	Saqqara	9	male	II: 294, 7		[314] 5.	430 [1612]	
Ð	Giza		female				436 [1652]	
Š	Saqqara, Sharuna	5	male	I: 69, 25	221 ('ntj-nfr)	[347] 3.	470 [1904]	
Perfect is the face of Nemti G	Giza, Saqqara	4, 5/6	male	II: 298, 25		[375] 2.	475 [1934]	
S	Sharuna		female				480 [1968]	
H	Hatnub, Wadi Maghara	5,6	male			[402] 1.		
Š	Saqqara	9	male	I: 69, 21		[402] 2.	493 [2065], 630 [2988]	
G	Giza, Saqqara	9	male	I: 69, 23		[402] 3.	493 [2066]	
Š	Saqqara		male				494 [2067]	
S	Sharuna		male				494 [2068]	
\circ	Qau el-Kebir	2–3	male	I: 70, 1 (^c ntj-nht)				
Ð	Giza	5-6	male	I: 70, 2	221 (^c ntj-ḥtp)	[509] 5.	567 [2585]	
One whom Nemti protects E	El-Hawawish	9	male			[538] 4.	594 [2723]	
S	Sharuna		male				678 [3311]	

god. The majority of the names are attested in the cemeteries of Memphis, mainly in Giza, Abusir and Saqqara, less often in Abu Rawash and Dahshur. They also occur in provinces, and even in Byblos. The general trend to use Re's appellation in the anthroponyms is observable from the Third Dynasty. The name of the god, Re, was not recorded ideogrammatically, but phonetically in the private personal names: $r \longrightarrow (D21)^{10}$ and $c \longrightarrow (D36)$ (consult *e.g.* Ranke 1952: 16).

Among the deities with solar aspects, the second position in the frequency of attestations within the theophoric names is taken by the god Horus:¹¹ 50 names (tab. 2).¹² In the appellations Horus is described as big, great, perfect, strong, noble and everlasting; and long life is wished to him. He is said to come and appear. Interestingly, his royal role is expressed in the names. He also is the protector of his attendants and has their lives in his hand. In one name, the fact that the love of Horus came is expressed as well. The appellations with Horus convey the worshipping of and belonging to this god. Except for the Memphite necropolises, Horus as an element of the theophoric names occurs in provinces rather often. The anthroponyms with Horus are attested at least from the Fourth Dynasty to the end of the Old Kingdom. Similarly as in the name of Re, the Horus one is written with consonants in the private anthroponyms: $h \ (V28), \ \Leftrightarrow hr$ (D2) and $r ext{ (D21)}$. Only in several cases was it recorded with a falcon-sign: nh-Hr: $rac{1}{2}$; $rac{1}$; $rac{1}{2}$; $rac{1}$; $rac{1}{2}$; $rac{1}$; $rac{1}{2}$; $rac{1}{2}$; $rac{1}{2}$; $rac{1}{2}$; $rac{1}{$ The reading, however, is not certain and there are some problems in the identification of the signs (consult Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 305, notes 95 and 96, 524, 622, note 16).

Rather surprisingly, Akhti is attested in 23 theophoric anthroponyms (tab. 3).¹⁴ He is described as big, great and as a possessor of life; and his creative role is highlighted. The fact that someone belongs to or is beloved by this god was not omitted as well. Except for Wadi Hammamat, Wadi Hilal and Gebel el-Teir, he is attested only in the Memphite area. As for the time-span, the names with the element Akhti were in use from the Third Dynasty onwards, but the majority come from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty.

Another deity attested in the theophoric anthroponyms is Nemti, in 19 cases (tab. 4).¹⁵ He is marked by many attributes: great, perfect, foremost, high, strong, satisfied and noble. He is coming or came. He is also the protector and possessor of life and the name-bearer is beloved by this god. The appellations with the element Nemti appear in the Memphite area and in provinces. They are attested at least from the beginning of the Third Dynasty onwards, but mainly in the Sixth Dynasty.

Even though Ptah as the god of the capital city, Memphis, appears most frequently in the names (see below), another god connected to the Memphite area and its cemeteries is attested less often in this material. Only 12 appellations mention the patron of the Memphite necropolis, Sokar (tab. 5). Again, he is described as powerful, satisfied, noble and healthy. Long life is wished to him. Life and the name-bearer belong to him. With one exception from Edfu, he is attested only in the Memphite region from the Third Dynasty onwards.

Tab. 5 Personal names with the element Sokar

Name	Meaning	Locality	Dating (dynasty)	Male/Female Ranke	Ranke	Begelsbecher-Fischer Gourdon	Gourdon	AGÉA	Scheele-Schweitzer Notes	Notes
^c nḫ-Zkr	Long live Sokar!	Saqqara	5	male		189	[147] 1.	893		
Wr-b3w-Zkr	Great is the power of Sokar	Abusir	5	male			[179] 3.	1088	327 [905]	
B3w-Zkr	Powerful is Sokar			male	I: 90, 1				344 [1021]	Wr-b3w-Zkr
$N(j)$ - $c_n h$ - Zkr	Life belongs to Sokar	Giza		male	I: 172, 1	189			424 [1564]	
N(j)-Zkr	One who belongs to Sokar	Saqqara	6/1IP	male			[327] 5.			
Nfr-lu-Zkr	Perfect is the face of Sokar		5	male		189				
Htp-Zkr	May Sokar be satisfied	Giza, Saqqara	4, 5, 6	male	I: 298, 12	189	[516] 1.		573 [2607]	
$\hat{H}^{c}(j)$ - b 3w- Zkr	May the power of Sokar appear Saqqara	Saqqara	3	male	I: 263, 14		[531] 5.		585 [2675]	
Zkr- $cnh(=N(j)-cnh-Zkr?)$	Life belongs to Sokar (?)	Saqqara		male	I: 298, 9				630 [2987]	
Zkr-snb=f	Sokar is healthy	Saqqara		male					630 [2989]	
Špss-Zkr	Noble is Sokar	Giza	9	male			[657] 4.		679 [3319]	
Djw-Zkr	One who was given to Sokar Edfu	Edfu	9-9	male	II: 332: 15		[752] 1.	346 (Dw-Zkr)	751 [3824]	

Vame	Meaning	Locality	Dating (dynasty)	Male/Female Ranke	Ranke	Begelsbecher-Fischer Gourdon	Gourdon	AGÉA	Scheele-Schweitzer Notes	Notes
rt-Nfr-tm (?)	Creation of Nefertem (?)	Saqqara	5	male			[85] 5.	999	257 [425]	
(j)- ^c nḫ-Nfr-tm	Life belongs to Nefertem	Saqqara	9	male					419 [1545]	
7(j)-k3w-Nfr-tm (?)	The kau belongs to Nefertem Saqqara	Saqqara	9	male					445 [1713]	
$Nfr-tm-\hat{h}^{C}(j)=f(?)$	Nefertem appears (?)	Saqqara		male					487 [2020]	
fr-tm(j)	One who belongs to Nefertem Giza, Saqqara	Giza, Saqqara	4, 5–6	male	I: 200, 24		[392] 3.		487 [2021]	
m-cnh-Nfr-tm (?)	Slim-5nh-Nfr-tm (?) Mighty is the life of Nefertem (?) Saqqara	Saqqara	S	male			[633] 2.		660 [3205]	

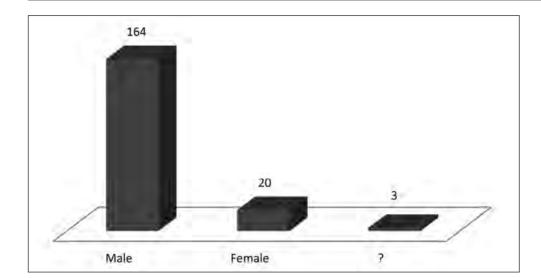


Chart 2 Comparison of male and female personal names mentioning deities with solar aspects; unclear sex of some name-bearers is also included

Very interesting are also the attestations for Nefertem in the theophoric names, albeit only in 6 examples (tab. 6). The names express the close relationship of Nefertem to life; the name-bearer is designated as belonging to this god. The appellations with Nefertem are attested almost exclusively from Saqqara; only in one case does it appear in Giza. The time-span is the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty.

The majority of the anthroponyms mentioning a god with solar aspects were used for males, only 20 of them were female and in three cases it is undetermined (chart 2). In the names of women, the first four deities are attested: Re, Horus, Akhti and Nemti (*cf.* tab. 1–6). They are rather more complicated names. The women were beloved, protected, companion, acquaintance or servant. A daughter relationship to Horus might be attested in one name, which is quite remarkable if we take into consideration the statement of Günter Vittmann (2013b: 4) who is convinced that this affinity does not appear before the Middle Kingdom.

Discussion

As was observed previously, the names of not every god with solar aspects were used in the anthroponyms. The appellations with the element Re are the second most numerous theophoric names of the Old Kingdom period. The prime position has to be given to the main Memphite god, Ptah (Ranke 1952: 230; Begelsbacher-Fischer 1981: 144). There might be several explanations for this phenomenon. In the opinion of Hana Vymazalová (personal communication), the theophoric names with Re of private persons imitated royal patterns. Even though this aspect might have been plausible for a certain period of time, the statement is not valid for the Third Dynasty, and for the following one, before the reign of Djedefre. It seems thus that Re played an important role in the elite sphere even before he was fully adopted by the royal sphere. 17 Noteworthy is also the name "Pillar of Re". Does it mean that this person should support this deity, or is it a reference to Heliopolis (Jwnw) where Re's cult arose? Jwn-R^c is, however, attested in the Fourth Dynasty, i.e. earlier than the supposed date of the establishment of Re's cult in Heliopolis.¹⁸

Horus appears in the anthroponyms rather often as well. However, it is very difficult to distinguish his various types and aspects in this material. Moreover, problems emerged with the question of whether the god or the king is meant here (Begelsbacher-Fischer 1981: 79). Horus was very closely linked to the reigning king at least in the time of the unification of the two lands (consult *e.g.* Frankfort 1978). It seems to be possible that the anthroponyms refer to the sky deity (Begelsbacher-Fischer 1981: 79) because there are basilophoric names directly with kings' appellations. Therefore, there was probably no need to use the term Horus for the sovereign in the names. On the contrary, they might have wanted to stress a different aspect of the king/kingship.

The presence of Akhti and Nemti in the theophoric names is rather startling. These two gods were not much supported by the kings. 19 The importance of Akhti is not clear at this time and it deserves further study. It might be presumed that he was connected to the akhet, i.e. to the sphere where the sky, earth and duat meet and where the sun is reborn and the deceased becomes an akh.²⁰ On the basis of the analysis of the names, it can be added that he was responsible for resurrection into a new life. Some creative power was ascribed to him as well, which was perhaps influenced by his link to the akhet. The falcon deity Nemti had a similar characteristic to Horus. He was the sky god. Furthermore, he protected the eastern regions and was the main deity of the 12th Upper Egyptian nome. And as is attested in the names, he protected the life of the commoners.

The anthroponyms with the element Akhti and Nemti are attested more often than the appellation with Sokar, even though he was the god connected more closely to Memphis. The role of the patron of the local necropolises was in fact attributed to him. A very significant feast linked to Sokar was celebrated at the cemeteries, and his cult was in the interest of the kings. In the names, his positive attributes and his connection to life are expressed.

The attestations for Nefertem, who was a minor deity in the Old Kingdom, are not numerous, but remarkable. This deity does not appear very often in the Old Kingdom sources. He is mentioned only in two spells of the Pyramid Texts: PT 249, § 266a (Sethe 1908: 144) and PT 307,

§ 483b (Sethe 1908: 249). Another source for this deity is a record in the South Saqqara Annals which refers to endowments provided for Nefertem in the reign of King Merenre (Baud – Dobrev 1995: 41, Fig. 16, Pl. VIII). The names with Nefertem actually show that he was not exclusively used by the royal sphere.

From the deities of the solar cycle, the names of Atum and Khepri were not recognised in the studied material, albeit the lists present two names with the stem hpr: hpr.n (Ranke 1935: 268, 22; Gourdon 2007: [547] 3; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 597 [2753]) and *hprw* (Ranke 1935: 269, 5; Gourdon 2007: [547] 4; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 597 [2754]), recorded in Saggara and Wadi Hilal for the Sixth Dynasty. It does not seem, however, that they refer to the deity. The lesser deity, Weneg, and the god of light, Shu, are not attested at all. It might be speculated that these divinities had no practical role, since they did not provide the Old Kingdom Egyptians with protection, good harvest and suchlike. Astonishing then is when the appellation Wr-nww: ♣️ਲ਼ੑਲ਼ਲ਼ is listed in Gourdon's index (Gourdon 2007: [180] 4) and translated as "Grand est le Noun", i.e. with reference to the primeval dark motionless waters. It is attested in the mastaba of Wernu at Saqqara, dated to the Sixth Dynasty (see Davies – el-Khouli – Lloyd – Spencer 1984: 21–29). The reading of the whole anthoroponym, however, is problematic (e.g. Junker 1949; Fisher 1961: 24). The name can also be found in the index of Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 328 [911]), where she states that it is perhaps a non-Egyptian name. Her opinion seems to be the most reasonable because it was uncommon to record Nun's name with the sign D135: ___ (consult Leitz 2002 III: 519, 534–535, 543–547), and to mention such an abstract deity in the anthroponyms of that period.

Conclusion

How thus can the theophoric names enrich our knowledge of the solar religion of the Old Kingdom? The importance of the study of this material lies in the fact that an insight into the beliefs of a wider range of people, even if mainly elite, is offered. Not only the most significant deities, but minor deities as well were in the interest of these persons.

The anthroponyms mentioning the gods with solar aspects are mostly attested in the Memphite region and sometimes in the provinces. The possibility that these people were sent from the centre has to be kept in mind (Hana Vymazalová, personal communication). From these perspectives, the knowledge of the social background of the people is very much needed because it can show us who the people with the names mentioning the gods of solar aspects actually were (Peterková Hlouchová, in preparation). Did they or their parents hold some priestly titles? If the answer to this question is yes, it could mean that they might perhaps have had access to more complex religious conceptions. At this point, however, it has to be admitted that the solar beliefs of the Old Kingdom were not strictly present within the royal circuit and they spread into the non-royal milieu. The conceptions were similar in both spheres, but differently reflected.

The meanings expressed in the private personal theophoric names might specify the characteristics of the

divinities, which so far have been known only from the religious sources of that period. They expressed the positive and power attributes of the gods with solar aspects. Very often the life of the name-bearer is given to or protected by one of these deities. Sometimes, the creative role of the deities is stressed as well. Re and Horus are attested most often, albeit it is not clear if it is a consequence of religious motives or of copying royal models. It is also evident that our understanding of Nefertem in the Old Kingdom has to be changed slightly. He must have been more significant than has been previously supposed. The inhabitants of Egypt needed strong, protective gods and the practical roles of such, and that is also why the people did not turn to some solar divinities with cosmic aspects.

Notes:

- 1 Other constituents or manifestations are the body (ht, dt, hw, sch, jrw, twt, ct, jwt), hearth (jb, h3tj), shadow (swt, h3ybt), ka and ba. Akh, a state into which a man was transfigured after his death, has been added to descriptions and characteristics of human and divine beings.
- ² Gourdon's database is partially published online: Anthroponymes et Généalogies de l'Égypte Ancienne (hereinafter referred to as AGÉA).
- ³ Some goddesses, *e.g.* Hathor, Sakhmet, also occurred in a link with the sun, as its manifestations. The female divinities, however, are excluded from this study.
- ⁴ According to some scholars, more deities with the name Horus existed. However, it seems to be more probable that Horus was one single deity with a number of aspects, which can be divided into two main groups: a) the sky god, b) son of Osiris and Isis (Griffiths 1960; Melzer 2001: 122).
- ⁵ Or Anti in older literature. Consult e.g. Koschel (2000).
- ⁶ For other characteristics of these deities, see appropriate entries in Leitz (2002–2003). For Khepri, consult Minas-Nerpel (2006) and for Weneg see Peterková Hlouchová (*forthcoming*), with further bibliographical references.
- ⁷ The amount refers to the sum of the name types, not to the quantity of the
- The number slightly differs from 87 appellations in Gourdon (2007: Annexe 1, 2) and 81 in Scheele-Schwietzer (2014: 107). They also counted the names with additions such as nds.
- ⁹ The ideogram (0) (N5) is attested only in the royal names.
- ¹⁰ The codes follow the Sign list created by Sir Alan H. Gardiner (1927: 432–531).
- It has to be kept in mind that any identification of a Horus type is almost impossible in the corpus of personal names (see also discussion below).
- 12 Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 107) found only 45 anthroponyms with Horus
- ¹³ Similarly to Re, the falcon (G5) is predominantly used in the appellations of the kings and members of royal family.
- ¹⁴ Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 107) presents just 20 names.
- ¹⁵ Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 108) has only 18 examples.
- ¹⁶ Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 108) counted 9 names with Sokar.
- ¹⁷ To this discussion, see Kahl (2007).
- According to some researchers, Re's cult was not adopted in Heliopolis before the end of the Fifth Dynasty (e. g. Voss 2010: 228).
- ¹⁹ With the exception of King Merenre, whose name was Nemtimsaf.
- ²⁰ To the term akh consult e.g. Janák (2013), with references to other literature.

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Abstract:

Beliefs connected to the sun formed a significant part of the ancient Egyptian religion. Even in the Old Kingdom there were a number of gods with solar aspects: Re, Khepri, Atum, Horus, Sokar, Akhti, Nemti, Nefertem, Weneg, or Shu. Their characteristics are mainly studied on the basis of religious texts, but theophoric anthroponyms may provide some additional insights. This study summarizes the personal names mentioning one of these divinities and attempts to investigate solar beliefs on the basis of this perspective. The analysis demonstrates that the majority of these gods were used as an element in the anthroponyms. On the other hand, some of them are not attested in the personal names at all: Khepri, Atum, Weneg, Shu. It seems that the reason for this lay in the fact that the ancient people perhaps needed deities who were able to help them in many matters of their lives. That is why they chose powerful and protective deities, whereas the more abstract served the theologians and royal sphere.

Old Kingdom – sun cult – theophoric name – Re – Horus – Akhti – Nemti – Sokar – Nefertem – Atum – Khepri – Weneg – Shu

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