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Günter Vittmann

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PERSONAL NAMES: STRUCTURES AND PATTERNS

الأسماء الشخصية : تركيبات ونماذج

Günter Vittmann

Personennamen: Strukturen und Muster
Noms de personne: Structure et modèles

The diversity and complexity of ancient Egyptian personal names points to a range of available patterns and options for name-giving. Alongside personal names that make direct reference to the name-bearer and his or her family, there are numerous names that refer to a god, the ruling (or an earlier) king, or some venerated individual, with or without simultaneous reference to the name-bearer or his family. An individual could be designated, for example, as one beloved, given, or protected by a god or king, but a name could equally contain an objective statement about god or king.

تشير الأسماء الشخصية للمصريين القدماء فى تنوعها وتركيباتها إلى وجود مجموعة من الأنماط والخيارات المتاحة لتسمية الأفراد. فهناك الأسماء الشخصية التي تشير بشكل مباشر إلى حامل الاسم وعائلته ، أيضا هناك العديد من الأسماء التي تشير الي اسم اله أو الملك الحالي (أوالسابق) ، أو بعض أصحاب المهابة والتبجيل حتى وإن كان لا يتشابه مع حامل الاسم أو عائلته ، فعلى سبيل المثال يمكن للشخص أن يلقب بالمحبوب أو المحروس من الإله أو الملك، ولكن ربما يتضمن الأسم جملة تحمل معني حسيا عن إله أو عن ملك.

A ncient Egyptian personal names were manifold both in structure and in meaning. From a purely formal point of view, most Egyptian personal names may be assigned to one of the following three basic groups (for the sake of simplicity, in the citations below Ranke 1935 shall be indicated by "I"; Ranke 1952 shall be indicated by "II"; and Lüddeckens et al. 1980 – 2000 shall be indicated by "DN"):

1. one-word names (including, from Dynasty 18 onward, the definite article), such as *Jbj* "Ibi" (I 20,10; DN 6; untranslatable); *Ḥr* "Horus" (I 245,18; DN 786-788); *Pꜣ-whr* "The dog" (I 104,12; DN 181); *Pꜣ-Mḏꜣy* "The *Medja*-man" (I 105,18, Dynasty 18); *Nḥsj, Pꜣ-Nḥsj* "The Nubian" (I 209,4; 113,13; DN 194).

2. compound names not constituting a complete sentence, e.g., *Pꜣ-ntj-n(.j)* "He who belongs to me" (I 114, 5: several examples from the Middle Kingdom, when the use of the definite article in proper names was otherwise uncommon); *ꜣst-wrt* "Great Isis," "Isis the great" (I 4,1; DN 76-77); *Ddw-Sbk* (I 401,19-20), later *Pꜣ-dj-Sbk* "Given by Sobek," "He whom Sobek has given" (I 126,8; DN 340-341). For the very frequent names introduced by the possessive articles *pꜣ-n* (Demotic *pa*) "he of …" and *tꜣ-nt* (Demotic *ta*) "she of," see below under *Theophorous Names*.

3. names constituting a complete sentence, e.g., *Nj-ꜥnḫ(.j?)-Sḫmt* "(My?) life belongs to Sakhmet" (I 172,3-4); *Nb(.j)-pw-S-n-wsrt* "Senusret is my lord" (I 184,15); *Jmn-m-ḥꜣt* "Amun is in front" (I 28,8; DN 64); *Ḥꜣꜥ.w-s-n-ꜣst* "They laid him/her before Isis" (I 262,19; DN 870); *Ns-Ḫnsw* "He/She belongs to Khons" (I 178,20; DN 689).

Another possible classification is determined by content and semantics. "Endophorous" names refer directly to the bearer and/or his or her family without reference to gods or kings. Conversely, "exophorous" names introduce a god or pharaoh with or without simultaneous reference to the bearer and his family. Yet another group is formed by hypocoristica (i.e., abbreviations, which are types of "demotivated" formations; for this terminology see Vernus 1986: 121 - 122, 127).

Naming at Birth

The natural setting of many names is the situation immediately associated with birth. Such names usually express relief and happiness, a wish or its fulfilment, a hope or a statement made by the name-giver. Though there are some explicit sources pointing to the role of the mother as name-giver (Posener 1970), it is usually impossible to relate a personal name directly to the mother. Theoretically, the "speaker" in names such as *Nḥt.n.j* "She whom I desired" or *ʿnḫ.f/s* "May he/she live!" might be either the father or the mother, although Ranke (1937: 24), as a rule, preferred the latter option.

It is important, however, to make a distinction between the original context of a name, or name-pattern, on the one hand, and the reason for its use in a particular case, on the other hand. A name such as *Ḏd-Ptḥ-jw.f-ʿnḫ* "Ptah said, he will live" (I 410,11-12; DN 1365), for example, evokes the decision of an oracle in which Ptah reassured the anxious parents that the child would survive (see Ranke 1926: 734 - 735); in view of the high rate of child mortality in antiquity, this was certainly a very realistic concern. However, this does not mean that every individual named *Ḏd-Ptḥ-jw.f-ʿnḫ* necessarily owed his name to an oracular decision of Ptah. Similarly, there is no reason to believe that every *Jmn-m-ḥb* was born on the day of the festival of Amun, although this is probably the original implication of that name (Ranke 1937: 24; 1952: 216 - 219). Still other factors such as papponymy (i.e., naming after the grandfather) would often determine the use of a given name (see Vittmann 2012).

Endophorous Names

Examples of (endophorous) names lacking any mention of divinities or kings include *Nḥt.n.j* "She whom I desired" (I 207,13); *Jw.f-ʿꜣ/Jw.f-ʿw* "He will attain old age" (I 14,2-3; DN 59); *Jw.f/s-r/Ø-ʿnḫ* "He/she lives," "He/she will live/survive" (I 14,5.20; 15,2.10; DN 60); *ʿnḫ.f/s* "May he/she live!" (I 67,2.13; DN 104 and fasc. 18, corrections and addenda ad p. 100) equivalent to older *Ḥꜣ-ʿnḫ.f/s* (I 232,2-3); and *Rn(.j)-snb* "My name is healthy" (I 222,26-27; 223,1, a typical Middle Kingdom name). In names of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the concept of the *ka* plays a vital role (Bolshakov 1997), e.g., *Wḥm-kꜣ(.j)* "Who repeats my *ka*" (i.e., "My double"; I 83,23 with a slightly different reading), and *Mrrw-kꜣ(.j)* "Whom my *ka* loves" (I 162,27 with different analysis).

Sometimes names evoked an individual's physical features, e.g., *Fnḏj* "He with the nose," "Nosy" (I 142,22, similarly *Fnḏ* "Nose" I 142,20 and *Fnḏt* I: 142,21), *Nḫt* "Strong" (I 209,16), and *Nfr/Nfrt* "Beautiful; Perfect" (I 194,1; 201,10), but it is also possible that the first of these three examples, with its variants, is an epithet of Thoth used as a personal name that should be translated as "He/She with the beak."

Names based on titles (II 187-191) may involve administrative, military, and priestly functions, as well as those of other professions, e.g., *Pꜣ-jmj-rꜣ-šnwt* "The Overseer of the Granary" (I 101,1, New Kingdom); *Pꜣ-jmj-rꜣ-mšʿ*, conventionally translated as "The General" (I 100,18; also attested, without the article, as the name of a king of the 13th Dynasty); *Pꜣ-ḥrj-pḏt* "The Overseer of the Archers," "The Troop-commander" (I 115,27-28 with correction by Thirion 1985: 127); *Pꜣ-jt-nṯr* "The God's Father" (Marciniak 1974: 142 No. 110); *Pꜣ-ḥm-nṯr* "The Prophet" (I 115,16; DN 204; 505); and *Pꜣ-jn-mw* "The Water-carrier" (I 101,7). There are also more complex formations that give the impression of being a kind of appellative rather than a true personal name, e.g., *Pꜣ-ḥm-nṯr-Ḫ.nw* "The Second Prophet," or *Pꜣ-ḥm-nṯr-Mꜣʿt* "The

Prophet of *Maat*" (DN 505; see also Pestman 1993: 440 n. 4).

Several animal names are known, especially from the Old and Middle Kingdoms (II 182 - 185), that might not be expected to be chosen for people, e.g., *Pnw* "Mouse" (I 133,6) and *Ḥfnr* "Tadpole" (I 239,12-13), also found in the Old Testament in the form *Ḥopnī* (1 Samuel 1, 3, etc.), *Ḥḏr*, and similarly "Hyena (?)" (I 261,18.20.24-25).

By the Late Period, but perhaps already earlier, animal names had acquired a religious dimension, e.g., *Pꜣ-bjk* "The falcon" (DN 182); the two phonetically similar names *Pꜣ-mꜣj* "The lion" (I 105, 5; DN 186) and *Pꜣ-mjw* (Demotic *Pꜣ-[j]mj*) "The cat" (I 105,7; DN 187; for both names see Yoyotte 1988); *Pꜣ-msḥ* "The crocodile" (DN 191; cf. *Msḥ, Msḫtj* and similarly I 164,14 - 17, Old and Middle Kingdoms); *Pꜣ-ḥf* "The snake" (DN 204); and *Tꜣ-ḥf-špšt* "The sacred snake" (DN 1078, Roman). For certain names such as *Pꜣ-qrr* "The frog" (I 120,1; DN 277), an animal associated with regeneration, or *Ḥnṯs* "Lizard" (DN 786); *Tꜣ-ḥfllj* "The lizard" (DN 1078), this background is less evident but still possible, whereas for Demotic *ꜥlꜥl, Pꜣ-ꜥlꜥl, Tꜣ-ꜥlꜥl* "The shrew-mouse" (DN 106; 164; 1052), it may be considered definite (Vittmann 1997 – 1998: 99 - 100).

Plant names (II 180-182) were not uncommon in the Old and Middle Kingdom, e.g., *Sššn* "Lotus flower" (I 298,2), the ultimate origin of "Susan" and similar formations in European languages, and *Jsr* "Tamarisk" (II 267,14; cf. also I 46,25 and the derivative *Jsry* I 46,24). These are rather rare by the Late Period, but names such as *Gꜣwt-sšn* "Lotus bundle" (I 350,6); *Ḥmḏrṯ* "Asphodel" (DN 785, with hieroglyphic predecessors); and *Tꜣ-wrṯ, Tꜣ-wrṯ-mn* "The Rose," "The Rose of Min" (DN 1058) are attested. For the case of *Nhj-wrt* "Great sycamore," see below under *Theophorus Names*.

Theophorous Names

Extremely common in all periods of Egyptian history were "theophorous" names, expressing

a relationship between the name-bearer, or his parents, and a deity (or deities). Theophorous name-patterns varied over time, the most prevalent being:

1. *The individual as "belonging" to god* X:
Nj-X (Old Kingdom), e.g., *Nj-Bꜣstt* "Who belongs to Bastet" (Thirion 2001: 271); *Nj-Ptḥ* "Who belongs to Ptah" (I 172,14); *Pꜣ-n/Pa*-X, *Tꜣ-nt/Ta*-X "He/She of X" (from the New Kingdom onward), e.g., *Pꜣ-n-Jmn/Pa-Jmn* "He of Amun" (I 106,8; DN 350); *Tꜣ-nt-Jmn /Ta-Jmn* "She of Amun" (I 358,4; DN 1162-1163); and *Nj-sw/sj*-X = *Ns*-X "He/She belongs to X" (from the Old Kingdom onward, but predominantly from the Late New Kingdom to the Late Period), e.g., *Ns-Ḫnsw* "He/She belongs to Khons" (I 178,20; DN 689). One could also "belong" to a holy emblem, such as the sacred staff: a common Late Period name was *Ns-pꜣ-mdw/Ns-pꜣ-mtr* "He/She belongs to the (holy) staff" (I 175,1; DN 664-666).

2. *As servant of god* X*:*
Ḥm-X, e.g., *Ḥm-Rꜥ/Ḥmt-Rꜥ* "(male/female) servant of Ra" (I 239,24; 240,5; Thirion 1988: 139); later *Pꜣ/Ø-bꜣk-n/Pa*-X; *Tꜣ/Ø-bꜣkt-n/Ta*-X, e.g., *Bꜣk-n/Ø-Ḫnsw* "Servant of Khons" (I 91,13.18); *Tꜣ-bꜣkt-n-Mwt* "The (female) servant of Mut" (I 356,6); also the frequent Late Period name *Pꜣ-jw-n-Ḥr, Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr* "The dog of Horus" (I 100,9.11; DN 156) possibly has this particular connotation.

3. *Beloved or praised by god* X:
e.g., *Mry-Sḫmt* "Loved by Sakhmet" (I 157,25; 161,10); *Ḥsy-Rꜥ* "Praised by Ra" (I 255,3).

4. *Protected or saved by god* X:
e.g., *Nḥm-s(w)-ꜣst* "Isis has saved him," or perhaps "May Isis save him!" (I 208,10; DN 643); *Ḫwj.n-Ḥr* "He whom Horus has protected" (I 266,25); *Ḥkꜣ-m-sꜣ.f* "Heka is his protection" (I 256,24); *Ḥkꜣ-tꜣy.f-nḫtt* with the same meaning (I 256,25; DN fasc. 18, corrections and addenda ad p. 847); *Šd-sw-Nfr-tm* "Nefertem rescued him," or "May Nefertem rescue him!" (I 331,8).

5. *The individual as a gift of god*:

Ddw/Ddt-X "given by X" (very common in the Middle Kingdom), e.g., *Ddt-Mwt* "(She who has been) given by Mut" (I 403,11); *Pꜣ/Tꜣ-dj*-X "He/She whom X has given" (extremely common from the late New Kingdom until the Ptolemaic Period, when it became gradually supplanted by other names; see Jennes and Depauw 2012), e.g., *Pꜣ-dj-ꜣst* "He whom Isis has given" (I 121,18-19; DN 290-291). In the Late Period there are also the widespread patterns X-*(j.)jr-dj-s* "It is X who has given him/her," e.g., *Jmn-(j.)jr-dj-s* "It is Amun who has given him/her" (I 26,24-25; DN 63), and *Šp/b-n*-X "Gift of X," e.g., *Šp-Mn* "Gift of Min" (I 325,23; DN 965): *Pꜣ-šb-Jw.s-ꜥꜣ.s* "The gift of (the goddess) Iusaas" (II 287,2; DN 221; Thirion 1985: 140).

6. *"Son" or "daughter" of god* X:

sꜣ-/sꜣt-X from the Middle Kingdom onwards, e.g., *Sꜣ-Sbk* "Son of Sobek" (I 284,11-14; DN 904 - 905); *Sꜣt-Ḥwt-Ḥr* "Daughter of Hathor" (I 291,14-16, very frequent in the Middle Kingdom); in the Late Period preferably in the modernized form *Pꜣ-šr-n*-X, *Tꜣ-šrt-n*-X (very common), e.g., *Pꜣ-šr-Ḥnsw* "The son of Khons" (Thirion 1981: 85; DN 256-257); *Pꜣ-šr-n-nꜣ-nṯrw* "The son of the gods" (DN 252). A similar meaning is probably conveyed by the pattern *Tꜣ(w)-n*-divinity, e.g., *Tꜣ(w)-n-nꜣ-hbw* "Scion of the (sacred) ibises" (I 386: 30-31; see for these names Yoyotte and de Meulenaere 1983: 107 - 108; 122).

7. *"Made" by god* X:

e.g., *Jr.n-Rꜥ* "Made by Ra" (I 39,36, Old Kingdom); *Pꜣ-jr-Jꜥḥ* "He who is made by the Moon(-God)" (II 278,3; Thirion 1988: 140).

8. *The "speaker"* (or "mother," according to Ranke 1937: 24) *as "kept alive" by god* X:

e.g., *Sꜥnḫ-wj-Ptḥ* "Ptah kept, or keeps, me alive" (I 300,26, Old Kingdom).

Another large group of names is constituted by theophorous names without explicit reference to the bearer or his family.

Pure, unextended divinity names are not used as personal names in the Old Kingdom, whereas in the Middle and New Kingdoms *ꜣst*

"Isis" (I 3,18), *Bꜣstt* "Bastet" (I 90,3), *Ptḥ* "Ptah" (I 138,9), *Rꜥ* "Ra" (I 217,7; 153,11 with correction by Thirion 1979: 90), *Ḥr* "Horus" (I 245,18), *Ḫnsw* "Khons" (I 270,16), *Stḫ* "Seth" and similarly (I 321,29; Piankoff 1947; Thirion 1979: 94; Zivie 1997; for the shape of the "Seth-sign" as a dating criterion in texts of New Kingdom, see Janssen 1997), and *Ḏḥwtj* "Thoth" (I 407,13) are well attested. From certain cases such as *Ḫnsw* and *Ḏḥwtj*, where the gender of the name-bearer does not always correspond to that of the gods, it may be concluded that such names often were abbreviations of compound theophorous names.

In the Late Period (including the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods) the names of the "greater" gods were rarely used as personal names unless in extended or compound forms such as *Ptḥ-nfr* "Beautiful Ptah" (I 140,14; 196,10 with corrections in Thirion 1995: 173; DN 489) and *ꜣst-wrt* "Isis the great" (I 4,1; DN 76-77), the most important exception being *Ḥr* "Horus" (I 245,18; DN 786-788), which in the course of the first millennium BCE became the most frequently occurring personal name of all. There were apparently no restrictions for the names of "lesser" divinities such as Bes (*Bs*, I 98,14; DN 146), Smithis (*Šsmtt* I 322,17-18 [read *śṯ.t, śṯtj.t*]), *Šmtj* (DN 968), Tutu/Tithoes (*Twtw* I 379,15-16; DN 1273-1275), and of course the divinized individuals Imhotep and Amenhotep son Hapu, all of which were widely appropriated as male proper names (*Jj-m-ḥtp* I 9,2-4; DN 55-56; *Jmn-ḥtp* I 30,12; DN 67). *Wnn-nfr(w)* (later *Wn-nfr*) "He who exists being rejuvenated," a name of Osiris first attested in the Middle Kingdom, is found as a personal name already in the Old Kingdom and became increasingly popular in the New Kingdom and later (I 79,19; DN 118-119; Gardiner 1950), whereas "Osiris" was never used as a personal name.

Very frequently, a divine epithet is used instead of a god's name proper, e.g., *Nb-swmnw* "Lord of Sumenu" = Sobek (I 186,8-9, see Kuentz 1928; Thirion 1986: 132), *Nhj-wrt* "Great sycamore" = Hathor (DN 643), and less obviously *Pꜣ-mr-jḥt* "The ox-herd," which

has been shown to be an epithet of Anubis and other gods (I 100,16, DN 188-190 and literature quoted ibid. 190; add Thirion 1985: 130; Leitz 2002: 241).

Much in favor were names formulated as sentences that expressed an action, a quality, or a state of the deity. Thus, it is said that a god "has come," e.g., *Ḫnsw-jw* "Khons has come" (I 270,17; DN 878), "lives," e.g., *ꜥnḫ-ḥp* "May the Apis bull live!" (I 65,25; DN 103), "is hale," e.g., *Ḥr-wḏꜣ* "Horus is hale" (I 246,23; 251,24; DN 796-798), *Wḏꜣ-Ḥr* "May Horus be hale!" (I 88,26; DN 130), "enduring," e.g., *Ḥp-mn* "The Apis bull is enduring" (I 237,13; DN 781), "has been born," e.g., *Ḏḥwtj-ms* "Thoth has been born" (I 408,5; DN 1303), "is strong," e.g., *Sbk-nḫt* "Sobek is strong" (I 304,15-16); *Nḫt-Mnṯw* and *Nꜣ-nḫt-Mnṯw* "Montu is strong" (I 210,19; DN 650-651), is "in festival," e.g., *Ḫnsw-m-ḥb* "Khons is in festival" (I 271,3), is "content," e.g., *Ḥtp-Ptḥ, Ptḥ-ḥtp* "Ptah is content" (I 258,6; 141,5; cf. below on honorific transposition), destroys the evil eye, e.g., *Ḫdb-Ḫnsw-jrt-bjnt* "May Khons kill the evil eye" (I 278,19; DN 893), or seizes enemies, e.g., *Ṯꜣj-ḥp-jm.w* "May Apis take hold of them!" (I 388,2; DN 1350-1351). Sometimes, the theophorous element is inherent in a suffix, as in the Late Period names *Ḥr.w* (very frequent, I 230,5-7; DN 746-748) and *Ḥtp.w* "They (the gods) are content," "May they be content!" (DN 848).

As with the names ending in *-ms* and *-m-ḥb* (II 216-219), it is not always easy to tell whether the use of names such as *Ḏḥwtj-ms* "Thutmose" in the New Kingdom and in the Late Period was influenced by the royal name or chosen independently in analogy to other names formed in the same manner.

Names from the Old Kingdom, when the suffix of the first-person singular was regularly omitted in writing, are often ambiguous. Whereas, for example, *Nj-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ* "Maat belongs to Ra" (I 172,16) is a general statement without direct reference to a human being, it is unclear whether a similar construction such as *Nj-ꜥnḫ-Sḫmt* (172,3-4) should be understood as an analogous statement "Life belongs to

Sakhmet" or whether it should rather be taken as *Nj-ꜥnḫ(.j)-Sḫmt* "My life belongs to Sakhmet," which results in an immediate connection between name-giver and theological background of the name (for the various names with initial *nj*, see Fischer 1996: 55 - 60).

Basilophorous Names

There are two types of names based on royal names:

1. Unextended royal names, consisting of either the birth name—e.g., *Jmn-m-ḥꜣt* "Amenemhat" (I 28,8; DN 64), abbreviated *Jmny* (I 31,13-15), *S-n-wsrt* "Senusret" (I 279,1; DN 895 *S-wsr* and similarly), *Ḏḥwtj-ms* "Thutmose" (I 408,5; 407,23 with correction by Thirion 1988: 134; DN 1303), *Ššnq* "Shoshenq" (I 330,6; DN 970), *Psmṯk* "Psammetichus" (I 136, 8; DN 212), *Jꜥḥ-ms* "Amasis" (I 12,19; DN 58)—or the throne name, e.g., *Sḥtp-jb-Rꜥ* "Sehetepibra" (I 318, 6), *Ḫpr-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "Kheperkara" (I 269,1; DN fasc. 18, corrections and addenda ad p. 875), *Mn-ḫpr-Rꜥ* "Menkheperra" (I 150,14; DN 595 *Mnḫ-pꜣ-Rꜥ*), *Wꜣḥ-jb-Rꜥ* "Wahibra" (I 72,28; DN 113), *Nfr-jb-Rꜥ* "Neferibra" (I 194,13; DN 617 *Nꜣ-nfr-jb-Rꜥ*), *Ḫnm-jb-Rꜥ* "Khenem-ibra" (I 276,14; DN 887), these being the throne names of Amenemhat I, Senusret I, Thutmose III, Psammetichus I and II, and Amasis respectively, which were widely used as personal names during and after the reigns of those kings.

2. Names composed with a royal name, often, but not always, forming a complete sentence (see Barta 1990), such as *Mry-ttj* "Beloved by Teti" (I 161,12), *Mry-Rꜥ-ꜥnḫ* "Merira (Pepy I) is alive" (I 160,24-25), *Rꜥ-ms-s(w)-nḫt* "Ramesses is strong, or victorious" (I 219,3), *ꜥnḫ-Ššnq* "May Shoshenq live" (I 66, 16; DN 105), *Ḫnm-jb-Rꜥ-mn* "Khenemibra (i.e., Amasis) is enduring" (I 276,15; DN 887), whose formulations are analogous to those of theophorous names as described above.

Royal names often offer no more than the *terminus a quo* for dating; thus one must examine each case individually. In the Old Kingdom,

unextended royal names were generally not used as personal names, *Ttj* (I 384,4) presumably being no exception as it need not be the king's name. Compound basilophorous names were used, however, both during the reigns of the respective kings and later, e.g., *Snfrw-ḥtp* "Seneferu is content" (I 315,21, 6th Dynasty, cf. Porter and Moss 1974: 96; and Middle Kingdom), *Ḫwfw-nḫt* "Khufu is strong, or victorious" (I 268,8, 4th Dynasty, cf. Porter and Moss 1974: 57), *Ḫwfw-mr-nṯrw* "Khufu is beloved by the gods" (I 268,6, 6th Dynasty, cf. Porter and Moss 1974: 96), *Ḫwfw-m-ꜣḫt* "Khufu is in the horizon" (Porter and Moss 1974: 17; Zivie-Coche 1991: 144, 146; 162 - 163, a member of a priestly family from the 26th Dynasty that served in the mortuary cult of several pharaohs of the 4th Dynasty), *ꜥnḫ(.j)-m-ꜥ-Ḏd.f-Rꜥ* "My life is in the hand of Radjedef" (I 64,5, 4th Dynasty according to Cherpion 1984: 41).

From the Middle Kingdom onwards, the unextended name of the king, past or present, could be used as a personal name (see examples above), but is usually not enclosed by a cartouche (an exception is *Ḫpr-kꜣ-Rꜥ*, the owner of a Middle Kingdom stela in Leiden, see Boeser 1909: 3 - 4 no. 6 and pl. V). Within compound names, the basilophorous element may or may not be enclosed by a cartouche. In the course of the 26th Dynasty, and especially in the 27th Dynasty, the use of a cartouche for unextended royal names used as personal names becomes frequent, but there seems to be no fixed rule for its absence or presence (de Meulenaere 1966: 33 - 34).

The names of the royal butlers of the Ramesside Period, especially those of presumably foreign origin, were frequently based on the names of the ruling pharaoh, as exemplified by *Mr-n-Ptḥ-m-pr-Ptḥ* "Merenptah is in the House of Ptah," or *Nfr-kꜣ-Rꜥ-m-pr-Jmn* "Neferkara (= Ramesses IX) is in the House of Amun" (I 200,19; Schulman 1990: 13 no. 10; 18 no. 52). The same practice may be observed with many of the so-called "beautiful names" of the 26th Dynasty (see Vittmann 2012): It is reasonable to assume that somebody with the "beautiful name" *Nfr-jb-*

Rꜥ-mr-Ptḥ "Neferibra (= Psammetichus II) is beloved by Ptah" (I 194, 15) received, or assumed, this name during the reign of the specified ruler. However, names of this type, e.g., *Wꜣḥ-jb-Rꜥ-m-ꜣḫt* "Wahibra (= Psammetichus I) is in the horizon" (I 73,3; DN 112) and *Jꜥḥ-ms-mn-m-ḥwt-ꜥꜣt* "Amasis is enduring in the Great Mansion (of Heliopolis)" (II 261,16) were also used much later (see Vittmann 2009: 96 - 97). Frequently, the basilophorous names of the Late Period hark back to early predecessors: for example, *Nfr-sšm-Psmtk* "Good is the guidance(?) of Psammetichus" (I 200,6; Thirion 1994: 179) is modeled after the typical Old Kingdom pattern *Nfr-sšm*-king/divinity (I 200, 5.7-11).

Given the situation just described, it is hardly surprising that Libyan royal names such as *Ššnq* "Shoshenq" and *Psmtk* "Psammetichus" were used long after the reign of those kings, even in the Ptolemaic Period (see, e.g., Lüddeckens et al. 1980 – 2000: 212 - 214 for *Psmtk* and compounds, ibid. 970 for *Ššnq*), whereas no contemporaneous Egyptian source is known applying a Kushite or Persian royal name to an individual. An important discussion of the use of Libyan royal names in contemporaneous anthroponymy is that of Anthony Leahy (1992; a further interesting example being *ꜥnḫ-Pꜣ-my* "May (king) Pami live!" in the unpublished hieratic papyrus Vienna D 12011 from the Third Intermediate Period).

Names Based on Those of Other Individuals

In addition to theophorous and basilophorous personal names, there are also names based on those of individuals who were in some way or other of special importance to the name-bearer. It is often impossible to determine the kind of relationship between the "borrower" and the "lender." In some instances it is probable that the use of a personal name as a part of a more complex name points to the veneration of a deceased and deified individual. For example, this seems to be the case with names composed with *Ttj* in early New Kingdom Thebes, such as *Ttj-ꜥn* "Teti is beautiful," *Ttj-ꜥnḫ* "Teti is alive," and simply

Ttj "Teti" (Whelan 2007: 56, 63 - 96). In other instances, a parent of the name-bearer might be involved, as in *Mḥw-m-ḥ3t* "Mehu is in front" and *Nb(j)-pw-Mḥw* "Mehu is my lord" (two sons of the vizier Mehu, cf. Rummel 2003: 371), or, alternatively, a superior of the name-bearer. An instructive example of the latter from the 20th Dynasty is the name *Rˁ-ms-s(w)-nḫt-mn* "Ramessenakht is enduring." This hitherto unattested name of a temple carpenter from Karnak is clearly based on the name of his superior, the High Priest of Amun *Rˁ-ms-s(w)-nḫt* (Rummel 2003), which in turn is a basilophorous name as described above.

Other examples from earlier periods include *Gm.n.j-m-ḥ3t* "(Ka)gemni is in front" and *Gm.n.j-m-s3.f* "(Ka)gemni is his protection" (I 351,19-20). A problem can be posed by names that are basically basilophorous. It is sometimes uncertain whether the element "Senusret" in *Nb(.j)-pw-S-n-wsrt* "Senusret is my lord" really refers to the pharaoh or rather to an individual named after the pharaoh.

From the latter half of the Ptolemaic Period onwards, but especially in the Roman Period, personal names of the type "The son/The daughter of (the individual) X" become frequent (Vleeming 2011: 918 - 935). Examples include *P3-šr-pa-ḫnm* "The son of *Pa-ḫnm*" (DN 242), *T3-šrt-jw.f-ˁnḫ* "The daughter of *Jw.f-ˁnḫ*" (DN 1088), and *T3-šrt-n-p3-dj-mn* "The daughter of *P3-dj-mn*" (DN 1124-1125, rendered as Σενπετεμινις and similarly in Greek). In the very common case of theophorous personal names of this type, however, it is often impossible to tell whether we have to analyze them as "The son/The daughter of (the individual named after the divinity) X" or directly as "The son/The daughter of god X." Thus, for example, it is unclear whether *P3-šr-p3-m3j* is to be understood as "The son of the (divine) Lion" or rather as "The son of *P3-m3j*" (DN 235). Sometimes, and surprisingly only with women, these names are genuine patronymics, e.g., *T3-šrt-n-p3-dj-Mn,* "The daughter of *P3-dj-Mn*," her father's name actually being *P3-dj-Mn* (Arlt 2011: 23, text no. 32; for other examples see ibid: 157).

In the late second century CE, and predominantly in the third century, this onomastic type is further extended according to the model "The son of the daughter of X" and "The daughter of the son of X," e.g., *P3-šr-n-t3-šrt-Ḥr-wḏ3* "The son of (the woman called) 'The daughter of *Ḥr-wḏ3*'" (rendered in Greek documents as Ψενσεναρυωτης, DN 269) and *T3-šrt-n-p3-šr-t3-msjˁ3t* "The daughter of the (man called) 'The son of the (divine) midwife'" (Σενψενθμεσιως, DN 1121; for this name-pattern, which is mainly attested in mummy labels from the Panopolite nome, see Vleeming 2011: 923 - 928).

Abbreviations and Untranslatable Names ("Demotivated Names")

Already in the Old Kingdom, many short names were formed by reduplication of single consonants, e.g., *Ppj* (I 131,12, as opposed to the royal-name *Ppy*, see Fischer 1989), *Ffj* (I 142, 8), *Mmj* (I 149,18), *Ššj* (I 330,3), *Ttj* (I 384,4; II 398 with a later example). Another large group is constituted by abbreviations and hypocoristica (pet names), such as *Jbj* (I 20,5-10; DN 61); *Jnj/Jny* (I 33,4-5. 11-16; see also Thirion 1979: 82 - 83); *Jpj/Jpy* (I 22,13-15.22-24; 23,2-3); *Jtj/Jty* (I 49,13-21); My (I 146,10); 1y (I 233,18-20) short for *Jmn-ḥtp*, *3ny* (I 2,10-11) short for *Jmn-m-jnt* in the New Kingdom (Moore 1996). From cuneiform transcriptions we know that, in the New Kingdom, *-y* was pronounced as [–ya], e.g., *My* = Maya, *Ḥy* = Haya, etc. (Edel 1948: 13 - 14). In the Late Period, we find *T3j-n-jm.w* (I 387,13; DN 1348 - 1349) as an apparent abbreviation of *T3j-ḫ-n-jm.w* "May (god) X seize them!" and similarly *Ḏdḥy* = *Ḏd-Ḥnsw*, short for *Ḏd-Ḥnsw-jw.f-ˁnḫ* (I 412,1-4; DN 1374-1375). In the Ptolemaic Period, we find *P3-sy* (DN 412), short for *P3-dj-Wsjr*. For a rare pejorative use of abbreviations, see Vittmann (2012).

Honorific Transposition

An important phenomenon is "honorific transposition" (II 13-15; Fischer 1996: 69 - 71; Peust 2007). Theophorous or basilophorous elements would frequently be written at the

beginning of the name, even if pronounced in the syntactically appropriate place. As a consequence, there are ambiguous examples: A name written *Ptḥ* + *ḥtp* might well be understood as *Ḥtp-Ptḥ* (for the latter construction in the Old Kingdom, with avoidance of the pseudoparticiple, see Fischer 1996: 61 - 66). The problem is complicated by the fact that both types, in the concrete case *ḥtp* - divinity/divinity - *ḥtp*, were in use as we know from Greek renderings, e.g., *Jmn-ḥtp* Ἀμενωθης (I 30, 12; DN 67): *Ḥtp-Jmn* Ἑτπαμουνις (I 258, 1; DN 847).

Distinguishing Like-named Persons in a Family

When father and son (or elder brother and younger brother, and the like) had the same name, ambiguities would often be avoided by additions such as *wr*, later *pꜣ ꜥꜣ*, "senior," or *nḏs*, later *nḫn*, and (especially in the Late Period) *pꜣ ḫm* "junior." If several like-named individuals had to be distinguished, *ḥrj-jb* "the middle one" could be added (II 10-12; Vandekerckhove and Müller-Wollermann 294 - 295). Apparently, these distinguishing additions were sometimes treated by the Egyptians themselves as integral constituents of the name, as we may infer from Greek renderings such as Ἁρπχημις = *Ḥr-pꜣ-ḫm* "Horus junior" or Σμητο = *Ns-mtr-(pꜣ)-ꜥꜣ* "*Ns-mtr* senior" (Lüddeckens et al. 1980 – 2000: 805; 677).

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The standard works of reference remain Ranke (1935 and 1952; with important additions and corrections by Thirion [1979-], and a useful index by Backes [2002]), but Lieblein (1871 and 1892) are still valuable, the more so since the author integrates the personal name in its genealogical and prosopographical context. The non-initial elements of proper names are conveniently listed, together with the names in which they are found, in Ranke (1977). As part of the project "Wortdiskussionen," currently undertaken by the Egyptological Seminar of Basel University, latest update April 2012), literature on proper names is being collected. Useful and readable overviews on the diversity, and various aspects, of Egyptian personal names are Ranke (1936 and 1937). For the Old Kingdom, Scheele-Schweitzer's eagerly awaited comprehensive monograph will hopefully stimulate comparable studies. An important recent contribution highlighting the significance of Old and Middle Kingdom personal names for the study of grammar and syntax is offered by Gundacker (2010: 63 - 90). For the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, the (1986) study by Vernus on double names presents and analyzes much material. Rosati (1980) is a lengthy article on Middle Kingdom onomastics, founded on firmly datable sources. Based on form and content, Trindade-Lopes (1998) presents a rather short overview on the personal names of the New Kingdom with references to Ranke but without including transcriptions. An analytical study of theophorous names of the Old and Middle Kingdoms was undertaken by Hoffmann (1915); a short overview of the subject covering the whole time-frame from earliest periods to the Coptic era is Lüddeckens (1985). For Demotic proper names, Lüddeckens et al. (1980-) is an indispensable tool. Foreign personal names in Egyptian sources are collected and studied by Schneider (1992, 1993, 2003: 112 - 176) (mostly Semitic but also Anatolian); Colin (1996: II) (Libyan; a revised edition is forthcoming); Vittmann (2004), Tavernier (2007), and Schmitt and Vittmann (forthcoming) (Iranian). Greek personal names in Demotic transmission are found in Lüddeckens et al. (1980 – 2000). For Egyptian personal names rendered in non-Egyptian scripts, see Ranke (1910), Leahy (1992), Zeidler (1994),

Bongenaar and Haring (1994) (Akkadian; a comprehensive collection and analysis of the scattered sources is still a desideratum); Muchiki (1999) (Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic, with important reviews by Quack [2000] and Schneider [2001]), Porten (2002) (Aramaic), Vittmann (2001) (Carian) and (2002) (Phoenician, Aramaic, and Carian). For the Greek renderings of Egyptian personal names, Lüddeckens et al. (1980 – 2000) is useful, but a complete analysis on the basis of Preisigke (1922) and Foraboschi (1971) is still to be made.

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