

Index zu Michelle Thirion, 'Notes d'onomastique. Contribution à une révision du Ranke *PN*', 1–11^e série

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Einführung

Im Verlauf der vergangenen gut 20 Jahre hat Michelle Thirion reiches bibliographisches Material zur onomastischen Forschung präsentiert,¹ die einzige umfassende Sammlung dieser Art.² Die Form der schnellen Veröffentlichung in inzwischen elf Aufsätzen und deren Aufbau hat dabei zu unvermeidlicher Unübersichtlichkeit geführt, so daß eine Nutzung der Beiträge als schnell zu handhabende Ergänzung des Nachschlagewerks ausgeschlossen ist – man müßte bei jeder Suche alle elf Artikel Seite für Seite lesen. Und ein „neuer Ranke“ ist nicht in Sicht. Der vorliegende Index soll in diesem Rahmen eine kurzfristige Erleichterung schaffen,³ eine Sammlung möglichst aller Beiträge zur Onomastik hätte wieder ein eigenes langfristig angelegtes Projekt erfordert.

Angesichts der Bandbreite von Michelle Thirions Beiträgen (von kurzer Erwähnung einer Person als Elternteil einer anderen, um die es eigentlich geht, bis zu mehrseitigen Abhandlungen über einen Namen mit kompletter Belegliste und Bibliographie) erschien eine präzise Markierung der Einträge nach ihrem Informationsgehalt zu kompliziert und daraus folgend unübersichtlich. „Überflüssiges“ Nachschlagen wird manchmal die Folge sein, doch hätte die Übernahme der jeweiligen Informationen in den Index diesen im Umfang zu sehr aufgebläht, ohne damit Thirions Aufsätze zu ersetzen. Folgende grobe Strukturierung wurde vorgenommen:

- () Ist ein Name eingeklammert, so ist er nach Thirion (bzw. ihrer Referenz) zu streichen oder mit einem anderen Namen identisch, dessen Belegnr. in der zweiten Spalte nach einem Gleichheitszeichen angegeben ist: „= *PN*-Beleg“. ⁴ Dieser Name ist ebenfalls aufgenommen und durch den zu streichenden Beleg ergänzt: „(+ *PN*-Beleg)“. Bei einem Gleichheitszeichen ohne Einklammerung des Namens ist von gleichberechtigten Varianten auszugehen.
- * Der Name ist in *PN* nicht enthalten.

Bei Namen ohne jede Markierung sind z. B. durch weitere Belege, neue Datierung oder Publikationen der bekannten Belege, Hinweise auf die einzelnen Personen u. dgl. Informationen bereitgestellt.

Etwas problematisch stellte sich die alphabetische Sortierung dar, da die Umschrift durch Thirion

¹ *RdE* 31 (1979), 81–96; *RdE* 33 (1981), 79–87; *RdE* 34 (1982–3), 125–43; *RdE* 36 (1985), 125–43; *RdE* 37 (1986), 131–37; *RdE* 39 (1988), 131–46; *RdE* 42 (1991), 213–30; *RdE* 43 (1992), 163–68; *RdE* 45 (1994), 175–88; *RdE* 46 (1995), 171–80; *RdE* 52 (2001), 265–76.

² Auch Thirions Angaben erheben jedoch in keiner Weise Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit und konzentrieren sich auf theophore und topophore Namen, s. die Einleitungen ihrer Artikel.

³ Den Anlaß zur Erstellung eines Index gab der Aufbau einer Datenbank der Besitzer von Totenbüchern durch das Bonner Totenbuchprojekt.

⁴ Auf die Angabe des hinter der *PN*-Belegstelle stehenden Namens wurde verzichtet, um den Index nicht noch weiter aufzublähen. Der Name geht ja dann aus der Benutzung der indizierten Textstelle hervor.

z. T. von Ranke differiert, insbesondere durch (inkonsequente) Verwendung des y und den Wegfall der Unterscheidung zwischen z und s.⁵ Wenn eine Umschrift durch Thirion gegeben ist, so ist diese hier verwendet. Dagegen sind die Belege i. d. R. nach den PN-Belegnummern geordnet, da man nach diesen sucht. Doch waren Inkonssequenzen nicht zu vermeiden, insbesondere bei der Einfügung der Namen aus PN II oder neuen Namen. Ich hoffe, nach diesen Hinweisen wird sich der Benutzer aber ohne unangemessenen Aufwand zurechtfinden.

⁵ Außerdem sind im Laufe von elf Aufsätzen einige Inkonssequenzen aufgetreten, wie z. B. Wechsel zwischen i.ir.s/f-n-XY und iir.s/f-n-XY.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
(Ax-iaH)	I, 2, 22 = I, 280, 13; II, 383	39, 131
Ast-wrt	I, 4, 1	46, 173 ⁶
Ast-m-Ax-bit	I, 4, 3	42, 234 ⁷
Ast-m-HAt	I, 4, 4 (+ I, 4, 6; II, 336)	31, 93
Ast-m-Hb	I, 4, 5	34, 107; ⁸ 42, 225 ⁹
(Ast-n-mHyt)	I, 4, 6; II, 336 = I, 4, 4	31, 93
*Ast-nbt-nAy.s-niwt		45, 184–5
(Ast-r-mr.s)	I, 4, 8 = I, 4, 10; II, 336	31, 89; 39, 145
Ast-rS.ti	I, 4, 10; II, 336 (+ I, 4, 8)	31, 89; 39, 145; 52, 271
Ast-Srit	II, 259, 17	42, 228
*Ast-tA-nfrt		42, 232
*Ast-tA-nfrt-ij		42, 232 (Anm. 78)
*i-mi(t)-Sri(t)		46, 184
*iAw-n-imn		42, 232
*iir.f-aA-(n-)imn		42, 232
*iir.f-aA-[n-]mAi-HsA		39, 137
*iir.f-aA-n-Hapy		34, 111–2; 39, 145
*iir.s-aA-n-bAstt		52, 272
(iy-aS-nf...)	I, 8, 16 = *iy-aS(w)-n.f	42, 223
*iy-aS(w)-n.f	(s. I, 8, 16)	42, 223
iy-wy-imn	II, 260, 18 = II, 337 zu I, 8, 20	33, 79
iy-wn	II, 260, 21	46, 174
iy-n.i	I, 9, 25 (+ I, 10, 2)	31, 89
(iy-n.i-wsir(?))	I, 10, 2 = I, 9, 25	31, 89
(iy-nfr)/iy-nfrt	II, 337 zu I, 10, 5/I, 10, 7	36, 125
iaH	I, 12, 13; (II, 338) (+ II, 279, 23)	36, 129; 39, 131–2 + 135
iaH-iir-di-s(t)	I, 12, 15; II, 338	39, 141 ¹⁰
(*iaH-anx)	= *bi-anx	39, 141; 45, 188
*iaH-pAy.f-arbt	(+ II, 285, 16)	33, 82; 43, 166
iaH-m-sA.f	II, 261, 14	39, 139
*iaH-mn		39, 141
iaH-ms	I, 12, 19; II, 338 (+ I, 12, 20)	39, 132; 42, 234; 46, 175 ¹¹
(iaH-ms-iaH-ms)	I, 12, 20 = I, 12, 19	39, 132
iaHms-mn-(m-)inbHD	II, 261, 15 (+ II, 289, 3)	43, 166
iaH-nfr	I, 13, 6; II, 338	39, 132; 45, 187
iaH-ris(w)	I, 13, 7	33, 83, n. 32
iaH-Htp(w)	I, 13, 8	39, 136
iaH-tAy.f-nxt	I, 13, 9; I, XIX; II, 338	39, 141
*iaH-tAy.s-nxt		39, 141; 52, 274
*iaH-di-st		39, 141
(iw-n-Hr)	II, 262, 3 = I, 100, 9	52, 267

⁶ „Isisouret“.

⁷ „Isetkheb“.

⁸ „ist-m-Hb“.

⁹ „Isisemkheb“.

¹⁰ „Iahirdis“.

¹¹ Die letzten beiden Einträge jeweils: „Ahmès“.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
*iw-rwd.f		52, 271
iw.f-aA	I, 14, 2-3; I, XIX (+ I, 255, 9)	36, 128 (Anm.31); 36, 130-1
iw.f-bAkW(?)	I, 14, 6 = II, 261, 22	52, 267-9
iw.f-r-bAkW(?)	II, 261, 22 (+ I, 14, 6 + I, 92, 4)	52, 267-9
(iw(?).k-r-DHwtj)	I, 16, 5 = I, 371, 12; II, 397	36, 138
(iwnyt)	I, 17, 25; II, 339 = I, 33, 17	31, 82
iwTk	I, 18, 32	33, 83; 45, 187
*imy-ptH		52, 271
imy-r-iHw	I, 25, 18	36, 130
imn-iy/iw	I, 26, 20-21; II, 340	46, 178
(imn-in-Sfw)	II, 340 zu I, 26, 23 = I, 35, 24	31, 90; 39, 145
imn-iry-irt	II, 263, 18	46, 183
(imn-wr-qn)	I, 27, 5 = I, 334, 18	31, 89
imn-pA-ym	I, 415, 6	36, 130
imn-pAy.i-idnw	I, 27, 9; II, 340	46, 183
*imn-pAy.s-dnw	(s. I, 27, 15; I, XIX; II, 340)	46, 183
(imn-pna-...)	I, 27, 14 = I, 252, 5; II, 378	31, 83
(imn-psdnw)	I, 27, 15; I, XIX; II, 340 = *imn-pAy.s-dnw	46, 183
imn-m-Hb	I, 28, 14	34, 107
(imn-my)	I, 415, 11 = I, 146, 10	31, 90
imn-ms	I, 29, 11; I, XIX; II, 341	31, 82
(imn-nb-tAwy)	I, 29, 17 = I, 183, 10	31, 90 (+ 39, 145)
(imn-nx(?))	I, 29, 20 = I, 29, 21; I, XIX	31, 91 + 39, 145 ¹²
imn-nxt	I, 29, 21; I, XIX (+ I, 29, 20 + I, 80, 18 + I, 316, 27)	31, 91
imn-rwD	I, 30, 1	39, 143
imn-hdw	I, 30, 3; II, 341 = II, 264, 3	31, 83
*imn-Hr-Hs(t).f		42, 232
imn-tA.i-nxt	I, 415, 17	52, 270
*imn-tAy.s-nxt		42, 232
imny	I, 31, 10	43, 163
(imrry(?))	I, 32, 10 = I, 18, 12; II, 339	36, 127
iny	I, 33, 16 (+ I, 199, 24)	42, 227
(inyt)	I, 33, 17 = I, 17, 25; II, 339	31, 82
(ini-sw-ptH)	I, 415, 19 = II, 287, 9	39, 134
(in-Hr-Dr-tAwy)	II, 264, 19 = I, 246, 1	45, 177
(inHrt...)	I, 35, 19 = I, 295, 16	31, 83
(in-Hrw-Drw)	II, 377 zu I, 246, 1 = I, 246, 1 (d. h. Rankes Korrektur ist ungültig)	45, 177
in-sw-mHyt(-r)-br-pA-nfw	II, 264, 24	36, 138
in-Sfw	I, 35, 23; II, 342 (+ I, 26, 23; II, 334) = I, 35, 24	31, 90-1; 52, 273
in-Sf(n)w	I, 35, 24; II, 342 (= I, 35, 23) (+ II, 340 zu I, 26, 23)	31, 90-1
(inp(?)-m-wiA)	I, 37, 1; II, 342 = I, 206, 23; II, 371 bzw. *inpw-m-wiA	31, 94 (+ 39, 145)
*inpw-m-wiA	(s. II, 342 zu I, 37, 1)	31, 94

¹² Die Korrektur ist mir nicht ersichtlich: Meint Thirion, daß doch imn-nx (?) zu lesen sei?

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
(inpw-n-mnx...(?))	I, 37, 14 = II, 294, 15	31, 83
(intrS)	I, 38, 25	31, 83
iri	I, 39, 5 (= II, 265, 23)	36, 125
(iri)	II, 265, 23 = I, 39, 5	36, 125
irt-xnty-Tnnt	II, 266, 2 (+ I, 273, 10; II, 382)	31, 85
(iry(t?)-Hnwt-mtr)	II, 266, 12 = I, 243, 16; I, XXVI; II, 377	39, 134
iryt-Xnty-Tnnt	II, 382 zu I, 273, 10 = II, 266, 2	31, 85
ir-wSA(?)	I, 39, 30; II, 343 (+ I, 43, 4)	36, 125
*ir-mwt-pA-nfr		36, 141
*ir-mHyt-wDA-(n-)nfw		36, 140; 39, 146; 52, 274
*ir-n-xnsw		52, 272 ¹³
ir-Hp-iAwt	I, 40, 4; II, 343	31, 88
*ir-Hr-sxrw		42, 236
iir.f-aA-n-bAsth	I, 40, 8; II, 343	52, 269
ir.f-aA-n-ptH	I, 40, 9; II, 343 (+ I, 40, 13)	39, 132
(ir.f-nfr-(n-)ptH	I, 40, 13; II, 343 = I, 40, 9; II, 343	39, 132
irt-(i)r.w	I, 42, 10; II, 343	39, 144
irt-(nt-)Hr-r.w	I, 42, 11; I, XX; II, 343	46, 179 ¹⁴
irty(?) -r-TAi	I, 42, 17; II, 343	36, 133
(iryt-xnty-Tnnt)	I, 273, 10 + II, 382 = II, 266, 2	31, 85
(irwy-irwy(?))	I, 43, 4 = II, 343 zu I, 39, 20	36, 125
*irks/ikrs(?)		34, 113
*ih(A)	(s. I, 43, 30+32)	34, 113
*iH-sty-imn		39, 143
*iH-sty-pp		39, 143
*iH-sty-sxmt/bAsth		39, 143
ist-m-Hb	(s. unter Ast-m-Hb; I, 4, 5)	34, 107
*isw-mwt(?)		36, 141
*iq(r)-nxt	(I, 304, 16; II, 386 zu I, 304, 15)	33, 79
(iqt)	I, 47, 29 = *iqt-bnt (/msyt)	45, 178
*iqt-bnt (/msyt)	s. I, 47, 29 + I, 97, 23 + II, 277, 11 + I, 165, 10	45, 178
(ikS)	I, 48, 23 = I, 102, 4; II, 352	31, 83
*it-it-Sr(i)		39, 141 (+ Anm. 105)
*itm-m-Hb		34, 108
itm-m-tA-nb	II, 398 zu I, 380, 22 = II, 268, 12	31, 85
itm(w)-m-tA-nb	II, 268, 12 (+ I, 380, 22; II, 398)	31, 85
idAy	I, 53, 21	33, 81
(idnw)	(vgl. I, 54, 12) = *qdnwt	45, 187 zu 33, 80-1
ytabar	II, 269, 1 (+ I, 416, 19; II, 402)	31, 86
(yta (?)bar)	I, 416, 19; II, 402 = II, 269, 1	31, 86
(aA-mnxt-imn)	II, 269, 8 = I, 169, 20; II, 363	39, 135
aA.f-n-mwt	I, 416, 23	36, 138

¹³ „Irenkhonsou“.¹⁴ „Irthorerou“.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
*aA.f-n-Hr		42, 236
aAm	I, 59, 2; II, 346	34, 106
(abt-ra(?))	I, 59, 25; II, 346 = *ra-abw	31, 94
(anw-Ast(?))	II, 270, 15 = I, 62, 11; I, XX	39, 135
anw-TAi	I, 62, 11; I, XX (+ II, 270, 15)	39, 135
*ant-m-Hb		34, 108
anx-irt-ir.w	I, 62, 25	36, 133
anx-pA.f-Hrj ¹⁵	I, 63, 18; II, 346	42, 225; 43, 167
*anx(.i?) -m-a-nmtj	s. I, 64, 3; II, 346	36, 126
(anx(.i?) -m-a-skr)	I, 64, 3; II, 346 = *anx(.i?) -m-a-nmtj	36, 126
anx-mAat-ra	I, 64, 12	36, 134
(anx-mwt)	I, 64, 13; II, 346 = I, 67, 8	36, 129
anx-mn	II, 270, 29	45, 178
(anx-n-n-mwt)	II, 271, 16 = I, 67, 20	31, 84
anx-nA-hbw	I, 64, 20 (+ I, 66, 20; II, 347)	36, 134
anx-Hr(w)	I, 66, 1	36, 137; ¹⁶ 46, 173 ¹⁷
(anx-Hr)	I, 66, 3 = I, 251, 23	36, 137
anx-HkA	I, 66, 5; II, 347	45, 178
anx-Xrd	(vgl. I, 277-14+17: Xrd-anx(.w))	46, 173 ¹⁸
anx-smA-tAwj	I, 66, 12	39, 141
(anx-gmgm)	I, 66, 20; II, 347 = I, 64, 20	36, 134
anx-tA.s-Hryt	I, 66, 22; II, 347	45, 180 ¹⁹
*anx.f-(n)-iaH		39, 141
anx.f-n-mwt	I, 67, 8 (+ I, 64, 13; II, 346)	36, 129
*anx.f-n-Hr		42, 236
anx.s-n-mwt	I, 67, 20 (+ I, 169, 18 + II, 271, 16)	31, 84
an.tj(?) -m-HAt	I, 69, 21; II, 347 = *nmtj-m-HAt	s. 36, 126
*ar-Hp		37, 137
ar(w)-Hp-(r)-mnfr	I, 70, 16	37, 137
aHa-mAa-(n)-irt-bint	I, 70, 23	36, 134
astrt-iy.ti	I, 71, 6; II, 348	45, 180 ²⁰
(aS-m-Hb)	II, 272, 18 = *mH-m-Hb (*Hw-m-Hb)	36, 128
*aSA-xt		52, 273 zu 34, 103
wAwA	I, 72, 23; II, 348	37, 133; 45, 187
wAHibra-mnx-ib	(s. I, 153, 6: mnx-ib-wAH-ib-ra)	43, 167 ²¹
*wAHibra-xw		42, 234 ²²
wAD	I, 74, 14; II, 348	39, 132
wADt	I, 74, 29(; II, 348)	39, 135
wADyt	II, 273, 14	39, 135
wADyt-ii.ti	II, 273, 15	39, 139

¹⁵ „Ankhaefhery“.¹⁶ Nur Hieroglyphen.¹⁷ „Ankhhor“.¹⁸ „Ankhhkered“.¹⁹ „Ankhtaesheryt“.²⁰ „Astartétyi“.²¹ „Ouahibréménékhib“.²² „Ouahibrekhon“.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
*wADyt-ir-di-s(w?)		39, 142
*wADyt-ir-di-s(t)		39, 142
*wADyt-m-Axt		39, 143
wADyt-m-HAt	I, 75, 7; I, XXI	42, 234 ²³
*wADyt-hr		37, 137
(wab-DHWty)	II, 273, 22 = I, 407, 13; II, 401	31, 93
wbn-n.s-iaH	I, 77, 12	39, 141 (Anm. 108)
wpwAwt-iry	I, 77, 19 (+ I, 77, 20)	42, 224
(wpwAwt-ity)	I, 77, 20 = I, 77, 19	42, 224 (+ 45, 188)
wpwAwt-ris(w)	I, 77, 26; II, 349	33, 83, n. 34
*wpwAwt-tAy-nxtt	(s. I, 193, 16; II, 368)	31, 92
(*wn-bs)	= I, 98, 14; II, 352	34, 110; 39, 145
(wn-Hr-st.s(?))	II, 273, 29	31, 93
wn-tA-wAt	I, 78, 19; II, 349; II, 274, 1	33, 79
*wr-Axt/ixt-imn		42, 232–3
(wr-imn-nxt)	I, 80, 18 = I, 29, 21	31, 91
(wr-wr(?))	II, 274, 15 (= I, 229, 9) = *hwr-sp-sn	36, 126
*wr-n.i-imn		42, 232
*wr(?) -Hapy		34, 110
wr-HtHr	I, 417, 26 = II, 274, 20	34, 103
wrn-r/wrl	I, 83, 2 ²⁴ (+ II, 274, 28)	43, 166
(wrnr-anx)	II, 274, 28 = I, 83, 2	43, 166
wsir-wr	I, 84, 23	46, 178; ²⁵ 52, 265
wsir-ms	I, 84, 26	46, 177 ²⁶ +180
wsir-nxt	I, 85, 1	42, 238 ²⁷
(wsiry(?))	I, 85, 4 = I, 321, 17; II, 389	31, 94; 52, 273
(wSA-idid(?))	I, 87, 10; II, 350 = I, 367, 22; II, 396	31, 83
(wD-imn-anx.f)	I, 88, 9; I, XXI; II, 350 = I, 409, 23	31, 91
(wDA-t)	I, 88, 15 = I, 88, 23; II, 351	36, 127
(wDA-Axt)	I, 88, 16; II, 350 = I, 179, 12; II, 365	31, 84
wDA-rn.s	I, 88, 23; II, 351 (+ I, 88, 15)	36, 127
wDA-Hr	I, 88, 26; II, 351	45, 184 ²⁸
*wDA-Hr-m-Hb		34, 108
wDA-Sw	I, 89, 3; II, 351 (+ I, 88, 15)	36, 127
bA-anxw	II, 275, 29 (= I, 275, 10; II, 383)	36, 131
bA-bA.f	II, 275, 30 (+ I, 275, 12; II, 383)	36, 131
bA-kA(i)	II, 276, 2 (= I, 276, 9; II, 383)	36, 131–2
*bAw-mwt-r-nxtw ²⁹		36, 141
*bAwy	(s. I, 251, 20; II, 378: Hrwy)	37, 132
bAt-iy.ti	I, 418, 11	42, 231

²³ „Oudjytemhar“.

²⁴ Druckfehler bei Thirion: „I, 85, 2“.

²⁵ „Ousirour“.

²⁶ „Ousirmès“.

²⁷ „Ousirnakht“.

²⁸ „Oudjahor“.

²⁹ Oder bAw-mwt-r-TA.w?

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
bAsth-iy.ti	I, 90, 5	42, 224
*bAsth-rS.ti		52, 271
bAk-nA-[xtiw]	I, 90, 21	37, 134
bAk-n-nf (=bAk-n-nfw)	I, 91, 10	37, 134
*bAk-n-spd		52, 271
(bAk-Hr)	I, 418, 14 = I, 351, 26; II, 394	46, 174
(bAk(?))	I, 92, 4 = II, 261, 22	52, 268
bAkt-imn	I, 92, 7	34, 107
*bAk(t)-n-HtHr		34, 112
*bi-anx		45, 188 zu 39, 141
*bik-ir-di-sw		42, 235
*bik-anx		42, 236
*bw-irw-Har-xnsw	= I, 95, 2	33, 83-4
*bw-[irw-]qba-mwt		45, 185
(bw-xAa-n.f)	I, 418, 16 = *bw-xAa.f-ptH	42, 224
*bw-xAa.f-ptH	(s. I, 418, 16 + I, 97, 3)	42, 224
bwt-Har-xnsw	I, 95, 2 = *bw-irw-Har-xnsw	33, 83-4
(bm)	I, 96, 14 = I, 97, 12; II, 351	46, 180-1
*bn-iw-kb(a)-n-bAsth		46, 184
(bn-ant)	I, 96, 17 = II, 277, 5	31, 84
(bn-xAa.f)	I, 97, 3 = *bw-xAa.f-ptH	42, 224
bnbw	I, 97, 12; II, 351 (+ I, 96, 14; I, 97, 13)	46, 181; 52, 275
(bnmb(?))	I, 97, 13 = I, 97, 12; II, 351	46, 181
(bnt)	II, 277, 11 = *iqbt-bnt (/msyt)	45, 178
(bnt-msyt)	I, 97, 23 = *iqbt-bnt (/msyt)	45, 178
*bnp-Xnmw-xAa-nw		43, 167
bs	I, 98, 14; I, XXI; II, 352 (+ *wn-bs)	34, 110 + 39, 145
(pA-Asx)	II, 277, 25 = I, 110, 24; II, 353	43, 166
*pA-iw-iw-xnsw		33, 85
pA-iw-(n-)Hr	I, 100, 9 (+ II, 262, 3)	42, 237-8; ³⁰ 52, 267
pA-mr-iHw	I, 100, 16; II, 352 (+ I, 106, 16)	36, 129-30
pA-ir-iaH	II, 278, 3	39, 140; 45, 188
(pA-iHw-DHwty(?))	II, 278, 9 = I, 407, 13; II, 401	31, 93
pA-ikS	I, 102, 4; II, 352 (+ I, 48, 23)	31, 83
pA-aA-Tb	I, 102, 18	43, 163
pA-an-fAy	I, 102, 24	52, 266
pA-aHAwty	I, 103, 12	39, 139
pA-wAH-wsir	II, 278, 28	39, 143
pA-wn	I, 103, 25	39, 139; 42, 231
pA-wrm	I, 104, 8; II, 352	36, 134; 52, 273
pA-pr-aA-(r-)nHH	I, 105, 3 (s. a. I, 134, 8)	34, 107; 52, 273
*pA-fdw-mnTw		46, 182-3

³⁰ „Paouenhor“.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
(pA-m-imn(?))	II, 279, 13 = I, 121, 23	36, 129
pA-miw	I, 105, 7; II, 353	45, 180; ³¹ 46, 176 ³²
(pA-ms-Hm)	I, 105, 12 = I, 105, 13	52, 266
pA-ms-Hmw	I, 105, 13 (+ I, 105, 12+14)	52, 266
(pA-ms-Hmt)	I, 105, 14 = I, 105, 13	52, 266; 52, 271-2
(pA-n-A...)	I, 105, 23 = I, 108, 19	37, 131
pA-n-Ast	I, 105, 21; II, 353	52, 269 ³³
(pA-(n?)iaH)	II, 279, 23 = I, 12, 13; (II, 338)	39, 135
pA-n-imn	I, 106, 8	42, 224
(pA-(n?)iHw(?))	I, 106, 16 = I, 100, 16; II, 352	36, 129-30
*pA-(n-)at-...bik		43, 167
pA-n-pA-wDA	II, 280, 7 (+ II, 326, 28)	42, 228
pA-n-pA-xnty	I, 107, 22; I, XXII; II, 353	39, 134
pA-n-pA-tA	I, 107, 23	33, 84; 45, 187
(pA-n-mw(-n)-Hr(?))	I, 108, 7 = I, 108, 19	37, 131
pA-n-mrw	II, 353 zu I, 108, 13 = II, 280, 14	31, 88
*pA-(n-)nA-miw		52, 271
pA-(n-)nA-xtiw	I, 108, 19 (= I, 108, 7 + I, 105, 23)	37, 131+137
pA-n-ra	I, 109, 13	31, 95
*pn-Hapy		34, 112; 39, 145 ³⁴
*pA-n-Hwt-bit		36, 142
(pA(?) -n-Hb)	I, 110, 4; II, 353 = I, 387, 1; II, 398	36, 127
*p(A)-n-xy		43, 164 ³⁵
pA-n(?) -xmnw	I, 110, 12; II, 353	31, 94
pA-(n-)smAtAwy	I, 110, 21	39, 133
pA-n-sw-psD	I, 110, 24; II, 353 (+ II, 277, 25)	43, 166
(pA-n-sn-Hr)	I, 110, 28; II, 354 = *pA-sn-n-Hr	36, 130
pA-(n?) -krm	II, 281, 9	37, 136 ³⁶
*pA-n-tA-nht-Hbyt		43, 167
pA-n-tA-hAyt	I, 111, 22	46, 184
pA-n-tA-Ht-nxt	I, 111, 23; II, 354 (+ I, 111, 25)	37, 131
pA-n-tA-Ht-rs.tp	I, 111, 24; II, 354	33, 83 (Anm. 31)
(pA-n-tA-HtHr)	I, 111, 25 = I, 111, 23	37, 131
*pA-n-tA-Sndyt		43, 167
pA-n-Tb	I, 112, 7; I, XXII	43, 163
pA-n-Drtv	I, 112, 14; II, 354	31, 82
pA-n-dHwty	I, 112, 15; I, XXII; II, 354	45, 179
*pA-nA-H-Hw		43, 165
pA-nfrw-nfrw	I, 113, 9; II, 354	36, 130
pA-nfr-Hr	I, 113, 10	36, 130

³¹ „Pami“.³² „Pami“.³³ „Peset“.³⁴ pA-n-Hapy.³⁵ „Pn-xy“. Demotisch.³⁶ Nur Hieroglyphen angegeben.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
pA-nxt-m-niwt	I, 113, 19; II, 354	52, 269
(pA-nTr-iiir-di-s(w))	I, 114, 9 (= I, 230, 10)	46, 171
*pA-rrs	(s. I, 258, 5)	31, 93
*p(A)-Hy(?) ³⁷		36, 143
(pA-Hirt)	II, 282, 16 = I, 116, 7	42, 225
*pA-Hapy		34, 111
*pA-Hp-nfr		42, 230 + Anm. 63
pA-Hry-pDt	I, 115, 27	36, 127
(pA-Hry-pDt-(r-?)HAt)	I, 115, 28 = I, 115, 27	36, 127
pA-Hsy	I, 116, 2; II, 354	46, 171
pA-Htr	I, 116, 7 (+ II, 282, 16)	42, 225–6
pA-xy	I, 116, 10; II, 354	43, 164
*pA-xr-n-mHyt		36, 140
pA-xr-(n-)xnsu	I, 116, 18; I, XXII; II, 354	39, 146 zu 36, 140
*pA-sn-(n-)Hr	(s. I, 110, 28; II, 354 + I, 247, 11; II, 378)	36, 130
pA-sn-Hr(w)	II, 378 zu I, 247, 11 = *pA-sn-(n-)Hr	36, 130
pA-SAi	I, 117, 23; I, XXII	42, 239–40
*pA-Sw-aA-wbn		34, 113
*pA-Sw-tAy.f-nxt		34, 113
*pA-Sri-pA-xy	(s. I, 119, 8)	43, 163
*pA-Sri-mnx	(s. I, 118, 21)	46, 172
*pA-Sri-n-iaH		39, 141
*pA-Sri-n-aA(t)		52, 274 zu 39, 141
pA-Sri-n-bAstr	I, 118, 15	39, 142
(pA-Sri-(n-)mnxt)	I, 118, 21 = *pA-Sri-mnx	46, 172
*pA-Sri-(n-)Hapy		34, 112
*pA-Sri-(n-)xnsu		33, 85
(pA-Sri-(n-)sr)	I, 119, 5; II, 355 = *pA-Sri-n-tA-iswt	34, 103; 52, 273
(pA-Sri-(n-)qAi(?))	I, 119, 8 = *pA-Sri-pA-xy	43, 163
pA-Sri-n-tA-iHt	I, 119, 9–10; II, 355	45, 175
*pA-Sri-n-tA-iswt	(s. I, 119, 5; II, 355)	34, 103–4
(pA-Ssp)	I, 119, 12 = I, 120, 5	36, 129
*pA-Sd-mnTw		46, 182
pA-kAp	I, 120, 5; II, 355 (+ I, 119, 12)	36, 129
pA-Tnf	I, 121, 14	42, 234 ³⁸
pA-di-Astrt	II, 284, 16	52, 270
*pA-di-imt(t)		42, 233–5
pA-di-imn	I, 121, 23; I, XXII, II, 355 (+ II, 279, 13)	36, 129 (Anm. 40); 46, 176
pA-di-imn-m-ipAt	I, 122, 4	46, 173 ³⁹
pA-di-imn-nb-nswt-tAwy	I, 122, 6; II, 355	46, 173+184 ⁴⁰
pA-di-imnt	I, 122, 9; II, 355	46, 176–7

³⁷ Nur Hieroglyphen angegeben.

³⁸ „Patchenefy“.

³⁹ „Padiamenemope“.

⁴⁰ „Padiammenebnesouttaouy“.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
pA-di-inHrt	I, 122, 10; II, 355	36, 143
pA-di-aS-sDm	I, 122, 21	36, 132
pA-di-wpwAwt	I, 122, 23	42, 229
pA-di-wsir	I, 123, 1; I, XXII; II, 356	42, 239; ⁴¹ 52, 267
*pA-di-wsir-pA-Hapy		34, 111
(pA-di-bar)	I, 123, 8; II, 356 = *pT-bar	31, 94–5
pA-di-mAi-HsA	I, 123, 15; I, XXII; II, 356	39, 136–7; 52, 274
pA-di-nfr-tm	II, 284, 26	42, 230 ⁴²
*pA-di-nmty		36, 141; 45, 187
pA-di-ra	I, 124, 16	31, 95
*pA-di-rs	(s. I, 126, 15; II, 285, 8)	34, 101
*pA-di-hAyt		46, 184
(pA-di-Hr-mnx-ib)	I, 125, 5; I, XXII; II, 356 = I, 211, 4; II, 372	42, 225 (+ 45, 188)
pA-di-HkA	I, 125, 19	37, 133
pA-di-xnsw-iy	I, 126, 1	36, 134
pA-di-Shddt	I, 126, 10; II, 356	37, 134–6; 39, 146
(pA-di-Ts...)	I, 126, 15; II, 285, 8 = pA-di-rs	34, 101
(pAy-itf-xnsw)	II, 403 zu I, 420, 4	31, 88
(pA.f-arbt(?))	II, 285, 16 = *iaH/xnsw(?) -pA.f-arbt	43, 166
pAy.f-aDr	I, 127, 12	43, 164
pA.f-TAw-(m/Hr-)a(wy)-bAstd	I, 127, 25; II, 356	34, 109
*pA.f-TAw-(m/Hr-)awy-mnTw		46, 182
pA.f-TAw-(m/Hr-)a(wj)-n(?) -nj.t	I, 128, 2; II, 357	42, 125; ⁴³ 52, 269 ⁴⁴ ; 52, 270 ⁴⁵
pA.f-TAw-(m/Hr-)awy-xnsw	I, 128, 4	39, 145 ⁴⁶
pA.f-TAw-(m/Hr-)awy-sxmt	II, 285, 20	52, 270
*pAy.s-dwA		45, 182
*pA.s-ar-Hr(?) .s ⁴⁷		42, 225
*py-rd	(s. I, 130, 11)	31, 95; 39, 145; 45, 187
(pyrs/prs)	I, 130, 11 = *py-rd	31, 95
*pnpy	(vgl. I, 420, 9: pnpnj)	46, 184
*pnxy siehe *p(A)-n-xy		
(pr-imn-Hrw(?))	II, 286, 9	46, 174
pr-pAwt	I, 133, 21; I, XXIII (+ I, 133, 23)	33, 80–1; 45, 187
(pri-pA-nH(?))	I, 133, 23 = I, 133, 21	33, 80–1
pr-aA-r-nHH	I, 134, 8 (s. a. I, 105, 3)	34, 106–7
pH.f-m-nfr	I, 135, 23	45, 175
psmtk	I, 136, 8; I, XXIII; II, 358	42, 234 (<i>bis</i>); 45, 180 ⁴⁸
psmtk-mn(-m)-p	I, 136, 15	36, 133 (Anm. 79)
*psmtk-mnx	(s. II, 286, 29)	36, 133

⁴¹ „Pétosiris“.⁴² „Padinefertoum“.⁴³ „Paefchaouaouyneith“.⁴⁴ „Paefchaouema(ouy)neith“.⁴⁵ „Paefchaouawyneith“.⁴⁶ „Pefchaouaouykhonsou“.⁴⁷ Nur Hieroglyphen angegeben, Fragezeichen bezüglich der Himmelshieroglyphe (hier durch Hr wiedergegeben).⁴⁸ Jeweils: „Psammétique“.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
*psmtk-mnx-ib		42, 234 ⁴⁹
psmtk-mry-ra	II, 286, 29	36, 133
psS	I, 137, 4; I, XXIII (+ I, 137, 6)	31, 91–2
(psS-mnw(?))	I, 137, 6 = I, 137, 4	31, 91–2
ptH-ini-sw	II, 287, 9 (+ I, 415, 19)	39, 134
(ptH-anty(?))	I, 139, 1; II, 287, 21 = *ptH-nmty(?)	36, 125 (+ Anm. 5)
ptH-pA-qdw	II, 355 zu I, 120, 2 = II, 287, 13	31, 88
(ptH-pAy(?))	I, 139, 10; I, XXIII; II, 358 = *ptH-pAy(.i)-nxt	31, 96
*ptH-pAy(.i)-nxt	(s. I, 139, 10; I, XXIII)	31, 96
ptH-m-Hb	I, 140, 2; II, 358	34, 107
(ptH-mr-imn)	II, 287, 17 = I, 156, 10	46, 175–6
ptH-nfr	I, 140, 14 (+ I, 196, 10)	46, 173
*ptH-nmty(?)	(s. I, 139, 1; II, 287, 21)	36, 125 (+ Anm. 5)
(ptH-Xrtj)	II, 287, 21 = *ptH-nmty(?)	36, 125 (+ Anm. 5)
(ptH-sanxi (sanxi-ptH?))	I, 141, 13 = II, 314, 19	31, 84
ptH-di-iAwt	II, 287, 23 = I, 396, 18; I, XXX	31, 86–7 (+ 39, 145)
*pT-bar	(s. I, 123, 8; II, 356)	31, 94–5
(fAi-xrt(?)/fAi-iHt(?))	I, 142, 6; II, 359 = I, 357, 4; II, 359 (s. a. (*tfA))	45, 176; 52, 274
*fdw-mnTw	Var. zu *pA-fdw-mnTw, s. dort	46, 182–3
m-pw	I, 420, 18; II, 403	46, 174
m-Hb (?)	(vgl. I, 143, 8 (f., NR))	46, 181 ⁵⁰
*mAi-HsA-m-HAt		39, 138; 45, 187
*mAi-HsA-Hr-xb		39, 138
mAi-HsA-tA.s-nxt	I, 144, 14	39, 137; 45, 187
mAat-nfrt	I, 145, 4; II, 359	34, 107
mAat-kA-ra	I, 145, 7 (+ I, 367, 25)	34, 102
mAatiA	I, 145, 10	36, 130
mwt-ir-di-s(i)	I, 147, 10; II, 359	46, 184 ⁵¹
*mwt-anqt		36, 141
*mwt-wbnt-ra-nw.n.s	(s. II, 288, 23)	34, 105
(mwt-wbnt-(Hr-?)nw)	II, 288, 23 = *mwt-wbn-ra-nw[.n.s]	34, 105
*mwt-wr (wr-mwt)		36, 141
mwt-m-mnw	I, 147, 19; II, 360	46, 172; 52, 275
*mwt-m-nbw		36, 141
mwt-mwt(.i)	I, 148, 2; II, 360	46, 181
*mwt-mnw ⁵²	(vgl. II, 288, 27 ⁵³ + I, 162, 1; II, 360)	46, 172–3; 52, 275
*mwt-ms		36, 141
mwt-n-pr-ms	I, 148, 3; II, 360	36, 132; ⁵⁴ 39, 139; ⁵⁵ 39, 146
*mwt-nbt.f		36, 141
(„siehe Hnkt-mwt“ (mwt-Hnkt))	unter I, 148, 11 = I, 148, 2; II, 360	46, 181

⁴⁹ „Psammétique-Menekhib“.

⁵⁰ „Emheb nomarque d'Edfou“.

⁵¹ „Moutirdis“.

⁵² „Mutter des Min“.

⁵³ Dort als mwt-mnw.j(?) „(die Göttin) Mut ist meine (?) Festung“.

⁵⁴ „Mwt-n-pr-ms(t)“.

⁵⁵ „Moutempermès“.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
(mn-iaHms-(m-)inbw)	II, 289, 3 = II, 261, 15	43, 166
(mn-mAat-ra-pw)	I, 150, 6 = mn-mAat-ra	36, 127–8
(mn-mtr)	I, 150, 8 = I, 264, 5; II, 380	31, 92
(mn-snw)	I, 150, 18; II, 360 = *mn-snw(t)	42, 226
*mn-snw(t)	(s. I, 150, 18; II, 360)	42, 226
mn-tA	I, 150, 24; II, 360	52, 269
mn-txnw	I, 150, 25	42, 226
*mnw-ir-di-sw		42, 234
(mnw-mwt)	I, 152, 1; II, 360 = *mwt-mnw	46, 172; 52, 275
mnw-Htp-nb-swmn(?)	I, 152, 11 (s. a. I, 186, 8; II, 367)	37, 132
mnx-Ast	I, 153, 4	45, 176–7
(mnx-ib)	I, 153, 5	34, 103
(mnx-ra)	I, 153, 11 = I, 217, 7; II, 373	31, 90
*mnTw-anx		46, 183
mnTw-wsr	I, 153, 27; II, 361 (+ I, 282, 8)	31, 93
*mnTw-pAy(.s)-dnw/pA-dnw		46, 183
mnTw-n/m-tAwy	I, 154, 14 (+ I, 155, 3)	37, 131
*mnTw-(n-)tAwy-nxtw		37, 131
*mnTw-rs		46, 183
mnTw-Hr-Xnyt	II, 290, 9	45, 184
mnTw-Htp(.w)	I, 154, 21; II, 361 (+ I, 214, 23; II, 372)	46, 173–4 ⁵⁶
(mnTw-Htpw)	I, 155, 3 = I, 154, 14	37, 131
*mnTw-xaw		46, 183
*mnTw-tw(?) -rx		46, 183
mr-ib-ptH	I, 155, 18; I, XXIII; II, 361	36, 134
mr-ptH-imn	I, 156, 10 (+ II, 287, 17)	46, 175–6
*mr-ptH-m-pr-imn		34, 107 (Anm. 61)
(mr-ptH-sTt-nbt-anx-tAwy)	I, 156, 15 = I, 156, 22	31, 92
*mr-mAi[-HsA]		39, 138
*mr-mwt-it.s		36, 141
(mr-m-mSa=f)	I, 156, 17	34, 107 (Anm. 61)
mr-n-ptH	I, 156, 22 (+ I, 156, 15)	31, 92
mr-nt	I, 156, 26	39, 142; ⁵⁷ 42, 230; 45, 188 ⁵⁸
*mr-nt-pr-aA		42, 230
(mr-nTr.f/mr-nrt.f)	I, 157, 6; I, 421, 8; II, 403 = I, 161, 5; II, 362	31, 84
mr-nTr-sAHwra	II, 291, 3 = II, 314, 11	31, 88
*mr-n-xnsw-nA-diryw		33, 86+87 (Add.)
*mr-HA-it.s		36, 140
*mr-Hw		43, 165 ⁵⁹
mr-HtHr-it.s	I, 157, 10	34, 109; ⁶⁰ 52, 273
mr(y)-Hr-it.s		36, 134 + 139; 45, 185 + 187

⁵⁶ „Montouhotep“.⁵⁷ nur Hieroglyphen.⁵⁸ Korrektur des Druckfehlers bei Angabe der PN-

Belegstelle.

⁵⁹ „Merihou“.⁶⁰ „mr-HtHr-itf.s“.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
mr-s(t)-xnsu	I, 158, 9	42, 227
mrt-wrl	I, 158, 20; II, 362	34, 107
mry-rmT.f	I, 161, 5; II, 362	31, 84
*mr(y)-HtHr		34, 112
*mry(t)-HtHr		34, 112
mrr	I, 162, 17; II, 362	52, 272 ⁶¹
mH-imn-HAt	I, 163, 20; II, 363 (+ I, 330, 12; II, 391)	42, 227; 46, 176; 52, 274
*mH-m-Hb	(s. II, 272, 18 + *Hw-m-Hb)	36, 128
(mH-xnsu)	I, 421, 25 = II, 310, 21	31, 86
*mHyt-m-iry(t)		46, 185
*mHyt-m-snt(.i?)		46, 185
ms-imn	I, 164, 20	36, 125–6
*ms-Hr		46, 185
msyt	I, 165, 10; s. a. *iqt-bnt (/msyt)	45, 178
msw	I, 165, 11; I, XXIV (+ I, 247, 5)	31, 92
*mky-mnTw		46, 183
(mtr-Sm(a))	I, 167, 12 = II, 292, 25	36, 126
n-wn-nfw(?)/n-wn.n.f(wi)	I, 168, 13; II, 363	33, 81; 33, 84; 52, 273
n-spr	II, 293, 10	52, 270
(n-sxm.tw-s)	I, 168, 25 = *smx.tw-s	45, 177
nn-tA-wAy-r.f	I, 169, 3; I, XXIV; II, 364 (+ I, 258, 11; I, XXVII)	31, 85; 52, 273
nA-ib-aA	I, 169, 11	43, 164
*n(A)-ir-Ast-nfr		39, 143
nA-aA-xnsu		33, 85
(nA(?)-anx-n-mwt)	I, 169, 18 = I, 67, 20	31, 84
nA-mnx-Ast	I, 169, 19	45, 176–7
nA-mnx-imn	I, 169, 20; II, 363 (+ II, 269, 8)	39, 135
nA-nfr-iy	I, 169, 24; II, 364 (+ I, 361, 2; II, 395)	36, 132
nA-nfrw-iy	I, 169, 29 (+ I, 203, 20)	31, 84
nA-Hr-H(r)	I, 170, 3; II, 364 (+ II, 307, 3)	43, 164–5; 52, 274 ⁶²
*nA-sxpr-n-ra		39, 143
nA-TAw-xnsu-rwD		37, 136
*nAy.s-Sart		42, 235
*nAw-sxpr-n-ra		39, 143
*nArs	(s. I, 426, 17)	46, 174
ny-ibw-nswt	I, 171, 1; II, 364	33, 82 (Anm. 22)
ny-anx-nmt	I, 171, 5 (= II, 294, 4)	36, 126
(ny-anx-Hnw)	II, 294, 4 (= I, 171, 5; s. a. *ny-anx-skr)	36, 126
(ny-anx-xnsu(?))	II, 294, 5 = I, 172, 8; II, 364	31, 88
(ny-anx-ss-Xnmw)	I, 422, 17 = I, 408, 7	33, 81
*ny-anx-skr	(s. II, 294, 4)	36, 126 (Anm. 13)
ny-anx-Srt	I, 172, 6; II, 364 (s. a. Srt-n-anx: I, 329, 8; II, 390)	46, 174

⁶¹ „Merer“.⁶² „nAhrH“.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
ny-anx-dwAw	I, 172, 8; I, XXIV; II, 364 = II, 294, 5	31, 88
(ny-wy-imn-pA-TAw-n-anx)	II, 294, 9	34, 103
*ny-bAstt		52, 271
ny-mnx-inpw	II, 294, 15 (+ I, 37, 14)	31, 83
*ny-nbwt-HtHr	(s. I, 425, 26)	33, 82
*ny-rmTw-nswt	(s. I, 225, 23)	33, 82
ny-HAswt-nswt	I, 422, 22	33, 82 (Anm. 22)
*ny-HtHr		34, 112
(ny-Hst-ptH)	II, 404 zu I, 426, 22 = II, 308, 4	31, 86
ny-Xrty (?)	II, 294, 25 (+ I, 277, 3)	31, 85
(ny-sw-Axty-HtHr(?))	I, 173, 15; II, 364 = II, 295, 16	31, 84
ny-sw-HtHr-Axty (?)	II, 295, 16 (+ I, 173, 15; II, 364)	31, 84
*ns-Ast-nfr(t)		42, 237
*ns-iw.s-aA.s		36, 139; 39, 146
ns-imn	I, 173, 19 (+ I, 176, 9)	46, 181; ⁶³ 52, 267; 46, 182 ⁶⁴
*ns-imn-iAt-DAMt		39, 140
*ns-imn-n-DAMt		39, 140
*ns-imn-DAMt		39, 140
*ns-inHrt-nb-Sayt		36, 142
*ns-iswt		42, 234 ⁶⁵
(ns-wDA-t-DHwty(?))	I, 174, 14; II, 365 = I, 179, 12; II, 365	31, 92
nsy-bAstt	I, 174, 18	39, 135; 42, 230
*ns-pA-iaH-wr		39, 142
ns-pA-nTr-n-pA-ra	I, 422, 25	46, 181–2
ns-pA-ra	I, 175, 7(-8); II, 365	46, 182
ns-pA-Hr-(n-)tA-HAt/ns-pA-Hr-n-HAt	I, 175, 12; II, 365	36, 135; 52, 273
*ns-pA-xy-n-bHdt		43, 164; 45, 188
(ns-pAwty)	I, 175, 22 = I, 176, 1; I, XXIV; II, 365	36, 130–1
ns-pAwty-tAwy	I, 176, 1; I, XXIV; II, 365 (+ I, 175, 22)	36, 130–1; 46, 178 ⁶⁶
(ns-mAat-imn)	I, 176, 9 = I, 173, 19	52, 267
ns-mnw	I, 176, 12–13; II, 365	39, 141; 46, 175+185 ⁶⁷
ns-nwnw-wr	I, 177, 5	46, 181
ns-nb(w)-Htp	I, 177, 17 (+ I, 177, 18)	34, 104
(ns-nb(w)-Htp-Hmt)	I, 177, 18 = I, 177, 17	34, 104
ns-Hr(w)	I, 178, 7; II, 365 (+ I, 178, 8 + I, 408, 15)	36, 133; 42, 237–8; ⁶⁸ 45, 177
(ns-Hr Sri)	I, 178, 8 = I, 178, 7; II, 365	45, 177
*ns-Hr-n-tA-HAt		46, 178 ⁶⁹
(ns-Hr-sA-Ast)	I, 178, 17 = I, 250, 13; II, 378	52, 267
*ns-xnsw-wn-nxy	(s. I, 178, 21)	34, 104–5

⁶³ „Nesamon“.

⁶⁴ „Neseramou“, mit Verweis auf PM I2, 822. Dort: „Esamun“.

⁶⁵ „Nesisout“.

⁶⁶ „Nespaoutytaouy“.

⁶⁷ Beide Male: „Nesmin“.

⁶⁸ „Neshor“.

⁶⁹ „Nesherentahat“.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
(ns-xnsw-wnn-nxt(?))	I, 178, 21 = *ns-xnsw-wnn-nxy	34, 104
*ns-tA-at-mwt		45, 185
ns-tA-wDAAt	II, 295, 25	36, 127
ns-(tA-)wDAAt-Axt	I, 179, 12; II, 365 (+ I, 88, 16; II, 350 + I, 174, 14; II, 365)	31, 84
ns-tA-nfr(t)	I, 179, 17	42, 238–9
ny-kAw-nbty	I, 180, 23; II, 366	33, 84
*nt-HtHr		34, 112
na.s(?)	I, 182, 9; II, 366	36, 143 (Anm. 161)
*na.s-n.f		36, 143
*na-n.f-bAstd		52, 271
na-n.s-bAstd	I, 182, 17; II, 366	52, 269
*nb-iw-n-SA		43, 167–8
nb-imn	I, 183, 10 + I, 29, 17	31, 90 (+ 39, 145)
nb-imntt	I, 183, 12	37, 132
nb-wa	I, 184, 4–6; I, XXIV	33, 84
(nb-wnw)	I, 184, 7 = I, 184, 8	52, 267
nb-wnn.f	I, 184, 8 (+ I, 184, 7)	52, 267
nb-mAat	I, 184, 25; I, XXIV; II, 367 = I, 185, 10; I, XXIV	39, 133; 45, 187
(nb-mAat-Hr)	I, 185, 1 = I, 185, 10	39, 133
nb-n-mAat	I, 185, 10; I, XXIV (+ I, 185, 1) = I, 184, 25; I, XXIV; II, 367	39, 133
*nb-nHH-Ab-sw		42, 232
*nb-rA-sHwy		43, 168; 52, 274
nb-swmnw	I, 186, 8; II, 367 (+ I, 186, 9 + I, 187, 3; s. a. I, 152, 11)	37, 132; 39, 146
(nb.(i?) -sw-mnTw)	I, 186, 9 = I, 186, 8; II, 367	37, 132
(nb-sw-nxt(w)/nb.i-sw-nxt)	I, 186, 10; II, 367 = *nb-Smaw-nxtw	31, 96
nb-sn	I, 186, 13; II, 367	52, 271
*nb-SAbt	(s. I, 324, 22; I, XXIX; II, 390)	34, 101–2; 39, 145
*nb-Smaw-nxtw	(s. I, 186, 10; II, 367)	31, 93
nb-tAw	I, 186, 24 (+ I, 248, 2)	31, 84
(nb- ?)	I, 187, 3 = I, 186, 8; II, 367	37, 132
*nb.f(?) ⁷⁰		42, 224
(nbw-tA-nfr(?))	I, 187, 10 = I, 364, 1; II, 396	37, 132
(nb-imAwt-mHyt(?))	I, 187, 29; II, 367 = *nbt-imAw-m-HAt	31, 93
*nbt-imAw-m-HAt	(s. I, 187, 29; II, 367)	31, 93
nbt-imnt	I, 188, 2; II, 367	37, 132
*nbt-ins		34, 113
nbt.(i?) -m-iwnwt	II, 297, 12 (+ II, 365 zu I, 188, 14)	31, 88; 39, 145
nbt.(i?) -m-iwnt	II, 365 zu I, 188, 14 = II, 297, 12	31, 88
nbt-Hwt-ii.ti	I, 189, 2; II, 367	34, 108; 42, 238 ⁷¹
nb(t)-TnHy (?)	I, 189, 23	39, 138
nb(t)-DnHyt (?)	II, 297, 21	39, 138

⁷⁰ Thirion gibt nur Hieroglyphen an.

⁷¹ „Nephthysiiti“.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
nb(t)-DnHwy-Hr-iH.s (?)	I, 185, 2; ⁷² III, 57 (+ I, 189, 23 + II, 297, 21)	39, 138
*nb.i-m-Hnn-nswt	(s. II, 296, 21)	34, 103
(nb(.i)-m-swHt(?))	II, 296, 21 = *nb.i-m-Hnn-nswt	34, 103; 39, 145
nbty-Hknw(?)/Hknw-nbty(?)	I, 190, 1; II, 308, 18	31, 85
(nb-iAy(?))	I, 190, 6 = I, 216, 28	33, 81
nb(w)-Hr-wADyt ⁷³		52, 271
(nfw(?))	I, 193, 8 = I, 193, 19; II, 368	39, 133
(nfw-[n?]-wpwAw-tAy-nxt(t))	I, 193, 16, II, 368 = *wpwAw-tAy-nxtt	31, 92
nfw-n-Hy/TAw-n-Hy	I, 193, 19; II, 368 (+ I, 193, 8 + I, 207, 24)	36, 128 (Anm. 29); 39, 133
nfr-iw-HtHr(?)	II, 298, 5	52, 270
nfr-ptH	I, 196, 10	46, 173
nfr-HtHr	I, 198, 22; II, 369	34, 109
nfr-sbk	I, 199, 19	52, 269 ⁷⁴
(nfr-sny)	I, 199, 24 = I, 33, 16	42, 227
nfr-sxrw	I, 200, 3	52, 268
nfr-sSm-psmtk	I, 200, 6; II, 370	45, 177; ⁷⁵ 45, 179
nfr-Tntt	I, 201, 4; I, XXV	34, 108
*nfriBra-mn(w)-(m-)inb-HD	(s. II, 298, 6)	43, 166
(nfriBra-mn(w)-(m-)mnfr)	II, 298, 6 = *nfriBra-mn(w)-(m-)inb-HD	43, 166
(nfrw-iyw(?))	I, 203, 20 = I, 169, 29	31, 84
*nmty-wr		36, 142
*nmty-m-HAt	s. I, 69, 21 (+ II, 314, 1)	36, 126
*nmty-m-Dr.f		36, 142
nht-m-wiA	I, 206, 23; II, 371 (+ I, 37, 1)	31, 94 ⁷⁶ (+ 39, 145)
nHy	I, 207, 15 (+ I, 250, 21)	42, 227; 46, 174 ⁷⁷
(nHy)	I, 207, 24 = I, 193, 19; II, 368	36, 128
nHbw-xnsw	I, 208, 2; II, 371	31, 85
nHm.s-bAstt	I, 208, 13	36, 130–1
nxt	I, 209, 16	42, 230 ⁷⁸
nxt-imn	I, 209, 22; I, XXV; II, 371 (+ I, 209, 23)	36, 128
(nxt-imn-(m-?)ipt?)	I, 209, 23 = I, 209, 22; I, XXV; II, 371	36, 128
*nxt-mAi[-HsA]-r.w		39, 138
(*nxt-mHyt)		36, 140; 45, 187
nxt-Hnb	I, 211, 2; II, 371	37, 136–7; 39, 146; 42, 230
nxt-Hr-mnx-ib	I, 211, 4; II, 372 (+ I, 125, 5; I, XXII; II, 356)	42, 225
nxt-Xnmw(?)	I, 211, 10	33, 81–2
nxtw	I, 212, 12; II, 372	33, 81 ⁷⁹
nxt.f-n-nb/nxt.f-tA-nb	I, 424, 22; II, 403 = II, 301, 9	31, 86
nS (nASA)	I, 213, 7+9–10; I, XXV + II, 372 + II, 293, 28	36, 136
nTr-n(i?)-mn(w)?	II, 301, 9 = II, 372 zu I, 215, 1 + I, 424, 22; II, 403	31, 88

⁷² I, 185, 2, s. v. „nb-mAa.t (?) -Hr-iH.s“.

⁷³ „Nwb-Hr-wADyt“.

⁷⁴ „Nefersebek“.

⁷⁵ „Neferseshempsammétique“.

⁷⁶ Nur Hieroglyphen.

⁷⁷ Vgl. auch I, 207, 19 und 209, 3!

⁷⁸ „Nakht“.

⁷⁹ Nur Hieroglyphen.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
(nTrwy-Htp)	I, 214, 23; II, 372 = I, 154, 21	46, 173
nTry-rn-mn(w)?	II, 372 zu I, 215, 1 = II, 301, 27	31, 88
riAy	I, 216, 28 (+ I, 190, 6)	33, 81 ⁸⁰
ra	I, 217, 7; II, 373 (+ I, 153, 11)	31, 90
*ra-abw	(s. I, 59, 25)	31, 94; 39, 145
(ra-wr-wr)	I, 425, 5 = II, 302, 10	39, 134
ra-wr-Sri	II, 302, 10 + I, 425, 5	39, 134
ra-wsr	I, 217, 13	39, 139
*ra-m-nyny		39, 143
*ra-m-sn-tA		39, 142; 45, 188
*ra-m-sn-tA		45, 188 zu 39, 142
(ra-ms-sw-pri-ib)	I, 218, 9; II, 373 = I, 219, 4; II, 373	31, 92
ra-ms-sw-hr	I, 219, 4; II, 373 (+ I, 218, 9; II, 373)	31, 92
ra-Hp.f	I, 219, 13	46, 181
rattAwy	II, 302, 20 (+ I, 294, 13)	43, 165
raiA	I, 220, 7; II, 373	34, 108
rwrw	I, 221, 8-10	52, 270
rwty	II, 302, 22 (+ II, 374 zu I, 227, 25)	31, 88
*rwD-iq		33, 79
rmT-n-bAsth	I, 222, 19; II, 373	39, 139
(rHwy-nswt)	I, 225, 23 = *ny-rmTw-nswt	33, 82
(rty)	II, 374 zu I, 227, 25 = II, 302, 22	31, 88
*hA-ny	(= I, 228, 22; I, XXVI; I, 229, 29)	43, 165
(hA-ny-Xrd(?))	I, 228, 22; I, XXVI (= I, 229, 29) = *hA-ny	43, 165
*hAb.n-s(y)-imn		45, 185
*hwr-sp-sn	(s. I, 229, 9 + II, 274, 15)	36, 126
(hwry(?))	I, 229, 9 (= II, 274, 15) = *hwr-sp-sn	36, 126
(hny)	I, 229, 29 (= I, 228, 22; I, XXVI) = *hA-ny	43, 165
*hr-Ast		39, 144
hr-ir-di.s	I, 230, 10	46, 171
hr-bAsth	I, 230, 12, 20, 24; II, 375 (+ II, 312, 13)	39, 135
HAt-ra	I, 232, 21	33, 84-5
HApY	I, 233, 12; (II, 375)	39, 135
Hyti	I, 234, 4; II, 375	42, 228-9
*Hapy-ii		34, 111
*Hapy-m-Hb		34, 112
*Hw-m-wbA.f		36, 142
(*Hw-m-Hb)	(s. II, 272, 18) = *mH-m-Hb	36, 128
Hw(?)m-Tbty.f	I, 425, 23	36, 137 (Anm. 113)
*Hwt-sr(?)		46, 185
HtHr	I, 235, 6; I, XXVI; II, 376	34, 107; 39, 139
(HtHr-Hr-st(?))	I, 235, 17 = I, 291, 14	52, 267

⁸⁰ Nur Hieroglyphen.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
(HtHr-tn-nbw(?))	I, 425, 26 = *ny-nbwt-HtHr	33, 82
Hwn	I, 236, 5	46, 177
Hp-mn	I, 237, 13; II, 376	42, 233 ⁸¹
*Hm-xnsw		33, 86
Hmt-ra	I, 240, 5	39, 139
*HmDrt		36, 143
(Hnw.s)	I, 426, 3 = I, 244, 1	36, 136
(Hnwsn(?))	I, 242, 10 = I, 244, 1; I, XXVI; II, 377	36, 136
Hnwt-mtr	I, 243, 16; I, XXVI; II, 377 (+ II, 266, 12)	39, 134
Hnwt-nftr	I, 243, 22	46, 173
(Hnwt.s)	(I, 243, 29; I, XXVI; II, 377) = I, 244, 1; I, XXVI; II, 377	36, 136
Hnwt.sn	I, 244, 1; I, XXVI; II, 377 (+ I, 242, 10 + I, 243, 29; I, XXVI; II, 377 + I, 426, 3 + II, 306, 3)	36, 136
Hnwt-snbw	II, 306, 3 = I, 244, 1; I, XXVI; II, 377	45, 178
Hnr (Hl)	I, 245, 7 (+ I, 245, 8; I, XXVII + I, 245, 9)	36, 136–7
*Hnggw		46, 185
Hr(.w) ⁸²	I, 245, 18; II, 377	42, 231; 46, 174+184; 52, 274 zu 42, 227 ⁸³
Hr-inHrt	I, 246, 1; II, 377 (+ II, 264, 19)	45, 177
Hr-anx(.w)	I, 246, 12; II, 378	36, 137 ⁸⁴
Hr(w)-wr-nxt(w)	II, 378 zu I, 246, 19	36, 127
Hr-wr-ra	I, 246, 20; II, 306, 11	31, 85; 39, 145
(Hr(w)-wr-xt)	II, 306, 12 = II, 378 zu I, 246, 19	36, 127
Hr-wDA	I, 246, 23; II, 378	39, 142; 52, 271 ⁸⁵
Hr-bnr	I, 247, 4	36, 129 (+ 39, 146)
(Hr-bHdty-msiw)	I, 247, 5 = I, 165, 11; I, XXIV	31, 92
Hr-pA-n-Ast	I, 247, 8	52, 266
*Hr-p-tAy.f-nxt		36, 139
*Hr-(pA-)Htr		42, 226
(Hr-pA-sn/pA-sn-Hr(w))	I, 247, 11; II, 378 = *pA-sn-(n-)Hr	36, 130
Hr-m-Axbit	I, 247, 15; II, 378	42, 234 ⁸⁶ + 237; 45, 188
Hr-m-mAa-xrw	I, 247, 22	39, 142 ⁸⁷
(Hr-m-nb-tAw)	I, 248, 2 = I, 186, 24	31, 84
Hr-m-HAt	I, 248, 3; II, 378	34, 108
Hr-m-Hb	I, 248, 7; II, 378	34, 107–8
*Hr (Hnr/Hl)-m-Hb		34, 108; 36, 137
*Hr-mAi-HsA		39, 138
Hr-mniw	I, 248, 21; II, 378	33, 85
*Hr-n-p-tA.s-nxt ⁸⁸		36, 139; 52, 274
*Hr-n-tA-bAt/Hr-tb		42, 236–9; 45, 188; 52, 275

⁸¹ „Hapimen“.⁸² „Hor“.⁸³ „Hor“.⁸⁴ Nur Hieroglyphen.⁸⁵ „Horoudja“.⁸⁶ „Horkheb“.⁸⁷ „Hormakhrôou“.⁸⁸ s. a. *Hr-p-tAy.f-nxt.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
Hr-n-tA-mHw/Hrw-n-tA-mH	I, 249, 8 = II, 306, 26	31, 85
(Hr-Hr-Hw)	II, 307, 3 = I, 170, 3; II, 364	43, 165
(Hr-HqA-idbw-twt(w))	I, 250, 6	39, 133
Hr-sA-Ast	I, 250, 13; II, 378 (+ I, 178, 17)	39, 141; ⁸⁹ 45, 182; ⁹⁰ 52, 267
(Hr-Sni(?))	I, 250, 21 = I, 207, 15	42, 227; 45, 188 ⁹¹
(Hry-mwt-r.s)	I, 426, 17 = *nArs	46, 174
*Hry-S.f-m-HAt		39, 143; 52, 274
(Hrwy(?))	I, 251, 20; II, 378 = *bAwy	37, 132
Hr-anx	I, 251, 23 + I, 66, 3 + II, 307, 17	36, 137; 45, 186 (Anm. 70)
*Hr-bn	(s. I, 251, 25 + I, 252, 1)	42, 227
(Hr-bnt(?))	I, 251, 25 = *Hr-bn	42, 227
(Hr-bxn)	I, 252, 1 = *Hr-bn	42, 227
(Hr.f-anx)	II, 307, 17 = I, 251, 23	36, 137 (Anm. 114)
Hr.f-r-nt/Hr.f-nt	I, 252, 21; II, 378	45, 179–82; 52, 275
*Hr.s-n.f		46, 178 ⁹²
Hrbs	I, 253, 27; II, 379	42, 230
Hs-ptH	I, 254, 18 = I, 426, 20	34, 101; 39, 145
(Hsy-ptH)	I, 426, 20 = I, 254, 18	34, 101
(Hsy-sw-nt(?))	I, 255, 5 = I, 255, 6; I, XXVII	33, 81
Hsy-sw-nb.f	I, 255, 6; I, XXVII	33, 81; 39, 145
(Hsy-tA-nb)	I, 255, 7	31, 90
(Hsyw-aA)	I, 255, 9 = I, 14, 2-3	36, 128
Hsw	I, 255, 10	34, 108
Hst-n-ptH	II, 308, 4 (+ I, 426, 22; II, 404)	31, 86
(Hstn-ptH(?))	I, 426, 22; II, 404 = II, 308, 4	31, 86
Hknt	I, 426, 24; II, 404	42, 228
Htp-imn	I, 258, 1	46, 174 ⁹³
*Htp-imn-(n-)it.s		42, 233
Htp-bAstr	I, 258, 4; II, 379; II, 380 zu I, 260, 4 + I, 258, 5	31, 93; 46, 185 ⁹⁴
(Htp-bAstr-n-pA-rrs)	I, 258, 5 = I, 258, 4	31, 93
(Htp.n-tA-wA...)	I, 258, 11; I, XXVII = I, 169, 3; II, 364	31, 85
Hd-bAstr-(i)r.w	I, 261, 7; I, XXVI; II, 380	42, 230
Hdb-bAstr-(i)r.w	I, 261, 9; II, 380	42, 230; 52, 274
(Hdb-Sdty(?)-irw)	I, 426, 30; II, 404 = *Hdb-Sdnwy-irw	34, 105
*Hdb-Sdnwy-irw	(s. I, 426; II, 404)	34, 105
*xA-aAt-irt-bint (?)		39, 142
(xAa.s-irw)	I, 262, 15 = *xAa-s(w)	42, 227
*xAa-s(w)	Abk. zu I, 262, 16-21; II, 380	42, 227
*xAa-s(w)-(n-)mHyt		36, 140
xAa.s-n-Ast	I, 262, 19; II, 380	39, 136

⁸⁹ „Harsiesis“.⁹⁰ „Harsiesis“.⁹¹ Korrektur des Druckfehlers hr-Sni.⁹² „Herefenes“ (sic, korrigiert in 52, 275).⁹³ „Hotepamon“.⁹⁴ „Hotepbastet“.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
*xa-m-Hr		46, 176 ⁹⁵
*xa-m-xnsw	(vgl. I, 264, 21: xaj-xns.w)	39, 139; 45, 184; 45, 187 ⁹⁶
xa-m-tr	I, 264, 5; II, 380 + I, 150, 8	31, 92 (+ 39, 145)
xaj-Hapi	I, 264, 15; II, 381	34, 111 (Anm. 106); ⁹⁷ 52, 273
xwi-bAwy(?)	I, 266, 14 (+ I, 266, 15; II, 381 + I, 285, 10 + I, 413, 10)	33, 79
(xwi-bAw(?))	I, 266, 15; II, 381 = I, 266, 14	33, 79
(xwyt-n-Hnw)	II, 310, 4 = *xwyt-n-skr	36, 126
*xwyt-n-skr	s. II, 310, 4	36, 126
*xnsw-anx		33, 86
(xnsw-pA.s...)	I, 270, 25 = *xnsw-pAy.s-arbt	33, 82
*xnsw-pAy.s-arbt	s. I, 270, 25	33, 82
*xnsw-[m-]HAt	(vgl. II, 310, 21)	31, 86; 33, 86
xnsw-(m-)HAt-nTr-nb	II, 310, 19 (+ II, 382 zu I, 271, 11)	31, 88
*xnsw-mAa		33, 86
xnsw-mH	II, 310, 21 (+ I, 421, 25; ob *xnsw-m-HAt ?)	31, 86
xnsw-ms(iw)	I, 271, 7	34, 108
xnsw-(r/m-)HAt-nTr-nb	II, 382 zu I, 271, 11 = II, 310, 19	31, 88
xnsw-Htp(w)	I, 271, 12	52, 269
(xnty-Xty-kA(?))	I, 273, 3 = I, 292, 21	36, 128
(xnty-Tnnt-irt)	I, 273, 10; II, 382 = II, 266, 2	31, 85
(xntyt-bAw)	II, 310, 22 = I, 292, 23	43, 166
*Xb-xnsw-nA-diryw		33, 86+87 (Add.)
Xnmw-anxw	I, 275, 10; II, 383 (= II, 275, 29)	36, 131
(Xnmw(?)-bA.f)	I, 275, 12; II, 383 = II, 275, 30	36, 131
Xnmw-nxt	I, 276, 1; II, 383	33, 81-2
*Xnmw-nTr.s(?)		43, 167
*Xnmw-nDm(w)		43, 167
*Xnmw-r-HAt		43, 167
Xnmw-ris(w)	I, 276, 3	33, 83, n. 33
Xnmw-kA	I, 276, 9; II, 383 (= II, 276, 2)	36, 131-2
(Xrtny (ny-Xrty?))	I, 277, 3 = II, 294, 25	31, 85
(Xrd-n-n(?))	II, 311, 17	33, 81
s	I, 278, 21; II, 383	33, 85
(s-wAx-ra)	I, 278, 24 = I, 278, 26	31, 90
s-(n-)wAst	I, 278, 26 (+ I, 278, 24)	31, 90
s-n-xnsw	II, 311, 25 (+ II, 311, 26)	42, 229
(s-n-xs-srw(?))	II, 311, 26 = II, 311, 25	42, 229
sA-iaH	I, 280, 13; II, 383 (+ I, 2, 22)	39, 131
sA-imn	I, 280, 22; II, 383 (+ I, 280, 23)	46, 177
(sA-imnt(?))	I, 280, 23 = I, 280, 22; II, 383	46, 177
sA-bAstt	I, 281, 19	33, 85

⁹⁵ „Khamhor“.⁹⁶ An allen Stellen „Khaemkhonsou“.⁹⁷ Nur Belegstelle und Hieroglyphen.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
sA-mwt	I, 282, 3; I, XXVIII	52, 269
*sA-mnHt		42, 228
(sA-mntw-wsr)	I, 282, 8 = I, 153, 27	31, 93
(sA-mdw(?))	II, 312, 10 = I, 284, 15	31, 93
(sA-nrt)	II, 312, 13 = I, 230, 12, 20, 24; II, 375	39, 135
sA-Hwt	I, 283, 18; I, XXVIII = I, 283, 20	34, 105
sA-HtHr	I, 283, 20 = I, 283, 18; I, XXVIII	34, 105
sA-spdw	I, 284, 15 (+ II, 312, 10)	31, 93 (+ 39, 145)
sA-tp-iHw	I, 285, 1	37, 132
(sAwy-xwyw(?))	I, 285, 10 = I, 266, 14	33, 79
sAt-iaH	I, 285, 16 + I, 287, 2	39, 131; 43, 167 ⁹⁸ (Anm. 18)
(sAt-iwnt)	II, 312, 23 = I, 288, 11	34, 103
(sAt-imt)	II, 312, 24 = I, 289, 1; II, 384	42, 229
sAt-ixt	I, 287, 2 = I, 285, 16	43, 167 (Anm. 18)
sAt-bAstt	I, 288, 11 (+ II, 312, 23)	34, 103
*sAt-bHs		45, 176
sAt-mwt	I, 289, 1; II, 384 (+ II, 312, 24)	42, 229
(sAt(?)-mnHt)	I, 428, 5 = *tA-(nt)-mnHt	42, 228
(sAt-Hwt)	I, 291, 12 = I, 291, 14	34, 105
sAt-HtHr	I, 291, 14 (+ I, 235, 17 + I, 291, 12)	34, 105; 52, 267
sAt-HtHr-mAt(?)	I, 291, 19	34, 109–10
*sAt-xnty-Xty	I, 292, 21 (+ I, 273, 3)	36, 128
sAt-xnty-bAw	I, 292, 23 (+ II, 310, 22)	43, 166
*sAt-SAbt		34, 102
(sAt-tAwy)	I, 294, 13 = II, 302, 20	43, 165
*sA ⁹⁹		36, 141
sAw-inHrt-it.f	I, 295, 16 (s. I, 35, 19)	31, 83
(sAwy-xwyw(?))	I, 413, 10 = I, 266, 14	33, 79
*smA-tAwy-tAy.s-nxt		52, 271
snt	I, 296, 21; II, 385	34, 108
snw	I, 297, 16	46, 180; 52, 275
(skr-m-HAt)	II, 314, 1 = *nmt-y-m-HAt (s. I, 69, 21)	36, 126
*sAi-n-psDt-n-imn	(s. I, 299, 8)	39, 144 (Anm. 129)
sAi.i-m-imn	I, 299, 6	39, 144 (Anm. 128)
(sAi.i-m-pAt-n-imn)	I, 299, 8 = *sAi-n-psDt-n-imn	39, 144 (Anm. 129)
*sAw-pr-aA-m-bAH-imn		39, 144
sAHwra-mr-nTr	II, 314, 11 = II, 291, 3	31, 88
sanxi-ptH	II, 314, 19 (+ I, 141, 13; s. I, 301, 1; II, 385: sanx-ptH)	31, 84
sanx.i-mnw	I, 301, 19	34, 108; 52, 273
*sanxw(t)-n-HtHr		34, 112
(sanx-s...)	I, 301, 21 = I, 413, 17: -sw/sww	31, 85

⁹⁸ „Satiah“.

⁹⁹ So Thirion. Die Hieroglyphen sind m. E. sA-Hr zu

lesen. Fehlt hier Hr in der Umschrift? Der Name sA in PN I, 299, 2; I, XXVIII.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
-sw(?)/sww	I, 413, 17 (+ I, 301, 21)	31, 85
*sw-(m-)at-imn		45, 185
sbk-m-Hb	I, 304, 5	34, 107–8
(sbk-nxti)	I, 304, 16; II, 386 zu I, 304, 15 = iq(r)-nxt	33, 79
(sbk(?)-rs(w))	I, 305, 1 = *kbs-rs(.ti)	33, 82
*sbk-Hapy		34, 112
sbk-Sdty	I, 305, 14 = II, 292, 5 = II, 319, 20	31, 85
*smnx-wDA		52, 270
*smx.tw-s (?) ¹⁰⁰	(s. I, 168, 25)	45, 177
sn.i-whm	I, 308, 15; II, 387	52, 270
snt-it.s	I, 311, 13; II, 387 (+ I, 358, 18)	42, 228
snb-n.i	I, 313, 5 (+ I, 313, 16)	36, 132
(snb-rHw(?))	I, 313, 16 = I, 313, 5	36, 132
(sr(?)-imn-nxt)	I, 316, 27 = I, 29, 21	31, 91
sr-DHwty	I, 317, 3; II, 388	42, 236
srd (srwd?)	II, 316, 27	52, 269
*sHtp-ib-ra	(s. I, 318, 3)	46, 174
(sHtp-ib[-ra-r]-nHH)	I, 318, 3 = *sHtp-ib-ra + nHy	46, 174
(sxt-nTr)	I, 318, 23 = tA-nt-sxt-nTr	42, 230
*sxA.sn		31, 93
sxmt	I, 319, 21	39, 135
(sxmt-in(t)-sy)	I, 319, 22; II, 389 = I, 319, 23	36, 126
sxmt-innt	I, 319, 23 (= I, 319, 22; II, 389)	36, 126
(sxmt-nxt.ti(?))	I, 319, 27	42, 227
sxntyw(?) -kA(.i?)	I, 320, 5; I, XXIX; II, 389	46, 174
(sSp-Sd(?))	II, 313, 30 = I, 325, 24; II, 390	36, 129
(sqb(?))	II, 317, 6	43, 166
swty	I, 321, 17; II, 389 (+ I, 85, 4 + I, 322, 8; II, 389)	31, 94; 52, 273
stX-m-Hb	I, 321, 31; II, 389	34, 107
(stxy)	I, 322, 8; II, 389 = I, 321, 17	31, 94
*sTA-Ast-gAw		39, 144; 45, 188
(sTA-imn-pw)	I, 322, 25 = *sTA-imn-gAw	37, 132
*sTA-imn-gAw	(I, 322, 25)	37, 132
(sTA-irt)	I, 322, 26 = I, 323, 5; II, 389	36, 133 (Anm. 83)
(sTA-mn(.w)-kw(?))	I, 323, 2 = *sTA-mn(.w)-gAw	39, 144 (Anm. 130)
*sTA-mn(.w)-gAw	(s. I, 323, 2)	39, 144 (Anm. 130)
sTA-tA-wDA	I, 323, 5; II, 389 (+ I, 322, 26)	36, 133 (Anm. 83)
*sDm-imn-n-aS		42, 233
SAbt	I, 324, 22; I, XXIX; II, 390 = *nb-SAbt	34, 101–2
*SAbty		34, 102
Sp-n-iw.s-aA.s		36, 139–40
Sp-n-wn	I, 325, 20; II, 390	36, 137

¹⁰⁰ Keine Umschrift von Thirion gegeben.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
Sp-n-mHyt	I, 325, 24; II, 390 (+ II, 313, 30 + II, 318, 17)	36, 129
(Sp-(n-)Sd(?))	II, 318, 17 = I, 325, 24; II, 390	36, 129
*Sp-n-DHwty		46, 185
(Spsy-dd(?))	II, 318, 21 = II, 333, 16	31, 89
*Sm-in	(= *Sm-inHrt)	52, 275 zu 46, 185
(*Sm-inHrt)	= *Sm-in	46, 185; 52, 275
Srt-n-anx	I, 329, 8; II, 390 (s. a. ny-anx-Srt: I, 172, 6; II, 364)	46, 174
Srit-n(t)-Ast	II, 319, 6	42, 228
*[Sr]m-Sma		36, 126
Sh (=Shdd?)	II, 319, 10	37, 136
(Sd-imn-tA-HAt)	I, 330, 12; II, 391 = I, 163, 20; II, 363	42, 227
*Sd-nbw-pr-wsir ¹⁰¹		36, 142
qn-Hr	I, 334, 21; II, 391	36, 132
(qnyt-DHwty)	II, 320, 11 = I, 408, 16; I, XXXI	37, 133
*qdnwt	(vgl. I, 54, 12)	45, 187 zu 33, 80–1
*kA-nb-s	(s. II, 321, 10)	36, 133
(kA-nb.i)	II, 321, 10 = *kA-nb-s	36, 133
*kA-Hr-bAw		36, 142
*kA-s-nb.f	(s. I, 430, 6; II, 404 + II, 323, 1)	36, 133
(kA-s-s(w)-nb.f)	II, 323, 1 = *kA-s-nb.f	36, 133
(kA.i-nb.f)	I, 430, 6; II, 404 = *kA-s-nb.f	36, 133
kA-[Hr]-xnty	I, 338, 9 (+ I, 338, 11)	39, 133–4
(kA-xnty-nt(?))	I, 338, 11 = I, 338, 9	39, 133
kAw	I, 338, 14	37, 132
*kAp-irw-qba-Ast		45, 185
kAp.f-HA-imn(?) ¹⁰²	I, 342, 5	42, 231
kAp.f-(n-)-HA-xnsw	I, 342, 7; II, 393	42, 228
*kAty	(s. I, 342, 20)	36, 132
(kAty-nxt)	I, 342, 20 = *kAty	36, 132
*kbs-rs(.ti)	(s. I, 305, 1)	33, 82
*gA-r-iry		34, 113
(gm-Hr...)	I, 351, 8 = I, 408, 16; I, XXXI	33, 81
*gm-sw-ir-nmty		36, 142
gm.n.i-Ast	I, 351, 25; II, 394	36, 132
gm.n.f-Hr-bAk	I, 351, 26; II, 394 (+ I, 418, 14)	46, 174
gm.n.f-xnsw-bAk		33, 86
(tA-irt-ra)	I, 354, 2 = *tA-wDAr-ra	39, 134
(tA-idi(t)-rattAwi)	II, 323, 31 = *tA-dit-rattAwi	39, 146 (zu 36, 132) ¹⁰³
*tA-anw-HAt-i[mn]		42, 233; 45, 188
*tA-aS-sDm		36, 132
(tA-aS.sn(?))	I, 355, 2 = *tA-aS-sDm	36, 132

¹⁰¹ Oder ns-nbw-pr-wsir?¹⁰² Thirion: qAp.f-HA-imn (?) (sic).¹⁰³ Nur Angabe der Belegstelle ohne Umschrift.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
*tA-wAH(t)-imn		39, 143–4
*tA-wAH(t)-bs (?)		39, 144
*tA-wAH(t)-mwt		39, 144; 45, 188
tA-wAH(t)-Wsir	I, 355, 6; II, 394	39, 143
tA-whr(t)	I, 355, 20	52, 270
*tA-wDA-t-ra	(s. I, 354, 2 + II, 325, 16 + I, 359, 8)	39, 134
*tA-bA		46, 185
*tA-bAk(t)-n-mHyt		52, 271–2
tA-bTt	I, 356, 17	46, 176 ¹⁰⁴
*tA-pidy		36, 132
tA-m-rsfw	II, 328, 28	42, 231
tA-fA-brty	I, 357, 4; II, 395 (+ I, 142, 6; II, 359)	52, 274 zu 45, 176
tA-mit	I, 357, 5; II, 395	34, 107
tA-mn	II, 395 zu I, 357, 10	36, 125–6
(tA-(nt-)ipAt-mn(w))	II, 325, 8 = I, 367, 2	31, 89
tA-nt-imn	I, 358, 4; II, 395	45, 180; 46, 177
*tA-nt-imn-iy	(s. I, 358, 11)	46, 177–8
*tA-nt-imn-Xnm-wAst		39, 140; 52, 274
tA-nt-imnt	I, 358, 10; II, 395	46, 177
(tA-nt-imnt-iy.ty(?))	I, 358, 11 = *tA-nt-imn-iy	46, 177–8
(tA-nt-it.s)	I, 358, 18 = I, 311, 13; II, 387	42, 228
tA-(nt-)wnbs	I, 359, 5; II, 395	34, 110; 52, 273
(tA-(nt-)wDA-t-ra)	II, 325, 16 = *tA-wDA-t-ra	39, 134
(tA-(nt-)wDA-wDA(?))	I, 359, 8 = *tA-wDA-t-ra	39, 134
tA-nt-pA-mr	I, 359, 19; II, 395 (s. a. *tA-pidy)	36, 132
(tA-(nt-)pA-mt(r))	II, 325, 21 = I, 365, 20; II, 396	39, 134–5
*tA-[nt-]mAi-HsA		39, 138
tA-nt-mwt.s(?)-(nt?)-(gbtyw)	I, 360, 12 = II, 325, 28	31, 85 (+39, 145)
*tA-(nt-)mnHt	(s. I, 428, 5)	42, 228
tA-(nt-)nA-hbw	I, 360, 20	36, 137
tA-nt-nA-Hrrw	I, 360, 21; II, 395	52, 267
*tA-(nt-)nA-DbAw		37, 137
(tA-(nt-)nfr-iyw)	I, 361, 2; II, 395 = I, 169, 24; II, 364	36, 132
(tA-(nt?)-(nnt(?))	II, 325, 31 = I, 376, 9; II, 397	36, 129
*tA-(n?)-(rA-nb)		46, 185
tA-(nt-)hb	I, 361, 17; II, 395	36, 137–8
tA-(nt-)hbt	I, 361, 18; II, 395	36, 137
(tA-nt-H(w)t)	I, 361, 22 = *tA-nt-HtHr	34, 105
*tA-nt-HtHr	(s. I, 361, 22)	34, 105
tA-xnsw-iy	I, 362, 16	36, 134; ¹⁰⁵ 46, 178
(tA-(nt-)snty)	II, 326, 7 = *tA-snt-snty	36, 132
tA-nt-sxt-nTr	(s. I, 318, 23)	42, 230–1; 45, 188

¹⁰⁴ „Tabatjet“.¹⁰⁵ TA-(n.t-?)xns...w-ij.w. Genannt als einer der „noms

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
tA-nt-kmt(?) ¹⁰⁶	I, 363, 7	42, 231 (Anm. 75)
*tA-n(t)-tA-wmt		45, 185–6; 52, 275
tA-nyny	II, 329, 21	46, 179 ¹⁰⁷
tA-nfrt	I, 364, 1; II, 396	37, 132
(tA-)nfrt-iyw	I, 364, 2; II, 396	52, 273 zu 34, 103
(tA-rmT-pA-n-pA-wDA(?))	II, 326, 28 = II, 280, 7	42, 228–9
tA-rmT-n-bAsth	I, 364, 23; II, 396	39, 143–4
(tA-rxt)	I, 365, 5; II, 396	36, 128
tA-rd(.t) (?)	I, 365, 9; II, 396	36, 132; 45, 187 (zu 31, 95)
*tA-Hm(t)-n-mwt		36, 141; 39, 146
tA-Hnwt-(nt-)pA-mtr	I, 365, 20; II, 396 (+ II, 325, 21)	39, 134–5
*tA-Hnty		46, 179 ¹⁰⁸
tA-xat	I, 366, 23	33, 81; 45, 176
tA-xwti	s. I, 366, 24; II, 327, 4	42, 237
(tA-xnrt-mn(?))	I, 367, 2 (+ II, 325, 8) = *tA-xntt-mn	31, 89
*tA-xntt-mn	(s. I, 367, 2 + II, 325, 8)	31, 89
(tA-snt)	I, 367, 16 = *tA-snt-snty	36, 132
tA-snt-n(t)-Hr(w)	I, 367, 17; II, 396	34, 109; 39, 145; 52, 273
*tA-snt-snty	(s. I, 367, 16 + II, 326, 7)	36, 132
tA-Sydd(?)	I, 367, 22; II, 396 (+ I, 87, 10; II, 350)	31, 83
*tA-Sp-xnsw		46, 178 ¹⁰⁹
(tA-Spst-mAat-kA-ra)	I, 367, 25 = I, 145, 7	34, 102
tA-Srit	I, 368, 5	36, 126
tA-Srit-n(t)-iaH	I, 368, 9; II, 396	39, 139; 45, 187–8
*tA-Srit-pA-Htr		42, 226
*tA-Srit-anx-HsAt		42, 239–40; 45, 188
*tA-Srit-nt-pA-snt-snty	(s. 368, 21)	36, 132
(tA-Srit-(nt-)pA-snyt(?))	I, 368, 21 = *tA-Srit-nt-pA-snt-snty	36, 132
*tA-Srit-n(t)-pA-Sri-n-mnTw		46, 183 ¹¹⁰
*tA-Srit-(n-)pA-di-aS-sDm		36, 132
tA-Srit-(nt-)mn(w)	I, 369, 3	45, 180 ¹¹¹
*tA-Srit-mnTw		46, 183
tA-Srit-n-mHyt	I, 369, 4	36, 126
(tA-Srit-(nt-nA(?)-)hbw)	I, 369, 5 = I, 369, 12	31, 85
tA-Srit-ra	I, 369, 9	46, 173 (Anm. 13) + 182
tA-Srit-(nt-)hbw	I, 369, 12 (+ I, 369, 5)	31, 85
tA-Srit-n-tA-iswt	I, 370, 4	34, 104
(tA-kAw(?))	II, 327, 27 = I, 373, 14; II, 397	36, 129
tA-kr(?) -hb	I, 371, 12; II, 397 (+ I, 16, 5 + I, 371, 13; II, 397 + I, 394, 26)	36, 138

¹⁰⁶ „Tanetkem(t)“.

¹⁰⁷ „Tanyny“.

¹⁰⁸ „Tahenty“.

¹⁰⁹ „Chep/Tachepkhonsou“.

¹¹⁰ „Tasheritenpasherienmontou“.

¹¹¹ „Tacheritmin“.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
(tA-kr(?)-DHwtj)	I, 371, 13 = I, 371, 12 ; II, 397	36, 138
*tA-kSt		46, 173
tA-gm-iir-Ast	I, 371, 23; II, 397	36, 139 + 143
*tA-gm-n-Ast	(II, 394 zu I, 351, 25)	36, 132 + 139
*tA-dit-Ast-nat		42, 238 (45, 188 zu Anm. 134)
*tA-dit-Ast-rwD		37, 135 (Anm. 36)
*tA-dit-imn-wsr-HAt		39, 140
(tA-di(t)-imn-ra(?))	II, 328, 12 = I, 372, 21	36, 129
*tA-di(t)-imn-Xr(y)-wAst		39, 140
tA-di(t)-imnt	I, 372, 21 (+ II, 328, 12)	36, 129; 46, 178
*tA-dit-wrt-HkAw	(s. I, 403, 10)	46, 174
tA-di(t)-wsir	I, 373, 1; II, 397	52, 267
(tA-di(t)-pAwty(?)-tAwy(?))	I, 373, 12 = *tA-di(t)-rAttAwy	36, 132
*tA-di(t)-mAi-HsA		39, 138
tA-di(t)-mwt	I, 373, 14; II, 397	36, 129
*tA-di(t)-mHyt		36, 140
*tA-dit-(pA-)nb-hn		45, 183–4
tA-dit-(tA-)nb(t)-hn	I, 373, 17; I, 374, 15	45, 182–4
*tA-di(t)-rattAwy	(I, 373, 12 + II, 323, 31)	36, 132 (+39, 146)
*tA-di(t)-hAyt		46, 184
tA-di(t)-HAt-mHyt	I, 374, 3; II, 397; II, 328, 15	52, 270
*tA-di(?)-Hr-m-Hb		34, 108
tA-di(t)-xns-w-iy	I, 374, 12; II, 397	36, 134 ¹¹²
tA-di(t)-Shdd	II, 328, 18	37, 135–6; 39, 146
tA-di-w	I, 374, 17	52, 274 zu 39, 141
tA-dni(t)-n(t)-Ast	I, 374, 20	45, 177
(tA.s-imn-Xr-wAs(?))	I, 375, 23 = *di-sy-imn-Xnm-wAst	39, 140
*tAy-tAy	(vgl. I, 353, 13; II, 394)	33, 81, n. 13
*tAyw-Hnwt-mwt		36, 141; 45, 187
tAyw-Hryt	I, 376, 9; II, 397 (+ II, 325, 31)	36, 129
tA	I, 376, 11	42, 233 ¹¹³
(*tfA)	= I, 357, 4; II, 395	45, 176; 52, 274
tfnt	I, 380, 16 (+ I, 381, 10)	31, 86
(tmt-tA-nb(?))	I, 380, 22; II, 398 = II, 268, 12	31, 85
(tnfn(?))	I, 381, 10 = I, 380, 16	31, 86
tnn-nHbw-xns-w	II, 329, 23; II, 371	31, 85
tTi-kA	I, 385, 11	52, 268–9
*tTi-ky		52, 268–9
TA	I, 386, 22; II, 398	46, 177
*TA(i)-imn-n/m-wAst		52, 272 ¹¹⁴
*TA-pA-n-p-n-im.w		36, 139

¹¹² Genannt als einer der „noms féminins correspondants“ zu pA-di-xns-w-iy (I, 126, 1).

¹¹³ „To“. In der Edition (Bierbrier, HTBM XI, S. 18–19 +

pl. 26) ist Qsnwy-tA gelesen.
¹¹⁴ „TA(i)-imn-n-wAst“; Hieroglyphen mit Präp. m.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
TA-n-Hb	I, 387, 1; II, 398 (+I, 110, 4; II, 353)	36, 127 (Anm. 26)
*TA-n-Hr		46, 185
*TA-Hr-iAt.f		42, 236
TAy	I, 387, 11	36, 138
(TAi-pAwty(?)-tAwy-imw)	I, 387, 19; II, 399 = *TAi-rattAwy-imw	36, 133
TA-mHyt-n-im.w	I, 387, 21	37, 132–3
*TAi-rattAwy-imw	(s. I, 387, 19; II, 399)	36, 133
TAi-Hp-im.w	I, 388, 2; II, 399	37, 132–3
TAw-n-wnDw	I, 389, 17	52, 266–7
TAw-n-Hy / nfw-n-hy	I, 193, 19; II, 368 + I, 207, 24	36, 128; 39, 146
(TAs-Hr(w))	II, 331, 6 = II, 331, 25	36, 127
TawA(?)	I, 390, 5	33, 81
*Tn ¹¹⁵		52, 268–9
Tz-imnt	I, 393, 25; II, 400	46, 178
*Ts-mAi-HsA-prt		39, 137–8
Ts-ra-prt	I, 394, 3; II, 400	39, 139; 45, 188
Ts-xnsw-prt	I, 394, 5; II, 400	34, 105
*Ts-xnswt-prt	(s. I, 394, 5)	34, 105; 43, 167
Tss(w)-Hr(w)	II, 331, 25 (+ II, 331, 6)	36, 127
(Tkr...)	I, 394, 26 = I, 371, 12; II, 397	36, 138
di-Ast-iAw(t)	I, 396, 7; II, 400	31, 87; 36, 130–1
*di-imn-aA-n-xnsw		52, 272
di-bAstt-iAw(t?)	I, 396, 16	31, 87; 34, 109; 39, 145
di-ptH-iAw	I, 396, 18; I, XXX = II, 287, 23	31, 86–7 (+ 39, 145)
*di-mwt-(r)-iwd.w		46, 185–6
*di-nbt-Htpt-iAw		31, 87
*di-nt-iAw(t)		33, 87
*di-Hr-iAw(t)		33, 86
*di-xnsw-iwt		33, 87; 45, 187
*di-xnsw-iwd.w		46, 186
di-sy-Ast	I, 397, 19; II, 400	46, 185
di-sy-imn	II, 332, 13	46, 175 ¹¹⁶ + 178; ¹¹⁷ 52, 275
*di-sy-imn-Xnm-wAst	(s. I, 375, 23)	39, 140
di-sy-imnt	I, 397, 20 (z. T. zu II, 332, 13: di-sy-imn)	46, 175 ¹¹⁸ + 178–9; 52, 275
*di-sy-bAstt		46, 186
*di-sw-mnTw		46, 183–4
*diw-sw-n-mwt		52, 272
di-sw-xnsw	I, 397, 26	52, 270
dwA-ra	I, 398, 19; I, XXX; II, 400	36, 138
*dwAt-nTr-(Hr-)awy-xnsw		33, 86+87 (Add.)
*dwAt-ra		36, 138

¹¹⁵ Name in bei Ranke nicht belegter Form.¹¹⁶ „Disyamon“.¹¹⁷ Hier hat es – im Gegensatz zu S. 175 – den Anschein,

als werte die Autorin di-sy-imn als den fehlerhaften Eintrag gegenüber di-sy-imnt.

¹¹⁸ „Disyamonet“.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Ranke-Belegstelle</i>	<i>RdE-Band, Seite</i>
*dwAw-Htp	I, 413, 18	31, 89
*dmi.s-n.i		52, 272
dni(t)-n(t)-Ast	I, 400, 10; II, 400	45, 177
*dnit-n(t)-bAsth		46, 186
dnit-nt-Hr	I, 431, 27; II, 405	45, 177-8
dd(w)-Spsy (?)	II, 333, 16 (+ II, 318, 21)	31, 89
(Ddt-wrt-HkAw(?))	I, 403, 10 = *tA-dit-wrt-HkAw	46, 174
DA(?) ¹¹⁹	s. I, 404, 7-10; II, 401	36, 143
DHwty	I, 407, 13; II, 401 (+ II, 273, 22; II, 278, 9)	31, 93
DHwty-ir-rx-s(w)	I, 407, 17; II, 401 = II, 334, 4	31, 86
DHwty-ir-rx-sw	II, 334, 4 = I, 407, 17; II, 401	31, 86
(DHwty-pA-iaH(?)-nfr(?))	I, 407, 23; II, 401 = I, 408, 5; II, 401	39, 134
DHwty-m-Hb	I, 408, 2; II, 401	34, 107
DHwty-ms	I, 408, 5; II, 401 (+ I, 407, 23; II, 401)	39, 134
DHwty-nfr	I, 408, 6; II, 401	46, 180 + 181; 52, 275
DHwty-nxt	I, 408, 7; II, 401	33, 81
DHwty-ris(w)	II, 334, 6	33, 83, n. 36
(DHwty-Hr(w))	I, 408, 15 = I, 178, 7	36, 133
DHwty-Hr-mkt.f	I, 408, 16; I, XXXI (+ I, 351, 8 + I, 432, 7 + II, 320, 11)	33, 81; 37, 133
(DHwty-Hr-HAt.f)	I, 432, 7 = I, 408, 16; I, XXXI	37, 133
*Dsr		45, 186
Dd-Ast	I, 409, 15	42, 236
Dd-imn-iw.f-anx	I, 409, 23 (+ I, 88, 9; I, XXI; II, 350)	31, 91
Dd-imnt-iw.s-anx	II, 334, 7	46, 179
Dd-bAsth	I, 410, 7	39, 135
Dd-bAsth-iw.f-anx	I, 410, 8	46, 184 ¹²⁰
*Dd-bAsth-ink-sw/...TAW-sw		52, 272
Dd-mHyT-iw.s-anx	I, 411, 5; II, 401	36, 143
Dd-Hr	I, 411, 12	39, 135, 141
Dd-xy	I, 412, 1-2	43, 164; 46, 183
Dd-xnsw-iw.f-anx ¹²¹	I, 412, 4	42, 236; 46, 173

Lesung unklar:	I, 413, 10 = I, 266, 14	33, 79
[...]Hr-smA-tAwy		42, 234
*p(A).f-Hrp(?)		42, 230
*pr-n-kS(?) / nt-kS ¹²²		42, 230
Tayaouyaou		52, 269 ¹²³

¹¹⁹ Nur die Hieroglyphe ist angegeben.

¹²⁰ „Djedbastiouefankh“.

¹²¹ „Djedkhonsouieufankh“.

¹²² So mein Vorschlag, wenn das vermeintliche pr(j) als Verschreibung von pr im Titel nb.t-pr angenommen

wird. Anders Thirion, die eine Haplographie vorschlägt: „nbt [pr] pr-n-kS(?)“.

¹²³ Welcher Name mit dieser Umschreibung gemeint ist, habe ich nicht feststellen können.

Abgesehen von den Beiträgen zu einzelnen Namen gibt Thirion Hinweise zu einigen Elementen der Namensbildung, meist Literaturangaben:

iw.f-r + nom de personne ou de fonction	52, 269
imnt („Amaunet“)	46, 176–80
i.ir.f-aA-n-divinité	42, 232
iH-sty + divinité	39, 143
anx-divinité/roi	45, 178
pA-wAH + divinité	39, 143–4
pA-n-terme d'architecture sacrée	46, 184
pA-xy	43, 163–4
pA-dgA-divinité	36, 139
divinité-m-mnw	46, 172
divinité + m-Hb	39, 145 zu 34, 107–8
mk-divinité	46, 183
nA-dgA-divinité-rwD	36, 139
na-n.s-divinité	52, 269
divinité-rs	33, 82–3
Xnm-wAst	52, 274 zu 39, 140
Sp + divin	39, 144
tA-wAH(t) + divinité	39, 143–4
tA-n-terme d'architecture sacrée	46, 184
tA-gm.i-n-divinité / tA-gm.i-r-divinité / tA-gm.i-i.ir-divinité	36, 139
TA(w)-n-divinité / TAw-n-lieu	36, 139
dnit + divin	39, 144
dgA-divinité	36, 139
Harpocrate	36, 138
„Harwa“ and „Harbes“	36, 138
Horparê	36, 139
Montou (ép. ramesside à Deir el-Médineh)	36, 139

The present state of the site of Behbeit el-Hagar

Christine Favard-Meeks

A recent event urges me to inform the scientific community of the current situation at the site of Behbeit el-Hagar.¹ I returned to the site in early 2002, with the authorisation of the SCA to try and establish a project for the safeguard of the site and the temple. As it is now, it seems that before preparing the reconstruction of the temple, the whole site should be excavated if we want to discover what is left of the important information it could yield.

The site today

The old plans show a huge temenos.² The study of the land-registers since the last war shows the gradual encroachment of agricultural land, first on the eastern side, and then on the western side. This situation has, in some way, been ratified by the building in 1993 of a brick wall, unfortunately erected between the temple and the ancient wall that is now used as a cemetery and so registered in the land-register.

In 2002, the following can be seen:

- At the entrance, on the south, the ancient wall on the left is outside the modern one, in the background (Fig. 1).
- On the eastern side, a rice plantation has replaced wheat fields. The temple behind the modern wall is now completely surrounded by housing (Fig. 2).
- On the western side, housing has developed on archaeological ground (Fig. 3).

More than 50% of the archaeological ground has now been lost.³ The ancient remains, outside the wall, are in danger. Fig. 4 shows the outer face of the northern wall.

The general situation, considering the agricultural soil is fertile and much in demand, is the consequence of the abandonment of the site by Egyptologists at a time when far more space was available to prepare a programme of reconstruction.

¹ As quite a few relief fragments from blocks intact in 1977 have been on auction sale since 1993, I gave files to the SCA which enabled their provenance to be established. This relates to the blocks which have been damaged (the heads have been cut off) since the 1977 photographic survey. See below Figs 7–12. I thank the Supreme Council of Antiquities who granted me the authorization, in January 2002, for returning to the site. I am most grateful to Prof. Dr. Gaballa A. Gaballa, then Principal Secretary of the SCA and Dr. Mohamed Abd-el Maksoud, General Director of the Department for Egyptian Antiquities of the Delta and Sinai, for the help they have thus given me. The SCA has subsequently been successful in retrieving some of the blocks, see, for example, *Al Ahram Weekly* 4–10 July 2002, no. 593, online at <http://www.ahram.org.eg/weekly/2002/593/hr1.htm>. Lastly I thank Nigel Strudwick for assistance in editing this article.

² See, for example, *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités-Planches*. Tome Cinquième, pl. 30: 'Delta. Environs de Sebennytus, 1 à 9 "Plan topographique et détails d'un temple d'Isis, à Bahbeyt"'. See also references in Lézine, *Kêmi* 10 (1949), 49–57; Favard-Meeks, *Archéologia* 263 (décembre 1990), 26–33; id., *Le temple de Behbeit el-Hagara*; id. in Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, 102–11.

³ Professor Mekkawy and the University of Tanta have been in charge of the site for some time, from 1988 onwards. We hope that the results of their work will soon be published

Moreover, other dangers have appeared within the modern enclosure. The nearby rice plantations maintain a permanent dampness which favours the development of a luxuriant vegetation (several types of reeds) whose rhizomes damage the archaeological ground. The removal of this vegetation is the first task which needs to be undertaken before starting the work. The vegetation on the North side is shown in Fig. 5, and the salt inside the hypostyle hall appears in Fig. 6.

The study of the site and its goal

The site and its monument are now completely ruined.⁴ The history of the site is not well known. Its Arabic name Behbeit comes from the ancient Egyptian toponym Per-hebite(t): 'The house of the festive goddess' while el-Hagar 'the stones' alludes to the presence of ruins.

It has never been systematically excavated with the exception of the south-eastern corner of the temple itself, where many blocks were uncovered by the Mission Montet at the end of the 1940s and early 1950s. The history which can be established for all the periods before the construction of the temple in the 30th dynasty is only based on texts and the name of the site appears for the first time in the New Kingdom, but only in texts found outside Behbeit. Considering its geographical situation, south of Mansura and north of Samanud, lat. N 31°02', long. E 31°17', it is important for the history of the settlements of the Delta to establish when the site was first inhabited. Because of its geographical location, it has to be established if it were in a swampy region and when cultivation appeared. On a turtleback and away from a Nile branch, it could have been inhabited since prehistoric times.

The present status of the temple

The temple was dedicated to the family of Osiris by the last Egyptian pharaoh, Nectanebo II. Then Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III completed the decoration of the temple. This covers a period from 360 to 221 BC.

It would be possible in theory to reconstruct the granite ruins of the temple. However, a major difficulty with this is that the granite blocks have suffered from exposure to moisture. The treatment applied in the past few years by the SCA has stopped the progression of the damage, but the reliefs now suffer from other irreversible degradations, as shown by the following examples:

- Fig. 7. Block with falcon and bull guardians in 1977
- Fig. 8. The same block in 2002
- Fig. 9. Block with a cow goddess in 1977
- Fig. 10. The same block in 2002
- Fig. 11. Block showing Ptolemy II offering the *Wedjat* eye in 1977
- Fig. 12. The same block in 2002.

In spite of these unfortunate developments, the site and the temple remain extremely important. The temple itself is probably the most beautiful in the Delta and the only one constructed entirely of granite. Some examples:

- Fig. 13. The western entrance in 1990. On the left, lying on the ground, the fallen blocks were decorated by Ptolemy III.

⁴ The site must have been abandoned (there are no signs of a Christian presence) and over the centuries the temple has been used as a quarry, which partly explains its present state.

- **Fig. 14.** In 1977, a general view of the facade of the sanctuary of Isis decorated by Ptolemy II. This photo shows the different levels of destruction of the temple. The left wing could be entirely rebuilt while the right one, so much damaged, can be reconstructed on paper but the blocks on site are so scattered that it is difficult to distinguish them.
- **Fig. 15.** In 1990, the left side of Isis sanctuary facade. A pile of blocks.
- **Fig. 16.** The south wall of the sanctuary of Isis in 1990. Though much damaged, the huge blocks of dark grey granite suggest the same comments as R. Pococke's in 1743: '...it far exceeds anything I ever saw in this way'.
- **Fig. 17.** From the Osirian chapels on the eastern side, in 1977, a block of the chapel of Osiris Res-wedja showing the second register and part of the third register of the axial wall. On the right side, an offering to a double aspect of Osiris; on the left, Hat-Mehyt.

Before a reconstruction can be attempted

The history of the building itself is controversial. It is very important to determine when the main temple was destroyed and to establish how such a building could come to be in such a wrecked condition: for geological reasons, is the building too heavy for the ground? As a result of repeated earth tremors, earthquakes being historically known in antiquity? Its early destruction is also much debated because of the importance of the cult of Isis and Osiris, an Egyptological tradition trying to establish that Behbeit el-Hagar is the oldest cult centre of Isis (beginning in the Old Kingdom) and that it is the Iseion/Iseum of classical writers, even though the temple may have been destroyed as early as the 2nd century BC.

It is most unlikely that this monument was destroyed later than the 1st century AD, since a block bearing the name of Nectanebo II was found in a temple dedicated to Isis and Serapis in Rome; it could have been placed there either at the time of the temple's first foundation in 43 BC or when it was renovated under Domitian (81–96 AD). This surely indicates that its spectacular destruction had taken place by that time.⁵

There are many questions to answer

If the early destruction of the temple is confirmed, it seems certain that the whole temenos was not abandoned.⁶ One conclusion is evident: if the whole site is not excavated soon, its history (both prior to the building of the temple and after its destruction) will be lost for ever. The site, as it is now, is a scientific challenge for many specialists such as geologists, hydrologists, seismologists, topographers, archaeologists and architects. It holds many answers for the scientific world and if we do not wish to lose an important chapter of the history of the Mediterranean civilisation involving Egyptian, Greek and Roman cultures, the site urgently needs the help of many specialists.

⁵ See my comments in *Topoi*, Suppl. 3 (2002), 44.

⁶ For instance, the cult of the Akhet cow is well attested at the end of the 1st century AD. This fact was analysed as demonstrating the permanence of Isis cult. But see my comments in *Topoi*, Suppl. 3 (2002), 44 n. 87.

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Figs 1–7; 9–17 © Christine Favard-Meeks; photo 8 © Maryvonne Chartier-Raymond.



Fig. 1 Area of the entrance to the temple.



Fig. 2 Housing surrounding the temple.



Fig. 3 Housing on archaeological ground to the west of the temple.



Fig. 4 The outer face of the northern wall of the temple.



Fig. 5 Vegetation inside the northern part of the temple enclosure.



Fig. 6 Salt inside the hypostyle hall.

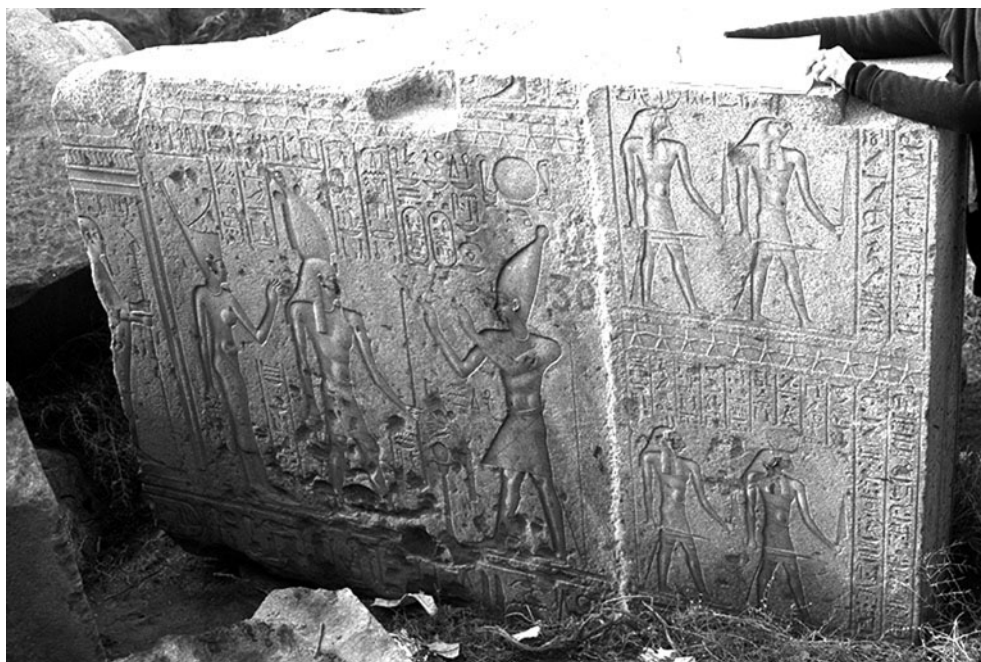


Fig. 7 Block with falcon and bull guardians in 1977.



Fig. 8 Block in Fig. 7 in 2002.



Fig. 9 Block with a cow goddess in 1977.



Fig. 11 Block showing Ptolemy II offering the Wedjat eye in 1977.



Fig. 10 Block in Fig. 9 in 2002.



Fig. 12 Block in Fig. 11 in 2002.



Fig. 13 The western entrance in 1990.



Fig. 14 General view of the facade of the sanctuary of Isis in 1977.



Fig. 15 The left side of the Isis sanctuary facade in 1990.

Fig. 16 The south wall of the sanctuary of Isis in 1990.



Fig. 17 A block of the chapel of Osiris Res-wedja in 1977.

One accident too many?

Margaret A. Judd

Introduction

How did he die? This is a frequent question asked of bioarchaeologists when examining skeletal remains and in most cases the answer eludes us. Perhaps a more plausible question would be 'how did he live?' but even then there are limitations to the interpretation of trauma and disease in ancient skeletal remains, particularly episodes of trauma. Healed traumatic lesions, in addition to dental disease and osteoarthritis, are the most frequently observed pathological lesions in ancient skeletal remains, both human and animal. Most individuals who suffered from injury exhibit one or two lesions (fracture, dislocation, or muscle pull), but occasionally an individual is excavated whose skeletal remains are riddled with trauma, which offers an intriguing case study.

One method used by bioarchaeologists to interpret ancient trauma is clinical analogy, because clinicians have the luxury of being able to interview their patients to elicit the cause of their injuries. Bioarchaeologists are not so fortunate and therefore must rely on medical literature, research, and protocols to aid in their descriptions and interpretations of trauma. Bioarchaeologists also use data retrieved from anatomical skeletal collections with known histories. For example, the skeletons of two North American males, known to have engaged in boxing, exhibited an almost identical accumulation of injuries,¹ which generate a set of criteria that might identify ancient people who participated in interpersonal conflicts. While their isolated injuries could not be attributed solely to combat, with the exception of the fractured cheek, nose and ulna fractures, the collection of lesions suggests an aggregate of injuries from boxing or similar activity over a lifetime. Other researchers² observed a similar set of injuries among four archaeological skeletons, and, although violence through military conflict was strongly indicated, both scholars cautioned that such an interpretation was purely hypothetical.

This study briefly describes the injuries observed on the skeletal remains of a man who lived during the Kerma Period in ancient Sudan and offers explanations for the discrete injuries based on parallels discussed in clinical literature, particularly literature from non-industrialised regions.

The context

The Northern Dongola Reach Survey, a project sponsored by the Sudan Archaeological Research Society, recorded archaeological sites and monuments over a five-year period of survey from 1993–97.³ During the 1996/97 season, a small Kerma period cemetery (P37), located south of Kawa, was excavated and 46 individuals were recovered (Fig. 1). The Kerma Ancien (c. 2500–2050 BC) graves, which had been robbed in antiquity, were identified by a low mounds of soil blanketed by a cluster of white quartzite pebbles that were interspersed with fragments of basalt and a black ferruginous material. The

¹ Hershkovitz *et al.*, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 6 (1996), 167–78.

² Anderson, *Journal of Paleopathology* 7 (1995), 227–35; Wakely, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 6 (1978), 76–83.

³ Welsby, *Life on the Desert Edge*.

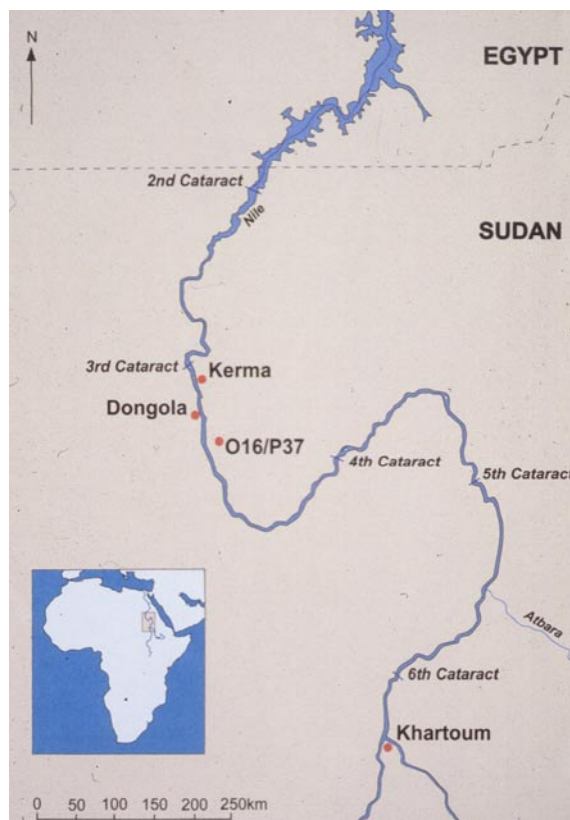


Fig. 1 Map of the Dongola Reach region showing Site P37.



Fig. 2 Skeleton J3-I3-44 *in situ*.

individual under study, termed (J3)I3-44 [grave (J3)I3, skeleton 44], was interred in the tradition of the Kerma Ancien period: the skeleton was laid on its right side in a flexed position, oriented east to west, head to the east and facing north, with the hands placed in front of the face (Fig. 2).

The methods reviewed and recommended by Buikstra and Ubelaker⁴ were used to establish the age and sex of this individual. The skeletal remains were identified as a male based on the dimorphic characteristics of the skull and the pelvis. Pubic bone degeneration, changes to the auricular surface of the pelvic bone, and sternal rib end modification were used to determine that this individual was 25–35 years of age at the time of death. All of the long bones were present and the bones of the lower leg (tibia and fibula) were chosen to determine the male's stature. Using a regression formula developed by Trotter and Gleser,⁵ the stature was established at 165.11 ± 3.53 cm, which fell below the mean of 169.41 ± 5.53 cm for the sample.⁶

⁴ Buikstra and Ubelaker (eds), *Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains*, 16–38.

⁵ Trotter and Gleser, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 16 (1958), 79–123.

⁶ Judd in Welsby, *Life on the Desert Edge*, 458–543.



Fig. 3 Small puncture lesions on the right parietal and frontal bones.

Archaeological trauma

Before a cultural explanation for trauma as a result of ancient behaviour can be offered, it is essential to determine first if a bone anomaly is indeed due to trauma and then to describe the injury. Trauma is divided into three categories:

- trauma resulting from the presence of another pathological process, for example, bones weakened by osteoporosis are predisposed to fracture,
- microtrauma due to repeated mechanical stress to the musculoskeletal structure over time, and
- macrotrauma, which is attributed to a sudden physical stress.

It is the latter category that is examined here and includes fractures, dislocations, and tears of a tendon or muscle attachment from the bone, which eventually become ossified.

The injuries

All of this man's injuries were healed to some degree. Healed lesions on bone are identified in several ways: by a visible callus formation; through an angular deformity created by the fractured ends of the bone, which may appear as a fracture line on a radiograph; by a non-union of healed bone at the fractured ends; or in the case of the skull, the edges are sealed or bevelled by bone remodelling.

The skull

Radiographs did not reveal any evidence of major traumatic skull injury. The right side of the skull vault, however, exhibited six small, superficial, oval-shaped lesions that ranged from 27–38 mm² in area and were up to 3 mm deep (Fig. 3). These lesions had puckered bevelled edges indicating that some healing had occurred.

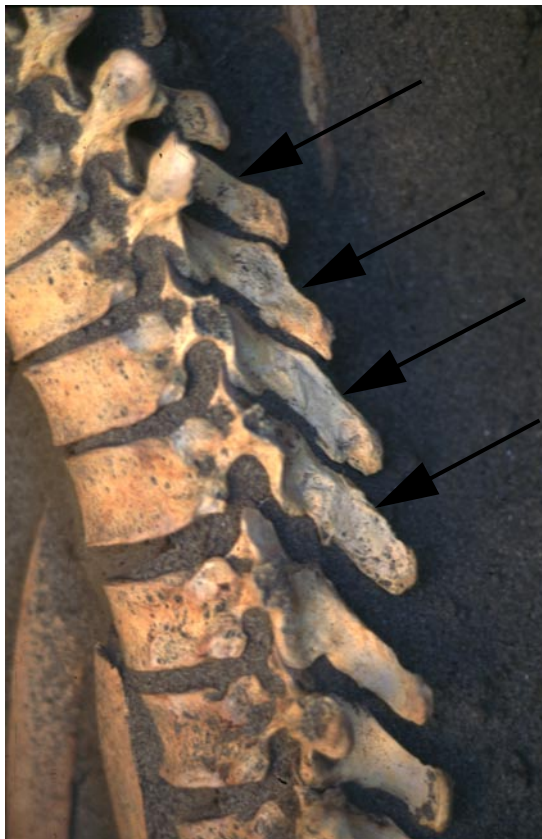


Fig. 4 Spinous process injuries of vertebral column.

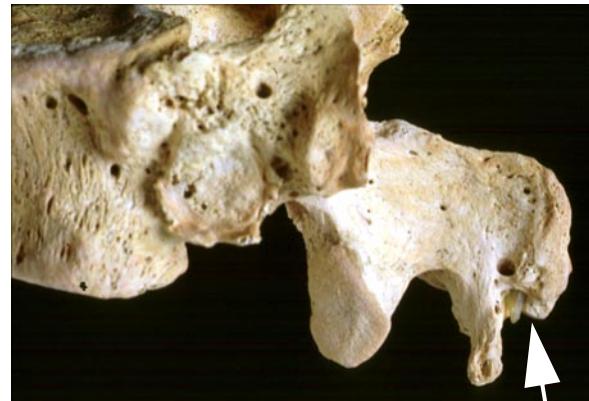


Fig. 5 Stone microlith in the spinous process of the 12th thoracic vertebra.

The trunk

The spinous processes of four sequential thoracic vertebrae (T5–T8) (Fig. 4) and the tenth thoracic vertebra exhibited porous raised lesions and ossified muscle tears in the areas of insertion of the muscles that extend and rotate the vertebral column. Transverse fractures on the four sequential vertebrae are typically the result of hyperextension and are usually associated with other injuries.⁷ A small chalcedony stone flake pierced the left side of the spinous process of the twelfth thoracic vertebra (Fig. 5) and the bone healed around the puncture; unfortunately, the flake was too small to determine the type of weapon from which it had broken.⁸

Trauma due to tears of the shoulder muscles and ligaments that attach to the scapula were present on both scapulae. In addition, the body of the left scapula (Fig. 6) had been crushed, but healed in a network of interconnecting fracture lines and ossified soft tissue.

Two right ribs presented healed transverse fractures with raised calluses on their anterior surface. The first lesion measured 20.6 × 13.1 mm and the second measured 13.8 × 16 mm.

⁷ Galloway in Galloway (ed.), *Broken Bones*, 102.

⁸ Cook in Welsby, *Life on the Desert Edge*, 442–8.



Fig. 6 Crushed left scapular body with ossified muscle insertion tears.



Fig. 7 Soft tissue trauma on left humeral shaft.

The arms

An area of disorganised bone growth measuring 34.1×10.5 mm was observed on the central shaft of the left humerus where muscles that extend and rotate the arm attach (Fig. 7). This lesion is typical of an injury sustained from a sudden, violent movement that tears the soft tissue from the bone.

Injuries to both forearms (described below) occurred when the arms were 'pronated' to some degree, that is, when the palm of the hand was turned downward and the forearm's outer bone (the radius) crossed over the inner bone (the ulna). These fractures are usually the result of an indirect force, such as a fall on an outstretched hand, where the force of impact is transmitted up the bone shaft to produce an oblique fracture line ($> 45^\circ$) in relation to the long axis of the bone.⁹ These types of injuries—rotational injuries—are easily identified by the gross deformity caused by opposing muscle exertion on the two fractured pieces and their subsequent non-union if not surgically treated (Fig. 8). Fractured bones do not always unite, resulting in unconnected, dense sclerosed bone ends. The causes of non-union are diverse, but because other pathological indicators were absent, non-union in this case was likely a result of movement of the two fragments during healing, excessive soft tissue between the fragments or the loss of alignment between the fragments.

⁹ Rogers, *Radiology of Skeletal Trauma*, 811–4.



Fig. 8 Paired rotational forearm fracture with non-union of the ulna and radius fractures (*in situ*).



Fig. 9 Ununited left radial shaft rotational fracture and Smith's fracture (arrow).

The right forearm experienced a rotational fracture that involved both the ulna and radius (Fig. 8). The ulna fracture was 98 mm from the joint formed by the radius and wrist bones and 54 mm in length; the union of the fractured ends produced a 56° fracture line in relation to the longitudinal axis of the ulna. The degree of overlap of the ulna segments was 27 mm and when compared to the left ulna there was a 23 mm discrepancy in length, with the right ulna reduced to 250 mm. The 45 mm long right radial lesion was 92 mm from the radial edge of the wrist joint and produced a 60° fracture line. The distal segments of the ulna and radius were unaligned by 20° in relation to the longitudinal radial axis.

The left radial injury occurred when the arm was pronated so that the midpoint of the radius crossed directly over the ulna shaft when the injury occurred, although the ulna was unaffected. The lesion was located 75 mm from the distal radius surface and was 34 mm in length; the angle of the fracture line was 35° to the axis (Fig. 9) and the distal portion of bone was angled 20° in relation to the bone's axis. Both radii were similar in overlap (34 mm) and their lengths were reduced to 234 mm.

A Smith's fracture, also observed on the distal left radius (Fig. 9), occurs when one falls on the back of the hand, falls backward onto the hand or receives a blow to the back of the wrist resulting in the angulation of the distal radial fragment.¹⁰ Both bone segments were in complete alignment to form a 28 mm long fracture line located 13 mm from the wrist joint resulting in an angle of 65° to the axis. Soft tissue trauma was present where the muscle involved with flexing the elbow inserts at the distal radius, while the distal surface of the radius that articulates with the wrist bones exhibited a network of fracture lines resulting from an impaction force.

¹⁰ Rogers, *Radiology of Skeletal Trauma*, 847.



Fig. 10 Oblique fractures of the first metacarpal shafts.



Fig. 11 Transverse fracture of the third left metacarpal.

The legs

The lower leg injuries were minor—a small depression fracture occurred on the articular surface of the right distal tibia that forms part of the ankle joint. An incomplete transverse fracture, likely sustained from a direct force, was noted on the distal shaft of the right fibula.

The hands and feet

Eight injuries were observed on the hands. Four finger injuries were healed depressed lesions on the base of four phalanges (two from each side). The palms of the hands revealed four metacarpal fractures—the thumb on both hands (Fig. 10), the left middle finger (Fig. 11), and the little finger. Injuries to the thumb and little finger bones were oblique indicating that they were the result of an indirect force. The fracture of the third metacarpal was transverse and thus, the result of a direct force, either accidental or intentional.

Injuries to the feet were present on the left foot only and were also relatively minor. Three of the five lesions were depressed articular surfaces on the metatarsals and phalanges, typical results observed clinically of people stubbing their toes or tripping. Other lesions included soft tissue trauma on the base of the third metatarsal, and the absence of the tuft of the fifth distal phalanx.

Discussion

A major problem that bioarchaeologists encounter in the interpretation of a set of healed injuries is whether or not the injuries occurred during one incident, or whether they were the cumulative result of separate events. A series of actions producing trauma may be attributed to an individual's innate clumsiness, occupational risk, or penchant for assault (as the victim, assailant or both). In clinical practice, these 'injury recidivists' are typically young males and form a small percentage of the trauma

sample.¹¹ Similarly, a portion of ancient people were also injury recidivists, a pattern identified by random multiple lesions at different stages of healing and a predisposition among males less than 35 years of age in two Kerma period skeletal samples.¹² While this individual suffered a range of lesions, there did not appear to be a major discrepancy in healing stages or isolated regions of repetitive insult to an area, which are characteristic patterns observed in abuse cases.¹³ At best, bioarchaeologists can distinguish between unhealed injuries caused at the time of death, partially healed injuries that occurred shortly before death, and old well-healed lesions. The injuries of this male were in various locations and all of the lesions occurred well before the individual's death.

The second issue in palaeotrauma analysis is whether or not the injuries were accidental or intentional. As determined above, the injury pattern was inconsistent with that of continued abuse causing bone fracture, leaving a violent assault, a series of accidents, or some combination of the two as the ultimate cause of the injuries. Clinical cases show that injuries to the skull, particularly the facial region, are associated with interpersonal violence cross-culturally.¹⁴ Most often, skull injuries occur as a depression injury on the cranium caused by a blunt object or a crush injury to the face, particularly the nasal or cheek bones due to a blow with a fist. However, it must also be considered that only about 30% of assault injuries to the face are manifest as fractures—abrasions, cuts, and haematomas make up the remainder.¹⁵ Blunt trauma injuries were not unknown to the Kerma culture;¹⁶ however, the injuries observed on this male were not typical of those received from striking the head on a flat surface or blunt trauma or from stoning, but are more typical of incomplete puncture wounds made with a small sharp object, or they may be the evidence of a non-specific infection.

The minor lesions, such as those to the vertebral column, joint surfaces, ribs and extremities, are ambiguous and may be attributed to either accidental or intentional actions and therefore on their own they do not indicate a specific injury mechanism. The extension fractures observed on the thoracic vertebrae are nearly always associated with other injuries when seen in clinical practice. Galloway,¹⁷ for example, cites motor vehicular accidents and falls that result in the person being thrown against a fixed object after the impact as typical causes. Similarly, the scapular body fracture rarely occurs in isolation, and is most typically the result of a direct force.¹⁸ This direct force may result from an intentional blow, but this may occur in a socially acceptable context, such as competitive sports, of which the Nubians were fond.¹⁹

¹¹ Poole *et al.*, *Surgery* 113 (1993), 608–11.

¹² Judd, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 12 (2002), 89–106.

¹³ Kerley, *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 23 (1978), 163–8; Walker *et al.*, *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 42 (1997), 196–207.

¹⁴ Greene *et al.*, *Archives of Otolaryngology, Head, and Neck Surgery* 123 (1997), 923–8; Mwaniki *et al.*, *East African Medical Journal* 65 (1988), 759–63; Shepherd *et al.*, *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 83 (1990), 75–8.

¹⁵ Brismar and Tunér, *Acta Chirurgica Scandinavica* 148 (1982), 103–5; Chalmers *et al.*, *Australian Journal of Public Health* 19 (1995), 149–54; Matthew *et al.*, *Australian and New Zealand Surgery* 66 (1996), 659–63.

¹⁶ Filer, *JEA* 78 (1992), 281–5; Judd in Welsby, *Life on the Desert Edge*, 458–543; Judd, *Sudan & Nubia* 5 (2001), 21–8.

¹⁷ Galloway in Galloway (ed.), *Broken Bones*, 102.

¹⁸ Galloway in Galloway (ed.), *Broken Bones*, 117–8; Haglund, in Galloway (ed.), *Broken Bones*, 297–300.

¹⁹ Carroll, *Journal of Sport History* 15 (1988), 121–37; Filer, in Carman (ed.), *Material Harm: Archaeological Studies of War and Violence*, 47–74.

The ribs are often implicated in cases of abuse, but may also result from falls, accident, stress due to coughing or activity, or even birth.²⁰ The angle of the fracture line and location of the lesion aids in identifying the injury mechanism.²¹ Transverse fracture lines are the result of localised blows to the chest or coughing, and may involve one or more ribs, such as the case presented here. Oblique fracture lines are caused by an indirect force, such as a fall, and are manifest on the back of the rib cage. Bilateral oblique rib fractures are associated with an episode of crushing.

The high number of hand and foot injuries is not unreasonable when compared to modern clinical research, which identifies the bones of the hand as the most frequently traumatised, although many are overlooked in a radiological assessment or not even noticed by the individual. A survey of hand and foot injury mechanisms in developing countries reveals mechanisms that were also present in ancient Nubia: sports, agriculture, falls, blunt trauma, burns, household accident, animal and human bites, and fights.²² Some hand injuries are associated with fighting, such as the boxer's fracture where the metacarpal head is bent towards the palm; a shearing of the base of the first metacarpal from a misplaced punch; a sideways blow with the side of the hand; tooth-punch injuries received when the fist contacts the tooth; twisting injuries and bites resulting in amputation.²³ The injuries to the palm bones of this male, particularly those of the first metacarpal, may indeed have been due to a scuffle, but social sports or striking a blow against an inanimate object cannot be ignored.²⁴

The people from this region were identified as members of the Kerma culture, a society closely connected to a reliance and reverence for cattle. The abundance of bovid bones and effigies retrieved from domestic refuse and ritual contexts at Kerma and the neighbouring village of Gism el-Arba,²⁵ in addition to the faunal remains from the Kerma Moyen burials at P37,²⁶ confirm the importance of animals to this culture. The close proximity and interaction with pastoral animals does pose an injury hazard, particularly in the dairy and beef industry.²⁷ Busch²⁸ lists the fracture-related trauma sustained by a 57 year old farmer who was repeatedly knocked down by a 2,000 pound (about 909 kg) bull: 13 rib fractures, three forearm fractures, bilateral scapular fractures and dental fractures—a similar assortment of injuries displayed by this Kerma male.

Falls from heights, such as ladders or roofs, may also have been common during the Kerma period, and like the present day, they were likely due to the carelessness of those on the ladder.²⁹ Falls are due

²⁰ De Maeseneer *et al.*, *American Journal of Emergency Medicine* 18 (2000), 194–7; Galloway in Galloway (ed.), *Broken Bones*, 107; Walker *et al.*, *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 42 (1997), 196–207.

²¹ Galloway in Galloway (ed.), *Broken Bones*, 107.

²² Ip *et al.*, *Injury* 27 (1996), 279–85; Jonge *et al.*, *Journal of Hand Surgery (British and European Volume)* 19B (1994), 168–70; Kelly *et al.*, *Injury* 27 (1996), 481–4; Loro and Franceschi, *East African Medical Journal* 69 (1992), 697–9; Mock *et al.*, *American Journal of Public Health* 85 (1995), 927–31; Smith and Barss, *Epidemiology Revue* 13 (1991), 228–66.

²³ Adams and Hamblen, *Outline of Fractures Including Joint Injuries*, 171; Rogers, *Radiology of Skeletal Trauma*, 945–81.

²⁴ Hershkovitz *et al.*, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 6 (1996), 167–78.

²⁵ Bonnet and Ferrero, *Sahara* 8 (1996), 61–6; Chaix, *Sahara* 1 (1988), 77–84; Chaix and Grant, in Krzyzaniak *et al.* (eds) *Environmental Change and Human Culture in the Nile Basin and Northern Africa until the Second Millennium BC*, 399–404; Gratien, *Sudan and Nubia* 3 (1999), 10–12.

²⁶ Grant in Welsby, *Life on the Desert Edge*, 544–55.

²⁷ Boyle *et al.*, *Epidemiology* 8 (1997), 37–41; Busch *et al.*, *Journal of Trauma* 26 (1986), 559–60; McCurdy and Carroll, *American Journal of Industrial Medicine* 38 (2000), 463–80.

²⁸ Busch *et al.*, *Journal of Trauma* 26 (1986), 559–60.

²⁹ Muir and Kanwar, *Injury* 24 (1993), 485–87.

to the ladder base being too close to the wall, poorly tied off ladders and being accidentally knocked off the ladder by a third party. A fall may also have been the result of collecting dates from a date palm, an indigenous tree to this area, which no doubt supplemented the diet among the ancients. Falls from coconut palms are well recorded among tropical clinicians and the most common injuries include forearm or vertebral fractures.³⁰ In falls from a height greater than standing height, the lower limb is most frequently injured, while short falls off a stepladder account for upper limb fractures, specifically the distal radius.

The injuries to the forearm are the most diagnostic in this case and, as discussed above, the indirect force injuries (Smith's and rotational fractures) are associated with a fall on an outstretched hand. Another type of forearm injury, the parry fracture, is associated with interpersonal violence. This injury occurs on the distal third of the ulna, is transverse, involves minimal displacement in any direction, rarely involves the neighbouring radius and is nearly always the result of raising the arm in front of the face to fend off a blow.³¹ This individual may have fallen forward and extended both forearms to break his fall, which would explain the similarity of fracture position and healing stage on the bones. The presence of the Smith's fracture, also well healed, indicates an additional fall, which may or may not have occurred at some point during the event in which the rotational forearm injuries were sustained. These forearm injuries are indeed typical of falls and when observed among ancient skeletal material, they are most often attributed to environmental or intrinsic factors³² rather than suspect that the injuries were sustained from a fall during a physical confrontation, a common phenomenon in clinical observations of injury patterns.³³

Conclusions

Multiple injuries occurring during a single incident or accumulated over time are not unusual in modern clinical practice and similarly were not unknown among ancient people. A young male adult from the Kerma Ancien Period in the Kawa vicinity exhibited a remarkable collection of injuries, none of which occurred at the time of death. No fractures were specifically associated with interpersonal violence that is, blunt force skull injuries, facial fractures or parry fractures. The presence of a Smith's fracture and rotational radial fracture on the left radial shaft suggests that at least two separate falls occurred, which permitted his radius to fracture in opposing directions. The injuries to the spine and scapulae are suggestive of at least one particularly high-impact incident. The proximate aetiologies of his injuries were likely falls, however, this man was no stranger to violence, as indicated by the embedded lithic fragment in one of his vertebrae, which had occurred before death. Whether or not the ultimate cause of his injuries involved a human antagonist in each incident remains a mystery as does the cause of death—perhaps this young man just experienced one accident too many.

³⁰ Barss *et al.*, *British Medical Journal (Clinical Research Ed.)* 289 (1984), 1717–20; Mulford *et al.*, *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Surgery* 71 (2000), 32–4.

³¹ Richards and Corley in Rockwood *et al.* (eds) *Rockwood and Green's Fractures in Adults*, 869–928.

³² Judd and Roberts, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 105 (1998), 43–55; Judd and Roberts, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 109 (1999), 229–43; Kilgore *et al.*, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 7 (1997), 103–14.

³³ De Souza, *East African Medical Journal* 45 (1968), 523–31.

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Proportion and personality in the Fayum Portraits

A.J.N.W. Prag

This note stems from a paper given in 1998 to the symposium 'From the Fayum Portraits to Early Byzantine Icon Painting' organised by the Vikelaia Municipal Library in Heraklion. The organisers of that excellent occasion never intended to publish the papers, seeing the symposium primarily as an accompaniment to a major exhibition on the same theme. However, my preoccupation with the significance of proportion in portraiture as it applies to these very distinctive faces has not gone away, a preoccupation that has grown out of a long-standing collaboration with my colleague Richard Neave on the reconstruction of ancient faces. The work that we have done together on Romano-Egyptian mummy-portraits came too late to be included in our book *Making Faces*, and the launch of *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* seemed an excellent opportunity to remedy that omission, the more so since it was originally set off by the 'Ancient Faces' exhibition of mummy-portraits from Roman Egypt set up by the Museum in 1997.

These 'portraits' have exercised a fascination from their earliest discovery: when Barbara Borg called her recent study 'Der zierlichste Anblick der Welt', she was already quoting Pietro della Valle's description of them in 1615,¹ while a recent article on the funerary art of later Egypt comments that 'the incorporation of "portraits" ... presents modern, Western viewers with a series of human likenesses which tempt us to imagine that we can literally and figuratively come face to face with the past'.² Whatever the circumstances in which they were painted—whether in the sitter's lifetime or after his or her death—it is clear that there was a flourishing industry of portrait-painters and their workshops, and that as with all such industries there were not only good and less good craftsmen but also something approaching a production line, in which each painter quite naturally built up his own formulae and his own tricks. Repetitive and formulaic use of proportion has been used³ as one of the criteria by which different workshops can be distinguished. It is easy to make minor alterations within a formulaic representation, most obviously to the hair and beard, to give the impression of individuality and even naturalism,⁴ but that is not a new trick which the Fayum painters invented: for example, we see it already in the terracotta votive heads made by the Etruscans in the 3rd century BC, which themselves form part of a long tradition going back at least to the 7th century.⁵

Whenever one looks through this gallery of faces differences and similarities abound, of technique, of style, of contemporary fashion or regional practice, of the painters' technical abilities and sometimes of their artistic brilliance, and of the physiognomies of the sitters. Seen separately or in small numbers the better paintings do indeed appear as very personal and individual renderings, but as soon as one takes a broader overview one realises how easy it is to be misled by apparent similarities of dress, fashion and technique into seeing similarities of face that are not there. As an example, Barbara Borg's very

¹ Cited in Borg, 'Der zierlichste Anblick der Welt...': *Ägyptische Porträtmumien*, 6.

² Riggs, *AJA* 106 (2002), 85.

³ By Barbara Borg in *Mumienporträts*, 93–4, and others.

⁴ Borg, *Mumienporträts*, 98.

⁵ e.g. Brendel, *Etruscan Art*, 106–9, 129–31, 393–4.



Fig. 1 Portrait of a woman, said to be from er-Rubayat, c. AD 170–190 (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Antikensammlung, Inv. X30).

Fig. 2 Portrait of a woman, said to be from er-Rubayat, c. AD 190–210 (London, British Museum EA 65343). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

perceptive analysis of the portraits of two seemingly very characterful young men has demonstrated how the ‘individual’ traits are in the end simply the quirks of a workshop or a painter.⁶ Others have commented on the similarities between the portraits of two ladies, both said to be from er-Rubayat: the one shown on the left (Fig. 1) is dated c. AD 170–190,⁷ she on the right (Fig. 2) to around AD 190–210.⁸

Their dresses and their jewellery are indeed almost identical, and one hopes they never met on a social occasion. So is the way they have done their hair, except that the lady on the right has frizzy hair whereas her friend on the left has more gently flowing curls. Their faces have the same oval outline, and the same long, straight nose with a rather pointed tip, but there the similarity stops. The face on the right has a much higher forehead, smaller eyes which are set closer together in relation to the overall dimensions of the face, and which slope down towards the nose whereas those on the other face slope up. She has a wider and straighter mouth, while her jaw-line is straighter and ends in a squarer chin. Despite these differences, neither has any features that are strikingly individual, that were painted in a

⁶ Berlin 19722, New York 11.139; Borg, ‘Der zierlichste Anblick der Welt...’: *Ägyptische Porträtmumien*, 38–40.

⁷ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum X 301; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, no. 91.

⁸ British Museum EA 65343; Walker, *Ancient Faces*, 82 no. 42; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 99 no. 92. Walker and Bierbrier’s catalogue gives a full bibliography for each of the portraits discussed here, updated where appropriate in the version revised for the New York showing of the exhibition. Walker, *Ancient Faces* includes references to the excellent illustrations in Doxiadis’ discussion of the place of these pictures in the tradition that she believes ran through to Byzantine icon painting (*Apo ta Portraita tou Fayoum stis Aparches tis Texnis ton Vyzantinon Eikonon*).



Fig. 3 Portrait of a bearded man, said to be from er-Rubayat, c. AD 150–170 (Malibu, Getty Museum 74.AP.11). © The Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.



Fig. 4 Portrait of a bearded man, said to be from er-Rubayat, c. AD 150–180 (London, National Gallery 3932). © London, National Gallery.

particular manner because that was how they *were*: within the particular styles of the two painters these are absolutely standard production-line pieces, and it is unlikely that they tell us anything about the real appearance of the two ladies.

Beards should not mislead us any more than hairstyles. The two men illustrated side by side here as they were in the catalogue of the ‘Ancient Faces’ exhibition are both Antonine of the third quarter of the second century: both have a long face with a high forehead, and share the same long nose as a constant, and they both have a short but full beard, but again there the resemblance ends (Fig. 3 and Fig. 4).⁹ The rather unfriendly face on the left with its wide-set narrow eyes and arched eyebrows has well-marked cheekbones and a sloping jaw-line that leads to a rounded chin above a surly, thick-lipped mouth. The more vacuous person on the right has a narrower face that forms an inverted trapezium rather than an oval; his eyes are larger and closer set—though given the somewhat mediocre quality of the drawing I doubt whether too much significance should be given to the fact that his left eye is set higher than his right. Looking at it with an artist’s eye, Richard Neave commented on the rather poor drawing of both these pieces, which leaves one wondering how well the artists had actually observed

⁹ Malibu: Getty Museum 74.AP.11: Walker, *Ancient Faces*, 77 no.37; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 94 no. 84. London, National Gallery 3932, Walker, *Ancient Faces*, 78 no.38; Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 95 no. 85.



Fig. 5 Portrait of a woman, said to be from er-Rubayat, c. AD 160–170 (London, British Museum EA 65346). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 6 Portrait of a man, said to be from er-Rubayat, c. AD 160–170 (Eton College, Myers collection ECM 1473). Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

or understood the proportions of the faces of the individuals whom they were intending to portray. The surly man with his rather oddly distributed facial hair may indeed have had thick lips and a small mouth, and one wonders why his picture should have conveyed what seems to be such an unattractive character if it was not really so. On the other hand there is little about the face alongside in **Fig. 4** that conveys individuality or character. The artist cannot have painted it without a model somewhere along the line, for one cannot create such a countenance out of thin air. This face, however, has no feature that makes it unique and idiosyncratic. It lacks the personality that an individual skull with its own individual proportions would have given it.

Though still very close in date to the last two, the next pair of faces belongs to another world (**Fig. 5** and **Fig. 6**).¹⁰ The difference may be subtle, but it is significant. First, they are well drawn and (which is equally important) well observed. Several scholars have noted the similarity of their appearance. These are long oval faces again, with a long narrow nose; his has a more marked bridge, but they both have the pointed tip. Unless it is a painter's trick, the arch of the eyebrows and of the orbits in the skull is common to both, even if his eyes are wider apart and his cheek-bones more noticeable, whereas hers are concealed by the smoothness of her features. While her jaw-line runs smoothly down to a neatly

¹⁰ British Museum EA 65346: Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, no. 86. Eton College, Myers Collection ECM 1473: Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, no. 87.

rounded chin that juts just enough to convey her strength of character, his runs straighter from those more prominent cheek-bones and ends in a larger, squarer chin. There are other differences about the mouth: for instance the distance between the nose and the vermilion of the upper lip is greater on her face, adding to her slightly solemn expression. The important point is that because the relationship of features such as the eyes, nose and lips to each other has been properly observed and properly depicted, these faces *work*. In each case the painter has apparently taken note of the way the essential skull underneath has dictated the proportions of the visible face. This is what was lacking in the bearded faces of the two Antonine men, where the one had a mouth that seemed as if it might drop off the face (Fig. 3), and the other a physiognomy that was unnaturally long between the eyes and the mouth (Fig. 4).

Returning to our couple, the careful use of light gives depth and life to her features, notably on the cheeks and around the mouth, while the sun shines more strongly on him, as befits a military man with a slightly sunburned nose. There is a touch of humour in both faces: despite those apparently solemn and over-large eyes, she might yet break into a smile, while others have commented on the slightly farouche air about her 'brother' the army officer. The light reflects subtly off her neatly dressed hair to show off its glossiness, whereas anyone who doubts the descent of these Fayum portraits from Classical and Hellenistic art need only compare the simple, almost impressionist rendering of his hair with the Pluto from the Vergina tombs.¹¹

The question remains of how one interprets these similarities. Undoubtedly the two people come from the same social background and, to judge by their dress and by the quality of the artists they could afford to paint their portraits, the same social elite. I very much doubt that the two panels were painted by the same hand: there is a precision about the draughtsmanship of the female portrait that contrasts with the much freer handling of the male: it is particularly noticeable in the treatment of the hair, but also in details such as the jewellery and the way the light has been allowed to play on the flesh of the two faces. Given that difference, it becomes at least possible that these two people are blood relations—cousins, or perhaps truly brother and sister.

The acid test of the fidelity of such portraits would of course be a reconstruction based upon the skull. Sadly, none of the skulls belonging to the six faces from er-Rubayat which we have been considering has survived. However, two Fayum portraits of the second half of the 1st century excavated by Petrie at Hawara and now in the British Museum collections have been reconstructed in Manchester. As paintings they are perhaps not of such high quality as the er-Rubayat examples, and both have some very standard features such as the over-large eyes that would lead one to believe that these are off-the-peg physiognomies which have been rendered individual by the addition of attributes such as the swarthy jowls (Fig. 7 left and Fig. 8 left).¹² Nevertheless they convey sufficient individuality to have acquired character and personality in the eyes of the archaeologists and the medical artists who worked with them.

The process of reconstructing these faces and the associated problems are discussed elsewhere and need not detain us here.¹³ Here it is only important to note that the reconstruction of the face is based

¹¹ Andronicos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City*, pls 50, 52.

¹² British Museum EA 74718: Walker, *Ancient Faces*, 45 no. 8, Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 48 no. 23. British Museum EA 74713: Walker, *Ancient Faces*, 41 no. 4, Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces*, 44 no. 18.

¹³ Douglas, *New Scientist* (8 December 2001); Neave and Prag in Bowman and Brady (eds), *Artefacts and Images of the Ancient World* (forthcoming); Wilkinson *et al.*, *Journal of Archaeological Science* (forthcoming); also Filer in Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks*. For a general account of facial reconstruction, e.g. Prag and Neave, *Making Faces Using Forensic and Archaeological Evidence*, chapter 2.



Fig. 7 Portrait of a man, from Hawara, AD 80–100 (British Museum EA 74718), and a reconstruction of his face. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 8 Portrait of a woman, from Hawara, AD 55–70 (British Museum EA 74713), and a reconstruction of her face. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

in the first instance purely on the evidence of the skull, and it is the proportions of the skull that dictate the shape of the face that overlies it. Superficial detail such as hair can be added afterwards from secondary sources like the panel ‘portrait’, but only once the basic reconstruction has confirmed that portrait is indeed of the person on whose mummy it has been placed. This is not always the case—in some instances even the sex of the individual is wrong, so there can be no question of the ‘portrait’ having been painted some years in advance and the individual’s appearance having changed over the years. However, in the case of the two Hawara mummies the match is sure. If one sets EA 74718’s portrait beside his reconstruction there are some significant differences: although the mouths tally, the

reconstruction shows an unusually large distance between the upper lip and the nose, which is lacking on the portrait (Fig. 7). The eyes are set close together on both and the painter has picked up the fact that the two eyes are not level—his right eye is shown slightly higher than his left, a feature which appears on the reconstruction too—but the overall proportions of the face are different: on the portrait they take up more of the face, on the reconstruction they are longer and narrower, something that is emphasised by the straighter jaw-line and the squarer chin. So here it would seem that the painter had taken a standard type, yet has made it recognisable by rendering the features heavy and fleshy and by thickening the lips. If this man really did have the ‘five o’clock shadow’ with which he is portrayed (and for which of course his physical remains do not provide any evidence), then—just as with President Nixon—this would have been a feature that marked him out from most other men for those who knew him, and correspondingly an easy device for the painter to use to identify him. Nonetheless although we can see that these are the same man something does not ring quite true, and that something must be the difference in facial proportion.

The portrait of the woman (EA 74713) appears to be even more of a standard type, with its large eyes, neat straight nose and small mouth, all prettily feminine features though set on a solid neck in a powerful physique, yet it proves to match the reconstruction surprisingly closely (Fig. 8). The proportions of the lower face correspond, but because the painting has a rather long narrow nose the shape of the cheeks has been elongated, which in turn has made the line of the jaw smoother. But the mouth *is* small, and the chin relatively large and pointed. The proportions of the forehead are right too, though the eyes are too close together as well as being too large, so the cheekbones are more marked on the reconstruction. However, this time the proportions are correct overall, with the result that not only do we recognise the two as being the same, but we do so without the nagging feeling that something is not quite right.

We have come a long way from the plastered skulls from neolithic Jericho which perhaps represent the first western attempts at portraying an individual’s face, but we have not yet come all the way to a true and exclusive personal similitude.¹⁴ In his *Art and Illusion* Sir Ernst Gombrich cites a passage from Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, writing in the 16th century, that seems to fit our Fayum painters most aptly: ‘Wee finde many painters who, being ignorant of the art of proportions, onely by a little practice in disposing their lights in some tolerable sorte, have notwithstanding bin reputed good workemen’.¹⁵ In the Fayum of the early centuries AD the painters at whose work we have been looking and to which I have tried to apply the control of modern facial reconstruction may well have won the reputation of being good workmen, and in two cases at least can be shown to have created portraits that would surely have been acceptable to the families of the dead people. However, the man who painted the woman’s picture went one step further than his colleague, and by taking careful note of the proportions of his sitter’s face created an image that would have left her friends and relatives feeling more sure that this was the face of the person they knew.

As I noted earlier, the portrait painters of Roman Egypt were as varied in their abilities as any group of craftsmen before or since and it would be wrong to expect the same standards or indeed the same aspirations to verisimilitude from them all. One may even debate how necessary exact physical likeness

¹⁴ Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, 34–6, pls 20–21; Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho* III, 77–8, 437, pls 50–9; Prag and Neave, *Making Faces Using Forensic and Archaeological Evidence*, 12–13, fig. 1.

¹⁵ *Trattato dell’arte della pittura, scultura e architettura*, here translated by Richard Haydock as *A Tract Containing the Arts of Curious Paintings, Carvings and Building* (Oxford 1958) 136, quoted by Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, 281.

was either to them or to their customers, but that is not a question I wish to raise here.¹⁶ What I have tried to do is to not merely to use the opportunity provided by facial reconstruction as a simplistic, bland control, but to look more closely at the faces produced by the ancient painter and the modern medical artist from the same evidence, and to ask ‘What makes each face special and individual?’ ‘Have the two artists used their evidence in the same way or is something missing in one or other case?’ The study has been based on a tiny sample, and can do no more than point the way: to carry proper conviction and to throw full light on the realism of the Fayum ‘portraits’ we need many more such comparative studies between ‘mummy-portrait’ and facial reconstruction. Fortunately such work is already in hand.¹⁷

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¹⁶ Riggs, *AJA* 106 (2002), 93.

¹⁷ e.g. Wilkinson *et al*, *Journal of Archaeological Science* (forthcoming).

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