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Abstract

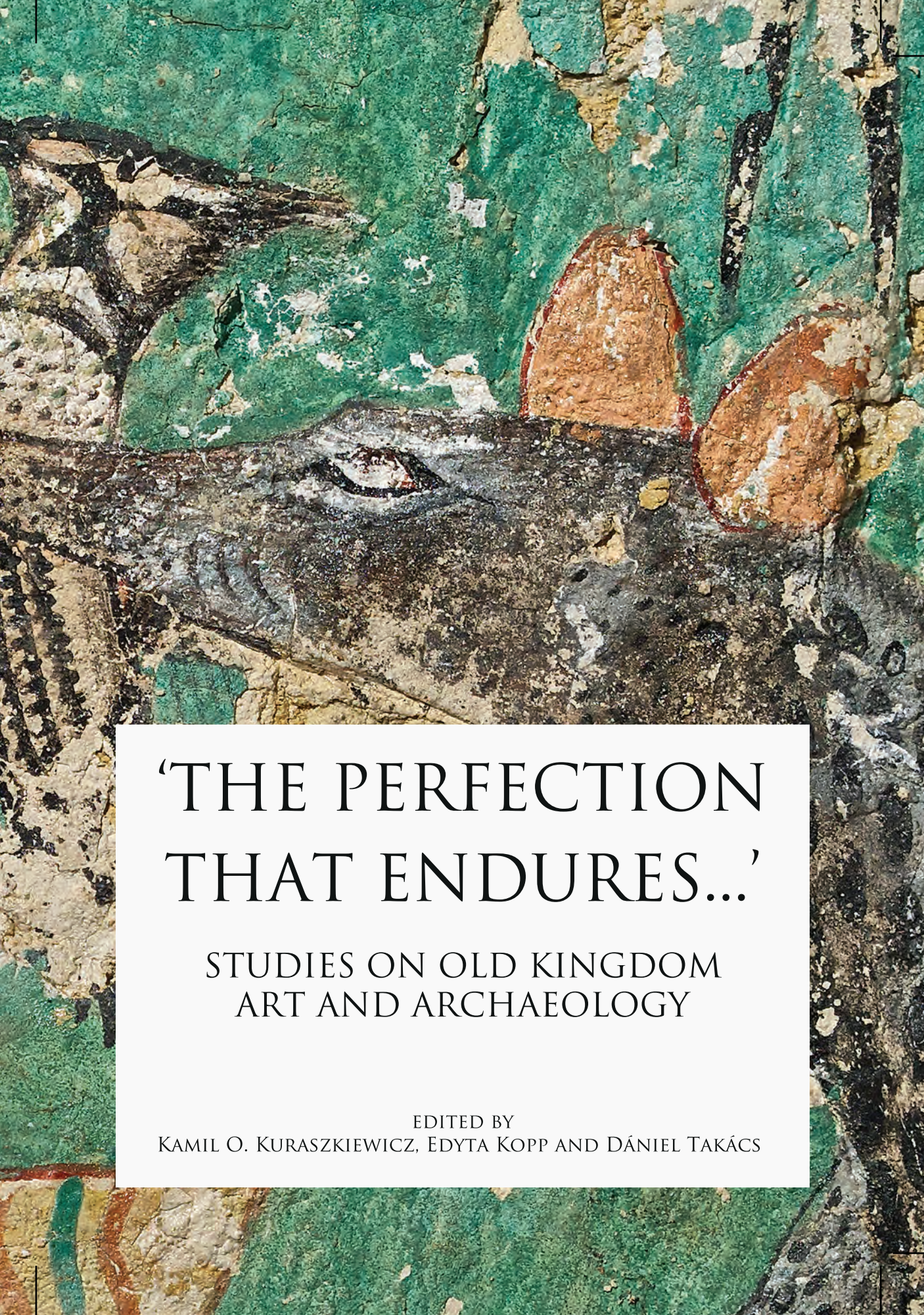
The names of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty may serve as a prototypical example for the reevaluation of Manetho's king-list: Userkaf, Sahure, Neferirkare, Shepseskare, Reneferef, Nirewoser, Djedkare-Isesi and Unas are all recorded in the king-list of Manetho as transmitted by Sextus Julius Africanus according to the Ecloga chronographiae of George Syncellus. Although the names as preserved have obviously suffered on a long way of copying manuscripts over and over again, a closer look at the Greek transcriptions reveals the high quality and the still unbroken relevance of Manetho's Aegyptiaca for modern Egyptological scholarship, when dealing with chronology, onomastics and linguistics. As will be shown, there is a line, identifiable with variable degrees of difficultly but finally clearly discernible, which leads all the way down from the Old Kingdom to Manetho's Aegyptiaca.

Project References

Challenging Time(s): A New Approach to Written Sources for Ancient Egyptian Chronology

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‘THE PERFECTION THAT ENDURES...’

STUDIES ON OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

EDITED BY
Kamil O. Kuraszkiewicz, Edyta Kopp and Dániel Takács

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DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTOLOGY - FACULTY OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW
WARSAW 2018

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Kamil O. Kuraszkiewicz, Edyta Kopp and Dániel Takács
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PREFACE

The history of the Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology meetings has started in 1991, which was aptly summarised by Miroslav Bárta in his Foreword to the 2004 proceedings.[*] The conference that took place at the University of Warsaw in July 2014, was organised by the University of Warsaw, Polish Academy of Sciences and the Pułtusk Academy of Humanities. The present volume contains twenty-nine of forty-eight papers that were actually presented by:

Katarina Arias (Prague)
Johannes Auenmüller (Berlin)
Cezary Baka (Warsaw)
Martina Bardoňová (Prague)
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[*] M. Barta, 'Foreword', [in:] M. Bárta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art And Archaeology*, Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2006, p. viii; see also N. Strudwick, H. Strudwick, 'Introduction', [in:] N. Strudwick, H. Strudwick (ed.), *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750-2150 BC*, Oxford: Oxbow, 2011, p. vii.

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The participants in front of the Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, July 2014. (phot. Kamila Braulińska)

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THE NAMES OF THE KINGS OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY
ACCORDING TO MANETHO'S AEGYPTIACA

Roman Gundacker

Abstract
The names of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty may serve as a prototypical example for the re-evaluation of Manetho's king-list: Userkaf, Sahure, Neferirkare, Shepseskare, Reneferef, Nirewoser, Djedkare-Isesi and Unas are all recorded in the king-list of Manetho as transmitted by Sextus Julius Africanus according to the Ecloga chronographiae *of George Syncellus. Although the names as preserved have obviously suffered on a long way of copying manuscripts over and over again, a closer look at the Greek transcriptions reveals the high quality and the still unbroken relevance of Manetho's* Aegyptiaca *for modern Egyptological scholarship, when dealing with chronology, onomastics and linguistics. As will be shown, there is a line, identifiable with variable degrees of difficultly but finally clearly discernible, which leads all the way down from the Old Kingdom to Manetho's* Aegyptiaca.

1. Manetho and his writings – an overview

Manetho and his main work, the *Aegyptiaca* (Αἰγυπτιακά),[1] were considered the backbone of Egyptian history for a long period of time, ever since the decipherment of the hieroglyphs in the early 19th century.[2] However, as archaeological surveys and the translation of genuine Egyptian texts proceeded, corrections which contradict Manetho's account became necessary.[3] As a result, his king-list was viewed with growing doubt and sometimes even judged as being entirely unreliable.[4] It is certainly true that, in certain parts, there is a discrepancy between Manetho's account and contemporaneous data, which, to some extent, is due to garbled or simply wrong information compiled by Manetho,[5] but, to an even greater extent, this discrepancy came about during the centuries of handing down a text very prone to errors, because Greek and Byzantine scribes were totally unfamiliar with all those alien royal names and endless strings of numbers which record the appurtenant regnal lengths. It is thus indispensable to investigate and to interpret Manetho's king-list just as it is necessary to evaluate and to interpret archaeological data and contemporaneous inscriptional material. Every effort to evaluate Manetho therefore needs to consider the Egyptian origins *and* the Greek tradition of this text in order to get progressively closer to its historical core.[6]

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[1] Standard text editions: Waddell 1942; Jacoby 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F3-F5; for further editions with full textual criticism cf. n. 62 and 75 further below.

[2] Cf., e.g., Lepsius 1858; Gauthier 1907-17 (esp. voll. I-II); Meyer 1904, Meyer 1907.

[3] Cf. the relevant handbooks: von Beckerath 1997; Hornung, Krauss and Warburton 2006a. Cf. furthermore Barta 1981.

[4] E.g., Spalinger 1994; Verner 2001 (esp. pp. 363-364, 415); cf. also the critical remarks by Redford 2003; Schneider 2008.

[5] Cf. Helck 1956; Redford 1986a; Gozzoli 2006.

[6] Cf. for recent research on the Third and Fourth Dynasties according to Manetho and Greek historiographical sources in general: Gundacker 2006, pp. 71-93; Gundacker 2013a; Gundacker 2015a; Gundacker 2015b. Cf. also Theis 2014a; Theis 2014b.

It is, moreover, essential to bear in mind the circumstances and setting[7] of Manetho and his work. Although information on these matters is very limited,[8] ancient authors, for example[9] Flavius Josephus,[10] Plutarch[11] and Tertullian,[12] accept the historian Manetho, usually called ὁ Αἰγύπτιος 'the Egyptian'[13] or ὁ Σεβεννύτης 'the Sebennyte',[14] as a historical person.[15] And, indeed, there are sparse, but convincing hints supporting them: above all, a papyrus[16] found at el-Hibeh from 241 BC must be mentioned, which makes reference to a high-ranking priest called Manetho and which is the only attestation of the name 'Manetho' (actually the dative ΜΑΝΕΘΩΙ)[17] in a Greek document from Egypt; this papyrus is perhaps the only contemporaneous testimony from Manetho's lifetime in the early Ptolemaic Era. Another interesting piece of evidence is the base of a marble bust, now lost, which was found in the Old Serapeum of Carthage and which also bore the name 'Manetho' (ΜΑΝΕΘΩΝ).[18] This, moreover, perfectly fits the tradition that Manetho was a religious authority involved in the installation of the cult of Serapis[19] and Ptolemaic cult politics in general. However, additional information on Manetho is

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[7] JOHNSON 1962; LLOYD 1982; BURSTEIN 1996; AUFRÈRE 1998; DILLERY 1999; STEPHENS 2003, pp. 50 n. 96, 250 n. 43; GOZZOLI 2006, pp. 193-196; GMIRKIN 2006, pp. 240-243; AUFRÈRE 2007, pp. 13-49; VAN SEETERS 2008; AUFRÈRE 2012, pp. 321-352; DILLERY 2013; STEPHENS 2013. Cf. also the extensive treatment of autochthonous traditions in the Hellenistic world by DILLERY 2015.

[8] Cf. for a general overview UNGER 1867, pp. 1-43; LAQUEUR 1928; KROLL 1928; WADDELL 1972, vol. I, pp. 505-506; ADLER 1989, pp. 60-65; STERLING 1992, pp. 117-136; RYAN 2000; HUSS 1994, pp. 123-129; LEGRAS 2002; KRAUSS 2006; GUNDACKER 2015a; cf. also the preceding note.

[9] Cf. the collected *testimonia* in JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609; GMIRKIN 2006, *passim*.

[10] Cf. the remarks in *Contra Apionem*, I, 73, 104, 228; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 T7, F10; cf. furthermore LABOW 2005; SIEGERT 2008; BARCLAY 2007; cf. also FELDMAN AND LEVISON 1996; BICKERMAN 1988.

[11] Cf. the remark in *De Iside et Osiride* 354C, 361F-362A; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 T3, F19; cf. GRIFFITHS 1970, pp. 130-131, 160-163, 282-284, 397-398; GARCÍA VALDÉS 1995, pp. 72-73, 110-113.

[12] Cf. the remark in his *Apologeticum*, 19,4; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 T6b; cf. furthermore SIDER 2001, pp. 8-70; GEORGES 2015; BARNES 1985; HAUSMANN 2001; WILHITE 2007.

[13] Thus explicitly the Byzantine lexicon *Suda* (Σοῦδα), s.v. lemma (K.2797) Κῦφι; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 T16a; cf. ADLER 1928-38 (cf. the annotated online-edition, *http://www.stoa.org/sol/*).

[14] Thus explicitly the Byzantine lexicon *Suda* (Σοῦδα), s.v. lemma (M.143) Μανέθως; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 T16a; cf. ADLER 1928-38 (cf. the annotated online-edition, *http://www.stoa.org/sol/*).

[15] Cf. LAQUEUR 1028; RYAN 2000; HUSS 1994, pp. 123-129; GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 77-83 *contra* KRAUSS 2006.

[16] JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 T4; GRENFELL AND HUNT 1906, № 72, 6-7.

[17] The etymology of this name still remains uncertain, although Donald B. Redford's suggestion *Mrjj-nṯr-ʿ3* 'the one whom the Great God loves' (REDFORD 1986b; cf. GUNDACKER 2015a, p. 77 n. 1) appears most attractive. Cf. for alternative, though less plausible explanations GRIFFITHS 1970, pp. 79-80; STERLING 1992, pp. 117-136; VERBRUGGHE AND WICKERSHAM 2001, p. 95; LOPILATO 1998, pp. 8-9; GOZZOLI 2006, p. 191; THISSEN 1987.

[18] JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 T5; cf. AUFRÈRE 2007, pp. 17-19; BESCHAOUCH 1991.

[19] STIEHL 1963; STAMBAUGH 1972, pp. 61-65; JOUGUET 1931; SFAMENI GASPARRO 2003; BORGEAUD AND VOLOKHINE 2000; STEPHENS 2003, pp. 15-16; cf. for the cult of Sarapis also HANI 1976; TAKÁCS 1995; MERKELBACH 2001.

only found alongside quotations from works written by himself or secondarily attributed to him.[20] Flavius Josephus provides the sole example of a quotation from Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* themselves in his apologetic treatise *Contra Apionem*,[21] which, however, only covers the Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom. All other information derived from the *Aegyptiaca* originates from the so-called *Epitome* (Ἐπιτομή), which is an *extrait général* compiled by an unknown excerptor perhaps sometime during the 1st century BC and which consisted of an annotated king-list.[22] The remains of this *Epitome* are found with the histories of the Christian chronographers[23] Sextus Julius Africanus[24] and Eusebius Pamphilius Caesariensis,[25] but their writings have also been lost, and thus it is only an Armenian translation[26] of Eusebius' work and extensive quotations made by George Syncellus,[27] a Byzantine monk writing towards the end of the 8th century AD, which provide what today is known as the Manethonian king-list. Manetho's 'Sacred Book' (Ἡ ἱερὰ βίβλος),[28] perhaps a compendium of Egyptian mythology and religion, is mainly known from quotations in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*.[29] Secondarily, when Manetho had become a figure of pagan identification,[30] an astrological book, the *Apotelesmatica*

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[20] Among these are mostly minor works only known from later quotations (cf. LAQUEUR 1928; KROLL 1928) such as Πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον 'Against Herodotus', actually a secondary compilation of Manetho's critical remarks on Herodotus as found in his *Aegyptiaca* (WADDELL 1942, pp. 204-207; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F13 (cf. F1); cf. MENDELS 1990; cf. also Plutarch's *De malignitate Herodoti* 'On the malice of Herodotus', CUVIGNY AND LACHENAUD 1981; HERSHBELL 1993), Φυσικά or Φυσιολογικά 'Physical Matters' (WADDELL 1942, pp. 196-199; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F17-F18) and a medical treatise of unknown title (JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 T13; KIND 1928, col. 1101-1102; cf. furthermore a desiccative powder allegedly invented by Manetho and mentioned by Paulus of Aegina, HEIBERG 1921-24, vol. I, p. 360, vol. II, p. 324). Cf. for additional information n. 28.

[21] It is unclear, whether Flavius Josephus was familiar with Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* independently from Apion of Oasis, or whether he knew of this text only from the latter's anti-Jewish treatise. WADDELL 1942, pp. 76-89, 100-107, 122-147; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F8-F10a; LABOW 2005; SIEGERT 2008; BARCLAY 2007; cf. also FELDMAN AND LEVISON 1996; cf. for Apion of Oasis JACOBY 1923-68, vol. IIIC, № 616; VAN DER HORST 2002; JONES 2005; DAMON 2008.

[22] WADDELL 1942, pp. 14-75, 88-99, 108-121, 148-187; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2-F7; cf. also LAQUEUR 1928.

[23] Cf. for early Christian chronography in general ADLER 1989; BURGESS 1999; WALLRAFF 2005; WALLRAFF 2006; BURGESS AND KULIKOWSKI 2013.

[24] GELZER 1885-88; WALLRAFF 2007.

[25] SCHOENE 1866-75; KESELING 1926; KESELING 1927; MOSSHAMMER 1979; GRUSKOVÁ 2013.

[26] AUCHER 1818; KARST 1911; cf. also the preceding note.

[27] GELZER 1885-88; MOSSHAMMER 1984; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002; cf. also ŠEVČENKO 1992.

[28] WADDELL 1942, pp. 188-195; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F19-F23b; three additional book titles mentioned for Manetho, Περὶ ἑορτῶν 'On Festivals' (WADDELL 1942, pp. 198-199; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F15), Περὶ ἀρχαϊσμοῦ καὶ εὐσεβείας 'On Ancient Ritual and Religion' (WADDELL 1942, pp. 198-203; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F14) and Περὶ κατασκευῆς κυφίων 'On the Production of Kyphi' (WADDELL 1942, pp. 202-205; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F16a-F16b), may represent headings of tomes or chapters of the 'Sacred Book' (cf. OTTO 1908, vol. II, p. 215 n. 4; LAQUEUR 1928, col. 1099; WADDELL 1942, p. xv). Cf. for the identification of the 'Sacred Book' with a late Egyptian priestly compendium, 'The Book of the Temple', QUACK 1999, p. 276; STADLER 2009, pp. 83-89; Cf. for an overview of alternative attempts to identify the 'Sacred Book' with Egyptian scriptures GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 74 n. 300.

[29] Cf. WADDELL 1942, pp. 188-195; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F19-F23b; cf. also the commentaries in GRIFFITHS 1970; GARCÍA VALDÉS 1995.

[30] WASSERSTEIN AND WASSERSTEIN 2009, pp. 284-288; RÉMONDON 1952; GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 82-83 n. 8.

(Ἀποτελεσματικά),[31] and another king-list, the 'Book of Sothis or The Canicula Cycle' (Ἡ βίβλος τῆς Σώθεως ἢ ὁ κυνικὸς κύκλός),[32] were ascribed to Manetho. This process was promoted by the fact that Manetho was styled a pagan icon in contrast to the Jewish-Christian tradition. The last source to mention is the Byzantine lexicon *Suda* (Σοῦδα),[33] which provides additional material on that matter. According to the *Suda*, there were two Manethos.

Manetho of Mendes (Μανέθως Μένδης τῆς Αἰγύπτου),[34] who is a blend of Manetho of Sebennytos, the historian, and Ptolemy of Mendes,[35] who in the 1st century BC composed another history of Egypt, also called *Aegyptiaca* (Αἰγυπτιακά).[36] Surprisingly, Manetho is here only credited for the book Περὶ κατασκευῆς κυφίων 'On the Production of Kyphi'.[37]

Manetho of Diospolis in Egypt or Sebennytos (Μανέθως Διοσπόλεως τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἢ Σεβεννύτης),[38] who is a blend of Manetho of Sebennytos,[39] the historian, and Manetho of Diospolis, the apparent author of the oldest parts of the *Apotelesmatica*.[40] In line with this, Manetho is said to have authored the books Φυσιολογικά 'Physical Matters' and Ἀποτελεσματικά 'Astrological Matters'.

Another matter of great importance is the sources of Manetho and their quality.[41] Wolfgang Helck[42] pointed out that Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* are the confluence of late copies of king-lists which continue the tradition of those of Abydos,[43] Saqqarah[44] and the Royal Canon of Turin.[45] Furthermore, the glosses given with names of kings of the first three dynasties[46] hint at the

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[31] KOECHLY 1858; LOPILATO 1998; cf. KROLL 1928; GUNDEL AND GUNDEL 1966, pp. 155-164; REED 1997; cf. also AUFRÈRE 2012; AUFRÈRE forthcoming.

[32] WADDELL 1942, pp. 10-15, 208-211, 234-249; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 T11a, F25, F28.

[33] ADLER 1928-38; cf. furthermore TRAPP *ET AL.* 1988; HÖRANDNER AND TRAPP 1990; DICKEY 2007.

[34] Lemma (M.143); ADLER 1928-38; cf. GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 77-79 n. 2.

[35] DIHLE 1959, col. 1861; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC № 611.

[36] Cf. MÜLLER AND MÜLLER 1841-1885, vol. II, p. 512; DIHLE 1959; WADDELL 1942, pp. x-xi; GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 77-79 n. 2.

[37] Cf. n. 28 above; cf. for Kyphi as a blend of aromata and incense LORET 1887; LUCAS AND HARRIS 1999, p. 89; HELCK 1980; SERPICO 2006, p. 462.

[38] Lemma (M.142); ADLER 1928-38; cf. GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 77-79 n. 2.

[39] Cf. for the formation and tradition of these terms GUNDACKER 2009, vol. I, pp. 113-125.

[40] Cf. for the complex compositional history KROLL 1928; LOPILATO 1998; GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 77-79 n. 2, 80 n. 3, 85 n. 23.

[41] Cf. HELCK 1956; REDFORD 1986a; GUNDACKER 2013a; GUNDACKER 2015a.

[42] HELCK 1956.

[43] MARIETTE 1869-80, vol. I, pl. 43, vol. II, pl. 18; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 34, 196; cf. PM VI, pp. 25, 35; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 18-20; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 215.

[44] MARIETTE 1872, vol. II, pl. 58; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 6-7, 197, pl. I; cf. PM III, p. 666; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 21-24; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 216.

[45] GARDINER 1959, pl. II; cf. for the revised numbering of columns HELCK 1992; RYHOLT 2004; RYHOLT 2006, pp. 26-30.

[46] SETHE 1903, pp. 121-128, 140; HELCK 1956, pp. 82-89; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 212-214; GOZZOLI 2006, pp. 208-210; GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 158-161 n. 316.

existence of copies of the Old Kingdom Royal Annals[47] in New Kingdom temples and even in Ptolemaic temple libraries, which is corroborated by remarks found in Ramesside inscriptions[48] as well as with Diodorus of Sicily and Herodotus.[49] But Manetho also knew of supplementary sources now lost,[50] be it additional king-lists of separate tradition,[51] be it historical accounts and copies of royal inscriptions comparable to the Berlin leather roll.[52] Furthermore, Manetho must have been familiar with the works of Greek historians and ethnographers such as Herodotus and

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[47] Annals of the First to Fifth Dynasties: WILKINSON 2000; cf. also HELCK 1982; HORNUNG, KRAUSS AND WARBURTON 2006b, pp. 19-25; cf. for the individual fragments: (1) Palermo Stone: DE ROUGÉ 1866; PELLEGRINI 1895; SCHÄFER 1902; NAVILLE 1903; SETHE 1903, pp. 42-59; GIUSTOLISI 1968; (2)-(5) *Cairo Fragments I-IV*: GAUTHIER 1914, pp. 489-496; GAUTHIER 1915; DARESSY 1916; (6) *Cairo Fragment V = Fragment de Cenival*: DE CENIVAL 1965; (7) *London Fragment*: REEVES 1979; STEWART 1978, vol. II, p. 6, pl. 3.1. Cf. for the most important reconstruction attempts BORCHARDT 1917; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 13-19, 204-205; KAISER 1959, KAISER 1960; KAISER 1961; HELCK 1974; BARTA 1981; BAUD 1999; BAUD 2000; cf. for the supposed date of compilation, perhaps the reign of Nirewoser, CAMINOS AND FISCHER 1976, p. 48, GARDINER 1994, p. 64; VON BECKERATH 1997, p. 14; GUNDACKER 2006, pp. 6-7, 363 n. 1962; annals of the late Fifth and Sixth Dynasties: BAUD AND DOBREV 1995; BAUD AND DOBREV 1997. Cf. for recent translations of either annals STRUDWICK 2005, pp. 65-77.

[48] Cf. the detailed collection of testimonia in REDFORD 1986a, pp. 65-96.

[49] Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca historica*, I, 44.5 (perhaps a quotation from the lost work on Egypt by Hecataeus of Abdera); JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIA, № 264 F25; BEKKER AND DINDORFF 1867-1906, vol. I, pp. 77-78; OLDFATHER 1989-2000, vol. I, pp. 158-159; Herodotus, *Historiae*, II, 99 – III, 13 (in particular II, 100.1); HUDE 1927, vol. I, s.v. II 99 – III 13; LLOYD 1975-88, vol. I, pp. 185-192, vol. III, pp. 1-6, *passim*.

[50] Cf. for a detailed examination REDFORD 1986a, pp. 206-229; to the materials collected there, one may add a compendium of priestly knowledge (OSING 1998; OSING AND ROSATI 1998; cf. RYHOLT 2005), 'monumental encyclopedias' reflected in Ptolemaic temple reliefs (RICKERT AND VENTKER 2014; LEITZ 2014) and the 'Book of the Temple' (REYMOND JELÍNKOVÁ 1977; BURKARD 1990; QUACK 1992/93; QUACK 1999; QUACK 2000; QUACK 2002, vol. III, pp. 159-171; QUACK 2003b; QUACK 2005a; QUACK 2005b; QUACK 2005c; QUACK 2009a; QUACK 2013).

[51] Cf. for the recent reconstruction of a Ramesside king-list in the particular line of tradition also found in Papyrus Westcar (ERMAN 1890; PARKINSON 2002, pp. 182-192; LEPPER 2008; cf. CHRISTOPHE 1975; HAYS 2002; MATHIEU 1999; GOEDICKE 1993; JENNI 1998; SEIDLMAYER 2006b; ALTENMÜLLER 2010) and a graffito in the Wadi el-Fawakhir (Wadi Hammamat; DRIOTON 1954; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 164-167, 196, 205; GUNDACKER 2013a; cf. also R. GUNDLACH 1986a; GUNDLACH 1986b) the remarks in GUNDACKER 2015b.

[52] Cf. for this text STERN 1874; HERMANN 1938, pp. 9, 15, 49-51; GOEDICKE 1974; ASSMANN 1984, pp. 109-111; ABD EL-AZIM EL-ADLY 1984; OSING 1992; RAUE 1999, p. 85 n. 3; HOFMANN 2004, pp. 58-73; PEUST 2011, pp. 94-96; even though the fact that the Berlin leather roll is a copy of a Middle Kingdom original has recently been doubted (DERCHAIN 1992; BUCHBERGER 2006, p. 21; LOPRIENO 1996, pp. 286-287; EYRE 1996, pp. 417-418), this view is supported by the results of research on ideological and philological details (HIRSCH 2008, pp. 52-55, 76-78; GUNDLACH 2011; cf. also BAINES 1996, pp. 162-163; QUIRKE 1996, p. 265 and, in particular, SPALINGER 1997). In this context, one should also keep in mind further examples of Middle Kingdom texts, mostly of Sesostris I, which were copied or closely followed by Thuthmosis III (e.g., GABOLDE 1998, pp. 40-42; SETHE AND HELCK 1914-61, p. 1251 (11); GARDINER 1945, p. 16). Further examples of historical records are, e.g., a leather roll of Thuthmosis III which, according to an inscription mentioning it, was stored in the temple of Amun at Thebes and recorded his Syrian campaigns and the siege and conquest of Megiddo (SETHE AND HELCK 1914-61, pp. 661 (14) – 662 (6)), two Roman papyri from Tebtynis with copies of the (auto)biographical inscriptions found on the façades of the tombs of the Middle Kingdom nomarchs of Assyut (OSING AND ROSATI 1998, pp. 55-100; cf. KAHL 1999, p. 268; RYHOLT 2005, pp. 151-152; cf. also EDEL 1984) and three hieratic copies of Royal exemption decrees of kings of the Old Kingdom (cf. RYHOLT 2005, p. 152).

Hecataeus of Abdera.[53] About 60 years ago, Wolfgang Helck[54] published a first in-depth evaluation of this array of questions, but his results need critical re-evaluation in the light of Donald B. Redford's[55] examination of Egyptian historical consciousness and tradition and other recent research.[56] Regrettably enough, one major problem still has not been addressed at all: the processing of Egyptian historical data from Egyptian (Demotic) sources[57] and its reception in Greek historiography.[58] In this respect, it is particularly important to look for the rules applied when transcribing Egyptian names with Greek characters,[59] and what may have happened to all these alien names when Greek scribes tried to emend and to correct[60] foreign and, in part, seemingly corrupted names.[61] The royal names of the Fifth Dynasty function as an illustrative example for all this, and they furthermore demonstrate the indispensable value of Manetho's work. Similarly to the names, but perhaps to an even greater extent, the figures of the regnal lengths were prone to being affected by scribal errors. The evaluation of the figures of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty as transmitted by Africanus will require further research and detailed analysis of contemporaneous material and the Egyptian king-lists, in particular the Royal Canon of Turin, but this cannot be accomplished here.

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[53] Cf. Manetho's critical remark concerning Herodotus' statement on Cheops (WADDELL 1942, pp. 46-49; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2-F3) and his book 'Against Herodotus', which, however, is more likely a collection of Manetho's critique (cf. n. 20 above).

[54] HELCK 1956.

[55] REDFORD 1986a; cf. also WILDUNG 1968; GOZZOLI 2006.

[56] Cf. for the Fourth Dynasty and its reflexes in Egyptian and Greek historiography GUNDACKER 2006; GUNDACKER 2013a; THEIS 2014a; THEIS 2014b; GUNDACKER 2015a; GUNDACKER 2015b. Cf. also a Greek list of Persian kings found on papyrus, BILABEL 1923-24 (s.v. Papyrus Baden 4 № 59); it is furthermore important to mention a newly discovered king-list: COLOMO *ET AL.* 2010; WEISS 2010; POPKO AND RÜCKER 2011.

[57] Cf. for traces of Demotic king-lists BOHELKE 1996; QUACK 2009b; RYHOLT 2009.

[58] Cf. especially MOMIGLIANO 1975; BAGNALL 1997; DILLERY 1999; DILLERY 2007; DILLERY 2015.

[59] Cf. for collections of Egyptian personal names written with Greek characters PREISIGKE 1920; FORABOSCHI 1972; LÜDDECKENS 1980-2000; CLARYSSE AND VAN DER VEKEN 1983; MARTINA 2003; cf. for Egyptian place names written with Greek characters CALDERINI AND DARIS 1935-2009; ROQUET 1973; TIMM 1984-92; PEUST 2010; cf. furthermore FECHT 1960a; QUAEGEBEUR 1974a; QUAEGEBEUR 1974b; BRUNSCH 1978, pp. 1-142; BRUNSCH 1985, pp. 133-142; QUAEGEBEUR 1991a; QUAEGEBEUR 1991b; CLARYSSE 1997; PEUST 1999, p. 71; SCHENKEL 2006; GUNDACKER 2013a; GUNDACKER 2015b.

[60] Cf. for an overview of the most common mistakes WEST 1973, p. 25; PÖHLMANN 1994, vol. II, pp. 43-46; SCHUBART 1925; MERKELBACH AND VAN THIEL 1965; HARRAUER 2010; it is furthermore essential to differentiate scribal errors which occurred in Greek uncials (300 BC until the 9th century AD, cf. KENYON 1899; ROBERTS 1956; SEIDER 1967-90; TURNER AND PARSONS 1987; CAVALLO AND MAEHLER 1987; CAVALLO AND MAEHLER 2008) from scribal errors which occurred in Greek minuscule (from the 9th century AD onwards, LAKE AND LAKE 1934-45; WITTEK 1967; BARBOUR 1981; SPATHARAKIS 1981; cf. also a number of manuscripts written in a transitional script, late 8th – early 9th centuries AD, CAVALLO 1970).

[61] Cf., e.g., the tradition of Biblical toponyms in the Septuagint and the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius KLOSTERMANN 1904; TIMM 2005; TIMM 2010; TIMM 2016; cf. also the tradition of Biblical personal names, WUTZ 1914; WUTZ 1924; WUTZ 1933; LISOWSKY 1940; SPERBER 1937-38; TOV 1999; KRAŠOVEC 2010; TOV 2012.

2. Manetho and the Fifth Dynasty

The section of Eusebius'[62] text on the Fifth Dynasty is, unfortunately, substantially abbreviated[63] and was particularly prone to error, not to say corruption, as was already noticed by George Syncellus.[64] Eusebius gives a total of 31 kings for the Fifth Dynasty, which is an unexpectedly high number. But it is even more surprising that Eusebius mentions Ὀθόης, which is the (distorted) Greek rendering of the Egyptian name *Ttj*,[65] as this dynasty's first king, and Φίωψ, which is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name *Pjpj*,[66] as this dynasty's fourth king. As becomes obvious, the Fifth Dynasty according to Eusebius must represent a combination of the historical Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.[67] This is furthermore supported by the *curiosum* that

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[62] WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-57; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F3; cf. SCHOENE 1866-1875, vol. I, col. 140; AUCHER 1818, pp. 208-209; KARST 1911, p. 66; MOSSHAMMER 1984, p. 65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 82-83.

[63] Instead of copying a great number of seemingly superfluous royal names, many of which were not connected with historical events in the *Epitome*, Eusebius mentions for the earlier part of Egyptian history (Third through Eleventh Dynasties) only those kings for whom he found glosses in his *Vorlage*; all other names were left out and considered as the names of kings who had left nothing worth mentioning in the written record; cf. the overview given by REDFORD 1986a, pp. 206-209 with the text according to Africanus (WADDELL 1942, pp. 30-65; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 81-82).

[64] WADDELL 1942, pp. 56-57; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F3a; MOSSHAMMER 1984, p. 65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, p. 83.

[65] *Ttj* ~ **Tắtĭj* > **Tốtĕ* ~ *Θόθις → Ὀθοῖς → Ὀθόης; cf. for contemporaneous attestations of this royal name the Pyramid Texts found in his pyramid (SETHE 1908-23, *passim*; cf. also VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 62-63; cf. for the use of this hypocoristicum as the name of commoners RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, p. 384 (4), SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 3654); cf. for the Greek forms WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2-3; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83. The misspelling *ϴΟΟ- → *ΟΘΟ- is an ancient error typical for ancient uncials (cf. WEST 1973, p. 25; PÖHLMANN 1994, vol. II, pp. 43-46; cf. also KENYON 1899, table after p. 128 and n. 60 above); it is indispensable to consider the itacistic development of Hellenistic and Imperial Greek (THUMB, KIECKERS AND SCHERER 1932-59, vol. I, pp. 43-45, vol. II, pp. 306-313; HOFFMANN, DEBRUNNER AND SCHERER 1969; cf. also KRETSCHMER 1901; NIEHOFF-PANAGITIDIS 1994; BUBENÍK 2007), which forms the phonological basis for the misspelling ι → η (MAYSER 1923-36, vol. I; MAYSER AND SCHMOLL 1970, vol. I.1; GIGNAC 1976, vol. I; TEODORSSON 1977). This interpretation is supported by the Armenian version according to Eusebius (AUCHER 1818, p. 208), which gives this royal name as **Ոթիոս** *Ot^{h}ios*; this is undoubtedly the result of an early emendation attempt in one branch of the Greek manuscript tradition, which judged *Ὄθοϊς (← *Θόθις) as a form with erroneously metathesised vowels and thus conjectured *Ὄθοϊς → *Ὄθιος, which is the exact *Vorlage* of Armenian **Ոթիոս** *Ot^{h}ios*. Currently, Armenuhi Drost-Abgarjan is preparing a new edition of the Armenian version of Eusebius based on formerly unknown manuscripts, which will improve the understanding of this branch of the tradition (cf. for the time being DROST-ABGARJAN 2016).

[66] *Pjpj* ~ **Păyắpăyă* > **Păyắpyă* > **Pyốpyĕ* > **Pyốp* ~ Φίος (Pepy I) ~ Φίωψ (Pepy II); Cf. for contemporaneous attestations of this royal name the Pyramid Texts found in the pyramids of either king (SETHE 1908-23; cf. also VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 62-63; cf. for the use of this hypocoristicum as the name of commoners RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, p. 131 (12); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 1082); cf. for the correct reading of this name as *Pjpj* instead of mostly assumed *Ppjj* FECHT 1960a, § 375 *contra* FISCHER 1989b, pp. 214-215; cf. for the Greek forms WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2-3; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83; cf. for the missing labial in Φίος MÖLLER 1920; FECHT 1960a, § 139 n. 231; OSING 1998, vol. I, p. 62; GUNDACKER 2009, vol. I, p. 56 n. 307; GIGNAC 1976, vol. I, p. 65; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 39-40. It is possible that Φίος (Pepy I), with loss of the second labial, and Φίωψ (Pepy II), with retention of the second labial, were used deliberately in order to avoid two identical names in the king-list at a short distance, which could have cast doubts about the reliability of the records.

[67] Thus already AUCHER 1818, pp. 208-209 n. 5; cf. WADDELL 1942, p. 51 n. 3.

Νίτωκρις (< *Nj.t-jḳr:t*)[68] is the only sovereign of the Sixth Dynasty after Eusebius, which lasted, all together, merely three years;[69] however, another manuscript, which was available to George Syncellus and fits the Armenian version, gave 203 years,[70] which is in line with the Manethonian tradition according to Africanus.[71] This confusion is difficult to explain, but, in Eusebius' text or perhaps already in his *Vorlage*, a ruling queen (Νίτωκρις) may have been perceived as so utterly exotic as to make her a dynasty of her own.[72] As a result, the kings of the Sixth Dynasty before Νίτωκρις were added to the Fifth Dynasty. The final number of 31 kings nevertheless remains an enigma, since this is roughly twice the number expected (eight or nine kings for the Fifth Manethonian Dynasty, five or six kings – depending on whether queen Νίτωκρις was included or not – for the Sixth Manethonian Dynasty).[73] The situation in the king-list according to Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes,[74] who often provides information in addition to Manetho, is of no help at all, because it does not preserve the names of any of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty. It is unclear how this might have happened, but one may speculate that, in a severe case of *aberratio oculi*, the compiler or a scribe jumped from Μεγχέρης (Mycerinus) to Μεγχέρης (Menkauhor) and left out everything in between. Be this as it may, the names of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty are actually preserved in the Manethonian tradition according to Africanus.[75]

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[68] According to the Greek form (WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2-3; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83), this name must be interpreted (FECHT 1960a, § 13 n. 36) as a substantival sentence *#substantive – adjective#* (cf. EDEL 1955-64, vol. II, § 948), which is known as an onomastic pattern at least from the Middle Kingdom onwards (cf. section 2.5); cf. for the alternative variant of that name, *Nj.t-jḳr:tj*, the Royal Canon of Turin (GARDINER 1959, pl. II; cf. for the revised numbering of columns HELCK 1992; RYHOLT 2004; RYHOLT 2006), which leaves it undecided which form of this name should be considered the original one (cf. also VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 62-63). Cf. for the disputed historicity of queen Nitocris RYHOLT 2000; CALLENDER 2011a, s.v. Neit-ikrety/Nitokris; CALLENDER 2011b.

[69] WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2-3; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83.

[70] AUCHER 1818, pp. 208-209; KARST 1911, p. 66; WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F3; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83.

[71] WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83.

[72] The starting point of this confusion can be sought for in a summation line of the Fifth Dynasty which had been left out by mistake; cf. SCHOENE 1866-75, vol. I, col. 140 n. 4.

[73] It is thus most likely that the total gave 14 (8+6 or 9+5) kings, which, written with Greek numerals according to the alphabetic Alexandrian system (cf. TOD 1911/12; TOD 1913; DOW 1952; RICHARDSON 1977; IFRAH 1981, vol. I [in particular chapter 16]), would look like **ιδ**' in ancient uncials (cf. the basic remarks in MAYSER 1923-36, pp. 52-53; LARFELD 1914, § 186-192; SCHUBART 1925, pp. 177-178; DEVELIN 1990; cf. also the pertinent passages and examples in HARRAUER 2010; SEIDER 1967-90; TURNER AND PARSONS 1987; CAVALLO AND MAEHLER 1987; CAVALLO AND MAEHLER 2008) and could, perhaps with intermediate steps (**ιδ**' → **ιϡ**' → **ϡϡ**'?), be misread as **ϡϡ**' (all this must have happened before the 4th century AD, when the Armenian translation was made, cf. DROST-ABGARJAN 2006, p. 256; GRUSKOVÁ 2013), which in at least some lines of tradition was rendered as τριάκοντα ἑνός (genitive) as is still found in the manuscripts.

[74] WADDELL 1942, pp. 212-225; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. II, № 241 F48 = № 244 F85 (cf. vol. IIIC, № 619 F1); JACOBY 1902, pp. 399-401.

[75] WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65 (with variant readings from the manuscripts A and B as presented here); ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83; diacritics are adjusted according to CLARYSSE 1997.

Πέμπτη δυναστεία βασιλέων η'[a] ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης·	
The Fifth Dynasty (consisting of) 8 kings from Elephantine:	
α' Οὐσερχέρης ἔτη κη'	1st: *Userkhérēs*, 28 years
β' Σέφρης[b] ἔτη ιγ'	2nd: *Séphrēs*, 13 years
γ' Νεφερχέρης ἔτη κ'	3rd: *Nepherkhérēs*, 20 years
δ' Σισίρης[c] ἔτη ζ'	4th: *Sisírēs*, 7 years
ε' Χέρης ἔτη κ'	5th: *Khérēs*, 20 years
ς' Ῥαθούρης[d] ἔτη μδ'	6th: *Rhathúrēs*, 44 years
ζ' Μεγχέρης[e] ἔτη θ'	7th: *Menkhérēs*, 9 years
η' Ταγχέρης[f] ἔτη μδ'	8th: *Tankhérēs*, 44 years
θ' Ὄννος[g] ἔτη λγ'	9th: *Ónnos*, 33 years
ὁμοῦ· ἔτη σμη'[h].	Altogether: 248 years

[a] the number of kings mentioned is actually nine.
[b] A.B: Σεφρής.
[c] A: Σίσιρις.
[d] A : Ῥαθουρίς (read Ῥάθουρις).
[e] A.B: Μενχέρης.
[f] B: Ταγχέρης. A: Ταρχερής.
[g] A: Ὄβνος.
[h] the final summation is incorrect, read ἔτη σιη' (218 years).

At a glance, three peculiarities of Manetho's Fifth Dynasty become salient: first, the heading speaks of eight kings, but nine are mentioned; second, the kings are said to descend from Elephantine, which certainly is unhistorical, and third, the total is wrong by 30 years giving 248 (σμη') instead of 218 (σιη') years.

First, the divergent number of kings is either indicative of a severe mistake in copying or of some sort of broken up double entry, i.e., that originally a king was cited with two names, but later these were interpreted as two separate kings.[76] The third and fifth kings, Νεφερχέρης and Χέρης are likely candidates for this.

Second, the alleged origin of the Fifth Dynasty has already been explained by Jürgen von Beckerath.[77] According to him, *Elephantine* or *ꜣbw*[78] is a misreading for *Śꜣḫbw*,[79] which in Papyrus Westcar is explained as the hometown of the Fifth Dynasty.[80] It is most likely that this misattribution involved a manuscript with a partially damaged entry [*Śꜣḫ*]*bw*, which subsequently was conjecturally restored to [*ꜣ*]*bw*. It is unclear when this might have happened,

[76] Cf. for the Third Dynasty according to Manetho, which was affected by the same phenomenon, GUNDACKER 2006, pp. 79-80; GUNDACKER 2015a.

[77] VON BECKERATH 1997, p. 153.

[78] WB I, p. 7 (18)-(20); HANNIG 2006a, p. 1101; HANNIG 2003, p. 1542; ČERNÝ 1976, p. 345; VYCICHL 1983, pp. 61-62; WESTENDORF 1965-77, p. 476; FECHT 1960a, § 122 n. 205; cf. furthermore GAUTHIER 1925-31, vol. I, pp. 3, 65; GARDINER 1947, vol. II, pp. 2*-5*; HABACHI 1975, col. 1217; LOCHER 1999, pp. 14-24; MONTET 1957-61, vol. II, pp. 15-16; TIMM 1984-92, vol. II, pp. 1044-1049; ZIBELIUS-CHEN 1978, pp. 3-6; PEUST 2010, p. 53.

[79] HANNIG 2006a, p. 1181; JOHNSON 2010-2015, vol. 18 (s), pp. 445-446; cf. furthermore SETHE 1903, p. 140; BRUNNER 1984, col. 323; GOYON 1971; SAUNERON 1950; MONNET 1954; SAUNERON 1955; YOYOTTE 1959; DE MEULENAERE 1963; GOYON 1979a; RAY 1981; MONTET 1957-61, vol. I, p. 54; CRAWFORD 1980, p. 22; THOMPSON 2012, p. 142; HUSS 1994, pp. 113-114; PEUST 2010, p. 43.

[80] ERMAN 1890, pl. IX.9.10.17.22; LEPPER 2008, p. 117.

but this clearly occurred in the Egyptian tradition (perhaps its Demotic phase)[81] before the data was obtained by a historian writing in Greek.

Third, the incorrect total of 248 (σμη') years instead of 218 (σιη') years is perhaps a simple miscalculation, but the reason for this might be sought for in the history of tradition. It is tempting to view this as a mistake which points towards the confusion of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties as it is found in the list of Eusebius,[82] because a reign of 30 years – and thus exactly the difference – is ascribed to Ὀθόης. One might thus surmise that king Teti was mentioned in both dynasties, the Fifth and the Sixth, and that Africanus deleted one of these doubles, only keeping the wrong total. However, there is no support for the theory that, in addition to the line of tradition to which Eusebius belongs, the list according to Africanus had also once mixed up the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. It is also possible that this miscalculation is connected with the discrepancy in the number of kings, and one cannot rule out an arithmetical error by one of the scribes who checked the numbers and totals. Finally, one has to admit that the details are still uncertain and will require further research.

2.1. The first king of the Fifth Dynasty

Attestations:[a]		
	Old Kingdom attestations[b]	
	Papyrus Westcar (X.9)[c]	
	Royal Canon of Turin (III.17 = 4.17)[d]	
	Abydos king-list (26)[e]	
	Saqqarah king-list (25)[f]	
	Abusir king-list (IIa.5)[g]	
	Manetho (after Africanus)[h]	Οὐσερχέρης

[a] Cf. for this name in general GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, pp. 105-108; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 56-57; DESSOUDEIX 2008, pp. 73-74; SCHNEIDER 1996, pp. 477-480; LEPROHON 2013, p. 38; VERNER 2001, pp. 385-390; VERNER 2014, p. 29; HANNIG 2003, pp. 1621-1622.

[b] Attestations: e.g., (1) tomb of Shepsesptah, Saqqarah (DORMAN 2002; KLOTH 2002, pp. 15-16, 52, 86, 113, 129-133, 151-154, 157-159, 161-163, 237, 243, 247, 251, 258-260, 284-285; cf. also PM III, p. 464; MARIETTE 1889, pp. 112-113, 451-453; SETHE 1933, pp. 51 (11) – 53 (13); BAUD 1999a, vol. II, pp. 452-453; JAMES 1961, p. 17, pl. XVII), (2) tomb of Sekhemkare, Gizah (HASSAN 1943, pp. 119-120; cf. also PM III, pp. 233-234; LEPSIUS 1849-59, vol. II, pl. 42a; LEPSIUS 1897-1913, vol. I, pp. 109-110; SETHE 1933, p. 166; (1)-(10); JUNKER 1934, p. 32; SCHMITZ 1976, p. 64; STRUDWICK 1985, p. 59; HARPUR 1987, p. 268; BAUD 1999a, vol. II, p. 575; JÁNOSI 2005, pp. 375-379); cf. for the pyramid complex *wꜥb-(j)ś.wt-Wśr-kȝ=f* 'The places of Userkaf are cleanse', LABROUSSE AND LAUER 2000; cf. PM III, pp. 397-399; THEIS 2011, pp. 49-51; MARAGIOGLIO AND RINALDI 1963-77, vol. VII, pp. 10-43; STADELMANN 1997, pp. 159-164; cf. for his sun temple *nḫn-Rꜥw* 'Enclosure of Re', RICKE *ET AL.* 1965-69; PM III, pp. 324-326 (cf. also KAISER 1956; ROCHHOLZ 1994; VOSS 2004, pp. 7-59; VERNER 2005; cf. for basilophorous personal names RANKE 1935-52; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014; cf. for the titles of priests and officials BAER 1960; STRUDWICK 1985; BAUD 1999a; cf. for seals and seal impressions KAPLONY 1977-81; cf. for the entries concerning this king in the Royal Annals WILKINSON 2000, pp. 152-159, 217-219; cf. for basilophorous names of royal domains and institutions JACQUET-

[81] Cf. for the historicity of Papyrus Westcar CHRISTOPHE 1975; HAYS 2002; MATHIEU 1999; GOEDICKE 1993; JENNI 1998; SEIDLMAYER 2006b; ALTENMÜLLER 2010.

[82] Cf. AUCHER 1818, pp. 208-209 n. 5; WADDELL 1942, p. 51 n. 3; Cf. also the discussion at the beginning of this section.

GORDON 1962; ALTENMÜLLER 2006, pp. 167-190; cf. for basilophorous toponyms HANNIG 2003; ZIBELIUS-CHEN 1978.

[c] LEPPER 2008, pp. 49, 125; cf. also ERMAN 1890; PARKINSON 2002, pp. 182-192; CHRISTOPHE 1975; HAYS 2002; MATHIEU 1999; GOEDICKE 1993; JENNI 1998; ALTENMÜLLER 2010.

[d] GARDINER 1959, pl. II; cf. for the revised numbering of columns HELCK 1992; RYHOLT 2004; RYHOLT 2006.

[e] MARIETTE 1869-1880, vol. I, pl. 43, vol. II, pl. 18; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 34, 196; cf. PM VI, pp. 25, 35; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 18-20; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 215.

[f] MARIETTE 1872, vol. II, pl. 58; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 6-7, 197, pl. I; cf. PM III, p. 666; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 21-24; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 216.

[g] GUNDACKER 2015b; cf. also LEPSIUS 1849-1859, vol. II, pl. 152d; LEPSIUS 1897-1913, vol. I, p. 138; KÖNIGLICHE MUSEEN 1899, p. 156; KÖNIGLICHE MUSEEN 1924, p. 201; ERMAN 1900, pp. 112-126; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 197-198, 222; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 25-26.

[h] WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83.

The first king of the Fifth Dynasty is *Wśr-kȝ=f*, whose name must be viewed as some kind of a short name [83] showing the suffix pronoun *=f* instead of a theonym,[84] perhaps *Rˁw*. In line with the principles of private names,[85] *Wśr-kȝ=f* 'His *ka* is vigorous!' should be analysed as an adjectival sentence[86] expressing a personal religious belief or a common religious statement.[87] Manetho's Οὐσερχέρης, however, is not a satisfactory representation of *Wśr-kȝ=f* as it is found in Old Kingdom sources and the Abydos and Saqqarah king-lists. Closer examination reveals that *Wśr-kȝ=f*'s name must have undergone two modifications:

First, the suffix pronoun *=f* was replaced with the theonym *Rˁw*[88] resulting in *Wśr-kȝ-Rˁw* 'Powerful is the *ka* of Re!'. The reason for this was the systematic alignment of superficially irregular names to the pattern of Middle and New Kingdom throne names,[89] which, following Johannes Buchberger,[90] consist of a noun phrase, in this instance a substantivised accusative of respect, and the theonym *Rˁw*. At the same time, the grammatical pattern of this name was re-

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[83] Cf. for Egyptian hypocoristica RANKE 1935-52, vol. II, pp. 111-124, 127-171; FECHT 1960a, § 39-43, 140; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, pp. 70-85; GUNDACKER 2010, p. 73 n. 156; GUNDACKER 2013a, *passim* (in particular pp. 66, 70-71).

[84] Cf. the analogous instance of *Ḫntj-kȝ.w=f* 'His *kas* are foremost!' (REISNER 1942, pl. 30.b; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 2799) and *Ḫntj-kȝ.w-Ḥrw* 'The *kas* of Horus are foremost!' (PM III, pp. 629-630; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 2797); cf. also n. 216 below.

[85] It is important to note that, during the Fifth Dynasty, kings still did not obtain a throne name. The names written in cartouches are their personal names, of which nick names may be derived. Cf. GARDINER 1994, p. 494; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2007, pp. 91-94; BARTA 1989, p. 7.

[86] Cf. SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, pp. 61-63; cf. for this kind of sentences in Old Egyptian EDEL 1955-64, vol. I, § 363-368, 633, 644, vol. II, § 944, 946, 949, 951; SCHWEITZER 2005, § 453. In Late Egyptian, the adjectival sentence had already become a rare archaising/classicising construction, cf. FECHT 1960a, § 245-253; GUNDACKER 2010, pp. 93, 101, 104-105; cf. also SETHE 1919, § 85-86.

[87] Cf. for this interpretation GRAEFE 1995, p. 124; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 39 n. 37, 46-47 n. 86, 65, 72, 81 n. 337, 91; cf. also RANKE 1935-52, vol. II, pp. 219-223.

[88] RYHOLT 2006, p. 149; RYHOLT 2008, pp. 166-167; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 83 n. 354; GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 120-121; GUNDACKER 2015b. Cf. also an inscription of Prince Khaemwase found on the pyramid of Userkaf, which gives this king's name as *Wśr-kȝ=f* (PM III, p. 398; GOMÁA 1973, p. 77, pl. III).

[89] Cf. GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 91 n. 401.

[90] BUCHBERGER 1933, pp. 588-634.

interpreted without (much) impact on its pronunciation (adjectival sentence → substantival sentence with accusative of respect in first place).

Second, as a consequence of the grammatical interpretation proposed, *wśr* must be viewed as an adjective proper and, therefore, the *-r#* of *wśr* should not be preserved in Manetho's rendering.[91] The unexpected re-occurrence of word-final *-r#* is, however, a common phenomenon and may be explained as the substitution of the bare adjective with a Demotic main clause *śḏm=f* typical for adjective verbs.[92]

In Papyrus Westcar, a totally different development may be discerned. *Wśr-r=f* is obviously a corrupt variant of king *Wśr-kȝ=f*'s name, yet it has not come into being by coincidence,[93] but is part of a folk-etymological approach[94] in order to re-interpret the names of the *dramatis personae* in such a manner that either their role becomes apparent or at least some vague allusions come to the audience's mind. Similar reshaping has affected the names of *Ḫʿj=f-Rʿw* → *Ḫʿw=f-Rʿw* and *Rʿw-bȝ=f* → *Bȝw=f-Rʿw*.[95] It is interesting to note that *Wśr-r=f* forms part of

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[91] Unambiguous examples of adjectival sentences are exceedingly rare, but cf. perhaps *Nfr-śn.nw* ~ **Năfĭr-śĭnnă̆w* > **Nĕf-śnŏ̆w* ~ Νεφέσνοϋς 'The second one is good!' (cf. GUNN AND FIRTH 1926, vol. I, p. 214; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 1977; FORABOSCHI 1972, vol. III, p. 206; cf. for the vowel patterns OSING 1976b, vol. I, p. 128; SCHENKEL 1983, p. 154; one has to admit that the reconstruction of *śn.wj* 'two' and *śn.nw* 'second' is particularly difficult since they apparently were mixed up and, in part, reshaped analogically, perhaps under the influence of *śn* 'brother' and its plural form *śn.w* 'brothers' (WB IV, pp. 150 (8) – 151 (4); HANNIG 2006a, p. 773; HANNIG 2003, pp. 1151-1153) or perhaps under the pressure of differentiation. Nevertheless, *śn.nw* 'second' may be preserved in Coptic S ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ; cf. for the time being SETHE 1910, pp. 13-14, 39; SETHE 1916, pp. 19, 122; EDEL 1955-64, vol. I, § 390, 406, vol. II, p. LXIX (ad § 407); CRUM 1939, col. 346b-347a; ČERNÝ 1976, pp. 156-157; WESTENDORF 1965-77, p. 190; VYCICHL 1983, pp. 191-192); *Nfr-tȝ-wrtj* ~ **Năfĭr-tă̆ȝ-wŭ́rd(ă)* > **Nĕf-t-wắr(ĕ)t* ~ (*)Νεφθυάρητ 'The rose is beautiful!' (damaged and misspelled as [Νεφθ]αυρητ, LÜDDECKENS 1980-2000, p. 640; cf. OSING 1976b, vol. I, p. 128; SCHENKEL 1983, p. 154; CRUM 1939, col. 490a; ČERNÝ 1976, p. 215; WESTENDORF 1965-77, p. 276; VYCICHL 1983, pp. 191-192; cf. for Persian **u̯urda-*, a *vṛddhi*-variant of **u̯ṛda-* 'rose', STRICKER 1937, p. 17); examples for accusatives of respect which have not secondarily been reshaped are equally rare, but cf. perhaps *Nfr-ḥr* ~ **Năfĭr-ḥắr* > **Nĕf-ḥŏ́* ~ Νέφως 'The one whose face is beautiful!' (MARIETTE 1889, p. 111; PREISIGKE 1920, col. 231; RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, p. 198 (6); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 1924; FECHT 1960a, § 251 n. 386, 333; GUNDACKER 2010, p. 105; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 98 n. 455; OSING 1976b, vol. I, p. 128, vol. II, pp. 350 n. 12, 355 n. 17; SCHENKEL 1983, p. 154), *Nfr-nfr.t* ~ **Năfĭr-nắfrŭt* and *Nfr-nfrw* ~ **Năfĭr-nắfrŭw* > **Nĕf-nŏ́frĕ* ~ Νέφνωφρις 'The one whose perfection is perfect!' (SCHENKEL AND GOMÁA 2004, Beilage 10; RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, p. 197 (8); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 1903; PREISIGKE 1920, col. 230; cf. FECHT 1960a, § 107 n. 184; OSING 1976b, vol. I, p. 72; SCHENKEL 1983, p. 195). One should also remember the throne name of Ramesses II., *Wśr-mȝʿ.t-Rʿw* ~ **Wăśĭr-mŭ̀ȝʿă̆t-Rĭʿŭ́w* 'The one whose cosmic order is vigorous is Re!', which was rendered as *Wa-aš-mu-a-ri/e-a* in Middle-Babylonian (EDEL 1994, vol. II, pp. 361-362; cf. OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 12, 20-21, 128, vol. II, pp. 439-441 n. 102, 455 n. 109, 457-458 n. 111-112, 605 n. 581, 641-642 n. 670; SCHENKEL 1983, p. 89; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 38) and provides an exact parallel for a pretonic attestation in an accusative of respect for the adjective *wśr* 'vigorous'.

[92] Cf., e.g., *Nfr-kȝ-Skrw* → *Nȝ-nfr-kȝ-Skrw* ('Book of the Temple', BURKARD 1990) and *Nfr-ḥr* ~ **Năfĭr-ḥắr* → *Nfr-ḥr* ~ **Năfră-ḥắr* > **Nĕfŗ-ḥŏ́* ~ Νεφέρως 'The one whose face is beautiful!' (MARIETTE 1889, p. 111; PREISIGKE 1920, col. 230; RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, p. 198 (6); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 1924; FECHT 1960a, § 251 n. 386, 333; GUNDACKER 2010, p. 105; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 98 n. 455; OSING 1976b, vol. I, p. 128, vol. II, pp. 350 n. 12, 355 n. 17; SCHENKEL 1983, p. 154); cf. in general FECHT 1960a, § 398 n. 452; Schenkel 1990, p. 113; OSING 1998, vol. I, pp. 61-63; Spiegelberg 1925, § 117; SETHE 1929, pp. 63-64; JOHNSON 2000, § 60; JOHNSON 2004, pp. 21-22, 83-84; QUACK 1997-98, pp. 174-175.

[93] Thus, e.g., ERMAN 1890, vol. I, p. 62: *Verlesung*.

[94] Cf. for examples of royal names which were re-etymologised in the first millennium BC and played an important role in Demotic literature RYHOLT 2009, pp. 234-236.

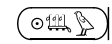
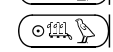
[95] Cf. GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 43-52, 79-87.

a play on words spoken by Isis[96] at the birth of Rudjdjedet's triplets: *jm=k wśr.w m ḫ.t=ś m rn=k pwjj nj Wśr-r=f* 'You shall not be (so) vigorous in her womb in this your name "The one more vigorous than he"!'. Although it is unknown whom *=f* designates,[97] the audience will have felt that this means Cheops, which clearly plays with the prophecy of the rise of a new dynasty and may explain why Cheops felt so very much endangered. One may suppose that the element *kꜣ* was perhaps lost by accident and that, in the tradition to which the stories of Papyrus Westcar belong, this child's name actually was *Wśr-r-kꜣ=f* 'The one stronger than his (Cheops'?) *ka*'. The re-interpretation of *wśr* as *wśr-r=* (perhaps starting with an unusually complemented spelling like *) was thus certainly promoted by motifs of the stories of Papyrus Westcar. Anyway, *Wśr-r=f* is more likely to be a distant echo of the royal name *Wśr-kꜣ=f* in popular tradition than the adequate basis of onomastic analysis.

The development of this royal name, from the Old Kingdom down to Manetho, who rendered it with Greek characters and added the Greek nominative desinence -ς,[98] may thus be summarised as follows:[99]

Wśr-kꜣ=f ~ **Wăśĭr-kā́ꜣăf* > **Wăśĭ'-kā́ꜣăf* →
→ *Wśr-kꜣ-Rʿw* ~ **Wăśĭ'-kăꜣ-Rĭ́ʿă* > **Wăś-kŏ'-Rĭ́ʿĕ* →
→ **Wĕśrĕ-kŏ'-Rĭ́ʿ* > **Wĕśrĕ-kĕ-Ré* ~ **Ṿśṛ-kĕ-Ré* ~ Οὐσερχέρης

2.2. The second king of the Fifth Dynasty

Attestations:[a]	Old Kingdom attestations[b]	
	Papyrus Westcar (X.18)[c]	
	Royal Canon of Turin (III.18 = 4.18)[d]	[*lacuna*]
	Abydos king-list (27)[e]	
	Saqqarah king-list (26)[f]	
	Manetho (after Africanus)[g]	Σέφρης

[a] Cf. for this name in general GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, pp. 109-113; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 56-57; DESSOUDEIX 2008, pp. 75-76; SCHNEIDER 1996, pp. 378-380; LEPROHON 2013, p. 38; VERNER 2001, pp. 391-393; VERNER 2014, p. 36; HANNIG 2003, p. 1622.

[b] Attestations: e.g., (1) tomb of Shepsesptah, Saqqarah (DORMAN 2002; KLOTH 2002, pp. 15-16, 52, 86, 113, 129-133, 151-154, 157-159, 161-163, 237, 243, 247, 251, 258-260, 284-285; cf. also PM III, p. 464; MARIETTE 1889, pp. 112-113, 451-453; SETHE 1933, pp. 51 (11) – 53 (13); BAUD 1999a, vol. II, pp. 452-453; JAMES 1961, p. 17, pl. XVII), (2) a graffito in Wadi Maghara (GARDINER, PEET AND ČERNÝ 1952-55, vol. I, pl. 5 № 8, vol. II, p. 58; EICHLER 1993, p. 31; PM VII.1, p. 341; SETHE 1933, p. 32 (15)-(17)); cf. for the pyramid complex *ḫʿj-bꜣ-Śꜣḥ-wj-Rʿw* 'The *ba* of Sahure is splendid', BORCHARDT 1910-13; EL-AWADY 2006; El-AWADY 2009; EL-AWADY 2010; EL-AWADY 2011; cf. PM III, pp. 326-335; THEIS 2011, pp. 33-34; MARAGIOGLIO AND RINALDI 1963-77, vol. VII, pp. 44-111; STADELMANN 1997, pp. 164-171; cf. for the sun temple *śḥ.t-Rʿw* 'Realm of Re', KAISER 1956; ROCHHOLZ 1994; VOSS 2004, pp. 135-139; VERNER 2005; cf. for basilophorous personal names RANKE

[96] SETHE 1928, p. 33; LEPPER 2008, p. 49.

[97] Cf. LEPPER 2008, p. 124.

[98] Cf. for the most common declension patterns MAYSER AND SCHMOLL 1970, vol. I.1-1.3; GIGNAC 1976; cf. also GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 38, 48-51; GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 95-98 n. 57.

[99] EDEL 1954, pp. 34-36; FECHT 1960a, § 176-178; OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 20-21, 128, vol. II, pp. 348-350 n. 12, 379-380 n. 56; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 89, 154; EDEL 1994, vol. II, pp. 361-362; GUNDACKER 2009, vol. I, pp. 62 n. 351, 291 n. 1835; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 38, 89-90.

1935-52; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014; cf. for the titles of priests and officials BAER 1960; STRUDWICK 1985; BAUD 1999a; cf. for seals and seal impressions KAPLONY 1977-81; cf. for the entries concerning this king in the Royal Annals WILKINSON 2000, pp. 159-171, 220-221; cf. for basilophorous names of royal domains and institutions JACQUET-GORDON 1962; ALTENMÜLLER 2006; cf. for basilophorous toponyms HANNIG 2003; ZIBELIUS-CHEN 1978.

[c] LEPPER 2008, pp. 49, 125; cf. also ERMAN 1890; PARKINSON 2002, pp. 182-192; CHRISTOPHE 1975; HAYS 2002; MATHIEU 1999; GOEDICKE 1993; JENNI 1998; ALTENMÜLLER 2010.

[d] GARDINER 1959, pl. II; cf. for the revised numbering of columns HELCK 1992; RYHOLT 2004; RYHOLT 2006.

[e] MARIETTE 1869-80, vol. I, pl. 43, vol. II, pl. 18; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 34, 196; cf. PM VI, pp. 25, 35; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 18-20; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 215.

[f] MARIETTE 1872, vol. II, pl. 58; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 6-7, 197, pl. I; cf. PM III, p. 666; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 21-24; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 216.

[g] WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83.

The second king of the Fifth Dynasty is commonly called *Śꜣḥw-Rᶜw* ‘The one whom Re approaches’,[100] but this name should perhaps be interpreted differently. Keeping in mind that the concept of a throne name was still *in statu nascendi* during the Fifth Dynasty,[101] it is necessary to assume a name fitting for a boy not destined for the Egyptian throne by birth. Among Egyptian names, there is a great number of sentences, not necessarily with reference to the child itself, which were spoken at the actual birth of the child.[102] These include beseeching requests of the woman giving birth for a god’s aid, e.g., *Jwt-n=j-Ptḥ* ‘May Ptah come to me!’[103] and *(J)mj-n=j-Śbkw* ‘Come to me, Sobek!’,[104] but also thankful exclamations after a god’s relieving intervention, e.g., *Mꜣ=j-śḫm-Jnpw* ‘I have seen the power of Anubis!’,[105] *Jjj-n=j-Ḥrw* ‘Horus has come to me!’[106] and *Rᶜw-ḫr=j* ‘Re is with me!’.[107] The name of the second king of the Fifth Dynasty is best explained as a name spoken by the future king’s mother, *Śꜣḥ-wj-Rᶜw* ‘Re has come close to me!’, which thus belongs to the group of grateful prayers.[108] The variant of Papyrus Westcar must be viewed as having been re-interpreted and perhaps intentionally

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[100] E.g., VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 56-57; somewhat differently DESSOUDEIX 2008, p. 76; His interpretation is nevertheless unconvincing because the supposed inversion of *agens* and *patiens* in order to get ‘celui qui Râ a doté’ is, in the light of Old Egyptian morphology, impossible since there is no active participle with the singular desinence *-w*, cf. EDEL 1955-64, vol. I, § 626-637; ALLEN 1984, § 600-643. Furthermore, the verb *śꜣḥ* ‘to bestow, to donate’ is unattested before the Middle Kingdom (WB IV, p. 21 (15)–(20); HANNIG 2006a, p. 715; HANNIG 2003), and, moreover, there is not a single secure attestation of this verb in Egyptian personal names (cf. RANKE 1935-52; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014).

[101] GARDINER 1994, p. 494; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2007; BARTA 1989, p. 7.

[102] Cf. RANKE 1935-52, vol. II, pp. 198-211; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, pp. 99-100; cf. also GUNDACKER 2013a.

[103] LEPSIUS 1849-59, II, pl. 34d; FISCHER 1996, p. 66; RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, p. 138 (13); und SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 176; cf. GUNDACKER 2013a (particularly pp. 44-47) for additional examples.

[104] ATZLER 1974, № 19; FISCHER 1996, p. 68 n. 194; cf. also FECHT 1960a, § 144 n. 241; This name is missing in SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014.

[105] JUNKER 1950, p. 162, fig. 73; cf. SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 1181; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 44 n. 75.

[106] HASSAN 1975c, pl. XLVIII.A; cf. RANKE 1935-52, vol. II, p. 260 (28); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 100.

[107] HASSAN 1975c, fig. 4; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 2208.

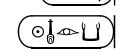
[108] Similarly BARTA 1989, p. 7; SCHNEIDER 1996, p. 379.

altered. At the moment of the child's birth, Isis[109] says *jm=k śꜣḥ.w m ḫ.t=ś m rn=k pwjj nj Śꜣḥ-Rᶜw* 'You shall not kick in her womb in this your name "Kicking toe of Re"!', which is clearly another aetiological explanation of this name. There is an interesting etymological relationship between *śꜣḥ* 'to come close',[110] which may go back to a more archaic meaning 'to toe, to kick', and *śꜣḥ* 'toe'.[111] This may furthermore allude to the king as a member (the toe) of Re,[112] which was cleverly used in the framework of the story. Be that as it may, the name of *Śꜣḥ-wj-Rᶜw* has been altered in the tradition of Papyrus Westcar and is, just like that of *Wśr-kꜣ=f*, of limited value for an onomastic analysis.

According to the king-lists of Abydos and Saqqarah, there is good reason to assume a continuous and stable tradition for this royal name down to Manetho's text. Nevertheless, there is one inconsistency with Manetho's Σέφρης as the offspring of *Śꜣḥ-wj-Rᶜw*, because, instead of -φ-, one would have expected -χ- and thus *Σέχρης.[113] However, Greek papyri from Egypt often display an unpredictable interchange of the Greek characters θ, φ and χ, which, at least in part, still denoted Greek aspirates θ ~ /t^h/, φ ~ /p^h/ and χ ~ /k^h/ (which later would develop to fricatives θ ~ /t^h/ > /*θ*/, φ ~ /p^h/ > /*f*/ and χ ~ /k^h/ > /*x*/), but were already used to denote the Egyptian fricatives /*f*/ and /*x*/.[114] Manetho's Σέφρης is thus an acceptable approximation of the name *Śꜣḥ-wj-Rᶜw*. The development from the Old Kingdom form *Śꜣḥ-wj-Rᶜw* to Manetho's Σέφρης may thus be summarised as follows:[115]

Śꜣḥ-wj-Rᶜw ~ **Śăꜣḥằ-wĭj-Rīᶜŭw* > **Śăꜣḥă-wĭ-Rīᶜŭ* > **Śăꜣḥă-wĕ-Rīᶜă* >
> **Śĕꜣḥ-ĕ-Rīᶜ(ĕ)* > **Śĕꜣḥ-Rēᶜ* ~ *Σέχρης ~ Σέφρης

2.3. The third king of the Fifth Dynasty

Attestations:[a]	Old Kingdom attestations[b]	(a)  (b) 
	Papyrus Westcar (X.24)[c]	
	Royal Canon of Turin (III.19 = 4.19)[d]	[*lacuna*]
	Abydos king-list (28)[e]	
	Saqqarah king-list (27)[f]	
	Manetho (after Africanus)[g]	Νεφερχέρης

[109] SETHE 1928, p. 33; LEPPER 2008, p. 49.

[110] WB IV, pp. 20 (6) – 21 (6); HANNIG 2006a, p. 715; HANNIG 2003, p. 1066.

[111] WILSON 1997b, pp. 791-792; LEPPER 2008, p. 124.

[112] LEPPER 2008, p. 124 n. 274.

[113] Cf. FECHT 1960b, p. 119.

[114] GIGNAC 1976, vol. I, pp. 95-98; GIGNAC 1970; cf. HELCK 1956, p. 15; FECHT 1960a, § 293 n. 426; FECHT 1960b, p. 122; QUAEGEBEUR 1974a, p. 98; cf. for the phonology of Herodotus' Greek ROSÉN 1962, pp. 37-42, for the phonology of Greek Koine MAYSER 1923-36, vol. I, pp. 169-182; MAYSER AND SCHMOLL 1970, vol. I.1, pp. 143-150, TEODORSSON 1977, pp. 238-241; GIGNAC 1976, vol. I, pp. 98-101.

[115] OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 20-21; SCHENKEL 1983, p. 89; EDEL 1994, vol. II, pp. 361-362; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 38; cf. for the syllable structure of perfective (indicative) *śḏm=f* FECHT 1960a, § 139, 251 n. 356, 333; SATZINGER 1968, § 25; OSING 1976, pp. 32-36; SCHENKEL 2012, pp. 112-113; GUNDACKER 2011, pp. 57-58; cf. for the dependent pronoun *wj* EDEL 1955-64, vol. I, § 166-171; KAMMERZELL 1991; SATZINGER 1991b; SATZINGER 2004; PEUST 2002.

[a] Cf. for this name in general GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, pp. 114-119; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 56-57; DESSOUDEIX 2008, pp. 77-79; SCHNEIDER 1996, pp. 265-267; LEPROHON 2013, p. 39; VERNER 2001, pp. 393-395; VERNER 2014, p. 47; HANNIG 2003, pp. 1622-1623.

[b] Attestations of the full name: e.g., (1) a royal decree found in Abydos, line 19 (LEPROHON 1985, pp. 49-53; GOEDICKE 1967, pp. 22-36; SETHE 1933, pp. 170 (11) – 172 (8); MARKOWITZ, HAYNES AND FREED 2002, p. 76), (2) the biographical inscription of Were (HASSAN 1932, pp. 15, 18-19, fig. 13, pl. XII, XVIII; SETHE 1933, pp. 232 (5)-(16), 233 (3) – 234 (6); ALLEN 1992; PM III, pp. 266, 269); attestations of the hypocoristicum, which is often found as a part of personal names: e.g., (3) in the pyramid complex of Sahure (BORCHARDT 1910-13, vol. II, p. 116, pl. 48; cf. also EL-AWADY 2006; EL-AWADY 2009; EL-AWADY 2010; EL-AWADY 2011; cf. PM III, pp. 326-335). Cf. for the pyramid complex *bꜣ-Nfr-jrw-kꜣ-Rᶜw* '*Ba* of Neferirkare' and its papyrus archives, BORCHARDT 1909; POSENER-KRIÉGER 1976; POSENER-KRIÉGER AND DE CENIVAL 1968; cf. PM III, pp. 339-340; THEIS 2011, pp. 36-37; MARAGIOGLIO AND RINALDI 1963-77, vol. VII, pp. 112-175; STADELMANN 1997, pp. 164-171; cf. for the sun temple *(j)ś.t-jb-Rᶜw* 'Favourite place of Re', KAISER 1956; ROCHHOLZ 1994; VOSS 2004, pp. 139-152; VERNER 2005; cf. for basilophorous personal names RANKE 1935-52; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014; cf. for the titles of priests and officials BAER 1960; STRUDWICK 1985; BAUD 1999a; cf. for seals and seal impressions KAPLONY 1977-81; cf. for the entries concerning this king in the Royal Annals WILKINSON 2000, pp. 172-180, 252; cf. for basilophorous names of royal domains and institutions JACQUET-GORDON 1962; ALTENMÜLLER 2006; cf. for basilophorous toponyms HANNIG 2003; ZIBELIUS-CHEN 1978.

[c] LEPPER 2008, pp. 49-50, 125; cf. also ERMAN 1890; PARKINSON 2002, pp. 182-192; CHRISTOPHE 1975; HAYS 2002; MATHIEU 1999; GOEDICKE 1993; JENNI 1998; ALTENMÜLLER 2010.

[d] GARDINER 1959, pl. II; cf. for the revised numbering of columns HELCK 1992; RYHOLT 2004; RYHOLT 2006.

[e] MARIETTE 1869-80, vol. I, pl. 43, vol. II, pl. 18; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 34, 196; cf. PM VI, pp. 25, 35; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 18-20; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 215.

[f] MARIETTE 1872, vol. II, pl. 58; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 6-7, 197, pl. I; cf. PM III, p. 666; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 21-24; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 216.

[g] WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83.

The third king of the Fifth Dynasty is known as *Nfr-jrw-kꜣ-Rᶜw*, once more an adjectival sentence representing the declaration of a religious statement: 'Perfect are the guise and *ka* of Re!'[116] A hypocoristicum, which was derived from this name *via* the reduplication of one element and the addition of a hypocoristic ending,[117] can be found in *Kꜣkꜣj*.[118] In the Old Kingdom, the full name *Nfr-jrw-kꜣ-Rᶜw* seems to have been preferred in official settings over the hypocoristicum *Kꜣkꜣj*, which was mostly used for reasons of convenience or in order to express a particular personal relationship to the king.[119] However, both names must have formed part of the historiographic tradition so that they were transmitted side by side as if they were the throne and birth name of that king. It is even likely that they were viewed as such from the Middle Kingdom or, at the latest, the New Kingdom onwards. Therefore, it is easy to

[116] Cf. BARTA 1989, p. 7; SCHNEIDER 1996, p. 266; the translations of DESSOUDEIX 2008, p. 79 'Celui qui a fait le *ka* de Râ est parfait' and of LEPROHON 2013, p. 39 'The perfect one is the one whom the ka of Re has engendered (lit. 'made')' are semantically and grammatically highly problematic. However, further discussion of this cannot be provided here.

[117] Cf. GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 66, 70-71 and n. 83 above.

[118] SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2007; SCHNEIDER 1996, p. 266.

[119] SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, p. 113.

understand that the full name *Nfr-jrw-kꜣ-Rᶜw* can be found in the king-list of Saqqarah and the hypocoristicum *Kꜣkꜣj* in the king-list of Abydos. As a consequence, one can conjecture king-lists written on papyrus which gave the throne name and the birth name for every king, though some scribes chose for different reasons one or the other name (e.g., in order to prevent homonymous kings in a list providing only one name for each king).[120]

It comes as no surprise that, in Papyrus Westcar, where the new-born kings of the Fifth Dynasty are presented as the innocent and sympathic antagonists of the embittered and tyrannical king Cheops, *Nfr-jrw-kꜣ-Rᶜw* is mentioned with the hypocoristicum *Kꜣkꜣj*. Once again, the name is pronounced by Isis[121] at the birth of the child and embedded in a play on words: *jm=k kkj.w m ḫ.t=ś m rn=k pwjj nj Kk*(*j*)*w* ‘You shall not be dark (i.e., blind) in her womb in this your name “Darkness (i.e., Blindness)”!’. Obviously, the hypocoristicum *Kꜣkꜣj* has been re-etymologised and connected to *kk*(*j*)*w* ~ (1) **kā́kŭw*, (2) **kŭ́kjăw* ‘darkness’,[122] but the version of Papyrus Westcar might itself be a mitigated variant of the story as Verena Lepper[123] convincingly argued. According to her, the verb *kkj* ‘to be dark’ takes the place of *kꜣkꜣ* ‘to harm’,[124] which may have formed a *nomen agentis kꜣkꜣw* ~ **kăꜣkā́ꜣŭw* ‘harmer’ closely resembling the hypocoristicum *Kꜣkꜣj* ~ **Kăꜣkā́ꜣĭj*.[125] Even though gravely influenced by folk-etymology and analogical reshaping, Papyrus Westcar proves to be an interesting and rewarding source of information although it can only supplement other material and heavily depends on careful examination itself.

Just as with the name of *Wśr-kꜣ=f*, the name must also have been re-interpreted in the case of *Nfr-jrw-kꜣ-Rᶜw* after the model of Middle and New Kingdom throne names,[126] and, later, the bare adjective was perhaps replaced with a verbal form typical for Demotic adjective verbs.[127] The result of this is, again, the re-introduction of *-r#* of *nfr*, although, in this particular instance, the restored *-r#* was hidden behind the remains of the word *jrw* ‘guise’ in pretonic position.

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[120] The treatment of *Pjpj* I and II and *Nfr-jrw-kꜣ-Rᶜw* I and II in the king-lists of Abydos and of Saqqarah is an instructive example for this phenomenon. The king-list of Abydos mentions (36) *Mrjj-Rᶜw* and (38) *Nfr-kꜣ-Rᶜw*, the king-list of Saqqarah (34) *Pjpj* and (36) *Nfr-kꜣ-Rᶜw*; furthermore, one can find, in the king-list of Abydos, (28) *Kꜣkꜣj* and (56) *Nfr-jrw-kꜣ-Rᶜw* and, in the king-list of Saqqarah, (27) *Nfr-jrw-kꜣ-Rᶜw*, but *Nfr-jrw-kꜣ-Rᶜw* II was left out (cf. n. 43-44 for bibliographical references). A similar observation for the Middle Kingdom in Manetho’s *Aegyptiaca* was proposed by FECHT 1960b, pp. 119-120.

[121] SETHE 1928, pp. 33-34; LEPPER 2008, pp. 50, 124-125.

[122] OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 74, 93, vol. II, p. 537 n. 363; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 196, 198; cf. for *kk*(*j*)*w* ‘darkness’ and *kkj* ‘to be dark’ WB V, pp. 142-144 (5), 144 (7)-(12); HANNIG 2006a, pp. 960-961; EDEL 1954, p. 42 n. 29.

[123] LEPPER 2008, p. 125.

[124] WILSON 1997b, p. 1083; if this suggestion is considered correct – and, in the light of derivations of this verb which are attested in medical literature of the New Kingdom (cf. WB V, pp. 86 (7), 109 (8)-(9)), there is good reason to do so –, the verbs *wśr* ‘to be vigorous’, *śꜣḫ* ‘to kick’ and *kꜣkꜣ* ‘to harm’ would refer to the enormous divine power of the sons of Re which they could not control because of their young age, thereby exposing their mother to danger.

[125] EDEL 1954, pp. 34-36; FECHT 1960a, § 176-178; OSING 1976b, vol. II, pp. 348-350 n. 12, 379-380 n. 56; GUNDACKER 2009, vol. I, pp. 62 n. 351, 291 n. 1835; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 70-71, 89-90; cf. also the references in n. 83.

[126] BUCHBERGER 1933, pp. 588-634; cf. also GRAEFE 1995; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 91 n. 401.

[127] FECHT 1960a, § 398 n. 452; SCHENKEL 2012, p. 113; OSING 1998, vol. I, pp. 61-63; SPIEGELBERG 1925, § 117; SETHE 1929; JOHNSON 2000, § 60; JOHNSON 2004, pp. 21-22, 83-84; QUACK 1998, pp. 174-175.

Νεφερχέρης is thus an excellent Greek rendering of this royal name, the development of which may be summarised as follows:[128]

Nfr-jrw-kꜣ-Rˁw ~ **Năfĭr-jĭrăw-kăꜣ-Rīˁŭw* > **Năfĭˀ-jĭră-kăꜣ-Rīˁŭ* >
> **Năfĭ-ĭrĕ-kăꜣ-Rīˁă* > **Năf-ĭrĕ-kŏꜣ-Rīˁă* > **Nĕf-ĭr-kŏꜣ-Rīˁĕ* →
→ **Nĕfrĕ-r-kŏꜣ-Rīˁ* > **Nĕf(r)-ṛ-kĕꜣ-Rēˁ* ~ Νεφερχέρης

2.4. The fourth king of the Fifth Dynasty

Attestations:[a]	Old Kingdom attestations[b]	(a)  (b) 
	Royal Canon of Turin (III.20 = 4.20)[c]	[*lacuna*]
	Abydos king-list (--)[d]	[*omissio*]
	Saqqarah king-list (28)[e]	
	Manetho (after Africanus)[f]	Σισίρης

[a] Cf. for this name in general GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, p. 119; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 56-57; DESSOUDEIX 2008, p. 80; SCHNEIDER 1996, p. 388; LEPROHON 2013, p. 39; VERNER 2001, pp. 395-400; VERNER 2014, p. 55; HANNIG 2003, p. 1623.

[b] All attestations of the Old Kingdom are from seals and seal impressions (cf. KAPLONY 1977-81, vol. II, pp. 289-294, pl. 81-82), but he must have been mentioned in the (auto)biography of Shepsesptah of Saqqarah, where his cartouche is, though lost, indirectly proved (DORMAN 2002; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 96; cf. KLOTH 2002, pp. 15-16, 52, 86, 113, 129-133, 151-154, 157-159, 161-163, 237, 243, 247, 251, 258-260, 284-285; cf. also PM III, p. 464; MARIETTE 1889, pp. 112-113, 451-453; SETHE 1933, pp. 51 (11) – 53 (13); BAUD 1999a, vol. II, pp. 452-453; JAMES 1961, p. 17, pl. XVII). Because of the ephemeral character of his reign, this king is not attested in basilophorous names, toponyms or officials' titles. A Late Period scarab mentioning king *Špś*(*ś*)*-kꜣ-Rˁw* and usually attributed to this king (PETRIE 1889, pl. I; VERNER 2001, p. 396) should perhaps be viewed as an archaising object in honour of king *Špśś-kꜣ=f*, whose name was altered to *Špśś-kꜣ-Rˁw* by the time of the New Kingdom (cf. GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 92-93; cf. also n. 138). Cf. for the pyramid, the name of which may have been *rś-Špśś-kꜣ-Rˁw* 'Awakening of Shepseskare', and for his sun temple, the name of which may have been *ḥtp-jb-Rˁw* 'Peace of the heart of Re', VERNER 1982; KAPLONY 1977-81, vol. II, pp. 289-294, pl. 81-82; STADELMANN 1997, p. 175; VERNER 2005; cf. also VERNER 2000b; HANNIG 2003.

[c] GARDINER 1959, pl. II; cf. for the revised numbering HELCK 1992; RYHOLT 2004; RYHOLT 2006.

[d] It is unknown whether this king has been left out deliberately (perhaps because he did not install cultic or economic endowments in favour of Abydene institutions?) or by an accidental error. MARIETTE 1869-80, vol. I, pl. 43, vol. II, pl. 18; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 34, 196; cf. PM VI, pp. 25, 35; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 18-20; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 215.

[e] MARIETTE 1872, vol. II, pl. 58; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 6-7, 197, pl. I; cf. PM III, p. 666; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 21-24; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 216.

[f] WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83.

The fourth king of the Fifth Dynasty according to Manetho and the king-list of Saqqarah is the ephemeral king *Špśś-kꜣ-Rˁw*, but Miroslav Verner[129] pointed out that this king is more likely the fifth king of the Fifth Dynasty. Be that as it may, *Špśś-kꜣ-Rˁw* is certainly another instance of a

[128] EDEL 1954, pp. 34-36; FECHT 1960a, § 176-178; OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 20-21, 82, 128, vol. II, pp. 348-350 n. 12, 379-380 n. 56; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 89, 154, 199; EDEL 1994, vol. II, pp. 361-362; KAMMERZELL 1991, p. 161; GUNDACKER 2009, vol. I, pp. 62 n. 351, 291 n. 1835; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 38, 70-71, 89-90.

[129] VERNER 2001, pp. 395-400; VERNER 2000b; cf. already VON BECKERATH 1982, col. 372.

name expressing a religious statement,[130] 'The *ka* of Re is noble!', although this particular name might be a programmatic and specifically royal name. Peter Kaplony[131] assumed that this king's birth name was actually *Wśr-nṯr=j* ~ **Wăšĭr-nă̱ṯrĭj* 'My god is vigorous!'.[132] If so, this might be one of the earliest cases of a name change associated with the ascension to the throne and thus some kind of a prototype for throne names.[133] Anyway, the reading and interpretation of this name remain dubious[134] and it is only the name *Špśś-kꜣ-Rꜥw*[135] which was passed down with historiographic materials.

Špśś-kꜣ-Rꜥw was perhaps re-interpreted after the model of Middle and New Kingdom throne names.[136] It is unclear whether the replacement of the bare adjective with a Demotic main clause *śḏm=f* typical for adjective verbs[137] also occurred in this instance, but this is at least possible. If so, *špśś* 'noble' was perhaps also substituted or confused[138] with the more common *špśj* 'to be noble'.[139] It is, however, important to keep in mind an observation of Gerhard Fecht,[140] who discovered that unstressed vowels tend to develop to *-i-* in the neighbourhood of sibilants. Consequently, several variants could have existed, depending on whether the original predicative adjective had been replaced with a verbal form or not and whether this special sound shift had occurred or not. At any rate, the name of the fourth king of the Fifth Dynasty should have developed as follows:[141]

Špśś-kꜣ-Rꜥw ~ **Šŭpśĭś-kă̆ꜣ-Rĭ́ꜥŭw* > **Šŭpśĕś-kă̆ꜣ-Rĭ́ꜥŭ* >
> **Šĕpśĕś-kŏ̆ꜣ-Rĭ́ꜥă̆* > **Šĕpśĕś-kŏ̆ꜣ-Rĭ́ꜥĕ* >
> **Šĕpśĕś-kĕ̆ꜣ-Ré́ꜥ* ~ *Σεψεσχέρης ~ **Šĭpśĭś-kĕ̆ꜣ-Ré́ꜥ* ~ *Σιψισχέρης →
→ **Šĕpśĕ-kĕ̆ꜣ-Ré́ꜥ* ~ *Σεψεχέρης ~ **Šĭpśĭ-kĕ̆ꜣ-Ré́ꜥ* ~ *Σιψιχέρης →
→ Σισίρης

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[130] Cf. for this interpretation GRAEFE 1995, p. 124; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 39 n. 37, 46-47 n. 86, 65, 72, 81 n. 337, 91; cf. also RANKE 1935-52, vol. II, pp. 219-223.

[131] KAPLONY 1977-81, vol. II, pp. 289-294.

[132] OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 128, 213; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 154, 182.

[133] Yet the motif for the adoption of a new name remains uncertain; whether this has something to do with an increasing devotion to Re and the fact that no god was explicitly mentioned in *Wśr-nṯr=j* 'My god is vigorous!'? Or was it because, in this name, *nṯr* designates the king?

[134] Cf. VON BECKERATH 1999, p. 56 n. 5; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2007, p. 93 n. 10.

[135] Miroslav Verner questions the reading *Špśś-kꜣ-Rꜥw* on grounds of the variants *Špśś-kꜣ-Rꜥw* and *Špśj-kꜣ-Rꜥw* found on seal impressions (VERNER 2000b, p. 582). This variation is perhaps best explained as two different kinds of complementation (cf. EDEL 1955-64, vol. I, § 58-61; SCHWEITZER 2005, § 165-172) which would support a common reading *Špśś-kꜣ-Rꜥw*.

[136] BUCHBERGER 1933, pp. 588-634; cf. also GRAEFE 1995; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 91 n. 401.

[137] FECHT 1960a, § 398 n. 452; SCHENKEL 2012, p. 113; OSING 1998, vol. I, pp. 61-63; SPIEGELBERG 1925, § 117; SETHE 1929; JOHNSON 2000, § 60; JOHNSON 2004, pp. 21-22, 83-84; QUACK 1998, pp. 174-175.

[138] Cf. also king *Gmj-n=f-Ḫnśw-bꜣk* (contemporary with the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty), who bore the throne name *Špśj-kꜣ=Rꜥw jrj.n-Rꜥw*; cf. VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 212-213; SCHNEIDER 1996, pp. 184-185; KITCHEN 1996, pp. 78, 357.

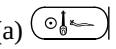
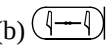
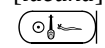
[139] Cf. for *špśś* and *špśj* 'noble' WB IV, pp. 445 (8) – 448 (12), 451 (15) – 452 (15); HANNIG 2006a, pp. 881-882; HANNIG 2003, pp. 1293, 1296-1297.

[140] FECHT 1960a, § 248 n. 382; OSING 1976b, vol. I, p. 14, vol. II, pp. 386 n. 72, 880-881 (addendum to n. 163), SCHENKEL 2012, p. 88.

[141] OSING 1976b, vol. I, p. 150, vol. II, pp. 348-350 n. 12, 379-380 n. 56; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 89, 160; EDEL 1994, vol. II, pp. 361-362; EDEL 1954, pp. 34-36; FECHT 1960a, § 176-178; GUNDACKER 2009, vol. I, pp. 62 n. 351, 291 n. 1835; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 38, 70-71, 89-90.

After the suffix pronoun had been replaced with the theonym Re, the name of the last king of the Fourth Dynasty, *Špśś-kꜣ=f*, should have developed exactly like the name *Špśś-kꜣ-Rᶜw*.[142] But in either case, Manetho records unexpected, seriously garbled renderings: Σεβερχέρης[143] (*Špśś-kꜣ-Rᶜw* ← *Špśś-kꜣ=f*), Σισίρης (*Špśś-kꜣ-Rᶜw*). It would seem that these names, with a sequence of sibilants and high vowels, sounded so totally strange to Greeks that they simplified and altered them. Consequently, *Σεψεσχέρης/*Σεψεχέρης turned out as Σεβερχέρης, and *Σιψισχέρης/*Σιψιχέρης turned out as Σισίρης.[144]

2.5. The fifth king of the Fifth Dynasty

Attestations:[a]	Old Kingdom attestations[b]	(a)  (b) 
	Royal Canon of Turin (III.21 = 4.21)[c]	[*lacuna*]
	Abydos king-list (29)[d]	
	Saqqarah king-list (29)[e]	
	Manetho (after Africanus)[f]	Χέρης

[a] Cf. for this name in general GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, pp. 120-122; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 58-59; DESSOUDEIX 2008, pp. 81-82; SCHNEIDER 1996, pp. 261-262; LEPROHON 2013, p. 39; VERNER 2001, pp. 400-401; VERNER 2014, p. 56; HANNIG 2003, p. 1623.

[b] Attestations of the full name: e.g., (1) false door of Khaibawptah (MARIETTE 1889, pp. 294-295; PM III, pp. 453-454), (2) false door of Ankhmare (MARIETTE 1889, p. 283; PM III, p. 455); attestations of the hypocoristicum are, by and large, confined to basilophorous names, e.g., (3) *ᶜnḫ-Jsj* 'May Isi live!' (JAMES 1961, p. 18, pl. XIX; RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, p. 45 (17), vol. II, p. 270 (23); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 678); cf. for basilophoprous names in general RANKE 1935-52; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014; cf. for the pyramid complex *nṯrj-bꜣ.w-Rᶜw-nfr=f* 'The authority of Reneferef is divine' and its papyrus archives, LANDGRAFOVÁ 2006; VLČKOVÁ 2006; THEIS 2011, pp. 41-42; MARAGIOGLIO AND RINALDI 1963-77, vol. VII, pp. 176-187; PM III, p. 340; STADELMANN 1997, pp. 174-175; VERNER *ET AL.* 2006; POSENER-KRIÉGER, VERNER AND VYMAZALOVÁ 2006; cf. for the sun temple *ḥtp-Rᶜw* 'Contentment of Re' KAISER 1956; ROCHHOLZ 1994; VOSS 2004, pp. 153-155; VERNER 2005; cf. for the titles of priests and officials BAER 1960; STRUDWICK 1985; BAUD 1999a; cf. for seals and seal impressions KAPLONY 1977-81; cf. for basilophorous names of royal domains and institutions JACQUET-GORDON 1962; ALTENMÜLLER 2006; cf. for basilophorous toponyms HANNIG 2003; ZIBELIUS-CHEN 1978.

[c] GARDINER 1959, pl. II; cf. for the revised numbering of columns HELCK 1992; RYHOLT 2004; RYHOLT 2006.

[d] MARIETTE 1869-80, vol. I, pl. 43, vol. II, pl. 18; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 34, 196; cf. PM VI, pp. 25, 35; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 18-20; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 215.

[e] MARIETTE 1872, vol. II, pl. 58; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 6-7, 197, pl. I; cf. PM III, p. 666; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 21-24; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 216.

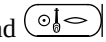
[f] WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83.

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[142] GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, pp. 101-103; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 225-228, 244; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 54-55; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 92-93.

[143] WADDELL 1942, pp. 46-47; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-105; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 62-63; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, p. 80.

[144] FECHT 1960b, p. 119; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 92-93. It is possible that this royal name was folk-etymologically re-shaped under the influence of the theonym Osiris (cf. for Σίριος according to Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes as a similar case GUNDACKER 2015a, p. 111 n. 120).

The fifth king of the Fifth Dynasty according to the king-list of Abydos is king *Rᶜw-nfr=f*. Despite the fact that *Rᶜw-nfr=f* and *Špśś-kȝ-Rᶜw* may have switched positions in at least some king-lists,[145] the reading of this royal name is highly disputed. Already part of the discussion between Hermann Ranke[146] and Helmut Brunner[147] whether one should read *Rᶜw-(j)ḏd=f* and *Rᶜw-ḥᶜj=f* or *Ḏdj=f-Rᶜw* and *Ḥᶜj=f-Rᶜw*,[148] Miroslav Verner[149] presented a few seal impressions with the alternative spellings  and  respectively and proposed reading this royal name *Rᶜw-nfr* 'Re is a perfect one!' (substantival sentence). To this interpretation, one might add a reading *Nfr-Rᶜw* according to the very common name type *#nfr + theonym#*,[150] and, following Helmut Brunner,[151] one might suggest *Nfr=f-Rᶜw* 'May he be perfect, (viz.) Re!'. However, the statement made by names such as *Nfr=f-Rᶜw* 'May he be perfect, (viz.) Re!' and *Ḏdj=f-Rᶜw* 'May he endure, (viz.) Re!' are pure nonsense: *nfr=f* 'may he be perfect' and *ḏdj=f* 'may he endure' cannot be applied to Re who already is perfect and everlasting. Names following the pattern *Rᶜw-nfr* are exceedingly rare (or at least notoriously difficult to detect)[152] and, judging from *Rᶜw-wśr* found in the stories of Papyrus Westcar,[153] perhaps a pseudo-archaic innovation of the Middle Kingdom. Besides, *Nfr-Rᶜw* is attested as a profane name all throughout the Old Kingdom,[154] but Katrin Scheele-Schweitzer[155] noted that, during the Old Kingdom, ordinary men were not allowed to bear a king's full name after his enthronement. Consequently, *Nfr-Rᶜw* cannot have been the name of the fifth king of the Fifth Dynasty since it is attested in the second half of the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasty as the personal name of at least two individuals. The remarkable seal impressions found by Miroslav Verner can, moreover, be explained differently. Since their number is rather limited, they may be attributed to a very small number of seals with erroneous inscriptions (in particular in the case of the rarest (ortho)graphic variant

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145 VERNER 2001, pp. 400-401; VERNER 2000b; cf. VON BECKERATH 1982; cf. also section 2.4 above.

146 RANKE 1950, pp. 65-68; RANKE 1935-52, vol. II, pp. 257-258; SCHWEITZER 2005, § 413; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, pp. 66-67.

147 BRUNNER 1975; QUACK 2007b; SCHENKEL 2012, pp. 367-368.

148 Cf. in favour of a well-balanced evaluation supposing *Rᶜw-(j)ḏd=f* but *Ḥᶜj=f-Rᶜw* GUNDACKER 2013a; GUNDACKER 2014a; cf. also VALLOGGIA 2011, vol. I.1, pp. 3-5.

149 VERNER 1985; VERNER 2014, pp. 56, 58.

150 FISCHER 1996, pp. 66-67; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, pp. 61-62, 66-67, 302 n. 81 ad № 734; cf. RANKE 1935-52, vol. II, pp. 219-223.

151 BRUNNER 1975.

152 Cf., e.g., the cuneiform rendering of the Egyptian personal name *Rᶜw-nfr* ~ **Rīᶜŭw-nā́fĭr* > **Rĭ/ĕᶜă-nā́fă* 'Re is a perfect one!' as *Ri/e-a-na-pa* (RANKE 1910, p. 18; cf. GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 156-157 n. 311; cf. for another example n. 68 above).

153 Cf. for the interpretation of this name (Papyrus Westcar X.2 etc., LEPPER 2008, p. 48 and *passim*) FECHT 1960b, p. 119; GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 156-157 n. 311; cf. also section 2.6 below.

154 Cf., e.g., the attestation of a man called *Nfr-Rᶜw* in the mastaba of Tjasi (D.220) in Gizah (Fifth-Sixth Dynasty, JUNKER 1951, pp. 52-53; PM III, p. 117) and a libation basin dedicated by another individual called *Nfr-Rᶜw* to his father Habi (unnumbered mastaba, Gizah, Sixth Dynasty; JUNKER 1950, pp. 118-121; PM III, p. 108); cf. furthermore RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, p. 219 (10); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 1915 [one might add mastaba № 9 in Maidum, the owner of which also may have borne the name *Nfr-Rᶜw*; PETRIE 1892, pp. 17-18; PM IV, p. 92; cf. furthermore MARIETTE 1889, p. 477; BAUD 1999a, vol. II, p. 511; GUNDACKER 2006, pp. 125-128).

155 SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, p. 120.

, which all may be connected to a single seal) or to seals with an uncommon, though valid (ortho)graphic alternative which follows a rather atypical pattern of complementation[156] in combination with a metathesis of the complement and the suffix pronoun. As a result, this royal name must be read *Rᶜw-nfr=f* and must be analysed as 'Re is (always) perfect!'.[157]

The further tradition contains no trace of this king's hypocoristicum *Jsj*, which might contain a hypocoristic preformative *#j-* (and, perhaps, a hypocoristic ending *-j#* which usually represents **-ǐj#*, but, according to the spelling conventions of the Old Kingdom, may also designate another hypocoristic ending which is usually spelled *-jj#* and stands for **-(ă)jjă#*)[158] attached to the noun *sj* 'man',[159] which indicates a reconstruction *Jsj* ~ **Jăsǐ́jjă* meaning 'little man'.[160] It is noteworthy that this hypocoristicum, with a single exception, is only attested for men.[161] The exception mentioned[162] either is derived from *sj.t* 'woman' with deletion of the feminine morpheme *-t#* or it was given to a girl in honour of her father or another man bearing this name. The same holds true for the closely related reduplicated hypocoristicum *Ssj* 'little man', which is also predominantly borne by men,[163] but also by one woman from the very end of the Old Kingdom or the Heracleopolitan Period.[164] The corresponding ordinary hypocoristicum for women was apparently *Js(j)tj* 'little woman' (attested twice),[165] which with certainty was derived from *sj.t* 'woman'.[166] The hypocoristicum *Ḥmj* 'little servant', which is attested for men and women, is perhaps a mixture, on the one hand, of derivations from *ḥm* or *ḥm.t* 'servant'[167] and names containing either of these[168] and, on the other hand, of derivations

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[156] Cf. EDEL 1955-64, vol. I, § 59-61; SCHWEITZER 2005, § 166; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, p. 146.

[157] Cf. for the underlying grammatical pattern *jw(=f) śḏm=f* with an adjective verb PEUST 2008, p. 70; SETHE 1919, § 34; VERNUS 1984a, p. 174; VERNUS 1984b; WINAND 2006, p. 250.

[158] RANKE 1935-52, vol. II, pp. 111-124, 127-171; EDEL 1955-64, vol. I, § 139-140; FECHT 1960a, § 39-43, 140; QUACK 2007a, p. 552; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, pp. 70-85; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 66-71 (with n. 268); cf. also n. 83 above.

[159] WB III, pp. 404 (6) – 406 (10); HANNIG 2006a, pp. 699-700; HANNIG 2003, pp. 1029-1030.

[160] An alternative view (LEPROHON 2013, p. 40 n. 63) that Djedkare's hypocoristicum *Jssj* and, *per analogiam*, also Reneferef's hypocoristicum *Jsj* should be connected to a midwife's exclamation *jsj* 'Go (forth)!' (cf. for this verb WB III, p. 424 (13); EDEL 1955-64, vol. I, § 32, 425; ALLEN 1984, § 729) is a less plausible etymological explanation.

[161] Cf. RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, p. 45 (15)-(19); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 476, cf. № 477-479.

[162] SCHENKEL AND GOMÁA 2004, Beilage 10.

[163] RANKE 1935-52, vol. I 297 (22)-(25); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 2975-2978. However, this kind of hypocoristicum may also be derived from full names containing the sequence *-ssj-* like, e.g., in reduplicated forms of *ḥsj* (i.e., *ḥssj*), cf. *Ḥssj.w-ỉḫt.j* 'He whom Akhti praises', DOBREV 1996, p. 136, fig. 30; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 2527; cf. for this kind of hypocoristicum, which covers the stress syllable either of the entire name or of one of its elements, GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 66 n. 254. Cf. for the morphology of reduplicated (imperfective) forms OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 296-304; OSING 1998, vol. I, p. 51.

[164] MAGEE 2000.

[165] JÉQUIER 1929, fig. 98; cf. RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, p. 45 (25), cf. p. 428 (13); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 496, cf. № 2898; The third attestation borne by a man is, according to the hieroglyphic spelling, derived from another word, cf. MÁLEK 1975; EDEL 1976, p. 29.

[166] WB III, pp. 406 (13) – 407 (8); HANNIG 2006a, p. 700; HANNIG 2003, p. 1030.

[167] WB III, pp. 87 (13) – 88 (8), 88 (10)-(13); HANNIG 2006a, pp. 561-562; HANNIG 2003, pp. 800-801.

[168] Cf. RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, pp. 239 (17)-(28), 240 (4)-(5), vol. II, p. 305 (16)-(19); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 2401-2413, 2417-2418.

from *ḥm.t* ‘woman, wife’,[169] which, according to the spelling, is attested in one particular case written with the hieroglyph ‘female genital’ (Gardiner N42).[170] This particular woman[171] thus bore a name *Ḥmj* ‘little woman’ similar to German *Frauke* ‘Frauchen’ and *Wiebke* ‘Weibchen’. As it seems, male hypocoristica were only very exceptionally used for women, but the number of such cases seems to have increased from the late Old Kingdom onwards. Whatever the case, it is evident that the hypocoristicum *Jsj* was not derived from this king’s full name.[172]

The attestations of this king’s full name *Rᶜw-nfr=f* are rather difficult to judge, especially because *Rᶜw-nfr=f* is only rarely attested since it is now missing in the Royal Canon of Turin, and the king-list of Saqqarah displays an obviously corrupted spelling *Ḫᶜj-nfr-Rᶜw*. Only the king-list of Abydos retains this name in its correct form as *Rᶜw-nfr=f*. The version found in the king-list of Saqqarah, *Ḫᶜj-nfr-Rᶜw*, has long been identified as an erroneous mention[173] of *Rᶜw-nfr=f* under the assumption of a scribal error. Yet such a mistake, which would involve the signs ‘horned viper’ (Gardiner I9) and ‘hill over which are the rays of the rising sun’ (Gardiner N27), is highly implausible since these signs are unambiguously discernible and distinguishable in hieratic from the Old Kingdom down to the Ramesside period.[174] In search for an alternative explanation, it is important to bear in mind *Rᶜw-nfr=f*’s Horus name  *Ḥrw Nfr-ḫᶜw* ‘Horus “The one whose appearance is perfect”’.[175] The variant found in the king-list of Saqqarah,  *Ḫᶜj-nfr-Rᶜw* ‘The one whose perfection is splendid is Re!’ – or, should a particular kind of graphic inversion[176] have operated, *Nfr-ḫᶜw-Rᶜw* ‘The one whose splendour is perfect is Re!’ – is thus most likely the result of mixing up the Horus name *Nfr-ḫᶜw* and the full name *Rᶜw-nfr=f*. With the already met re-interpretation after the model of Middle and New Kingdom throne names[177] and the substitution of a plain predicative adjective with a Demotic main clause *śḏm=f* typical for adjective verbs,[178] one would expect *Nfr-ḫᶜw-Rᶜw* to end up in Greek exactly as *Νεφερχέρης which thus should be found in Manetho’s account. Wolfgang Helck and Gerhard Fecht[179] convincingly demonstrated that Manetho avoided homonymous kings, especially in immediate sequence, and that he was inclined to delete kings who he thought were nothing but erroneous duplicates. It is thus plausible that Manetho found two kings whose

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[169] WB III, pp. 76 (6) – 78 (15); HANNIG 2006a, p. 567; HANNIG 2003, pp. 824-829.

[170] So according to the Viennese School; cf. the compound determinative for *nk* ‘to copulate’ (WB II, p. 345 (3)-(10); HANNIG 2006a, p. 461; HANNIG 2003, pp. 663-664) involving this sign and a ‘phallus’ (Gardiner D52) in PT 539 § 1321a P. This hieroglyph is usually subsumed under the sign ‘well full of water’ (Gardiner N41) (cf. GARDINER 1957, pp. 456, 492), with which, no doubt, it merged early, but, originally, the ‘female genital’ (Gardiner D42) displayed a horizontal line on top, while the ‘well full of water’ (Gardiner D41) displayed a zigzag line on top.

[171] JUNKER 1950, p. 55, fig. 21.

[172] Cf. for another hypocoristicum belonging to this group of short names section 2.8 below.

[173] GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, p. 122 (in particular n. 1-2); cf. VON BECKERATH 1999, p. 58.

[174] Cf. MÖLLER 1909-36, vol. I, s.v. № 263, 307, vol. II, s.v. № 263, 307.

[175] GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, pp. 120-122; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 58-59; DESSOUDEIX 2008, pp. 81-82; SCHNEIDER 1996, pp. 261-262; LEPROHON 2013, p. 39; HANNIG 2003, p. 1623.

[176] Cf. the examples assembled in FISCHER 1996, p. 58.

[177] BUCHBERGER 1933, pp. 588-634.

[178] FECHT 1960a, § 398 n. 452; SCHENKEL 2012, p. 113; OSING 1998, vol. I, pp. 61-63; SPIEGELBERG 1925, § 117; SETHE 1929; JOHNSON 2000, § 60; JOHNSON 2004, pp. 21-22, 83-84; QUACK 1998, pp. 174-175.

[179] HELCK 1956, pp. 13-14; FECHT 1960b, p. 118.

names were rendered as Νεφερχέρης in Greek; the second of these, the equivalent of *Nfr-ḫ*ʿ*w-R*ʿ*w* ← *Ḥrw Nfr-ḫ*ʿ*w x R*ʿ*w-nfr=f*, contained a rare and unusual element *ḫ*ʿ*w* instead of the more common *k3* found in so many other names. Hence this name is a likely candidate for an early Pre-Old-Coptic gloss (either with Greek or, less probably, Demotic characters) indicating the pronunciation of this name.[180] Manetho perhaps misunderstood this supra-linear gloss *Χέρη as an alternative name, which, after furnishing it with the Greek nominative desinence -ς, he assigned as a second name to this king.[181] It thus becomes feasible to reconstruct Manetho's king-list for this section of the Fifth Dynasty, which must have looked as follows when compared to his *Vorlage*:

Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*	Manetho's immediate *Vorlage*	
Οὐσερχέρης	*Wśr-k3-R*ʿ*w*	(← *Wśr-k3=f*)
*Σέχρης	*Ś3ḥ-wj-R*ʿ*w*	
*Νεφερχέρης	*Nfr-jrw-k3-R*ʿ*w*	
*Νεφερχέρης ἢ Χέρης	*Nfr-ḫ*ʿ*w-R*ʿ*w*$^{\text{Χέρη}}$	(← *Ḥrw Nfr-ḫ*ʿ*w* x *R*ʿ*w-nfr=f*)
*Σιψιχέρης	*Špśś-k3-R*ʿ*w*	
*Ῥαούοσρις	*Nj-R*ʿ*w-wsrw*	(← *Nj-R*ʿ*w-wśr*)
...	...	

According to this scenario, either Manetho himself in a redactional or editorial phase or the epitomiser of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* must have judged *Νεφερχέρης and *Νεφερχέρης ἢ Χέρης as one and the same king and deleted the supposed duplicate *Νεφερχέρης thus uniting these two kings in a single entry *Νεφερχέρης ἢ Χέρης '*Nepherkhérēs or Khérēs*'. This must have been the state of affairs when the *Epitome* was compiled and resulted in δυναστεία βασιλέων η' 'a dynasty of eight kings'. Perhaps in the course of handing down the *Epitome*, the double entry *Νεφερχέρης ἢ Χέρης was dissolved into two separate ones, which finds additional support in the identical figures (20 years) provided for both of them, Νεφερχέρης and Χέρης. One of the strategies to make two kings in sequence with identical numbers of regnal years more credible is to relocate one of them in the king-list. And this is exactly what must have happened to Χέρης, which therefore changed places with Σισίρης; it is furthermore remarkable that Manetho's *Vorlage* apparently conforms with Miroslav Verner's[182] conclusion that *Špśś-k3-R*ʿ*w* succeeded *R*ʿ*w-nfr=f*.[183] Although Χέρης is thus only a very faint trace of the historical *R*ʿ*w-*

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[180] Cf. QUAEGEBEUR 1991b; SATZINGER 1991a (in particular p. 170); OSING 1998, vol. I, pp. 40-66; QUACK 2003a; GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 102-103 n. 79.

[181] Cf. for an analogous example, Τόσορθρος and Τύρεϊς in Manetho's Third Dynasty, GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 102-103 n. 79; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 74, n. 300; cf. also WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 102-103; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 62-63; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 79-81.

[182] VERNER 2001, pp. 400-401; VERNER 2000b; cf. VON BECKERATH 1982; cf. also section 2.4 above.

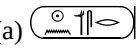
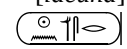
[183] Alternatively, one could suggest that, initially, before *Νεφερχέρης and *Νεφερχέρης ἢ Χέρης were united in a single entry *Νεφερχέρης ἢ Χέρης, Manetho's Fifth Dynasty displayed the following sequence of kings: … *Νεφερχέρης – *Σιψιχέρης – *Νεφερχέρης ἢ Χέρης … Although this scenario would accord with the sequence of kings found in the king-list of Saqqarah and the Royal Canon of Turin, this would make it more difficult to argue the deletion of one king *Νεφερχέρης because of the intervening name *Σιψιχέρης, which would have reduced the impression of erroneous duplicates and thus the pressure to remove the second *Νεφερχέρης, especially since this one was differentiated by a second name (*Νεφερχέρης ἢ Χέρης). It is thus noteworthy that Manetho's text reflects the historical sequence of kings more closely than the Royal Canon of Turin and the Saqqarah king-list. Manetho's sources thus either belonged to a different line of tradition or the correct sequence of kings arose from yet another mistake which accidentally corrected an even earlier one.

nfr=f, the history of tradition of the *Aegyptiaca* adds important information to the current interpretation of the history of the Fifth Dynasty.

Finally, the development of the royal name *Rˁw-nfr=f* from the Old Kingdom down to the *Aegyptiaca* of Manetho can be summarised as follows:[184]

Rˁw-nfr=f ~ **Rīˁŭw-năfă̆răf x Ḥrw nfr-ḫˁw* ~ **Ḥă̆rŭw Năfĭr-ḫīˁă̆w* →
→ *Nfr-ḫˁw-Rˁw* ~ **Năfīʾ-ḫīˁă̆'-Rīˁă* > **Năf-ḫīˁă-Rīˁĕ* > **Nĕf-ḫĕˁ-Rīˁĕ* →
→ **Nĕfre-ḫĕˁ-Rīˁ* > **Nĕfṛ-ḫĕ-Rēˁ* ~ *Νεφερχέρης → Χέρης

2.6. The sixth king of the Fifth Dynasty

Attestations:[a]	Old Kingdom attestations[b]	(a)  (b) , , 
	Royal Canon of Turin (III.22 = 4.22)[c]	[*lacuna*]
	Abydos king-list (30)[d]	
	Saqqarah king-list (--)[e]	[*omissio*]
	Manetho (after Africanus)[f]	Ῥαθούρης

[a] Cf. for this name in general GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, pp. 124-129; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 58-59; DESSOUDEIX 2008, pp. 83-84; SCHNEIDER 1996, pp. 281-282; LEPROHON 2013, p. 40; VERNER 2001, pp. 401-404; VERNER 2014, p. 61; HANNIG 2003, pp. 1623-1624.

[b] Attestations of the full name: e.g., (1) an inscription found on the Sinai Peninsula (GARDINER, PEET AND ČERNÝ 1952-55, vol. I, pl. 6 № 10, vol. II, p. 60; EICHLER 1993, p. 31; PM VII.1, p. 341; SETHE 1933, pp. 53 (17) – 54 (9)), (2) a statue of this king (CG 38, BORCHARDT 1937, pp. 36-37, pl. 10; PM III, p. 842); attestations of the hypocoristicum, which is mostly found as part of basilophorous names: e.g., (3) the false door of Ipi found in Abusir, now in Bremen (spelling with word-final 'flowering reed' [Gardiner M17], SCHÄFER 1908, pp. 12-13, fig. 12; PM III, p. 345; cf. MARTIN 1991), (4) a statue dedicated to this king by Sesostris I. (spelling with initial 'flowering reed', BUDGE 1913, p. 5, pl. II; PM VIII, p. 4). Cf. for basilophorous names RANKE 1935-52; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014; cf. for the pyramid complex *mn-(j)ś.wt-Nj-Rˁw-wśr* 'The places of Nirewoser remain', BORCHARDT 1907; PM III, pp. 335-339; THEIS 2011, pp. 35-36; MARAGIOGLIO AND RINALDI 1963-77, vol. VIII, pp. 9-54; STADELMANN 1997, pp. 175-179; cf. for the sun temple *šspw-jb-Rˁw* 'Welcome of the heart of Re', BORCHARDT 1905; VON BISSING AND KEES 1923; KEES 1928; VON BISSING 1922; EDEL 1961-63; EDEL AND WENIG 1974; PM III, pp. 314-324; cf. also KAISER 1956; ROCHHOLZ 1994; VOSS 2004, pp. 60-134; VERNER 2005; cf. for the titles of priests and officials BAER 1960; STRUDWICK 1985; BAUD 1999a; cf. for seals and seal impressions KAPLONY 1977-81; cf. for basilophorous names of royal domains and institutions JACQUET-GORDON 1962; ALTENMÜLLER 2006; cf. for basilophorous toponyms HANNIG 2003; ZIBELIUS-CHEN 1978.

[c] GARDINER 1959, pl. II; cf. for the revised numbering of columns HELCK 1992; RYHOLT 2004; RYHOLT 2006.

[d] MARIETTE 1869-80, vol. I, pl. 43, vol. II, pl. 18; WILDUNG 1968, p. 34, 196; cf. PM VI, pp. 25, 35; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 18-20; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 215.

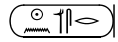
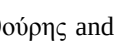
[e] Most probably, *Nj-Rˁw-wśr* was left out erroneously. MARIETTE 1872, vol. II, pl. 58; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 6-7, 197, pl. I; cf. PM III, p. 666; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 21-24; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 216.

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[184] This reconstruction is based on the assumption that *ḫˁw* 'splendour' (WB III, pp. 241 (7) – 242 (3); HANNIG 2006a, pp. 630-631; HANNIG 2003, pp. 930-931) belongs to noun pattern I.6 just as *jrw* 'guise' does (cf. section 2.3 above); OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 20-21, 78-88, 128, 185; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 89, 154, 174, 198-201; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 38; EDEL 1994, vol. II, pp. 361-362; cf. for the supposed vowel pattern of the circumstantial *śḏm=f* FECHT 1960a, § 398 n. 452; SCHENKEL 2012, p. 113; OSING 1998, vol. I, pp. 61-63; SCHENKEL 2002, pp. 89-98; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 39-42; cf. furthermore SPIEGELBERG 1925, § 117; SETHE 1929; JOHNSON 2000, § 60; JOHNSON 2004, pp. 21-22, 83-84; QUACK 1998, pp. 174-175; differently QUACK 1991, pp. 91-100.

[f] WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83.

The sixth king of the Fifth Dynasty, whose name is usually interpreted as *Nj-wśr-Rᶜw* 'The strength belongs to Re!',[185] is another example of a name declaring a religious statement. However, this commonly accepted form, *Nj-wśr-Rᶜw*, is an obvious misreading if this name is analysed as an adjectival sentence with a de-prepositional *nisba* adjective as its predicate. Only should this name be interpreted as a syntagma, can the traditional reading *Nj-wśr-Rᶜw* 'The one who belongs to the strength of Re!'[186] be kept. At first sight, there is no way to differentiate between names of these two kinds, but this only holds true if exclusively the names borne by men are evaluated. As soon as the names of women are analysed, it becomes obvious that there are numerous examples of adjectival sentences with the unmarked (superficially masculine) *nisba* adjective as predicate, e.g., *Nj-Ḥw.t-Ḥrw-kꜣ.w* 'The *kas* belong to Hathor!',[187] but where a syntagma was chosen to form a woman's name, the nisba adjective must display the feminine ending *-t#*. Names of this kind are, however, exceedingly rare – there are only two secure attestations: *Nj.t-Ḥw.t-Ḥrw* 'The one (f.) who belongs to Hathor!'[188] and *Nj.t-šfj.t* 'The one (f.) who belongs to the majestic eminence!'[189] –, and both of them consist of only two elements. It is thus doubtful whether there ever existed tripartite names of this kind, which *per analogiam* also applies to the names of men. As a result, the name of the sixth king of the Fifth Dynasty should be judged as *Nj-Rᶜw-wśr* 'The strength belongs to Re!', a name consisting of an adjectival sentence.

The evaluation of this kind of name is particularly controversial, and the difficulties are summarised under the well-known label 'the Λαμάρης-problem',[190] which, above all, affects  *Nj-Rᶜw-wśr* > Ῥαθούρης and  *Nj-mꜣᶜ.t-Rᶜw* > Λαμάρης, the throne name of Amenemhat III.[191] Following the remarkable analysis of Johannes Buchberger,[192] these names belong to two different sub-patterns of a common grammatical scheme: *Nj-Rᶜw-wśr* (perhaps subsequent to the re-interpretation after the model of Middle and New Kingdom throne names) was understood as a substantival sentence with an ordinary *nisba* adjective[193] 'What belongs to Re is power!', but *Nj-mꜣᶜ.t-Rᶜw* was from the very beginning of its existence a substantival

[185] Cf., e.g., BARTA 1989, p. 7; DESSOUDEIX 2008, pp. 83-84.

[186] Cf., e.g., BARTA 1989, p. 7; LEPROHON 2013, p. 40.

[187] HASSAN 1932, p. 85, fig. 144; RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, p. 180 (24); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 1716.

[188] MOUSSA AND ALTENMÜLLER 1974, pl. 36; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 1729; cf. for a similar name pattern FISCHER 1996, p. 71.

[189] Gizah, mastaba G.7521, SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 1732; cf. also FISCHER 1996, p. 71.

[190] Cf., e.g., WESTENDORF 1984; BARTA 1985; FISCHER 1996, pp. 55-72 (all with further references).

[191] Cf. for this royal name GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, pp. 319-337; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 86-87; DESSOUDEIX 2008, pp. 160-164; SCHNEIDER 1996, pp. 75-79; LEPROHON 2013, p. 59; HANNIG 2006b, pp. 3199-3202; cf. for the Greek forms WADDELL 1942, pp. 68-73, 224-225; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. II, № 241 F48 = № 244 F85 (cf. vol. IIIC, № 619 F1), vol. IIIC, № 609 F2-3; SCHOENE 1866-75, vol. I, col. 142; AUCHER 1818, pp. 211-212; KARST 1911, p. 67; JACOBY 1902, p. 401; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 108-109; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 67, 143; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 84-85.

[192] BUCHBERGER 1933, pp. 621-631.

[193] Cf. OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 309-315.

sentence with a reverse *nisba* adjective[194] ‘To whom the cosmic order belongs is Re!’. To date, this is the only explanation which does account for the different development of the *nisba* adjectives in these two names and allows for a consistent evaluation and categorisation of all remnants of the ordinary *nisba nj* (> *Ø* in pretonic position) and the reverse *nisba nj* (> **#lă-* in pretonic position) known from Greek renderings of Egyptian personal names and Coptic compound nouns.[195] The word order expected according to this explanation is also in full agreement with the syntax of *nisba* adjectives; this was examined by Helmut Satzinger, Karl Jansen-Winkeln and Hanna Jenni[196] who all concluded that prepositional *nisba* adjectives are immediately followed by their complement if the complement and an additional element, e.g., the subject in an adjectival or substantival sentence, belong to the same category of words, i.e., as long as both of them are either personal pronouns or substantives.[197] As a result, for grammatical reasons one ought to read *Nj-Rᶜw-wśr*, which furthermore perfectly fits the form transmitted by Manetho (Ῥαθούρης) with the theonym *Rᶜw* preceding *wśr*. Exactly this sequence must reflect the original word order since there were numerous throne names which ended with the theonym *Rᶜw* and which thus could have caused the analogical alignment of names like *Nj-Rᶜw-wśr* displaying a differing word order. But a process which would have caused a highly artificial differentiation of a name in full accord with the unmarked word order of royal names (throne names) would be utterly surprising.

According to the unexpected re-occurrence of the *-r#* of *wśr*, the abstract noun *wśr* ‘strength’ must have been replaced at some point, perhaps during the New Kingdom or the Late Period, with a then better known and synonymous equivalent *wśrw* ‘strength’. A similar process is found with the toponym Memphis, *Mn-nfr* ~ **Mĭn-năfăr* > **Mĕmfĕ* ~ Μέμφις[198] → *Mn-nfrw*

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[194] Cf. OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 309-310, 316-321.

[195] Cf. the collection of attestations in BUCHBERGER 1933, pp. 621-631. It is interesting to note that Amenemhet IV chose a throne name which followed the same grammatical pattern as that of Amenemhet III, his predecessor. Even though most attestations of this throne name are perceived as *Mɜᶜ-ḫrw-Rᶜw* ‘Re is triumphant’ or ‘Re is the triumphator’, a few instances clearly support the reading *Nj-mɜᶜ-ḫrw-Rᶜw* ‘To whom the triumph belongs is Re’. Unfortunately, it remains unknown whether this must be viewed as a matter of writing conventions with the nisba mostly spelled defectively, whether this means that there were two variants conveying practically the same meaning or whether Amenemhet IV bore two distinct, though superficially similar throne names. Cf. CARNARVON AND CARTER 1912, pl. 49; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 86-87; BUCHBERGER 1993, p. 620.

[196] GILULA 1968; SATZINGER 1986; JANSEN-WINKELN 1993; JENNI 2004.

[197] In this respect, *nisba* adjectives which are employed as predicates in adjectival sentences behave syntactically like verbs. Cf. for Old Egyptian EDEL 1955-64, vol. I, § 363-368, 633, 644, vol. II, § 944, 946, 949, 951; SCHWEITZER 2005, § 453. Recently, James P. Allen suggested to analyse all sentences which display initial de-prepositional nisba adjectives as their predicates as substantival sentences (ALLEN 2017, pp. 91-92; cf. already EDEL 1955-64, vol. II, Nachtrag zu § 366). However, this is implausible given that the predicative nisba adjective is indeclinable for gender and number as one expects in the adjectival sentence (cf. the material collected in SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014 and section 2.6 above; cf. for the in part difficult differentiation between verbs and adjectives PEUST 2008).

[198] MONTET 1957-61, vol. I, pp. 27-32; GARDINER 1947, vol. II, pp. 122*-126*; PEUST 2010, p. 59; ČERNÝ 1976, pp. 346-347; WESTENDORF 1965-77, p. 477; VYCICHL 1983, pp. 117-118, 516; ZIBELIUS-CHEN 1978, pp. 39-42, 93-95; WB II, p. 63 (6)-(7); HANNIG 2003, p. 1555; HANNIG 2006a, p. 1149; FECHT 1960a, § 81-84; OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 36-48, 72, 127; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 162, 195; FISCHER 1996, pp. 73-76; GUNDACKER 2010, p. 105; GUNDACKER 2013b; GUNDACKER 2015a, p. 157 n. 311; cf. also the linguistic discussion in GUNDACKER 2018, pp. 107-108.

~ **Mĭn-nắfrŭw* > **Mĕn-nŏ́frĕ* ~ (*)Μένοφρις[199] 'The perfection (of Pepy I) remains!', and the theonym Onnophris, *Wn-nfr* ~ **Wń̥-năfăr* > **Wń̥fĕ* ~ Ὄμφις[200] → *Wnn-nfrw* ~ **Wănĭn-nắfrŭw* > **Wĕn-nŏ́frĕ* ~ Ὄννωφρις[201] 'The one whose perfection exists'. However, Manetho's form must furthermore have suffered from the confusion of circular Greek characters and the regrouping of a phonologically uncommon sequence (*-ογοc- → *-ϑογc- → *-ϑογ-),[202] which is frequently found in papyri.[203] Finally, the desinence of Manetho's rendering of *Nj-Rᶜw-wśr*, which was the only royal name in Manetho's Fifth Dynasty ending in *-ρις (~ **-rĕ+s*) as opposed to seven (eight) instances of *-ρης (~ **-ré+s*), was harmonised with the majority of instances; this kind of harmonising simplification was furthermore promoted by the itacistic homophony of -ι- and -η-.[204]

The development and tradition of the royal name *Nj-Rᶜw-wśr* from the Old Kingdom down to the *Aegyptiaca* of Manetho can be summarised as follows:[205]

Nj-Rᶜw-wśr ~ **Nĭj-Rĭᶜŭw-wā́śăr*
> **Nĭ-Rĭᶜŭ-wā́śă'* > **Nĕ-Rĭᶜă-wā́śă'* →
→ **Nĕ-Rĭᶜă-wắśrĕ* > **Ṉ-Rĕᶜ-wắśrĕ* >
> **Ĕ-Răᶜ-wŏ́śrĕ* > **Răᶜ-wŏ́śrĕ* ~ *Ῥαούοσρις →
→ *Ῥάθουρις → Ῥαθούρης

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[199] OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 36-48, 72, 127; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 162, 195; Rolf Krauss was able to show that the so-called 'Era of Menophris' (τὰ ἀπὸ Μενόφρεως) is a late hypothetical construct without historical value (KRAUSS 1978, pp. 264-273); cf. for the interpretation of (*)Μένοφρις as a toponym ROWTON 1946, pp. 109-110; FECHT 1960a, § 81-84; SETHE 1919-20, pp. 28-55, 98-141; WENTE AND VAN SICLEN 1976, pp. 233-234; DEPUYDT 1995; GUNDACKER 2018, pp. 107-108; GUNDACKER forthcoming; cf. also a remark by Olympiodorus the Younger who explains in his commentary on Aristotle's Μετεωρολογικά (STÜVE 1900, p. 113) that Alexandrians refer to the heliacal rising of Sothis at Memphis, not at Alexandria. Alternatively, this name is often identified with a king of the early Nineteenth Dynasty, i.e., *Mn-pḥtj-Rᶜw*, the throne name of Ramesses I. (cf. LEPSIUS 1858, vol. I, pp. 123-124; STRUVE 1929; KRAUSS 1978, pp. 268-273; POPKO AND RÜCKER 2011, pp. 48-49). However, one has to concede that there has not been sufficient research (cf. ROME 1931 [in particular pp. 290-291 with n. 1]) on the 'Era of Menophris' (τὰ ἀπὸ Μενόφρεως) as mentioned in Byzantine manuscripts (cf. DEPUYDT 1995, pp. 46-47), which, above all, is known from a remark (BIOT 1823, pp. 303-309) accidentally transmitted together with the commentary of Theon of Alexandria (TIHON 1978; TIHON 1985) on one of Claudius Ptolemy's minor works, Πρόχειροι κανόνες (HEIBERG 1907, pp. 159-185).

[200] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 368B; GRIFFITHS 1970, pp. 184-185, 460-461; GARCÍA VALDÉS 1995, pp. 80-81, 137; LEITZ 2002, vol. II, pp. 375-376; FECHT 1960a, § 85-109; OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 36-48, 128, vol. II, pp. 663-664 n. 716; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 163, 193-194; GUNDACKER 2013b; GUNDACKER 2018, pp. 110-111 n. 58, 127-131.

[201] WESTENDORF 1965-77, p. 274; VYCICHL 1983, p. 235; LEITZ 2002, vol. II, pp. 375-376; GARDINER 1950, vol. II.2, pp. 44-53; FECHT 1960a, § 85-109; OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 72, 128, vol. II, pp. 663-664 n. 716; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 163, 195; GUNDACKER forthcoming.

[202] With the loss of one character; Gerhard Fecht supposed *Ῥαύοσρις → *Ῥάθουρις based on a misreading *-γοc- → *-ϑογ- instead (FECHT 1960b, p. 119) but Manetho does not use simple Y/υ in order to transcribe Egyptian *w* with the exception of *w* as the second member of diphthongs or sequences of sounds which in Greek are spelled like diphthongs.

[203] WEST 1973, p. 25; PÖHLMANN 1994, vol. II, pp. 43-46; cf. also KENYON 1899, table after p. 128 and n. 60 above.

[204] MAYSER 1923-36, vol. I; MAYSER AND SCHMOLL 1970, vol. I.1; GIGNAC 1976, vol. I; TEODORSSON 1977; cf. also n. 65 above.

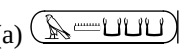
[205] FECHT 1960a, § 32, 39-48, 114, 147; OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 20-21, 36-48, 64-77, 314; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 89, 194-197; EDEL 1994, vol. II, pp. 361-362; KAMMERZELL 2001, p. 161; GUNDACKER 2013b.

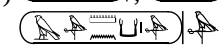
This process of reshaping was perhaps initiated by the tradition of Papyrus Westcar. Gerhard Fecht[206] assumed that the name of *Rᶜw-wśr*, the alleged high-priest of *Śꜣḫbw*,[207] impacted on that of *Nj-Rᶜw-wśr*. Starting out as a nominal sentence *Rᶜw-wśr* ~ **Rīᶜŭw-wā́śĭr* 'Re is a powerful one!'[208] in the Middle Kingdom, when the subject and motifs of the stories of Papyrus Westcar evolved, this name was secondarily re-interpreted as an adverbial sentence containing a pseudoparticiple, *Rᶜw-wśr* ~ **Rīᶜŭw-wā́śĭr* → *Rᶜw-wśr.w* ~ **Rīᶜŭw-wắśrăw* > **Rĕᶜ-wắśrĕ* > **Răᶜ-wṓśrĕ* ~ **Ραούοσρις*.[209] As a consequence, the latest appearance of *Rᶜw-wśr*'s name became homophonous with *Nj-Rᶜw-wśr*'s name. There are thus two significant meeting points, which Papyrus Westcar and Manetho's Fifth Dynasty share: first, the dynasty's descent from *Śꜣḫbw* (misread as *ꜣbw* ~ Elephantine sometime before Manetho) and, second, the name of *Rᶜw-wśr*, which due to accidental homophony was in danger of being mixed up with *Nj-Rᶜw-wśr*.

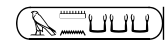
The hypocoristicum *Jnj(j)* is perhaps nothing but the initial *nisba* adjective of the full name *Nj-Rᶜw-wśr*[210] expanded with the hypocoristic ending *-jj#* ~ **-(ă)jjă#*, which in the Old Kingdom could also be spelled *-j#*.[211] Initial *#j-* could either represent the onset of the *nisba* adjective in its oldest form,[212] or it may be a hypocoristic preformative found with many other names.[213] According to Gerhard Fecht and Jürgen Osing,[214] the *nisba* adjective *jnj* was vocalised **jănĭ́j* so that the hypocoristicum may be reconstructed as *Jnj(j)* ~ **Jănĭ́jjă*.

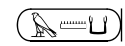
2.7. The seventh king of the Fifth Dynasty

Attestations:[a]

Old Kingdom attestations[b] (a)  (b) 

Royal Canon of Turin (III.23 = 4.23)[c] 

Abydos king-list (31)[d] 

Saqqarah king-list (30)[e] 

Manetho (after Africanus)[f] Μεγχέρης

[a] Cf. for this name in general GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, pp. 123, 130-132; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 58-59; DESSOUDEIX 2008, pp. 86-87; SCHNEIDER 1996, pp. 234-235; LEPROHON 2013, p. 40; VERNER 2001, p. 405; VERNER 2014, pp. 75-76; HANNIG 2003, p. 1624.

[b] Attestations of the full name: e.g., (1) an inscription found on the Sinai Peninsula (GARDINER, PEET AND ČERNÝ 1952-55, vol. I, pl. 7 № 12, vol. II, p. 60; EICHLER 1993, p. 32; PM VII.1, p. 341; SETHE 1933, p. 54 (15)-(16)), (2) a statue of this king (CG 40, BORCHARDT 1937, p. 38, pl. 10; PM III, p. 842);

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[206] FECHT 1960a, p. 119; cf. also BERLEV 1981, pp. 361-377; MORENZ 1996, p. 118.

[207] Cf. Papyrus Westcar X.2 etc., LEPPER 2008, p. 48 and *passim*.

[208] Cf. for this kind of names n. 68 and 152 above.

[209] FECHT 1960a, § 348-354; OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 20-21; SCHENKEL 1983, p. 89; OSING 1976a, p. 28; OSING 1998, vol. I, p. 61; SCHENKEL 2012, pp. 105-108; EDEL 1994, vol. II, pp. 361-362; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 38; GUNDACKER 2013b; GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 156-157 n. 311.

[210] BARTA 1989, p. 7; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2007.

[211] GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 70-71; EDEL 1955-64, vol. I, § 139-140; cf. also RANKE 1935-52, vol. II, pp. 111-124, 127-171; FECHT 1960a, § 39-43, 140; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, pp. 70-85.

[212] FECHT 1960a, § 32, 39-48, 114, 147; OSING 1976b, vol. I, p. 314; GUNDACKER 2009, vol. I, pp. 211-213.

[213] RANKE 1935-52, vol. II, pp. 139, 141, 149-150; QUACK 2007a, p. 552; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, pp. 78-79; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 68-69 n. 268.

[214] FECHT 1960a, § 32, 39-48, 114, 147; OSING 1976b, vol. I, p. 314.

attestations of the hypocoristicum, which is mainly found as a part of basilophorous names: e.g., (3) as part of a domain's name mentioned in the mastaba of Seshemnefer IV (variant with the theonym Horus, JUNKER 1953, p. 197, fig. 76; PM III, p. 325), (4) as part of a personal name in the mastaba of Idut (variant without the theonym Horus, MACRAMALLAH 1935, p. 20, pl. 11; PM III, pp. 617-619); cf. for basilophorous names RANKE 1935-52; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014; cf. for the pyramid complex *nṯrj-(j)ś.wt-Mn-kȝ.w-Ḥrw* 'The places of Menkauhor are divine' in Saqqarah (pyramid Lepsius XXIX), BERLANDINI 1978; BERLANDINI 1979; HAWASS 2010; cf. also a report of *National Geographic* (http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2008/06/080605-new-pyramid.html, last access on 26th February 2015); THEIS 2011, pp. 44-45; PM III, pp. 335-339; MARAGIOGLIO AND RINALDI 1963-77, vol. VIII, pp. 59-84, STADELMANN 1997, p. 179; cf. for the sun temple *ȝḫ.t-Rˁw* 'Horizon of Re', KAISER 1956; ROCHHOLZ 1994; VOSS 2004, pp. 155-158; VERNER 2005; cf. for the titles of priests and officials BAER 1960; STRUDWICK 1985; BAUD 1999a; cf. for seals and seal impressions KAPLONY 1977-81; cf. for basilophorous names of royal domains and institutions JACQUET-GORDON 1962; ALTENMÜLLER 2006; cf. for basilophorous toponyms HANNIG 2003; ZIBELIUS-CHEN 1978.

[c] GARDINER 1959, pl. II; cf. for the revised numbering of columns HELCK 1992; RYHOLT 2004; RYHOLT 2006.

[d] MARIETTE 1869-80, vol. I, pl. 43, vol. II, pl. 18; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 34, 196; cf. PM VI, pp. 25, 35; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 18-20; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 215.

[e] MARIETTE 1872, vol. II, pl. 58; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 6-7, 197, pl. I; cf. PM III, p. 666; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 21-24; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 216.

[f] WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83.

The seventh king of the Fifth Dynasty is *Mn-kȝ.w-Ḥrw*, which once more is a name expressing a religious statement: 'The *kas* of Horus remain!'. Indeed this name is a good example for a special name pattern which is found several times among the members of the royal family during the second half of the Fifth Dynasty.[215] Manetho's rendering of this name reveals that, at some point in the ancient Egyptian tradition (perhaps during the New Kingdom or even later), the theonym *Ḥrw* was substituted with *Rˁw*.[216] *Mn-kȝ.w-Ḥrw* was thus re-interpreted after the model of Middle and New Kingdom throne names[217] and had become a look-alike of *Mn-kȝ.w-*

[215] Cf., e.g., the names of the princes *Ḥntj-kȝ.w-Ḥrw* 'The kas of Horus are foremost!' and *Nsr-kȝ.w-Ḥrw* 'The kas of Horus are [unknown word]!' (VERNER 1995, p. 66; VERNER AND CALLENDER 2002, pp. 55-61; VERNER 2014, p. 76; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 2133, 2797). It is remarkable that Menkauhor's name as well as the names of the two aforementioned princes contain the theonym Horus. As it seems, during the late Fifth Dynasty, this deity attained supreme significance for the royal family, at least on a par with Re. Even though the epithet *sȝ-Rˁw* 'son of Re' (cf. section 2.9 and n. 242 below) remained in use, the specific tradition of the Fifth Dynasty to erect sun temples stopped with Menkauhor whose temple perhaps has never been completed. And even though Djedkare (cf. section 2.8 below) and Weserkare (*Wśr-kȝ-Rˁw*), the somewhat enigmatic second king of the Sixth Dynasty (BAUD 2006, p. 146; cf. also BOLSHAKOV 2003; AFIFI 2011; MYŚLIWIEC 2011; THEIS 2015b), bore names referring to Re, neither Unas nor Teti used a name containing the theonym Re (cf. for this kind of name n. 84 above), and Pepy I started his reign with a programmatic name referring to Horus, *Nfr-sȝ-Ḥrw* 'The protection of Horus is perfect!', which, perhaps after the harim conspiracy (cf. KANAWATI 2003; KÖTHEN-WELPOT 2006; cf. also CALLENDER 2011a, pp. 214-216, 232-234, 249-271), was replaced with a new name focusing on Re (*Mrjj-Rˁw* 'Favourite of Re'; cf. GUNDACKER 2016b, p. 238). At the same time, however, the Pyramid Texts of Unas, Teti and Pepy I do mention Horus and Re side by side, which is strong evidence against some kind of religious conflict although a shift of focus is undeniable.

[216] RYHOLT 2006, p. 149; RYHOLT 2008, pp. 166-167; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 83 n. 354; GUNDACKER 2015a; GUNDACKER 2015b.

[217] BUCHBERGER 1933, pp. 588-634; cf. also GRAEFE 1995; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 91 n. 401.

Rᶜw (Fourth Dynasty),[218] whom Manetho calls Μεγχέρης.[219] Approximately at the same time, the phonological reduction of pretonic *-kꜣ.w-* must have progressed so far that it gradually became homophonous with the pretonic singular *-kꜣ-*.[220] Exactly this kind of confusion is attested in the Royal Canon of Turin and the king-list of Saqqarah.

Whether the bare initial adjective was, in this instance, replaced with a Demotic main clause *śḏm=f* typical for adjective verbs[221] or not, Μεγχέρης as the Greek rendering of *Mn-kꜣ.w-Ḥrw* → *Mn-kꜣ.w-Rᶜw* is exactly the same as found with *Mn-kꜣ.w-Rᶜw*, which thus is a fairly good rendering of what Manetho found in his sources. To sum up, the name of the seventh king of the Fifth Dynasty should have developed as follows:[222]

Mn-kꜣ.w-Ḥrw ~ **Mĭn-kăꜣăw-Ḥā́rŭw* →
→ *Mn-kꜣ.w-Rᶜw* ~ **Mĭn-kăꜣă-Rī́ᶜă* > **Mĕn-kăꜣ-Rī́ᶜĕ* >
> **Mĕn-kĕ-Rḗᶜ* ~ Μεγχέρης (manuscripts: Μενχέρης)[223]

Moreover, the full name *Mn-kꜣ.w-Ḥrw* served as the starting point for the short name *Jkꜣ.w-Ḥrw*,[224] which, again, may display the hypocoristic preformative *#j-*.[225] Alternatively, though less plausibly, *jkꜣ.w* might represent a *plene* written plural form which follows a rare morphological pattern.[226] Accidentally, this kind of plural formation, *-jkꜣ.w* ~ **-jăkā́ꜣăw* > -ιέχως, is

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[218] Cf. for this name in general GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, pp. 95-103; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 54-55; DESSOUDEIX 2008, pp. 69-70; SCHNEIDER 1996, pp. 249-251; LEPROHON 2013, p. 36; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 213-224, 244; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 88-91; VERNER 2001, pp. 381-383; HANNIG 2003, p. 1621.

[219] WADDELL 1942, pp. 46-49, 218-219; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 619 F1), vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; JACOBY 1902, p. 401; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-105; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 63, 118; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, p. 147; cf. also the Greek renderings by Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes (JACOBY 1902, p. 400; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. II, № 241 F48 = № 244 F85 (cf. vol. IIIC, № 619 F1)), Herodotus (HUDE 1927, vol. I, s.v. II 129-133, 136), Diodorus of Sicily (perhaps after Hecataeus of Abdera, s.v. I 64.5-10; BEKKER AND DINDORFF 1867-1906, vol. I, pp. 108-109; OLDFATHER 1989-2000, vol. I, pp. 220-221; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIA, № 264 F25) and in Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1381, lin. 30, 223-224 (GRENFELL AND HUNT 1915, vol. XI, pp. 221-234; TOTTI 1985, pp. 36-45; JÖRDENS 2010, pp. 318-321; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 89, 91). Due to the homonymy of *Mn-kꜣ.w-Ḥrw* and *Mn-kꜣ.w-Rᶜw* during the Late Period, it is impossible to judge whether all attestations of the name *Mn-kꜣ.w-Rᶜw* really belong to the famous king of the Fourth Dynasty. At least for those attestations which have ties to Gizah (WILDUNG 1968, pp. 222-224), the king of the Fifth Dynasty can be excluded.

[220] Cf. WILDUNG 1968, pp. 213-224, 244; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 88-92.

[221] FECHT 1960a, § 398 n. 452; SCHENKEL 2012, p. 113; OSING 1998, vol. I, pp. 61-63; SPIEGELBERG 1925, § 117; SETHE 1929; JOHNSON 2000, § 60; JOHNSON 2004, pp. 21-22, 83-84; QUACK 1998, pp. 174-175.

[222] OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 20-21, 128, 185, vol. II, pp. 348-350 n. 12, 379-380 n. 56, 420-421 n. 93; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 89, 162, 174; EDEL 1994, vol. II, pp. 361-362; EDEL 1954, pp. 34-36; FECHT 1960a, § 68 n. 123, 176-178; THISSEN 1996, p. 155; QUACK 2007b, pp. 547-548, 552; GUNDACKER 2009, vol. I, pp. 62 n. 351, 76 n. 464, 119, 291 n. 1835; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 38, 89-91.

[223] MAYSER AND SCHMOLL 1970, vol. I.1, pp. 203-209; GIGNAC 1976, vol. I, pp. 165-173.

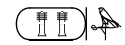
[224] SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2007; BARTA 1989, p. 7; EDEL 1960, pp. 79-80.

[225] RANKE 1935-52, vol. II, pp. 139, 141, 149-150; QUACK 2007b, p. 552; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, pp. 78-79; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 68-69 n. 268.

[226] QUACK 2007b, p. 552; SCHENKEL 1993, pp. 153-154; BREYER 2003, pp. 251-276; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 90. The exact nature of this kind of formation remains, however, obscure. In case this really was a special plural form, it most likely started out as collective nouns (BREYER 2003; cf. for this special class of nouns in Egyptian FECHT 1982; OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 290-294).

attested for the closely related noun *kꜣ* ‘bull’ in a royal name which Manetho[227] recorded in his Second Dynasty: *Kꜣ-jkꜣ.w* ~ Καιέχως ‘Bull of bulls’. Anyway, the short name *Jkꜣ.w-Ḥrw* can be reconstructed as *Jkꜣ.w-Ḥrw* ~ **Jăkăꜣăw-Ḥá̯rŭw*, which furthermore served as the basis for an even more truncated and more informal second short name *Jkꜣw* ~ **Jăkā́ꜣăw*.[228]

2.8. The eighth king of the Fifth Dynasty

Attestations:[a]	Old Kingdom attestations[b]	(a)  (b) 
	Royal Canon of Turin (III.24 = 4.24)[c]	
	Abydos king-list (32)[d]	
	Saqqarah king-list (31)[e]	
	Manetho (after Africanus)[f]	Ταγχέρης

[a] Cf. for this name in general Gauthier 1907-17, vol. I, pp. 133-138; von Beckerath 1999, pp. 60-61; Dessoudeix 2008, pp. 88-90; Schneider 1996, pp. 172-173; Leprohon 2013, p. 40; Verner 2001, pp. 405-410; Verner 2014, p. 79; Hannig 2003, p. 1625.

[b] Attestations of the full name: e.g., (1) an inscription found on the Sinai Peninsula (Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1952-55, vol. I, pl. 4 № 15, vol. II, p. 62; Eichler 1993, p. 34; PM VII.1, p. 341; Sethe 1933, p. 55 (16) – 56 (10)), (2) a stone vessel connected with the king’s sed festival (Louvre E 5323, Ziegler 1997, pp. 464-465, 470, fig. 1); attestations of the hypocoristicum: e.g., (3) the (auto)biographical texts of Senedjemib-Inti and Senedjemib-Mehi (Brovarski 2000, pp. 89-110, 153; cf. Sethe 1933, pp. 59 (6) – 68 (12); Kloth 2002, pp. 32-33; Strudwick 2005, pp. 311-316), (4) a letter of the king to Schepsesre (Quibell 1909, pp. 79-82, pl. 62 (2); Sethe 1933, pp. 179 (12) – 180 (10); Eichler 1991, pp. 149-152). Cf. for basilophorous names Ranke 1935-52; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014; cf. for the pyramid complex *nfr-Ḏdj-kꜣ-Rˁw* ‘Perfection of Djedkare’ in Saqqarah Theis 2011, pp. 65-67; PM III, pp. 424-425; Maragioglio and Rinaldi 1963-77, vol. VIII, pp. 65-118; Maragioglio and Rinaldi 1962, pp. 21-37; Stadelmann 1997, pp. 180-184; cf. also the papyrus archives of Neferirkare and Reneferef, which mostly date from the reign of Djedkare, Posener-Kriéger 1976; Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival 1968; Posener-Kriéger, Verner And Vymazalová 2006; cf. for the titles of priests and officials Baer 1960; Strudwick 1985; Baud 1999a; cf. for seals and seal impressions Kaplony 1977-81; cf. for basilophorous names of royal domains and institutions Jacquet-Gordon 1962; Altenmüller 2006; cf. for basilophorous toponyms Hannig 2003; Zibelius-Chen 1978.

[c] Gardiner 1959, pl. II; cf. for the revised numbering of columns Helck 1992; Ryholt 2004; Ryholt 2006.

[d] Mariette 1869-80, vol. I, pl. 43, vol. II, pl. 18; Wildung 1968, pp. 34, 196; cf. PM VI, pp. 25, 35; Redford 1986a, pp. 18-20; von Beckerath 1997, pp. 23-28, 215.

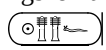
[e] Mariette 1872, vol. II, pl. 58; Wildung 1968, pp. 6-7, 197, pl. I; cf. PM III, p. 666; Redford 1986a, pp. 21-24; von Beckerath 1997, pp. 23-28, 216.

[f] Waddell 1942, pp. 50-56; Jacoby 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; Wallraff 2007, pp. 104-107; Mosshammer 1984, pp. 64-65; Adler and Tuffin 2002, pp. 80-83.

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[227] This is, perhaps, the misread and re-interpreted birth name of the second king of the Second Dynasty, king Nebre; cf. von Beckerath 1997, p. 170; von Beckerath 1999, p. 33; critical, however, Kahl 2007b, p. 16; cf. for the Greek form according to Africanus Jacoby 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; Waddell 1942, pp. 34-35; Wallraff 2007, pp. 100-101; Mosshammer 1984, p. 60; Adler and Tuffin 2002, p. 77; Fecht 1960a, § 68 n. 123, 177 n. 291; Thissen 1996, p. 155.

[228] Edel 1960, pp. 79-80. Katrin Scheele-Schweitzer’s differentiation between the full name *Jjj-kꜣ.w* ‘The *kas* have come!’ and the hypocoristicum *Jkw* is thus in part doubtful, because the short name *Jkꜣ.w* ‘The *kas*’ can be graphically identical with *Jjj-kꜣ.w* and *Jkw* (cf. Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, № 536).

The eighth king of the Fifth Dynasty is *Ḏdj-kȝ-Rᶜw*, which, again, is a name expressing a religious statement: 'The *ka* of Re is enduring!'. In the king-list of Saqqarah, this has been misspelled and the 'column imitating a bundle of stalks tied together' (Gardiner R11) was replaced with a 'feather' (Gardiner H6) due to confusion of these two hieroglyphs. The Royal Canon of Turin shows another unexpected variant, which hints at a modernised spelling  with two 'columns imitating a bundle of stalks tied together' (Gardiner R11), which finds a close parallel in the spellings of the royal name *Rᶜw-jḏd=f* (king-list of Abydos 22: , king-list of Saqqarah 18: ).[229] For an unknown reason, this modernised New Kingdom spelling was abridged, be it that the *Vorlage* was damaged and the two 'columns imitating a bundle of stalks tied together' (Gardiner R11) were all which remained legible, or be it that **Ḏdj* had become a new hypocoristicum, maybe under the influence of the stories of Papyrus Westcar, in which the magician  *Ḏdj* is one of the most important *dramatis personae*.[230] Whatever the case, Manetho must have encountered an undistorted example, since his rendering, Ταγχέρης, contains all three elements of the original name which was also re-interpreted after the model of Middle and New Kingdom throne names[231] and the initial adjective of which was perhaps also replaced with a Demotic main clause *śḏm=f* typical for adjective verbs.[232] The transcription of the initial adjective (or main clause *śḏm=f*) does not look like what one would expect. Instead of estimated *Ταγιχέρης, the manuscripts provide Τανχέρης (i.e., Ταγχέρης),[233] which suffered from a misreading *-ᴛɪ- → *-ᴍ-,[234] but the consonantal cluster *-μχ- was certainly phonologically unstable. Therefore, *-μχ- was assimilated to *-νχ-, which perhaps was furthermore promoted by the similarity of -μ- and -ν- in certain medieval bookhands (especially the so-called *Fettaugenschrift* of the Palaeologan era).

Ḏdj-kȝ-Rᶜw's name is thus particularly well-suited to serve as a model for tracing the complex history of an ancient Egyptian royal name, which may be summarised as follows:[235]

Ḏdj-kȝ-Rᶜw ~ **Ḏădĭj-kăȝ-Rīᶜŭw* > **Ḏădĭ-kăȝ-Rīᶜŭ* >
> **Dădĕ-kŏȝ-Rīᶜă* > **Dădĕ-kŏȝ-Rīᶜĕ* →
→ **Dădjĕ-kŏȝ-Rīᶜ* > **Dădĭ-kĕȝ- Rēᶜ* ~ *Ταγιχέρης →
→ *Ταμχέρης > Ταγχέρης (manuscripts: Τανχέρης)

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[229] MARIETTE 1869-80, vol. I, pl. 43, vol. II, pl. 18; MARIETTE 1872, vol. II, pl. 58; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 6-7, 34, 196-197, pl. I; cf. PM III, p. 666, vol. VI, pp. 25, 35; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 18-24; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 215-216; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 37-40.

[230] ERMAN 1890, pl. VII.1 etc.; LEPPER 2008, pp. 41, 103; Djedi may be a literary figure with a somehow faint historical entrenchment, because one of the sons of Rahotep, and thus a grandson of Snefru, actually bore the name *Ḏdj* according to a depiction found in mastaba № 6 at Maidum (GUNDACKER 2006, pp. 130-131; PETRIE 1892, pl. X, XIII; HARPUR 2001, pp. 23-24, 100, fig. 93); cf. in general MORENZ 1996, pp. 107-123; FRANKE 1998.

[231] BUCHBERGER 1933, pp. 588-634; cf. also GRAEFE 1995; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 91 n. 401.

[232] FECHT 1960a, § 398 n. 452; SCHENKEL 2012, p. 113; OSING 1998, vol. I, pp. 61-63; SPIEGELBERG 1925, § 117; SETHE 1929; JOHNSON 2000, § 60; JOHNSON 2004, pp. 21-22, 83-84; QUACK 1998, pp. 174-175.

[233] MAYSER AND SCHMOLL 1970, vol. I.1, pp. 203-209; GIGNAC 1976, vol. I, pp. 165-173.

[234] WEST 1973, p. 25; PÖHLMANN 1994, vol. II, pp. 43-46; cf. also KENYON 1899, table after p. 128 and n. 60 above.

[235] OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 20-21, 128, 185, vol. II, pp. 348-350 n. 12, 379-380 n. 56, 420-421 n. 93; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 89, 162, 174; EDEL 1994, vol. II, pp. 361-362; EDEL 1954, pp. 34-36; FECHT 1960a, § 68 n. 123, 176-178; THISSEN 1996, p. 155; KAMMERZELL 2001, p. 161; QUACK 2007b, pp. 547-548, 552; GUNDACKER 2009, vol. I, pp. 62 n. 351, 76 n. 464, 119, 291 n. 1835; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 38, 89-91.

The hypocoristicum *Jssj*,[236] is evidently not derived from the full name *Ḏdj-kꜣ-Rᶜw*, and its meaning – if it was not a nursery word or a *Lallname* after all – remains uncertain, though it may be a reduplicated[237] variant of Reneferef's hypocoristicum *Jsj* 'little man'.[238] Fortunately, there are two more royal names of the same kind, which are *Jttj* ~ **Jătā́tĭj* > Ἄθωθις (First Dynasty)[239] and *Jppj* ~ **Jăpā́pĭj* > Ἄφωφις (Fifteenth Dynasty).[240] From this evidence, *Jssj,* which belongs to a widespread pattern of hypocoristica, can be conjectured as *Jssj* ~ **Jăsā́sĭj.*

2.9. The ninth king of the Fifth Dynasty

Attestations:[a]	Old Kingdom attestations[b]	
	Royal Canon of Turin (III.25 = 4.25)[c]	
	Abydos king-list (33)[d]	
	Saqqarah king-list (33)[e]	
	Manetho (after Africanus)[f]	Ὄννος

[a] Cf. for this name in general GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, pp. 133-138; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 60-61; DESSOUDEIX 2008, pp. 88-90; SCHNEIDER 1996, pp. 172-173; LEPROHON 2013, p. 40; VERNER 2001, pp. 405-410; VERNER 2014, p. 88; HANNIG 2003, p. 1625.

[b] Attestations: e.g., (1) a stone vessel (Louvre E 32372, ZIEGLER 1997, p. 473, fig. 10; ZIEGLER 1999b, pp. 361-362), (2) an inscription near Elephantine (SETHE 1933, p. 69 (9)-(10); PETRIE 1888, pp. 12, 312). Cf. for basilophorous names RANKE 1935-52; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014; cf. for the pyramid complex *nfr-(j)ś.wt-Ḏdj-kꜣ-Rᶜw* 'The places of Unas are perfect' in Saqqarah, LABROUSSE, LAUER AND LECLANT 1977; LABROUSSE AND MOUSSA 1996; LABROUSSE AND MOUSSA 2002; LABROUSSE 1996, pp. 15-41, 131-132, 139-140, 142-147, 158, 161, 172-173; PM III, pp. 417-422; THEIS 2011, pp. 54-56; STADELMANN 1997, pp. 184-188; cf. for the pyramid texts of king Unas SETHE 1908-23; PIANKOFF 1969; ALLEN 2005, pp. 15-64; cf. for the titles of priests and officials BAER 1960; STRUDWICK 1985; BAUD 1999a; cf. for seals and seal impressions KAPLONY 1977-81; cf. for basilophorous names of royal domains and institutions JACQUET-GORDON 1962; ALTENMÜLLER 2006; cf. for basilophorous toponyms HANNIG 2003; ZIBELIUS-CHEN 1978.

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[236] Cf. section 2.6 above.

[237] SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, p. 79; cf. OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 295-307.

[238] Three of the four attestations of this hypocoristicum borne by commoners (BLACKMAN 1924, pl. XV; DAVIES 1902, vol. I, pl. 23; KANAWATI 1980b, fig. 8; cf. SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 491) are identical with that of king *Ḏdj-kꜣ-Rᶜw*; only one of the instances known involves a cartouche and may thus be an example of the name *Jssj.j* 'The one belonging to king Isesi' (ANTHES 1928, pl. 9, Gr. 1a), if this is not simply a shortened basilophorous name. Cf. also the hypocoristicum *Jssjj* 'little man' (RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, p. 45 (20); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 492), which may be nothing but a graphic variant, although this may also be a variant with a different hypocoristic ending (*-jj# ~ *-(ă)jjă#* instead of *-j# ~ *-ĭj#*; cf. GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 70-71).

[239] GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, pp. 3-5; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 38-39; DESSOUDEIX 2008, pp. 32-34; SCHNEIDER 1996, p. 128; LEPROHON 2013, p. 25; HANNIG 2003, p. 1615; WADDELL 1942, pp. 28-31; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2-3; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 100-101; SCHOENE 1866-75, vol. I, col. 138; AUCHER 1818, p. 204; KARST 1911, p. 65; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 60-61; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 76, 78.

[240] GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. II, pp. 139-145; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 114-115; DESSOUDEIX 2008, pp. 224-225; SCHNEIDER 1996, pp. 118-120; LEPROHON 2013, p. 82; WADDELL 1942, pp. 82-83, 90-91, 97-99; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2-3; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 128-129; SCHOENE 1866-75, vol. I, col. 144; AUCHER 1818, p. 214; KARST 1911, p. 71; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 60-61; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 87-88.

[c] GARDINER 1959, pl. II; cf. for the revised numbering of columns HELCK 1992; RYHOLT 2004; RYHOLT 2006.

[d] MARIETTE 1869-80, vol. I, pl. 43, vol. II, pl. 18; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 34, 196; cf. PM VI, pp. 25, 35; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 18-20; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 215.

[e] MARIETTE 1872, vol. II, pl. 58; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 6-7, 197, pl. I; cf. PM III, p. 666; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 21-24; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 216.

[f] WADDELL 1942, pp. 50-56; JACOBY 1923-58, vol. IIIC, № 609 F2; WALLRAFF 2007, pp. 104-107; MOSSHAMMER 1984, pp. 64-65; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002, pp. 80-83.

The ninth king of the Fifth Dynasty bore only one name which was enclosed in a cartouche. This name, *Wnjś*, is found with either *njśwt-bjt* 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt'[241] and also *sꜣ-Rˁw* 'son of Re'.[242] The meaning of this royal name is difficult to discern, though Katrin Scheele-Schweitzer[243] was able to substantiate a previous suggestion[244] that *Wnjś* is a hypocoristicum.[245] It is nevertheless uncertain where the origins of the hypocoristic ending *-jś#* should be sought for, but one may cite names like  *Jrjś*[246] and  *Rḫjś*,[247] which certainly contain words or parts of words ultimately related to the verbs *jrj* 'to do, to make'[248] and *rḫ* 'to know'[249] respectively. One may thus surmise that these hypocoristica are derived from full names containing a member of either word family and the dependent pronoun *św* or *śj*. Such full names are, however, exceedingly rare, and no full name which belongs to this name pattern is attested with a member of the word family of the verb *rḫ* 'to know'. Besides, from Old Kingdom sources, only a single full name which contains a member of the word family of the verb *rḫ* 'to know' is known, i.e.,  *Rḫ.t-Rˁw* 'The one whom Re knows'.[250] But there are at least two names containing a member of the word family of the verb *jrj* 'to do, to make' which belong to the name pattern mentioned:  *Kꜣ=j-jrj-św* 'The one who made him is my

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[241] Cf., e.g., a lintel from Nipepyankh's tomb (HASSAN 1975b, pp. 4-11, fig. 2-5; PM III, pp. 630-631). Cf. for the king's title *njśwt-bjt* 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt' SETHE 1911; FECHT 1960a, § 30-48; OTTO 1960; SCHENKEL 1986; KAHL 1993, pp. 65-66; SCHNEIDER 1993; ZEIDLER 1995, pp. 224-225; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 15-16; WINDUS-STAGINSKY 2006, pp. 16-62; KAHL 2007a; KAHL 2008; GUNDACKER 2009, vol. I, pp. 1-242; GUNDACKER 2011, pp. 70 n. 298, 71 n. 308.

[242] The epithet *sꜣ-Rˁw* 'son of Re' is, together with the royal name, enclosed in the cartouche; cf., e.g., LABROUSSE, LAUER AND LECLANT 1997, fig. 15, №. 11; PM III, pp. 420-421; cf. for this title JACOBSOHN 1939; BARTA 1975, pp. 19-43; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 25-26; WINDUS-STAGINSKY 2006, pp. 244-245.

[243] SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2007, pp. 93-94.

[244] BARTA 1989, p. 7 n. 15.

[245] However, this need not imply that *Wnjś* bore a full name hitherto unattested, because some frequent hypocoristica developed to and were used as full names in their own right.

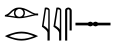
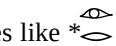
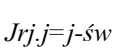
[246] DOBREV 1998, p. 168, fig. 20; RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, p. 39 (18); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 405.

[247] POSENER-KRIÉGER AND DEMICHELIS 2004, pl. 28 (D13); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 2248; this name is missing in RANKE 1935-52.

[248] WB I, pp. 108 (5) – 112 (11); HANNIG 2006a, pp. 100-102; HANNIG 2003, pp. 184-188.

[249] WB II, pp. 442 (7) – 445 (7); HANNIG 2006a, pp. 505-506; HANNIG 2003, pp. 738-730.

[250] HASSAN 1946, pp. 3-8; JÁNOSI 2005, pp. 416-418; PM III, pp. 249-250; cf. for this name KUCHMAN SABBAHY 1982, p. 382; cf. for the prosopographic data of this queen BAUD 1999a, vol. II, p. 515; CALLENDER 2011a, s.v. Rekhetre; this name is missing in SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014.

ka!'[251] and  *Jrj.j=j-św-sj* 'The one whom I made is a man!'.[252] Names like *Kꜣ=j-jrj-św* 'The one who made him is my *ka*!' comprise a participial syntagma *jrj-św*, which after the model of  *Rᶜw-mśj-św mrjj-Jmnw* ~ **Rīᶜŭw-măśĭ́j-śŭw mărjăj-Jămā́năw* > **Rīᶜă-măśé-śă măy-'ămā́nă* ~ *Ri/e-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i a-ma-na* '"The one who begot him is Re" whom Amun loves',[253] can be reconstructed as *jrj-św* ~ **jărĭ́j-śŭw* > **jărī́-śŭw* (> **jărḗ-śă*). By accident, this particular hypocoristicum is not yet attested in Old Kingdom sources, but it is part of the onomastic corpus of the Middle and New Kingdoms.[254] This kind of participial syntagma cannot explain the origins of the hypocoristic ending *-jś#*, which must be viewed as **-jv̌c#*. It is therefore necessary to look for an alternative name pattern which may have served as the starting point of this unusual hypocoristic ending, and this name pattern may be found with names like *Jrj.j=j-św-sj* 'The one whom I made is a man!'. It is, however, important to note that, already during the Old Kingdom, names of this pattern, i.e., substantival sentences containing the only rarely attested alternative copula *św* instead of the standard copula *pw*,[255] were regarded as highly archaic and uncommon. The syllable structure and vocalisation of *Jrj.j=j-św-sj* can be conjectured as **Jărjă̆jĭj-śŭw-sĭ́j*,[256] which would allow for the formation of short names like * *Jrj.j=j-św* ~ **Jărjắjĭj-śŭw* >  **Jărjā́jĭ-ś*. Due to the exceptional grammatical pattern of short names like these, they are expected to undergo a process of morphological re-segmentation and re-analysis, e.g., **Jărjā́jĭ-ś* → **Jărjā́-jĭś*. As a result, **-jĭś* may have been re-interpreted as a hypocoristic ending and employed for the creation of further hypocoristica. Even though this hypothesis cannot be proved and the origins of the hypocoristic ending *-jś#* remain rather enigmatic, its existence must be accepted as a fact. Be this as it may, the name of king *Wnjś* certainly belongs to the group of hypocoristica with the ending *-jś#* ~ **-jĭś#*, and the core of the royal name *Wnjś* possibly belongs to the word family of the verb *wnn*

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[251] BORCHARDT 1907, p. 76; RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, pp. 338 (22), 347 (19), vol. II, p. 321 (1); SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 3428; during the Middle Kingdom, this name became famous as the name of the alleged author of the 'Enseignement loyaliste' (VERHOEVEN 2009).

[252] Perhaps the exclamation of a man who was proud of having become the father of a son. STEWART 1978, vol. II, pl. 8 [9]; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 408.

[253] GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. III, pp. 33-113; VON BECKERATH 1999, pp. 152-157; DESSOUDEIX 2008, pp. 338-358; SCHNEIDER 1996, pp. 354-362; LEPROHON 2013, pp. 114-120; OSING 1976b, vol. I, pp. 20-21, vol. II, pp. 371 n. 50, 479 n. 138; SCHENKEL 1983, p. 89; EDEL 1994, vol. II, pp. 361-362.

[254] GARDINER AND ČERNÝ 1957, pl. LI; RANKE 1935-52, vol. I, p. 40 (7); cf. for Middle Kingdom examples of this kind (6) and (15); cf. also the theonym *Jrj-św* (HANNIG 2006a, p. 102; LEITZ 2002, vol. I, p. 489).

[255] GUNDACKER 2010; GUNDACKER 2016a; cf. also EDEL 1955-64, vol. II, § 942.

[256] EDEL 1955-64, vol. I, § 166-171; KAMMERZELL 1991; SATZINGER 1991b; SATZINGER 2004; PEUST 2002; cf. for relative forms OSING 1976a, pp. 38-40 (with n. 284); cf. for the determination of the relative form's stress position, which is based on the sound law **-v̆́wv̆-* > **-v̆́yv̆-* operating during the First Intermediate Period, SCHENKEL 1962, pp. 47-60. The vowel of the relative form's desinence can be conjectured as **-ă-* based on the assumption that it must have been different from the vowel **-ŭ-* of the desinence of passive participles and that, because of the constant spelling *-w#* with all verbs with the exception of *verba ultimae infirmae*, which sometimes display an assimilatory variant *-j#*, it cannot have been **-ĭ-* (cf. SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 186-188; SCHENKEL 2008, pp. 153-170; cf. ALLEN 1984, § 600-643; cf. EDEL 1955-64, vol. I, § 626-678). The reconstruction of *sj* 'man' as **sĭ́j* is based on the assumption that this word, because of its homophony with *sꜣ* ~ **sĭ́ꜣ* 'son' (cf. FECHT 1960a, § 169; OSING 1976b, vol. II, pp. 408 n. 90, 460 n. 114), became more and more infrequent from the Middle Kingdom onwards after the common sound change *ꜣ* ~ /ʀ/ or /l/ > /ʾ/ (RÖSSLER 1971; SATZINGER 1994; SCHENKEL 2012, p. 53; KAMMERZELL 1997, pp. XLVII–L; PEUST 1999, pp. 127-131).

'to be, to exist',[257] as was already pointed out by Gerhard Fecht.[258] Presumably, *Wnjś* bore no full name from which this hypocoristicum might have been derived, because, sometime earlier, it had become an acceptable full name of its own. Initially, however, this hypocoristicum may have been derived from names like *Wn-nfr* 'The one whose perfection exists'[259] with an active perfective participle *wn* ~ **wi̯n* 'existing'[260] as its predicate. Furthermore, this analysis contradicts a suggestion of Frank Kammerzell[261] who assumed that this name should be segmented *Wn-jś* ~ **Wắn-jăś* and, in a play on words alluding to the Cannibal Hymn, should be translated 'Like a devourer'. With regard to this analysis, there are at least two problems: first, the verb 'to eat'[262] cannot be read *wn*, but only *wnm* as demonstrated by Wolfgang Schenkel;[263] and second, a name such as 'Like a devourer' appears unequivocally unfitting in the setting of the Cannibal Hymn for reasons of piety and theology. To conclude, *Wnjś* should be viewed as a hypocoristicum consisting of the active perfective participle *wn* ~ **wi̯n* 'existing'[264] and the hypocoristic ending *-jś#* ~ **-jĭś#*. Accordingly, Manetho's Greek rendering Ὄννος can be viewed as fairly good, even though it exhibits the typical problems when transcribing Egyptian *w*, which was a sound alien to classical Attic and Koine Greek. It was thus necessary to apply improvised solutions and to render Egyptian *w* with Greek ο, ω, υ, ου or γ,[265] and, in this particular instance, Manetho chose ο to render the Egyptian syllabic *w* of *Wnjś*. As a result, the development of the name of the last king of the Fifth Dynasty, from the Old Kingdom to Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*, can be summarised as follows:

Wnjś ~ **Wi̯njĭś* > **Wí̯njĕś* > **Wí̯nnĕś* > **Wí̯nn̥ś* >
> **Ẉn̥ś* ~ Ὄννος

In addition, Manetho's rendering of this name is remarkable insofar as it does not add the nominative desinence -ς,[266] but it makes use of the Egyptian word-final consonant *-ś#*. It is also interesting to note that the syllabic nasal **-n̥-* was transcribed as -νο-[267] in Greek thus creating an *o*-stem, which is found only very rarely in Manetho's king-list.

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[257] WB I, pp. 308 (1) – 309 (11); HANNIG 2006a, pp. 207-208; HANNIG 2003, pp. 339-343; Alternatively, one could suggest *wn* 'to open' or *wnj* 'to hurry' (WB I, pp. 311 (2) – 312 (11), 313 (10) – 314 (6); HANNIG 2006a, pp. 208-210; HANNIG 2003, pp. 344-345).

[258] FECHT 1960a, § 87.

[259] DAVIES 1901a, vol. II, pl. XVIII; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, № 884; cf. n. 200-201 above.

[260] FECHT 1960a, § 87-90; OSING 1976b, vol. I, p. 128; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 159, 163.

[261] KAMMERZELL 2000, p. 206; cf. KAMMERZELL 1999; KAMMERZELL 2001, p. 161; one should also note that the postposition *jś* was most likely vocalised **jĭś* according to the etymologically related desinence of the Akkadian terminative/dative *-iš* (cf. VON SODEN 1995, § 67).

[262] WB I, pp. 320 (1) – 321 (12); HANNIG 2006a, p. 212; HANNIG 2003, pp. 348-349.

[263] SCHENKEL 2002.

[264] FECHT 1960a, § 87-90; OSING 1976b, vol. I, p. 128; SCHENKEL 1983, pp. 159, 163.

[265] FECHT 1960a, § 95; GUNDACKER 2009, vol. I, pp. 118-119, 140-141; VERGOTE 1954, pp. 16-17; GIGNAC 1976, vol. I, pp. 73-75; cf. also GRIFFITH 1909, vol. III, pp. 301 n. 2, 428.

[266] Cf. for the most common declension patterns MAYSER AND SCHMOLL 1970, vol. I.1-I.3; GIGNAC 1976; cf. also GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 38, 48-51; GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 95-98 n. 57.

[267] Cf. for the treatment of Egyptian *shwa*-vowels and syllabic sonorants in Greek LACAU 1970-72, vol. I, pp. 131-136; GUNDACKER 2009, vol. I, pp. 119, 141-142.

3. Conclusion: The Fifth Dynasty in Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*

The evaluation of the nine royal names which Manetho attributes to his Fifth Dynasty, reveal that the tradition of historiographic material in Egypt was not a subject without any kind of variation but a multi-facetted process with local manifestations and traditions. Even though, with the exception of the Old Kingdom Royal Annals, all branches of historiographic tradition may have started from a courtly list covering the kings of the Thinite Period, the Old Kingdom, the First Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom compiled under Sesostris I,[268] local variants developed over time. Even though these local lines of tradition may have been contaminated with the Memphite line of tradition, i.e., that of the court, locally adjusted and reworked variants must have survived. The main branches of tradition known to date are (1) the Memphite tradition covering the Royal Canon of Turin and the king-list of Saqqarah (perhaps both slightly influenced by the Heliopolitan tradition),[269] (2) the Abydene tradition covering the Abydos king-list (contaminated with the Memphite tradition)[270] and (3) the Heliopolitan tradition represented by, on the one hand, a graffito found in Wadi el-Fawakhir and the Abusir king-list, and, on the other hand, the popular version as found in Papyrus Westcar.[271] Descendants of all these lines, in part contaminated, were known in Greek times, and Manetho had, at least for the first four dynasties, access to manuscripts of the Memphite-Heliopolitan and the Abydene tradition,[272] the latter of which, in a variant massively influenced by the Heliopolitan tradition, was used by Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes.[273]

For the Fifth Dynasty, the situation is, unfortunately, totally different. Since the Fifth Dynasty and its royal names are, in Greek sources, only preserved in the Manethonian tradition according to Africanus,[274] it is very much more difficult to discern the sources Manetho used for the compilation of his Fifth Dynasty. However, there are indications among the royal names themselves which hint at a particularly close relationship to one branch of the Memphite tradition (perhaps influenced by the Heliopolitan tradition), which becomes particularly obvious when Manetho's king-list is compared to the Saqqarah king-list. They both give the full name *Nfr-jrw-kꜣ-Rᶜw* for the third king of the Fifth Dynasty, whereas the Abydos king-list provides the hypocoristicum *Kꜣkꜣj*,[275] and they both reflect the corruption of Reneferef's name which originated in mixing up the full name and the Horus name: *Ḥrw Nfr-ḫᶜw x Rᶜw-nfr≈f* → *Nfr-ḫᶜw-Rᶜw* (Manetho) → *Ḫᶜj-nfr-Rᶜw* (Saqqarah king-list). Nevertheless, the actual representations of this *corruptela* differ so obviously that Manetho cannot have used a copy of the

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[268] GUNDACKER 2006, pp. 65-66 with n. 372, 89-92; GUNDACKER 2015b; cf. furthermore REDFORD 1986a, pp. 151-163; RYHOLT 1997, pp. 31-33; RYHOLT 2004, pp. 145-146.

[269] GARDINER 1959; HELCK 1992; RYHOLT 2004; RYHOLT 2006; MARIETTE 1872, vol. II, pl. 58; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 6-7, 197, pl. I; PM III, p. 666; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 21-24; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 216; cf. GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 140, 153-154; GUNDACKER 2015b, pp. 51-57.

[270] MARIETTE 1869-80, vol. I, pl. 43, vol. II, pl. 18; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 34, 196; PM VI, pp. 25, 35; REDFORD 1986a, pp. 18-20; VON BECKERATH 1997, pp. 23-28, 215; cf. GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 140, 151-154; GUNDACKER 2015b, pp. 51-57.

[271] ERMAN 1890; PARKINSON 2002, pp. 182-192; LEPPER 2008; CHRISTOPHE 1975; HAYS 2002; MATHIEU 1999; GOEDICKE 1993; JENNI 1998; SEIDLMAYER 2006b; ALTENMÜLLER 2010; DRIOTON 1954; WILDUNG 1968, pp. 164-167, 196, 205; GUNDACKER 2013a; GUNDLACH 1986a; GUNDLACH 1986b; GUNDACKER 2015b, pp. 51-57.

[272] HELCK 1956; GUNDACKER 2013a; GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 151-154; GUNDACKER 2015b, pp. 51-57.

[273] GUNDACKER 2013a; GUNDACKER 2015a; GUNDACKER 2015b, pp. 51-57.

[274] GELZER 1885-88; WALLRAFF 2007; cf. MOSSHAMMER 1984; ADLER AND TUFFIN 2002; ŠEVČENKO 1992.

[275] Cf. section 2.3 above.

Saqqarah king-list. This conclusion is further corroborated by the fact that Manetho places *Nj-Rᶜw-wśr* in the correct sixth place within the sequence of kings, whereas he was omitted in the Saqqarah king-list,[276] and that – different from all preserved ancient Egyptian king-lists – *Rᶜw-nfr=f* was succeeded by *Špśś-kꜣ-Rᶜw* in Manetho's *Vorlage*.[277] The *Aegyptiaca* thus pre-serve a separate line of tradition belonging to the Memphite branch which is otherwise unknown.

Most problems with what survives of the *Epitome* of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* grow from distorted royal names which have suffered from scribal errors in Egyptian (Hieratic, Demotic) and, above all, in Greek. As demonstrated above, the evaluation of Manetho's Greek renderings of Egyptian royal names requires (i) the study of Manetho's source material and of its place in ancient Egyptian historiographic tradition, (ii) the thorough onomastic analysis of the Egyptian names as such, (iii) the reconstruction of their diachronic development, (iv) the critical assessment of what kind of morphological, semantic or ideological re-interpretation or reshaping may have affected them, (v) the investigation of Manetho's convention for transcribing Egyptian phonemes – including the vowels – with Greek characters, (vi) the examination of the phonological development of certain Egyptian grammatical patterns including comparison with the names of commoners and, finally, (vii) the interpretation of the transmitted Greek renderings in the light of more than a thousand years of Greek palaeography and book culture with all its hazards of misspelling, confusing letters, transforming foreign names after the model of common Greek morphological patterns and commonly recognised associations with Greek names or cultural and historical clichés met in Greek literature.[278] Turning to the royal names of the Fifth Dynasty, it is important to differentiate between deviations which appeared in the Egyptian phase of tradition, between inaccuracies and errors which occurred in the process of Graecising them and mistakes which befell the manuscripts in the Greek phase of tradition.

In the Egyptian phase of tradition, two royal names suffered from the replacement of semantically relevant elements during the New Kingdom (*Wśr-kꜣ=f* → *Wśr-kꜣ-Rᶜw*, *Mn-kꜣ.w-Ḥrw* → *Mn-kꜣ.w-Rᶜw*),[279] and one more name was modernised by means of replacing a morphologically outdated element with a productive one, although this may have been triggered by the particular tradition of Papyrus Westcar (*Nj-Rᶜw-wśr* → *Nj-Rᶜw-wśrw*).[280] One name was totally garbled and resulted in an amalgamation of two names of the respective king (*Rᶜw-nfr=f* x *Ḥrw Nfr-ḫᶜw* → *Nfr-ḫᶜw-Rᶜw*).[281] At least four names were affected by grammatical re-analysis during the New Kingdom after the model of contemporaneous throne names[282] and by a subsequent morphological modernisation, i.e., the introduction of a Demotic main clause

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[276] Cf. section 2.6 above.

[277] Cf. VERNER 2001, pp. 395-400; VERNER 2000b; cf. already VON BECKERATH 1982; cf. also sections 2.4-2.5 above.

[278] Cf. for the evaluation of royal names according to Manetho HELCK 1956; FECHT 1960a; FECHT 1960b, *passim*; REDFORD 1986a; cf. for the Third and Fourth Dynasties in particular GUNDACKER 2006, pp. 71-92; GUNDACKER 2013a; GUNDACKER 2015a; GUNDACKER 2015b; THEIS 2014a, THEIS 2014b.

[279] RYHOLT 2006, p. 149; RYHOLT 2008, pp. 166-167; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 83 n. 354; GUNDACKER 2015b, pp. 42-43 n. 58; cf. sections 2.1 and 2.7 above.

[280] FECHT 1960b, p. 119; GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 156-157 n. 311; cf. section 2.6 above.

[281] GAUTHIER 1907-17, vol. I, p. 122 (in particular n. 1-2); cf. VON BECKERATH 1999, p. 58; cf. furthermore section 2.5 above.

[282] BUCHBERGER 1933, pp. 588-634; cf. also GRAEFE 1995; GUNDACKER 2013a, p. 91 n. 401.

śḏm=f typical for adjective verbs;[283] but all this happened without far-reaching semantic change and with only marginal phonological impact (*Wśr-kꜣ-Rᶜw*, *Nfr-jrw-kꜣ-Rᶜw*, *Špśś-kꜣ-Rᶜw*, *Nfr-ḥᶜw-Rᶜw*, perhaps also *Mn-kꜣ.w-Ḥrw* → *Mn-kꜣ.w-Rᶜw* and *Ḏdj-kꜣ-Rᶜw*).

Right at the crossroads of Egyptian and Greek traditions, two names suffered from difficulties in the process of rendering them with Greek characters due to essentially differing phonological characteristics of Egyptian and Greek, which resulted in rather vague approximations (*Śꜣḥ-wj-Rᶜw* → Σέφρης, *Wnjś* → Ὄννος).[284]

In the Greek phase of tradition, one name experienced distortion due to a phonological appearance which did not fit Greek morphological patterns and phonological conventions (*Σιψισχέρης/*Σιψιχέρης → Σισίρης).[285] The Greek rendering of two names was changed because of phonological misunderstandings or the confusion of similar looking characters (*Ῥαθούριος → Ῥαθούρης, *Τατιχέρης → *Ταμχέρης > Ταγχέρης (manuscripts: Τανχέρης)).[286] And, finally, one name was altered in a complex scenario in order to maintain the king-list's credibility and to emend an assumed mistake of previous scribes which resulted in the deletion of one name (*Νεφερχέρης ἢ Χέρης → Χέρης).[287]

Why the Fifth Dynasty fell out of almost all lines of tradition which came down to us remains a mystery. The Fourth Dynasty persisted in common memory as a period of kings whose enormous pyramids survived as witnesses of what was perceived as their hubris and cruelty, and the Sixth Dynasty had become a period of some renown because of a reigning queen, which at least the Greeks perceived as remarkable *per se*. Manetho certainly recorded what was remembered at his time, and even in the Epitome, there are glosses addressing the pyramids at Gizah and the reign of queen Nitocris. Accordingly, one would expect some traces of the famous stories known from Papyrus Westcar in Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* and, finally, some glosses on the kings of the Fifth Dynasty in the Epitome. It is difficult to say whether Manetho was unaware of this subject matter, which very distantly echoes history, or whether it formed part of the *Aegyptiaca* but, for whatever reason, did not make it into the Epitome. If the loss of the royal names of the Fifth Dynasty in the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes really was the result of an instance of *aberatio oculi*, the latter scenario appears much more plausible, and the reshaping of Nirewosers name is also clearly in favour of this. But whatever be the case, the Fifth Dynasty did go short and left no such trace in the Epitome. Later chronographers, who were more interested in regnal lengths than in seemingly endless lists of kings unknown to them and in glosses of unfamiliar historical content, developed a tendency to drop long sequences of royal names without any glosses at all or without glosses of interest for their own purpose. The result was that several kings or even entire dynasties were condensed to summations. Eusebius, who was more prone to this than Africanus, dropped all

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[283] FECHT 1960a, § 398 n. 452; SCHENKEL 2012, p. 113; OSING 1998, vol. I, pp. 61-63; SPIEGELBERG 1925, § 117; SETHE 1929; JOHNSON 2000, § 60; JOHNSON 2004, pp. 21-22, 83-84; QUACK 1998, pp. 174-175; cf. sections 2.1, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5 and 2.7 above.

[284] Cf. GIGNAC 1976, vol. I, pp. 95-101; GIGNAC 1970; HELCK 1956, p. 15; FECHT 1960a, § 293 n. 426; FECHT 1960b, p. 122; QUAEGEBEUR 1974a, p. 98; ROSÉN 1962, pp. 37-42; MAYSER 1923-36, vol. I, pp. 169-182; MAYSER AND SCHMOLL 1970, vol. I.1, pp. 143-150; TEODORSSON 1977, pp. 238-241; cf. also FECHT 1960a, § 95; GUNDACKER 2009, vol. I, pp. 118-119, 140-141; VERGOTE 1954, pp. 16-17; GIGNAC 1976, vol. I, pp. 73-75; cf. moreover GRIFFITH 1909, vol. III, pp. 301 n. 2, 428; cf. furthermore sections 2.2 and 2.9 above.

[285] FECHT 1960b, p. 119; GUNDACKER 2013a, pp. 92-93; cf. section 2.4 above.

[286] WEST 1973, p. 25; PÖHLMANN 1994, vol. II, pp. 43-46; KENYON 1899, table after p. 128; ca. also n. 60 and sections 2.6 and 2.8 above.

[287] Cf. for a similar example GUNDACKER 2015a, pp. 102-103 n. 79; cf. section 2.5 above.

royal names of the Fifth Dynasty because they were neither connected to glosses nor the starting point for synchronisms with the Judaeo-Christian world. However, Africanus kept all the royal names of the Fifth Dynasty, and it is a fortunate coincidence that they were copied over and over again down to the *Ecloga chronographiae* of George Syncellus.

It is incontestable that Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* are a piece of ancient historiography which has suffered severely from a long and circuitous way through time. Manetho's king-list thus cannot be read as if it was a telephone book giving names and numbers with absolute reliability. At first, especially during the early days of Egyptology, Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* were often used uncritically and thus became part of an unreflected treatment of written sources.[288] But, by contrast, in recent times Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* have been viewed as entirely corrupted and of hardly any value at all.[289] In order to avoid either of these tendentious approaches and in order to get closer to information concealed in this fragmentary puzzle, Egyptologists need to consider which information Manetho could have found and what could have happened to the data transmitted. And even though all details found in Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* always require affirmation from contemporaneous sources, the Egyptian king-lists and all other materials available, Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* must not, nevertheless, be put aside. Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* are still an inexhausted source for information on Egyptian history and the ancient Egyptians' way of viewing and processing records of their own past. It is thus not the time to abandon the work on Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*, which have so much to reveal, even if, often enough, information is hidden beyond an arcane veil of time.

Appendix: The names of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty

King	Original Grammatical Pattern	Translation	Manetho
Wśr-kꜣ=f	#adjective$^{pred.}$ + noun phrase#	'His *ka* is vigorous!'	Οὐσερχέρης
Śꜣḥ-wj-Rᶜw	#*śḏm=f*$^{perf.}$ + noun phrase #	'Re has come close to me!'	Σέφρης
Nfr-jrw-kꜣ-Rᶜw	#adjective$^{pred.}$ + noun phrase#	'Perfect are the guise and *ka* of Re!'	Νεφερχέρης
Špśś-kꜣ-Rᶜw	#adjective$^{pred.}$ + noun phrase#	'The *ka* of Re is noble!'	Σισίρης
Rᶜw-nfr=f	#noun phrase + *śḏm=f*$^{circ.}$#	'Re is (always) perfect!'	Χέρης
Nj-Rᶜw-wśr	#adjective$^{pred.}$ + noun phrase#	'The strength belongs to Re!'	Ῥαθούρης
Mn-kꜣ.w-Ḥrw	#adjective$^{pred.}$ + noun phrase#	'The *kas* of Horus remain!'	Μεγχέρης
Ḏdj-kꜣ-Rᶜw	#adjective$^{pred.}$ + noun phrase#	'The *ka* of Re is enduring!'	Ταγχέρης
Wnjś	#participle + hypocoristic ending#	'Existing + *jś*'	Ὄννος

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[288] Cf., e.g., MEYER 1904; BARTA 1981; VON BECKERATH 1997.

[289] Cf., e.g., REDFORD 1986a, pp. 231-239; REDFORD 2003; VERNER 2001.

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